

Notes

Introduction

1. See Kiran Klaus Patel (ed.) (2009) *Fertile Ground for Europe? The History of European Integration and the Common Agricultural Policy since 1945* (Baden-Baden: Nomos); Ann-Christina Knudsen (2009) *Farmers on Welfare: The Making of Europe's Common Agricultural Policy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press); Laurent Warlouzet and Tobias Witschke (2012) 'The difficult path to an economic rule of law: European Competition Policy, 1950–91' *Contemporary European History*, vol. 21, no. 3, pp. 437–56.
2. Britain and Ireland were two of four countries that sought membership during the period examined by the book; the two other applicants were Denmark and Norway. However, while the central focus of this research is on the Commission's relations with Britain and Ireland within the framework of the enlargement question, references will be made to the positions of the Danish and Norwegian governments wherever a policy position diverged or converged.
3. For the most recent account of Britain's European policy during this period, see Denise Dunne O'Hare (2013) *Britain and the Process of European Integration: Continuity and Policy Change from Attlee to Heath* (London: I. B. Tauris).
4. David Coombes (1970) *Politics and Bureaucracy in the European Community: A Portrait of the European Commission* (London: Allen & Unwin).
5. Coombes, *Politics and Bureaucracy in the European Community*, p. 326.
6. Michel Dumoulin (2006) (ed.) *The European Commission, 1958–72: History and Memories* (Brussels: European Commission).
7. Jan van der Harst (2006) 'Enlargement: the Commission seeks a role for itself' in Dumoulin (ed.), *The European Commission*, pp. 533–56.
8. N. Piers Ludlow (1997) *Dealing with Britain: the Six and the First UK Application to the EEC* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
9. For more accounts of London's first application for EEC membership, see Miriam Camps (1964) *Britain and the European Community, 1955–1963* (Princeton: Princeton University Press); Alan S. Milward (2002) *The United Kingdom and the European Community*, vol. 1: *The Rise and Fall of a National Strategy 1945–1963* (London: Frank Cass); George Wilkes (ed.) (1997) *Britain's Failure to Enter the European Community 1961–63* (London: Frank Cass); Wolfram Kaiser (1999) *Using Europe, Abusing the Europeans: Britain and European Integration, 1945–63* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan); Nora Beloff (1963) *The General Says No: Britain's Exclusion From Europe* (London: Penguin).
10. N. Piers Ludlow (2006) *The European Community and the Crises of the 1960s: Negotiating the Gaullist Challenge* (London: Routledge).
11. See N. Piers Ludlow (2005) 'A welcome change: the European Commission and the challenge of enlargement, 1958–1973' *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 11, no. 2, pp. 31–46; N. Piers Ludlow (2003) 'An opportunity or a threat? The European Commission and The Hague Council of December 1969' *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 9, no. 2, pp. 11–26; N. Piers Ludlow (2005) 'The making of the CAP: towards a historical analysis of the EU's first major policy'

- Contemporary European History*, vol. 14, no. 3, pp. 347–71; N. Piers Ludlow (2006) 'A supranational Icarus? Hallstein, the early Commission and the search for an independent role' in Antonio Varsori (ed.), *Inside the European Community: Actors and Policies in the European Integration 1957–1972* (Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlag), pp. 37–54.
12. See Beloff, *The General Says No*; Camps, *Britain and the European Community*; Uwe Kitzing (1973) *Diplomacy and Persuasion: How Britain Joined the Common Market* (London: Thames & Hudson); Denis J. Maher (1986) *The Tortuous Path: the Course of Ireland's Entry into the EEC* (Dublin: Institute of Public Administration); Con O'Neill (2000) *Britain's Entry into the European Community: Report on the Negotiations of 1970–1972 by Sir Con O'Neill* (London: Frank Cass).
 13. Walter Hallstein (1972) *Europe in the Making* (London: Allen & Unwin).
 14. See Hans von der Groeben (1985) *The European Community: The Formative Years. The Struggle to Establish the Common Market and the Political Union (1958–66)* (Brussels: Commission of the European Communities); Robert Lemaignen (1964) *L'Europe au Berceau: Souvenirs d'un Technocrate* (Paris: Plon); Robert Marjolin (1989) *Architect of European Unity: Memoirs of a European 1911–1986* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson).
 15. Edward Heath (1998) *The Course of My Life: My Autobiography* (London: Hodder & Stoughton); Jean Monnet (1976) *Memoirs* (Paris: Fayard); Paul-Henri Spaak (1964) *The Continuing Battle: Memoirs of a European, 1936–66* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson); George Ball (1982) *The Past Has Another Pattern* (New York: Norton).
 16. Some minutes of Council of Ministers' meetings are not available for 1970–1972 due to apparent staff shortages in the Council. The book has instead exploited other sources, such as Commission minutes of Council meetings, the Franco-Maria Malfatti papers, the Emile Noël papers, the well-informed *Agence Europe* daily bulletins on the activities in the Community, British and Irish archival material, and other sources to bridge the deficit from the Community archives.
 17. Hallstein's inaugural address at the constituent meeting of the European Commission, 16 January 1958. See also *Agence Europe*, no. 28, 16 January 1958.
 18. Treaty establishing the EEC, Article 157.
 19. Marjolin, *Architect of European Unity*, p. 314.
 20. Coombes, *Politics and Bureaucracy*, p. 253.
 21. Beloff, *The General Says No*, p. 87.
 22. For more on the functions of the Commission, see Coombes, *Politics and Bureaucracy*, pp. 44–6.
 23. Thorneycroft to Eden, 20 January 1956, The National Archives, London (henceforward TNA), Foreign Office file (henceforward FO) 371/122022.
 24. Hansard, *House of Commons Parliamentary Debates* (henceforward *Hansard*), vol. 561, col. 39, 26 November 1956; James Ellison (2000) *Threatening Europe: Britain and the Creation of the European Community* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan), p. 64. Macmillan later succeeded Eden as prime minister in January 1957.
 25. These two issues preoccupied the six throughout 1958. See for example, *Agence Europe*, no. 25, 13 January 1958.
 26. Record of Hallstein–Maudling meeting, Bonn, 4 March 1957, prepared by John Coulson (Deputy Under-secretary, FO), 5 March 1957, TNA, FO 371/134493. Policy-makers in Whitehall had informed their political decision-makers that, because agriculture was not included, there was a strong possibility that the FTA would be rejected in Europe. See Ellison, *Threatening Europe*, pp. 89–90.

27. The FTA plan was presented to the Council of Ministers of the OEEC in the form of a White Paper on 13 February 1957.
28. Ellison, *Threatening Europe*, p. 81.
29. Ellison, *Threatening Europe*, p. 82. For British efforts at convincing the German government to support the FTA over the EEC's customs union, see Martin Schaad (2000) *Bullying Bonn: Anglo-German Diplomacy on European Integration, 1955–61* (New York: St Martin's Press), pp. 69–114.
30. For more on these criticisms, see Camps, *Britain and the European Community*, p. 147.
31. *Assemblée Parlementaire Européenne, 'Discussion relatif au projet de création d'une zone de libre-échange entre les pays de l'O.E.C.E'*, 19 June 1958, Historical Archives of the European Union, Florence (henceforward HAEU), Commission Archives Brussels file (henceforward BAC) 24/1967, no. 122.
32. Milward, *The United Kingdom and the European Community*, vol. 1, p. 287.
33. Maudling, *Memoirs*, p. 69.
34. For more on French objections to the FTA, see TNA, FO 371/134487, M 611/55, and FO 371/134487, M 611/42. The French and the Italians saw the provisions of the Treaty of Rome as a means of protecting their own basic industries against competition from outside the six and were more interested in retaining this protection than in gaining free access to the markets of other FTA countries. They hardened their position and demanded the same safeguards contained in the Common Market. The Dutch position was nearest to the British, seeing the FTA as highly desirable from an economic as well as a political point of view. Belgium and Luxembourg also adopted a negative attitude towards the FTA plan.
35. Richard Griffiths (1996) 'The end of a thousand years of history', in Griffiths, Richard and Ward, Stuart (eds) *Courting the Common Market: The First Attempt to Enlarge the European Community, 1961–1963* (London: Lothian Foundation Press), pp. 12–13.
36. Beloff, *The General Says No*, p. 84.
37. 'Speech delivered by Professor Walter Hallstein on the occasion of a luncheon given by the Joint Chambers of Commerce of the Common Market in Great Britain', 29 February 1960, HAEC, *Archives générales historiques et courantes – Discours lettre H*, no. 2.
38. *Assemblée Parlementaire Européenne, Débats*, 20 March 1958, p. 38.
39. Article 237 states: '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,' while Article 238 reads: 'The Community may conclude with a third State, a union of States or an international organization agreements establishing an association involving reciprocal rights and obligations, common action and special procedures,' *Treaty Establishing the European Economic Community*, Rome, 25 March 1957.
40. Camps, *Britain and the European Community*, p. 193.
41. Speech by Walter Hallstein to the European Parliamentary Assembly, 'The acceleration of the timing of the EEC Treaty', Strasbourg, 28 March 1960, HAEC, *Archives générales historiques et courantes – Discours lettre H*, no. 2.
42. For more on the British objections, see J. R. Cotton (British Mission, Brussels) to Holliday, 13 April 1960, based on Cotton's conversation with Pierre A. Forthomme, chief adviser to the Belgian government on European economic matters, TNA, FO 371/150272, M 6114/199.

43. 'Record of conversation with Professor Hallstein', 24 June 1960 in Strasbourg, British delegation in Brussels to FO, 28 June 1960, TNA, FO 371/150163, M 611/243.
44. 'Record of conversation with Professor Hallstein', 24 June 1960.
45. 'Record of conversation with Professor Hallstein', 24 June 1960.
46. Record of conversation between E. A. Berthoud (British delegation, Brussels) and Marjolin on 7 July 1960, 14 July 1960, TNA, FO 371/150289, M 6114/468.
47. 'Lecture given by Jean Rey on the Common Market', 4 August 1960, British Embassy, Vienna to FO, 7 September 1960, TNA, FO 371/150337, M 6121/63. See also *Financial Times* editorial, 13 June 1960.
48. Michael Tandy (Brussels) to Ken Gallagher (FO), 9 November 1960, TNA, FO 371/150368, M 6136/105.
49. 'Record of conversation between the Lord Privy Seal and Professor Hallstein in Brussels on November 16, 1960', TNA, FO 371/150368, M 6136/107.
50. 'Record of conversation between the Lord Privy Seal and Professor Hallstein in Brussels on November 16, 1960'.
51. Note on 'WEU meeting in Brussels – meeting with Professor Hallstein' c. November 1960, TNA, FO 371/150368, M 6136/107.

1 The Commission and Britain's First Application

1. The Commission was also intricately involved in the many other issues on the negotiating agenda, such as agriculture, a topic that led to the negotiations becoming bogged down from October 1962 to January 1963. This chapter will refer to the literature on this, and other issues in connection with the analysis on the Commonwealth.
2. For a more detailed examination than can be provided here of the reasons behind Britain's decision to join the EEC, see, for example, Alan S. Milward, *The Rise and Fall of a National Strategy: The UK and the European Community*, vol. 1 (London: Frank Cass, 2002), pp. 310–51; Griffiths (1997) 'A slow one hundred and eighty degree turn: British policy toward the Common Market, 1955–60' in George Wilkes (ed.) *Britain's Failure to Enter the European Community 1961–63* (London: Frank Cass), pp. 35–50; Ludlow, *Dealing with Britain: The Six and the First UK Application to the EEC* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 12–42; Alex May (1999) *Britain and Europe Since 1945* (London: Longman); Jacqueline Tratt (1996) *The Macmillan Government and Europe, A study in the Process of Policy Development* (Basingstoke: Macmillan), especially pp. 188–201.
3. Heath's record of conversation with Hallstein and Rey, 16 November 1960, TNA, FO 371/150368, M 6136/107.
4. Heath's record of conversation with Hallstein and Rey, 16 November 1960.
5. John A. Robinson (FO official) note on meeting with Deniau, 3 October 1960, TNA, FO 371/150295, M 6114/574.
6. Robinson note on meeting with Deniau, 3 October 1960.
7. See comments made by Mansholt during a visit to London in March 1961. *Agence Europe*, no. 941, 19 March 1961.
8. Ken Gallagher (British mission, Brussels) to FO, 'Report of conversation with Professor Hallstein, 20 April 1960', 22 April 1960, TNA, FO 371/158188, M 617/73.
9. Memorandum of conversation between President Kennedy and Chancellor Adenauer, 13 April 1961, *Foreign Relations of the United States (FRUS)*, 1961–1963,

- vol. XIII, p. 7. At the same meeting, Adenauer said that the Common Market countries were ready for Britain to enter 'today, and not tomorrow'.
10. Memorandum of conversation between Kennedy and Adenauer, 13 April 1961.
 11. Memorandum of conversation between Hallstein and George Ball, US Undersecretary of State for Economic Affairs, 13 May 1961, *FRUS*, 1961–1963, vol. XIII, p. 14.
 12. Memorandum of conversation between Hallstein and Ball, 13 May 1961.
 13. Marjolin, *Architect of European Unity: Memoirs 1911–1986* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1989), p. 336. See also European Commission, External Relations Directorate, '*Rapport intérimaire du groupe de travail sur l'adhésion du Royaume-Uni*', 20 July 1961, HAEC, I/S/0/4082/61.
 14. Memorandum of conversation between Hallstein and Ball, 13 May 1961.
 15. *Ibid.* See also *Agence Europe*, no. 979, 17 May 1961.
 16. For more reports on the doubts expressed by Commissioners, see notes on conversation between Miriam Camps and Marjolin, c. May 1961, TNA, FO 371/158271, M 634/145; Eric Roll (1985) *Crowded Hours* (London: Faber & Faber), p. 111; *Agence Europe*, no. 941, 29 March 1961. Roll was deputy leader of the British delegation at official level at the enlargement negotiations. He was a close friend of Marjolin, and their families took holidays together.
 17. European Commission, Report DG External Relations, '*Commentaire au sujet du projet Müller-Armack*', 6 February 1961, Council of Ministers Archives, Brussels (henceforward CMA), BAC 61/1982, no. 45/3.
 18. Speech by Mansholt, Commission Vice-President for Agriculture, 'Britain in Europe and Europe House', 28 March 1961, HAEU, BAC 61/1982, no. 45/2.
 19. Speech by Mansholt, 'Britain in Europe and Europe House', 28 March 1961.
 20. *Ibid.*
 21. *Ibid.*
 22. *Ibid.*
 23. For the full text of Macmillan's speech to the House of Commons, see Hansard, House of Commons 1960–1961, vol. 645, cols. 928–31. For press reports on the speech, see *Agence Europe*, no. 1040, 28 July 1961; *Agence Europe*, no. 1043, 1 August 1961.
 24. 'Top secret' note from British Mission, Brussels to FO, 28 July 1961, TNA, FO 371/158278, M 634/233/G; also FO memorandum, 'The timing of a decision to join the EEC', TNA, FO 371/158275, M 634/200.
 25. *Agence Europe*, no. 1043, 1 August 1961.
 26. *Ibid.* The Treaty of Rome referred to it as the Assembly. It later decided to rename itself the European Parliament.
 27. Van der Harst (2006) 'Enlargement: the Commission seeks a role for itself' in Dumoulin (ed.), *The European Commission, 1958–72: History and Memories* (Luxembourg: European Communities, 2007), p. 538.
 28. Ludlow, *Dealing with Britain*, p. 51.
 29. France, for example, initially reserved its position on the location when Brussels was suggested. It later suggested Chantilly, France. See *Agence Europe*, no. 1058, 28 August 1961.
 30. Camps, *Britain and the European Community, 1955–1963* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), p. 376.
 31. Tandy to FO, 25 August 1961, TNA, FO 371/158285, M 634/369.
 32. Spaak had chaired the Messina negotiations that led to the creation of the EEC in 1956.

33. Camps, *Britain and the European Community*, p. 375.
34. See *Agence Europe*, no. 1060, 30 August 1961. See also Mariëlla Smids's article on the divergences over the judicial basis for the Commission's involvement in the enlargement talks. Mariëlla Smids (2007) 'The role of the European Commission in the first enlargement process. The agriculture negotiations between 1961–63 and 1970–72', *HEIRS Third Annual Colloquium*, Geneva (<http://www.heirs-eu.org/documents/heirscolloquium2007.pdf>), p. 52, date accessed 16 October 2012).
35. See Tandy to FO, 22 September 1961, TNA, FO 371/158291, M 634/462.
36. *Agence Europe*, no. 1060, 30 August 1961.
37. *Agence Europe*, no. 1062, 1 September 1961.
38. *Agence Europe*, no. 1066, 7 September 1961. See also Commission's letter to Council confirming that it would not make a formal *avis* until more details were known about the British negotiating position. *Agence Europe*, no. 1076, 19 September 1961.
39. *Agence Europe*, no. 1078, 21 September 1961.
40. *Ibid.*
41. See *Financial Times*, 'U.S. endorsement of Hallstein [acceleration] plan', 20 March 1960.
42. *Agence Europe*, no. 1085, 29 September 1961.
43. For press reaction to Heath's speech, see TNA, FO 371/158295. For a more in-depth analysis of Heath's speech, see Ludlow, *Dealing with Britain*, pp. 74–6.
44. British White Paper (1961) *The United Kingdom and the European Economic Community* (London: Stationery Office), paragraph 7.
45. Marjolin, *Architect of European Unity*, p. 335.
46. Record of conversation between Mansholt's *chef de cabinet* and C. J. Audland (FO official) 18 October 1961, TNA, FO 371/158299, M 634/637.
47. Noël had made preliminary notes on the Commission's working group in early June. See note from Noël to Günther Seeliger, Director-General, External Relations, 12 June 1961, HAEC, S/03243/61; see also *Agence Europe*, no. 1109, 27 October 1961.
48. British delegation note to FO, 4 November 1961, TNA, FO 371/158300.
49. For more on the Commission's report, see 'Commission's commentary on Lord Privy Seal's declaration', 5 November 1961, TNA, FO 371/158299, M 634/634.
50. For more on the conflicting views of the Community delegations, see Ludlow, *Dealing with Britain*, pp. 77–9.
51. *Agence Europe*, no. 1113, 6 November 1961.
52. Ludlow, *Dealing with Britain*, p. 79.
53. Beloff, *The General Says No: Britain's Exclusion from Europe* (London: Penguin, 1963), p. 117.
54. For an account of the opening meeting of the Brussels negotiations, 8 November 1961, see TNA, FO 371/158301, M 634/663.
55. *Agence Europe*, no. 1115, 8 November 1961.
56. *Agence Europe*, no. 1004, 16 June 1961.
57. Camps, *Britain and the European Community*, p. 389.
58. For more on Denmark's interest in the CAP negotiations, see Morten Rasmussen (2004) 'Joining the European Communities: Denmark's road to EC-membership, 1961–1973' (Unpublished PhD dissertation, European University Institute [Florence]), pp. 118–19.

