Introduction to the Fonds of the Central Archives relating to the First Enlargement of the European Economic Community, 1961–73.

The first enlargement of the European Communities in 1973 was the outcome of a process that started more than a decade before in 1961. The original Member States of the EEC had provided for entry of new members in Article 237 of the Treaty of Rome in 1957; the United Kingdom (UK) took the first steps towards full membership of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) and the European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM) before the European Economic Community (EEC) was created. In terms of population and area, it was the biggest enlargement in the Community's history until the accession of the ten Central and Eastern European countries in 2004. In 1970, the population of the Communities increased by 66 million inhabitants, from nearly 190 million to over 256 million people and their total area had expanded to the Northwest and to the North by 0.6 million km$^2$, from 1,167 million km$^2$ to 1,849 million km$^2$. The consequences of the first enlargement to include the United Kingdom, Ireland, Denmark and Norway were far-reaching: not only did the talks serve as an impetus for other countries to seek membership in the Communities, they also set the pattern for practical negotiating procedures and firmly established the requirement that future candidates accept the *acquis communautaire*.

The Historical Archives of the European Council possess documents relating to meetings, exchange of opinions, preparatory talks and information on the applicant countries within the framework of talks with the EEC (and to a lesser degree with EURATOM and the ECSC) from the early 1960s to 1973.

This collection of documents could be chronologically and thematically divided into two major groups:

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1 “Any European State may apply to become a member of the Community. It shall address its application to the Council, which shall act unanimously after obtaining the opinion of the Commission. The conditions of admission and the adjustments to this Treaty necessitated thereby shall be the subject of an agreement between the Member States and the applicant State. This agreement shall be submitted for ratification by all the Contracting States in accordance with their respective constitutional requirements.”


3 The figures exclude the area and population of Norway. See The enlarged Community in figures. Information of the Commission of the European Communities, 20 January 1972 (File 475.4, X/43 72-E).

I. The first applications by the UK, Ireland, Denmark and Norway and failure of the 1961-1963 enlargement negotiations.

II. The second application for Community membership in 1967 by the four countries and the second French veto on the opening of negotiations in the same year; interim period, renewal of talks and successful entry 1969-1973.

Files in both subject groups include: (draft) minutes of Conferences of the Six and the UK and Denmark; minutes of meetings of deputies; reports of separate countries; a report of Western European Union (WEU) meetings; reports from the European Commission; declarations and debates of the European Parliament (mainly relating to the breaking off of the talks with the UK), correspondence at ministerial and institutional level (including membership applications and reactions to them); printouts of the European Parliament from the year 1962; press releases; statistical information on the Commonwealth countries and other material.

Files in the second subject group are more heterogeneous as far as the type of documents and their content are concerned. Generally, they include documents similar to those found in the first group, yet a number of them deal with the applicant countries as a group (initial talks were held with each country separately only). As the UK was the leading applicant country at the talks, references to the documents pertaining to all applicant countries are included in the UK parts of this article. The main documents which relate to separate countries are those of ministerial meetings and those dealing with technical adaptations (for example, separate agricultural products or regulations in the sphere of customs tariffs, fisheries and separate branches of industry) and transitory measures. These files are referred to in "national" subheadings of this report.

Membership of the EEC was directly linked to the accession negotiations for EURATOM and the ECSC. Documents of the talks with both organisations are fewer and they mainly relate to the Council's activities. References to these files are also included under "national" headings. Furthermore, during the first talks the applicant countries had been dealing with the Member States of the European Communities, whereas during the second stage of the negotiations they talked to the Communities regarded as a single body. The second group also includes documents relating not only to the domestic matters of the applicant countries, but also to their relationships with third countries (mainly the Commonwealth, the Eastern block and the EFTA countries). Material on the Commonwealth economy and its links is less abundant than in the first subject group, but it reveals a great deal about groupings of the Commonwealth countries according to their status with Britain.

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5 Accession to both organisations is provided for by Article 205 of the EURATOM Treaty and Article 98 of the ECSC Treaty.

6 This observation was made by one of the main British negotiators, Con O'Neill. According to him, "the difference was extremely significant". See his account of the enlargement negotiations, Con O'Neill, Britain's entry into the European Community: report by Sir Con O'Neill on the negotiations of 1970-1972 (London: Frank Cass, 2000), p. 25.
This subject field includes declarations by some of the Commonwealth countries, but information on the Commonwealth countries in the fonds mainly relates to their economies and demographical statistics. In addition, the second subject group includes documents on relationships with the Eastern block countries, which consist to a great extent of bilateral trade agreements between separate applicant countries and Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Poland and the USSR. Separate agreements with these and other countries (the USA, Canada and Brazil) deal with nuclear research and security.

There is no separate material on the EFTA countries, but information on harmonisation of the EEC and the EFTA economies and opinions of the EFTA and other parties on the enlargement could be retrieved. Another subject which is present at both stages of the talks is the attitude of some founding members of the EEC and of the UK towards the USA, while on the other hand there is material - though scarce - representing the American attitude towards Community enlargement.

Most of the material in the funds collection relates to the membership talks with the UK. There are thirty boxes containing material on Ireland's relations with the EEC, fifty-three on Denmark and fifty-nine on Norway. The quantity of the material correlates to the fact that the UK was the leading applicant country. Ireland, Denmark and Norway were at first observers at the talks between the Community and the UK and later adjusted some of their negotiating points (mainly in trade matters) accordingly. On the other hand, the scope of the talks with London, one of the biggest economies in Europe, extended into the realm of intricate economic relationships with the Commonwealth countries and territories, agriculture and the international role of sterling as a reserve currency.

The documents are originals, drafts, copies and translations. The majority of the documents were produced in French and translated into the other three Community working languages, namely, German, Italian and Dutch (French was used as an original language by France, Belgium and Luxembourg). The talks with the UK and Ireland introduced translations of the documents into English, while Denmark and Norway communicated mainly in German or French. Most documents were classified as "secret" at the time they were circulated.


Throughout this article, the contents of the Historical Archives in the Council of Ministers' fonds are presented in chronological order. A reader must be aware of the fact that owing to the bulk of the material (some 257 archive boxes) only a selection of subjects and events are highlighted here and this report should serve as an introduction to the primary material and encourage further research.
Ms Christine Cronin kindly agreed to revise the language of the text and Dr. Michael J. Geary made valuable remarks on the contents and the bibliographical contribution to this report.

Updated and revised edition by Mr. David Iglesias Blanco, Archivist of the Historical Archives sector from the Council's Central Archives Unit.

Rasa Seibutyte
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1.1. The first membership talks with the UK 1961-1963

The UK declared its intention to apply for Community membership in the House of Commons on 31 July 1961. This declaration was followed by a similar Danish announcement on the same day. In response, ministers of the European Free Trade Area (EFTA) countries conferred to make a statement that they welcomed a new opportunity to create a single European market. The ministers intended to examine the possibility that all EFTA member states could take part in it.⁸

Within days, there followed a response from New Zealand. The country stated its wish to be consulted about the future enlargement talks and asked the UK Government to negotiate special conditions to safeguard and sustain New Zealand's economy and its export trade with the UK. New Zealand also asked the UK to consult with other Commonwealth countries before entering the EC.⁹

Harold Macmillan, UK Prime Minister, sent a letter of application to Ludwig Erhard, President of the Council of the EEC, on 9 August 1961.¹⁰ While the Council received the letter, John F. Kennedy, US President, welcomed the UK's membership application and stressed his continued support for the economic integration of Europe.¹¹ This collection of documents on the UK's application includes a copy of the letter; its translation into French, German, Italian and Dutch; Erhard's reply (on behalf of the Council) to Macmillan and related correspondence between the Council, the Commission, the European Parliament and the UK Government.¹²

The EEC Council decided to start talks on the UK membership bid at its meeting on 25-7 September 1961.¹³ The Council of Ministers also discussed questions relating to the membership applications from Denmark and Ireland and agreed to open negotiations with the former. The ministers made no decision on the Irish application. At the same time, the Council underlined that membership of the EEC implied joining the ECSC and EURATOM.¹⁴ Participants at this Council session included (in order of entry) Walter Hallstein, President of the Commission, Couve de Murville, French Foreign Minister, Rudolf Lahr, State Secretary at the German Foreign Ministry,
Paul-Henri Spaak, Belgian Foreign Minister, Emilio Colombo, Italian Industry and Trade Minister, Rudolf van Houten, Dutch State Secretary and Foreign Minister, Eugène Schaus, Luxembourg Foreign Minister, and, Jean-Marc Boegner, influential Permanent Representative of France to the EEC (COREPER).

Developments in the political talks were recorded in minutes of the conferences (ministerial meetings) between the Member States and the applicant countries, from the beginning of the talks in November 1961 to their abrupt conclusion at the end of January 1963. There were seventeen such conferences and they took place within a fifteen-month period.

The membership talks with the UK started on 9 November 1961 in Brussels. The UK delegation was headed by Edward Heath, Lord Privy Seal and Minister for European Affairs, and the Commission, under the watchful eye of Hallstein and Jean-François Deniau, French Commission official. The Six sent their delegations headed by Spaak, Lahr, Couve de Murville, Colombo, Schaus and Houten.15

In the opening speech of this ministerial meeting, Lahr, on behalf of the Six, welcomed the UK's application as an important step towards European economic and political integration. He underlined that the UK and the EEC already cooperated in such regional institutions as the Organisation for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC), the Council of Europe, the WEU and NATO. At the same time, Lahr expressed the determination of the Member States to preserve the Treaty of Rome in its original version in order both to keep the EEC growing and to secure its stability. The Six agreed though that some sensitive subjects could be dealt with in separate agreements. They outlined trade (within the framework of the Community's emerging customs union) and agriculture as such. Lahr outlined a further stage of the talks, stating that when discussions on accession to the EEC had advanced sufficiently, the Six would expect negotiations to start on UK membership of EURATOM and the ECSC.

In his first address to the enlargement conference, Hallstein set out a concrete subject for the debates: reduction of tariff levels by 20 per cent. He pointed out that the UK agreed to reduce customs tariffs and asked to make some products, such as semi-finished paper products, aluminium, news-print, lead and zinc, duty free. The President of the Commission underlined that parties also had to discuss application of the Common External Tariff (CET). The negotiations had started.16

During the next meetings, discussions got more detailed and covered more specific trade products, for example: manufactured products imported from industrialized countries of the Commonwealth; agricultural products from the "temperate zone"; manufactured products from

15 Conference between Member States of the European Communities and other States which have applied for membership of the Communities. Minutes of the first Ministerial Meeting between Member States of the European Communities and the United Kingdom, 8 and 9 November 1961, Brussels. File 3.2, RU/M/16/61.
16 Ibid.
developing Commonwealth countries and tropical products. Representatives of the UK debated regional solutions and proposed a list of products for which they wanted a zero tariff.\textsuperscript{17}

Heath, as head of the UK negotiating team, informed the parties about UK secret talks with the US and Canada.\textsuperscript{18} At the same time, the Council presented the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), and further debates showed that this scheme posed a major hurdle for the British, who wished to pursue their own agricultural goals.\textsuperscript{19}

He informed the parties about the intention, already in February 1962, to formally apply for membership of the ECSC and EURATOM. At the same conference, the Lord Privy Seal outlined another major set of problems during the membership discussions, namely UK obligations to the EFTA countries.\textsuperscript{20} In less than a year before the talks came to a halt, the UK stated that, in the agricultural sector, there were "no insuperable difficulties at present foreseen".\textsuperscript{21}

The UK set trade with Australia, Canada and New Zealand as separate items of the negotiations and requested zero tariffs for manufactured products imported from these countries, whose economies were highly dependent on exports to the UK. The UK delegation also informed the EEC about specific trade conditions and measures, dealing with India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Hong Kong.\textsuperscript{22} The ability of the Commonwealth countries to adapt to UK membership of the EEC became a dominant issue both for the negotiating parties and for the countries concerned. Throughout the negotiations, however, issues such as pig meat, kangaroo meat, egg regulations and horticulture were also discussed extensively.\textsuperscript{23}

In following meetings, the parties extended their discussions to EFTA and Commonwealth countries, while the UK consulted the US and Canada on its membership bid. The EEC proposed resolving part of the Commonwealth issues in the Convention of Association with the Associated African States and Madagascar.\textsuperscript{24} The Six were ready to discuss the Commonwealth issues and proposed concluding trade agreements with the Indian Union and Pakistan as soon as possible after enlargement had taken place. The Six also foresaw transitional arrangements for these countries.\textsuperscript{25}

\textsuperscript{17} Report of the second Ministerial session of the Conference between Member states of the ECC and the UK, Brussels. Report of the President of the Committee of deputies. File 4.1, RU/M/9/61.
\textsuperscript{18} Text of the report not found.
\textsuperscript{19} Report of the third Ministerial Meeting of the Conference between Member States of the ECC and the UK, 8 December 1961, Brussels. File 5.1, RU/M/11/62.
\textsuperscript{20} Minutes of the fourth Ministerial Meeting of the Conference between Member States of the ECC and the UK, 22 and 23 February 1962, Brussels. File 6.1, RU/M/13/62.
\textsuperscript{21} Negotiations with the UK. Internal note to the 5th Ministerial Meeting, 22 March 1962, Brussels. File 30.1, A' 6.
\textsuperscript{22} Draft minutes of the sixth Ministerial Meeting of the Conference between Member States of the ECC and the UK, 11 and 12 May 1962, Brussels. File 8.1, RU/M/20/62.
\textsuperscript{23} Reports of the Ministerial Meetings of the Conference between Member states of the ECC and the UK, Brussels. Files 10.1, 11.1 et 12.3 to 12.7.
\textsuperscript{24} Draft minutes of the eight Ministerial Meeting of the EEC and the UK, 28, 29 and 30 June 1962, Brussels. File 10.1, RU/M/31/62.
\textsuperscript{25} Draft minutes of the tenth Ministerial Meeting of the EEC and the UK, 24, 25, 26 and 27 July and 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 August 1962, Brussels. Files 12.3 to 12.7, RU/M/45/62.
As the talks accelerated, the UK asked for a transitional period for agricultural products. Nevertheless, Heath reaffirmed that it was possible for the UK to enter the final stage of the Common Market together with other Member States on 1 January 1970. But if the UK joined the EEC on 1 January 1964, it would have 18 months less to adapt to the Common Market than other States. According to the UK delegation, such a short transitional period would be unfair, because among other things consumers would have to face a 40 per cent increase in the price of agricultural products. British industry and legislation also needed more time to adapt to the Common Market trading conditions. Therefore the UK asked for: 7.5 years of a transitional period (the same length of time the Community had allowed itself).  

During negotiations on the transitional period, Heath informed the Six that during the period 1960-1, Australia had exported foodstuffs worth nearly £60 million, and only one-third of these exports were cereals and flour, two-thirds of other products were dairy, sugar and meats. In the same period, New Zealand exported foodstuffs worth nearly £100 million, and these exports mainly included dairy products, mutton and lamb. Only Canada exported predominantly cereals to the UK.  

UK accession to the Community was also being discussed at the WEU on 3-6 December 1962. The WEU was informed about the progress made during the enlargement talks. Here, the UK delegation, headed by Macmillan, discussed serious problems regarding entry conditions and said they did not wish to be governed by strict Community rules which would override provisions of the Treaty of Rome. Macmillan asked the governments of the Six, and especially France, to conclude the talks as quickly as possible.

In a separate report, the WEU expressed its fears about the negative effects on the EEC economy caused by the possible membership of the UK. It considered what decision-making difficulties would be caused by a large number of votes in the EEC bodies. It was concerned about the political consequences of a majority vote and argued that accepting four new member states would make it even more difficult to reach common decisions. With a view to the EEC becoming a supranational and a more integrated body, it was important to ensure that no veto vote could impede its development, stated the WEU.  

During the following six ministerial meetings, the parties went more deeply into technical matters relating to external customs duties, agricultural policy and the Commonwealth countries, in
order to align them with Community policies, the fledgling *acquis*. Two of the ministerial meetings took place in October 1962 to hear a statements by Heath and to discuss organisational matters. The delegations considered a request made by the South African government to hear its concerns about the UK's accession plans. A timetable of talks relating to the UK's application for membership of EURATOM was also on the agenda.³⁰ Later in the month, the issues included UK domestic agriculture, zero duties, specific trade relations between the UK and India, Pakistan and Ceylon. At the same time, the parties received a report on the progress of the negotiations between the EEC and the Community's Associated African States and Madagascar.³¹

The thirteenth ministerial meeting was dedicated to agricultural policy and customs duties. The issues included processed agricultural products and regulations relating to financing of the CAP. The Community indicated that it had not yet defined a common agricultural policy for mutton and lamb, which were major exports from New Zealand to the UK consumer market. The parties continued to look for solutions for zero duties, which the UK applied to its trade partners in the Commonwealth countries.³²

Questions relating to the Commonwealth dominated the two other conferences between the Member States, the Commission and the UK in December. Article 234 of the Treaty of Rome related to the discussion insofar as it provided that the Treaty should not damage rights and obligations arising from agreements concluded between a Member State and third countries before it entered the Community. If, however, these rights and obligations did not comply with the Treaty, the Member State concerned had to eliminate the incompatibilities. During the talks, the Commonwealth trade issues were referred to in connection with this provision, as the UK introduced a request for a trade agreement between the Federation of Malaysia and the enlarged Community. The UK delegation asked to apply the same trade rules to Malaysia that the Community would apply to India, Pakistan and Ceylon.³³ During the talks later that month, issues relating to Malta, Cyprus, Basutoland (now Lesotho), Bechuanaland (now Botswana) and Swaziland were discussed. The parties were introduced to the *Convention of the Association* 

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³² Draft minutes of the 13th Ministerial Meeting of the Conference between the Member States of the EEC and the UK, 15, 16 and 17 November 1962, Brussels. File 15.1, R/U/M/58/62.

between the EEC and the Associated African States and Madagascar. In addition to the issues of third countries, the delegates examined institutional questions and UK domestic agriculture issues.34

At the last ministerial meeting, the British expressed their wish to have an English translation of the Treaty of Rome. During this Conference the parties did not introduce any major new subjects and dealt further with institutional matters, tariff questions and UK domestic agriculture.35

Before this last round of talks, the Belgian delegation submitted a Note on progress made in the negotiations between the Member States of the European Economic Community and the United Kingdom, which has requested accession to this Community.36 This note reported on the conditions under which the UK would be ready to join the EEC. For example, upon accession planned for 1 January 1968, the UK would lower its tariff by 60 per cent on imports of manufactured products from the other Member States, and by 45 per cent on imports of the majority of agricultural products.37 In the note, some delays were foreseen in joining the CET, due to imports from the Commonwealth countries. The document listed other conditions and provisions already agreed upon or that were still under discussion. The unsolved problems included: customs union; quantitative restrictions on jute goods; agricultural policy (imports, levies, financial regulation, New Zealand); free movement of labour (especially regarding Northern Ireland); association with the Commonwealth countries and territories; institutional arrangements (composition of the Commission and the Parliament, voting procedure) and contributions to the general Community budget. In short, a great deal was unresolved after eighteen months of negotiations.

