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THE THIRD ENLARGEMENT: SPAIN'S AND PORTUGAL'S ACCESS TO THE EEC REPORT ON THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS ARCHIVAL MATERIAL

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The Third Enlargement:

Spain's and Portugal's Accession to the European Economic Community - Report on the Council of Ministers Archival Material.

Introduction

It was only when Francois Mitterrand, French President, changed economic tact in 1982 and 1983, due largely to international constraints and domestic opportunism, that the end of the Portuguese and Spanish negotiations finally hove into sight. Yet, it was another year before Mitterrand issued a declaration unequivocally advocating enlargement. Mitterrand's epiphany coincided with important political changes in the candidate countries. In Portugal, the able and energetic Mario Soares formed a government in June 1983. Soares endeared himself to the European Economic Community (EEC) when his government reached an agreement with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) that included measures to reduce the country's substantial foreign debt and further restructure the economy. Soares cultivated close relations with Mitterrand, a fellow Socialist. During a tour of EEC capitals later in 1983, Soares impressed his interlocutors with Portugal's determination to become a model member state. Rapid agreement on a number of outstanding issues quickly followed in the accession negotiations. Much to Soares' annoyance, however, the fate of Portugal's application hinged on the outcome of Spain's negotiations.

Following the Socialist Party's landslide victory in the 1982 general election, Felipe González reinvigorated Spain's effort to join the EEC. Young, personable and passionately pro-European, González emulated Soares by visiting Community capitals and wooing national leaders. In anticipation of EEC membership, González introduced badly needed but politically painful domestic economic reforms. The accession negotiations proceeded well, although a number of tricky areas, notably agriculture and fisheries, became increasingly contentious. An informal summit of the Prime Ministers – all Socialists – of the EC's Mediterranean member states and applicant countries (France, Italy, Greece, Portugal and Spain) in October 1983 paved the way for a breakthrough. At a meeting in Luxembourg only two days later, farm ministers approved rules to organise the EC fruit, vegetable and olive oil markets with a view to enlargement. Unencumbered by looming parliamentary or presidential elections, Mitterrand could afford to make concessions, although it was not until the

Dublin summit in December 1984 that the EC resolved some last-minute agricultural issues.

Fisheries remained the final item on the agenda of the accession negotiations.¹ The EC was reluctant to give Spain unrestricted access to its territorial waters: the Spanish fishing fleet was larger than the combined Community fleet and had a notorious insatiable appetite. Repeated clashes between Spanish trawlers and French and Irish naval vessels in 1984 emphasised the sensitivity of the issue. So did attacks by Spanish fishermen against trucks from EC member states to protest the seizure of Spanish trawlers and retaliatory action by French truckers at the Spanish border. The two sides eventually concluded a fisheries agreement in early 1985.

Resolution of the British Budgetary Question (BBQ) cleared the way for Portuguese and Spanish accession. Having reached a budgetary agreement, the Fontainebleau European Council set January 1986 as the date for Portugal and Spain to join the EC. In a move calculated to reassure González of French goodwill, Mitterrand flew to Madrid immediately after the summit to report personally on the outcome.

The negotiations with Portugal and Spain took six year to complete. Ratification of the accession agreements took another twelve months. Altogether, more than eight years elapsed between the two countries' applications to join and their entry into the EC. Portuguese and Spanish accession reinforced a lesson of the first enlargement: the road to EC membership was long and arduous for all concerned. Digesting Portuguese and Spanish accession would be equally challenging. Although enthusiastic about European integration, Portugal and Spain were much poorer than the existing member states, apart from Greece and Ireland. Yet, they brought to the Community a new Mediterranean dimension and foreign policy orientation, which led to the strengthening of economic and political relations with Latin America, a part of the world hitherto of little interest to the EC.

¹ For more on the background to the Community's Common Fisheries Policy, see Mark Wise, *The Common Fisheries Policy of the European Community* (London: Methuen, 1984); Michael J. Geary, 'Enlargement and the European Commission: An assessment of the British and Irish applications for membership of the European Economic Community, 1957-73' (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, European University Institute [Florence], 2009), pp. 294-327.

Note on the sources:

The paper presents an overview of the type of primary sources available to those interested in the third enlargement of the European Economic Community that took place in 1986. It focuses on Spain and Portugal and the documents held at the Central Archives of the Council of the European Union in Brussels. It does not aim to present an analysis of the material, which is beyond the scope of the project, and no in-depth examination of the events surrounding Spain's and Portugal's entry is contained in the report. It is an information paper that should act as a guide to those interested in the history of European integration, and in particular the third enlargement.

A great deal of the material in the Council's archives deals with, what one could call, the 'bread and butter issues' surrounding the accession of two Mediterranean countries to the Community. The negotiations, especially with Spain, were complex and detailed. Many dossiers of files contain working papers, translated into the various Community languages that results in increased quantity of documents repeating the same information in various languages. Discussions in the working parties do reveal who said what to whom, although individual names are not recorded, just the country [though not always] that made the comments.

There are a number of dossiers that contain the results of the internal Community working group discussions on the enlargement talks but these do no shed light on who said what to whom. Rather, they summarise the conclusions reached at these meetings, such as how certain issues would affect the *acquis communautaire*, institutional changes or what was expected of the applicants in terms of adaptation to the Community's treaties. Most of the documents are in French and English, although French, at least in the Council, was still the dominant language during the period under review [1978-86].

From a review of the sources, it is clear that other Community actors, other than the Council of Ministers and the European Commission play a part in the negotiations. The Economic and Social Committee (ESC) was also active regarding the third enlargement and numerous of reports from them can be found in the Council files

relating to both Spain and Portugal. The Commission, of course, sent a good deal of material to the Council and the most frequently used document in the Council files is the Commission's 1978 *Avis* to the Council on the enlargement question. This document formed the basis for the negotiations.

PART I – SPAIN AND THE THIRD ENLARGEMENT

Note on Spanish files

The files in the Council of Ministers archives cover a wide range of largely technical

detail dealing with Spain's accession to the Community. Dossiers contain material

that focuses heavily on the acquis communautaire, tariffs, value added tax (VAT),

state aids to industry, social policy and competition. Numerous reports can be found

from the working groups in the Council, Commission, Economic and Social

Committee and the European Parliament.

Spanish Letters of Application for membership of the Community.²

Spain applied to join all three of the Community institutions created by the Treaties of

Rome and Paris, namely the EEC, the ECSC and EURATOM.

ECSC

(26 July 1977): 'The Spanish government has decided, in accordance with the

provisions of Article 98 of the Treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel

Community, officially to request the opening of negotiations for the inclusion of

Spain in that Community as a full member.'

'In formally requesting in this letter the opening of negotiations with the European

Coal and Steel Community I would like, Sir, to put on record the Spanish

Government's identification with the ideals underlying the Treaties establishing the

European Communities and to express our hope that these negotiations will lead us

within a reasonable space of time to satisfactory results for the European Coal and

Steel Community and for Spain.'

Signed: Adolfo Suarez.

EEC

(26 July 1977): 'The Spanish Government has decided, in accordance with the

provisions of Article 237 of the Treaty establishing the European Economic

² Spain has first applied for associate membership of the EEC in February 1962 and again in February

1964.

8

Community, officially to request the opening of negotiations for the inclusion of Spain in that Community as a full member.'

'In formally requesting in this letter the opening of negotiations with the European Economic Community I would like, Sir, to put on record the Spanish Government's identification with the ideals underlying the Treaties establishing the European Communities and to express our hope that these negotiations will lead us within a reasonable space of time to satisfactory results for the European Coal and Steel Community and for Spain.'

Signed: Adolfo Suarez.

Council of Ministers' reply to Spanish request

Unlike the first enlargement, where there was a substantial delay, the Council of Ministers replied immediately to Spain's request for membership.

Minutes of meeting of Council, 16 September 1977 – 'Relations with Spain'.

At the 867th meeting of COREPER on 15 September 1977, the French delegation asked that when the Council at its meeting on 19 and 20 September took a decision on the reply suggested by the Committee [of Permanent Representatives] to the letters of 26 July 1977 in which Spain applied for accession it should simultaneously adopt an internal statement.

'Draft Council internal statement on Spain', September 1977 – 'While expressing satisfaction at the unanimous decision to initiate the procedure provided for in Article 237 of the Treaty of Rome, the Council wishes again to stress the magnitude of the problems raised in the economic sphere, particularly in agriculture, and with respect to smooth institutional functioning of the Community, by the accession of a country such as Spain. It therefore considers that satisfactory solutions to all these problems must be sought and defined before negotiations are opened.' Box 1, Dossier 12, Traitement par le Conseil et par le COREPER de la demande d'Adhésion formulée par l'Espagne le 26 juillet 1977.

The European Council and enlargement

The European Council (referred to as a European Summit) were formalised in 1974, at the December Council in Paris, following a proposal from Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, President of France. The inaugural Council was held in Dublin on 10 March 1975 during Ireland's first Presidency of the Council of the EEC. In 1987, it was included in the treaties for the first time (the Single European Act) and had a defined role for the first time in the Maastricht Treaty.