59. European Commission, *'Première analyse des propositions du gouvernement Britannique contenues dans l'exposé fait à Paris par M. Heath, le 10 octobre 1961'*, HAEC, S/5602/61.
60. For Heath's personal account of the meeting, see TNA, FO 371/158302, M 634/686/G.
61. Discussions between Rey and British officials, 18 November 1961, TNA, FO 371/158305, M 634/731.
62. Discussions between Rey and British officials, 18 November 1961. See also conversation between Dutch officials in Brussels and the British, 16 November 1961, TNA, FO 158304, M 634/716.
63. See Heath's personal account of the meeting, and especially his assessment of the Commission's position, TNA, FO 371/158302, M 634/686/G.
64. Stuart Ward (1997) 'Anglo-Commonwealth relations and EEC membership', in George Wilkes (ed.) *Britain's Failure to Enter the European Community 1961–1963: The Enlargement Negotiations and Crises in European, Atlantic and Commonwealth Relations* (London: Frank Cass), p. 95; also Monnet, *Mémoires*, p. 456; Beloff, *The General Says No*, p. 119; Monnet repeatedly advised Heath that the British government should sign the Treaty of Rome immediately.
65. See Kohnstamm's memorandum to Monnet on British membership, 25 April 1961, HAEU, Max Kohnstamm papers (henceforward MK) 19.
66. Kohnstamm's memorandum to Monnet on British membership, 25 April 1961.
67. On 26 June, the Action Committee again had energetically endorsed the British application for membership of the EEC. See von der Groeben, *Formative Years*, p. 136.
68. See the *Economist's* analysis of the Commonwealth problem in the *Economist*, 3 June 1961.
69. See Rasmussen, 'Joining the Communities', p. 115.
70. European Commission, External Relation Directorate, *'Rapport intérimaire du groupe de travail sur l'adhésion du Royaume-Uni'*, 20 July 1961, HAEU, Emile Noël papers (henceforward EN) 893. The first point was agriculture.
71. *'Rapport intérimaire du groupe de travail sur l'adhésion du Royaume-Uni'*, 20 July 1961.
72. Ibid.
73. Ibid.
74. Ibid.
75. Ludlow, *Dealing with Britain*, p. 3.
76. Ghana, for example, viewed the Treaty of Rome as the continuation of neo-colonialism, stating at the Commonwealth Economic Consultative Council in September 1961: 'They disliked the community in its present form intensely, and they could only reconcile themselves to United Kingdom membership of it if the United Kingdom used that membership to remove its most distasteful features'. See Milward, *The UK and the European Community*, vol. 1, p. 363.
77. *Agence Europe*, no. 1066, 7 September 1961.
78. *Agence Europe*, no. 1092, 7 October 1961.
79. Camps, *Britain and the European Community*, p. 381.
80. *Note pour messieurs les membres de la Commission, 'Première analyse des propositions du gouvernement britannique contenues dans l'exposé fait à Paris par M. Heath, le 10 octobre'*, 27 October 1961, HAEC, S 1/1961 5602. See also Ludlow's analysis of the working group's comments on Heath's speech to the six in *Dealing with Britain*, p. 81.

81. Beloff, *The General Says No*, p. 117. The British delegation sought a 12 to 15-year transitional period.
82. Note by Robert Lemaigen, '*Demande d'adhésion de la Grande-Bretagne problèmes du Commonwealth: Comment les concilier avec l'association des Etats Africains et Malgache?*' 22 November 1961, HAEC, S 1/1962 5602.
83. In the weeks immediately after Britain had applied to join the Community in July 1961, the ambassadors of the Community's AOTs approached the Council requesting that they be kept informed of any developments that affected their relations with the EEC. See COREPER note, '*Communication du Secrétariat concernant le remise pour information des demandes d'adhésion du Royaume-Uni, du Danemark et de l'Irlande aux Ambassadeurs des Etats africaine et malgache associés à la Communauté*', 25 August 1961, CMA, CM 2/1961, no. 104.
84. Deniau, '*Rapport de la Délégation de la Commission sur la réunion des Suppléants des chefs des délégations (suppléants des ministres), 22–4 Novembre 1961*', HAEC, *Bordereau de Transmission* file (henceforward BDT) 145/88 no. 245 (Report no. 1). These reports were prepared by either Hallstein or Deniau after each meeting at deputy level of the enlargement negotiations, and prove a valuable source of what happened at these meetings.
85. Camps, *Britain and the European Community*, p. 372.
86. Note pour messieurs les membres de la Commission, '*Première analysis des propositions du gouvernement britannique contenues dans l'expose fait à Paris par M. Heath, le 10 octobre*', 27 October 1961, HAEC, S 1/1961 5602.
87. Camps, *Britain and the European Community*, p. 381.
88. Speech by Hallstein, 'European policy on Africa', University of Tübingen, 5 May 1961, HAEC, *Archives générales historiques et courantes – Discours lettre H*, no. 2.
89. Hallstein, 'European policy on Africa', University of Tübingen, 5 May 1961.
90. *Ibid.*
91. '*Résumé succinct de l'état des négociations de la conférence entre les états membres des Communautés européennes et les états tiers ayant demande l'adhésion a ces Communautés*', 21 May 1962, HAEU, BAC 1/1971, no. 20/2.
92. Memorandum of conversation between Hallstein and George Ball, US Undersecretary of State for economic affairs, 13 May 1961, *FRUS*, 1961–1963, vol. XIII, p. 14.
93. See '*Rapport no. 2 de la délégation de la Commission pour les négociations avec le Royaume-Uni sur la deuxième session ministérielle*', 8 December 1961, HAEC, BDT 145/88, no. 245.
94. *Extrait du compte rendu de la 3ème session Ministérielle entre les Etats Membres des Communautés européennes et le Royaume-Uni, tenue à Bruxelles le 18 janvier 1962*, CMA, CM 2/1962, no. 1095 (RU/M/11/62), Annex II.
95. *Extrait du compte rendu de la 3ème session Ministérielle entre les Etats Membres des Communautés européennes et le Royaume-Uni, tenue à Bruxelles le 18 janvier 1962*.
96. Ludlow, *Dealing with Britain*, p. 87.
97. European Commission (1963) *Sixth general report of the activities of the Community (1 May 1962–31 March 1963)* (Brussels: Commission of the EEC), p. 220.
98. '*Rapport no. 3 de la délégation de la Commission pour les négociations avec le Royaume-Uni sur la troisième session ministérielle*', 18 January 1962, HAEC, BDT 145/88, no. 245.
99. Conference between member states of the European Communities and other states which have applied for membership of the Communities, 'Statement by Pierson Dixon on the subject of association', 31 January 1962, CMA, CM

- 2/1962, no. 1095 (RU/S/19/62). Even though Dixon was, officially at least, the head of the British delegation to the Brussels negotiations, it was Eric Roll who dominated the British team.
100. Conference between member states of the European Communities and other states which have applied for membership of the Communities, 'Statement by Pierson Dixon on the subject of association', 31 January 1962.
 101. '4^{ème} rapport de la délégation de la Commission pour les négociations d'adhésion/Royaume-Uni – Comité des Suppléants', 30 January 1962, HAEC, BDT 145/88, no. 245.
 102. Ludlow, *Dealing with Britain*, p. 83. See also Camps, *Britain and the European Community*, p. 388.
 103. Note pour les membres de la Commission, 'Rapport no. 7 de M. le Président Hallstein sur le déroulement de la session Ministérielle dans le cadre des négociations avec Royaume-Uni', 22–23 February 1962, HAEC, BDT 145/88, no. 245; also Ludlow, *Dealing with Britain*, p. 98.
 104. Deniau, 'Rapport no. 12 de la Délégation de la Commission pour les négociations avec le Royaume-Uni sur le déroulement de la treizième réunion des suppléants des ministres', 20–21 March 1962, HAEC, BDT 145/88, no. 245.
 105. Ibid.
 106. D. A. Gowland and Arthur Turner (2000) *Reluctant Europeans: Britain and European integration, 1945–1998* (London: Longman), p. 133; also Heath, *The Course of My Life: My Autobiography* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1998), p. 222; Piers Dixon (1968) *Double Diploma: The Life of Sir Pierson Dixon, Don and Diplomat* (London: Hutchinson), pp. 282–3.
 107. Comité des suppléants Royaume-Uni de 29 mars 1962, no. 311, CMA, CM 2/1962 no. 1095.
 108. Comité des suppléants Royaume-Uni de 29 mars 1962.
 109. Rey's note on 'Elargissement de la Communauté', 29 March 1962, HAEC, S/816/62.
 110. Duchêne to Max Kohnstamm, Vice-President of the Comité d'Action pour les Etats-Unis d'Europe, 15 May 1962, HAEU, MK 20.
 111. Camps, *Britain and the European Community*, p. 396.
 112. See Deniau, 'Rapport no. 21 de la Délégation de la Commission pour les négociations avec le Royaume-Uni sur le déroulement de la vingt-et-unième réunion des suppléants des ministres', 22–24 May 1962, HAEC, BDT 145/88, no. 245. The Australian and New Zealand delegations in Brussels sharply criticised the arrangement as a 'disturbing development' and emphasised that it should not be a precedent for other, more important products. See Camps, *Britain and the European Community*, p. 397.
 113. Deniau, 'Rapport no. 21 de la Délégation de la Commission pour les négociations avec le Royaume-Uni sur le déroulement de la vingt-et-unième réunion des suppléants des ministres', 22–24 May 1962, HAEC, BDT 145/88, no. 245.
 114. The Australian delegation addressed the committee of deputies in April. See 'Rapport no. 17 de la délégation de la Commission pour les négociations avec le Royaume-Uni sur le déroulement de la dix-septième réunion des suppléants des ministres', 26–27 April 1962, HAEC, BDT 145/88, no. 245.
 115. Parlement Européen, *Débats*, no. 54, 26 June 1962, p. 74.
 116. Ludlow deals more with this speculation. See Ludlow, *Dealing with Britain*, Chapter 4.
 117. Kohnstamm to Monnet, 12 July 1962, HAEU, MK 21.
 118. Duchêne to Kohnstamm, 15 May 1962, HAEU, MK 20.

119. *Le Monde*, 7 June 1962; Camps, *Britain and the European Community*, p. 398; Robert Kleiman (1964) *Atlantic Crisis: American Diplomacy Confronts a Resurgent Europe* (New York: Norton), p. 68. For Ludlow's analysis of this meeting, see *Dealing with Britain*, pp. 119–22.
120. Ludlow, *Dealing with Britain*, p. 122.
121. Adenauer also called on the British government to sign the Treaty of Rome in May 1962. See *Die Welt*, 18 May 1962; *Financial Times*, 19 May 1962.
122. Camps, *Britain and the European Community*, p. 398.
123. Beloff, *The General Says No*, p. 126.
124. European Commission, 'Statement on the negotiations concerning Great Britain's accession to the European Economic Community made to the European Parliament by Professor Walter Hallstein', 5 February 1963, TNA, FO 371/181804, M 10610/4 (1963).
125. 'Statement on the negotiations concerning Great Britain's accession to the European Economic Community made to the European Parliament by Professor Walter Hallstein', 5 February 1963.
126. *Ibid.*
127. These groups included: (i) the highly industrialised countries (Canada, Australia, and New Zealand); (ii) the developing countries dependent on the export of industrial goods (India, Pakistan, and Hong Kong); (iii) the countries that produced tropical and agricultural goods, most of them in Africa and the Caribbean; and (iv) a number of other countries that raised particular problems (Cyprus and Malta).
128. A meeting of the prime ministers of the Commonwealth countries was scheduled for mid-September. Macmillan had to present his guests with tangible results from the negotiations, and therefore the period from May to September was crucial for the British negotiators. See Camps, *Britain and the European Community*, p. 399.
129. See '*Rapport de la délégation de la Commission pour les négociations avec le Royaume-Uni sur le déroulement de la vingt-quatrième réunion des suppléants des ministres*', 20–22 June 1962, HAEC, BDT 145/88, no. 245.
130. This was first suggested in mid-May 1962 by the Commission. See '*Rapport no. 20 de la délégation de la Commission pour les négociations avec le Royaume-Uni sur le déroulement de la vingtième réunion des suppléants des ministres*', 16–18 May 1962, HAEC, BDT 145/88, no. 245.
131. Dixon, *Double Diploma*, p. 288.
132. Milward, *The UK and the European Community*, vol. 1, p. 389.
133. Dixon, *Double Diploma*, p. 284. See also '*Rapport no. 30 de M. le président Hallstein sur le déroulement de la 9ème session ministérielle dans la cadre des négociations avec le Royaume-Uni*', 20 July 1962, HAEC, BDT 145/88, no. 245.
134. Dixon, *Double Diploma*, p. 284.
135. *Ibid.*, p. 285.
136. Beloff, *The General Says No*, p. 126.
137. *Ibid.*, p. 127.
138. For a report of this meeting and the disagreements between Spaak and Hallstein over the Belgian amendments, see *Agence Europe*, 2 August 1962.
139. Beloff, *The General Says No*, p. 128.
140. Milward, *The UK and the European Community*, vol. 1, p. 390.
141. Regulation No. 25 outlined how the CAP would be financed until 1965.

142. Note by Heath, 'Temperate agricultural products', 21 August 1962, TNA, British Cabinet Papers (henceforward CAB) 129/110; *New York Times*, 6 August 1962.
143. See Camps, *Britain and the European Community*, p. 411.
144. Dixon, *Double Diploma*, p. 292.
145. Milward, *The UK and the European Community*, vol. 1, p. 391.
146. In late July, the British had discussed at cabinet the advantages of not securing a major agreement with the six before the summer recess. See Ludlow, *Dealing with Britain*, pp. 152–4.
147. Lucia Coppolaro (2006) 'Trade and politics across the Atlantic: the European Economic Community (EEC) and the United States of America in the GATT: negotiations of the Kennedy Round (1962–1967)' (Unpublished PhD dissertation, European University Institute [Florence]), p. 423.
148. Schaetzel to Kohnstamm, 25 October 1962, HAEU, MK 21.
149. Camps, *Britain and the European Community*, p. 464.
150. Mansholt would examine the problems on a product-by-product basis. See note from Kohnstamm to Monnet based on conversation between the two, 19–20 December 1962, HAEU, MK 21.
151. Deniau, '*Rapport de la Délégation de la Commission sur la réunion des Suppléants des chefs des délégations (suppléants des ministres)*,' Report no. 16, 11–12 April 1962, HAEC, BDT 145/88, no. 245.
152. Von der Groeben, *Formative years*, p. 122. See also similar comments by Mansholt to the European Parliament, 23 January 1962, *Assemblée Parlementaire Européenne, Débats*, 22–25 January 1962, no. 52, p. 79.
153. Ludlow, 'A welcome change', p. 40.
154. *Ibid.*, p. 40.

2 The Commission and the Irish Application

1. Relatively little has been written about Ireland's relations with the first enlargement. For pioneering archival research, see Maurice FitzGerald (2000) *Protectionism to Liberalisation: Ireland and the EEC, 1957 to 1966* (Aldershot: Ashgate); Michael J. Geary (2009) *An Inconvenient Wait: Ireland's Quest for Membership of the EEC, 1957–73* (Dublin: Institute of Public Administration); Gary Murphy (2003) *Economic Realignment and the Politics of EEC Entry: Ireland, 1948–1972* (London: Academica Press).
2. The 1956 Census of Population for Ireland revealed that over 40,000 people annually were leaving the country. By 1961, the population of the Irish Republic stood at 2.8 million, which was 5 per cent below the level at the foundation of the state. See Census of Population Ireland (1954) (Dublin: Stationery Office); John Kurt Jacobsen (1994) *Chasing Progress in the Irish Republic: Ideology, Democracy and Dependent Development* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), p. 64.
3. Míriam Hederman (1983) *The Road to Europe: Irish Attitudes 1948–61* (Dublin: Institute of Public Administration), p. 53.
4. Department of External Affairs, Dublin (henceforward D/EA) minutes 'Report of meeting', 10 December 1958, National Archives of Ireland, Dublin (henceforward NAI), Department of Foreign Affairs file (henceforward D/FA) O103/19 Part IV, London Embassy file. See also *Irish Times*, 'Ireland supports British free trade plan,' 9 January 1959.
5. Seán Lemass became Taoiseach and leader of the Fianna Fáil party in 1959.