The talks culminated during the seventeenth ministerial meeting on 29 January 1963, after France submitted a proposal to end the enlargement talks with Britain (General De Gaulle issued a rebuttal of the UK's application during one of his well-planned press conferences on 14 January). At this last conference, five members of the Community expressed their disappointment at France's unilateral use of the veto.38 The following passages depict the debates in the Conference in detail.

1.2. Disruption of talks by the French veto

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34 Draft minutes of the 15th Ministerial Meeting of the Conference between the member States of the EEC and the UK, 19 and 20 December 1962, Brussels. File 18.1, RU/M/64/63.
35 Draft minutes of the 16th Ministerial Meeting of the European Communities and the United Kingdom, 14 to 18 January 1963, Brussels. File 19.1, RU/M/70/63.
37 Ibid., p. 4.

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During this conference, Spaak gave a speech to express his "dismay, concern and affliction" at the French veto. As Spaak pointed out, Heath had already outlined, in October 1961 in Paris, the difficulties that the UK would face when negotiating EEC membership. These difficulties included the Commonwealth problems, the problems of UK agriculture and the problems of relations with the countries constituting EFTA. Yet, the Six had nevertheless opened the negotiations. Spaak stated that France had filed a proposal to break off the talks without any explanation and did not warn the countries about its plans in advance. Spaak spoke about the Community's spirit being "mortal many wounded for a long time".

These words were followed by a speech by Luns. The Dutch Foreign Minister expressed his support for UK membership, saying that the Government of the Netherlands had "the strongest objections" to the way the decision to break off the negotiations was announced. Luns described what had happened as a "disaster" and called it "a black day for Europe".

Gerhard Schroeder, German Foreign Minister, proposed requesting the Commission to draw up a report on points agreed upon during the talks with the UK and on matters which still needed to be discussed. He hoped that such an overview would provide guidelines for "continuation of the discussions". He stressed that the German Government "will do everything which is appropriate, in the future, to go into it (UK membership) further".

Couve de Murville explained France's decision; he was concerned about the UK's future position in Europe, "or in relation to Europe", if it became a member of the EEC and he pointed to the difficulties of the Community's relations with the rest of the world (the Commonwealth countries) and with the other main industrial countries of the Western world. The French Foreign Minister asserted that the negotiations with the British had been at a standstill since October 1962. Considering the UK's position within the enlarged EEC, Couve stated that the UK "is not yet in a position to accept the disciplines of the Treaty and particularly those of the agricultural policy." Concluding his explanation of why France believed that further negotiations were not possible, he said: "we are not trying to keep Europe little or big, but we are trying to be sure that the Europe we are building is a European Europe".

Colombo, Italian Minister of Industry and Commerce, continued the meeting saying that the agreements already reached during the talks with the UK were acceptable to the Italian Government and they respected "spirit and letter" of the Treaty of Rome. He expressed his regret at the breaking

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39 Ibid., p. 5.
40 Ibid., p. 7.
41 Ibid., p. 9.
42 Ibid., p. 11-12.
43 Ibid., p. 13, 16.
off of the negotiations saying that the Italian Government hoped to continue the unification

Schaus, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Luxembourg, expressed
his "disappointment", "dismay", and "deep anxiety" in the face of the break down of the talks. He
said that his government saw enlargement to include the UK as "consolidation of European union
and that it would strengthen the economic potential of the Communities and thus Europe as a
whole".

Hallstein stated that the Commission was ready to pursue further the talks with a view to
their success. However, it would now seek to "reduce to the absolute minimum unfavourable
consequences" of the stalled negotiations. He implicitly accused France of having "egoistic
interests". In the conference the final word was given to Heath, who described his government's
decision to apply for the EEC membership as an "historical development in UK foreign policy". Heath repudiated the views of Murville, that the UK was not able to accept the discipline of the
Community and the CAP. After an analysis of the main points of the talks and challenging the
French allegations, Heath asserted that the UK showed it was ready to successfully continue the
talks and to phase out the Commonwealth preferences. He expressed his lack of understanding as
to why, given the circumstances, Denmark was invited to join the EEC. Heath stressed that
negotiations with the UK were for "for some, too near to success" and that the reasons they had to
stop were neither technical nor economical, but "purely political". However, he gave no further
explanation.

The debate at the last conference meeting was followed by reactions in the European
Parliament and the Commission. At the beginning of February 1963, Hallstein gave a speech to the
Parliament in Strasbourg. He gave an overview of the course of the negotiations and reports on the
aims, progress and achievements. Hallstein stated that, despite difficulties in reaching agreements,
"the chance of success was great enough to justify the continuation of the negotiations." Hallstein
reiterated his regret about the failure of the talks and stated that "the Community has been faced
with its first real crisis".

After the opening speech, Christian-Democrat, Socialist, Liberal and related groupings of
the Parliament reasserted that the aims of the EEC were to create the "United States of Europe"
which would be able, together with the US, to defend the free Western world, to maintain peace and

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44 Ibid., p. 16-17.
46 Ibid., p. 19.
47 Ibid., p. 29.
to make economic progress. The parliamentary groups were worried about the unilateral way the talks were ended. The Socialist group expressed "grave protests" against the way the talks with the UK were halted. It pointed out that the breakdown of the negotiations had "nothing to do" with the points discussed and warned against the "hegemony" of one State over the EEC institutions. During the following month, Hallstein, at the request of the Parliament, reported on the current stage reached during the talks and on resolved and unresolved issues.

1.3. EURATOM and the ECSC

Separate material in the fond covers the UK's steps towards full membership of EURATOM and of the ECSC. At the start of the talks with the EEC, the UK reiterated its readiness to meet the obligations of joining all three Communities. In the midst of the talks with the Six, on 28 February 1962, Whitehall sent an official letter of application to EURATOM. Couve de Murville announced approval of talks in a letter to Macmillan on 22 March 1962. Letters from and to Pierre Chatenet, President of the Commission of the European Atomic Energy Community, followed. As the talks with the governments of Member States of EURATOM started, Heath headed the delegation of the UK as well.

The UK started negotiating membership of the ECSC on 17 July 1962. Files in the fonds include working documents (stating of questions, statistics), speeches, declarations and lists of delegations. The talks proceeded in a manner similar to the EEC membership negotiations - within a framework of conferences between the Six and the UK.

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49 Statement on the negotiations concerning Great Britain's accession to the European Economic Community made to the European Parliament by Prof. Dr Walter Hallstein, President of the Commission of the European Economic Community, 5 February 1963, Strasbourg. File 30.3, S/0314/63, p. 11, 14.
53 The UK signed the Agreement of Association with the ECSC in December 1954 and a cooperation agreement with EURATOM in February 1959.
56 Membership of the United Kingdom in the ECSC. Statement by Heath, 3 July 1962. File 62.1, doc. no. 059.
57 Meeting of opening of the negotiations of membership of the United Kingdom in the ECS. Declaration of Head of the United Kingdom delegation, Lord Privy Seal Edward Heath, Luxembourg. File 79.1.
58 Files 79.1 to 82.1.
On 29 January 1963, COREPER stated "owing to the absence of the French delegation" they could not succeed in reaching a common agreement on a draft report. The talks with the ECSC, however, continued.\(^{59}\)

These are the main political events of the EEC membership talks 1961-1963, covered by material in the Historical Archives of the Council of Ministers. Other files in the fonds relate to information about the Commonwealth countries and about former French colonies and French overseas countries and territories. Abundant information is given regarding geography, population, economy and other issues. A large proportion of other files deals with technical matters discussed at the level of representatives and working groups.

**Additional reading**

*Statement on behalf of the Political Committee on the political and economic aspects of membership in the Community and association with it.* The European Parliament, session documents 1961-1962, no. 122, 15 January 1962.\(^{60}\)

*Statement on behalf of the Foreign Trade Committee on political trade and economic aspects of the UK's application to join the EEC.* The European Parliament, session documents 1961-1962, no. 131, 16 January 1962.\(^{61}\)

*Interim statement on behalf of the Agricultural Committee about agricultural aspects of the UK and Denmark's application to join the EEC.* The European Parliament, session documents 1962-1963, no. 47, 25 June 1962.\(^{62}\)


*Declaration by the Commission of the European Atomic Energy Community in reply to the statement by Mr Heath Lord Privy Seal,* 13 November 1962, Brussels.\(^{64}\)

\(^{59}\) Conference between the Member States of the ECSC and other States that have applied for membership of the Community. Negotiations with the United Kingdom. Secretariat. Note, 20 March 1963, Luxembourg. File 84.4, doc. no. 028.

\(^{60}\) File 27.2, org. de.

\(^{61}\) File 28.1, APE 6164 def., org. de.

\(^{62}\) File 28.1, org. de.

\(^{63}\) File 2.1.
Suggested secondary literature:


2. Talks with the Republic of Ireland

In July 1961, the French and Italian representations to the Economic Community received a memorandum from Ireland that expressed the Irish Government's interest in membership of the EEC. The memorandum stated that the major part of Irish trade went directly to the UK market and another important part of its exports went to the Community. The Irish Government admitted that its economic development did not allow it to accede to the Treaty of Rome under existing deadlines, but said it had begun necessary industrial reforms to reach the level of the EEC in 1958, and planned to increase its net per capita income and general growth of production. Ireland, however, acknowledged that its decisions relating to membership of the EEC were dependent on steps taken by the UK.  

On 31 July 1961, Seán Lemass, Irish Prime Minister (tAoisceach), sent a formal letter of request for membership of the EEC to Erhard, President of the EEC Council. Official letters from EEC countries and institutions on the Irish application followed. The parties agreed to meet for introductory talks on 18 January 1962 in Brussels. Lemass headed the Irish delegation, and representatives of the Six were led by M. Fayat, Belgian Assistant Minister for Foreign Affairs, Lahr, Couve de Murville, Carlo Russo, Italian State Under-Secretary of the Foreign Ministry, Albert Borschette, Permanent Representative of Luxembourg to the EEC, Van Houten, Dutch State Secretary of Foreign Affairs. Hallstein represented the Commission.  

During the opening speech, Lemass stressed that the decision to apply for EEC membership had been unanimously approved by the Irish Parliament. He proposed first to deal with agriculture during the talks, because one-quarter of Irish national income was produced in this field. The agricultural sector employed over one-third of the population and was responsible for three-quarters of exports. On the other hand, Lemass foresaw a decline in the field of agriculture on account of industry. The Prime Minister laid emphasis on the fact that Ireland's trade in agricultural products and fish was bound up with some EEC Member States by bilateral agreements. Dependency on the agricultural policy of the British posed another problem and a process of adaptation to the common market conditions would be a complex issue for Ireland.

Further in the speech, he tackled the issue of the country's industry, which was below the level of the EEC States and reported on plans for its further development. External trade was the third major field of the Irish economy. Exports represented almost one-quarter and imports

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65 Irish Memorandum, 4 July 1961. File 123.1, R/348 d/61 (Relex 31).
66 Letter of Lemass to Erhard, File 123.1, S/384 E/61 (IR 1).
68 Statement by Mr Sean F. Lemass, Prime Minister of Ireland, at the Ministerial Meeting between the Governments of the Member States of the European Communities and the Irish Government, 18 January 1962, Brussels. File 125.1, IR/M/1 d/62 (Ext.)
exceeded one-third of gross national product; while "in relation to gross national product, Ireland's external trade is the second highest in Europe." The most important Irish trade partner was the United Kingdom and the country enjoyed conditions of free entry to the UK market. On the other hand, some two-thirds of imports from the EEC enter Ireland free of protective duties or quantitative restrictions. Furthermore, the Prime Minister made a commitment to membership of the ECSC and EURATOM and hoped that Ireland and the UK would finish talks with the EEC and enter the Community at the same time.  

Doubts about the Ireland's application were voiced in Hallstein's letter to Erhard. He questioned Ireland's capabilities to accede to "economic and political duties" stated in the Treaty of Rome and said that the economic situation of Ireland should be verified before the talks or at the beginning of the talks. The Council already possessed statistics on the Irish economy: its major agriculture sectors (cattle breeding, growing of wheat and potatoes); industry (production of foodstuffs, clothing manufacture, cement plants), foreign trade, balance of payments, customs system and development level. In 1959, Ireland's gross national product (GNP) per capita was 601 USD, and in 1960 it was 628 USD. The highest GNP in Europe was registered in Sweden (1.632 USD in 1960), Switzerland (1.475 USD in 1959), Luxembourg (1.354 USD in 1959), Belgium (1.256 USD in 1959) and the United Kingdom (1.238 USD in 1960). In 1960, the GNPs of Denmark and Norway were respectively 1.301 USD and 1.236 USD.

Ireland's application was discussed jointly with the applications of the United Kingdom and Denmark at a three-day Council of Ministers' meeting in October 1961. The Six unanimously agreed to invite the Irish Government for a meeting to exchange views at the beginning of January 1962. Minutes of ministerial meetings with Ireland during the first membership talks are absent. The reason for this is that negotiations between Ireland and the Community did not open.

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69 Ibid., p. 4.
70 Ibid., p. 10-11, 13.
71 *Answer to the Irish request about membership*, 9 October 1961. *File 123.3, S/492/61 (IR 9).*
73 *Extract of draft minutes of the restricted meeting on the occasion of the 52nd Conference of the Council of the European Community: Questions concerning membership applications to the Community, 25, 24 and 25 October 1961, Brussels.* *File 123.3, S/543/61 (RU 14) (DK 18) (IR 15).*
75 For more on Ireland's first application for membership of the Community, see Michael J. Geary, *An inconvenient wait: an assessment of Ireland's attempts to join the EEC, 1957-73* (Dublin: Institute of Public Administration, 2009), chapters 1-2; Geary, 'Enlargement and the European Commission: an assessment of the British and Irish applications.
Suggested secondary literature


3.1. Talks with Denmark

Otto Krag, Danish Foreign Minister, in a letter to Erhard, applied for EEC membership on 10 August 1961.76 In a separate memorandum to the Secretary-General of the Council, the Danish embassy asked to share information about EEC membership talks with the UK. Denmark needed to be able to follow the talks with the UK owing to its dependency on trade with the British.77 Erhard said talks with Denmark should begin "as soon as possible." 78

From July to September the Six undertook an analysis and drew conclusions relating to the future membership of the UK, Ireland and Denmark. In a top-secret document, the Six States discussed how to respond to applications by the three countries.79 German, French, Italian and Luxembourg delegations proposed to start bilateral negotiations with the applicants. The countries feared that multilateral talks could give the impression that the founding members would be ready to review the Treaty of Rome. Multilateral talks could also have a negative impact on the cohesion of the Member States and impede the proper functioning of the Community. Belgium and the
Netherlands proposed, however, to hold talks between the Six and the UK on an equal footing, to be administered by a conference president. The Six agreed unanimously to coordinate their negotiating positions and proposed to form a separate delegation on behalf of the EEC. Also, the countries discussed the Commission's part in the negotiations and decided to make it an important decision-maker (France abstained from giving its opinion on this question).

The discussions turned to the ways in which the Council should state its opinion on enlargement. The German, Belgian, French, Italian and Luxembourg delegations proposed that the Council approve an invitation to the talks with the UK and with Denmark during the next meeting on 25 September. The ministers added that Council should be allowed to voice its opinion at the end of the negotiations, and could also take part in the talks. On the other hand, the Netherlands delegation said that the Council should be consulted in detail after the Commission put forward its initial proposal for membership talks. Thereafter, the discussions should be continued pursuant to Article 237(2) of the Treaty of Rome; and separate accession treaties should be made between the member and the applicant States.

At this preparatory meeting, the Six also talked about the scope of future negotiations; possible responses to the UK and Denmark; and a common position on entry conditions.

A separate section of the meeting was devoted to Ireland. Germany, France and Italy doubted that Ireland could become a Member State. The Belgian Government asked for time to consider Ireland's application, together with similar issues relating to Sweden, Austria and Switzerland. Germany considered an association agreement with Ireland. The ministers further discussed whether the talks should be started simultaneously with all countries or consecutively. Conclusions of this discussion were sent to the Council, while a draft answer to the applicant countries was being prepared. In October 1961, the Danish Foreign Minister stated that his country was ready to accept provisions of the Rome Treaty on the elimination of tariffs and quantitative restrictions. However, he asked for specific transitional arrangement.

The Council of the EEC considered problems relating to the entry of Britain, Ireland and Denmark. The Council set 26 October 1961 as the date for the opening of enlargement talks with Denmark. Alfred Mueller-Armack, President of the Council, announced its readiness to open the

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79 Draft report to the Council. Problems relating to steps taken by the Governments of the UK, Denmark and Ireland regarding future accession, 11 September, 1961, Brussels. File 95.1, 00004, fr, de.
80 Ibid., p. 3. Letter of Erhard to Krag, 28 August 1962, Brussels. File 98.1, S/397/61 (DK 6). In a draft answer, Erhard sets the date of opening the talks, during the next meeting of the Council, on 25 September 1961.
81 Ibid., p. 4-5
82 See related documents in File 98.1.
83 Memorandum submitted by the Danish Government. Brussels. File 115.11, DK/M/4/62

SN 4143/10
talks with Denmark in his letter to Krag of 27 September 1961. Viggo Kampmann, Danish Prime Minister, agreed with opening of the talks on the set date.

The first meeting between Denmark and the Six took place on 26 October in Brussels. Speeches were made by Krag and by Armack. However, real membership talks between Denmark and the Community did not start until 30 November 1961. Here, the parties were represented by Krag, Fayat, Lahr, Olivier Wormser, the influential French Director for Economic Affairs at the Foreign Ministry, Antonio Venturini, the Italian Permanent Representative to COREPER, Borsclette, Jan Willem de Pous, the Dutch Economy Minister, and Hallstein.

During the meeting Lahr, Hallstein and Krag, made introductory speeches. Lahr stated that Denmark had already fulfilled a part of the requirements for joining the EEC before the talks had begun. Therefore, the country did not need special regulations regarding the deadlines of transitional periods. Before the talks, Denmark had already agreed to accept the CET, although the Community had still to decide what this customs tariff would be. The Danes were also ready to adopt the common trade and agricultural policies.

