

The slide features a solid dark orange background. In the top right corner, there is a vertical orange bar. Several semi-transparent orange circles of varying sizes are scattered across the background, creating a bokeh effect.

Newspaper Coverage in France and Germany Before, During and After the Hague Summit

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Outline

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General Context

- ▶ Previous Failures
 - ▶ 1963: French veto against enlargement
 - ▶ 1965: Empty chair crisis
 - ▶ 1967: Failed enlargement
- ▶ Political Changes
 - ▶ Georges Pompidou assumed office as President of France on June 20 1969
 - ▶ Willy Brandt assumed office as Chancellor of Germany on October 21 1969
- ▶ Economic Challenges
 - ▶ Lower industrial output in France
 - ▶ Recessions in Europe throughout the 60's
 - ▶ 1966 American Credit Crisis

Newspapers as Scientific Sources

- ▶ Sources of information
 - ▶ On the topic they report on
 - ▶ On the positions that are discussed at the respective time
- ▶ Active participation in political communication
 - ▶ Influence public opinion and politics
- ▶ Discourse analysis: anti-realist & constitutionalist
- ▶ Constitution of a particular view of social reality through language
- ▶ “Saying something is always an act of not saying something else“

Classification of newspaper articles as historical sources:

- Type
 - Primary Source, written relic
 - Normative
- Author:
- Time
 - November and December 1969
 - December 1970
 - December 1974
 - December 1979
- Addressee
 - Public in France & Germany
- Topic:
 - European Politics: The Hague Summit

Sources

FRANCE		
Name	Founded	Orientation
Le Monde	1944	Center-Left
GERMANY		
Name	Founded	Orientation
Der Spiegel	1947	Center
Die Zeit	1946	Left-Liberal
Frankfurter Allgemeine	1949	Conservative
Süddeutsche Zeitung	1945	Left-Liberal
Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger	1876	Center-Left

Newspaper Coverage Before The Summit Germany

	Der Spiegel	Die Zeit	Süddeutsche Zeitung	Frankfurter Allgemeine
24th November	Cover; pp. 124-140	-	-	-
28th November	-	p. 1	p. 4	p. 1
29th/30th November	-	-	p. 4; p. 9; p. 25	p. 3
1st December	p. 32	-	pp. 1+2; p. 2; p. 4 (2x)	p. 1 (3x); p. 5; p. 9
2nd December	-	-	pp. 1+2	p. 1; pp. 1+4; p. 4 (3x)
3rd December	-	-	pp. 1+2; p. 3, p. 4 (2x)	p. 1; pp. 1+4; p. 4; p. 5
4th December	-	-	pp. 1+2; p. 2 (2x); p. 4 (2x); p. 9	p. 1 (2x); p. 4 (2x); p. 5 (3x)
5th December	-	p. 3; p. 8 (2x)	-	p. 1
6th/7th December	-	-	p. 4 (2x); p. 25 (2x)	p. 1; p. 2 (2x)
8th December	p. 27; p. 28	-	-	-

Pages with articles in which The Hague was a main topic

Newspaper Coverage Before The Summit Germany



- ▶ Skepticism
- ▶ Der Spiegel, November 1969:
„Decomposition of the EEC?“
- ▶ Die Zeit: „A deadly existential crisis“
- ▶ Frequent reference to idea of stagnation



Umwölkter Gipfel
Es geht um die Zukunft der EWG / Von Kurt Becker

Newspaper Coverage Before The Summit Germany

- ▶ Directly before the Summit, the daily newspapers report about participants being optimistic
- ▶ Importance of Summit widely recognized

Am Vorabend der Gipfelkonferenz

Optimismus in den Hauptstädten der EWG

Die Partnerstaaten rechnen mit einem Ende der Stagnation in der Einigung
Staatspräsident Pompidou will einen Gesamtplan zur Wiederbelebung

Die Haager Konferenz entscheidet über die Zukunft Europas
Staats und Regierungschef der EWG-Länder suchen Ausweg aus der Stagnation / Grundentscheidungen angestrebt / Meinungsverschiedenheiten mit Paris
BRÜSSEL, 30. November

Newspaper Coverage Before The Summit France

- ▶ Recognition that European unification has stagnated
 - ▶ “A process which has lost its dynamism”
- ▶ Disagreements between countries and national parties
- ▶ Preparatory meetings, change of dates from mid-November to December 1 and 2 1969

**AVANT LA RÉUNION DE
LUXEMBOURG Bonn n'est pas
favorable à la méthode du "paquet"
pour régler les questions
européennes**

LE MONDE | 17.10.1969 à 00h00 • Mis à jour le 17.10.1969 à 00h00

L'EUROPE EN MAL DE RELANCE

LE MONDE | 27.11.1969 à 00h00 • Mis à jour le 27.11.1969 à 00h00

L'EUROPE A BOUT DE SOUFFLE ?