6. Dáil Éireann Parliamentary Debates (henceforward Dáil Debates), vol. 178, col. 629, 2 December 1959.
7. Hederman, *The Road to Europe*, p. 65.
8. Dáil Debates, vol. 191, col. 204, 5 July 1961.
9. Note from Emile Noël to members of the Commission, 18 July 1961, HAEC, BAC S 1/1061 4082.
10. European Commission, '*Rapport intérimaire du groupe de travail sur l'adhésion du Royaume-Uni*', 20 July 1961, HAEC, BAC S 1/1061 4082.
11. Denis J. Maher, *The Tortuous Path: The Course of Ireland's Entry into the EEC, 1948–1973* (Dublin: Institute of Public Administration, 1986), p. 124.
12. Lemass to Erhard, 31 July 1961, NAI, D/FA CM/6 I (B). Harold Macmillan informed Lemass on 26 July that the British government would 'seek to enter into negotiations with the Six'. See Macmillan to Lemass, 26 July 1961, NAI, D/FA CM/6 I (B). For press reaction to the Irish application, see *Le Figaro*, '*Nouvelles réactions*', 2 August 1961; *Le Monde*, '*L'Irlande a décidé de suivre l'exemple de la Grande-Bretagne*', 3 August 1961.
13. Note from Noël to members of the Commission (based on COREPER meeting), 2 August 1961, HAEC, BAC S 1/1961 4448. The Council of Ministers formally replied to the Irish government in late August 1961. See letter from Erhard to Lemass, 19 August 1961, HAEC, BAC S 1/1961 4567.
14. *Agence Europe*, no. 1052, 21 August 1961.
15. Maher, *The Tortuous Path*, p. 139.
16. Denis McDonald to D/EA, 'Report of conversation with Deniau', 25 July 1960, NAI, D/FA CM/6/I (A). Later in 1960, Frank Biggar replaced McDonald as Ireland's ambassador to the EEC, Belgium, and Luxembourg, and retained the post until 1966. McDonald became Ireland's ambassador to France.
17. Biggar to Secretary D/EA, 'Record of meeting with Hallstein', 7 July 1961, NAI, D/FA CM/6, I (B).
18. Maher, *The Tortuous Path*, p. 126.
19. '*Projet de rapport au Conseil – Problèmes soulevés par les démarches effectuées en vue d'une adhésion par les Gouvernements du Royaume-Uni, du Danemark et de l'Irlande*', 1 September 1961, HAEC, BAC S 1/1961 4733.
20. '*Projet de rapport au Conseil – Problèmes soulevés par les démarches effectuées en vue d'une adhésion par les Gouvernements du Royaume-Uni, du Danemark et de l'Irlande*', 1 September 1961.
21. 'Record of conversation between Irish officials and Sicco Mansholt', Brussels, 5 September 1961, NAI, D/FA CM/2.
22. '*Extrait du projet de procès-verbal de la réunion restreinte tenue à l'occasion de la 52ème session du Conseil de la Communauté Economique Européenne*', 24, 26–27 September 1961, HAEC, BAC 1/1971, no. 20/1.
23. '*Extrait du projet de procès-verbal de la réunion restreinte tenue à l'occasion de la 52ème session du Conseil de la Communauté Economique Européenne*', 24, 26–27 September 1961.
24. *Ibid.*
25. See, for example, European Commission, External Relations Directorate note to Rey on Austria and Sweden, 12 May 1961, HAEC, BAC 61/1982, no. 45/2; European Commission, External Relations Directorate note '*Neutralité et association à la CEE*', 4 June 1962, HAEC, BAC 1/1971, no. 20/3.
26. *Agence Europe*, no. 1096, 14 October 1961.
27. *Ibid.*, 14 October 1961.

28. *Agence Europe*, no. 1108, 26 October 1961.
29. Biggar to Con Cremin (Secretary, D/EA), 9 December 1961, NAI, D/FA CM/9/3 II.
30. Maher, *The Tortuous Path*, p. 378.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 381.
32. Linthorst Homan, Dutch Permanent Representative to the Community, thought Lemass's statement had been a very good one; indeed, in some ways more impressive than that presented by the Danes, who had, in his view, made rather too much of their difficulties. See Biggar to Cremin, 14 February 1962, NAI, Department of the Taoiseach file (henceforward D/T) S17246 C/1962.
33. Biggar to Cremin, 14 February 1962.
34. Report of COREPER meeting, 9 March 1962, HAEU, CM 2/1962, no. 106.
35. Axel Herbst, '*Note pour MM. Les membres de la Commission*', 2 March 1962, HAEC, BAC 38/1984, no. 105/2.
36. See '*Note pour MM les membres de la Commission – Demande d'adhésion à la Communauté présentée par le Gouvernement irlandais*', 9 March 1962, HAEC, BAC 38/1984, no. 105/2.
37. See '*Document de travail sur l'Irlande et projet de questionnaire à l'intention du Gouvernement irlandais*', HAEC, BAC 38/1984, no. 105/2.
38. See Council of Ministers, '*Questionnaire concernant certains problèmes immédiats que posent les demandes d'Adhésion et d'Association à la Communauté*', 17 August 1961, HAEU, CEAB 2, no. 2489/1.
39. Maher, *The Tortuous Path*, p. 147.
40. See '*Note sur les réponses fournies par les Fonctionnaires Irlandais lors de la réunion du 11 mai 1962, au questionnaire adressé par la Communauté au Gouvernement irlandais, suite à la déclaration faite par Monsieur Lemass, Premier Ministre d'Irlande, lors de la réunion ministérielle du 18 janvier 1962*', 14 September 1962, HAEC, BAC 38/1984, no. 105.
41. Maher, *The Tortuous Path*, p. 154.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 155.
43. Herbst, '*Note pour MM. les membres de la Commission*', 13 July 1962, HAEC, BAC 38/1984, no. 105/1.
44. See minutes of European Commission meeting, 12 September 1962, HAEC, BAC 209/1980, no. 188–189, PV 197, 2e partie.
45. See '*Note sur les réponses fournies par les Fonctionnaires Irlandais lors de la réunion du 11 mai 1962, au questionnaire adressé par la Communauté au Gouvernement irlandais, suite aux déclarations faite par Monsieur Lemass, Premier Ministre d'Irlande, lors de la réunion ministérielle du 18 janvier 1962*', 14 September 1962, HAEC, BAC 38/1984, no. 105.
46. See comments made by German and Dutch delegations at COREPER meeting, 14 September 1962, HAEC, BAC 38/1984, no. 105. See also '*Comité des Représentants Permanents, projet de compte rendu sommaire de la réunion restreinte tenue à l'occasion de la 226ème réunion*', 13–14 September 1962, HAEC, BAC 214/1980, no. 82.
47. See comments made by German and Dutch delegations at COREPER meeting, 14 September 1962, HAEC, BAC 38/1984, no. 105.
48. See Axel Herbst's report of COREPER meeting, '*Relations entre la Communauté et l'Irlande*', 5 October 1962, HAEC, BAC 38/1984, no. 105.
49. Maher, *The Tortuous Path*, p. 159.
50. See Herbst, '*Note pour MM. les membres de la Commission*', 15 October 1962, HAEC, BAC 38/1984, no. 105; *Agence Europe*, no. 509, 23 October 1962.

51. Herbst to Commissioners, 19 October 1962, HAEC, BAC 38/1984, no. 105.
52. Von der Groeben, *The European Community, The Formative Years. The Struggle to Establish the Common Market and the Political Union (1958–66)*, p. 29.
53. Jean-François Deniau (1960) *The Common Market* (London: Barrie & Rockliff), p. 1.
54. Statement by Walter Hallstein to the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe during a debate on European economic relations, 20 January 1960, HAEC, *Archives générales historiques et courantes – Discours H*, no. 2.
55. The revolt by colonists and generals in Algeria in April 1961 posed a serious threat to the Gaullist system, and was contained only by the intervention of de Gaulle and his ministers. Immediately after his inauguration as President of the United States in January 1961, Kennedy ordered that the entire defence strategy be reviewed. The old strategy of massive retaliation was replaced by the strategy of flexible response.
56. Jeffrey G. Giauque (2000) 'The United States and the political union of Western Europe, 1958–1963' *Contemporary European History*, vol. 9, no. 1, p. 93.
57. This was a de Gaulle-inspired initiative from his press conference in September 1960, when he called for regular meetings between the heads of state and government of the six. He sought greater cooperation in the fields of politics, economics, culture, and defence. The proposal was linked to French calls for reform of NATO. See Robert Bloes (1970) *Le 'Plan Fouchet' et le problème de l'Europe politique* (Bruges: College of Europe); Georges-Henri Soutou (1990–1991) 'Le général de Gaulle, le plan Fouchet et l'Europe', *Commentaire*, vol. 13, no. 52, pp. 757–66; Jeffrey Glen Giauque (2002) *Grand Designs and Visions of Unity: the Atlantic Powers and the Reorganization of Western Europe, 1955–1963* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press).
58. See Pierre Gerbet (1997) 'The Fouchet negotiations for political union and the British application' in George Wilkes (ed.), *Britain's Failure to Enter the European Community*, pp. 135–43.
59. Róisín Doherty (2002) *Ireland, Neutrality and European Security Integration* (Aldershot: Ashgate), p. 13.
60. Sheila Harden (1994) (ed.) *Neutral States and the European Community* (London: Brassey's), p. 151. See also *Text concerning Ireland's position in relation to the North Atlantic Treaty* (1950) (Dublin: Government Stationery Office).
61. Memorandum of conversation between the German and US governments, 13 April 1961, *FRUS*, 1961–1963, vol. XIII, p. 8.
62. Memorandum of conversation between the German and US governments, 13 April 1961. Ball had previously been a member of the law firm Cleary, Gottlieb, Steen and Ball, which acted as legal counsel in the United States to the European Commission. Ball had also been a legal adviser to Jean Monnet. For his pro-European views, see his speech before the Senate Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 10 May 1960, in which he argued in favour of the Community's Common Market, HAEC, Walter Hallstein papers (henceforward WH) S 4685.
63. Telegram from US Embassy (London) to the State Department on Heath-Ball meeting, 18 May 1961, *FRUS*, 1961–1963, vol. XIII, p. 18.
64. Circular telegram from US Department of State to certain Missions in Europe, 27 October 1961, United States of America, National Archives and Record Administration, College Park, Maryland (henceforward NARA), State Department Central files, 375.800/10–2761.

65. See European Commission, External Relation division, '*Rapport intérimaire du groupe de travail sur l'adhésion du Royaume-Uni*', 20 July 1961, HAEC, I/S/0/4082/61. During a debate in the European Parliament on 20 October 1961, discussions largely centred on the British application. See *Assemblée Parlementaire Européenne*, '*Rapport fait au nom de la Commission politique sur la procédure à suivre pour la conclusion des accords d'adhésion*', 20 October 1961, CMA, CM 1/1961, no. 61.
66. See *Le Figaro*, 11 May 1962.
67. See McDonald to Secretary, D/EA, 11 May 1962, NAI, D/FA CM/6 XII.
68. For the text of Hallstein's Zurich speech on 24 November 1961, see TNA, FO 371/158210, M 617/510.
69. '*Projet de rapport au Conseil – Problèmes soulevés par les démarches effectuées en vue d'une adhésion par les Gouvernements du Royaume-Uni, du Danemark et de l'Irlande*', 1 September 1961, HAEC, BAC S 1/1961 4733.
70. See Telegram from the US Embassy in Belgium to the US State Department, 29 November 1961, *FRUS*, 1961–1963, vol. XIII, pp. 51–53; Telegram from the US State Department to the US Embassy in Belgium, 23 February 1962, *FRUS*, 1961–1963, vol. XIII, pp. 65–67; *Irish Times*, 1 June 1961.
71. Telegram from the Embassy in Belgium to State Department, 29 November 1961, *FRUS*, 1961–1963, vol. XIII, p. 51.
72. Telegram from the Embassy in Belgium to State Department, 29 November 1961, *FRUS*, 1961–1963, vol. XIII, p. 52.
73. Telegram from the Embassy in Belgium to State Department, 29 November 1961.
74. Quoted in *New York Herald Tribune*, 26 January 1962; also *La Libre Belgique*, 26 January 1962. For the debate within the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe on the issue of neutrals in the EEC, see *Agence Europe*, no. 147, 28 June 1962.
75. *Agence Europe*, no. 1169, 18 January 1962.
76. *Agence Europe*, no. 1169, 18 January 1962.
77. European Commission report based on comments made in the Assembly of the Council of Europe, '*Neutralité et association à la CEE*', 4 June 1962, HAEC, BAC 1/1971, no. 20/3.
78. Meeting between Hallstein and Biggar, 15 February 1962, Biggar to Cremin, 19 February 1962, NAI, D/FA CM/9/1, I.
79. See a speech by McGeorge Bundy, President Kennedy's special assistant for national security affairs, at the general assembly of the Atlantic Treaty Association in Denmark, 27 September 1962, HAEC, WH 1266/1800; also United States Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, '*Problems and trends in Atlantic partnership – some comments on the European Economic Community and NATO*', 14 September 1962, HAEC, WH 1266/1787.
80. Walter Hallstein (1972) *Europe in the Making* (London: Allen & Unwin), p. 28.
81. *Ibid.*, p. 29.
82. Coombes, *Politics and Bureaucracy in the European Community: a Portrait of the Commission of the EEC* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1970), p. 256.
83. Meeting between Mansholt and Biggar, 20 February 1962 reported in letter from Biggar to Cremin, 23 February 1962, NAI, D/FA CM/9/1, I.
84. Biggar to Cremin, 23 February 1962, NAI, D/FA CM/9/1, I.
85. Notes of comments made by Rey, 18 January 1962, NAI, D/FA CM/6 VIII.
86. Notes of comments made by Rey and Caron, 18 January 1962.

87. Conversation between Deniau (senior Commission official in charge of the Commission's Working Group on enlargement) and Biggar, 12 February 1962 reported in letter from Biggar to Secretary, D/EA, 14 February 1962, NAI, D/FA CM/9/1, I.
88. Conversation between Deniau and Biggar, 12 February 1962.
89. *Ibid.*
90. Briefing notes for Lemass's visit to EEC countries, 3 October 1962, NAI, D/FA 17246 P/62.
91. See report of meeting between Irish ambassador to Bonn and German Foreign Minister, 13 September 1962, NAI, D/FA 17246 P/62.
92. Report of meeting between Irish ambassador to Bonn and German foreign minister, 13 September 1962.
93. Briefing notes for Lemass's visit to EEC countries, 3 October 1962, NAI, D/FA 17246 P/62.
94. Briefing notes for Lemass's visit to EEC countries, 3 October 1962.
95. *Ibid.*
96. For the minutes of these meetings, see NAI, D/FA CM/6 XVII.
97. Meeting between Hallstein and Lemass, 7 October 1962, NAI, D/FA CM/6 XVII.

3 From Veto to Veto: Britain and the Commission

1. Macmillan to Foreign Secretary, 15 January 1963, TNA, FO 371/171444, M1092/33/G. Whitehall officials had prepared papers on the failure of the negotiations as far back as December 1962. See memorandum 'If the negotiations fail', 28 December 1962, TNA, FO 371/173302, WPY/1/G.
2. Macmillan to Foreign Secretary, 15 January 1963, TNA, FO 371/171444, M1092/33/G.
3. Letter from Heath to Hallstein, 5 February 1963, TNA, FO 371/171422, M1091/202.
4. See William Pickles (1966) 'Making Sense of de Gaulle', *International Affairs*, vol. 42, no. 3, pp. 410–20; 'Le thème "Européen" dans les écrits et les déclarations du General de Gaulle', HAEU, CEAB 2, no. 3604.
5. For more on Denmark's rather unproductive meetings with the Commission in October and December 1963, see Rasmussen, 'Joining the European Communities', p. 142.
6. Tandy to Patrick Reilly (FO), 15 March 1963, TNA, FO 371/171424, M1091/257. Con O'Neill replaced Arthur Tandy as head of the British delegation to the European Communities on 30 May 1963. See TNA, FO 371/171402, M10813/10.
7. Tandy to Reilly, 15 March 1963.
8. See Galsworthy to Curtis Keeble (European Economic Organisation Department), FO, 21 March 1963, TNA, FO 371/171388, M1081/22.
9. Galsworthy to Keeble, 21 March 1963.
10. See Ludlow, *The European Community and the Crises of the 1960s: Negotiating the Gaullist Challenge*, pp. 24–7.
11. FO memorandum by R. E. Barclay, 11 February 1963, TNA, FO 371/171422, M1091/202.
12. FO memorandum by R. E. Barclay, 11 February 1963.
13. Max Kohnstamm note to Monnet, 22 February 1963, HAEU, MK 22.
14. See Ludlow, *The European Community and the Crises of the 1960s*, pp. 14–16.