The negotiations, however, had to be harmonised with the progress of talks with the UK, because the UK economy had complex problems in agriculture and was an important trade sector for Denmark. Furthermore, exports from Denmark and customs regulations were defined as a second group of problems to be discussed at the talks.

At the meeting, Hallstein repeated that Denmark had agreed to accept the customs union policies. He outlined customs as being the first point in negotiations and talked in detail about questions relating to the CET, economic union, social policy, free trade and fisheries. On behalf of the Commission, he underlined these issues as milestones on the Danish road to Community membership. Moreover, Krag provided answers to the problems raised by Lahr and Hallstein. He stressed Denmark's readiness to reduce the common tariff by 20 per cent (like the UK).

During the same meeting, the Six asked the Danish Government to elaborate on the questions presented by Krag at the opening of the talks, particularly on the customs union, fisheries, economic union, fee capital movement, Greenland and the Faeroe Islands.
Nearly two months after the beginning of the talks, the Danish Government submitted a memorandum to the conference on its position regarding the proposed economic union. In the document, Denmark stated that its capital market had been isolated for a long time and its "interest level is out of line with other main capital markets in Europe." Since the Danish capital market was small and sensitive, it needed transitional measures to harmonize it with the economic policies of the Community. In separate memoranda, Denmark presented its role in the Common Nordic Labour Market and its social security system for migrant foreign workers.

Later in the month, the Commission circulated statistical information on Denmark's agriculture, industry and trade policy. According to this data, presented by Denmark, in 1960 its population was 4,581,000 people. One third of the population lived in Copenhagen and 60 per cent of all Danes lived in cities and towns. The statistics confirmed that the Danish economy had grown rapidly since 1957. Further summaries on gross social product and exports were provided in the report. In a section on agriculture, Denmark stated that there were 200,000 family farms in the country, and on average they were some 15.5 hectares in size. In the fisheries industry, there were approximately 8,000 ships and 17,700 employees. Industry made up a small part of the Danish social product, but this branch had been rapidly growing in the past few years, which had resulted in a reduction of the agricultural sector. Further analysis was given of trade policy and Danish relations with the economic union; questions regarding EFTA; and application of the Treaty of Rome.

In February 1962, at the request of the EEC ministerial meeting, the Danish Foreign Ministry submitted information regarding the customs union, fisheries, economic union, Greenland and the Faeroe Islands and reports about its legislation regarding social security (including bilateral and multilateral agreements); the principle of equal pay for men and women (including statistics on women employed in the manufacturing industry; handicrafts and other industries in 1959); an act on the Statutory Court of Arbitration; a report on Danish social structure and a draft progress report. These documents were supplemented with information on the second phase of the Danish customs reform and included basic principles of the Danish Labour Law. Other Danish documents

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95 Ibid., p. 1.
96 File 117.1, DK/M/5/62.
100 File 121.1 and 121.2, 113.
mainly consisted of statistical information and dealt with technical matters in the fields of agriculture, industry and free capital movement.\footnote{Files 118.1 and 119.1 to 119.4.}

The second ministerial meeting on 5 February 1962 in Brussels was marked by a report of the Chairman of the Committee of Deputies and statements by Krag and Sicco Mansholt, Dutch Commissioner for Agriculture.\footnote{Draft Minutes of the Second Ministerial Meeting of the Conference between the Member States of the European Communities and Denmark, 5 February 1962, Brussels. File 101.1, DK/M/10/62.} Agricultural matters dominated during this and the third ministerial meeting in March,\footnote{Draft Minutes of the 3d Ministerial Meeting of the Conference between the Member States of the European Communities and Denmark, 23 March 1962, Brussels. File 102.1, DK/M/14/62.} as Denmark asked for transitional measures to protect its agricultural exports. This conference, however, included a broader range of issues than previous meetings: the customs union and social provisions.

During the fourth ministerial meeting in the summer, Denmark raised a set of legal problems and economic considerations regarding the possible accession of Greenland and the Faeroe Islands to the European Communities. Both territories largely depended on fisheries and had populations of a similar size. The Constitution of Denmark was amended on 5 June 1953 to give Greenland an equal status with the rest of Denmark, and the Faeroe Islands was a self-governing community within the Danish realm. Yet, the Faeroe Islands had to decide on application of the Treaty of Rome before it was put into force there.\footnote{Draft Minutes of the 4th Ministerial Meeting of the Conference between the Member States of the European Communities and Denmark, 19 June 1962, Brussels. File 103.1, DK/M/18, p. 2-3.}

This conference received statistical data about the Faeroe Islands. This Danish territory consisted of eighteen populated islands and a series of unpopulated islands in the North Atlantic. Their total area was 1,400 km\(^2\), including 40 km\(^2\) of built-up areas. In 1960, the islands had 34,596 inhabitants. The majority of the population was employed in fisheries and whaling, followed by business and handicrafts, trade, transportation, construction building, administrative and freelance work. The smallest part of the population was that engaged in agriculture. Also in the document, Denmark analysed the constitutional status of the islands, provided an overview of their trade volumes and stated that there were no obstacles to integration of the Faeroe Islands into the Treaty of Rome.\footnote{Draft Minutes of the 3d Ministerial Meeting of the Conference between the Member States of the European Communities and Denmark, 23 March 1962, Brussels. File 102.1, DK/M/14/62.}

In a separate memorandum to the conference, Denmark gave detailed information on Greenland. Its total area was 2,175,600 km\(^2\) and in 1955 there were 26,933 people there, most of them Eskimos. Most of them were employed in fisheries, hunting and sheep farming, while the other main employment fields were handicrafts, industry and construction building, trade, transportation, mining and administrative/free-lance work. The document listed numerous mining resources, but noted that most of them could not be extracted owing to the harsh climate. The
document examined trade possibilities and constitutional matters regarding the island; it did not see
difficulties in applying common customs tariffs to the island.\textsuperscript{106}

At the fifth ministerial meeting, the parties discussed the customs union and agriculture
again. During the negotiations and coordination of the Danish and British talks, Danish exports
were examined as a separate topic\textsuperscript{107}. The next conference took place after a considerable break, in
November, to hear a statement on progress of the negotiations with Denmark and the UK.\textsuperscript{108}
Documentation of conferences with Denmark ends with the 6th ministerial meeting in November
1962. Other Danish documents deal mainly with events starting 1967.

3.2. Denmark's talks with the ECSC and EURATOM in 1962

On 16 March 1962, Krag submitted his government's application for membership of the
ECSC to the President of the Special Council of Ministers of the ECSC.\textsuperscript{109} On the same day, the
Foreign Minister submitted his government's application for entry to EURATOM to the President of
the Council.\textsuperscript{110} A few days later, the Danish Minister asked the President of the Extraordinary
Council of Ministers if Denmark's entry to both the ECSC and the EEC could be effected on the
same date.\textsuperscript{111}

Minutes of the first ministerial meeting between the ECSC and Denmark were dated 17
December 1962. The meeting opened with a speech by de Pous. Later Per Haekkerup, the new
Danish Foreign Minister, presented the Danish position in the talks and tackled tariff questions, the
coal sector and common energy policy. Greenland was a separate issue in the talks, as the Danish
aimed to maintain its small coal-mining industry.\textsuperscript{112}

Additional reading
Agreement on Co-operation between Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden, 23 May
1962 Helsinki\textsuperscript{113}.

Select Secondary Literature

\textsuperscript{105} Memorandum about the Faeroe Islands, 19 June, 1962, Brussels. File 116.1, DK/M/16/62.
\textsuperscript{107} Draft Minutes of the 5th Ministerial Meeting of the Conference between the Member States of the European
Communities and Denmark, 28 July 1962, Brussels. File 104.1, DK/M/20/62.
\textsuperscript{108} Draft Minutes of the 6th Ministerial Meeting of the Conference between the Member States of the European
Communities and Denmark, 16 November 1962, Brussels. File 105.1, DK/M/22/62.
\textsuperscript{109} Letter of Krag to Jean-Marcel Jeanneney File 110.1, 175 d/62; File 110.1, S/145/62 (DK 1).
\textsuperscript{110} Letter of Krag to Couve de Murville, Copenhagen. File 110.1, S/145/62 (DK 1).
\textsuperscript{111} Writing on 19 March 1962, File 110.1, 175 d/62.
\textsuperscript{112} Minutes of Ministerial Meeting with the Danish Delegation. File 122.1.
\textsuperscript{113} File 122.1, Annex X, unofficial translation.

4. First application by Norway

Norway submitted its membership application when the UK and Denmark were at an advanced stage in talks with the EEC and after their applications to EURATOM were put on the agenda. The country's Foreign Minister, Halvard Lange, sent the letter of application to Couve de Murville, then President of the EEC Council, on 30 April 1962. Lange submitted the applications on behalf of the Norwegian Government after a decision of the Norwegian Parliament taken on 28 April 1962. Later, at the request of the Council, President of the Commission Hallstein recommended the opening of the membership talks with Norway "as soon as possible". The Council proposed to start the talks on 2 and 3 July in Brussels.

Negotiating parties announced the provisional composition of their delegations, headed by Norwegian Minister for Foreign Affairs Lange, Belgian Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs Fayat, German State Secretary of the Foreign Ministry Lahr, French Cooperation Minister Georges Gorse, Italian Minister for Commerce Emilio Colombo, Deputy Permanent Representative of Luxembourg Jean Dondelinger and Dutch Foreign Minister Luns. The General Secretariat of the EEC Council was represented by Secretary-General Christian Calmes and Director-General de Schacht. At the head of the Commission delegation was President Hallstein.

The talks between Norway and the Six started on 4 July with a statement by Minister Lange. He pledged his country's wish to accede to the Treaty of Rome and to start membership talks with the ECSC and EURATOM at a later stage. He said that the Norwegian Government wished to have an explanation of certain articles of the Treaty, since it did not "possess all the information necessary to evaluate their full significance".

During the speech, Lange presented the geographical situation and population statistics of his country. Norway's area extends from the border with the Soviet Union in the North to Norway's south coast and "the distance, as the crow flies, is the same as that between Oslo and Naples, in Italy". Being potentially one of the largest EEC countries, it was also the furthest north. Only 4 per cent of the country's area was arable land, and almost a quarter of Norway was covered by

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114 Letter of Lange, File 127.1, S/241/62 (N 1).
115 Answer of the Commission to the request of the Council to take a position on opening negotiations regarding Norway's entry into the European Economic Community, 6 June 1962, File 127.1, S/360/62 (N19).
118 Conference between Member States of the European Communities and other States which have applied for membership of the Communities. Negotiations with Norway. Statement on the special problems which the Norwegian Government wishes to raise in connection with the accession of Norway to the European Economic Community, 4 July 1962, Brussels. File 128.1, NV/M/1/62, p. 4.
forests, while the rest was mainly mountainous. The minister underlined the fact that the area of Norway was almost equal to that of Italy, but the population of the country was only 3,600,000, or 11 people per square kilometre.

The geographical situation of the country determined its special economic needs. Most Norwegians lived in small towns in the south-eastern part of the country, and another part of the population was spread along the coastline and river valleys. In order to keep these regions inhabited, the Norwegian Government needed to preserve their traditional economies - fishing and agriculture. Moreover, the minister stated that Norway exported "40% of its total production of goods and services in order to be able to cover financing of its imports." The merchant navy of Norway was the third largest in the world and trade with Western Europe amounted to 75 per cent of total Norwegian trade. Therefore, Lange established fisheries as the most important subject of the talks. He also said that Norway was ready to fulfil the major requirement for membership candidates - to reduce customs duties.

According to Lange, negotiations with the UK and Denmark had created a pattern for talks with other countries. He emphasised the fact that the three countries belonged to EFTA. At the end of the speech, Lange said that the results of the negotiations had to be ratified by the Storting and that the Norwegian Government planned to submit this question to a "national consultative referendum."  

The first ministerial meeting with Norway took place some four months after the opening of the talks, in November. Most delegations had changed their initial composition and appointed new heads of delegations: the French were represented by Jean-Marc Boegner, Germany by Mueller-Armack, State Secretary at the Foreign Ministry, Italy by Ambassador Roberto Ducci, Luxembourg by Borschette, the Dutch by Van Houten, while the Commission delegation was headed by Jean Rey, Commissioner for External Relations and President of the Foreign Affairs working group. Following normal procedure, the delegations set a time table and the Six put forward a catalogue of questions for Norway. The Norwegian Government had to explain in detail its position regarding the customs union, agriculture, fisheries, the economic union, movement of capital and social matters.

These are the main files concerning the first application of Norway to the EEC. There are no records of a ministerial meeting with Norway.

119 Ibid., p. 4.
120 Ibid., p. 5-6.
121 Ibid., p. 19-21.
122 Draft minutes of the 1st Ministerial Meeting of the Conference between the Member States of the European Community and Norway, 12 November 1962, Brussels. File 129.1, NV/M/2/62.
5.1. Second application by the UK and second rejection

Before the official second application for EEC membership, the UK Prime Minister Harold Wilson spoke to the Labour party.\textsuperscript{124} In the speech Wilson disclosed facts and sensitivities of the UK economy and expressed hopes relating to EEC membership. He spoke about the prospects of growth of economic and political power of the United Kingdom and Europe and about the dangers of possible dependency on the US and on the USSR.

Wilson estimated that at the end of the membership talks, world food prices and European food prices would remain more or less the same. Although the UK's future role in the Community's agricultural sector would be important, it would not bring changes to its own agricultural financing system\textsuperscript{125}. Some British industries, such as the automobile industry, would face difficulties due to the membership, but in the long run they would gain, said Wilson.

The head of the UK Government asserted that EEC membership would lead to a "leap forward in both production and investment" and that both the EEC and the UK would benefit from the enlargement. On the other hand - and more importantly - the UK would be able to extend its technological advantages beyond its borders, said Wilson. He continued by saying that the UK led Europe and, in some cases, it led the world, in many technological sectors, but that the country needed a bigger market than just the domestic one. The EFTA market of 90 million people would also not meet market expansion aims, and there were no guarantees of access to other foreign markets. The UK was able to double the market for its aviation industry, after it shared the costs and the market with France. The computer industry of the UK was saved from an American takeover ("unlike France and certain other European countries"), but it needed a larger market to generate expenditure on research and development.\textsuperscript{126}

Reduction of tariffs on UK exports would allow a reduction in the price of technological equipment. The United States' 18 per cent tariff on its exports was the same as that of the UK, but their research and development costs were written off because of its much larger internal market. If the UK and Europe did not cooperate, Wilson stated, they would become increasingly dependent on the US and possibly on the USSR in terms of advanced technologies.\textsuperscript{127}

Agriculture was a second set of issues that Wilson highlighted in his speech. According to him, joining the common market would increase the cost of living, but the UK would be ready to absorb the costs. Generally, British agriculture would gain because of "generous price levels in the

\textsuperscript{124} Text of Prime Minister's speech to the parliamentary Labour Party, 27 April 1967, File 152.1.
\textsuperscript{125} Ibid., p. 1.
\textsuperscript{126} Ibid., p. 2.
\textsuperscript{127} Ibid., p. 3.
Common Market"\textsuperscript{128}. Contrary to a belief that the UK was mainly an importer of agricultural products, it produced the same quantities of cereals as France. The country's production of cereals was probably going to increase "to some twenty million tons", Wilson said.

He described the Community levy system as the biggest problem because of the requirement to hand over 90 per cent of all the money collected by levies to the Central Fund. According to the UK's calculations, some £200 million would be handed over to the Community fund in levies. This was not a final figure, assuming the world prices would rise, and the UK's contribution too.\textsuperscript{129} In the event of the communities reconsidering their funding for agriculture, the UK share of the funds would not be clear. Neither would it be easy to calculate how much the UK would gain from the common funds and how they would cover the costs of adaptation.

Further, Wilson spoke about regional policies and capital movement. He raised the problem of trading with the Commonwealth countries, especially with New Zealand, and spoke about the Commonwealth Sugar Agreement. Britain had to be prepared for free capital movement and needed to be ready for big changes, although it had undergone a significant economic improvement over the past two and a half years, as Britain had managed "to turn a deficit of £800 millions into a surplus this year"\textsuperscript{130}

Wilson gave his views on the political situation in Europe and the reasons for the UK joining its continental colleagues. In his opinion, the construction of Europe meant a greater role in world affairs. The UK's "historical and improving relations with the Soviet Union", would contribute to this role\textsuperscript{131}. But in order to be strong politically, Europe had to grow economically.

Wilson reported on his and his Foreign Minister's visits to the capitals of the Six and on a meeting with Soviet Premier Aleksei Kosygin. During these meetings the UK representatives maintained that one-line: UK membership should not be considered a subject of bilateral talks or seen mainly in terms of economic issues, as was the case four years ago. The main aim of joining the EEC was building Europe and "breaking down the tension between East and West". According to Wilson, countries of both Western and Eastern Europe should play their part in achieving this objective and the UK could play a major role in achieving unity in Europe. On the one hand the UK wanted to maintain its importance as a major European partner to the United States, on the other hand it sought "the closest and most friendly relationship - economic, commercial and cultural - with the other great world power, the Soviet Union". But Britain wanted to operate on a

\textsuperscript{128} Ibid., p. 4.
\textsuperscript{129} Ibid., p. 5.
\textsuperscript{130} Ibid., p. 6.
\textsuperscript{131} Ibid., p. 7.
European, not a national, scale in dealing with the two powers. At the end of the speech, Wilson called on the Labour party for greater debate on the future of the UK.132

At the beginning of May, James Marjoribanks, UK Ambassador to the EEC, informed Renaat van Elslande, President of the Council of Ministers of the EEC, about the decision of his government to apply for membership of the three Communities. This decision would first have to be discussed in the Parliament, and a formal application would follow if the Parliament approved it.133 Later on the same day, Wilson, in a speech to the House of Commons, announced that the UK Government had decided to submit membership applications to the EEC, EURATOM and the ECSC.134 Wilson summarised the talks the UK Foreign Minister and he had had with the heads of government of the Six between January and March. In the speech, he cited his previous statement to the House of Commons on 10 November 1966, when he said that the UK would be ready to accept the Treaty of Rome, if the EEC made adjustments to accept new Member States and provided that the UK reached agreement on problematic issues. He listed the Common Agricultural Policy, capital movement and regional policies as major negotiating points. Wilson further said that the EEC needed to accept new members in order to gain economic strength and to have more political influence in the United Nations and in NATO. A stronger EEC would facilitate a "lasting détente between East and West" and would be in a stronger position to help solve the problems of the developing countries.

