

# CANDIDATE COUNTRIES

United Kingdom



**ENGLAND**

The Guardian

# BACKGROUND

**1961:** UK opened membership negotiations with the European Communities

Difference in per capita GDP between UK and EU6 reached 10%

De Gaulle vetoed the British application in 1963

**1967:** Britain applied for membership for a second time

The difference in per capita GDP between the UK and the EU6 average was 6%

Again, De Gaulle vetoed

**1973:** Britain joined the European Community, Prime Minister Edward Heath took Britain in

**The Guardian** is a British national daily newspaper founded in 1821- broadsheet, or quality press

In August 2013 *The Guardian* in paper form had an average daily circulation of 189,000 copies, behind *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Times*

# 'FEAR AND FURY ON THE FARM' - 26 NOVEMBER 1969

- Commenting on the demonstrations by angry French farmers due to the mounting problems facing the French agricultural industry esp. the burden of overproduction and lower living standards
- Explains the intransigence that the French President, Georges Pompidou, will have to show in connection with the financing of the common agricultural policy (CAP) during the Hague summit
- What the French seem to ask is nothing less than an open-ended commitment that their partners will continue to finance the farm policy whatever it costs

# 'FEAR AND FURY ON THE FARM' - 26 NOVEMBER 1969

*A recent television serial has been telling the story of Jacquou, an eighteenth-century peasant from the Dordogne, who rebelled against the wicked local lord and finally set fire to his castle. Last Monday when farmers rioted all over France many of them brandished banners with the warning “watch out – Jacquou still lives”*

# 'LET'S GET BLOWING' - 24 NOVEMBER 1969

Ironic article mocking at the complexity of the accession and how it is not easily explained to British citizens

Defines a summit :

*high-level conference by important men, with bulging brief cases, which end with the release of long and incomprehensible communiqués – called to show the 6 hadn't forgotten the "British question"*

- It pokes fun at the failures of EC enlargement
- the French "sulking" and the CAP
- Better negotiation terms as the 6 are squabbling
- Bitterness at not being admitted "last time", especially after war time favours done
- Optimism that it will get sorted with the new leaders in Germany and France
- free capital movement- fanciful notion of the Rome Treaty

# 'LET'S GET BLOWING' - 24 NOVEMBER 1969

It expresses concern over:

- consequences of the United Kingdom's accession for British citizens and for their identity
- getting steeped in French excess produce. Awareness of the expenses but also hope that it will be curtailed by EEC – “Butter at nine bob wasn't on”
- timing is crucial so the rise in prices is seen only after British elections
- Whether the British movement has lost wind to join this community
- Refer to **Peter George James Jenkins** who was a British “Königswinter” journalist

***“Provided I can stay British, I am quite ready to become a European”***

***– Aunt Bertha***

# 'LET'S GET BLOWING' - 24 NOVEMBER 1969

*My Aunt Bertha is worried about next week's Common Market summit. It's not just that she keeps having nightmares in which her street is submerged in surplus EEC butter. It's not even that she can't bear the thought of eating snails and sauerkraut. The awful truth — I hardly dare tell you this — is that she finds it difficult to steer her way through all the Common Market jargon*

So I explained it to her...

*"Willy," I went on "Is keen to get us in. Pompidou has shaken off the old man's shadow and the French electorate is said to have become European-minded. And Harold is playing it cool because this is the proper way to start bargaining.*

# MR WILSON SAYS "HAVE A GO" - 5 DECEMBER 1969

- Highlights the problems encountered during negotiations on the first enlargement of the European Communities

Which arose from the difficulties experienced in finding a compromise between the protection of national interests and the need for a strong, centralised European power

- “the Six are beginning to thaw after the Gaullist freeze.”
- No surety of the terms of access but optimism to try it
- CAP is “make or break” – need for rational farm policy

Looking to Brussels to clarify these matters further

- Uncertainty if "Europe des patries" is here to stay or temporary

the national veto vs majority voting, political unification cant progress through this path

# MR WILSON SAYS "HAVE A GO" - 5 DECEMBER 1969

*The cross-Channel fog, however, has not been cleared either by the communiqué from The Hague or by later interpretations of it.*

*For opaqueness, however, the political provisions in the communiqué would be hard to beat. The Six seem to mean well, but they have difficulty in saying what they intend. To determine exactly why each subclause of paragraph 4 was included, for Example, would be an interesting exercise in Kremlinology or Pompidology.*