European Council

The European Council files are of little value and only shed some light on the attitudes of the most senior Community decision-makers to the enlargement question. The Council has no verbatim records of the discussions between the heads of state and government regarding the enlargement question. The report examined material relating to the European Council meetings from the mid-1970s through to 1986. Enlargement makes only fleeting appearances on the European Council's agenda. The preparatory for the European Council meetings contains few references to the enlargement question. One might find more sources in the national archives of the member states or indeed the Commission's archival material.³

Notes of European Council meetings (1977-86):

The Council Archives contains a (un-numbered) folder on each of the European Council meetings held from the mid-1970s. These files are of limited use for the enlargement question, although for researchers dealing with economic and monetary union, another significant Community-related issue during that period, the files reveal little on the views of the heads of state or government. On the enlargement question, the report examines the folders that contain references to this issue.

European Council, Rome, 25-6 March 1977.

At the Council meeting in Rome, enlargement was on the agenda but there was no discussion on the subject. Some debate on the role of the Commission President at some meetings of the Council.

³ National delegations, especially the Irish and British delegations to the EEC, usually make copious notes of meetings.

European Council, London, 29-30 June 1977.

Extrait du procès-verbal du Conseil européen a Rome des 25/26 mars 1977.

Giscard and Andreotti expressed their concerns about the impact that the accession of Greece, Portugal and Spain would have on agriculture in the Community. The Italian Prime Minister expressed his support for enlargement on the basis that it would strengthen the democratic processes in those countries. Schmidt, German Chancellor, asked for a report on the problems raised at the meeting to be presented before the next meeting of the European Council. Jenkins said he had made Soares (Portugal) aware of some of the existing problems, from the Community's perspective, and he hoped by the end of 1977 the Commission would finish its report on Portugal. See also, *Agence Europe*, no. 2222, 23-4 May 1977; *Le Nouveau Journal*, 'L'Europe hésite à prendre en charge les pays méditerranéens', 24 May 1977; *Agence Europe*, no. 2126, 6 January 1977.

European Council, Brussels, 5-6 Dec. 1977.

Nothing relating to enlargement.

European Council, Copenhagen, 7-8 Apr. 1978.

Nothing on enlargement.

European Council, Bremen, 6-7 July 1978.

Nothing relating to enlargement.

European Council, Brussels, 4-5 Dec. 1978.

Note on the accession of Greece.

European Council, Paris, 12-3 Mar. 1979.

Nothing relating to enlargement.

European Council, Dublin, 29-30 Nov. 1979.

Most of the material in this folder related to the preparation for the meeting and many press articles on Margaret Thatcher and Britain's contribution to the Community's budget. Nothing relating to the third Community enlargement.

European Council, Strasbourg, 21-2 June 1979.

Monetary material but nothing on enlargement question or no briefing material from the other institutions on this question.

European Council meeting, Fontainebleau, 25-6 June 1984.

'European Council meeting at Fontainebleau – conclusions of the presidency' Subject: own resources and enlargement

'The European Council confirms that the negotiations for the accession of Spain and Portugal should be completed by 30 September 1984 at the latest. Between now and then the Community will have to make every effort to create the right conditions for the success of this enlargement, both in the negotiations with Spain on fisheries to ensure the conservation of fish stocks and also by reforming the common organisation of the wine market to ensure that the quantities of wine produced in the Community are controlled and by means of a fair balance between agriculture and industrial agreements.'

European Council meeting, Dublin, December 1984.

Enlargement [in general]:

'The Taoiseach may wish to remind his colleagues that the political commitment to enlargement on 1.1.86 still stands and could usefully be reiterated in the European Council's conclusions, it being well understood that this entails a commitment on the part of all Member States to adapt present positions sufficiently to make it possible to conclude the negotiations in the very near future.

- (i) There would be little sense, on the other hand, in setting a new political target date for completion of negotiations: the previous target has been broken any new one would be that much less credible.
- (ii) Under the procedure announced to Spain and Portugal, the Commission had been entrusted with an important exploratory role in the period leading up to the Foreign Affairs Council (17/18 December, 1984).
- (iii) The European Council could, in its conclusions, give a firm instruction to Foreign Ministers to ensure that as many of the major negotiating chapters as possible were brought forward at that date; this would entail an understanding that governments give their Ministers the required leeway.'

'The Taoiseach may wish to conclude with the following remarks before passing to the individual dossiers:

- (i) The experience of the Irish presidency has demonstrated that all Member States need to show far greater flexibility and the time has now come to place the emphasis on the need to reach agreement with the candidate countries who, for their part, have demonstrated readiness to reduce their demands on all major points.
- (ii) The practice of linking in some cases totally unrelated matters has been the worst single factor in making the task of the presidency nearly impossible.'

European Council and Enlargement: fisheries

The Common Fisheries Policy (CFP) was a major source of concern for some of the EC Member States prior to Spain's accession to the Community. See below briefing notes for Irish Prime Minister in advance of European Council meeting, November 1984.

Background

'In spite of strenuous internal negotiations and a certain improvement in presentation, a package on fisheries has not been agreed: the remaining problem is that of deciding when access to the Community's waters for Spanish vessels (beyond what they already enjoy) should be granted.

The text to emerge as the only one with a chance of being agreed at present is the one attached which represents a compromise between (i) the member states with important fishing interests who had wanted a 10 years period with a certainty of a 5 years extension should it prove impossible to agree new arrangements with Spain in 1993, (ii) other Member States who felt that this was too provocative and humiliating as a presentation.

The present version now provides that the Council can decide on an extension period shorter than 5 years and also on adjustments to the initial transitional arrangements, before 30.6.94. This compromise is blocked by Italy and Greece: this is not for reasons intrinsic to the access dossier (they have no interest in the Atlantic fishing grounds in question) but presumably for reasons which represent a mixture of tactics and principle (the Community so far as has considered 10 years to be the maximum length of the transitional period in all other questions). The possibility exists that Italy may abandon this position if it obtains satisfaction on wine.'

'The Taoiseach could (i) appeal to the Italian and Greek Prime Ministers to accept the compromise; (ii) point out in support of this position that the text constitutes only an opening position in any case; (iii) remind colleagues that a further failure to come up with a possible paper on fisheries risks seriously damaging the Community's credibility in the eyes of its partners.'

<u>NB</u>

'It is important to avoid an outcome of the discussions in the European Council which would effectively exclude flexibility in the Community's negotiating position vis-à-vis Spain.; neither Spain nor Portugal finds it acceptable for political reasons to accept a solution in a Treaty which foresees that they after 10 years membership will still not be integrated in a common policy. It should therefore be made clear that the European Council is not formulating the Community's official position but giving guidance to the Council; secondly there should be no reference in the formal conclusion of the European Council to the fisheries question except in a general form (that the matter has been discussed and guidance given).'

Annex: 'In the absence of a formal decision by the Council before 31 December 1993, the deadlines provided for under paragraph 1 (end of the period of application of the transitional mechanisms) and under paragraph 2 (Council decision and implementation of the measures adopted) will be postponed for five years. However, the Council may decide by qualified majority voting in conformity with article 43 of the Treaty on a shorter period. In the event of a prolongation beyond 1995, working on the basis of a Commission report on the state of the resources and the application of the transitional measures laid down in the Accession Treaties together with, if appropriate, suggested improvements to some of these measures, the Council will decide before 30 June 1994 on whatever adjustments it considers can be made to the transitional arrangements applicable for this transitional period of up to five years. In any case, the "acquis communautaire" existing at the end of that additional period will become applicable to the new Member States.'

For the compromise text, see General Secretariat of the Council, 'Note from the presidency – fisheries: overall compromise', 28 Nov. 1984, pp. 1-4 and the annex pp. 1-2.

European Commission's Avis on Spanish membership

The first role of the Commission regarding the enlargement question, was the production of a report for the Council on the implication for the Community when new members sought membership. During previous attempts at enlargement, the Commission's formal 'Opinion' proved controversial. However, its 1978 *Avis* found broad agreement with the Member States.

For more on the Commission *Avis*, see Secretariat-General of the Council, 'Réunions du groupe ad hoc 'Adhésion de l'Espagne" – tenues dans le cadre des négociations avec l'Espagne (1979)'

Dossier 1: Council of Ministers' file, 'L'union douanière et la libre circulation des marchandises dans le secteur industriel traitées dans la cadre des négociations avec l'Espagne (*Avis de la Commission*, 8 Dec. 1978).

Document: 'Accession negotiations with Spain: establishment of the customs union and free movement of goods (Commission communication with the Council [Avis])', 12 July 1979.

At the 947th meeting of the Permanent Representatives Committee on 14 June, the Commission was asked to prepare a proposal for a common position on the chapter on customs union, to be presented at the first session of the negotiations with Spain after the summer, to initiate the "overview" phase of the talks.

Part I: outlining the problems

Part II: setting out the Commission's guidelines on the position to be adopted vis-àvis Spain for the purpose of identifying jointly the problems to be resolved in the course of the negotiations.

'In its Opinion on Spain's application for membership (29 November 1978), the Commission has already has occasion to point out the main features of industrial trade relations between the Community and Spain: an imbalance in the degree of trade liberalisation, and distortions in the conditions of competition. The Commission stressed the need to redress this situation without delay and the desirability of involving Spain in industrial restructuring schemes. These views were reiterated in the industrial chapter of the "common basis for negotiations".'