In a debate which followed, Heath raised three major questions, which were important for entry.135 These questions were: was Britain ready to accept the agricultural policy of the EC? Could Britain become a member of the EC, although other EFTA States would stay out? What would be a timetable for the negotiations on transitional and special arrangements for the Commonwealth? Wilson answered positively to the question on the agricultural policy, because "this is an integral part of the working of the Community" and the UK had to accept it. To the question on EFTA cooperation, Wilson said the UK would ensure association of other EFTA countries with the Community "one way or another". The timetable of special arrangements did not depend on the UK alone, but the government would do its best to finish negotiations as soon as possible. A debate on these issues followed.

On 10 May, Wilson submitted separate applications for EEC and for EURATOM membership. The letters were sent to the President-in-Office of the Council of the European Atomic Energy Community and the President-in-Office of the Council of the European

132 Ibid., p. 8, 10.
133 2nd request concerning Great Britain's accession to the European Economic Community. Letter of Marjoribanks to Elslande, 2 May 1967, File 152.1, No. 72873.
134 Statement by the Prime Minister, 2 May 1967. File 152.1.
Communities, Minister for European Affairs of the Kingdom of Belgium Van Elslande. On the same day Wilson sent a letter of application to Antoine Wehenkel, President-in-Office of the special Council of Ministers of the ECSC.

At the beginning of July, Germany submitted its opinion on future UK membership of the Communities. The paper, by Secretary of State Neef, highlighted aspects of UK entry mainly from the economic point of view, especially in relation to the German economy. During preparations for the talks, the UK Foreign Secretary, outlined British objectives for applying to join the EEC, to his colleagues in the Western European Union. The Council of Europe in Strasbourg heard a speech by the UK Foreign Minister about his government's decision to seek EEC membership.

Before debates in the Council, the Commission published its opinion about applications by the four countries. In this report, the Commission stated that accession of the new countries should not weaken the Treaties "in any way". It also expressed worries about the decision-making process, especially when agreements had to be reached unanimously, and said that a greater diversity of interests might "impair the efficacy of the institutions". Therefore the Commission recommended achieving a broad consensus on new measures as soon as possible, so that after the accessions the Community could work smoothly. The report also mentioned "démarches" by Sweden and Malta regarding the membership applications and foresaw that Portugal, Cyprus and Finland would seek special agreements with the Community.

From June to December 1967, the Council of the European Communities assembled for seven meetings in Brussels (or in Luxembourg) to discuss applications by the United Kingdom, Ireland, Denmark and Norway and the letter from the Swedish Government. The lengthy discussions were recorded in minutes of restricted meetings. During the first meeting in June, the

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136 UK application letter to EEC, File 152.1, UK application letter to the European Atomic Energy Community, File 152.1, 73029.
137 Letters of Calmes concerning applications of the UK, 12 May 1967. File 152.1; doc. no. 5137 5148, 5195 5201, 5149 5150, 5151 5152, 5153. The letter of application for the ECSC was not found in the Central Archives.
138 Economic and political considerations regarding entry of Great Britain and other EFTA States to the European Communities, 1 July 1967, Bonn, File 152.1, de.
140 Text of speech given by Lord Chalfont, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, to the Consultative Assembly of the Council, 26 September 1967, Strasbourg. File 155.1.
141 Commission of the European Communities. Opinion on the Applications for Membership received from the United Kingdom, Ireland, Denmark and Norway for Submission to the Council under Articles 237 of the EEC Treaty, 205 of the EURATOM Treaty, and 98 of the ECSC Treaty, September 29 1967, Brussels. File 142.1.
142 Ibid., p. 12.
143 Ibid., p. 13-14.
ministers discussed issues relating to possible membership for the UK, Ireland and Denmark. Participants in the discussion were (in order of entry): Heath, Willy Brandt, Couve de Murville, Oliva, Gregoire, de Koster and Rey. The next round of discussions took place in July. Couve de Murville, Fanfani, Gregoire, Luns, Harmel, Brandt and Rey participated in the discussions. In October, ministers of the Six met twice. Participants in the discussion were as follows: Rey, Edoardo Martino, Commissioner for External Relations, Zagari, Fanfani, Gregoire, Lahr, Van der Meulen, Boegner, de Koster and Neef. The next meeting took place in Luxembourg. The meeting was opened by the President of the Council, followed by Fanfani, Brandt, Harmel, Couve de Murville, Gregoire, Luns, Rey, Van Elslande and Martino.

In November, the ministers met again to discuss future membership for the UK, Ireland, Denmark and Norway. The President of the Council, Barre, Fanfani, Gregoire, Brandt, Harmel, Couve de Murville, Luns and Rey take part in the meeting discussions. In December, the Council met to hear an oral presentation by the Commission on the monetary, economic and political implications of UK membership of the EC.

On 18 and 19 December 1967, the Six met for the last discussion on the enlargement. The minutes of the debates recorded speeches by the President, Couve de Murville, Luns, Brandt, Fanfani, Harmel, Gregoire, Rey and de Koster. As the meeting took place, Couve de Murville announced that France disagreed with opening of membership talks with the UK. In the opinion of the French Government, the economy and the currency of the UK still needed to be readjusted, and the talks could be continued after the UK economy recovered.

In reaction to the second French veto, the Six issued a declaration, which stated that all Member States approved enlargement of the EEC and all of them agreed that the UK needed to readjust its economic equilibrium. But not all Member States believed that the UK economy should

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145 Extract of draft minutes of the restricted meeting during the 127th session of the Council of the EEC and the 224th session of the Council of the EEC. Subject: Letters of the Governments of the UK, Ireland and Denmark regarding accession to the EEC, 26 and 27 June 1967, Brussels. Box IR 12, Folder 834, I/3/67 (GB 1) (EIR 1) (DK 1), pp. 1-47.

146 Extract of draft minutes of the restricted meeting during the 2nd session of the Council. Subject: Letters of the Governments of the UK, Ireland and Denmark regarding accession to the EC, 10 and 11 July 1967, Brussels. File 149.1, I/4/67 (GB 2) (EIR 2) (DK 2), pp. 1-45.

147 Extract of draft minutes of the restricted meeting during the 7th session of the Council. Subject: Applications of the Governments of the UK, Ireland, Denmark and Norway and the letter of the Swedish Government. File 149.1, I/9/67 (GB 5) (EIR 5) (DK 5) (N 2), pp. 1-23.

148 Draft Summary of the minutes of the restricted meeting during the 9th session of the Council, 23 and 24 October 1967. File 149.1, I/14/67 (GB 10) (EIR 9) (DK 9) (N 6), pp. 1-111.


be fully adjusted before the entry. The member states acknowledged that the UK had taken measures to consolidate its economy since 18 November 1967, but this process took time. Five Member States wished to start membership talks with the UK and the other three applicants. One Member State wished the UK economy to improve and only then decide about negotiations. Therefore, although the start of actual talks was impossible, the possibility of future talks was envisaged, possibly in 1968. The EEC stated that it wanted to maintain relationships with the four applicants in order to prepare for the future talks.\(^{153}\)

At the meeting of ministers, five Member States unanimously declared that they were in favour of UK membership, while France warned repeatedly that if enlargement included the British Isles, it "would profoundly alter the nature of the communities" and the methods of their administration.\(^{154}\) After this Council meeting, Karl Schiller, President-in-Office of the Council of the EC, informed Wilson about the French move.\(^{155}\) In the letter, Schiller said that the Council could not reach agreement on development of procedures and had decided to keep the UK's application on the agenda. The Council took the same actions regarding the membership applications of Ireland, Denmark and Norway and the letter from the Swedish Government.

5.2. Reaction to the second French veto

A collection of press releases Groupe du porte- parole. Bulletin d'information disclosed the state of affairs, before and after the second French veto, in greater detail. A report on consultations regarding the UK's application revealed that the Five had been informed of the pending French obstruction of the talks before the last Council meeting.\(^{156}\)

On the 15th of December the Bulletin quoted German Foreign Minister Willy Brandt during discussions on the EEC enlargement in the Bundestag. Here, Brandt asserted that France was not interested in blocking the talks with the UK and other States. Yet he urged France to avoid causing "stagnation" in the EEC and making the situation worse for "itself and for the others". If the talks were not opened, Germany would have to start bilateral meetings with France and with the UK, said Brandt. According to him, the Five had already decided to talk with the UK about its accession.\(^{157}\)

After the talks were blocked, Hallstein, former Commission President, said in an interview on German TV that the Communities should build stronger ties with the Scandinavian market.

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\(^{154}\) Ibid., p. 212-213. See also Summary (of the Council meeting), 20 December 1967. File 149.2, Telex no. 2052

\(^{155}\) Letter Schiller to Wilson, 19 December 1967, Brussels. File 152.1, I/18/67 (GB 14).


During these events Germany was especially active in presenting the advantages and disadvantages of enlargement and in underlining its economic and political importance. On the other hand, Germany tried to find solutions to the French stance (see documents in File 145.1).
According to him, France would not hold its stance "forever" and the UK must also give up its "inflexible" attitude and consider an association with the EC.\textsuperscript{158}

The Five had submitted to France because De Gaulle threatened that the EEC would fall apart if they started the talks, reported another Bulletin.\textsuperscript{159} It said that, after the failure in 1963, it was another "black day" for Europe. But this time the Five doubted that one country's veto could block the talks and planned to appeal to the European Court to clarify this. On the other hand, the EEC started developing the idea of a substitute for UK entry, for example adaptation of the country to EEC rules, in stages, to be automatically followed by enlargement. In Bonn, Schiller and Brandt, spoke about the possibility of starting talks with the UK again and prepared a plan for it. Later the Bulletin reported that a proposal by Luns to hold talks with the UK without France had nearly provoked another crisis in the EEC.\textsuperscript{160}

Meanwhile, Bonn had been searching for possible ways of starting negotiations with the UK, as Chancellor Kurt-Georg Kiesinger went to Paris to talk with De Gaulle in February. The Bulletin said that during the halt in the talks, the EEC should concern itself with inner cohesion. After creating the market of the Six, the next task of the Communities should be customs and economic union. In order to achieve this, the EEC should take steps in areas of harmonisation of taxes; patent law; customs union and merger of the Communities' treaties; social law; agricultural regulations and financing of the common agricultural policy.\textsuperscript{161} The paper also reported on a visit of UK European Minister Lord Chalfont to Bonn to discuss the crisis with Foreign Minister Brandt and State Secretary of the Foreign Ministry Rolf Lahr.

During the next few days, ministers of the Six paid multiple visits to consult on the situation. Benelux ministers met separately and UK Foreign Minister George Brown went to Bonn at Brandt's invitation.\textsuperscript{162} The German Government declared that Bonn remained firmly in favour of the EEC enlargement. Yet the British attitude to the situation was not clear. Speaker of the German Government Günther Diehl, said that after a meeting with the UK Minister of European Affairs Lord Chalfont Bonn, he did not get a definite, "absolutely decisive" English position.\textsuperscript{163}

In the midst of events, the European Parliament expressed its dismay at the French veto and asked the Council and the Commission to continue keeping applications from the four countries on

\textsuperscript{159} Bulletin No. 370, 20 December 1967. File 503.1.  
\textsuperscript{161} Bulletin No. 5, 5 January 1968. File 503.1.  
\textsuperscript{163} Bulletin No. 11, 11 January 1968. File 503.1.}
the agenda. The Parliament also urged the EEC to use the membership aspirations of the four to build "the United States of Europe".164

As Bonn prepared for a visit by the French Foreign Minister, Brandt went to Luxembourg where he gave a dinner to authors, scientists and politicians, to promote UK entry. Here Brandt compared Europe without the UK to a "torso" and asserted that the enlargement would also facilitate cooperation between East and West. He remembered the speech of Winston Churchill in 1946 in Zurich, when he pleaded for the unity of Europe and foresaw German and French reconciliation. "And now England knocks on the door of the European Economic Community. I ask myself as a European, why England must knock? Did it not prove it belongs to Europe during its gravest hours?", asked Brandt.165

Delegations of the Scandinavian countries met in the Nordic Council in Oslo to discuss their position regarding refusal to start talks with the UK. The Nordic Governments decided not to push the UK to abandon its policy of "everything or nothing", but first wait. The Scandinavian applicant countries were more interested in the economic results of enlargement and less in the political implications, the Bulletin report showed.166

The German and French Governments prepared a plan of integration of the applicant countries into the EEC economy. The German Government informed all its partners in the EEC about the “arrangements” and asked their opinion before a forthcoming EEC meeting. The German proposal consisted of three sets of issues: gradual abolition of customs mainly in industry; increase of mutual trade in agricultural products; and cooperation between the EEC countries and third countries in the sphere of technology, including nuclear energy and research. Germany offered this plan not only to the four applicant countries, but also to Sweden, Switzerland and Austria.167

In April, Brandt threatened to cancel a ministerial meeting if conversations with Couve de Murville did not show any positive signs regarding the UK's application.168 Meanwhile Rey, the President of the European Commission, told the Trade Chamber of Brussels that membership talks were impossible at the given time, and that the parties should seek a compromise for two to three years. According to Rey, the situation inside the EEC was a little bit "tumultuous" and "quite difficult".169

In May, student protests and a general strike began in France, which later led to the collapse of De Gaulle's Government. Brandt said it was impossible to remain aloof from these events and

164 European Parliament. Working Documents 1967-1968. Report drawn up on behalf of the Political Committee on the decision of the Council of the Communities of 19 December 1967 regarding the applications for membership received from the United Kingdom and other European countries, doc. 175, 12 January 1968. File 150.1.
foresaw that the "shock and revolution" in France would also have repercussions in Germany. According to him, it was no longer a matter of wages and working hours, but a matter of the structures of a society and the position of working people. "We do not want to be mere cogs in a machine, which is driven by secret powers", Brandt said. Meanwhile France's position regarding UK entry became more flexible, Rolf Lahr, German State Secretary of the Foreign Ministry Lahr, said.  

In April 1968, the Commission stated that in general there were no objections to entry of the UK or other countries. On the contrary, new Member States were desirable. The Commission proposed that the Council agree on accession treaties which would provide for transitional periods, especially in respect to the economic rearrangement of the UK. The Six would have to make membership for the new members easier, so that they could not only take over the burdens of membership, but also enjoy its advantages.

The Government of the Netherlands suggested opening the membership talks "as soon as possible". This declaration was joined by German, Belgian, Italian and Luxembourg delegations. Meanwhile, Germany offered to apply interim arrangements regarding the applicant countries before their actual membership in order to make their "late" entry easier. Specifically, Germany offered a political trade agreement to make the movement of goods between the EEC and the applicant countries easier. It also pledged cooperation in technical matters and continued contacts with the applicant countries on the institutional level. Germany also envisaged harmonisation of the GATT rules during the interim period.

During the following year after the second French veto, the Council of Ministers continued meetings on the enlargement and strategies regarding the applicant States. Participants in the discussions were as follows: Harmel, Brandt, Kiesinger, Amintore Fanfani, Couve de Murville, Gregoire, Luns, Rey (Commission President), Boegner, Edoardo Martino, Duckwitz, Lupis, Robert Marjolin, Lahr, Michel Debre, Bombassei, Maurice Schumann and Franco Maria Malfatti.

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171 Opinion of the Commission submitted to the Council on some problems relating to membership applications of Great Britain, Ireland, Denmark and Norway, 2 April 1968, Brussels. File 148.1, COM (68) 210, org. de.
172 Declaration by the Netherlands delegation, 27 September 1968, Brussels. File 144.1, no doc. no.
173 German concepts about interim solutions regarding relations of the European Communities and their Member States with applicant countries. September-November 1968. File 145.1.
174 Extract of the draft minutes of the restricted meeting during the 24th session of the Council, February 29, 1968, Brussels. File 149.3, I/4/68 (GB 1) (EIR 1) (DK 3) (N 1) (S 2); Extract of the draft minutes of the restricted meeting during the 26th session of the Council, March 20, 1968, Brussels. File 149.3, I/5/68 (GB 2) (EIR 2) (DK 3) (N 2) (S 3); Extract of the draft minutes of the restricted meeting during the 30th session of the Council, April 5, 1968, Luxembourg. File 149.3, I/7/68 (GB 4) (EIR 4) (DK 5) (N 4) (S 4); Extract of the draft minutes of the restricted meeting during the 36th session of the Council, May 30.1968, Brussels, File 149.3, I/7/68 (GB 4) (EIR 4) (DK 5) (N 4) (S 4); Extract of the draft minutes of the restricted meeting during the 45th session of the Council, July 30, 1968, Brussels. File 149.4, I/11/68 (GB 8) (EIR 8) (DK 9) (N 8) (S 8); Extract of the draft minutes of the restricted meeting during the
The Action Committee of the United States of Europe gave an overview of the situation in the EEC regarding its enlargement and consolidation. The reports were presented by Hallstein, former President of the Commission, Edgar Pisani, former French Minister for Agriculture, Robert Triffin and Guido Carli, Governor of the Banca d'Italia. Other rounds of discussions continued in 1969 and in 1970. New participants in the debates were Schumann, Zagari, Spierenburg, Thorn, Harkort, Mario Pedini, Van der Meulen, Mansholt, de Koster, Martino, Scheel, Davignon, Barre and Sassen.

5.3. Reopening of the talks with the UK

In preparation for the reopening of talks, the Commission defined requirements of the Treaties and stated consequences and problems regarding enlargement of the EEC to include the four countries. It listed the problems which should have been resolved in the talks as follows: customs union; industrial development (industry policy, research and technologies policy, energy policy); agricultural policy; economic union; relations of the enlarged Community with the developing and other countries. Agricultural problems caused a number of difficulties in synchronising relevant policies of the original and future Member States and they were listed separately. The Commission noted that accession of Denmark posed no problems and would bring only advantages.

Pierre Harmel, President of the European Council, sent Michael Stewart, UK Foreign Minister, an invitation to the first ministerial meeting in Luxembourg on 30 June 1970. On the same day, letters of invitation were transmitted to Patrick Hillery, Irish Foreign Minister, Paul

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47th session of the Council, September 27, 1968, Brussels. File 149.4, I/12/68 (GB 9) (EIR 9) (DK 10) (N 9) (S 9); Extract of the draft minutes of the restricted meeting during the 51st session of the Council, November 4 and 5, 1968, Brussels. File 149.4, I/13/68 (GB 10) (EIR 10) (DK 11) (N 10) (S 10); Extract of the draft minutes of the restricted meeting during the 54th session of the Council, December 9 and 10, 1968, Brussels. File 146.2, I/19/68 (GB 15) (EIR 15) (DK 15) (N 15) (S 16) Add. 1.

The Committee is also known as the Jean Monnet Committee. It was established to support the EC.