# MR WILSON SAYS "HAVE A GO" - 5 DECEMBER 1969

*Was The Hague conference – itself an old-fashioned tug-of-war between nations – typical of the way the leaders of the new Europe intend to do business? The new Europe can limit itself to remaining a consortium of States, each insisting on its national rights and national sovereignty. In that form it can still have value as an economic union, though it will then have to be assessed strictly in terms of economic advantage for members. Without central direction, however, it will be weak. And any central direction must be through democratic institutions, which are bound to detract from the power of national parliaments. That is something that neither the British nor the Six want to face, but they ought to have the vision to face and welcome it*

# THE NARRATIVES

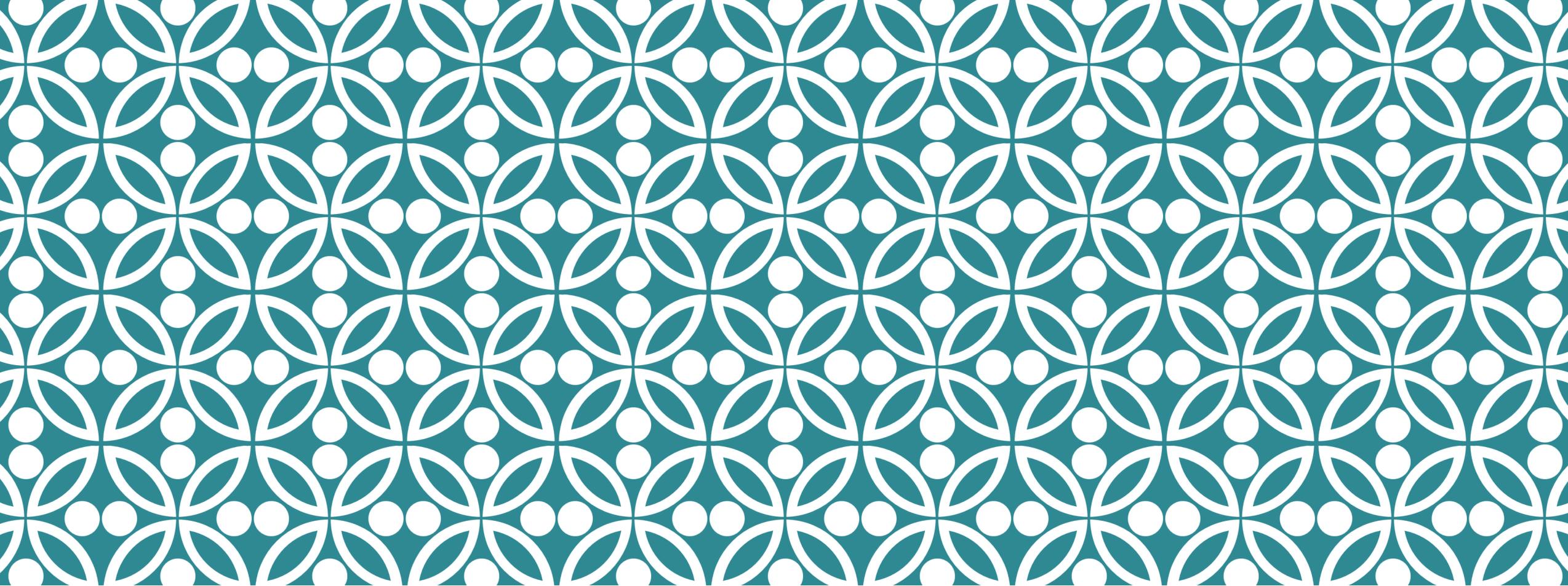
- Seems to have been high expectations before the summit, less reports after
- Important from the light of the outcome of fighting to keep the CAP alive – since it is old style negotiations between powerful leaders, not democracy
- Impression that the British question is the main agenda – ushered in by the new leaders
- British identity!
- Vague communique, but one step in the direction of British accession
- Cautious optimism

# SOURCES

[http://www.cvce.eu/en/obj/fear and fury on the farm from the guardian 26 november 1969-en-63235ee2-347b-4247-a432-59ee957d9c9a.html](http://www.cvce.eu/en/obj/fear_and_fury_on_the_farm_from_the_guardian_26_november_1969-en-63235ee2-347b-4247-a432-59ee957d9c9a.html)

[http://www.cvce.eu/en/obj/let s get blowing from the guardian 24 november 1969-en-a6ccf5e9-8150-4dc9-853b-a402898101bf.html](http://www.cvce.eu/en/obj/let_s_get_blowing_from_the_guardian_24_november_1969-en-a6ccf5e9-8150-4dc9-853b-a402898101bf.html)

[http://www.cvce.eu/en/obj/mr wilson says have a go from the guardian 5 december 1969-en-db58935d-deba-4e02-b119-311fab80d315.html](http://www.cvce.eu/en/obj/mr_wilson_says_have_a_go_from_the_guardian_5_december_1969-en-db58935d-deba-4e02-b119-311fab80d315.html)