The Commission continued, stating: 'Problems other than those mentioned in this communication may come to light in the course of the negotiations. In relation to the

definition of the customs territory of the Community, for example, Spain will probably raise the question of the Canary islands and its African possessions (Ceuta, Melilla, etc.), which do not come within the Community's customs territory at the moment.'

As the President of the Council pointed out in his statement at the opening of the accession negotiations on 5 February, those negotiations go forward based on acceptance by Spain of the *acquis communautaire*.

For more on the Commission's 'Opinion', see BTE (Box) 3, Dossiers no. 18-22 'Adhésion de l'Espagne'. Dossier no. 18: Negotiating procedure for the enlargement talks, Mar. 1979; Dossier no. 19: General positions; Dossier no. 20: *Avis de la Commission*, 1978; Dossiers no. 21-22: Economic and Social Committee material already found in other files related to their opinion on the third enlargement; BTE 4, Dossier no. 23 which contains copies of the *Avis de la Commission*.

Negotiating procedure

A similar model of negotiating was adopted by the Community to the one followed during the previous two rounds of enlargement talks. The Commission and the Council Secretariat played important roles in formulating policies and heading working groups and leading the negotiating conference at ministerial and deputy levels.

BTE 4, Dossier no. 30: 26 March 1979, Letter from Commission to the Council outlining the draft Community position at the first session of the Conference at deputy level (procedure for and organisation of the negotiations). Meetings were held at deputy and ministerial level, working parties, similar to the first and second rounds of enlargement negotiations. There was a conference secretariat service, under the authority of the secretary-general of the Council of the Community, team consisting of officials of the general secretariat of the Council and officials appointed by the Spanish delegation.

BTE 5, Dossiers 34-9 : 'Traitement par le CES des problèmes de l'élargissement : généralités' (1980).

The dossiers contain material on the procedure of the negotiations – memos from the Commission to the Council; COREPER notes from their working group on Spanish accession 'Tentative list of subjects to be tackled in connection with the common basis for negotiations', 20 March 1979. The three-page memo outlines the issues to be tackled in the negotiations but it does not reveal the exact view of the individual Permanent Representatives.

GSC, Negotiations for the accession of Spain to the Communities - Working documents, 5 June 1979.

Working paper no. 1 – Procedure for, and organisation of, the negotiations (setting up the working parties, the question of chairmanship, venues and other organisational measures). Working paper no. 1 (II) contains a copy of the Commission's 'Opinion' on the third enlargement (1978).

Dossier no. 21: 18-9 December 1978 – Council's decision on the letter's of application from the Spanish and Portuguese governments.

Dossier no. 22: 23 May 1979, Economic and Social Committee report on relations between Spain and the Community (French version).

Dossier no. 23: French version of the Commission's 1978 *Avis* on the third enlargement with specific references to the negotiating procedure.

General problems raised by the enlargement of the Community to include Spain

The Commission also concluded that 'The entry of Spain will therefore raise the problem of market balance in those sectors in which the Community is already more than self-sufficient or where the addition of the Spanish produce will bring this about.'

BTE 4, Dossier 2: Council of Ministers file: 'l'union douanière et la libre circulation des marchandises dans le secteur industriel traitées dans le cadre des négociations avec l'Espagne – Dossier 2, 1979 - Abolition of import duties between the Community and Spain.

'General Secretariat of the Council, 'Negotiations for the accession of Spain to the Communities – working document, 1 Aug. 1979.'

At the ministerial meeting opening the accession negotiations between the Communities and Spain, the Community spokesman proposed that the "negotiations proper would begin after the summer by jointly preparing an overall survey covering the main chapters to be negotiated, on the basis of which the substantive negotiations would then be conducted on a sector-by-sector basis". In accordance with the tried and tested procedure 'the objective of the first round of negotiations, devoted to obtaining an overall picture, is jointly to identify the basic problems to be resolved in the succeeding round of negotiations.'

At the first meeting of the Conference at Deputy Level on 15 June 1979, which was devoted to procedural and organisational questions, the Community proposed that the negotiations start with the question of the customs union and the free movement of industrial goods covered by the EEC Treaty.

The ESC also provided its 'Opinion', at various stages of the negotiations, on Spain's accession. See, for example, Economic and Social Committee, 'Agricultural aspects of Spain's entry into the E.C – Opinion', Brussels, 1982.⁴

'Even if it is seen as both a golden opportunity and a necessity the enlargement of the Community to include Spain must be accepted as a face that cannot be called into question. The task of the present Community, as it embarks on enlargement, is to avoid haste and a rough and ready approach, and to do everything possible to create the conditions for a sound and stable structure. Enlargement must be successful; "cut price" enlargement cannot succeed. The integration of Spain into the Community will alter both the size and the make-up of the Community's agricultural sector. For Spain, as for any applicant state, accession to the Community naturally implies acceptance in its entirety of the "acquis communautaire": this is the fundamental rule of any Community. CMA, 'Traitement par le C.E.C. d'un Avis concernant les « Aspects agricoles de l'élargissement de la Communauté à l'Espagne », 28 February 1982.

'Despite the significant headway made by industrial products, agricultural products still make up a major share of Spain's foreign trade, accounting for 17% of imports and 20% of exports.' Economic and Social Committee, 'Draft study of the section for

⁴ Council of Ministers Archives, Brussels (henceforward CMA), 'Traitement par le C.E.C. d'un Avis concernant les « Aspects agricoles de l'élargissement de la Communauté à l'Espagne », 28 Feb. 1982.

agriculture on the Agricultural aspects of Spanish membership of the Community, 7 Jan. 1981 (Rapporteur: Mr Lauga). CM, 'Traitement par le C.E.S. du porte d'étude (du 7.1.1981) de la section de l'agriculture sur « les aspects agricoles de l'élargissement de la Communauté à l'Espagne ».'

Enlargement and Community finances

Spain's contribution to the Community budget did not prove to be a difficult subject for the Six to examine.

See, for example, 'Estimates made by the Commission indicate that Spain's accession will result in a net increase in agricultural expenditure of the order of 1,200 MEUA per year – this at the end of the transitional period. To this must be added the potential expenditure involved in applying regional development policy, social policy, etc. to Spain. This should of course be viewed in a dynamic context – that of an acceleration of needs.' (Box 17, Dossiers no. 150-7).

Trade, free circulation of goods and transition measures

The most detailed part of the Community's negotiations with Spain involved a thorough examination of issues relating to trade, the free movement of goods, labour and capital, the transition period for Spain to implement the *acquis* and the Customs Union. The Council files contain material on these issues by not only the Council's Secretariat but also from the Commission's working groups, the European Parliament and the Economic and Social Committee, the latter who was very active during the enlargement negotiations. The following are a selection of the many files in the Council archives that relate to the above issues.

Economic and Social Committee, 'Traitement par le C.E.S. d'un Avis de la section de l'agriculture sur les « aspects agricoles de l'élargissement de la Communauté a l'Espagne »', 6.7.1981-20.11.1981.

Dossier 1: Council of Ministers' file, 'L'union douanière et la libre circulation des marchandises dans le secteur industriel traitées dans la cadre des négociations avec l'Espagne (Avis de la Commission, 8 Dec. 1978).

Document: 'Accession negotiations with Spain: establishment of the customs union and free movement of goods (Commission communication with the Council)', 12 July 1979.

At the 947th meeting of the Permanent Representatives Committee on 14 June 1979, the Commission was asked to prepare a proposal for a common position on the chapter on Customs Union, to be presented at the first session of the negotiations with Spain after the summer, to initiate the "overview" phase of the talks.

Part I: outlining the problems.

Part II: setting out the Commission's guidelines on the position to be adopted *vis-à-vis* Spain for the purpose of identifying jointly the problems to be resolved in the course of the negotiations.

The Permanent Representatives made clear: 'In its Opinion on Spain's application for membership (29 November 1978), the Commission has already has occasion to point out the main features of industrial trade relations between the Community and Spain: an imbalance in the degree of trade liberalisation, and distortions in the conditions of competition. The Commission stressed the need to redress this situation without delay and the desirability of involving Spain in industrial restructuring schemes. These views were reiterated in the industrial chapter of the "common basis for negotiations".'

'Problems other than those mentioned in this communication may come to light in the course of the negotiations. In relation to the definition of the customs territory of the Community, for example, Spain will probably raise the question of the Canary islands and its African possessions (Ceuta, Melilla, etc.), which do not come within the Community's customs territory at the moment.'

As the President of the Council pointed out in his statement at the opening of the accession negotiations on 5 February 1979, those negotiations go forward based on acceptance by Spain of the *acquis communautaire*.

Much of the Council Secretariat material is very useful in any understanding of the tariff negotiations that took place between the Community and Spain.

See, for example, Dossier no. 3: Council of Ministers' file: 'L'union douanière et la libre circulation des marchandises dans le secteur industriel traitées dans le cadre des négociations avec l'Espagne – Dossier 2, 1979/1980.

General Secretariat of the Council, 'Negotiations for the accession of Spain to the Communities, working document no. 20, Draft statement by the Community

delegation at the 5th meeting of the conference at Deputy Level – item on the provisional agenda – customs union and free movement of goods in the industrial sector: basic duties, 20 February 1980. 'As agreed by the conference at its 2nd meeting at Deputy level on 26 October 1979, contacts have taken place at a technical level between the Commission departments and the experts of the Spanish delegation in order to clarify certain points in the Spanish statement on this chapter, notably basic duties.'