Extract of the draft minutes of the restricted meeting during the 76th session of the Council, 22 and 23 July 1969, Brussels. File 149.5, I/13/69 (GB 13) (EIR 13) (DK 13) (N 13) (S 13); Extract of the draft minutes of the restricted meeting during the 93rd session of the Council, 8 and 9 December 1969, Brussels. File 149.6, I/26/69 (GB 18) (EIR 18) (DK 18) (N 18) (S 18); Extract of the draft minutes of the restricted meeting during the 102nd session of the Council, 5 and 6 February 1970, Brussels. File 149.7, I/7/70 (GB 1) (EIR 1) (DK 1) (N 1) (S 1); Extract of the draft minutes of the restricted meeting during the 105th session of the Council, 6 March 1970, Brussels. File 149.7, I/19/70 (GB 2) (EIR 2) (DK 2) (N 2) (S 2); Extract of the draft minutes of the restricted meeting during the 107th session of the Council, 20 and 21 March 1970, Brussels. File 149.7, I/20/70 (GB 3) (EIR 3) (DK 3) (N 3) (S 3); Extract of the draft minutes of the restricted meeting during the 109th session of the Council, 20 and 21 April 1970, Luxembourg. File 149.7, I/26/70 (GB 4) (EIR 4) (DK 4) (N 4) (S 4). Note: All the minutes of the restricted talks are available in French only, except session No. 76.

Opinion of the Commission submitted to the Council. Membership application from the United Kingdom, Ireland, Denmark and Norway according to the Article 237 of the Treaty of the European Communities, Article 205 of the EURATOM Treaty on Article 98 of the ECSC Treaty, 6 October 1969, Brussels. File 149.6 COM (69) 1000 - annex.

SN 4143/10
Hartling, Danish Foreign Minister and Svenn Stray, Norwegian Foreign Minister.\textsuperscript{180} The invitations were sent to the corresponding embassies in Brussels.

In June, the negotiating parties sent their representatives to Luxembourg, headed by Belgian Foreign Minister Harmel, German Foreign Minister Scheel, French Foreign Minister Schumann, Italian Foreign Minister Aldo Moro, Luxembourg Foreign Minister Gaston Thorn, Dutch Foreign Minister Luns, President of the Commission Rey (Commission vice-presidents Lionello Levi Sandri, Fritz Hellwig, Raymond Barre, Sicco Mansholt), UK Foreign and Commonwealth Minister Alec Douglas-Home, Irish Foreign Minister Hillery, Danish Minister of European Integration and Economy Nyboe Andersen, and Norwegian Foreign Minister Svenn Stray.\textsuperscript{181} During this meeting, Thorn and Harmel, then President-in-Office of the Council and Speaker of the Communities, made speeches, followed by a declaration by Rey, statements by Anthony Barber, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Hillery, Andersen and Stray.\textsuperscript{182}

During the first meeting between the Six and the UK, ministers discussed organisation of the negotiations and continued debates held in Luxembourg.\textsuperscript{183} The delegations met thirteen times before they finalised the Treaty of Accession. At the first meeting, the Community proposed that the ministers meet twice in three months and the deputies gather every two weeks for two-day discussions. The meetings according to that timetable should start after the summer holidays. In order to tackle political problems as soon as they arose, the main negotiations should take place at the level of ministers and deputies. In addition to these meetings, working groups should find solutions for specific requirements of the accession. It was also decided to organise all meetings in Brussels, although ministerial meetings in April, June and October were to take place in Luxembourg.\textsuperscript{184}

Meanwhile, the European Parliament considered a petition signed by various groups and unions in Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands, the UK and Sweden. The petition raised concerns that the EEC enlargement would endanger the economies of the developing countries, especially their agriculture. According to the group, 35\% of all exports (13 billion USD) from these countries went to the EEC and to the UK.\textsuperscript{185}

\textsuperscript{179} Letter of Harmel to Stewart, 9 June 1970, Brussels. File 159.1, I/28/70 (GB 5).
\textsuperscript{180} File 159.1, I/29/70 (EIR 5), I/30/70 (DK 5), I/31/70 (N 5).
\textsuperscript{181} List of Delegations, participating in the opening meeting of the Conference, 30 June 1970, Luxembourg. 1189/1 f/70 (AG 187 rév. 1).
\textsuperscript{182} File 159.2, CONF/1 1/70, CONF/2/70, 97750, CONF/4/70, CONF/5/70, CONF/7/70.
\textsuperscript{183} Conference between the European Communities and the States which have applied for membership of these Communities. Negotiations with the United Kingdom. Draft minutes of the first Ministerial Meeting, 21 July 1970, Brussels. File 160.1, GB/19/70.
\textsuperscript{184} Ibid., p. 5-6.
Amid consideration of how to deal with the Commonwealth, the Commission supplied population and trade statistics on the dependent Commonwealth territories. There was a total of some 1.3 million inhabitants in all these territories, and in some cases their export volumes of 500-600 units of account were barely significant in trade terms. Only oil from Brunei and sugar and bananas from the Caribbean territories were key export goods.186

The Commission noted that the UK enjoyed priority status as a trade partner of all these territories, except the New Hebrides. On the other hand, these territories had trade relationships with other Commonwealth countries and the US. Most territories in the Caribbean (Grenada, St. Vincent, Santa Lucia, Dominica, Antigua, St. Kitts/Nevis, Anguilla, Montserrat) participated in the free trade zone (CARIFA), which also included independent countries of the region of Trinidad and Tobago, Jamaica, Barbados and Guyana.

The Commission drew attention to the fact that the United Kingdom had asked the EEC to apply the Treaty of Rome to Gibraltar (Article 227(1) and pointed out that Southern Rhodesia was in revolt. Regarding Hong Kong, the Council stated that owing to its economic and export conditions it could be handled like other territories. According to the UK delegation, the islands of Akrokiri and Kekelias could be discussed if the Communities considered starting relations with Cyprus.187

The document (Data about dependent territories of Great Britain, Attachment I) includes a revised list of dependent British territories: Bahamas (dependent, internal autonomy), Bermuda (dependent, internal autonomy), British Territories in the Antarctic, British Honduras (dependent, internal autonomy), British Indian Ocean Territory, British Solomon Islands Protectorate, British Virgin Islands, Brunei (sultanate under British protection), Cayman Islands, Falkland Islands and Dependencies, Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Montserrat, New Hebrides (in condominium with France), Pitcairn, St. Helena and Dependencies (Ascension, and Tristan da Cunha), Seychelles, Central and Southern Line Islands (now Kiribati), Turks and Caicos Islands (dependent, internal autonomy), West Indian Associated States (Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, St. Kitts/Nevis/Anguilla) (2 - voluntary association with Britain which could be terminated at the wish of one of the partners), Akrotiri (3 - problems regarding this territory will be handled separately), Kekelias (3), Gibraltar (3), Hong Kong (3), South Rhodesia (3).188

The second ministerial meeting took place in Luxembourg three months after the first round of talks. On the agenda there were import levies on certain agricultural products, liquid milk, pig

187 Ibid., p. 2.
188 The list was updated on 14 September 1970.
meat, eggs, annual agricultural review, dependent territories and the common commercial policy. The Commonwealth issues remained on the agenda of following ministerial meetings.

After the conference the Commission received a list and copies of trade agreements between the UK and South Africa (1932), India (1939), Canada (exchange of letters, 1947), Pakistan (1951), New Zealand (1959, 1966), Australia (1957), European Free Trade Association (1960), Finland (1961), Iceland (1969) and Poland (1971) (United Kingdom Trade Agreements, 13th October, 1970). During their third meeting the ministers examined transitional measures, independent developing Commonwealth countries in Africa, the Indian Ocean, the Caribbean and the Pacific dependent territories and participation of the UK in the European Investment Bank. The UK offered special conditions for the Commonwealth countries: developing independent Commonwealth countries in Asia should be offered trade agreements, if association agreements with the EEC were not appropriate. Such agreements should facilitate development of these countries, said a note by the UK delegation. It also gave a reminder that during the talks in 1961-1963 it was agreed to offer special trade agreements to India, Pakistan and Ceylon; later the offer was extended to the then Federation of Malaysia. Meanwhile, the President of the Republic of Botswana had expressed concern about Botswana being excluded from African Commonwealth countries, to which the EEC had offered associate status. Since Botswana was "vitaly" dependent on the UK both in terms of financial aid and exports, the country sought an arrangement with the Community to safeguard its economic interests. Botswana sent a similar appeal to all members of the EEC.

In another document, Geoffrey Rippon, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, asked the President of the Council of the European Communities to include the Condominium of the New Hebrides in an association with the enlarged Community. Both France and the UK exerted influence upon the New Hebrides at that time. The independent developing Commonwealth countries (Ceylon, India, Malaysia, Pakistan and Singapore, Hong Kong, Lesotho, Botswana, Swaziland and the New Hebrides) remained on the agenda of the next round of ministerial talks. The parties also discussed transitional measures.

190 File 377.1, CRE3, 5023, copies of agreement with Finland and Iceland are missing.
192 Letter by the United Kingdom Delegation to the European Communities with Note by the UK Delegation. Developing Commonwealth countries in Asia, 17 December 1970. File 425.1, 104888 and GB/48/70.
During the talks on Commonwealth issues, the parties mainly discussed the economic implications of UK accession to the Communities and raised no major political questions. At the time of negotiations, the Commonwealth consisted of 29 independent States and 28 dependent territories of the UK. The independent States were the following:

- developed countries: the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, New Zealand.
- independent Commonwealth countries in the Mediterranean: Cyprus, Malta.
- independent developing countries of the Commonwealth in Africa and in the Indian Ocean: Botswana, Lesotho, Ngorwe, Gambia, Ghana, Malawi, Mauritius, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia. In the Caribbean: Barbados, Guyana, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago.
- independent developing countries of the Commonwealth in Asia, in the Far East and in Oceania: Ceylon, India, Malaysia, Nauru, Pakistan, Singapore.

The dependent territories of the UK were the following:

- in the Mediterranean: Gibraltar.
- in the Far East and in the Pacific Ocean: Brunei, Hong Kong, Fiji Islands, Pitcairn, British Protectorate of the Solomon Islands, Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Central and Southern Line Islands, New Hebrides, Tonga.
- in the Atlantic Ocean: Bahamas, Bermudas, Falkland Islands and Dependencies, St. Helena and Dependencies, British Antarctic Territory.
- in the Caribbean: Cayman Islands, British Honduras, British Virgin Islands, Turks and Caicos Islands, Montserrat, Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, Saint Christopher-Nevis-Anguilla, Santa Lucia, St. Vincent.
- in the Indian Ocean: Seychelles, British Territories in the Indian Ocean.196

In April, the UK delegation made a separate statement about its readiness to accept the EURATOM Treaty "without any transitional period." It asked for a three-month period after accession to apply regulations, and six months to apply directives of the EURATOM Treaty, as had already been agreed for the EEC regulations and directives. The British also wished to receive a list and texts of agreements between the Community and third countries, international organisations or nationals of third countries.197

Commonwealth sugar, New Zealand dairy products, relations with the Commonwealth countries, transitional measures, EURATOM, tariff quotas and financing the Community were the

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main topics at two other meetings in the spring. In May 1971, the Council of Ministers received a list of Atomic Energy agreements between the UK and third parties: International Atomic Energy Agency, Chile, Denmark, Finland, Greece, Japan, Norway, Portugal, Romania, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, UN et al, US, Germany, the Netherlands, Canada, Pakistan and NATO. The agreements included: Convention establishing a European Organisation for Nuclear Research; Paris Convention; Brussels Convention; Vienna Convention; Non-Proliferation Treaty and Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America and others.

During the talks, the Six raised concerns about UK readiness to adhere to the ECSC Treaty. The Community found the UK's governing principles regarding its coal and steel industry incompatible and maintained that companies had to have "complete autonomy of management" and take initiatives and make decisions independently. In addition to this the Community delegation considered that the power held by the Secretary of State for Trade and Industry "was inconsistent with the ECSC Treaty". According to this Treaty, the High Authority enjoyed powers over national ministries. On the other hand, the Commission listed other inconsistencies with the ECSC Treaty regarding rules for non-discrimination and fair competition; agreements and concentrations; prices; investments; foreign trade in coil; aids and subsidies.

In 1971, the EEC agreed to apply the status quo policy in respect of trade from the Associated African and Malagasy States (AAMS) and the Commonwealth countries, i.e. the new Members States were to apply the same tariff and quota arrangement to these countries as before the accession.

In the summer, the ministers met three times to continue talks on the issues raised previously and to examine such matters as alumina, fisheries policy, monetary and commercial questions, ECSC and institutional issues, hill farming and capital movements. After the 8th ministerial meeting, the UK's negotiating team sent a separate report about the geography and population of the

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200 Negotiations with the United Kingdom. Subject: Draft of a statement by the Community delegation concerning certain ECSC problems (1). Annex I. List of provisions and practices existing in the United Kingdom, which are contrary to the ECSC Treaty and its implementing regulations, 3 May 1971, Brussels. (File 317.3).
201 Accession Negotiations. Subject: Report of the "Ad hoc" Working Party instructed, within the framework of the accession negotiations, to study the problems of the "status quo" in relations between the Applicant States, the AAMS and the Commonwealth, 11-18 June 1971, Brussels. File 426.1, internal doc. no. 357-370.
Channel Islands and the Isle of Man, their constitutional matters, economy, financial and monetary issues, agriculture and horticulture.²⁰³

A few days later, the UK delegation submitted a proposal concerning these islands. The "isolated position" of the islands did not allow application of the EEC Treaty, the UK delegation said. Among other solutions, they considered a status for the islands similar to that offered to Spitsbergen. If the EEC treaties were not applied to these islands at all they could become independent and "negotiate an agreement with the Community, based possibly on Article 238". As another alternative, the UK delegation proposed a partial application of the EEC Treaty or an addition to Article 227 (exemption from customs duties inter alia).²⁰⁴

In the period from September to December, the ministers met four times. The agendas of the meetings included common fisheries policy, credit insurance for exports, Channel Islands and the Isle of Man, Papua and New Guinea, negotiations with other EFTA States which have not applied for accession, date of signature of the Acts of Accession (it was decided that the signing should take place before Christmas), nationality of Gibraltarians, Channel Islanders and Manxmen. During the last meeting the delegations continued talks on fisheries and agreed on the date for signing the treaties.²⁰⁵

The EEC proposed that the Associated African States and Madagascar and the independent developing Commonwealth countries in Africa, in the Indian Ocean, in the Pacific and the Caribbean would join an association treaty after expiry of the Yaoundé Treaty signed on 29 July 1969. It also offered to sign the multiple trade agreements on the basis of common rights and duties and a trade agreement which would facilitate development in these countries.²⁰⁶

After signing the Treaty of Accession, the UK continued consultations and sent copies of its foreign conventions and notes with other EFTA countries²⁰⁷. The UK ambassador to the EEC

²⁰⁶ Note on membership negotiations. Subject: protocol about relationships between the EEC and the associated African and Malagasy states as well as independent developing Commonwealth countries in Africa, in the Indian Ocean, in the Pacific and in the Caribbean, 14 January 1972. File 425.1, internal doc. no. 999.
²⁰⁷ Convention for the Prevention of Marine Pollution by Dumping from Ships and Aircraft, February 15. 1972, Oslo. File 479.1, doc. no. 117528;
Michael Palliser also sent to Calmes, Secretary General of the Council, copies of long-term agreements with Romania (1972?), Hungary (1972?) and Czechoslovakia (1971).208

The UK consultations covered the uniform tax system, fiscal franchise, taxes on manufactured tobacco, transport, taxation of commercial vehicles, tractors, weights and dimensions of goods, movement of capital, separate agricultural goods (milk, plants), cocoa and chocolate, olive oil, yarn, insurance, freedom of establishment and pharmaceutical questions209. In 1972 the Council announced the state of talks with the applicant countries.210

Additional reading

In July 1971, COREPER received the English version of the Treaty establishing the European Economic Community.211 A few months later, in September and November, the Treaty establishing the ECSC in English was circulated.212

The UK files include the Treaty establishing a Single Council and a Single Commission of the European Communities and Related Documents213; the Treaty establishing the European Atomic Energy Community214; the Treaty amending certain Budgetary Provisions of the Treaties establishing the European Communities and of the Treaty establishing a Single Council and a single Commission of the European Communities, signed 22 April 1970 in Luxembourg.215

Other UK files include agreements and consultations regarding the Mediterranean region and EFTA non-candidate countries in 1972.216 There are also assistant deputys' meetings from the first meeting in July 1970 - to 38th meeting in January 1972217 and minutes of the interim committee meetings, which took place 31 times from February to December 1972.218

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208 File 377.1.
209 Files 479.1 to 494.1.
210 Note. Subject: state of consultations requested by the acceding countries, May-July 1972, September-October 1972. File 479.2 to 479.5.
212 File 459.5.
213 Draft English text. File 459.6, CONF/30/71.
214 Draft English Text, File 459.7.
215 Draft English Text, box 32, Folder 90121, no doc. no; see also in File 459.6, CONF/31/71 Corr. 1 and the Decision of the Council of 21 April 1970 concerning financial forecasts covering several.
216 File 486.1 and 486.2.
217 Files 173.1 to 210.1.
218 File 495.1 to 495.6.
UK documents are supplemented with a collection of media stories about the country's entry process 1967-1971, translated from the world press into English.\footnote{File 504.1.}

Derivative regulations of EEC law are published in English in the *Official Journal of the European Communities. Special Editions* 1952-1972.\footnote{No longer avalible on paper.}

*Council of the EEC. Subject: Summary of actions that could be introduced into the consolidation programme of the Communities*, 13 November 1968, Brussels.\footnote{File 145.1, T/550/68 (ECO).}

*Council of the EEC. Statement of permanent representatives. Subject: Applications of the Governments of the UK, Ireland, Denmark and Norway and the letter of the Swedish Government (1)*, 6 December 1968, Brussels.\footnote{File 146.2, I/16/68 (GB 13) (EIR 13) (DK 14) (N 13) (S 12).}

*EEC, EURATOM. Economic and Social Committee. Introductory remark to members of the subcommittee "membership applications" on the "position of the Commission submitted to the Council about membership applications of the UK, Ireland, Denmark and Norway according to Article 237 of the EEC Treaty, Article 205 of the EURATOM Treaty and Article 98 of the ECSC Treaty*, 9 December 1969, Brussels.\footnote{File 151.2, CES 704/69.}


Enlargement of the Community in view of its development. Note of the Commission submitted to the Council, 7 April 1970, Brussels.227

European Investment Bank. Provisional memorandum about entry of new members to the EEC and EIB, December 1970.228

Memorandum of the Government of Trinidad and Tobago, 7 May 1971.229

General Secretariat of the Council. Negotiations with the United Kingdom. Subject: Statement by the Community delegation on transitional measures in the agricultural sector, 12 May 1971, Brussels.230

General Secretariat of the Council. Note. Subject: Decision of the Icelandic government to expand its fisheries area to 50 miles from 1st September 1972, 28 January 1972, Brussels.231

European Communities. Note. Subject: Relations of the enlarged Community with the Mediterranean countries, 23 June 1972, Brussels.232

Suggested secondary literature


226 File 158.1.
227 File 145.4, SEC(70) 1264 .
228 File 400.1.
229 File 434.1.
230 File 297.3.
231 File 438.1, internal doc. no 1036.
232 File 430.1, I/104/72.