LE MONDE | 29.10.1969 à 00h00 • Mis à jour le 29.10.1969 à 00h00 |

PIERRE DROUIN

Newspaper Coverage Before The Summit France

- ▶ “Summit” is always in quotation marks
- ▶ Possible translations
 - ▶ Summit as in ‘a gathering of leaders’
 - ▶ Summit as in the ‘top of mountain’
- ▶ Sarcasm? Reservations? Uncertainty vis-à-vis a new concept?

La conférence européenne " au sommet " pourrait être retardée de quelques jours

LE MONDE | 08.11.1969 à 00h00 • Mis à jour le 08.11.1969 à 00h00

À LUXEMBOURG LES " SIX " PRÉPARENT LA RÉUNION " AU SOMMET " DE LA HAYE

LE MONDE | 18.10.1969 à 00h00 • Mis à jour le 18.10.1969 à 00h00 |

PHILIPPE LEMAITRE

Newspaper Coverage During The Summit Germany

- ▶ Front pages full of The Hague
- ▶ More reports than comments
- ▶ Positive perception of Brandt:
 - He “demands” (Süddeutsche), “presses” (FAZ)
- ▶ Negative image of Pompidou
 - He “indulged in general wishes” (FAZ)

EWG-Gipfelkonferenz in Den Haag

Brandt: Die Lähmung in Europa überwinden

Die Gemeinschaft hat zwischen einem mutigen Schritt nach vorn und einer gefährlichen Krise zu wählen,
sagt der Bundeskanzler / Proeuropäische Demonstrationen vor dem Konferenzgebäude

Brandt findet positives Echo auf dem Gipfeltreffen

EWG-Partner sind über Rede Pompidous im Haag enttäuscht

Von unserem Korrespondenten
hl. Den Haag, 1. Dezember

Brandt drängt in Den Haag: Beitritts-Verhandlungen 1970

Ausbau der Gemeinschaft soll parallel behandelt werden / In zwei Stufen zur Wirtschaftsunion / Pompidou beteuert Frankreichs EWG-Treue

Newspaper Coverage During The Summit France

- ▶ Little coverage on days of Summit
 - ▶ Overview of attendees, distinction made between George Pompidou – a Head of State – and others who were Heads of Government

UN SEUL CHEF D'ÉTAT : M. POMPIDOU

LE MONDE | 02.12.1969 à 00h00 • Mis à jour le 02.12.1969 à 00h00

Newspaper Coverage After The Summit Germany

- ▶ Wide-spread notion of success (though some caution)
- ▶ Metaphors of movement are common: The Summit “has moved a boulder out of the way” (Die Zeit)
- ▶ “Credibility” (SZ)

Pompidous Sechs-Punkte-Plan im Haag findet Beifall
**Gemeinsamer Wille zur Stärkung
der EWG überbrückt Differenzen**

Neues Vertrauen in Europa

Europäische Stagnation überwunden
**Die Gipfelkonferenz einigt sich
auf Ausbau und Erweiterung der**

EWG-Gipfel doch ein Erfolg
Gespräche über Beitritt Englands — aber noch kein Termin

Newspaper Coverage After The Summit Germany

- ▶ Key figure in success story: Willy Brandt
- ▶ Der Spiegel: Brandt “got the stuck EEC back on the road [...] almost on his own“
- ▶ Perception of Pompidou is more mixed

Brandts Tag in Den Haag
Echo auf die Rede des Bundeskanzlers zwischen Respekt und Bewunderung / Bericht von Hans Herbert Götz

Pompidou machte es nicht billig
Berg- und Talfahrten am europäischen Gipfel / Von Kurt Becker

**Bonns politische
Ouvertüre**

Newspaper Coverage After The Summit France

- ▶ Optimism after the summit
 - ▶ Hope for further European unification “re-born” after summit, but more work ahead
 - ▶ Schuman: “From a European perspective, as from a French perspective, this was a total success”
- ▶ Less focus on Brandt and Pompidou

LA COMMISSION DES COMMUNAUTÉS EUROPÉENNES SE RÉJOUIT DES RÉSULTATS OBTENUS PAR LES "SIX"

LE MONDE | 08.12.1969 à 00h00 • Mis à jour le 08.12.1969 à 00h00

Un nouveau bail pour la Communauté

LE MONDE | 04.12.1969 à 00h00 • Mis à jour le 04.12.1969 à 00h00 |

BERNADETTE MARCHAL

Espoirs et doutes après La Haye

LE MONDE | 09.12.1969 à 00h00 • Mis à jour le 09.12.1969 à 00h00

Local Coverage in the Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

▶ 1 December 1969

One article, title page

- ▶ **Optimistic**, even though **hard negotiations** with France are expected
- ▶ Notions like „Fortentwicklung“ and „Weiterentwicklung“ (further development) of the EC