General Secretariat of the Council, 'L'Union douanière et la libre circulation des marchandises dans le secteur industriel traitées dans le cadre des négociations avec l'Espagne,' Mar-Nov. 1980. (See BTE 7, Dossier no. 4).

Note from the Commission, H. Etienne to Hommel (Secretary General of the Council), 16 Apr. 1980. Commission staff paper, 'Negotiations on the accession of Spain to the Community, customs union and free movement of goods in the industrial sector. (30 April 1980).

There was included an important section on free movement of goods: 'In any case, Spain is a candidate for accession to a customs union and it is inconceivable that it should not adhere to the most fundamental rules governing that union. To keep products from non-member countries on which "third countries" CCT duties have been levied out of free circulation for a transition period would mean taking a step backwards, politically speaking, by bringing in a new and unprecedented arrangement which would require the introduction of new rules of administrative co-operation.'

J.N. Stemples (Commission, head of division in trade) to Hommel, 20 Aug. 1980, Commission staff paper on customs union and free movement of goods in the industrial sector.' 'Negotiations for the accession of Spain to the Community – customs union and free movement of goods in the industrial sector.' 8 Aug. 1980.

<u>Tariff quotas</u>: 'The Spanish delegation has two requests on this subject: (i) that quota duties should not be considered as basic duties; (ii) that the quotas in force at the time of accession be retained unchanged for their period of validity, which could run for a maximum of twelve months during the transitional period. It is then a matter of principle, with Spain requesting this derogation for all quotas existing on the eve of accession and not simply on one or more determined beforehand.

The Community concluded: 'In this case, the Spanish request is very far-reaching in that it aims to extract from the Nine, during the negotiations, a kind of blank cheque in the quota field, lasting for up to one year after Spain's accession. There is no precedent for this, either from the enlargement in 1973, or in the case of Greece. Were any duly justified derogation to be considered with regard to tariff quotas, this could only concern a very small number of quotas, precisely determined as to type, amount and duration during the negotiations. This is the only way the Community could be in a position to assess the economic implications of such derogations and then be able to determine the procedures for their application. The Commission considers that the Spanish delegation should be informed that its request could not be entertained as it stands.'

Sectoral or regional tariff suspensions

'The Spanish delegation requests that sectoral and regional tariff suspensions be excluded from the definition of basic duties. These suspensions would be abolished as from accession. As in the case of short-term suspensions, no justification is given for this request, nor has the Commission received any information as to either the exact nature of the suspensions involved or the procedures for their application. Given the present lack of detailed information, a favourable response would not possibly be given to this request.'

Duties applicable as a result of the Tokyo Round negotiations

The GATT Round of world trade talks also impacted on the third enlargement talks. The Spanish delegation had previously proposed, in its statement of 12 September 1979, that the basic duties used to calculate intra-Community reductions and moves towards alignment with the CCT replaced by the duties applicable as a result of the Tokyo Round. The Community had replied that such a proposal could not be entertained since it could not be applied by Spain.'

'The 1972 and Greek precedents must be respected, but not adapted at the expense of the powers of the Community institutions.'

GSC file, 17 Sept. 1980, working document no. 44, 'Draft Community statement for the 8th meeting of the Conference at deputy level – item: Customs union and free movement of goods in the industrial sector.

<u>Tariff quotas</u>: (i) The Community has noted the Spanish delegation's request that duties applied for purposes of Spanish tariff quotas not be regarded as basic duties and that Spanish tariff quotas in force at the time of accession be maintained for a maximum of 12 months. (ii) The Community would point out that there is no precedent for this, either from the first enlargement, or in the case of the accession of Greece.

The Spanish had made requests for some of its goods to avoid immediate application to the *acquis* and many of the discussions that followed focused on these goods, especially in relation to the Common External Tariff (CET) and the Community's Common Commercial Policy.

See, for example, GSC file, 22 Sept. 1980, working document no. 47, 'Draft Community statement for the 8th meeting of the Conference at deputy level – item: Customs union and free movement of goods in the industrial sector.

Requests for temporary derogations

(a) Short-term suspensions: (i) in its statement of 22 April 1980, the Spanish delegation said it felt that the duties resulting from short-term suspensions with a fixed date of expiry cannot be considered as basic duties. It feels that a similar case is envisaged in Article 19(2) of the Treaty of Rome. (ii) The Community wishes to point out that the duties resulting from short-term suspensions come under the definition of basic rights as mentioned in part A above and accepted by the Spanish delegation. In this connection, the Community again stresses, as it already did in its statement of 18 September 1979, the importance it attaches, for the proper functioning of the negotiations as to the durable and continuing nature for the period up to accession of the progress achieved in April 1979 with regard to the implementation of the Agreement of 29 June 1970, which had led to the introduction in Spain of short-term suspension measures. It recalls that, at the meeting of the Joining

Committee on 11 June 1979, the Spanish delegation had emphasises that intention of its authorities to maintain the tariff level attained by these measures. It notes with regret that, contrary to these assurances, the Spanish authorities have recently raised the level of the suspended duties.

GSC file, 29 July 1981, working document no. 85, 'Draft Community statement for the [...] meeting of the Conference at deputy level – item: Customs union and free movement of goods in the industrial sector.

Adhésion de l'Espagne, cadre interne, dossiers no. 3-9, L'union douanière et la libre circulation des marchandises dans le secteur industriel traitées dans le cadre des négociations aven l'Espagne, Sept-Oct. 1981. Dossiers no. 10-12 contains the same material – more copies of the Community's draft statement on 22 October 1981 (in multiple languages).

GSC, Negotiations for the accession of Spain to the European Communities – working document no. 20, 7 April 1972.⁵ [Annex 1] 'Spanish application of the CCT will be gradually phased in, in annual stages during the period of application for the transitional measures. The timetable for alignment on the CCT will be identical to that adopted for dismantling tariffs between the present Community and Spain, in order in particular to avoid any deflection of trade in the event of discrepancy between the two timetables.'

Period of application of the transitional measures

The transition measures were important for both sides of the negotiations and at times relations between negotiators were strained as a result of positions adopted by the Community and the applicant. See below drafts prepared by the Council Secretariat and Spain's responses.

GSC, Negotiations for the accession of Spain to the European Communities – working document no. 121, 22 April 1982. 'Draft statement by the Community delegation at the 19th meeting of the Conference at deputy level [no date given for the

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⁵ Note that this material is in draft form with no details regarding which meeting this working document is for – no date is provided. The working paper is based on a Commission staff paper of 30 March 1982.

meeting]. Subject: Customs Union and free movement of goods in the industrial sector. 'With respect to the customs duties still applied between the Community and Spain, in its statement of 26 October 1981 the Community proposed drawing up, as a transitional measure, a timetable ensuring progressive reduction by symmetrical annual instalments (the same percentage reduction to be applicable for both parties). This timetable must be short, in order to eliminate in a short space of time the imbalance of the tariff conditions currently governing trade between the parties under the arrangements introduced by the 1970s Agreement. It added that short deadlines would be an incentive to firms to adjust to free movement of goods in the enlargement Community and, where appropriate, to step up restructuring or conversion efforts.'

The draft statement continued stating: 'In its statement of 26 February 1982, the Spanish delegation considered that it could not under any circumstances accept the Community proposal for a short timetable for abolishing customs duties between the Community and Spain. In its view, the Community position met neither the needs nor the overall interests of the enlarged Community. Having reiterated its preferences for a single transition period, the Spanish delegation stressed that in its view, Spanish industry needed a transition period "close to, but not exceeding, the limit of 10 years" for integration with the Community industry. In support of this position it adduced structural considerations and arguments based on the differences in costs, productivity, competiveness and the impact of the crisis and finally its acceptance of VAT on accession, with all that that entails.'

CMA, l'harmonisation fiscale traitée dans le cadre des négociations avec l'Espagne, 8.12.1978-12.12.1979 (Dossier 1).

See the Commission's note to the Council, 'Accession negotiations with Spain – Taxation', 12 July 1979.

At the 947th meeting of COREPER on 14 June 1979, the Commission was requested to draw up a proposal for a joint position on the Customs Union that could be put forward at the first ministerial meeting, after the summer.

COREPER made clear: 'In this connection, the Commission considers it necessary to submit to the Council at the same time basic guidelines concerning the adoption by Spain of the Community "acquis" in the field of taxation. Spain at present applies a cumulative multi-stage turnover tax system, the effects of which on exports and

imports respectively are offset or replaced by the application of average rates for refunds or countervailing charges, which distort the free movement of goods and services between the Community and Spain. Accordingly, paragraph 55 of the opinion which it presented to the Council on Spain's application for membership, the Commission states that Spain would have to introduce the VAT system by the date of accession at the latest. The Commission confirms that conclusion in this communication.'

Valued Added Tax (VAT)

Why was it important to the Commission and the third enlargement? See, in particular, GSC, 'Negotiations for the accession of Spain to the Communities', Subject: 'Draft statement by the community delegation at the second meeting of the conference at deputy level', 23 Oct. 1979. Dossier relates to the previous file on taxation. 'This is an area that the Commission considers to be particularly important for reasons connected with: the establishment of healthy competition in the free movement of goods and services between the present Community and the new Member States; the operation of the own resources system. The establishment of healthy competition in the free movement of goods and services was one of the fundamental reasons which led the Member States to adopt in 1967 the first directive on the harmonisation of legislation in the Member States on turnover and to introduce VAT.'