Harryvan, Anjo, Van der Harst, Jan, ‘Swan song or cock crow? The Netherlands and the Hague Conference of December 1969’ in *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 9, no. 2 (2003), pp. 27-40.


Benvenuti, Andrea, ‘Dealing with an expanding European Community: Australia’s attitude to towards the EC’s 1st enlargement’ in *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 11, no. 2 (2005), pp. 75-96.

6. Second application by the Republic of Ireland

In May 1967, Secretary-General Calmes sent a letter to Alain Poher, President of the European Parliament, informing him about the second membership application by the Republic of Ireland on 11 May.233

During preparations for the talks, Irish Prime Minister Lynch presented the aspirations of his country in a European Movement Study Conference. In the speech, he mentioned that Ireland had already been a founder member of several European organisations: the Council of Europe; the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation (later Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development); and the European Payments Union. He also tackled European identity and unity and said that the founding countries of the EEC had called for other peoples, who shared European ideals, to join the Community. Ireland belonged to Europe from both geographical and cultural points of view and was ready to adhere to the aims of the Treaty of Rome. From an economic point of view, Ireland had, however, to follow the lead of the UK, because that country took 70% of Irish

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exports. The first ministerial meeting between the EEC and the Republic of Ireland took place in September 1970. Ministerial talks with Denmark and Norway were also planned to open on 21 and 22 September 1970 in Brussels.

At this conference, Belgian Foreign Minister Harmel, German Foreign Minister Schell, French Foreign Minister Schumann, Italian State Under-Secretary of the Foreign Ministry Mario Pedini, Luxembourg Foreign Minister Gaston Thorn, Dutch Foreign Minister Luns, Malfatti, new Commission President, and Hillery were heads of the respective delegations.

The highlight of the meeting was a statement by the Irish Foreign Minister. He said Ireland agreed with the transitional period proposed by the Communities. His country wished to set the same length of transitional period for the free movement of industrial goods and for the common market of agricultural products. The minister supported proposals from the Communities to set the same transitional period for all applicant countries. Before the customs union was going to be discussed both in multilateral and bilateral talks with the applicant countries, Ireland declared it accepted the Kennedy Round (GATT) reductions and wished to discuss the refund of customs duties for exports into and from Ireland. The country was also ready to eliminate customs duties of a fiscal character and replace them with internal charges.

Within a set of agricultural questions, Ireland attributed particular importance to the outcome of negotiations with the UK and arrangements for imports into the UK from third countries. Regarding fisheries, Ireland maintained its positions to protect its inshore fishing and raised some objections to the Community's new Common Fisheries Policy (CFP). Animal and plant health formed a separate part of negotiable agricultural matters.

Further in the statement the minister tackled the Anglo-Irish Free Trade Area Agreement of 1965. According to this agreement, some Irish goods were imported into the UK market duty free. Hillery asked for obstacles not to be put in the way of this agreement. Among other 18 sets of questions, mainly relating to harmonising the country's economy with EEC standards, the minister addressed safeguard measures for national industry, dumping, industrial incentives, right of establishment on agricultural land and common commercial policy.

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234 Statement by the Irish Prime Minister, Mr Jack Lynch on the occasion of the opening in Dublin, on 20th June 1969, of the European Movement Study Conference. File 153.1.
235 Conference between the European Communities and the States which have applied for membership of these Communities. Negotiations with Ireland. 1st Ministerial Meeting. Draft Summary of Conclusions, 21 September 1970, Brussels. File 213.1, IRL/1/70.
236 Files 213.1, 240.1 and 264.1, T/512/70 (DK) (N) (IRL).
237 File 213.1, conf. 10/70.
238 File 213.1, IRL/2/70.
239 Ibid., p. 2.
240 Ibid., pp. 3-4.
241 Ibid., pp. 5-6.
In October, the Government of Ireland submitted a note on fisheries to the European Communities.\textsuperscript{242} This document contained a report by the Irish External Affairs Ministry on fishing industry capacities and problems. the opening of Irish waters to fishermen from other countries would reduce catches by Irish fishermen and would have adverse effects on the coastal population, said the note. These potential threats were based on the fact that Ireland used in-shore fishing waters off the coast and did not possess a deep-sea fleet. Individual skippers were the main owners of the fishing fleet and used approximately 850 motor vessels. There were also some 1,000 punts with or without out-board engines; about 1,800 full-time fishermen and some 3,800 part-time fishermen were employed in the industry. Exports of fish and fishery products, including fish caught in Irish rivers, went mainly to the United Kingdom and the European Community (valued at $8.4 million in 1969). The Irish fishing industry was comparatively modest and needed time to develop its full potential\textsuperscript{243}. Further in the document the Irish Government said the country's "exclusive fishery limits extended 12 miles seaward of the baseline of its territorial sea" and warned that the opening of these waters to the EEC Member States would have adverse effects on the part of the Irish population which secured its modest incomes from fishing.\textsuperscript{244}

The second ministerial meeting with Ireland took place in December to discuss such matters as transitional measures, liquid milk, pig meat, eggs, common trade policy and the CFP. The Conference heard \textit{inter alia} a declaration by Ireland concerning internal developments in the Communities.\textsuperscript{245}

During this meeting, the Irish delegation submitted a statement on Irish economy matters\textsuperscript{246}. Ireland had a higher proportion of its population working in agriculture and a higher output of agricultural products than other EEC countries. Yet more and more people were leaving the agricultural sector in search of jobs in industry. Added to this, Irish industry was not well developed, therefore unemployment and emigration grew. The government tried to improve this situation by supporting and creating new industries and the statistics showed an improvement. Gross national product (GNP) grew and exports of industrial goods accounted for over half of all exports for the first time since the State was founded. Moreover, for the first time in over a century, the population was growing in size. However, there existed big regional differences, and to change this, the government had implemented an industrialisation programme during the early 1960s.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{242} \textit{Negotiations with Ireland. Note submitted by the Irish Delegation. Subject: Community proposal for common access to fishery waters}, 7 October 1970, Brussels. File 314.1, IRL/5/70.
\item \textsuperscript{243} Ibid., pp. 1-2.
\item \textsuperscript{244} Ibid., pp. 5-6.
\end{itemize}

\textbf{SN 4143/10}
Therefore, Ireland asked the EEC for information about its plans regarding conversion of its economic and monetary policies and wanted to discuss them in greater detail.

In the course of the talks, Ireland sent the Council a list of its trade agreements with third countries (countries not members of the EEC). The agreements were concluded with the following: Austria (1960), Bulgaria (1970), Brazil (1931), Canada (1932), Ceylon (1953), Costa Rica (1934), Egypt (1951), Finland (1951), Greece (1930), Guatemala (1930), Iceland (1950), Norway (1951), Portugal (1929), Romania (1930), Spain (1951), South Africa (1932), Sweden (1949), Switzerland (1951), Turkey (1936), the United Kingdom (1965), the US (1950), Vietnam (1964), France (1959), Germany (1953), Italy (1953).\(^{247}\)

The third ministerial meeting between the EEC and Ireland took place in March. The following subjects were discussed by the ministers: transitional measures, tariff quotas, CFP, economic and monetary union.\(^{248}\)

During the talks, the Irish Government made efforts to secure its steel industry. In a separate memorandum, it stated that the Irish steel industry was small and consisted of only one plant, the (government owned) Irish Steel Holdings Limited. This company, however, was an important employer of labour. In view of this situation, Ireland asked for a five-year transitional period to safeguard its steel industry. Transitional measures should be taken to eliminate customs duties inside the enlarged Community and with regard to Irish duties for third countries.\(^{249}\)

The following month, the Community delegation issued a document, which detailed organisational arrangements relating to Ireland's contributions and the number of officials in the EIB. It listed the amounts of payments to the budget of the Communities and stated that Ireland's contribution to the Community budget would be 10 million units of account (UA), which would be 0.14 per cent of the total contributions in the enlarged Community.\(^{250}\)

The next two ministerial meetings between the EEC and Ireland took place in June and July. On the agenda were issues relating to transitional measures in the agricultural sector, dumping, industrial incentives, fisheries policy, relations with the independent developing Commonwealth countries situated in the Indian Ocean, the Pacific and the Caribbean, in particular regarding the problem of sugar,\(^{251}\) financing of Community policies and the "own resources" system, institutional

\(^{247}\) Letter of the Irish ambassador to the European Communities to Secretary General of the EEC, 24 February 1971. File 377.2, 106939; list and copies of agreements.


\(^{250}\) Negotiations with Ireland. Subject: European Investment Bank: Statement to be made by the Community delegation, 27 April 1971, Brussels. File 401.1.

problems, the EIB, regional policy and the motor vehicle assembly industry. In September, the Community delegation reiterated its opinion stated during the fourth ministerial meeting that the transitional arrangements in the agricultural sector should not hinder trade between the UK and Ireland.

During the sixth ministerial meeting in October, the parties examined institutional problems, common fisheries policy and Ireland's economic and industrial development. On the agenda of the next meeting, fisheries, final examination of secondary legislation and relations with third countries were discussed. The Community delegation stated that the status quo on both sides regarding the AAMS, the East African States and the independent Commonwealth countries would be maintained until 31 January 1975. On the basis of a proposal from the UK's negotiating teams, the new Yaoundé Convention and the agreement of association with the New Hebrides should enter into force at the same time. The last three conferences dealt with fisheries, veterinary issues and sugar quota.

Additional reading


Translations into Gaelic of the Treaty of Rome, the EURATOM Treaty, the ECSC Treaty, the Merger Treaty and the Treaty amending Certain Budgetary Provisions are dated 1971.

Suggested secondary literature

257 File 377.2.
258 Files 462.1 to 462.5.


7. Denmark's negotiations

7.1. Denmark's second application for Community membership

On 11 May 1967, Tyge Dahlgaard, Minister for Commerce and European Integration of Denmark, on behalf of his Government sent a letter of application for membership to Renaat Van Elslande, President-in-Office of the EEC Council. In the letter, the minister referred to the first application of his country on 10 August 1961 and to Article 237 of the Treaty of Rome. The application was submitted after approval in the Danish Parliament. In a separate note Denmark wanted the other EFTA countries, especially its Scandinavian members, to have an opportunity to find appropriate solutions in view of EEC membership talks with the United Kingdom. Denmark noted that problems relating to the membership talks were fewer and they were less complicated than at the time of the first talks in 1961-1963. The country wished to be able to follow closely membership talks with the UK, in order to submit its positions in time. It also considered that bilateral Danish and EEC talks would focus on institutional questions regarding application of the Treaty of Rome and on technical matters relating to harmonising Danish trade with the regulations of the common market.

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259 Letter of Dahlgaard to Elslande, File 152.3, S/453/67 (DK 1).
260 Note. Confidential memorandum of the Danish Mission to the European Communities, submitted in conjunction with membership applications of this country to the European Communities and the EURATOM, 11 May 1967, Brussels. File 152.3, S/463/67 (DK 3).
Prior to the talks, on 18 July 1967 Dahlgaard submitted a statement to the Commission of the Communities. In this statement Denmark asked for a short transitional period to allow for adjustment of its industry to the new competition conditions. Denmark did not need a transitional period for agriculture, because its adjustment could probably be completed prior to accession. The Danish Government wanted to participate in negotiations between the UK and the EEC about incorporating the UK food market into the EEC common agricultural policy and it needed to adjust the country's rules and regulations to meet the requirements of the economic union. Denmark also wanted consultations with the authorities of Greenland and the Faeroe Islands and considered applying conditions to these territories that were similar to those certain French oversees departments enjoyed. The fisheries policy was linked to this issue.

Further Danish files continue only with the year 1970, but they do include publication in the Official Journal of secondary Danish legislation.

7.2. Reopening of negotiations with Denmark

Talks between the European Communities and Denmark reopened after the EEC decided to renew meetings with the UK. Denmark presented its negotiating points in a memorandum at the end of June 1970. In this document, Denmark tackled such issues as the customs union, CAP, Danish contributions to the budget of the Communities, economic and monetary cooperation, the Faeroe Islands and Greenland, EURATOM, the ECSC, institutional matters, the free Nordic labour market, etc. Denmark planned to submit a list of the most important issues in October 1970. Among such issues were social security rules and modifications of Danish laws in order to adjust to the customs union and the agricultural policy. On the other hand, the Six emphasised that candidate countries should accept Community treaties with the third countries which came into force before accession.

Negotiators gathered in Brussels for the first ministerial meeting to discuss organisational matters in autumn 1970. The countries were represented by the Belgian Foreign Minister Harmel, German Foreign Minister Scheel, French Foreign Minister Schumann, Italian Under-Secretary of the Foreign Ministry Pedini, Luxembourg Foreign Minister Thorn, Dutch Foreign Minister Luns,

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261 File 149.1, SEC (67) 3131.
262 Ibid. p. 3.
263 Ibid. p. 4.
264 Ibid. p. 5.
266 Conference between the European Communities and the States which have applied for membership of these Communities. Note. Subject: Memorandum by the Danish Government, Brussels. File 159.1, CONF/6 e/70.
267 Negotiations with Denmark. Subject: Contractual obligations, 22 March 1971, Brussels. File 375.1, internal doc. no. 189.
Malfatti, Danish European Integration and Economy Minister Nyboe Andersen.\footnote{At subsequent meetings compositions of delegations change. \textit{List of delegations at the 1st Ministerial Meeting between the European Communities and the Kingdom of Denmark}, 22 September 1970, Brussels. \textit{File 240.1}, CONF. 11/70.} During this meeting, Denmark declared again that it did not require a transitional period, but should one prove necessary, it would be set for as short a period as possible. The government of Denmark did not expect problems relating to adaptation to the common customs tariff and wished to bring agricultural prices to the level of prices of the enlarged Community. On the other hand, the Community declared that problems relating to UK and Danish trade in butter and bacon should be solved during a transitional period. It planned to collect information on agricultural trade between the countries prior to negotiations on the transitional period. The Commission promised to prepare Danish translations of existing Community treaties, to examine adaptations to Community regulations and to explore the question of the Faeroe Islands and Greenland. The Commission remained firm on its negative position regarding amending existing fisheries rules and resolving fishery problems by transitional measures.\footnote{Negotiations with Denmark. \textit{1st Ministerial Meeting, Draft Summary of Conclusions}, 22 September 1970, Brussels. \textit{File 240.1}, DK/2 e/70, record of debates in \textit{File 527.1}.}


At two other meetings, the parties discussed transitional measures in the agricultural sector, EURATOM, contractual obligations of the Community \textit{vis-à-vis} third countries, the Commonwealth, the financing of the Community and the "own resources" system, New Zealand's dairy products, fisheries policy, institutional problems and movement of capital.\footnote{Negotiations with Denmark. \textit{4th Ministerial Meeting}, 7 June 1971, Luxembourg. \textit{File 243.1}, DK/23/71, record of debates in \textit{File 527.4}; Negotiations with Denmark. \textit{5th Ministerial Meeting}, 12 July 1971, Brussels. \textit{File 244.1}, record of debates in \textit{File 527.5}.}

In November, negotiations between the EEC and Denmark took place twice to exchange statements on the CFP, the ECSC, law of establishment and transitional measures in the agricultural sector, customs duties, movement of capital and data on consumption of wine. During the sixth meeting, Atli Dam, Chairman of the Faroese local government, and Erik Hesselbjerg, Permanent Under-Secretary of State of the Ministry of Greenland, made statements.\footnote{Negotiations with Denmark. \textit{6th Ministerial Meetings, Draft Summary Conclusions}, 9 November 1971, Brussels. \textit{File 245.1}, DK/48/71; debates of the 6th meeting are recorded in \textit{File 527.6}; \textit{7th Ministerial Meetings, Draft Summary of Conclusions}, 29 November 1971, Brussels. \textit{File 246.1}, DK/57/71.} Denmark stated again
that it did not need a transitional period, but since the Community suggested one for applicant countries, it had prepared its points of view on specific items for the transitional period.\footnote{Note submitted by the Danish Delegation. Subject: Transitional period for the agricultural sector, 11 November 1970, Brussels. Files 248.1 and 299.1, DK/9/70.}

The last round of negotiations with Denmark took place in December 1971 in Brussels. The parties discussed the CFP, the common market and the ECSC again.\footnote{Negotiations with Denmark, 11 December 1971. File 247.1, internal doc. no. 807.} One of the main subjects during the talks with Denmark was social security, including the issues of migrant workers and labour law.\footnote{Negotiations with Denmark. Subject: Social security for migrant workers. Community statements concerning supplementary retirement allowance and marriage allowance, definition of the concept of "family", 21 December 1971, Brussels. File 411.1.}

The Danish negotiators compiled a list and copies of bilateral trade agreements with the USSR (1969), Hungary (1969), Romania (1970), Bulgaria (1970), China (1957), Poland (1971) and Czechoslovakia (1966). The list was sent to the Six after the first deputy meeting between Denmark and the EEC.\footnote{Note from the Danish Delegation, 4 December 1970, Brussels. File 377.3.} Denmark sent another set of copies of bilateral trade treaties with Haiti (1937), Uruguay (1953), Costa Rica (1956), Peru (no title and date on the copy), Salvador (1958) and Paraguay (1967).\footnote{Note by the Danish Delegation, 19 March 1971. File 319.1, DK/12/71.}

7.3. Denmark's talks with the ECSC and EURATOM

In March 1971, the Danish Government submitted a note to explain its position regarding the ECSC Treaty. Denmark examined the conditions of adjustment to the EEC's customs union and to the ECSC Treaty after a transitional period for iron, steel and other products.\footnote{File 322.1, SEC (71) 2245. The Danish files included a Danish printout regarding the ECSC regulations: De Europæiske Fællesskabers Tidende. Specialudgave 1952-1958. Dansk udgave. November 1972. No longer avaialble on paper .} The note was supplemented with other documents dealing with Denmark's negotiating positions regarding the ECSC Treaty.