15. The Italian government's minutes of this meeting were later shown to British officials. See J. Ward (British Embassy Official, Rome) to FO, 14 February 1963, TNA, FO 371/171421, M1091/194.
16. On the GATT negotiations, see Coppolaro, 'Trade and politics across the Atlantic', pp. 18–41.
17. 'Hallstein Report', HAEU, CEAB 12, no. 2016.
18. The Community never seriously believed that London would accept de Gaulle's vague offer of associate membership. The German government, for example, claimed that association was no solution for a partner as important as Britain. See *Agence Europe*, 5 February 1963.
19. European Commission (1963) *Sixth General Report on the Activities of the Community* (1 May 1962–31 March 1963) (Brussels: EEC Commission), pp. 11–12.
20. European Commission, *Sixth general report on the activities of the Community*, p. 14.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
22. See *Agence Europe* editorial on Hallstein's speech to European Parliamentary Assembly, no. 633, 28 March 1963.
23. Hallstein's speech to the National Association of British Manufacturers, London, 24 May 1963, TNA, FO 371/171257, M1034/5.
24. Hallstein's speech to the National Association of British Manufacturers, London, 24 May 1963.
25. Marjolin, *Le travail d'une vie*, p. 336.
26. See *Agence Europe*, no. 587, 1 February 1963. Days later, in a letter to a French daily newspaper, Mansholt claimed that his comments on 1 February had been taken out of context. See *Le Monde*, 7 February 1963. For the reaction from the five and the United States to the French veto, and the breakdown in the enlargement negotiations, see Oliver Bange (2000) *The EEC Crisis of 1963: Kennedy, Macmillan, De Gaulle and Adenauer in Conflict* (London: Macmillan), pp. 231–3.
27. Memorandum of conversation between Mansholt and President Kennedy, 9 April 1963, *FRUS*, 1961–1963, vol. XIII, p. 195.
28. See TNA, FO 371/171296, M1062/70.
29. Galsworthy to FO, 10 April 1963, TNA, FO 371/171426, M1091/293.
30. *Agence Europe*, no. 658, 30 April 1963; Meeting between Mansholt's *chef de cabinet* and Tandy, 26 April 1963, TNA, FO 371/171427, M1091/316.
31. Mansholt also assumed that the British government would not make another move towards the six until after the 1964 British general election.
32. See memorandum 'A positive policy after Brussels', Philip de Zulueta (Prime Minister's office) to Macmillan, 4 February 1963, TNA, Prime Minister's Office file (henceforward PREM) 11/4220; also Cabinet Office memorandum, 'Machinery of government in the post-Brussels period', TNA, PREM 11/4272. De Zulueta was one of those who believed it was better to move beyond the veto.
33. Record of meeting between Rey and Heath, 4 July 1963, TNA, FO 371/171296, M1062/76.
34. Miriam Camps (1967) *European Unification in the Sixties: From Veto to Veto* (London: Oxford University Press), p. 6.
35. Memorandum 'Policy towards the European Economic Community', Butler to Macmillan, 18 December 1963, TNA, PREM 11/5148. Butler served as Foreign Secretary until October 1964 under Alec Douglas Home, Macmillan's successor as prime minister.
36. Memorandum 'Policy towards the European Economic Community'.

37. Dixon to FO, 12 December 1963, TNA, FO 371/171451, M1092/186. See also *Agence Europe*, editorial ('*Si le Marché Commun mourait*'), 9 December 1963.
38. See for example, Ellison, *Threatening Europe*, p. 223.
39. See Philip Stevens, 'Hugo Young Memorial Lecture', Chatham House, London, reproduced in the *Guardian*, 21 October 2004.
40. Ludlow, *The European Community and the Crises of the 1960s*, p. 37.
41. Memorandum of conversation between members of the Commission and the US government, 6 March 1964, *FRUS*, 1964–1968, vol. XIII. (<http://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1964-68v13/d11>, date accessed: 16 October 2012).
42. Coppolaro, 'Trade and politics across the Atlantic', p. 95.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 119.
44. Ludlow, *The European Community and the Crises of the 1960s*, p. 28.
45. See *Agence Europe*, editorial ('*Les déséquilibres internes de la Communauté*'), no. 866, 22 January 1964.
46. Memorandum of conversation between members of the Commission and the US government, 6 March 1964, *FRUS*, 1964–1968, vol. XIII. (<http://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1964-68v13/d11>, date accessed: 12 May 2008).
47. See European Commission, 'Initiative 1964', HAEU, Klaus Meyer papers (henceforward KM) 7. For more background material on 'Initiative 1964' see HAEU, BAC 144/1992, no. 241; HAEU, BAC 002/1968–1920, '*Tâches de la Commission de la CEE: Sous-comité « Initiative 1964 » aspects de politique sociale*', vol. 5; HAEU, Cabinet Mansholt, no. 5, 1964–1965.
48. Dumoulin (ed.), *The European Commission, 1958–1972*, p. 56.
49. *Ibid.*, p. 56.
50. The Commission was not alone in drawing up proposals aimed at greater political integration in the post-veto period. Schroeder, German foreign minister, was the first to present the Community with a framework for the future political development of the EEC. France, Italy and the Benelux countries all contributed proposals. See HAEU, BAC 118/1986, no. 1723, 1723/2, 1466; TNA, FO 371/182346, M 10723/68, M 10723/69, M 10723/74.
51. European Commission, 'Initiative 1964', 30 September 1964, HAEU, BAC 144/1992, no. 241.
52. See Rey's report to the Council of Ministers based on a meeting with Heath in London on GATT and the problems of disparities in trade, 13–14 May 1963, HAEC, BAC 214/1980, no. 109.
53. The EFTA governments, meeting at Vienna on 24 May 1965, considered that steps could and should be taken to bring about closer contact between the EEC and the EFTA in order to facilitate the removal of trade barriers and the promotion of closer economic cooperation in Europe.
54. A. F. Maddocks (British Mission official, Brussels) to Norman Statham (FO official), 2 June 1965, TNA, FO 371/182346, M 10723/69.
55. Maddocks to Statham, 8 June 1965, TNA, FO 371/182346, M 10723/74.
56. Maddocks to Statham, 8 June 1965. The Dutch also raised questions about the bridge-building initiative. See *Daily Telegraph*, 25 May 1965.
57. See Takeshi Yamamoto (2007) 'Détente or Integration? EC Response to Soviet Policy Change Towards the Common Market, 1970–1975' in *Cold War History*, vol. 7, no. 1, pp. 75–94.
58. For more on the crisis, see Jean-Marie Palayret et al. (2006) (eds), *Visions, Votes and Vetoes: The Empty-Chair Crisis and the Luxembourg Compromise Forty Years on*

- (Brussels: PIE Peter Lang), especially pp. 79–96 for Ludlow's analysis of the Commission's role; N. Piers Ludlow (1999) 'Challenging French leadership in Europe: Germany, Italy and the Netherlands and the outbreak of the empty-chair crisis of 1965–1966' *Contemporary European History*, vol. 8, no. 2, pp. 231–48; Jonathan White (2003) 'Theory guiding practice: the Neofunctionalists and the Hallstein EEC Commission' *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 9, no. 1, pp. 111–31; Philip Bajon (2009) 'The European Commissioners and the empty chair crisis of 1965–66' *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 15, no. 2, pp. 105–24; Bajon (2012) *Europapolitik 'am Abgrund': Die Krise des 'leeren Stuhls' 1965–1966* (Studies on the History of European Integration, Vol. 15) (Stuttgart: Steiner).
59. See *Agence Europe*, editorials on the 'Luxembourg Compromise', no. 1446–50, 31 January – 4 February 1966.
 60. Helen Parr (2006) *Britain's Policy Towards the European Community: Harold Wilson and Britain's World Role, 1964–1967* (London: Routledge), p. 23. See also select references in Jane Toomey (2007) *Harold Wilson's EEC Application: Inside the Foreign Office 1964–1967* (Dublin: University College Dublin Press), Chapter 1.
 61. For an analysis of the impact that the outcome of the crisis had on Hallstein, see Philip Gassert (2001) 'Personalities and the politics of European integration: Kurt Kiesinger and the departure of Walter Hallstein, 1966/7' in Wilfried Loth (ed.), *Crises and Compromises: The European Project 1963–1969* (Baden-Baden: Nomos), pp. 265–84; Ludlow, *The European Community and the Crises of the 1960s*, pp. 130–2.
 62. *Agence Europe*, editorial, nos. 1504 and 1505, 12 and 18 April 1966.
 63. Memorandum of conversation between Wilson and United States officials, 27 July 1966 (<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ho/frus/johnsonlb/xii/6627.htm>, date accessed: 16 October 2012).
 64. Memorandum of conversation between Wilson and United States officials, 27 July 1966.
 65. Circular telegram from the United Department of State to posts in NATO capitals, 30 July 1966 (<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ho/frus/johnsonlb/xii/6627.htm>, date accessed: 16 October 2012).
 66. Record of talks between Hallstein and Marjoribanks, 25 July 1966, TNA, FO 371/188269, M 1062/23.
 67. For example, see Statham to Con O'Neill (FO), 5 August 1966, TNA, FO 371/188269, M 1062/23.
 68. Statham to O'Neill, 5 August 1966.
 69. *Ibid.*
 70. See Parr, Britain's policy towards the European Community, pp. 70–100.
 71. *The Times*, 11 November 1966.
 72. Wilson's statement to the House of Commons, 10 November 1966, TNA, FO 953/2312; also '*Reaction de la presse britannique à la déclaration de Mr Wilson devant la House of Commons, le 10 novembre*', HAEU, BAC 118/1986, no. 427; Parr, *Britain's Policy towards the European Community*, pp. 103–4.
 73. See '*Le thème "Européen" dans les écrits et les déclarations du General de Gaulle*', HAEU, CEAB 2, no. 3604. See also TNA, FO 1042/192; FO 1042/193; FO 1042/194.
 74. Telegram from the United States Embassy in France to the State Department, 24 November 1966 (<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ho/frus/johnsonlb/xii/2225.htm>, date accessed: 16 October 2008).

75. Telegram from the United States Embassy in France to the State Department, 24 November 1966. Bohlen added at the end of his report that 'I do not know how this should be handled with the British since we do not wish to have any responsibility for chilling the British effort. Perhaps the best thing to do would be to tell them in very general terms without being specific'.
76. Record of meeting between James Callaghan and Henry Fowler, US Secretary of the Treasury, 21 January 1967, *FRUS*, 1964–1968, vol. XIII, p. 529.
77. See *La Nation*, 22 December 1966; *Die Welt*, 7 January 1967; *Le Monde*, 7 January 1967.
78. See TNA, FO 371/188327, M10810/18.
79. See Action Committee for the United States of Europe (1967) Resolutions adopted by the Committee, thirteenth session, 15 June 1967 (Brussels); *Agence Europe*, editorial [*Le Comité Monnet et les forces européennes*], no. 1759, 15 March 1967.
80. *Agence Europe*, '*La candidature britannique et le rôle de l'Allemagne*', no. 1819, 15 June 1967.
81. See Monnet's letter to Willy Brandt, German Foreign Minister, 3 January 1967, HAEU, MK 46.
82. British delegation (Brussels) memorandum to FO, c. March 1967, TNA, FO 1108/15.
83. See Marjoribanks to Brown, 10 March 1967, TNA, FO 1108/15.
84. See Max Kohnstamm's notes on meetings with British and Community officials, including Mansholt, 19 January 1967, HAEU, MK 46.
85. Marjoribanks to O'Neill, 5 December 1966, TNA, PREM 13/1475.
86. See minutes of meeting between Wilson and Rey, 1 February 1967, TNA, PREM 14/1476; *Agence Europe*, editorial [*L'adhésion de la Grande-Bretagne et la Commission Européenne*], no. 1729, 1 February 1967.
87. Parr, *Britain's Policy towards the European Community*, p. 121.
88. Kohnstamm's notes on meetings with British and Community officials, including Mansholt and Narjes, 19 January 1967, HAEU, MK 46.
89. Kohnstamm's notes on meetings with British and Community officials, 19 January 1967.
90. Anthony Adamthwaite (2003) 'John Bull v. Marianne, Round two: Anglo-French relations and Britain's second EEC membership bid' in Oliver J. Daddow (ed.), *Harold Wilson and European integration, Britain's Second Application to Join the EEC* (London: Frank Cass), p. 153.
91. Adamthwaite, 'John Bull v. Marianne, Round two', p. 155. See also René Girault, Raymond Poidevin (2001) (eds), *Le rôle des Ministères des Finances et de l'Economie dans la Construction Européenne (1957–1978): Actes du colloque Tenu à Bercy, 26 mai 1999* (Paris: CHEFF); Hervé Alphand (1977) *L'étonnement d'être: Journal, 1939–1973* (Paris: Fayard), especially pp. 490–4 for his criticism of the second British application.
92. See Parr's analysis of this visit in *Britain's Policy towards the European Community*, p. 121.
93. See TNA, CAB 128/42.
94. Memorandum of conversation between Dean Rusk, US Secretary of State, and George Brown, Foreign Secretary, 18 April 1967, *FRUS*, 1964–1968, vol. XIII, p. 559.
95. See Wilson's letter to Renaat van Elslande, President of the EEC Council of Ministers, 12 May 1967, HAEU, BAC 118/1986, no. 427.

96. For Community reaction to Wilson's application, see Ludlow, *The European Community and the Crises of the 1960s*, pp. 137–8.
97. *Agence Europe*, editorial, no. 1796, 11 May 1967.
98. For more on the second Danish application (and the pressure exerted on the Commission by the Danes during the drafting of subsequent Commission *avis*), see Rasmussen, 'Joining the European Communities', pp. 150–7.
99. Hans Otto Frøland (2001) 'The second Norwegian EEC-application, 1967: was there a policy at all?' in Loth (ed.), *Crises and Compromises*, p. 450. See also Dag Alex Kristoffersen (2006) 'Norway's policy towards the EEC: the European dilemma of the Centre Right Coalition (1965–1971)', in Katrin Rucker, Laurent Warlouzet (eds), *Quelle(s) Europe(s)? Nouvelles Approches en Histoire de l'Intégration Européenne* (Bruxelles: P.I.E.-Peter Lang), pp. 209–24.
100. Reproduced in David Gowland, Arthur Turner (2000) (eds), *Britain and European Integration 1945–1998, A Document History* (London: Routledge), p. 123.
101. For more on the crisis surrounding the problems linked with sterling, see an excellent article by Catherine Schenk (2002) 'Sterling, international monetary reform and Britain's applications to join the European Economic Community in the 1960s', *Contemporary European History*, vol. II, no. 3, pp. 345–69; also Susan Strange (1967) *The Sterling Problem and the Six* (London: Chatham House, PEP).
102. See also memorandum of conversation between Ambassador Charles Lucet (French Embassy, Washington DC) and John Leddy (United States State Department), 19 May 1967, *FRUS*, 1964–1968, vol. XIII, pp. 576–7. Lucet argued that both Wilson and Brown were aware of the General's thoughts on these matters before the press conference on 16 May.
103. Memorandum of conversation between Rey and Rusk, 9 June 1967, NARA, State Department Central Files, FT 13–2 US, EEC 3, ECIN 3 EEC.
104. Memorandum of conversation between Rey and Rusk, 9 June 1967. During this meeting, Rey also requested that the United States remain publicly silent on the issue of British membership.
105. See *Agence Europe*, no. 1793, 8 May 1967. For more on Hallstein's resignation and Rey's appointment as President of the European Commission, see Philipp Gassert (2001) 'Personalities and the politics of European integration: Kurt Georg Kiesinger and the departure of Walter Hallstein, 1966/67' in Loth (ed.), *Crises and Compromises*, pp. 265–84; Ludlow, *The European Community and the Crises of the 1960s*, pp. 130–2.
106. A list of the Rey Commission is reproduced in Dumoulin (ed.), *The European Commission*, pp. 183–4.
107. European Commission, 'Rapport sur la 224ème session du Conseil les 26–27 juin 1967, point 3 de l'ordre du jour: Lettres des gouvernements du Royaume-Uni, de l'Irlande et du Danemark concernant l'adhésion de ces pays aux Communautés européennes', 4 July 1967, HAEU, BAC 144/1992, no. 179/6.
108. Conversation between Hallstein and Marjoribanks, 8 March 1967, TNA, Foreign and Commonwealth Office file (henceforward FCO) 1108/15.
109. Conversation between Hallstein and Marjoribanks, 8 March 1967. See also *Sunday Times* interview with Edward Heath, 5 March 1967.
110. See minutes of European Commission meeting, 10–12 July 1963, HAEC, BAC 259/80, no. 1/13, PV 2 final, 2e partie, 10–12 July 1963. Edoardo Martino succeeded Rey as Commissioner for External Relations in the new 14-member Commission.
111. See 'Note pour la Commission', 17 July 1967, HAEU, BAC 11/1972, no. 11/1.