Weitgehende Europa-Vorschläge aus Paris
Heute Beginn der EWG-Gipfelkonferenz — Brandt drängt auf Beitrittsverhandlungen

Local Coverage in the Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

▶ 2nd December

2 articles, title page & second page

- ▶ 2 **opposing attitudes of Germany and France** already visible in the title (the two players Pompidou and Brandt are named explicitly)
- ▶ Frustration, **pessimism** after the speech of Pompidou
- ▶ The French fear of a strong Germany is mentioned



Local Coverage in the Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

▶ 3rd December

3 articles, front page, third-fourth page and sixth page

- ▶ Different proposals
- ▶ „EEC wants to talk to England“: **consent among EC members**
- ▶ Brandt: „**The outcome is the least far-reaching of a possible positive** outcome“
- ▶ Pompidou satisfied, Britain starts to hope
- ▶ Disappointment regarding Pompidou's reluctance

Regierungschefs einigten sich in Den Haag

EWG will mit England reden

Sechs Monate Frist für die Vorbereitungen

Selbst beim Mittagessen ein Ringen um die Formulierung

Auch ernstes Gespräch unter acht Augen stimmte Pompidou nicht um

Europas Presse feiert Brandt

„Der wirkliche Führer der Gemeinschaft“ — Von Pompidou enttäuscht

Local Coverage in the Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

► 4th December:

4 articles, front page, third page and sixth page

► Summit is considered as success by German Bundestag

► Brandt: „Europe has a new chance“ of the summit and its outcome in the course of the negotiations

► Outcome of the Summit **praised** by all governments

Pompidou often criticised for his guarded attitude

After all, all parties consider The Hague Summit as **success and chance for Europe**

CDU lobt Brandts Auftritt im Haag

Der Bundestag würdigt Erfolg für Europa

Von unserem Redakteur Hans Werner Kettenbach

Selbst Rainer Barzel sparte nicht mit Lob

Opposition und Regierung in Sachen Europa einig

Europa-Münze
noch verfrüht

London und Paris begrüßen Ergebnis des EWG-Gipfels

Briten heben die Rolle Brandts hervor

Anniversary Coverage of The Hague Summit - 1970, 1974, 1979

DER SPIEGEL

- ▶ No mention of The Hague Summit **not**

considered as important event in the history of the EU?

DIE ZEIT

- ▶ Issue 50/1974, 6th December:

- ▶ Preparations of the Paris conference, brief mention of The Hague instead of reporting on the

roots/ origins of the EU, public awareness focuses on **current situation and problems**

Le Monde

- ▶ 2nd December 1970

- ▶ Referred to The Hague Summit as the starting point of a chain of events by French foreign minister Maurice Schuman

Paris: „Der Europa-Gipfel findet statt“

Pakete für Paris

Gipfel-Bescherung: Für jeden etwas?

von Dieter Buhl | 06. Dezember 1974 - 07:00 Uhr Von Dieter Buhl

Die deutsch-französische Kooperation hat sich in den letzten Tagen bewährt. [...]

Freilich: Lohnt der ganze Aufwand? Der Blick auf die zurückliegende Gipfelkette stimmt nicht eben hoffnungsfroh. Bei der Begegnung im Haag (1969) wurden immerhin Großbritanniens Beitritt und die Europäische Politische Zusammenarbeit abgesegnet. In Paris (1972) blieb es, bei ehrgeizigen Planspielen. Die Kopenhagener Kamingespräche (1973), inmitten der Nahostkrise, mißglückten völlig. Von den früheren Gipfeln führt ein direkter Pfad hinab in die derzeitige

Schmidt: „Der EG geht es nur um unser Geld“

Le Sénat a repoussé les crédits de fonctionnement des affaires étrangères M. Maurice Schumann : il faut faire l'Europe pour elle-même et non pas contre quelqu'un

LE MONDE | 02.12.1970 à 00h00 • Mis à jour le 02.12.1970 à 00h00 |

„Ihr müßt mich auch künftig ertragen“

Griff nach den Sternen

EWG

HANDELSKRIEG

Krach um Konserven

Conclusions

- ▶ Doubts and pessimism were prevalent leading up to The Hague Summit
- ▶ Renewed optimism and hope following The Hague Summit; all parties saw The Summit as a success
 - ▶ Supports idea that The Summit was a 'critical juncture' in European integration
- ▶ Brandt viewed as a key player in German press
- ▶ No major disparities in perception by different media
- ▶ Little to no coverage on anniversaries of Summit
 - ▶ Future coverage focused rather on current issues and problems

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Thank You