For more on the negotiation over the introduction of VAT, see CMA, '1'Harmonisation fiscal traitée dans le cadre des négociations avec l'Espagne', 13.02.1980-10.02.83 (Dossier 2); GSC, 'Negotiations for accession of Spain to the Communities – working document no. 25, Subject: Taxation, 27 February 1980. Spain made a statement on the taxation issue at a deputy level meeting on 3 Dec. 1979, in response to one from the Community on 26 Oct. 1979. Having studied the Spanish statement the Community responded stating 'it noted that the Spanish statement diverged from the Community position on the subject of VAT and manufactured tobacco. To avoid any misunderstanding with the Spanish delegation in future proceedings on this chapter of the negotiations, the Community would like

once more to state its position on these two subjects, on the understanding that the Commission is at the disposal of the Spanish delegation for any technical talks which it may wish to have on this chapter.'

VAT: 'Firstly, the Community would reiterate the fundamental principle states by it – and accepted by the Spanish delegation – that, on accession, Spain would adopt the "acquis communautaire" existing at the date of accession, which basically consists of the Treaty and acts of secondary legislation.'

GSC, 'Negotiations for the accession of Spain to the Communities – draft statement by the Community delegation at the 20th meeting of the Conference at deputy level (Brussels, 4 June 1982): Subject – Taxation. 2 June 1982.

The Community was anxious to finalise the issues relating to the VAT 'so as to place the Community in a position to take decisions on possible transitional measures in the context of the chapter on customs union and the free movement of goods in the industrial sector in order that progress may be made in preparation for the meeting of the Conference at ministerial level due to be held alongside the meeting of the Council of the European Communities on 21-22 June 1982 [reference minutes of European Council meeting].'

'The Community also notes that the Spanish delegation has not yet presented any statement concerning the Canary Islands, Ceuta and Melilla. The Community would emphasise in this connection how important it is for the Spanish delegation to set out its position very swiftly on this question which is still therefore to be examined by the Conference.'

Internal document: 'Statement by the Greek Prime Minister'- 'The Greek delegation does not agree with enlargement unless a satisfactory position of the Community is taken on Integrated Mediterranean Programmes. This is also the Greek position on wine.

'Statement by the President of the European Council' - 'The enlargement will have to proceed on an ad referendum basis in view of the above declaration by the Greek delegation.'

CMA, 'La politique agricole commune traitée dans le cadre des négociations avec l'Espagne' (dossier 1), 25.8.78-5.7.79.

GSC, Working document from the chairman of the ad hoc working party on Spanish accession', subject Spain: common basis for negotiations (agriculture), 14 June 1979.

CMA, 'La politique agricole commune traitée dans le cadre des négociations avec l'Espagne' (dossier 9), Oct. 1981. 'Negotiations for the accession of Spain to the Communities – working doc. 92 – Agriculture.

The following files are a selection from the series marked 'BTE'. Each box contains dossiers examining issues such as fisheries, agriculture, the common commercial policy, the European Coal and Steel Community, Spain's relations with third countries (countries not members of the EEC) and GATT rules affecting accession. Much of the material here is rather technical and therefore, of necessity, the report offers a selection of the most important sections from these dossiers.

BTE 1, Dossiers 1-12, 'Adhésion de l'Espagne.'

11 dossiers with statistics. Dossier 12: 'Traitement par le Conseil et par le COREPER de la demande d'Adhésion formulée par l'Espagne le 26/7/1977.'

'Relations with Spain', 12 Sept. 1977. 'At its 866th meeting on 8 September 1977, the Permanent Representatives Committee agreed to recommend that the Council, at its meeting on 19 and 20 September 1977: (a) note the three letters dated 26 July 1977 in which Spain applied for membership of the European Communities (b) implement the procedure provided for in the Treaties for such matters, noting that, in preparing its opinion, the Commission will keep in close contact with the Member States and Spain; (c) finally, formally adopt the text of the three letters of acknowledgement which, on the basis of the usual model, the President of the Council is to send to the President of the Spanish government in reply to the aforementioned letters. [Includes letter of reply].

BTE 2, dossiers 13-17, 'Adhésion de l'Espagne'; Dossier 13: Economic and Social Committee:

'Draft initial study of the Section for External Relations on the Community's relations with Spain (Rapporteur: Mr C. Evain. 23 June 1978. Detailing reports on employers' associations and trade unions; Dossier 14: Oral questions in the European Parliament; Dossier 15: Economic and Social Committee (related to Dossier 1); Repeat of dossier 13 but in different languages; Dossier 16: Material repeated in this dossier; Dossier 17: Economic and Social Committee. Material repeated in this dossier.

BTE 4, Dossier no. 32 : <u>Section on Working Groups⁶ and their findings</u>:

The following chart outlines the meetings held at ministerial and deputy level over the course of the enlargement talks with Spain.

The statements presented at these ministerial meetings were made by the president of the Council of Ministers and were usually based on the outcome of meetings of the enlargement conference at deputy level between the Community and the Spanish negotiating team. The ministerial meetings were composed of the Foreign Ministers of the ten Member States.⁷ The material for these meetings was prepared by the General Secretariat of the Council.

3 ^{ème} session de la Conférence au niveau	Etat d'avancement des travaux de la
ministériel, 18 décembre 1979.8	Conférence: discussions on customs
	union, the industrial sector, finance,
	external relations and transport.
Quatrième session de la Conférence au	Subjects covered included the free
niveau ministériel (Luxembourg), 15 avril	movement of goods and the customs
1980.	union; the right of establishment,
	movement of capital and regional

⁶ It should be noted that the minutes of these meetings are in summary form, usually three to four pages in length and record the decisions taken. In advance of each meeting at ministerial level, deputy level meeting would have been held where more in-depth discussions would have taken place.

⁷ During the first enlargement negotiations (1970-2), the Foreign Ministers of the Six took control of the enlargement meetings at ministerial level even when the issues were not related to their area of concern. For more on this, see Michael J. Geary, Enlargement and the European Commission: An Assessment of the British and Irish Applications for Membership of the European Economic Community, 1958-73 (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, European University Institute [Florence], 2009), chapters 7 and 8.

⁸ All meetings at ministerial level were held in Brussels unless stated otherwise; some were held in Luxembourg.

	policy.
5 ^{ème} session de la Conférence au niveau	Two-page summary.
ministériel, 21 juillet 1980.	
6ème session al la Conférence au niveau	Agriculture featured on the agenda of
ministériel, 25 novembre 1980	this meeting as well as the movement of
	capital.
7 ^{ème} session de la Conférence au niveau	Spanish presented their positions on
ministériel, mars 1981.	economic union, external relations,
	EURATOM, ECSC, regional policy
	and compatibility of Spanish laws to
	those of the Community. A main
	concern of the meeting was identifying
	the problems related to fisheries and
	agriculture.
8 ^{ème} session de la Conférence au niveau	Three meetings at deputy level had
ministériel, juillet 1981.	been held since the March meeting.
	Ministers discussed agriculture, 'les
	resources propres', and the position of
	the Community and the evolution of
	opinion. On the fisheries question, the
	'Community hopes to take decisions
	internally on the reform of the common
	fisheries policy in the next few months.
	This will enable negotiations on the
	substance of this chapter to begin
	shortly afterwards.' The Community
	also asked the Spanish for clarification
	on the right of establishment and the
	free presentation of services.
9 ^{ème} session de la Conférence au niveau	Summary of discussion on regional
ministériel (Luxembourg), 26 octobre	policy and social affairs.
1981.	
10 ^{ème} session de la Conférence au niveau	Topics discussed at ministerial level

ministériel, 22 mars 1982.	included the movement of capital,
	transport policy, regional policy and
	economic and monetary questions.
	Regarding 'le programme de nos
	travaux futurs', the Community's
	objective was to begin a new effort 'de
	rapprochement des positions au cours
	du présent semestre.'
11 ^{ème} session de la Conférence au niveau	Economic Union, the applicant
ministériel, 21 juin 1982.	country's acceptance of VAT and
	external relations featured in the
	minutes of this meeting.
12 ^{ème} session de la Conférence au niveau	Brief conclusions dealing with
ministériel, 26 octobre 1982.	economic industrial union goods such
	as textiles, monopolies, safeguard
	mechanisms and Spain's economic
	territories such as the Canary Islands.
13 ^{ème} session de la Conférence au niveau	No minutes for this meeting in the files.
ministériel.	
14 ^{ème} session de la Conférence au niveau	Fiscal issues relating to tobacco and
ministériel, 22 février 1982.	EURATOM as well as economic union
	concerns were raised at the fourteenth
	ministerial meeting in Brussels.
15 ^{ème} session de la Conférence au niveau	The meeting's attention focused on tax
ministériel (Luxembourg), 26 avril 1983.	on tobacco and external relations issues.
	Also, fisheries made it on to the agenda
	of the ministerial meeting after the
	Commission had produced a report on
	the negotiating issue at the beginning of
	April.
16 ^{ème} session de la Conférence au niveau	Brief two-page summary of meeting -
ministériel (Luxembourg), 21 juin 1983.	nothing substantial was discussed.
17 ^{ème} session de la Conférence au niveau	The meeting discussed economic union