112. Minutes of European Commission meeting, 10–12 July 1963.
113. See Rasmussen, 'Joining the European Communities', p. 157.
114. See Brown's statement to the WEU, 4 July 1967, HAEU, BAC 144/1992, no. 179/2.
115. Parr, *Britain's Policy towards the European Community*, p. 159; *Agence Europe*, editorial, no. 1821–1824, 19–22 June 1967.
116. Minutes of European Commission meeting, 17–20 July 1967, HAEU, BAC 259/80, no. 1/13, PV 3 final, 2e partie.
117. For the various drafts of the *Avis de la Commission* and notes prepared by the Commission working groups on the subject of Britain's application, see HAEU, BAC 11/1972, no. 13, 13/1, 14, 14/1.
118. Summary of the Commission's report on the British, Irish, Danish, and Norwegian membership requests, HAEU, BAC 144/1992, no. 54B. It should be noted that this file is part of the Martino cabinet papers but has a general BAC reference. His cabinet papers are distinguished by the letters 'EM'.
119. See *Avis de la Commission au Conseil concernant les demandes d'adhésion du Royaume-Uni, de l'Irlande, du Danemark et de la Norvège en vertu des articles 237 du traité CEE, 205 du traité CEEA et 98 du traité CECA, 'Problèmes généraux de l'élargissement'*, HAEU, CEAB 5, no. 1317.
120. *Avis de la Commission au Conseil*.
121. *Ibid.*
122. *Direction Générale des Relations Extérieures, 'Problèmes que soulève l'entrée de la Grande-Bretagne dans la CEEA'*, 9 July 1967, HAEU, BAC 144/1992, no. 179/5.
123. Memorandum of conversation between Hallstein and Ball, 13 May 1961, Washington, *FRUS*, 1961–1963, vol. XIII, p. 13.
124. Ludlow, *The European Community and the Crises of the 1960s*, pp. 141–2.
125. The contribution of the Directorate General for Economic and Monetary Affairs to the *avis* dealt almost exclusively with the questions affecting the British economy and not the other three applicants. See '*Contribution de la Direction générale des affaires économiques et financiers – les problèmes économique et financiers*', c. 17 July 1967, HAEU, BAC 144/1992, no. 179/1.
126. See *Avis de la Commission au Conseil concernant les demandes d'adhésion du Royaume-Uni, de l'Irlande, du Danemark et de la Norvège en vertu des articles 237 du traité CEE, 205 du traité CEEA et 98 du traité CECA, 'Problèmes généraux de l'élargissement'*, HAEU, CEAB 5, no. 1317; also '*12ème séance de la Commission*', 23–28 October 1967, HAEU, CEAB 2, no. 2638/1; HAEU, BAC 11/1972, no. 15.
127. *Avis de la Commission*, HAEU, BAC 11/1972, no. 16.
128. The sterling balances were all the liquid assets held in London by public authorities, firms, and private persons resident outside Britain, whether as reserves, as working balances, or as a means of financing transactions of various kinds.
129. *Avis de la Commission*. See also HAEU, BAC 11/1972, no. 16/1.
130. See Chancellor of the Exchequer's Mansion House speech in London, 26 October 1967, HAEU, BAC 11/1972, no. 16/1, 16/2; *Le Monde*, article by Callaghan, 25 September 1967, in which he argued that the sterling balances should not be an obstacle to British membership of the EEC.
131. Schenk, 'Sterling, international monetary reform', p. 346.
132. *Ibid.*
133. *Ibid.*, p. 366.
134. By September 1967, Norway had reapplied for Community membership.

135. *Herald Tribune*, 7 October 1967. See also *Daily Mirror*, 9 October 1967, whose report on the *avis* defined the Commission as 'a group of experts which forms the Market's civil service'.
136. *Le Soir*, 7 October 1967.
137. *Daily Telegraph*, 7 October 1967.
138. *Sunday Telegraph*, 8 October 1967.
139. *Ibid.*
140. See *Agence Europe*, no. 1889, and the *Economist*, 7 October 1967; *Observer*, 8 October 1967. The *Financial Times* argued that the Commission had ignited a debate that was essential for Britain. See *Financial Times*, 9 October 1967.
141. *The Times*, 7 October 1967.
142. Minutes of European Commission meeting, 11 October 1967, HAEU, BAC 259/80, no. 1/13, PV 10 final, 2e partie.
143. Ludlow, *The European Community and the Crises of the 1960s*, p. 142; see also Couve's interview quoted in Alec Cairncross, Barry Eichengreen (1983) *Sterling in Decline: The Devaluations of 1931, 1949, and 1967* (London: Blackwell), p. 188.
144. Georges Berthoin (Commission office, London) to Rey, 27 October 1967, HAEU, BAC 144/1992, no. 179 (a).
145. For more on the 'Chalfont Affair', see *Daily Express*, 3 November 1967.
146. *The Economist*, 19 November 1967. See also 'Statement by the Chancellor of the Exchequer [announcing devaluation of the pound]', 18 November 1967, HAEU, BAC 144/1992, no. 179.
147. Council of Ministers, 'Extrait du procès-verbal de la réunion restreinte à l'occasion de la 13ème session du Conseil', 20 November 1967, CMA, CM 2/1967, no. 76.
148. Quoted in Frances Nicholson, Roger East (1987) *From the Six to the Twelve: The Enlargement of the European Communities* (London: Longman), p. 52.
149. Parr, *Britain's Policy towards the European Community*, p. 173.
150. *Agence Europe*, editorial, no. 1939, 18 December 1967.
151. Lord Chalfont's speech at Britain in Europe Society annual meeting, 7 December 1967, HAEU, BAC 144/1992, no. 179/9.
152. Council of Ministers, 'Extrait du projet de procès-verbal de la réunion restreinte à l'occasion de la 16ème session du Conseil', 11–12 December 1967, HAEU, BAC 144/1992, no. 179/8.
153. Ludlow, *The European Community and the Crises of the 1960s*, p. 143.
154. See the Council's letter to the British government informing it that no decision was taken on the enlargement of the EEC but that their request for membership would remain open, HAEU, BAC 11/1972, no. 16/2.
155. *Agence Europe*, editorial, no. 1941, 20 December 1967.
156. Ludlow, *The European Community and the Crises of the 1960s*, p. 144.

4 Ireland and the Policy of Failure

1. See Jane Toomey (2003) 'Ireland and Britain's second application to join the EEC' in Oliver J. Daddow (ed.), *Harold Wilson and European Integration: Britain's Second Application to Join the EEC* (London: Frank Cass), pp. 227–31.
2. Dáil Debates, vol. 199, col. 618, 30 January 1963.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*

5. Contacts, for example, between the Commission and Denmark had resumed over the summer of 1963. See Rasmussen, 'Joining the European Communities', p. 141.
6. See Biggar's note to D/EA, 1 February 1963, NAI, D/FA CM/6/XXII (1963).
7. Biggar to Secretary, D/EA, 2 February 1963, NAI, D/FA CM/6/XXII (1963).
8. D/EA Telegram to Irish Missions in Bonn, Brussels, Paris, Rome, and The Hague, 4 February 1963, NAI, D/FA CM/6/XXII (1963).
9. D/EA Telegram to Irish Missions in Bonn, Brussels, Paris, Rome, and The Hague, 4 February 1963. This is a direct quote from the original document.
10. Department of Finance (henceforward D/F) memorandum, 'Possibility of interim trading link with EEC pending entry as a member', September 1963, NAI, D/FA 2003/1/215. For an insider's account of the background to this memorandum, see Maher, *The Tortuous Path*, pp. 185–6.
11. For archival-based material dealing with Turkey's association with the EEC, see 'Association de la Turquie', HAEU, BAC 3/1978, no. 285–93.
12. Nagle to D/F Secretary, 23 July 1963, NAI, D/T S17427 H/63.
13. Nagle to D/F Secretary, 23 July 1963.
14. It should be noted that informal diplomatic contacts would have continued throughout the post-veto period between Commission officials and Irish embassy staff in Brussels, but the subject of Ireland's application was not one that arose frequently.
15. Biggar to Hugh McCann, Secretary, D/EA, 19 July 1963, NAI, D/T S17427 H/63.
16. See Rasmussen, 'Joining the European Communities', Chapter 3.
17. *Aide mémoire*, 22 October 1963, NAI, D/T S17427.
18. See 'Note au sujet de la position prise par l'Irlande à l'occasion de sa demande d'adhésion à la Communauté', HAEU, BAC 1/1971, no. 12/2. The Commission's own record of its meetings with the Irish government is rather sparse, occasionally reduced to summaries. Of necessity, the chapter examines other sources, such as Dublin's minutes, to assess the Commission's attitude to trade relations with third countries.
19. Report of meeting with Commission of the European Economic Community, 29 November 1963, 'Compte-rendu de la réunion d'information présidée par M. le ministre Rey', HAEU, BAC 1/1971, no. 12/2; NAI, D/T S17427 K/63.
20. Opening statement by the Minister for External Affairs at meeting with European Commission, 29 November 1963, NAI, D/T S17427 J/63.
21. Opening statement by the Minister for External Affairs, 29 November 1963.
22. *Ibid.*
23. Rasmussen, 'Joining the European Communities', pp. 142–3.
24. This attitude is reflected in Rasmussen's research on Danish meetings with the Commission at the end of 1963. The Danes concluded that direct contacts with the Commission were of little value, and instead they turned their attention to lobbying the German government. In addition, the Danish government took retaliatory action by increasing 'certain tariffs to demonstrate the consequences of the Community's protectionist policy on agricultural trade'. See Rasmussen, 'Joining the European Communities', p. 145.
25. Report of meeting with European Commission, 29 November 1963, NAI, D/T S17427. See also *Irish Independent*, 13 November 1963.
26. Agreed by the EEC Council of Ministers on 5 February 1964. See *Agence Europe*, no. 885, 13 February 1964.
27. Maher, *The Tortuous Path*, p. 188.

28. The arrangements included an understanding that a certain minimum number of cattle would be assured entry from Ireland to Germany during the 'off-the-grass' season (winter months).
29. Department of Agriculture (henceforward D/A), '*Aide mémoire*', c. March 1964, NAI, D/T S17427 M/95.
30. See D/A, '*Aide mémoire*', c. March 1964, D/T S17427 M/95, NAI.
31. For the Commission's minutes of this meeting, see HAEU, BAC 038/1984–107/108; D/A memorandum, 'Meeting with EEC Commission Secretariat, Brussels, 13 March 1964', NAI, D/FA 2005/145/966.
32. Notes of meeting with Commission, 13 March 1964.
33. *Ibid.*
34. Herbst to Biggar, 21 September 1964, NAI, D/FA 2005/145/966.
35. Maher, *The Tortuous Path*, p. 189. See also D/F memorandum, 'Review of our position vis-à-vis EEC', August 1964, NAI, D/FA 2000/14/432.
36. O'Sullivan (D/EA) to Secretary (D/EA), 19 October 1964, NAI, D/FA 2000/14/432.
37. See also Maher, *The Tortuous Path*, p. 190.
38. Discussion with the Belgian Commissioner on 26 January 1965, HAEU, BAC 28/1980, no. 139/2; also NAI, D/T 96/6/495.
39. Toulemon was a senior Commission official dealing with relations between the Community and third (non-member) countries.
40. Ireland informed the Executive Secretary of GATT on 11 April 1964 that it wished to take part in the Kennedy Round Trade Conference and to renew discussions on the terms on which it might accede to GATT. See Commission notes on Ireland and GATT, HAEU, BAC 011/1993–1986.
41. See Rasmussen's thesis for comparisons with the way in which the Commission, and especially Mansholt, expressed sympathy with the Danish but offered nothing more than sympathy.
42. It was during this period of crisis (1965) in the Community that the British and Irish governments signed the Anglo-Irish Free Trade Area Agreement (AIFTAA) that created a free trade area between the two countries. For more on the AIFTAA, see Geary, *An Inconvenient Wait*, pp. 77–91.
43. Report of ministerial meeting with the Commission, 20 September 1966, NAI, D/FA 2000/14/392; also European Commission's minutes, HAEU, BAC 38/1984, no. 108; Commission's brief report to the Council, 21 September 1966, HAEC, BAC 214/1980, no. 138.
44. The Irish print media became increasingly vocal in their newspaper regarding Ireland's slow boat to Europe after a number of prominent journalists visited Brussels in mid-1966. See *Irish Times*, 23–24 June 1966; *Irish Press*, 29 June 1966.
45. See Morrissey to Secretary D/EA, c. November 1966, NAI, D/T 97/6/616. Morrissey, Assistant Secretary at the Department of External Affairs, replaced Frank Biggar as Ireland's ambassador to the EEC in November 1966.
46. Rey to Lynch, 18 November 1966, HAEU, BAC 38/1984, no. 108.
47. For the minutes of this meeting, see NAI, D/FA 97/2/11; 'Record of meeting with Prime Minister', TNA, PREM 13/984.
48. See Emile Noël's note to the Commissioners summarising Irish concerns about the Danish agreement with Germany, 6 January 1967, HAEC, BAC 214/1980, no. 156. See also Irish minutes of meeting with Mansholt, 4 January 1967, NAI, D/T 97/6/619; HAEU, Edoardo Martino papers (henceforward EM) 96 contains a similar summary of this meeting.
49. Minutes of meeting with Mansholt, 4 January 1967, NAI, D/T 97/6/619.

50. See Kohnstamm's notes on meetings with British and Community officials, including Mansholt, Karl-Heinz Narjes (Hallstein's *chef de cabinet*), 19 January 1967, HAEU, MK 46.
51. Kohnstamm's notes on meetings with British and Community officials, including Mansholt, Narjes, 19 January 1967.
52. Kennedy to Secretary, D/EA, 12 January 1967, NAI, D/T 97/6/619.
53. Quoted in Kennedy to Secretary, D/EA, 12 January 1967, NAI, D/T 97/6/619.
54. Lennon to Hugh McCann (Secretary), D/EA, 12 January 1967, NAI, D/T 97/6/619.
55. See also Parr, *Britain's Policy toward the European Community*, Chapter 4.
56. Commins to Secretary, D/EA, c. February 1967, NAI, D/T 97/6/619.
57. See '*Aide mémoire*' from Ireland to the European Commission, 14 September 1966, HAEU, BAC 28/1980, no. 139/2; HAEU, BAC 38/1984, no. 108.
58. '*Note pour M. le Ministre Rey*', 19 October 1966, HAEU, BAC 28/1980, no. 139/2.
59. Letter from Director-General, External Relations to Director-General, Agriculture, 18 September 1967, HAEU, BAC 28/1980, no. 139/3.
60. See Commission '*Note verbale*', 20 November 1967, HAEU, BAC 28/1980, no. 139/3.
61. See summary of minutes of meeting between Lynch and Wilson, 1 May 1967, NAI, D/T 98/6/856; TNA, PREM 13/2733.
62. Summary of minutes of meeting between Lynch and Wilson, 1 May 1967, NAI, D/T 98/6/856.
63. For the Irish letter of application for EEC membership, see Lynch to Renaat van Elslande, 10 May 1967, HAEC, BAC 25/1975, no. 128; NAI, D/T 98/6/856.
64. The US State Department used the term 'pocket veto' to describe the French President's comments on the applications for membership of the EEC. See *FRUS*, 1964–1968, vol. XIII, pp. 654–8; for Irish diplomatic reaction to de Gaulle's press conference, see NAI, D/T 98/6/857.
65. See '*Note à l'attention de M. le Directeur general (DG VIII)*', 5 July 1967, HAEU, BAC 11/1972, no. 11/2; also Brendan Dillon (*chargé d'affaires*, Irish Embassy, Brussels), to Secretary, D/EA, 28 June 1967, NAI, D/FA 2001/43/965. For more on the background work on the *Avis de la Commission*, see '*Contribution de la DG VIII au document de la Commission sur les problèmes posés par l'élargissement de la Communauté*', 17 July 1967, HAEU, BAC, 11/1972, no. 11/2. At this stage, Norway had yet to apply for membership.
66. For an analysis of Couve's speech to the Council in July, see Ludlow (2003) 'A short-term defeat: the Community institutions and the second British application to join the EEC' in Daddow (ed.), *Harold Wilson and European Integration*, pp. 137–9.
67. For more on this meeting, see the European Commission's minutes, HAEU, BAC 62/1980, no. 46; HAEU, CEAB 2, no. 2638. These files contain a brief summary of the meeting as well as the statements made by the Irish ministers supplied by the government. See also Geary, *An Inconvenient Wait*, pp. 114–24.
68. See report of Lynch's meeting with Aldo Moro, Italian Prime Minister, 21 July 1967, NAI, D/T 98/6/863; report of meeting with the Belgian and Luxembourgish governments, 28 July 1967, NAI, D/T 98/6/863.
69. *The Second Programme for Economic Development*, covering the period 1963–1967, and which outlined the Irish government's plans for the continued modernisation of Irish industry, had set 1970 as the date by which Ireland would be a member of the EEC.
70. *Avis de la Commission*, HAEU, BAC 11/1972, no. 13, 13/1.

71. See minutes of meeting between Morrissey and Wellenstein, 27 September 1967, NAI, D/FA O 103/19/30, London Embassy file.
72. Toulemon also expressed his personal opinions on the enlargement question, which were at odds with what was recommended in the *avis*. See Toulemon's discussion with Brendan Dillon (Irish Embassy, Brussels), 15 September 1967, NAI, D/FA O/103/19/30, London Embassy file.
73. Quoted in Dillon to Secretary D/EA, 'Report of meeting of EEC Council of Ministers, Luxembourg, 23/24 October 1967,' 25 October 1967, NAI, D/T 98/6/856. See also *Agence Europe*, editorial, no. 1903, 26 October 1967.
74. *Guardian*, 4 November 1967; also *Aurore*, 4 November 1967; *Le Monde*, 5 November 1967.
75. *Irish Press*, 4 November 1967.
76. *La Stampa*, 7 November 1967; also *Il Sole – 24 Ore*, 7 November 1967.
77. Maher, *The Tortuous Path*, p. 231.
78. For the General's comments, see HAEU, BAC 11/1972, no. 16/2.
79. For the Commission minutes of this meeting, see HAEU, BAC 38/1984, no. 185/9. For further analysis, see *Agence Europe*, 20 December 1967.
80. See the Council's letter informing the Irish government that no decision had been taken on Community enlargement but that its request for membership would remain open, '*Réponse aux lettres en date du 10 mai 1967 du Gouvernement de l'Irlande concernant l'adhésion de ce pays aux Communautés européennes*', HAEU, BAC 11/1972, no. 16/2.