# CANDIDATE COUNTRIES

United Kingdom  
Ireland



**IRELAND** |

# FIRST APPLICATION 1961

- Ireland, the United Kingdom and Denmark apply for full membership of the EEC
- The EEC agrees to negotiations with Ireland
- French president Charles de Gaulle vetoes UK's accession
- The Irish application becomes collateral damage
- Meanwhile in Ireland:
  - poverty, unemployment, emigration
  - economic restructuring by taoiseach Seán Lemass

# SECOND APPLICATION 1967

- Second application by Denmark, Ireland and the UK in May 1967
- De Gaulle also vetoes the second UK application within the same month
- The European Commission announces, that no negotiations will take place with Ireland
- 1./2. The Hague summit takes place

# THIRD APPLICATION 1970 - 1973

- 15 minutes after the UK, Ireland applies for full EC membership
- 30th June 1970: official starting point of the negotiations with Ireland, the UK, Denmark and Norway
- 22nd January 1972: Ireland signs the contract to enter the EC
- 10th May 1972: national referendum in Ireland (83,1% in favor of admission)
- 1. January 1973: Ireland becomes a member state of the European Community

"We foresee if Ireland joins the 'Common Market' an economic catastrophe in which large numbers of Irish workers will lose their jobs and the capacity of the country's economy, on which we depend for our standard of living, will be seriously undermined." Senator Finian Kennedy.



# NO to E.E.C.

Our developing economy is far too weak to compete in free trade conditions with the industrial giants of Europe.

There will be thousands unemployed as a result of completely free entry of mass produced foreign goods into our home market.

The cost of living will rise so high as to cause grave hardship to large sections of our community.

We will lose full control over our future in economic, social, cultural and political affairs.

The small farm community will go to the wall.

Unemployed Irish emigrants will be forced into the slum labour ghettos of Common Market cities.

The oppressive open competition of European industrial society does not suit the Irish people.

The alternative is to negotiate some positive form of trading association with the EEC countries.

**The Irish Transport and General Workers' Union supports The Irish Congress of Trade Unions**

IRISHWOMEN AGAINST THE COMMON MARKET

**CALLING ALL WOMEN!**  
**SINGLE — WIVES — MOTHERS — WIDOWS**  
**THINK FOR THE NATION!**  
 You have the power to protect our future . . .

## VOTE NO

Large increases in food prices with no likelihood of comparable increases in wages.

— CAN YOU AFFORD IT?

Stretch your pension and social welfare payments to meet the higher cost of living

— CAN YOU DO IT?

Emigrate to other parts of Europe because of the unemployment situation here

— CAN YOU FACE IT?

The probability of your children fighting Europe's wars

— CAN YOU WELCOME IT?

## VOTE NO

LEARN THE TRUTH ABOUT THE E.E.C.  
**PUBLIC MEETING**  
 ESPECIALLY FOR WOMEN  
**Liberty Hall**  
**TUESDAY, MAY 2 — 8 p.m.**

SUPPORT IRISHWOMEN AGAINST THE COMMON MARKET, 129 MEADOW GROVE, DUBLIN 14. TEL: 986314.

Chairman: Mrs. Sheila Conroy.  
 Secretary: Ann Douglas.  
 Treasurer: Theresa Dillon.

Patrons: Margaret Tynan, Síle Bean Uí Dhonnchadha, Mrs. Susan Casey, Máire Comerford, Maureen Cusack, Noelle Davies, Máire Hastings, Siobhán McKenna.

# SAY NO

Reject Irish Entry to the Common Market  
 Alternatives DO Exist

For Example:

An Association Agreement would allow us to —

- DEVELOP OUR ECONOMY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE IRISH PEOPLE.
- SAFEGUARD JOBS.
- DEVELOP OUR FISHING AND NATURAL RESOURCES.
- RETAIN THE POWER TO MAKE IMPORTANT DECISIONS.
- PROTECT OUR RURAL COMMUNITY.

## ENTRY TO E.E.C. MEANS

- SOARING FOOD BILLS.
- WIPING OUT OF SMALL AND MEDIUM SIZED FARMS.
- LOSS OF VITAL SOVEREIGN POWERS — NEUTRALITY IN DANGER.
- PEOPLE OF NORTH SOLD OUT AND NOT CONSULTED.
- DESTRUCTION OF THE GAELTACHT.
- UNCONTROLLED SALE OF LAND TO NON-NATIONALS.
- YOUR FUTURE DECIDED IN BRUSSELS.
- MASSIVE UNEMPLOYMENT — INCREASED EMIGRATION.