ministériel (Luxembourg), 18 octobre	and monopolies in Spain and industrial
1983.	external relations. Ministers were
	confident in reaching agreement on
	these issues.
18 ^{ème} session de la Conférence au niveau	EURATOM and ECSC issues were
ministériel, 19 décembre 1983.	briefly raised and discussed at this
	meeting.
19 ^{ème} session de la Conférence au niveau	The meeting heard that the working
ministériel, 21 février 1983.	group on fisheries were still examining
	that issue and once the Commission has
	completed its assessment, it would
	report back to the Council.
20 ^{ème} session de la Conférence au niveau	The Council was still studying the
ministériel (Luxembourg), 10 avril 1984.	Commission's analysis of the fisheries
	problems and other agricultural issues.
	The Canary Islands was also on the
	agenda of this ministerial meeting.
21ème session de la Conférence au niveau	The Conference commented on the
ministériel (Luxembourg), 19 juin 1984.	progress made in the previous month in
	the areas of social affairs, Canary
	Islands, the European Investment Bank.
	On the fisheries question, the
	ministerial meeting discussed the
	transition periods.
22 ^{ème} session de la Conférence au niveau	The ministerial meeting discussed the
ministériel, 18 juillet 1984.	transition period for industrial goods.
23 ^{ème} session de la Conférence au niveau	General positions were outlined by the
ministériel, 3 septembre 1984.	president of the Council of Ministers on
	wine, green vegetables and social
	affairs.
24 ^{ème} session de la Conférence au niveau	Institutional questions and the European
ministériel, 13 septembre 1984.	Investment Bank were issues that the
	ministerial meeting summarised.

Agriculture

The Community stressed at the outset of the negotiations and throughout the talks that the basic provisions of the CAP could not be called into question. This was the Community negotiating position on agriculture. The main files that deal with agriculture and that outline the Community's and Spain's position at ministerial and deputy level meetings include the following:

BTE 4, Dossier no. 30: material from interest (agricultural) groups who made submissions to the Council and the Commission during the enlargement talks.

14 June 1979 – Spain: Common basis for negotiations [Agriculture].

Importance of agriculture to Spain – statistics to show this; differences between Spain and the other member states; production and trends; trade balances with the Community showed a surplus in 1979 and these products are competitive; effects on accession and regional impact; guidelines – special attention to production sector of the agriculture market and to agricultural infrastructure.

27 July 1979 – ad hoc working party on Spain's accession note to Permanent Representative Committee (common basis for negotiations – agriculture sector). This is a summary of the joint outcome carried out by the above committee.

1 April 1980 – Report from the Commission to the Council on the question of agriculture (Antonio Giolitti, Commission) 'Accession negotiations with Spain – proposal concerning agriculture.' Similar material to the above report. (part two of the report deals with economic survey on Spanish agriculture, the EEC-Spain preferential trade agreement and agriculture and statistics.

24 June and 14 July 1980 – temporary ad-hoc working party: Commission communication to the Council on agriculture. The ad-hoc committee would continue discussion until September 1980 with a view to submitting its conclusions to the Council at a meeting on agricultural questions.

24 June, 9 July and 16-7 September 1980: temporary ad-hoc working party (WP). The WP discussed fruit and vegetable sector, vegetable oils and fats and wine. Views

were expressed, for example, by the Commission, French, German and Italian delegations. The Italian, for example, argued that the Commission's proposals were insufficient to deal with the threat to the Italian export market posed by Spanish products in the vegetable markets

22 October 1980: more discussions relating to the above document and the same issues.

11 November 1980: preliminary draft Community statement – Agriculture. 'The Community is able to make an initial contribution to one of the final chapters still to be negotiated: agriculture.' CAP was still the corner stone of the construction of Europe. (Fisheries was not part of this negotiation – these were separate talks). Part two deal with problems identified by the Community, these were major and numerous. 'The Community would however like to point out that during its own preparatory work it emerged that some important information was still missing or that elsewhere there was not sufficient data to enable the Community to identify the problems fully and clearly.'

1 December 1980: Amendments to the draft report on agriculture (fruit and vegetables, wine).

1 October 1981: Negotiations with Spain – 'Missing documents.' The negotiations were draining the Community's resources due to the 'magnitude and complexity of the internal work.'

See also an Economic and Social Committee report, 27 June 1978: 'Draft initial study of the section for external relations on the Community's relations with Spain.' The report deals with the differences between the Community and Spain, Spain's economic recovery drive and preparations for membership of the EEC.

Dossier no. 29-30: Material on [agricultural] interest groups and their submissions to the Community.

Dossier no. 32: Working document no. 29 (fourth session of the ministerial conference on enlargement), 15-22 April 1980. The conference received an update of the progress of the negotiations under different headings, such as transport, regional policy, movement of capital, social affairs and the right of establishment.

Dossier no. 32: Working document no. 40 (fifth session of the ministerial conference on enlargement). Summary update (three pages) of progress of talks from an economic union perspective; this meeting continued on 21 July 1980.

Dossier no. 32: Working document no. 52 (sixth session of the conference at ministerial level); a four page summary of point that had been discussed at working party level. The sixth ministerial meeting resumed in November 1980 and the summary of this meeting is included in dossier no. 32.

8 October 1981, Working document no. 92 – Agriculture, General Secretariat of the Council.

At the tenth meeting of the Conference at deputy level on 19 December 1980, the Community submitted an initial statement on agriculture aimed at contributing to the joint identification of problems in this chapter of the negotiations.

At the seventh meeting of the conference at ministerial level on 16 March 1981, The Spanish delegation in turn submitted an initial statement on this chapter, which was, as the spokesman for the Spanish delegation stated at that meeting – 'made in very general terms at this juncture.'

At the meeting of the conference at ministerial level on 13 July 1981, the Community spokesman stated, inter alia, that 'with regard to agriculture, which is also one of the main chapters of the negotiations, here, too, it is the Community's wish to be able to continue the dialogue begun with the Spanish delegation at the end of last year.'

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⁹ The ministerial meetings were not as productive as the meetings held at working party or deputy level. The Council minutes of the ministerial meetings are short and largely summarise the work completed since the previous ministerial meeting.

Working document no. 64 – seventh meeting of the conference at ministerial level, 16 March 1981 – document dealing the state of work on the negotiations [in French] – four page summary document.

Working document no. 83 – eight meeting at ministerial level, 8 July 1981: summary of developments since the last meeting in March [pp. 1-5 in French].

Working document no. 94 – ninth meeting of the conference at ministerial level, 26 October 1981.

BTE 5, Dossier no. 38: 'Etat d'avancement des négociations pour l'adhésion de l'Espagne à la Communauté', 1983. European Commission 'Document de travail des services de la Commission sur l'état d'avancement des négociations pour l'adhésion du Portugal et de l'Espagne à la Communauté', 10 October 1983. This six-page document contains brief summaries of many of the issues discussed in the negotiations with Spain and Portugal.

GSC, 'Negotiations for the accession of Spain to the Communities (outline of the main work still to be done), 19 February 1985. For example, (i) Own resources: to be taken in the final phase of the negotiations; (ii) Canary Islands: draft statement in preparation.

BTE 6, Dossiers no. 40-5: Communication de la Commission au Conseil européen sur les problèmes l'élargissement (inventaire et proposition), 1982-5.

GSC, 'Note from the Presidency (Spanish accession: comprehensive solution), 26 April 1985 [10 pages].

(i) Agriculture: (Fruit and vegetables). Quotas will be fixed in terms of volume and benefit from a 10 per cent annual (cumulative) progression rate. If during two consecutive years imports have been lower that 90 per cent of the quote opened, Spain will remove the restriction from the beginning of the following year. Administration of the quotas will be carried out, mutatis mutandis, in accordance with the same principles as those adopted for the Customs Union for industrial products. The Community and Spain agree that, in principle, they will not make use of the possibility of granting subsidies or refunds in their trade in fruit and vegetables.

In trade with third countries: Spain will be authorised, during the phase when convergence is monitored, to continue to apply quantitative restrictions to third countries in respect of the same list of products as that used vis-à-vis the Community, in accordance with arrangements to be determined during the interim period.

Some of the dossiers contain the same information in different Community languages or different drafts of the same text. Dossier 44, for example, contains material from a European Parliament debate on the third enlargement, 4 October 1982. [Dossier 45 contains the German version of that debate].

BTE 7, Dossiers no. 42-62, 1985. Material (including telegrams) dealing with the Community budget for 1986, debates in the EP [some of the dossiers are empty].

GSC, 'Negotiations for the accession of Spain to the Communities (draft statement by the Community for the next meeting of the Conference – Relations between Spain and Portugal in the context of enlargement of the Community), 4 February 1985.

'The question of relations between the Spain and Portugal as Member States mainly concerns the transitional measures and temporary derogations which will be applicable between the two countries during the transitional periods, in the same way as the measures agreed on or currently being negotiated between the Community on the one hand and Spain and Portugal on the other.'

The ESC's report on the trading [agriculture] situation in Spain for 1985 is found in dossier no. 57. Dossiers no. 58 and 60 contains extracts of resolutions adopted by the EP in 1982 and 1985 on the enlargement question and in particular, on the fisheries and agriculture questions; dossiers no. 55 and 62 contain material found in other dossiers above.