5 Navigating the Gaullist Veto

1. Meeting between Rey and British officials, Brussels, 1 December 1967, TNA, FO 1042/200.
2. Meeting between Rey and British officials, Brussels, 1 December 1967.
3. Meeting between Rey and British officials, Brussels, 1 December 1967. The United States State Department sent a memorandum to its embassy in Germany one month later on the subject of associate membership for Britain. The State Department wanted to make it clear 'informally and discreetly' to Kiesinger and Brandt that 'an arrangement for the UK which does not in fact envisage full membership by specific date in the near future would cause us serious problems'. See 'Telegram from the Department of State to the Embassy in Germany', 16 January 1968, *FRUS*, 1964–1968, vol. XIII (http://www.state.gov/www/about_state/history/vol_xiii/280.html, date accessed: 16 October 2012).
4. Melissa Pine, *Harold Wilson and Europe: Pursuing Britain's Membership of the European Community* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2007), p. 34.
5. Memorandum of conversation between Dean Rusk, United States Secretary of State and Brown, 13 December 1967, *FRUS*, 1964–1968, vol. XIII (http://www.state.gov/www/about_state/history/vol_xiii/280.html, date accessed: 16 October 2012).
6. Memorandum of conversation between Rusk and Brown, 13 December 1967.
7. *Agence Europe*, editorial, no. 10, 15 January 1968.
8. Memorandum of conversation between Rusk and Brown, 13 December 1967.
9. *Ibid.*
10. For the extract of the Foreign Secretary's speech, see 'Note by the Foreign Office – Action after the veto', c. late December 1968, TNA, FCO 30/116.

11. 'Note by the Foreign Office – Action after the veto', c. late December 1967, TNA, FCO 30/116.
12. 'Note by the Foreign Office – Action after the veto', c. late December 1967.
13. For more on Brown's attempts to sell the British initiative to Brandt, and the ultimate loss of German support, see Pine, *Harold Wilson and Europe*, Chapter 2. United States State Department officials had concluded by the end of December that Germany, because of its broader foreign policy considerations, would not break with France over the question of Britain's EEC membership. See 'Intelligence note' no. 1020/1 from George Denney, acting Director of the Bureau of Intelligence and Research, to Rusk, 26 December 1967, *FRUS*, 1964–1968, vol. XIII (http://www.state.gov/www/about_state/history/vol_xiii/280.html, date accessed: 16 October 2012).
14. See Brendan Dillion (Irish mission to the EEC) to Secretary, D/EA, 2 January 1968, NAI, D/T 98/6/868.
15. J. C. Nagle, Secretary of the Irish Department of Agriculture, was against making a move towards the French because he felt this would antagonise the British and France's EEC partners. Instead, he advocated a 'wait and see' policy. See Geary, *An Inconvenient Wait*, Chapter 3.
16. For the Irish minutes of this meeting, see 'Report of meeting in Paris, between McCann and Ambassador Alphand, Secretary General of the French Foreign Ministry', 26 January 1968, NAI, D/T 98/6/868.
17. Minutes of meeting between Boegner and Morrissey, 10 May 1968, NAI, D/T 99/1/494.
18. Report of meeting in Brussels between McCann and Rey, 29 January 1968, NAI, D/FA 2000/14/474.
19. Report of meeting in Brussels between McCann and Rey, 29 January 1968.
20. *Ibid.*
21. Its members adopted a resolution (only the Gaullist group abstained, because the resolution implicitly criticised the French government) deploring the fact that, despite the unanimous advice of the Commission, negotiations could not be opened. It called on the government of the six to take advantage of the willingness of the applicant countries to enter the Community by creating new European communities in the political, scientific, and technological fields. See '*Résolution sur les décisions du Conseil des Communautés du 19 décembre 1967 relatives aux demandes d'adhésion du Royaume-Uni et d'autres pays européenne adoptée par l'Assemblée lors de sa séance du 23 janvier 1968*', HAEU, EM 170; *Agence Europe*, no. 19, 26 January 1968.
22. Report of meeting in Brussels between McCann and Rey, 29 January 1968.
23. See *aide mémoire* from the Benelux countries, 19 January 1968, HAEU, EM 170; *Agence Europe*, no. 14, 19 January 1968. The Benelux proposals were launched the same day that Brown held meetings with Brandt in Bonn. Commission officials in Bonn reported to Rey and Martino that Brandt was against the idea of technological cooperation with the four applicants if it excluded France. See note from Helmut Sigrist (European Commission External Relations Directorate) to Rey and Martino, 22 January 1968, HAEU, EM 170.
24. The Benelux countries suggested cooperation in the field of European company law, European patents, and European insurance agreements.
25. Memorandum of conversation between United States President Lyndon B. Johnson and Rey, 7 February 1968, *FRUS*, 1964–1968, vol. XIII (<http://www>).

- state.gov/www/about_state/history/vol_xiii/280.html, date accessed: 16 October 2012).
26. See note from Paolo Antici (*chef de cabinet* to Martino) to Raymond Rifflet (*chef de cabinet* to Rey), 26 January 1968, HAEU, EM 170.
 27. See Irish Department of Finance memorandum on 'Interim arrangement with EEC', February 1968, NAI, D/FA 2000/14/398.
 28. For the Irish, Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish responses to the Benelux proposals, see *Agence Europe*, no. 26, 6 February 1968 and *Agence Europe*, editorial, no. 33, 15 February 1968. See also NAI, D/FA 2000/14/400; Rasmussen, 'Joining the European Communities', pp. 170–1; '*Communiqué de presse du Gouvernement suédois au sujet de l'aide-mémoire du Benelux*', 8 February 1968, HAEU, EM 170. The Norwegian government added in its *aide mémoire* to the Commission that 'Sweden be brought into the deliberations within the frame-work set by the Swedish application for negotiations with the Community'. See *aide mémoire* from Norwegian government to the Commission, 13 February 1968, HAEU, EM 170.
 29. *Agence Europe*, no. 26, 6 February 1968.
 30. '*Déclaration commune Franco-Allemande du 16 février 1968*', HAEU, EM 170. For more on the Franco-German meeting, see *Agence Europe*, no. 34, 16 February 1968; D/EA memorandum, 'Review of EEC situation', May 1968, NAI, D/T 99/1/494.
 31. *Agence Europe*, editorial, no. 33, 15 February 1968.
 32. *The Economist*, 22 February 1968.
 33. *Guardian*, 17 February 1968.
 34. See D/EA memorandum 'Enlargement of European Communities', c. April 1968, NAI, D/FA 2000/14/400; Ludlow, *The European Community and the Crises of the 1960s*, pp. 149–50.
 35. Von der Groeben to Rey, 14 February 1968, HAEU, EM 170.
 36. Von der Groeben to Rey, 14 February 1968. A copy of this letter was sent to all Commissioners.
 37. Note from Director General, External Relations to members of the Commission, 20 February 1968, HAEU, EM 170.
 38. Note from Director General, External Relations to members of the Commission, 20 February 1968.
 39. See '*Memorandum du gouvernement italien*', 28–29 February 1968, HAEU, EM 170. See also *Le Monde*, 25–26 February 1968. For more on British pressure on the Italian government, see Pine, *Harold Wilson and Europe*, p. 51.
 40. Note from Director-General, External Relations to Martino, 5 March 1968, HAEU, EM 170.
 41. Note from Director-General, External Relations to Martino, 5 March 1968.
 42. Note from Martino to other Commissioners, 8 March 1968, HAEU, EM 170.
 43. Note from Martino to other Commissioners, 8 March 1968.
 44. For more on the position of the member states regarding the German 'arrangement', see Ludlow, *The European Community and the Crises of the 1960s*, pp. 148–9. The Germans had sent their plan to the British government one day before the Council meeting. See Pine, *Harold Wilson and Europe*, p. 62.
 45. See minutes of Council of Ministers' meeting, 9 March 1968, CMA, CM I/5/68.
 46. Note by Martino, '*Etude des conditions dans lesquelles un éventuel accord intérimaire pourrait aboutir à l'adhésion*', 24 March 1968, HAEU, EM 171.

47. See minutes of meeting between Hellwig and Morrissey, 3 April 1968, NAI, D/T 99/1/494.
48. See also Rey's comments on the Commission's 'Opinion' prior to the Council of Ministers' meeting on 5 April in the minutes of meeting between the Commission President and Morrissey, 2 April 1968, NAI, D/T 99/1/494. Rey was pessimistic about the outcome of the Council's meeting in Luxembourg, citing the same reasons as Hellwig.
49. *Avis de la Commission*, 2 April 1968, HAEC, COM (68) 210. See also *Agence Europe*, no. 471, 4 April 1968 for a further analysis of the *avis*.
50. *Agence Europe*, no. 471, 4 April 1968.
51. Minutes of Council of Ministers' meeting, 5 April 1968, CMA, CM I/5/68.
52. *Agence Europe*, no. 71, 6 April 1968.
53. See minutes of meeting between Martino and Morrissey, 9 April 1968, NAI, D/T 99/1/494.
54. See notes of meeting between Herbst and Morrissey, 29 April 1968, NAI, D/T 99/1/494.
55. *Agence Europe*, editorial, no. 68, 3 April 1968.
56. See minutes of meeting between Martino and Morrissey, 9 April 1968, NAI, D/T 99/1/494.
57. See material from TNA, FCO 30/220.
58. Minutes of meeting between Boegner and Morrissey, 10 May 1968, NAI, D/T 99/1/494.
59. Letter from F. H. Jackson (British Mission, Brussels) to John A. Robinson (FO), 11 September 1968, TNA, FCO 30/167.
60. Letter from Jackson to Robinson, 11 September 1968.
61. *Ibid.*
62. *Ibid.*
63. *Ibid.*
64. Ludlow, *The European Community and the Crises of the 1960s*, p. 170.
65. Minutes of meeting between German and Irish officials, Bonn, 4 July 1968, NAI, D/FA 2001/43/917. The Danes had held meetings with the Commissioners Rey, Barre, and Mansholt the previous March.
66. Minutes of meeting between German and Irish officials, Bonn, 4 July 1968.
67. *Ibid.*
68. See Rasmussen, 'Joining the European Communities', pp. 172–3.
69. *Agence Europe*, 15 July 1968.
70. Note from Morrissey to Dublin, 26 July 1968, NAI, D/FA 2001/43/917.
71. Von Verschuer was a senior official in the Commission DG for Agriculture.
72. Note from Morrissey to Dublin, 26 July 1968.
73. *Ibid.*
74. See letter from Patrick Hancock (FCO deputy Under-secretary of State) to Marjoribanks, 9 April 1968, TNA, FCO 30/220.
75. Marjoribanks to Hancock, 16 May 1968, TNA, FCO 30/220.
76. Marjoribanks to Hancock, 16 May 1968.
77. *Ibid.*
78. Record of Soames's conversations with EEC officials, 22 July 1968, TNA, FCO 30/221.
79. The summer of 1968 saw considerable social unrest in France that manifested itself in mass student protests followed by countrywide strikes.
80. Record of Soames's conversations with EEC officials, 22 July 1968.

81. Ibid.
82. See *Agence Europe*, no. 483, 1 July 1968 for more on the successful completion of the Customs Union.
83. Ludlow, *The European Community and the Crises of the 1960s*, pp. 153–4.
84. European Commission secretariat, 'Rapport sur la 47ème session du Conseil ainsi que sur la conférence des représentants des gouvernements des états membres', 27 September 1968, HAEU, EM 162.
85. *Irish Independent*, 24 December 1968.
86. *Guardian*, 18 December 1968.
87. *Guardian*, 18 December 1968. See also *Agence Europe*, 19 December 1968; European Community, January 1969.
88. For more on de Gaulle's resignation, see Jean Lacouture, *De Gaulle the ruler, 1945–1970*, vol. 1 (London: Collins-Harvill, 1991), p. 575.
89. See *Agence Europe*, no. 378, 22 July 1969; Record of Council of Ministers' meeting, 22 July 1969, TNA, PREM 13/2629.
90. Meeting between British officials and Schumann, New York, 20 September 1969, TNA, PREM 13/2629.
91. Meeting between British officials and Schumann, New York, 20 September 1969.
92. See record of meeting between Michael Stewart (British Foreign Secretary), Rey, and Mansholt, 14 July 1969, TNA, PREM 13/2629.
93. Record of meeting between Stewart, Rey, and Mansholt, 14 July 1969.
94. See *Guardian*, 4 July 1967.
95. Note by Meyer to European Commissioners on meeting of COREPER, 18 September 1969, HAEC, BAC 214/1980, no. 213.
96. Note by Meyer to European Commissioners on meeting of COREPER, 18 September 1969.
97. Ibid.
98. European Commission's 'Opinion' on enlargement, 1 October 1969, NAI, D/FA 2001/43/1144 (Part III).
99. The *Economist*, 4 October 1969.
100. Berthoin (deputy head of the Commission's office, London) to Rey, 22 March 1968, HAEU, EM 165. See also report from Johannes Linthorst Homan, head of the Commission's office, London, to Rey, 29 October 1968, HAEU, EM 165. The contents of Berthoin's letters to Brussels are treated, throughout the book, with a certain degree of caution. See, for example, one of Berthoin's letters to Jean Monnet, 17 May 1960, reproduced in Dumoulin (ed.), *The European Commission*, p. 361.
101. The *Economist*, 4 October 1969; also *Irish Times*, 8 October 1969.
102. See European Commission minutes of COREPER meeting, 10 October 1969, HAEC, BAC 214/1980, no. 214.
103. European Commission minutes of COREPER meeting, 10 October 1969.
104. Minutes of meeting between Con O'Neill (FO) and Harkort, 17 November 1969, TNA, PREM 13/2631.
105. Council of Ministers' secretariat, 'Note de la Présidence', 27 November 1969, HAEC, BAC 214/1980, no. 219.
106. Council of Ministers' secretariat, 'Note de la Présidence', 27 November 1969.
107. See also other COREPER discussions on the problems faced by the Community in the event of enlargement and the preparation of meeting briefs. These issues closely resembled the content on the Community's agenda during the enlargement conference from 1970 to 1972. Council of Ministers' secretariat,

- '*Note de la Présidence*', 18 November 1969, HAEC, BAC 214/1980, no. 218, Annex II.
108. See minutes of Commission meeting, 15 October 1969, HAEC, BAC COM (69), PV 94, 2e partie, 259/80, no. 85.
 109. Desmond Dinan (2004) *Europe Recast: a History of European Union* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan), p. 125.
 110. There was less excitement in Norway towards The Hague summit. See Hilary Allen (1979) *Norway and Europe in the 1970s* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget), pp. 55–63.
 111. Alan S. Milward (2003) 'The Hague Conference of 1969 and the United Kingdom's Accession to the European Economic Community' *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 9, no. 2, p. 117.
 112. See, for example, the *Economist*, 10 January 1970; Dinan, *Europe Recast*, p. 129; N. Piers Ludlow (2003) 'An Opportunity or a Threat? The European Commission and The Hague Council of December 1969' *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 9, no. 2, p. 22. See also Willy Brandt (1978) *People and Politics, the Years 1960–1975* (London: Collins), pp. 245–8.
 113. Ludlow, 'An opportunity or a threat?', p. 22.
 114. *Ibid.*
 115. The text of Rey's speech at The Hague summit can be found in TNA, PREM 13/2631. See also Marie-Thérèse Bitsch (2003) 'Le sommet de La Haye: L'initiative française, ses finalités et ses limites' *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 9, no. 2, pp. 83–100; Anjo Harryvan, Jan van der Harst (2003) 'Swan song or cock crow? The Netherlands and the Hague Conference of December 1969' *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 9, no. 2, pp. 27–40.
 116. Ludlow, 'An opportunity or a threat?', p. 22.
 117. British memorandum, 'The results of the summit meeting of the Six', c. December 1969, TNA, PREM 13/2631. For Danish reaction to the outcome of The Hague, see Rasmussen, 'Joining the European Communities', p. 177.
 118. British memorandum, 'The results of the summit meeting of the Six', c. December 1969.
 119. *Ibid.*
 120. *Ibid.*
 121. *Ibid.*
 122. See minutes of meeting between Irish and British officials in London, 10 December 1969, NAI, D/FA 2001/43/947.

6 *La Bataille des Chiffres*

1. See European Commission minutes of COREPER meeting, 4 February 1970, HAEC, BAC 214/1980, no. 223.
2. European Commission minutes of COREPER meeting, 20 February 1970, HAEC, BAC 214/1980, no. 224.
3. European Commission minutes of COREPER meeting, 4 February 1970.
4. European Commission minutes of COREPER meeting, 14 January 1970, HAEC, BAC 214/1980, no. 221.
5. *Agence Europe*, no. 520, 2 March 1970.
6. *Ibid.*
7. This argument was also made in *Agence Europe*, editorial, no. 349, 14 April 1971.
8. See *Agence Europe*, no. 493, 22 January 1970.