The Commission examined the various contributions from Denmark, Ireland and Norway to the different funds of the ECSC in a working document of 14 June 1971.\footnote{File 344.1.} Other documentation included agreements between Denmark and other countries regarding atomic energy use and safety. Denmark had concluded agreements with both the USSR (1968) and the United States (1964, 1968, 1969), with the UK and Northern Ireland (1965) as well as with other Northern European countries (1964, 1969).\footnote{File 344.1.} Other agreements regarding usage and safety of nuclear energy were signed with
the Indian company AEC (1963) and Pakistan (1965).\textsuperscript{282} In a separate document, Denmark listed its bilateral and multilateral agreements with the third countries.\textsuperscript{283}

The Community issued a statement relating to the Danish agreements. The Six Member States stated that the treaties would expire before the entry of new members and others could remain in force until 31 December 1974. However, the agreements with the USSR, Bulgaria, Romania and Poland expired one year later, therefore the Community planned to take appropriate measures to resolve these problems.\textsuperscript{284}

\textbf{Additional reading}

In the fonds there are translations of the EURATOM Treaty and additional documents and the Merger Treaty into Danish\textsuperscript{285} and the Danish translation of the Treaty of Rome.\textsuperscript{286}

There are also records of Danish deputy and assistant deputy meetings from October 1970 until the end of January 1972.\textsuperscript{287}

\textit{Conference between the European Communities and the States which have applied for membership of these Communities. Negotiations with Denmark. Note submitted by the Danish Delegation. Subject: Certain questions within the framework of the ECSC, 27 September 1971, Brussels.}\textsuperscript{288}

\textit{European Communities, the Council. Note. Subject: Statement concerning Greenland made by Mr Ivar Nørgaard, Danish Minister for External Economic Affairs, at the meeting of the Council on 15 July 1975, 21 July 1975 Brussels.}\textsuperscript{289}

\textbf{Suggested secondary literature}


\textbf{8.1. Norway's negotiations}

\textsuperscript{282} File 334.1.
\textsuperscript{283} Notification by the Danish delegation of Agreements and Conventions to which Denmark is a Party, cfr. Articles 105 and 106 of the EURATOM Treaty.
\textsuperscript{284} Negotiations with Denmark. Subject: Community statement on Denmark's contractual obligations towards third countries, 8 December 1971, Brussels. File 375.1.
\textsuperscript{285} File 460.1 and 460.2, DEL/90/71, DEL/92/71.
\textsuperscript{286} File 460.3, CONF/32/71.
\textsuperscript{287} Files 248.1 to 263.1.
\textsuperscript{288} File 319.1. DK/38/71. The documents give details on the Danish coal and steel industry.
8.1. Second application by Norway

On 21 July 1967, John Lyng, Foreign Minister of Norway, sent a letter of application to Karl Schiller, President-in-Office of the Council of the European Communities. Lyng based the letter on the approval by the Norwegian Parliament of the Government's proposal to apply for EEC membership on 13 July and on the first application letter of the Norwegian Government. In a November session, the Council discussed the Norwegian application, the corresponding letters from the UK, Ireland and Denmark and a letter asking for association from the Swedish Government.

Schiller sent a reply to Lyng, informing him that the Norwegian, Danish, Irish and UK applications had been discussed at the Council meeting on 18 and 19 December. The Five were in favour of enlargement of the Communities, while France adopted a waiting position until the economic situation in the UK improved. Schiller promised to keep the Norwegian application on the agenda of the Council. The talks did not start.

8.2 Developments during the talks and the referendum

Changes in the French Government in mid-1969 triggered renewed speculation that the enlargement question would be reviewed by the Community.

Just before the reopening of the talks with the Four, Niels P. Sigurdsson, Ambassador of Iceland, submitted a memorandum to Calmes, Secretary General of the Council Secretariat. In this short letter, the Icelandic Government expressed its wish to enter into discussions with the EEC in order to secure its interest in future enlargement. This request was answered by an invitation to start talks with the EEC at ministerial level on 24 November 1970. The same date was set for a ministerial meeting with a Finnish delegation. Portugal was also invited to the talks between the EEC and EFTA countries on the 24 November.

Talks between a Norwegian delegation and representatives of the Six took place at 10 ministerial meetings between July 1971 and January 1972. At the first ministerial meeting, delegations of the parties were headed by: Norwegian Foreign Minister Svenn Stray, Belgian

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294 Letter of Sigismund von Braun, President of the European Communities to Gylfi Th. Gislason, Trade Minister of Iceland, concerning the offer about the date of a meeting at a ministerial level, 30 September 1970, Brussels. File 438.1, 1/69/70 (IS 4).
Foreign Minister Pierre Harmel, German Foreign Minister Walter Scheel, French Foreign Minister Maurice Schumann, Italian Under-Secretary and Foreign Minister Mario Pedini, Luxembourg Foreign Minister Gaston Thorn and Dutch Foreign Minister Joseph Luns. The leader of the Commission delegation was President Franco Maria Malfati, followed by Commissioners Sicco Mansholt, Raymond Barre, and Wilhelm Haferkamp.297

The talks opened with a speech by the Norwegian Foreign Minister.298 In the address Stray reiterated the points made during the first application, pointing out that Norway's future position in the EEC would be exceptional owing to its vast territory and low population density.299

Stray asked the parties to harmonise the talks among the applicant countries. He said that Norway was especially interested in following developments in the UK negotiations on tariff quotas, because 30 per cent of the country's exports went to the EEC. Another question of importance to Norway was fisheries. According to Stray, the EEC Member States had a 500,000 tonnes deficit of fish for human consumption, while the applicant countries had 750,000 net export surpluses. After the enlargement, the EEC would have a surplus of fish for human consumption.300

The Minister raised doubts about permission for ships from all Member States to have access to other Member States' fishing water limits.301 This question was of political importance inside Norway, because if Norway agreed to this regulation, it would cause changes in the country's economy and population. The fishing industry would be threatened by excessive exploitation, while populations which relied on fishing would leave the coastal areas owing to unemployment. Stray also said that fisheries had considerable problems outside the fishery zones, as ships collided because of "different types of gear."302

The second ministerial meeting took place the following month and its agenda included such issues as transitional measures, common commercial policy, the participation of Norway in the EIB and free movement of capital. Prevention of alcoholism, public health and the control of medicinal products in Norway were questions that required a separate solution as well. Like the British, the Norwegians asked for a five-year transitional period for the customs union.303

The third, extraordinary ministerial meeting took place after a change of government in Norway. At the enlargement Conference, the parties discussed transitional measures, technical

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296 File 437.1, internal doc. no. 43.
298 Statement made by Mr. Svenn Stray, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Norway, at the first Ministerial Meeting between the European Communities and Norway (1), 22 September 1970, Brussels. File 264.1, N/4/70.
299 Ibid., p. 1.
300 Ibid., p. 4.
301 Ibid., p. 6.
302 Ibid., p. 7.
adaptations to the enlarged Community (general problems), contractual obligations of the Community *vis-à-vis* third countries and the fisheries policy.\(^{304}\) One highlight of the conference was a statement by Andreas Cappelen, the new Norwegian Foreign Minister and head of the Norwegian negotiating team.\(^{305}\) He stated that no country was able to deal with international challenges alone and Norway needed cooperation with other countries. While it was important to take part in a democratic decision-making process in the European Communities, Norway was going to stand up for the social security of its employees, farmers and fishermen.\(^{306}\) Cappelen confirmed continuity of commitments which the previous government had made to the EEC and reiterated that before the Norwegian Parliament made a final decision on accession to the EEC, a consultative referendum would be held.\(^{307}\) The Minister also called attention to fisheries and agriculture as the main negotiating issues. On the other hand, he stressed the importance of the common Nordic labour market and cooperation among the Scandinavian countries. For Norway, it was also crucial to preserve the market in EFTA. At the end of the speech, Cappelen stated that Norway, "one of the most outward-oriented economies in Europe", belonged to Europe regarding economic, cultural and political issues.\(^{308}\)

During the conference, Norway and the EEC discussed harmonisation of prices for agricultural products, which would be completed in four stages. In the fifth stage, the prices should reach a common level. On the assumption that the Accession Treaty entered into force on 1 January 1973, the harmonisation of prices would begin in April and in November 1973 and end between April and November 1977.\(^{309}\)

In January and April 1971, Norway sent the Community copies of its bilateral trade agreements and agreements on economic, industrial and technical cooperation with third countries. The list included Bulgaria (agreements in 1968, 1970), China (1958), Czechoslovakia (1968), Hungary (1970), Poland (1967), Romania (1968, 1970), USSR (1946, 1965, 1967), Hong Kong (1970), Japan (1970), South Korea (1971), Greece (1964), Indonesia (1951), Israel (1961), Yugoslavia (1956), Spain (1960), Switzerland (1951), Tunisia (1960), Turkey (1949) and Austria (1948).\(^{310}\) The agenda of the fourth meeting included agricultural matters, institutional problems and the issues of the European Investment Bank and fisheries.\(^{311}\)

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\(^{304}\) *Negotiations with Norway. 3d Ministerial Meeting, provisional agenda*, 30 March 1970, Brussels.  File 266.1, N/10/71.

\(^{305}\) File 266.1, N/13/71.

\(^{306}\) Ibid., p. 2.

\(^{307}\) Ibid.

\(^{308}\) Ibid., p. 6.

\(^{309}\) *Statement by the Community delegation on transitional measure in the agricultural sector at the 3rd Ministerial Meeting*, 30 March 1971.  File 300.1, internal doc. no. 163, p. 3.

\(^{310}\) File 377.4.

\(^{311}\) *Negotiations with Norway. 4th Ministerial Meeting, draft summary conclusions*, 21 June 1971, Brussels.  File 267.1, N/31/71.
During the next meeting, ministers discussed agriculture, capital movements and common commercial policy (anti-dumping measures), the ECSC and the interim period. At this meeting, Norway expressed its worries about the sustainability of its horticulture and especially about the continuing existence of small vegetable and fruit farms. At this meeting, the Norwegians made a statement concerning negotiations with the EFTA countries which had not applied for membership.

The following two ministerial meetings dealt mainly with agriculture, the transitional period, duty-free entry of goods carried by travellers within the enlarged Community, technical adaptations of Community rules to the situation in the enlarged Community, negotiations with the EFTA countries which had not applied for membership and common fisheries policies. In November, the Community delegation presented statements on fisheries policy, on the status quo in relations with the Associated African and Malagasy States, the East African States and the independent Commonwealth countries to which the Community offers association; on secondary legislation; on customs duties of a fiscal nature; on additional measures during the transitional period (copper and nickel waste and scrap); on harmonisation of legislation governing seeds and seedlings, foodstuffs and forestry legislation; and a list of additives which may be used in foodstuffs intended for human consumption and in animal feeding stuffs.

During the talks Norway said it followed liberal foreign capital policy, but after accession it wanted to continue regulating investments, which could result in taking control of existing enterprises in Norway. The country asked for a four-year transitional period following accession.

During the 8th ministerial meeting the Six presented a regulation extending the six-mile limit to twelve miles in the areas situated to the North of Trondheim (Norway), around the Faeroe Isles and Greenland (Denmark), the Shetland Islands and the Orkneys (the UK) and in the North-West of Ireland. The concession had to be reviewed 6 years after the Treaty entered into force. Norway did not find this concession sufficient and asked to reserve sufficient areas for its fishermen and to lift the time limit on the regulation. The fisheries issue turned into the most difficult point of discussions at further meetings.

Norway also explained its position in respect of veterinary questions. According to the next statement by the Norwegian delegation at deputy level, animal-health conditions in the country

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313 Negotiations with Norway 6th Ministerial Meeting, draft summary conclusions, 10 October 1971, Luxembourg. File 269.1, N/46/71.
315 Statement of the Norwegian Delegation in the 11th meeting of the Conference at deputy level. Item 11 of the agenda. Right of establishment, 3 November 1971, Brussels. File 284.1
317 The 8th Ministerial Meeting. Annex II, p. 2. File 271.1
were "much more favourable" than in the rest of Europe. Norway was "practically speaking free of serious livestock diseases", and therefore the deputies asked to apply stricter control on imports of live animals and fresh products to Norway.\footnote{Statement of the Norwegian Delegation at the 13th meeting at deputy level (Item 7 of the agenda). Statement on Veterinary Questions, 8 December 1971, Brussels. File 286.1, N/56/71 Annex I.}

During the following conferences delegations discussed Norwegian agriculture and common fisheries policy. Norway stated again that it was unable to approve the Community's proposals on fisheries of December 1971 and January 1972.\footnote{Negotiations with Norway. 9th Ministerial Meeting, draft summary conclusions, 11 and 12 December 1971, Brussels. File 272.1, N/61/71.} Apart from agriculture and fisheries, Norway negotiated a transitional period for alcohol and alcoholic beverages. Separate meetings dealt with transitional periods for Norwegian industry.\footnote{File 422.1.} At the level of assistant deputy meetings, Norway discussed pharmaceutical matters; veterinary regulations; animal hygiene; movement of capital and other issues.\footnote{Files 442.1, 444.1 and 347.1.}

Norwegian documents include a statement on Nordic cooperation. Here, the Norwegian delegation at deputy level said that cooperation with other Scandinavian countries would not conflict with obligations to Norway's future partners in the European Communities.\footnote{Statement by the Norwegian Delegation at the 14th meeting of deputies (Item 9 of the agenda), 21 December 1971, Brussels. File 287.1.} Other statements by Norway tackled such issues as transitional measures vis-à-vis the preferential agreements of the Community; non-preferential contractual obligations of the Community towards third countries and Norway's contractual obligations vis-à-vis third countries (after expiry of agreements with Romania and the Soviet Union, Norway wished to extend them in accordance with Council regulations).\footnote{File 479.10.}

The country also issued statements on technical adaptation of secondary legislation, the ECSC, Article 60 (Norway wanted to secure its steel industry, whose prices were lower than in other Community countries as regards exports to third countries); transitional arrangements in the agricultural sector and special transitional measures for Norway's agriculture (Norwegian prices for certain products, e.g. pig meat, poultry meat and eggs, were considerably higher than those at Community level). Therefore Norway asked to apply a special levy which would be gradually eliminated during the transitional period.\footnote{SN 4143/10}
protocol on Norwegian fisheries. The Norwegians warned that the advisory referendum and the Parlament might reject the Treaty if the needs of the coastal population were not attended to.325

The parties agreed, however, on special status for Spitsbergen Island: after ratification, the Accession Treaty would not be applied to this part of the Kingdom. Norway's membership of the EEC would not change the customs regime for exports from the Svalbard archipelago to Norway. Since Spitsbergen Island sold only coal, this exception should not pose any problems, but Norway's re-export of any goods from the Svalbard archipelago to any other EEC country would be restricted.326

After the negative outcome of the Norwegian referendum, the President of the Commission of the European Communities released a declaration, which described the decision as being of "very grave significance" for Norway. The Community saw it as "a step backwards on the road to European unity" and called it "defeat for Europe". In the summary press release, the President said that greater European efforts were needed to make people more interested in the "construction of Europe".327

Additional reading
The Central Archives fonds posses Norwegian versions of the Treaty of Accession, the Treaty of Rome, the Treaties of EURATOM and the ECSC, the Merger Treaty and the Treaty Amending Certain Financial Provisions.328

The 584th meeting of the Committee of Permanent Representatives on 21 January 1971. Item 25: Information of the Commission regarding exploratory talks with the EFTA countries other than the UK, Denmark and Norway. The Official Journal no. 25.329

Suggested secondary literature

324 Files 300.1 and 300.2.
325 Negotiations with Norway. 9th Ministerial Meeting, draft summary conclusions, Annex I, 10 and 11 January 1971, Brussels. File 273.1, N/6 e/72, p. 3.
327 Declaration by the President of the Commission of the European Communities, 26 September 1972. File 503.1, IP(2)-163.
328 The EEC Treaty, the EURATOM Treaty, the Merger Treaty and accompanying documents are in Files 461.1 to 461.5.
329 File 291.1.

**9.1. The Accession Treaty**

The fond possess the text of the *Treaty concerning the accession of the Kingdom of Denmark, Ireland, the Kingdom of Norway and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the European Economic Community and to the European Atomic Energy Community.*

According to Article 1(2) of this Treaty, "the conditions of admission and the adjustments to the Treaties are set out in the Act annexed to this Treaty. The provisions of that act concerning the European Economic Community and the European Atomic Energy Community shall form an integral part of this Treaty".

Article 2 stated that the Treaty should be "ratified by the High Contracting Parties in accordance with their respective constitutional requirements. The instruments of ratification will be deposited with the Government of the Italian Republic on 31 December 1972 at the latest".

According to Article 3, the Treaty was drawn up in all languages of the Community: Danish, Dutch, English, French, German, Irish, Italian and Norwegian, all translations being considered authentic texts. All eight texts were to be deposited in the archives of the Government of the Italian Republic, while Governments of the signatory states were to have received certified copies of the Treaty. The Treaty was signed on 22 January, 1972 in Brussels and entered into force on 1 January 1973.

The Treaty of Accession to the EEC and EURATOM was followed by the *Decision of the Council of the European Communities of 22 January 1972 concerning the accession of the Kingdom of Denmark, Ireland, the Kingdom of Norway, and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the European Coal and Steel Community* (File 465.60).

Article 1(2) of this Treaty also provided that the "conditions of accession and the adjustments to the Treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community necessitated thereby are set out in the Act annexed to this decision".

According to the Article 2 of this Treaty, the instruments of accession of the four countries had to be deposited with the Government of the French Republic on 1 January 1973. Like the Treaty of Accession to the EEC and EURATOM, this Treaty should be ratified by all the countries. The Government of the Republic of France was obliged to transmit certified copies of the Treaty to the governments of the Member States and "of the other acceding States".
The Decision was drawn up in eight languages of the Communities, all texts being considered equally authentic.

The Acts attached to the Treaties laid down requirements and specific issues of applicant countries and showed the solutions found during the negotiations. The Act Concerning the Conditions of Accession and the Adjustments to the Treaties consisted of four parts: Principles, Adjustments to the Treaties, Adaptations to Acts adopted by the Institutions, Transitional measures and Provisions relating to the implementation of this Act.331

Article 7 of this Act provided that application of the transitional measures should terminate at the end of 1977 (A/7/e). Adjustments to the Treaties were made regarding Institutions of the EEC: the Assembly, the Council, the Commission, the Court of Justice, the Economic and Social Committee, the ECSC Consultative Committee and the Scientific and Technical Committee.