Civil Society/Interest Groups

The Community had been lobbied by interest groups during the enlargement talks. Among these were the big farming groups who worried about the impact on the CAP as a result of Spain's and Portugal's accession to the EEC. See in particular the following files: BTE 8, Dossiers no. 63-73 (1985-6). Dossiers contain material from interest groups with an interest in Spanish accession to the EEC; telex messages.

Dossier no. 65, 16 November 1984, Exploratory talks held on 15 and 16 November 1984 between the Presidency and the Commission on the one hand and the Spanish delegation on the other (matters raised by the Spanish delegation). Issues raised by the applicant government included social affairs (equal treatment and family benefits), olive oil, length of the transition period (ten years for specific measures, seven years for all sectors including fruit and vegetables), fisheries ('Spain was ready to limit its presence in Community waters to this number of vessels [323 out of 11,000], provided that the Community took over all Spain's agreements with third countries. Under these circumstances, there would be no risk of a "Spanish invasion" of Community waters'), and institutional questions.

Dossier no. 73, 24 January 1985, European Commission, 'Négociations d'adhésion du Portugal et de l'Espagne aux Communautés européennes – clause anti-dumping.' (see also working document no. 300, 31 January 1985. The Community set out its position on dumping and requested further information from the Spanish delegation.

Dossiers no. 74-80, Material dealing with EURATOM accession. Working documents reproduced in other Community languages.

European Coal and Steel Community negotiations

Spain had applied for membership of the three Communities. Regarding the ECSC, negotiations centred on the Spanish steel community, state aids from the government to industry and how Spanish membership would affect the *acquis*.

See BTE 8, Dossier no. 78, 14 September 1984, 'Negotiations for the accession of Spain to the Communities (Draft statement by the Community at the 24th meeting of the conference at Ministerial level) – ECSC: restructuring of the Spanish iron and steel industry.

In its statement of 19 June 1984, the Community said: 'Only with more precise information will it be able to take a position – with a view to concluding the negotiations on the ECSC chapter – on the arrangements to be envisaged after accession, both as regards the aid which might prove necessary to the Spanish industry in connection with the related restructuring and as regards the accompanying measures which would make it possible, in this context, to avoid undermining the results of the Community's restructuring policy and so prevent any disturbance of the

Community market.' See also BTE 9, Dossiers no. 70-80 which contains the same information as above dossiers.

BTE 14, Dossiers no. 119-130 – Spain, external relations and the European Coal and Steel Community. File contain technical data on the implications for the ECSC after the accession of Spain to the EEC.

Dossier no. 121, 29 June 1983, 'Négociations pour l'adhésion de l'Espagne à la communauté – exposé oral d'un représentant de la Commission.' The report deals with import regimes, the classification of products, GATT rules and the Community's system of preferences.

European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM)

This chapter of the negotiations was one of the more straightforward areas since Spain did not have a developed nuclear programme.

See Spain's letter of application for membership of EURATOM: (26 July 1977): 'The Spanish Government has decided, in accordance with the provisions of Article 205 of the Treaty establishing the European Atomic Energy Community, officially to request the opening of negotiations with the EAEC, for the inclusion of Spain in that Community as a full member.'

'In formally requesting in this letter the opening of negotiations with the EAEC I would like, Sir, to put on record the Spanish Government's identification with the ideals underlying the Treaties establishing the European Communities and to express our hope that these negotiations will lead us within a reasonable space of time to satisfactory results for the EAEC and for Spain.'

Signed: Adolfo Suarez.

See also the following: Box 11, Dossiers no. 89-100 and Box 17, Dossiers no. 150-7, 'Adhésion de l'Espagne'.

EURATOM – Economic and Social Committee, 'Draft study of the section for agriculture on the agricultural aspects of Spanish membership of the Community', 7 Jan. 1981, pp. 1-64.

BTE 12, Dossiers no. 101-6: 9 December 1983, 'Negotiations on the accession of Spain to the Communities (Draft Community statement at the meeting of the Conference at Brussels – EAEC [EURATOM]. The Conference 'were in a position to work out solutions on the substance of the issue, thus enabling the main part of negotiations on this chapter to be closed.' Participation by Spanish scientists in the Joint Research Centre (JRC); further meetings between Commission and Spanish experts on this issue. Other issues, such as safeguards, health promotion, conventions on civil liability in the atomic energy field, still being examined. See also notes on meeting, 12 March 1984: Minutes of 30th meeting of the conference at deputy level. Dossiers no. 102-4 contains sections of the EURATOM Treaty. Dossier no. 105 contains copies of speech made by the President of the Council on the occasion of the signing of the Accession Treaty by Spain, 12 June 1985.

BTE 171, Dossiers no. 1641-1646 (1981-4). Dossiers contain telegrams dealing with the EURATOM treaty and are technical.

BTE 10, Dossiers no. 81-88: Material dealing with meetings of COREPER (1979-81) on EURATOM; tariffs on the transportation of goods, steel, metal manufacturing, Commission's working document comparing the positions of the Community and Spanish delegations (9 November 1979).

BTE 13, Dossiers no. 107-118: Dossiers contain material dealing with the publication of the accession treaties [EURATOM] between the Communities and Spain; instruments of ratification.

Accession and Institutional Changes

A number of dossiers examine the institutional changes associated with the third enlargement. Seats in each of the Community institutions would be allocated to the new member states. These dossiers focus on weighted voting in the Council, the allocation of seats to Spain in the European Parliament (interim measures prior to the next European Parliamentary elections) and Spain's nomination of two members to the European Commission.

BTE 15, Dossiers no. 131-6: 18 October 1984, material on institutional questions. Working document no. 286, 21 December 1984 – Institutional questions (draft conclusions to be annexed to the summary of conclusions/numerical adjustments to be made to the treaties. In the European Parliament, sixty seats would be added for Spanish representatives, without any adjustment to the number of seats allocated to each of the present Member States. In the Council of Ministers, the votes to be allocated to Spain would be weighted at eight. As Portugal would be given five votes, the total number of votes would, in a Community of 12, be seventy-six (instead of the then present sixty-three). Commission: In a Community of 12, the number of Members of the Commission would be increased from 14 to 17 (to include two Spanish nationals and one Portuguese national).

Dossier no. 137-8 examine the institutional changes, vis-à-vis the European Parliament/Economic and Social Committee after the accession of Spain.

Dossier no. 149, Council paper dealing with Spain [and Portugal] (working document no. 337 (E), no. 251 (P), 17 April 1985, intermediate period for adaptation of certain decisions and other measures.

Dossiers no. 141-2, Institutional changes dealing with the Court of Justice, 27 February 1984.

BTE 16, Dossiers no. 137-149. Dossiers deal with the Community's commercial policy. This file included background technical material on the commercial policy, figures relating to Spain's export regime and the problems of compatibility.

BTE 18, Dossiers no. 158-62: The Community's Common Commercial Policy, Spain and accession. The files focus on the liberalisation of imports from third countries and safeguard clauses (see Commission document on this, 13 February 1985, dossier 161, box 18).

Conclusions to the negotiations between Spain and the Community

Agriculture: Spain's import from the Community of milk, cream, butter, cheese, beef and veal, and common wheat will be subject to a special ten-year transitional arrangement which provides for a surveillance mechanism based on 'objective' import volumes for each product, increasing annually at predetermined rates.

The Community for its part will dismantle its customs duties on Spanish fresh fruit and vegetable exports over a ten-year period, the first four years serving to facilitate Spain's introduction of machinery that will enable the common market organization to operate. There will be a transitional period (also of ten years) for vegetable oils and fats; Spain's quantitative controls on imports of seeds and seed oil will remain in place for the first five of those years. Full alignment of intervention prices will be postponed until the relevant Community legislation has been amended. For sugar and isoglucose, 'guarantee' levels have been set at a million tonnes and 83,000 tonnes respectively.

Fisheries: The challenge facing the negotiators was to work out a formula for Spanish participation in the common fisheries policy that would still preserve the existing balance between Member States. It was agreed that specific rules must be established to govern fishing in French and Spanish coastal waters between the six-mile and twelve-mile limits, and arrangements were worked out allowing Spanish fishermen access to certain Community waters up to the end of 1995, when new terms will come into effect. Spanish boats will also be allowed to operate in the Irish box from that date.

A maximum of 300 vessels would be licensed for hake fishing, though 150 standard trawlers will be allowed to fish at the same time, five of them for non-demersal species. There would also be a limit on the number of specialized boats allowed to operate. Spain would be entitled to 30 per cent of the total allowable catch of hake in the areas concerned, plus a further 4,500 tonnes, bringing its total up to 18,000 tonnes. Catch limits would also be set for other species on an area-by-area basis, and Spanish fishermen will have to comply with all Community rules on conservation of fish stocks. The mutual fisheries arrangements of the two applicant

countries would be worked out in agreement with the Community before the end of the accession negotiations.

Social affairs: Spanish workers who already had a job in the Community would be entitled to equal treatment, even if they were unemployed at the time of accession. Other Spanish workers would have free access to employment in the Community after seven years, though members of their family would have to fulfil a transitional five-year residence condition. Community family allowance provisions would not apply for three years to members of a worker's family remaining in the country of origin, and special rules also govern the right to seek employment or change jobs in Luxembourg.