9. Van der Harst, 'Enlargement: the Commission seeks a role for itself' in Dumoulin (ed.), *The European Commission, 1958–72: History and Memories* (Luxembourg: European Communities, 2007), p. 544.
10. Van der Harst, 'Enlargement: the Commission seeks a role for itself' in Dumoulin (ed.), *The European Commission*, p. 544; also 'Memorandum to members of the Commission', outlining Rey's plans for the Commission role in the negotiations, 11 December 1969, HAEU, EN 113.
11. The Dutch government supported the retention of a 14-member Commission until after the enlargement negotiations. The Netherlands would, therefore, retain its two positions in the Commission. Maintaining their increased presence in the Commission was also the reason why Belgium and Italy supported the renewal of Rey's mandate, with Belgium eager to keep the Commission Presidency in the hands of a Belgian.
12. Linthorst Homan (head of the Commission office, London) to Rey, rapport no. 807, 6 February 1970, HAEU, EM 166.
13. Con O'Neill (2000) *Britain's Entry into the European Community: Report by Sir Con O'Neill on the Negotiations of 1970–1972* (London: Frank Cass), p. 26.
14. O'Neill, *Britain's Entry into the European Community*, p. 26.
15. *Ibid.*
16. Uwe Kitzinger (1973) *Diplomacy and Persuasion: How Britain Joined the Common Market* (London: Thames & Hudson), p. 78; Simon Z. Young (1973) *Terms of Entry: Britain's Negotiations with the European Community, 1970–1972* (London: Heinemann), p. 10.
17. See *Agence Europe*, no. 553, 20 April 1970.
18. *Agence Europe*, no. 578, 28 May 1970.
19. Rey to van der Meulen, President of COREPER, 28 May 1970, HAEC, BAC 134/1987, no. 36.
20. See Coppolaro, 'Trade and politics across the Atlantic', pp. 123–6.
21. COREPER 'Note: Procédure de négociation avec les pays candidats à l'adhésion', 13 May 1970, HAEC, BAC 134/1987, no. 22/1.
22. Council of Ministers, 'Note: Procédure de négociation avec les pays candidats à l'adhésion', 8–9 June 1970, HAEC, BAC 134/1987, no. 22/1; also General Report, *Négociations avec les pays candidates*, HAEU, Franco Maria Malfatti papers (henceforward FMM) 41, pp. 282–284; European Community, 'Commission's role in talks', July 1970.
23. FCO memorandum for the cabinet office, 'The EEC negotiations – strategic review', 23 October 1970, TNA, PREM 15/62.
24. See Ludlow, 'A welcome change', pp. 31–46.
25. Dinan, *Europe Recast*, p. 108.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 144. See also Nicole Condorelli-Braun (1972) *Commissaires et juges dans les Communautés européennes* (Paris: Bibliothèque de Droit International).
27. See Noël to Malfatti, 'Observations sur le rôle et les tâches de la Commission', 22 June 1970, HAEU, EN 1046.
28. Noël to Malfatti, 'Observations sur le rôle et les tâches de la Commission', 22 June 1970.
29. *Ibid.*
30. See Minutes of European Commission meeting, 7 July 1970, HAEC, BAC 259/80, PV 130, 2e partie; Minutes of European Commission meeting, 15–16 July 1970, HAEC, BAC 259/80, PV 131, 2e partie. The minutes of the Commission meetings dealing with the enlargement negotiations are usually rather short. They do not

- always give a verbatim record of which Commissioner said what. More often than not, they record Deniau's and Wellenstein's comments to the Commission.
31. See van der Harst, 'Enlargement: the Commission seeks a role for itself' in Dumoulin (ed.), *The European Commission*, p. 544.
 32. Ralf Dahrendorf (1982) *On Britain* (London: British Broadcasting Corporation), p. 13.
 33. Dahrendorf, *On Britain*, p. 13.
 34. See 'Plädoyer für ein Zweites Europa' ['Advocate for a second Europe'] in *Die Zeit*, 2 July and 9 July 1971.
 35. See also Mariëlla Smids's paper on the formation of the Commission's negotiating team. Smids, 'The role of the European Commission in the first enlargement process. The agriculture negotiations between 1961–1963 and 1970–1972', p. 59.
 36. See Ludlow, 'A welcome change', p. 41.
 37. N. Piers Ludlow (1996) 'Influence and vulnerability: the role of the EEC Commission in the enlargement negotiations' in Griffiths, Ward (ed.), *Courting the Common Market*, p. 143.
 38. Notes of meeting between O'Neill and Irish officials, 14 July 1970, NAI, D/FA, 2003/1/183.
 39. Notes of meeting between O'Neill and Irish officials, 14 July 1970; also *Agence Europe*, 28 May 1970; *Financial Times*, 1 June 1970. O'Neill went on to stress that, even though Deniau was likely to have a seat in all the negotiations, his function should be limited to that of coordinator.
 40. *Agence Europe*, no. 606, 7 July 1970.
 41. Minutes of European Commission meeting, 7 July 1970, HAEC, BAC 259/80, PV 130, 2e partie. For the FCO personality reports on these Commission officials, see David Hannay (British Mission, Brussels) to John A. Robinson (FCO), 17 July 1970, TNA, FO 30/576. Other Commission officials, including Louis Rabot and Helmut von Verschuer (Director-General and Director in the DG for Agriculture), assisted Wellenstein.
 42. Van der Harst, 'Enlargement: the Commission seeks a role for itself' in Dumoulin (ed.), *The European Commission*, p. 547; Jean-François Deniau (1997) *Memoirs de 7 vies – 2. Croire et Oser* (Plon: Paris), pp. 273–4 and pp. 276–9.
 43. For more on the role of the *cabinet*, see Geoffrey Edwards, Davis Spence (1995) (ed.), *The European Commission* (London: Cartermill), pp. 40–2; Coombes, *Politics and Bureaucracy in the European Community: a Portrait of the Commission of the EEC* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1970), pp. 225–57.
 44. Minutes of European Commission meeting, 2 July 1970, HAEC, BAC 259/80, no. 123–32, PV 129, 2e partie.
 45. Van der Harst, 'Enlargement: the Commission seeks a role for itself' in Dumoulin (ed.), *The European Commission*, p. 548.
 46. *Ibid.*
 47. *Ibid.* Comments by Wellenstein during a 2003 interview with van der Harst and Nienke Betlem.
 48. Van der Harst, 'Enlargement: the Commission seeks a role for itself' in Dumoulin (ed.), *The European Commission*, p. 549.
 49. Dirk Spierenburg, Dutch Permanent Representative to the EEC, referred to the opening meeting of the enlargement conference as a 'family portrait' gathering. See minutes of meeting between Irish ambassador to EEC and Spierenburg, 14 May 1970, NAI, D/FA 2003/1/183.

50. Brown was one of the Labour Party's more pro-European members; see George Brown (1972) *In My Way: the Political Memoirs of Lord George-Brown* (Harmondsworth: Pelican), pp. 197–218.
51. In drafting Brown's speech, the cabinet decided on 3 July 1967 to omit from the text any reference to fiscal harmonisation. See FO memorandum to Downing Street on the subject of Valued Added Tax, 20 October 1969, TNA, PREM 13/2630.
52. O'Neill, *Britain's Entry into the European Community*, pp. 18–19.
53. *Ibid.*, p. 38.
54. Harmel's speech has since formed the basis for other enlargement negotiations throughout the 1980s and 1990s when Greece, Spain, Portugal, and other countries sought membership. The same principles were laid down by the Community, with acceptance of the *acquis communautaire* to the fore.
55. *Agence Europe*, no. 584–587, 2 July 1970.
56. The Commission and the Council secretariat exchanged views on the procedures to be adopted during the opening meeting. The archival material on these discussions is limited to summaries of agreements reached between the Commission and the secretariat. See, for example, minutes of European Commission meeting, 17 June 1970, HAEC, BAC 259/80, PV 126, 2e partie.
57. The general secretariat of the Council of Ministers largely operated behind the scenes at meetings of the Council, the permanent representatives' committee, and panels of experts that prepared Council decisions.
58. Minutes of European Commission meeting, 24 June 1970, HAEC, BAC 259/80, PV 127, 2e partie.
59. Minutes of European Commission meeting, 24 June 1970.
60. O'Neill, *Britain's Entry into the European Community*, p. 24.
61. Geoffrey Rippon to Heath, 20 October 1970, TNA, PREM 15/062.
62. Minutes of European Commission meeting, 15 July 1970, HAEC, BAC 259/80, PV 131, 2e partie.
63. Maher, *The Tortuous Path*, p. 269.
64. O'Neill was a good choice to lead the negotiating team in Brussels, and his fluency in German and French was an added bonus, although in the formal negotiations he spoke English. He had served as British ambassador to the Community from 1963 to 1965, and thus possessed a considerable knowledge of the workings of the EEC. His deputy, John Robinson, had been one of Heath's assistants in the 1961–1963 negotiations, and had worked in the Foreign Office during the interim period, dealing with Britain's relations with the EEC. James Marjoribanks remained as Britain's ambassador to the EEC until the spring of 1971, when he was replaced by Michael Palliser.
65. FO memorandum for the Cabinet Office, 'The EEC negotiations – strategic review', 23 October 1970, TNA, PREM 15/62.
66. FO memorandum for the Cabinet Office, 'The EEC negotiations – strategic review', 23 October 1970.
67. Council of Ministers' 'Note' on the organisation of the negotiations, 1 July 1970, HAEC, BAC 134/1987, no. 22/1.
68. Council of Ministers' 'Note' on the organisation of the negotiations, 1 July 1970.
69. O'Neill, *Britain's Entry into the European Community*, p. 35.
70. *Ibid.*
71. *Ibid.*

72. *Ibid.*, p. 36.
73. See Kitzinger, *Diplomacy and Persuasion*, pp. 81–2.
74. Council of Ministers' minutes, '1ère conférence avec la délégation du Royaume-Uni, le 21/7/1970—compte rendu sommaire – Note approuvée par la Conseil des Communautés Européennes lors de sa session des 20/21 juillet 1970', 24 July 1970, HAEC, BAC 134/1987, no. 22.
75. Council of Ministers' minutes, '1ère conférence avec la délégation du Royaume-Uni, le 21/7/1970—compte rendu sommaire – Note approuvée par la Conseil des Communautés Européennes lors de sa session des 20/21 juillet 1970', 24 July 1970. See also note from Klaus Meyer (Commission secretariat) to members of the European Commission, 20 July, HAEC, BAC 134/1987, no. 22.
76. See minutes of Council of Ministers' meeting, Luxembourg, 26–27 October 1970, CMA, CM 2/1970, no. 53.
77. For more on this mistrust, see Knudsen (2005) 'The politics of financing the Community and the fate of the first British membership application' *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 11, no. 2, pp. 11–30.
78. Minutes of European Commission meeting, 4 November 1970, HAEC, BAC 259/80, no 133–142, PV 141, 2e partie.
79. The *vue d'ensemble* was generally well received in Copenhagen, although the section on financing the budget, and the transition period for agriculture, caused some disquiet among Danish policy-makers. See Rasmussen, 'Joining the European Communities', pp. 210 and 226; Allen, *Norway and Europe in the 1970s* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1979), pp. 94–9.
80. Young, *Terms of Entry*, p. i. For more background information on Britain's budgetary contribution, see Christopher Lord (1993) *Britain's Entry to the European Community under the Heath Government of 1970–1974* (Aldershot: Ashgate), pp. 69 and 83.
81. Young, *Terms of Entry*, p. 36. The White Paper came in for much criticism both in Britain and on the Continent. Alan Day, writing in the *Observer* (15 February 1970), called it a 'shocking piece of work'; the *Guardian* (11 February 1970) stated: 'It will give a field-day to the anti-marketeters. The losses through entering Europe are easier to assess than the gains'; also *Agence Europe*, editorial, no. 510, 16 February 1970.
82. See notes of meeting between Ed Brennan (*chargé d'affaires*, Irish mission to EEC) and Kergorlay, 17 February 1970, NAI, D/FA 2003/1/15.
83. *Agence Europe*, no. 601, 30 June 1970.
84. Young, *Terms of Entry*, p. 36.
85. See 'Communication de la Commission au Conseil de la Communauté concernant le document britannique intitulé "The financial arrangements in an enlarged Community"', 14 October 1970, HAEC, BAC 134/1987, no. 129. See also minutes of European Commission meeting, 13–14 October 1970, HAEC, BAC 259/80, no. 133–142, PV 138, 2e partie.
86. 'Communication de la Commission au Conseil de la Communauté concernant le document britannique intitulé "The financial arrangements in an enlarged Community"', 14 October 1970.
87. O'Neill, *Britain's Entry into the European Community*, pp. 175–6.
88. 'Communication de la Commission au Conseil de la Communauté concernant le document britannique intitulé "The financial arrangements in an enlarged Community"', 14 October 1970.
89. O'Neill, *Britain's Entry into the European Community*, p. 177.

90. *Ibid.*, p. 178.
91. *Ibid.*
92. *Ibid.*
93. See '*Communication de la Commission au Conseil concernant les mécanismes transitoires de l'élargissement de la Communauté*', 12 November 1970, HAEC, BAC 134/1987, no. 110/1. The Danes, for example, preferred the second option. See Rasmussen, 'Joining the European Communities', p. 226.
94. O'Neill, *Britain's Entry into the European Community*, p. 179.
95. Young, *Terms of Entry*, p. 45.
96. O'Neill, *Britain's Entry into the European Community*, p. 179.
97. 'Note by the United Kingdom Delegation: "The financial arrangements in an enlarged Community"', c. December 1970, HAEC, BAC 134/1987, no. 110/1 (author's emphasis).
98. 'Note by the United Kingdom Delegation: "The financial arrangements in an enlarged Community"', c. December 1970.
99. O'Neill, *Britain's Entry into the European Community*, p. 179. Rippon told the ministerial meeting of the negotiating conference in December that Britain would put forward proposals. The British cabinet approved these on 14 December.
100. Rippon's statement is reproduced in O'Neill, *Britain's Entry into the European Community*, Appendix 1, p. 382.
101. O'Neill, *Britain's Entry into the European Community*, p. 180.
102. Rasmussen, 'Joining the European Communities', p. 229.
103. *The Times*, 22 January 1971; Young, *Terms of Entry: Britain's Negotiations with the European Community, 1970–1972* (London: Heinemann, 1973), p. 47. During the first four months of 1971, the British stuck to their figures on the Community budget and attempted to explain to and convince the six that this was the best London could do.
104. European Commission minutes of Council of Ministers' meeting, 2 February 1971, HAEC, BAC 134/1987, no. 110. On 15 February, Aldo Moro, Italian foreign minister, sent a special message to London making it clear that the British proposal of a 3 per cent contribution for the first year of Britain's membership was unacceptable for negotiation. See O'Neill, *Britain's Entry into the European Community*, p. 174.
105. European Commission minutes of Council of Ministers' meeting, 2 February 1971, HAEC, BAC 134/1987, no. 110. Two days later, Giorgio Bombassei, Italian permanent representative to the EEC, asked the Commission to examine '*le plus grand nombre possible de données objectives sur l'évolution probable de la contribution britannique*'. See European Commission minutes of COREPER meeting, 4 February 1971, HAEC, BAC 134/1987, no. 107. Of the six, Italy was far more moderate in its attitude towards Britain's budgetary contribution.
106. See Deniau's March 1971 assessment of the finance problem, '*Éléments pour exposé oral de M. Deniau à la Commission le 1er mars 1971*', HAEC, BAC 134/1987, no. 130.
107. Council of Ministers, '*Négociations avec le Royaume-Uni (4ème session ministérielle – 2 février 1971)*', HAEC, BAC 134/1987, no. 48.
108. See Berthoin's note to Malfatti, '*Réflexions à propos de la visite du Président à Londres les 3 et 4 mars*', c. February 1971, HAEU, FMM 22.
109. O'Neill's note to William Nield (Cabinet office), 1 January 1971, TNA, FCO 30/1001; also FCO note to Downing Street, 3 January 1971, TNA, PREM 15/364. The Commission's record of this meeting is limited to two paragraphs in the

- minutes of a Commission meeting on 28 January 1971, HAEC, BAC 259/80, PV 148, 2e partie.
110. FCO note to Downing Street, 3 January 1971, TNA, PREM 15/364.
 111. Smids, 'The role of the European Commission in the first enlargement process', p. 59.
 112. Record of private conversation between Rippon and Malfatti, 3 March 1971, TNA, FCO 30/1002.
 113. Record of private conversation between Rippon and Malfatti, 3 March 1971, TNA, FCO 30/1002.
 114. Record of private conversation between Rippon and Malfatti, 3 March 1971.
 115. Record of meeting between Heath and Malfatti, 3 March 1971, TNA, FCO 30/1002; also Young, *Terms of Entry*, p. 43.
 116. This was also a major concern of the German government. Bonn was worried that the British contribution would be so low as to fail to cover the costs associated with membership, which would therefore mean greater expense for Germany. See O'Neill, *Britain's Entry into the European Community*, p. 174.
 117. Briefing notes for Malfatti's meeting with Heath made it clear that the Commission President would not discuss in any detail the percentage of Britain's contribution to the finances of the Community during the transitional period. See note by Douglas Hurd (Heath's political secretary) on Malfatti's visit, 24 February 1971, TNA, FCO, 30/1002.
 118. FCO note for O'Neill on Malfatti's visit to London, 1 March 1971, TNA, FCO 30/1002.
 119. Deniau presented the Commission with notes on the French position regarding Community financing, but there is no evidence of position papers on the views of the five other than noting their disagreement with the original British offer. See, for example, Deniau's March 1971 assessment of the finance problem, '*Éléments pour exposé oral de M. Deniau à la Commission le 1er mars 1971*', HAEC, BAC 134/1987, no. 130; Wellenstein to Deniau, '*Proposition française en ce qui concerne la méthode pour établir les contributions financiers des nouveaux Etats membres*', 6 May 1971, HAEC, BAC 134/1987, no. 130.
 120. The CAP benefitted the efficient Dutch farmers as well as the less efficient French farmers, more so per head of population, and, as Young notes, in France, it benefitted the efficient more than the inefficient. See Young, *Terms of Entry*, p. 40.
 121. By mid-March 1971, there emerged an understanding between Britain and France, of which the five were unaware, that Heath and Pompidou would have a bilateral meeting to discuss the enlargement negotiations.
 122. See European Commission minutes of COREPER meeting, 5 March 1971, HAEC, BAC 134/1987, no. 108.
 123. See notes of Commission meeting in preparation for 1 March meeting of Council, 24 February 1971, HAEC, BAC 259/80, no. 152-160, PV 154, 2e partie.
 124. See, for example, minutes of European Commission meeting, 11 March 1971, HAEC, BAC 259/80, no. 152-160, PV 156, 2e partie. The minutes of these meetings were extremely short, and offer merely a paragraph on each topic discussed. Therefore, Barre, and other Commissioners, may have spoken at these meetings, but their comments were not recorded.
 125. See minutes of European Commission meeting, 19 April 1971, HAEC, BAC 259/80, no. 97-104, PV 160, 2e partie.