The number of the Assembly delegates from each country was adjusted. The new provisions set the highest number of delegates for Germany, France, Italy and the United Kingdom (36), followed by the Netherlands and Belgium (14), Denmark, Ireland and Norway (10) and 6 delegates from Luxembourg. Votes were weighted accordingly in the Council (Germany, France, Italy and the UK were allocated 10 votes each, Belgium and the Netherlands 5, Denmark, Ireland and Norway 3, Luxembourg 2); appropriate changes were made regarding the number of members of the Economic and Social Committee (24, 12, 9, 6). Other necessary adjustments were made regarding the rotating presidency of a Single Council and a Single Commission. The Treaty regulated the number of members of the Court of Justice: it was to consist of eleven members, and it was to be assisted by three Advocates-General. Furthermore, the Act stipulated that Norway and the UK were included among those Member States, whose non-European countries and territories were associated with the Communities (ref. first sentence of Article 131 of the EEC Treaty. Act, Part Two, Title II, Other adjustments, Article 24(1), A/19/e).

The following countries and territories were added to the list in Annex IV to the EEC Treaty:

Anglo-French Condominium of the New Hebrides; Norwegian possessions in the Antarctic (Bouvet Island, Peter I island and Queen Maud Land); The Bahamas, Bermuda, British Antarctic Ocean Territory, British Honduras, British Indian Ocean Territory, British Solomon Islands, British Virgin Islands, Brunei, Associated States in the Caribbean: Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, St Lucia, St Vincent, St Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla), Cayman Islands, Central and Southern Line Islands, Falkland Islands and Dependencies, Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Montserrat, Pitcairn, St Helena and Dependencies, The Seychelles, Turks and Caicos Islands.

330 File 465.60, T/1/e-T/9/e, typescript, copies of signatures.
331 File 465.60, A/1/e-A/113/e.
Article 25, point (a), of the Act said that this Treaty should not apply to the Faeroe Islands, unless Denmark made a special declaration by 31 December 1975 that the Treaty should apply. In that event, Denmark should inform the Government of France and then the Treaty should "apply to those Islands from the first day of the second month following the deposit of the declaration".

Article 25, point (b) said that this Treaty "shall not apply to the Sovereign Base Areas of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland in Cyprus".

Article 26, point (c) provided that "this Treaty shall not apply to the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man only to the extent necessary to ensure the implementation of the arrangements for those islands set out in the Decision concerning the accession" of the four.

Gibraltar was dealt with separately regarding trade, common agricultural policy, harmonisation of legislation on turnover taxes (Act, Part Two, Article 28, A/23/e). In this part of the Act, the status of Greenland was not mentioned (it was dealt with in the fisheries section). It also did not include all the Commonwealth countries and territories which were discussed during the UK and EEC talks. Spitsbergen Island was left out of the Act.

The EURATOM Treaty Article 198 was amended accordingly as regards the countries and their territories.

The Transitional Measures were listed in Part Four of the Act. They covered free movement of goods (tariff provisions, elimination of quantitative restrictions and other provisions), agriculture (general provisions, provisions relating to certain common organisations of markets: fruit and vegetables, wine, oilseeds, cereals, pig meat, eggs, poultry meat, rice, sugar, live trees and other plants, bulbs, roots and the like, cut flowers and ornamental foliage, milk and milk products, beef and veal, products processed from fruit and vegetables, flax, seeds, agricultural products exported in the form of goods not covered by Annex II to the EEC Treaty); fisheries (common organisation of the market and fishing rights). According to Article 101 of the Act (fishing rights), the limit of six nautical miles referred to in Article 100 should be extended to twelve nautical miles in the case of the following areas: **Denmark** (the Faeroe Islands; Greenland; the west coast from Thyborøn to Blaavandshuk), **France** (the coasts of the departments of Manche, Ille-et-Vilaine, Côtes du Nord, Finistère and Morbihan), **Ireland** (the north and west coasts, from Lough Foyle to Cork Harbour in the south-west; the east coast, from Carlingford Lough to Carnsore Point, for crustaceans and molluscs (shellfish)), **Norway** (the coast between Egersund and the frontier between Norway and the USSR), **United Kingdom** (the Shetlands and the Orkneys; the north and east of Scotland from Cape Wrath to Berwick; the north-east of England from the river Coquet to Flamborough Head; the south-west from Lyme Regis to Hartland Point (including twelve nautical miles around Lundy Island) and County Down.
Transitional measures also applied to external relations: agreements of the Communities with certain third countries, relations with the associated African and Malagasy States and with certain developing Commonwealth countries, relations with Papua-New Guinea and the Association of overseas countries and territories.

According to the Act, the new Member States were not obliged to abide by the association treaties between the EEC and the African and Malagasy States and between the EEC and the United Republic of Tanzania, the Republic of Uganda and the Republic of Kenya. On the other hand, independent Commonwealth countries (list in Annex VI) could import into the Community under the same conditions as before accession.332

The status quo in trade was applied to the following Commonwealth countries: Barbados, Botswana, Fiji, Gambia, Ghana, Guyana, Jamaica, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Swaziland, Tanzania, Tonga, Trinidad and Tobago, Uganda, Western Samoa, Zambia.333 Article 112(1) of the Act imposed trade restrictions on goods from the independent Commonwealth countries: "Products imported into the United Kingdom (before 31 January 1975) which originate in the independent Commonwealth countries (of the list above) shall not, when they are re-exported to another new Member State or to the Community as originally constituted, be considered to be in free circulation". The same rule applied to imports into the Community from the Associated States.334

A separate chapter envisaged trade relations between the United Kingdom and Papua-New Guinea. It stipulated that the trade arrangements could be reviewed if this territory became independent before 1 January 1978 (Chapter 3: Relationships with Papua-New Guinea, Article 116(1) and(2), A/86/e).

Relations with the developing countries and territories were dealt with in the Act, Part Four: Transitional measures, Title IV: Association of overseas countries and territories, and in the third part of Protocol No 22 on relations between the European Economic Community and the Associated African and Malagasy States and also the independent developing Commonwealth countries situated in Africa, the Indian Ocean, the Pacific Ocean and the Caribbean.

The Act provided for transitional periods of two to five years for capital movements (Act, Part Four: Transitional measures, Title V: Capital Movements, Article 120, A/89/e-A/93/e). Conditions for the transitional measures were almost identical for the UK and Ireland. Denmark had the shortest list of measures (one point) and Norway the longest (four points).

332 Part Four: Transitional Measures, Title III: External Relations, Chapter 2: Relations with the Associated African and Malagasy States and with certain developing Commonwealth countries, Article 109, Point 1, A/82/e.
334 Ibid., point 2.
The financial provisions of the Act stated that the new members had to come up to their full share in the Communities budget in stages - 92 per cent by 1977 and 100 per cent by 1978 (Act, Part Four: Transitional Measures, Title VI: Financial Provisions, Article 127, a/96/e-a/97/e).

The Act of Accession was supplemented by 11 Annexes, thirty protocols, exchanges of letters and joint declarations.335 The Official Journal of the European Communities published the Treaty of Accession in Danish and Gaelic (special issues, 27 March 1972).336

The Accession Treaty was signed on 22 January 1972 at a ceremonial event in the Egmont Palace in Brussels. Details of the ceremony, including a plan of the building and a plan of seats in the hall of the palace where signing of the Treaty was to take place, were circulated by the Press Service of the Belgian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade.337

For the occasion, the Commission issued a historical overview and a set of statistical information about the new Member States.338 The report started with a table of events and an overview of points agreed upon during the talks. In the introduction to the report, Bino Olivi, spokesman for the Commission, stated that it took 10,000 pages of the Official Journal to print the technical adaptations to Community law, and translations of the Treaties and regulations were amounted to 35,000 written pages. Statistical comparative data on population numbers, labour forces, national accounts, agriculture, energy, industry, transport, external trade, social statistics and standards of living covered the 1970s. Demographical and economic data on the Six was compared to that of the Four, and data on the Ten was set against figures for the US, the USSR, Japan and the EFTA countries (Sweden Switzerland, Austria and Finland). After enlargement, the population of the EEC increased by 63,576 million inhabitants, from nearly 189,787 million to over 253,363 million people (257,242 million including Norway). The total area of the Communities expanded by 355.9 million km², from 1,167.5 million km² to 1,523.4 million km² (1,847.3 including Norway).

A report by the Commission described the course of the negotiations and their results subject by subject and country by country.339 In addition to other documents relating to the signing ceremony, there was a list of signatories and rules governing the order of signing the Treaty: the Member States signed first in alphabetical order, beginning with the country holding the Presidency

335 Files 465.61 to 465.64.
336 File 476.3.
337 Ceremony of signing acts of accession of the United Kingdom, Ireland, Denmark and Norway to the European Communities. File 475.4.
338 The Enlargement of the European Community, 20 January 1972, Brussels. File 475.4, 43/x/72-F fr, X/43 /72-E, en, it, de, it.
339 The Enlarged Community. Outcome of the Negotiations with the applicant States, 22 January 1972, Brussels. File 475.4, printed also in Bulletin of the European Communities, Supplement No. 1 of 1972, fr, de, it, nl, en, p. 69.
of the Council (Luxembourg and the Netherlands), and the acceding States signed in the order of submission of their applications (the UK, Ireland, Denmark and Norway).\footnote{List of Signatories of the Acts relating to the accession of the United Kingdom, Ireland, Denmark and Norway to the European Communities, 22 January 1972, Brussels. \textit{File 475.2}.}

The collection of files regarding the signing ceremony includes \textit{curricula vitae} of national prime ministers, commissioners, ambassadors appointed to the European Communities and other high officials. The names include:

Jean-Marc Boegner, Ambassador of France to the EEC.
Giorgio Bombassei Frascani de Vettor, Ambassador of Italy to the EEC.
Trygve Brateli, Prime Minister of Norway.
Andréas Zeier Cappelen, Norwegian Foreign Minister.
Jens Christensen, Ministerial Director, Ambassador.
Emilio Colombo, President of the Council of Ministers.
Jean-François Deniau, Member of the Commission of the European Communities.
Jean Dodelinger, Ambassador and Permanent Representative of Luxembourg and President-in-Office of the Permanent Representatives Committee.
Alec Douglas-Home, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs of the UK.
Prime Minister of Belgium Gaston Eyskens.
Pierre Harmel, Belgian Foreign Minister.
Edward Heath, Prime Minister of the UK.
John Lynch, Head of Government of Ireland
Patrick Hillery, Irish Foreign Minister.
Jens-Otto Krag, Prime Minister of Denmark.
Franco Maria Malfatti, President of the Commission of the EEC.\footnote{Collection of curricula vitae, 22 January 1972, Brussels. \textit{File 475.3}, fr, de, it, nl, en).

There are also resumes of

Aldo Moro, Italian Foreign Minister.
Ivar Norgaard, Danish Ministers for Economic Affairs and European Market Relations.
Geoffrey Rippon, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.
Hans-Georg Sachs, Ambassador and Permanent Representative of Germany to the European Communities.
E.M.J.A. Sassen, Ambassador and Permanent Representative of the Netherlands to the European Communities.
Walter Scheel, German Foreign Minister.
W.K.N. Schmelzer, Netherlands Foreign Minister.
Maurice Schumann, French Foreign Minister.
Søren Christian Sommerfelt, Ambassador and leader of the Norwegian Delegation during the membership talks.
Gaston Thorn, Luxembourg Foreign Minister;
Josef Vital van der Meulen, Ambassador, Permanent Representative of Belgium to the European Communities.
Th.E. Westerterp, State Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands.
Edmond Wellenstein, Director General at the Commission of the European Communities.\(^{342}\)

### 9.2. Ratifications

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3 May 1972</td>
<td>Heads of state of France signed the Treaty of Accession after the national referendum.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 June 1972</td>
<td>The Bundestag ratified the Accession Treaty.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 October 1972</td>
<td>The Danish approve of the Accession in the national referendum.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24-25 September 1972</td>
<td>Norwegian &quot;no&quot; to the membership.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 to 28 of October 1972</td>
<td>The 'Great Debate' in the UK House of Commons and vote in favour of the membership in the EC.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 November 1972</td>
<td>Ratification in the Netherlands(^{343}).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 November 1972</td>
<td>The Irish Parliament approved of the European Communities Bill.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28 November 1972</td>
<td>The Parliament of Luxembourg adopted the Act concerning the Accession to the EC.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 December 1972</td>
<td>The Chamber of Representatives of Belgium voted for the Treaty.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 December 1972</td>
<td>The Treaty was signed by the President of the Republic of Italy.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Danish Folketing started discussions on entry to the EEC in March. After three rounds of discussions in the Parliament, the decision on accession was adopted during the national referendum on 2 October.\(^{344}\) The Norwegian Foreign Ministry issued a recommendation

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\(^{343}\) The instrument of ratification ("Akte van bekrachtiging") was deposited on December 28, 1972, as published in the official bulletin 'Tractatenblad' no. 63, 1973. File 496.5.

\(^{344}\) Copies and extracts from Folketingets forhandlinger 1972. File 496.10.
concerning entering the EEC.\textsuperscript{345} Debates on the country's membership took part in the \textbf{Norwegian} Storting from 6 to 8 June.\textsuperscript{346} During the referendum of 24-25 September, Norwegians rejected membership of the Communities.

The \textbf{German} Bundesrat considered a draft law on the Accession Treaty in March 1972.\textsuperscript{347} The German Parliament discussed the Treaty in May 1972\textsuperscript{348} and ratified it at another session on 21 June.\textsuperscript{349} In April, the Bundesrat unanimously approved the Treaty of Accession.\textsuperscript{350} After the Accession Treaty was signed in Brussels, the German ambassador informed Calmes that the Land Berlin also accepted the Treaty. He added that this declaration did not have any effect on the rights and duties of France, the United Kingdom and the US regarding Berlin.\textsuperscript{351}

The \textbf{Irish} Parliament started debates on the European Communities Bill on 21 March (Motion) and continued on 12 July (First Stage) and on 25 and 26 October (Second Stage). The Bill was approved after the final four-day parliamentary debates on 15 November.\textsuperscript{352}

The \textbf{Belgian} Senate received the Treaty on 17 May and after debates voted in favour of the Treaty on 29 June 1972. The Chamber of Representatives approved it on 7 December of the same year.\textsuperscript{353}

On 6 April, France decided to organise a referendum on the accession of new Member States. After the vote in favour of enlargement on 23 April, President of France Georges Pompidou, Prime Minister Jacques Chaban-Delmas and Schumann signed the Treaty of Accession on 3 May.\textsuperscript{354}

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{345} Norges tilslutning til de Europeiske Felleskap. Utenriksdepartementet. St. meld. no. 50, 1971-1972, 10 March 1972 Oslo. File 496.11.  
\textsuperscript{346} Norge og EF. Referat av debatten i Stortingen, Utenriksdepartementet. File 496.11.  
\textsuperscript{347} Draft Law regarding the Treaty and Decision of the January 22, 1972 on the entry of the Kingdom of Denmark, Ireland, Kingdom of Norway and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and North Ireland to the European Economic Community, European Atomic Energy Community and the European Coal and Steel Community, 13 March 1972, Bonn. File 496.2, printout 127/72, org. de.  
\textsuperscript{348} The 185th session of the Bundestag, 4 May 1972, Bonn. File 496.4, no. doc. no.  
\textsuperscript{349} The 194th session of the Bundestag, June 21, 1972, Bonn. File 496.4, no. doc. no.  
\textsuperscript{350} Bundesrat. Report about the 379th session, 14 April 1972, Bonn. File 496.4, p. 536.  
\textsuperscript{351} Letter of the German ambassador to the Secretary-General of the Council Christian Calmes, 1 January 1973., 133896, org. de. See the Treaty of the Four Powers on Berlin between the USA, the USSR, Britain and France of the 3d September 1971. Article 2: This law is also valid in the Land Berlin, provided the Land Berlin observes implementation of this law (Das Viemächte-Abkommen über Berlin zwischen den USA, der UdSSR, Großbritannien und Frankreich vom 3. September 1971. Artikel 2. Dieses Gesetz gilt auch im Land Berlin sofern das Land Berlin die Anwendung dieses Gesetzes feststellt).  
\textsuperscript{353} Senate - Compte rendu analytique; Séance du mercredi 17 mai 1972; Séance du mercredi 28 juin 1972; Séance du jeudi 29 juin 1972; Séance du jeudi 16 novembre 1972; Séance du jeudi 7 décembre 1972. File 496.9.  
\textsuperscript{354} Extracts from \textit{Journal officiel de la République Française}, No. 3499-3500, 3787, 3796-3939, 4460-4461, 4588. File 496.12.}
In the **Netherlands**, the Treaty of Accession was discussed by the Second Chamber of the Parliament on 13 and 14 September. The First Chamber debated the Treaty on 14 November. The Treaty was ratified on 21 November 1972.

The 'Great Debate' on joining the European Communities took place in the UK House of Commons between 21-8 October. The House of Lords started to discuss the Treaty on 26 October. Both houses concluded the debate on the same date and the House of Commons voted for accession.

The **Italian** Chamber of Deputies (Camera dei deputati) ratified the Treaty on 5 December 1972. The next day, the President of the Chamber sent the Treaty to the Senate to be approved on 19 December. The Treaty was signed by the President of the Republic of Italy on 21 December.

The **Luxembourgeois** Parliament ratified the Treaty on 28 November 1972 (File 496.12)

**Additional reading**

A printout of the Accession Treaty in the German language.

The fonds include draft proposals for the Accession Treaty, translations of the secondary law of the Communities from 1953 to 1972 and technical adaptations of Community rules.

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**General Secretariat of the Commission of the European Communities. The Treaty of Helsinki and problems related to the enlargement of the Community (Commission's note the Council), 7 April 1970, Brussels.**

**Statement on behalf of the Political Committee about the Treaty concerning the accession of the Kingdom of Denmark, Ireland, the Kingdom of Norway and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the European Economic Community. The European Parliament. Documents of sessions 1972-1973.** Document 11/72, 7 April 1972 (org. de).
Decision of the Council of the European Communities of 22 January 1972 concerning the accession of the Kingdom of Denmark, Ireland, the Kingdom of Norway, and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the European Coal and Steel Community.\textsuperscript{363}

Act concerning the conditions of Accession and the adjustments to the Treaties.\textsuperscript{364}

Speech by Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary, the Right Honourable James Callaghan, MP, at the Council of Ministers, 4 June 1974, Luxembourg.\textsuperscript{365} Callaghan said that the UK found certain matters concerning membership unsatisfactory and wanted changes in policies on the Community budget; on the Common Agricultural Policy; on trade and aid to the Commonwealth and developing countries and on regional and industrial policy.