**THAT 'EUROPE' is not OUR Europe - Vote NO on May 10th**

GALWAY COMMITTEE COMMON MARKET DEFENCE CAMPAIGN — A NON-POLITICAL ORGANISATION OF CONCERNED CITIZENS.

We wish to thank the various groups and individuals whose subscriptions made this advertisement possible.

In 1800 the Irish Parliament voted for the Act of Union and Ireland lost half her people.

This will not appear on the ballot paper, but you are asked to suspend the Constitution in many important respects:

" . . . no provision of this Constitution . . . prevents laws enacted, acts done or measures adopted by the Communities, or institutions thereof, from having the force of law in the State."

CAN YOU AFFORD TO DO THIS ?

# VOTE NO

- 1 TO KEEP CONTROL OF OUR AFFAIRS IN IRELAND
- 2 FOR MORE JOBS AT HOME
- 3 FOR LOWER PRICES
- 4 FOR NEUTRALITY
- 5 FOR EXPANDING TRADE AND EXPORTS WITH ALL COUNTRIES, INCLUDING THE E.E.C.

Issued by the COMMON MARKET DEFENCE CAMPAIGN — a non-political organisation of concerned citizens.

# Is this the kind of Ireland you want?



Part of an island cut adrift from the great family of nations in the European community?

A land with declining agriculture and decaying industries, with soaring unemployment and no resources to deal with it?

A land where its children cannot be properly educated and grow up to unemployment — without even the possibility of going elsewhere to earn a decent wage?

A poor relation on the doorstep of the most prosperous community the world has ever seen?

Or do you want an Ireland that confidently grasps the hand of help and friendship that is being offered, and moves forward with the European community into a future that is bright with hope and prosperity?

That's the difference between a Yes and a No to Europe. There's no middle way, no half-way house. Association or trading deals aren't on — and this chance may not be offered to us again.

Say Yes to Europe and prosperity.

**UNITE WITH EUROPE - AND PROSPERITY**



**EEC**



**If you don't want to go back to this...**

**vote 'yes' on May 10**

IRISH FARMERS' ASSOCIATION

# After May 10, things will never be the same again.

## If you vote Yes

to Europe, these things will happen: We'll become part of a **great family of nations**, instead of being a small island on the fringe.

We'll have an **equal voice** with all our partners, instead of having decisions that affect us being made by others.

**Our workers** will get worthwhile wages for their job, and our industries will benefit from a vastly greater market and from EEC industrial grants.

**Our farmers** will get better prices in a guaranteed market.

There'll be a **levelling-up of incomes**, and a steady growth in everyone's living standards.

There'll be **job security**, and bigger and better social benefits of all kinds.

**Unemployment** will dwindle away, and real wages will rise rapidly, as in all member countries (That's two to three times faster than the rate of Britain or Ireland!).

We'll be able to afford **better education** for our children — and they'll have a better life in the future than we could ever provide on our own.

**Europe has offered the hand of friendship and help. We'd be foolish in the extreme to spurn it.**

## What if you vote No?

There would be drastic changes — serious losses in export earnings, in jobs, and in farmers' incomes.

**We would lose the British market**, which takes nearly 70% of our exports.

**We would lose our access to other markets in Europe as well.**

**Massive unemployment** would follow, and we would not have the resources to cure it.

**The loss of our markets** would mean that all our welfare and social benefits would have to be cut, instead of being raised as in the EEC countries.

Workers thrown out of a job would have nowhere else to go, and unemployment pay would be inadequate to support their families.

**Our farmers** would have no outlets for their produce, and rural life would wither away.

## Can't we stay as we are?

Absolutely not. It's either in or out — association just isn't on.

Only those countries without an agricultural economy (or which produce things the EEC doesn't already have, like citrus fruits, nuts, tobacco and so forth) can get special trading deals. If we're outside the Community, they won't take our grassland products.

Voting Yes means opportunity and prosperity. Voting No means loss of exports and loss of jobs.

It really is as simple as that; there's no middle course, no staying as we are.

**VOTE YES**

# NARRATIVES

- Ireland cannot become a member of the EC without its main trading partner, the UK
- At the same time: possible emancipation from the UK?
- Fear of sovereignty loss/loss of political neutrality after admission
- On the EC side: is Ireland sufficiently developed to be a member state?

# RESEARCH PROCESS

Background of economic situation explaining the motives on both sides – The Six and the British and Irish (also as outlined by Tony Judt)

Newspaper articles from online archives

Application of ideas discussed in our previous sessions (Narratives)

Analysis

Presentation

Discussion

**Thank you for your attention!**