126. The French proposal is reproduced in O'Neill, *Britain's Entry to the European Community*, p. 396; Young, *Terms of Entry*, p. 48; Kitzinger, *Diplomacy and Persuasion*, pp. 136–8.
127. For the Danish position on the French proposal, see Rasmussen, 'Joining the European Communities', p. 231. For the Irish position, see Geary, *An Inconvenient Wait: Ireland's Quest for Membership of the EEC, 1957–73* (Dublin: Institute of Public Administration, 2009), Chapter 5.
128. Wellenstein, 'Note à l'attention de Monsieur Deniau', 6 May 1971, HAEC, BAC 134/1987, no. 130.
129. O'Neill, *Britain's Entry into the European Community*, p. 185.
130. See, in particular, Kitzinger, *Diplomacy and Persuasion*, pp. 105–25; O'Neill, *Britain's Entry into the European Community*, pp. 184–7; Éric Roussel (1994) *Georges Pompidou* (Paris: Fayard), pp. 437–47.
131. See minutes of European Commission meeting, 2 June 1971, HAEC, BAC 259/80, no. 161–167, PV 166, 2e partie.
132. *Agence Europe*, no. 833, 23 June 1971; O'Neill, *Britain's Entry into the European Community*, p. 187.

7 Challenging the *Acquis*

1. After the general election in Ireland in 1969, Fianna Fáil was returned to power, and maintained its policy of seeking Community membership pursuant to Article 237 of the Treaty of Rome.
2. See note of meeting between Irish officials in Brussels and Dirk Spierenburg, Dutch permanent representative to the EEC, 14 May 1970, NAI, D/FA 2003/1/183.
3. Rey believed that the four applicants should enter the Community at the same time and that negotiations would open simultaneously. See minutes of meeting between Rey and Hillery, 28 April 1970, NAI, D/FA 2001/43/932. See also minutes of Ambassador Seán Kennan's meeting with Deniau, 17 April 1970, NAI, D/FA 2003/1/183. Kennan was Ireland's ambassador to the EEC, and was appointed head of its negotiating team at official level during the enlargement talks.
4. Minutes of European Commission meeting, 15 July 1970, HAEC, BAC 259/80, no. 123–132, PV 131, 2e partie.
5. Minutes of European Commission meeting, 15 July 1970.
6. See, for example, a note from J. C. Holloway (Irish Embassy official, London) to Donal O'Sullivan (Ireland's ambassador to Britain), 30 April 1970, NAI, D/FA 2003/1/407. If the Irish and the Danes had reasons to be sceptical of British promises of consultations, the Swedes were even more circumspect, telling Irish officials that such promises 'did not cut any ice with them' and that Sweden, as an EFTA member, refused to be treated as a residual problem by the British. See minutes of meetings between the Irish and Swedish officials in London, in particular a note from J. C. Holloway to O'Sullivan, c. April 1970, NAI, D/FA 2003/1/407.
7. Memorandum for the cabinet committee drawn up by the committee of departmental secretaries, January 1970, NAI, D/FA 2001/43/1046. The committee of departmental secretaries comprised the head of key government departments involved in policy-making at the highest level of the civil service. These departments included Agriculture, Industry and Commerce, Finance and External Affairs (later renamed Department of Foreign Affairs in March 1971).

8. Memorandum for the cabinet committee drawn up by the committee of departmental secretaries, January 1970.
9. For reaction to the government's White Paper on membership of the EEC, see, for example, *Agence Europe*, no. 553, 20 April 1970.
10. Observations from Kennan in document entitled 'Membership of the European Communities', in the context of its adaptation for publication, 10 December 1969, NAI, D/FA 2003/1/248.
11. 'Membership of the European Communities', in the context of its adaptation for publication, 10 December 1969.
12. See minutes of European Commission meeting, 9 September 1970, HAEC, BAC 259/80, no. 133–142, PV 133, 2e partie.
13. Germany, under the chairmanship of Walter Scheel and Hans-Georg Sachs, Germany's permanent representative to the EEC, held the rotating Council presidency for the last six months of 1970. Maurice Schumann and Jean-Marc Boegner, France's influential permanent representative to the EEC, chaired the negotiations for the first six months of 1971, a crucial period for the enlargement conference. The Italians held the Council chair for the second half of 1971, which saw Aldo Moro and Ambassador Giorgio Bombassei assume the Council presidency.
14. Maher, *The Tortuous Path*, pp. 274–5.
15. Mark Wise (1984) *The Common Fisheries Policy of the European Community* (London: Methuen), p. 87.
16. Wise, *The Common Fisheries Policy*, p. 89.
17. Wise, *The Common Fisheries Policy*, p. 90.
18. *Parlement européen, Documents de Séance 1968–1969, 'Rapport sur les propositions de la commission des Communautés européennes du Conseil relatives à – un règlement portant établissement d'une politique commune des structures dans le secteur la pêche'*, no. 133, 30 September 1968.
19. See, for example, Wise, *The Common Fisheries Policy*, pp. 94–8; John Farnell, James Elles (1984) *In Search of a Common Fisheries Policy* (London: Gower), Chapter 1.
20. Wise, *The Common Fisheries Policy*, pp. 94–8.
21. *Agence Europe*, no. 602, 1 July 1970.
22. *Agence Europe*, no. 602, 1 July 1970.
23. See van der Harst, 'Enlargement: the Commission seeks a role for itself' in Dumoulin (ed.), *The European Commission*, p. 550.
24. See Wise, *The Common Fisheries Policy*, p. 102.
25. *Agence Europe*, no. 601, 30 June 1970.
26. *Agence Europe*, no. 601, 30 June 1970.
27. O'Neill, *Britain's Entry into the European Community*, p. 245.
28. 'Briefing notes for ministerial meeting with European Communities on 21 September 1970 – EEC Fisheries Policy', NAI, D/FA 2003/1/230. Ireland's exclusive fishery limits extended 12 miles seaward of the baseline of its territorial waters. This was in accordance with the Fisheries Convention signed in London on 9 March 1964. By virtue of a special arrangement under the convention, six countries that had habitually fished in the outer six-mile belt of these exclusive fishery waters were permitted to fish in that belt. These included four of the member states (Belgium, France, Germany, and the Netherlands), and Britain. The inner six-mile belt was reserved solely for Irish registered boats.
29. European Community, 'Summary of conclusions' from first ministerial meeting between Ireland and the Community, 21 September 1970, HAEC, BAC 134/1987, no. 98/3.

30. D/FA memorandum, 'Negotiations with the European Communities – The Common Fisheries Policy', c. May 1971, NAI, D/FA 2003/1/441.
31. Irish Department of Agriculture and Fisheries memorandum in advance of first ministerial meeting with European Communities on 21 September 1970 regarding the CFP, c. September 1970, NAI, D/FA 2003/1/230.
32. D/FA memorandum, 'Negotiations with the European Communities – The Common Fisheries Policy', c. May 1971. Another significant development from the September meetings with the applicants was the Council of Ministers' decision to grant 'special status' to the Norwegian fishing industry. This decision shaped Norway's negotiating position on the CFP for the remainder of the enlargement talks in the hope that it would secure a fishing deal that was separate from the other three applicants. From the outset, the Community was inclined to give special treatment to the Norwegians. Germany was conscious of the sensitive nature that open access to Community vessels would have upon public opinion in Norway. This German sympathy was helped by the fact that Willy Brandt, Federal Chancellor, had spent six years in exile in Norway, and had been for several years a Norwegian citizen. Norway relied heavily on German support during the fishery negotiations.
33. Notes of comments made by Mansholt at Irish Council of the European Movement seminar, Dublin, 29 October 1970, NAI, D/FA 2003/1/550.
34. 'Note présentée par la délégation irlandais – Proposition visant à assurer l'accès commun aux pêcheries, présentée par la Communauté', 15 October 1970, HAEC, BAC 134/1987, no. 75/1. The British delegation also submitted a memorandum on the CFP to the Community on 14 October 1971.
35. Comments on second deputies meeting, 27 November 1970 in 'Second Ministerial meeting – summary of conclusions', 15 December 1970, NAI, D/FA 2003/1/497. The summaries of the enlargement negotiation meetings used in this chapter are the original copies distributed to the applicants after each meeting by the Community secretariat, and produced after ministerial and deputies' meetings during the enlargement conference.
36. Comments on second deputies' meeting, 27 November 1970 in 'Second Ministerial meeting – summary of conclusions', 15 December 1970.
37. Comments on second deputies' meeting, 27 November 1970 in 'Second Ministerial meeting – summary of conclusions', 15 December 1970.
38. Minutes of Council of Ministers' meeting, '*Négociations avec l'Irlande, 2ème session ministérielle*', 15 December 1970, HAEC, BAC 134/1987, no. 47.
39. See notes of meeting between Deniau and Hillery, 5 March 1971, NAI, D/FA 2002/19/304.
40. 'Third Ministerial meeting – summary of conclusion', Statement by the Irish delegation on Common Fisheries Policy (Annex 1), 2 March 1971, NAI, D/FA 2003/1/474.
41. 'Third Ministerial meeting – summary of conclusion', Statement by the Irish delegation on Common Fisheries Policy (Annex 1), 2 March 1971.
42. Ibid.
43. Ibid.
44. Ibid.
45. Minutes of meeting between Caspari and E. J. Brennan (Irish Embassy official, Brussels), 26 April 1970, NAI, D/FA 2003/1/922.
46. Minutes of meeting between Caspari and Brennan, 26 April 1970.
47. See *European Community*, no. 6, June 1971; *Agence Europe*, no. 626, 24 May 1971.

48. 'Statement for Minister for meeting on 7 June 1971', NAI, D/FA 2003/1/441.
49. 'Statement for Minister for meeting on 7 June 1971'.
50. Ibid.
51. For more on Norway's position, see Allen, *Norway and Europe in the 1970s*, pp. 94–9.
52. The Commission had carried out an assessment of the problems faced by Greenland and the Faroe Islands in late April 1971. The Danish government, however, found the conclusions wholly unsatisfactory, and the Commission was asked to withhold the report to avoid adverse public opinion. See Rasmussen, 'Joining the European Communities', p. 257.
53. '*Dossier du Président pour la visite officielle en Irlande les 17–18 juin, 1971*', HAEU, FMM 25. The Norwegian government had presented the Community with a memorandum on 4 May 1971 that contained a proposal for modifying the common access provisions of the Community's CFP. The essence of the Norwegian proposal was that 'only those who are established in the coastal State shall be permitted to engage in fishing inside that country's fishery limits'. See 'Summary of significant developments relating to the European Communities', 16 April–12 May 1971, NAI, D/FA 2003/1/480.
54. '*Dossier du Président pour la visite officielle en Irlande les 17–18 juin, 1971*'.
55. *Agence Europe*, no. 822, 7 June 1971.
56. For more on the Convention of 1964, see Farnell, *In Search of a Common Fisheries Policy*, Chapter 1.
57. Minutes of European Commission meeting, 15–16 June 1971, HAEC, BAC 259/80, no. 168–174, PV 168, 2e partie.
58. European Commission, '*Communication de la Commission au Conseil au sujet du problème de la pêche – document de travail*', 17 June 1971, HAEC, BAC 134/1987, no. 57/4.
59. Secretariat of the Council of Ministers, '*Négociation d'adhésion – Rapport du Comité des Représentants permanents au Conseil – problème de la pêche*', 9 July 1971, HAEC, BAC 134/1987, no. 57. Within COREPER, Germany and Belgium, for example, complained that the proposals represented a complete change from the original CFP. Usually Britain's staunchest defender in the Community, the Dutch argued that the Commission's proposals were far too generous to Britain's fishing industry, and insisted instead that the six-mile zone should be valid for two years and not five. The minutes of this and other COREPER meetings are somewhat ambiguous. While they outline the position of each of the delegations, they do not specify which delegation said what.
60. The British, too, sought terms for some of their coastal islands similar to those that were being offered to Norway.
61. Allen, *Norway and Europe in the 1970s*, p. 121.
62. Allen, *Norway and Europe in the 1970s*, p. 121.
63. O'Neill, *Britain's Entry into the European Community*, p. 267.
64. Norway made it clear to the British that it would not be satisfied with Ireland's status quo proposal. The Norwegian ambassador to the EEC bluntly told the British that, if Norway was unable to join the EEC but was left outside, there would be a danger that it might be drawn into some new orbit. See O'Neill, *Britain's Entry into the European Community*, p. 268.
65. Minutes of European Commission meeting, 7 July 1971, HAEC, BAC 259/80, no. 168–174, PV 171, 2e partie.

66. See minutes of European Commission meeting, 14–15 July 1971, HAEC, BAC 259/80, no. 168–174, PV 172, 2e partie.
67. O'Neill, *Britain's Entry into the European Community*, p. 270.
68. Note from Wellenstein to Deniau, 5 October 1971, HAEC, BAC 134/1987, no. 109.
69. Kennan to Assistant Secretary D/FA, 26 October 1971, NAI, D/FA 2003/1/151.
70. Kennan to Assistant Secretary D/FA, 26 October 1971.
71. Kennan to Seán Morrissey (Assistant Secretary D/FA), 'Suggested strategy, Ministerial negotiating meeting, 9 November 1971', 27 October 1971, NAI, D/FA 2003/1/151.
72. Kennan to Morrissey, 'Suggested strategy, Ministerial negotiating meeting, 9 November 1971'.
73. *Ibid.*
74. *Ibid.*
75. *Ibid.*
76. Minutes of European Commission meeting, 20–22 September 1971, HAEC, BAC 259/80, no. 175–180, PV 178, 2e partie.
77. Minutes of European Commission meeting, 29 September 1971, HAEC, BAC 259/80, no. 175–180, PV 179, 2e partie.
78. See, for example, *Secrétariat général du Conseil, 'Négociations d'adhésion: problèmes de la pêche (propositions faites lors de cette session et sur cette matière par les délégations belge et italienne)'*, 14 September 1971, HAEC, BAC 134/1987, no. 59/1.
79. *Secrétariat général du Conseil, 'Négociation d'adhésion – Note: Problèmes de la pêche'*, 17 September 1971, HAEC, BAC 134/1987, no. 60/3.
80. Wise, *The Common Fisheries Policy*, p. 125. See also *Agence Europe*, no. 891, 28 September 1971.
81. O'Neill, *Britain's Entry into the European Community*, p. 270.
82. O'Neill, *Britain's Entry into the European Community*, p. 270.
83. Kennan to Morrissey, 'Suggested strategy, Ministerial negotiating meeting, 9 November 1971', 27 October 1971, NAI, D/FA 2003/1/151.
84. EEC Council secretariat conclusions of seventh ministerial meeting between Community and Ireland, 9 November 1971, NAI, D/FA 2003/1/472, Annex I.
85. EEC Council secretariat conclusions of seventh ministerial meeting between Community and Ireland, 9 November 1971.
86. Minutes of European Commission meeting, 22–24 November 1971, HAEC, BAC 259/80, no. 185–187, PV 186, 2e partie.
87. The British delegation referred to this meeting as one of its most discouraging with the Community. See O'Neill, *Britain's Entry into the European Community*, p. 274.
88. Notes of Ministerial meeting between Community and Ireland, 29–30 November 1971, NAI, D/FA 2003/1/432.
89. But the Community's proposals did add some new ideas aimed specifically at appeasing Ireland's anxieties about overfishing and depletion of stocks. They included a special 12-mile limit in respect of the exercise of fishing for two types of fish, namely, crustaceans and salmon. Fishing for these two types was of special importance to the Irish fishing industry, and to its further development; the Community's proposal was recognition of this.
90. Wise, *The Common Fisheries Policy*, p. 128.
91. Minutes of European Commission meeting, 29 November, 1–2 December 1971, HAEC, BAC 259/80, no. 185–187, PV 187, 2e partie.

92. Wise, *The Common Fisheries Policy*, p. 128.
93. Minutes of European Commission meeting, 29 November, 1–2 December 1971, HAEC, BAC 259/80, no. 185–187, PV 187, 2e partie.
94. See *Secrétariat général du Conseil*, 'Régime des droits de pêche (Déclaration faite par la délégation de la Communauté le 12 décembre 1971)', BAC 134/1987, no. 65/4, HAEC. The areas included the coast north and west of Lough Foyle as far as Cork in the south-east, and the east coast from Carlingford Lough to Carnsore Point, for fishing of crustaceans and shellfish.
95. Note from the secretariat of the Council of Ministers to applicants regarding arrangements for fishing rights, 12 December 1971, NAI, D/FA 2003/17/256.
96. In place of 'The North and West coast, from Lough Foyle to Cork in the South-West' (from 12 December meeting) read 'the North and West coasts, from Lough Foyle to Cork Harbour in the Southwest'. See official minutes of 'Fiftieth meeting of the Conference at Deputy Level', 5 January 1972, NAI, D/FA 2003/1/910.
97. See Allen, *Norway and Europe*, pp. 117–20.
98. *Agence Europe*, no. 847, 12 July 1971.
99. Norway voted 'No' to membership of the Community on 25 September 1972. Despite the negative Norwegian result, one week later over 60 per cent of the Danes who went to the polls voted in favour of joining the EEC. There was no referendum held in Britain in 1972 on membership. Instead, the Parliament of the European Communities Act was passed, and became law on 16 October 1972. In May 1972, Ireland voted overwhelmingly in favour of membership, with over 83 per cent voting 'Yes'.

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<i>Die Welt</i>	<i>Le Soir</i>
<i>Financial Times</i>	<i>La Stampa</i>
<i>Guardian</i>	<i>New York Times</i>
<i>Irish Independent</i>	<i>Sunday Telegraph</i>
<i>Irish Press</i>	<i>Sunday Times</i>
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