Budget contributions: A formula similar to that used for Greek accession had been agreed. Spain would pay its share of own resources in full, but VAT would be refunded on a sliding scale for a number of years, at a rate which ensures 'budget neutrality' — in other words, Spain would not be a net contributor.

The Canary Islands: The Canaries would not be a part of the customs union, which meant among other things that they would not have to apply Community rules governing imports from non-member countries; also, however, that their duty-free exports to the Community and Spain could not exceed traditional levels. The common agricultural policy (CAP), parts of the common fisheries policy (CFP) and VAT would not apply to the Canaries either; tariff quotas would be set for various agricultural and fisheries products and manufactured tobaccos, and a number of measures, including the introduction of origin rules, would be taken to prevent any deflection of trade.

Part II – Portugal's Accession to the European Economic Community: Report on the Council of Ministers Archival Material

Introduction

In Portugal, the military uprising and the 'Revolution of the Carnations' of 25 April 1974 swept aside the authoritarian regime put in place in 1933 by Salazar.¹⁰ However, the armed uprising soon faced the threat of extremism and of revolutionary chaos dividing the officers and civilians, heirs of the April revolution, returning from exile abroad. Nevertheless, the fledging Portuguese democracy enjoyed considerable international support. The leader of the Portuguese Socialist Party during his enforced exile in France, Mario Soares, the new Minister for Foreign Affairs and future Prime Minister, travelled the length and breadth of Europe championing the cause of his country as a future member of the Community.

Portugal joined the Council of Europe on 22 September 1976. Acting swiftly, Portugal, which had been linked to the EEC since 1973 through a free-trade agreement covering industrial and agricultural products, officially submitted its application for accession to the European Communities on 28 March 1976. Following the Council's request for an opinion, the Commission submitted a positive opinion on 19 May 1978 on the action to be taken on Portugal's application. Begun on 17 October 1978, the long and difficult accession negotiations culminated in the signing in Lisbon on 12 June 1985 of the Accession Treaty between Portugal and the EEC that came into force on 1 January 1986. A day earlier, Portugal had withdrawn from the European Free Trade Association (EFTA), of which it had been a founding member in 1960.

¹⁰ See *Le Monde's* analysis of the consequence of the *coup d'état* in Portugal and the ambitions of the new military junta. *Le Monde*, 'Le Rubicon', 26 April 1974.

¹¹ For a rather unflattering account of Portugal's accession to the EEC and its economic woes see *Le Soir*, 'Portugal: an underdeveloped country blighted by poverty joins the European Community', 11 June 1985.

¹² A limited amount of scholarly literature has been published on Portugal's accession to the Community. For specific references, see Desmond Dinan, *Europe recast: a history of European Union* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2004); Nicolau Andresen Leitão, 'A flight of fantasy? Portugal's first attempt to enlarge the European Economic Community, 1961-1963' in *Contemporary European History*, vol. 16, no. 1 (2007), pp. 71-87.

Note on the Council archival material – Portugal

The Community's negotiations with Portugal did not generate the same level of documentation to those between the EEC and Spain. Many of the issues affecting Portuguese relations with the Ten were linked to the outcome of the Spanish accession talks. The Council's archival material is closely modelled on the Spanish material. With over 100 boxes of dossiers, the material is largely divided into the negotiations on the EEC, ECSC and EURATOM accession talks. These dossiers contain reports from the Commission to the Council dealing with tariffs, state aids to Portuguese industries and agriculture, the Community's common policies (fisheries and agriculture), social affairs and the acquis communautaire. There are also reports from the Council's secretariat, such as briefs for ministerial meetings, resolutions from the European Parliament and some letters from interest groups (especially agricultural groups) with an interest in the enlargement question. The Council files on Portugal's enlargement talks are similar in content to those file related to Spain and the third accession. There are no verbatim minutes of COREPER or Council of Ministers meetings, other than summary versions of the decisions taken. However, the files do show, as with the Spanish material on enlargement, the extent to which the Commission produced lengthy reports to the Council Secretariat which formed the basis for the negotiation talks in Brussels.

Avis de la Commission, 19 May 1978.

One of key functions of the Commission, vis-à-vis the enlargement question, was to examine the implications for the Community with the accession of new member states. As with the two previous enlargements in 1973 and 1981, the Commission 'Opinion' played an important role in directing the course of the subsequent negotiations between the Common Market countries and the applicants.

Contact with the Portuguese government had been conducted through the 'Commission on European Integration' set up by the Portuguese government to promote and coordinate the proceedings preparatory to accession. By this means, the Commission's staff had been provided with extensive documentation on the situation of Portugal. The Member States for their part had been kept abreast of the Commission's proceedings in the preparation of its opinion. The Commission in

addition forwarded to the Council on 20 April 1978 a communication setting out 'General Considerations on Problems of Enlargement', in which considerable attention was devoted to Portugal and the specific aspects of its situation among the three applicants and the kind of arrangements these necessitate were dealt with in particular. The Commission argued: 'an unequivocal Yes should be given promptly to the Portuguese request to open accession negotiations as soon as possible.' For the Community, the economic impact would be very limited, in view of the relative weight of the Portuguese economy. Portugal represented only 3 per cent of the Community of Nine in population, and 1 per cent in Gross Domestic Product (GDP). The problems that arose stemmed primarily from the fact of appreciable disparities in development, which would accentuate the Community's heterogeneity. This being so, decision-making in the Community's institutions could be rendered more difficult.

The *Avis* also noted how decolonisation was rapid and involved the abrupt repatriation of half a million Portuguese nationals, the demobilisation of a large number of young men who had been fighting in the colonial wars, and the loss of Portugal of an important market. (Box 1, Dossier no. 527: Commission *Avis* to the Council on the problems inherent in Portugal's accession to the European Coal and Steel Community, 19 March 1979).

Bulletin des Communautés européennes, 'Avis favorable du Conseil des Communautés européennes à la demande d'adhésion du Portugal', 6 June 1978, no. 5, p. 11. See also an interesting article in *Le Monde*, 'Le débat sur l'élargissement de la C.E.E.: Les Portugais entre l'indifférence et l'hésitation', 14 September 1978.

Box 7, Dossiers no. 579-93: Draft Council statement on the Commission's 'Opinion' and summary of the decisions taken by the Council at its meeting on 6 June 1978.

Dossier no. 581: Annex to the Commission Avis, 5 June 1978.

Dossier no. 580: Same information as in previous dossier translated into other Community languages.

Box 8, Dossiers no. 594-600: European Council, 'Projet de conclusions sur l'Espagne et le Portugal', 13 November 1981. The European Council reaffirmed its hope that the negotiations would conclude rapidly and successfully.

European Commission note to the Council, 'Problèmes de l'élargissement: inventaire et propositions', 12 November 1982: these included the economic environment on

enlargement, internal evolution of the Community, the *acquis communautaire*, the Community's own resources and the simultaneous accession of Spain and Portugal. An important mid-way document on the state of the negotiations between Portugal and the ten.

Dossier no. 595: General Affairs Council meeting, 17 February 1983 [One-page summary on advance state of work and work to be completed].

Box 12, Dossiers no. 637-44: Council note on 'Relations avec le Portugal', 28 March 1977, elaborating on the *avis* of the Commission and Council's letter to Portugal acknowledging its application for membership of the three Communities.

Dossier no. 580: the Commission's *Avis* on Portugal's accession to the EEC, 5 June 1978.

Dossier no. 638: Commission's analysis of, and preliminary response to, Portugal's statement on transport, 8 November 1978.

Dossier no. 639: Negotiations between the Community and Portugal: Working documents from the Commission on the European Coal and Steel Community, 19 March 1978 – detailing the problem inherent in Portugal's membership of that Community.

Dossier no. 640: Briefing material in advance of ministerial meetings of the enlargement conference, 1982-3.

Dossier no. 641: The Commission's response to the Portuguese statement on regional policy, 6 November 1979. Portugal accepted the principles on which the Community's regional policy was based.

Dossier no. 642: European Commission's oral report on the environmental and consumer protection within the context of the enlargement conference, 6 December 1982.

Dossier no. 643: Commission's reflections on economic and monetary questions – working documents, 24 March 1980.

Dossier no. 644: Council internal documents on the movement of capital, 13 September, 25 September, 11 November 1980; 27 and 28 January, 5 February, 25 June 1981, 26 January, 27 January, 5 February 1982. Working papers from the Commission, 4 February 1982 on movement of capital (to the Council) dealing with

temporary concessions/derogations, transition measures, the length of time for measures, direct investment to Portugal by non-residents.

Opening of negotiations with Portugal – comments on the negotiating procedure

Statement by Klaus von Dohnanyi, Minister of State at the Foreign Ministry of the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), the country holding the Presidency of the Council of the European Communities, at the opening ministerial session of negotiations between the Communities and Portugal, held in Brussels on 17 October 1978. (See Box 1, Dossiers no. 522-7)

'Negotiations will be carried on by the Community at all levels and on all problems in accordance with a uniform procedure in the framework of a Conference between the Communities and Portugal; the details could be arranged by our deputies.'

'As regards the Community delegation, it will be led by the President in Office of the Council of the European Communities. Our negotiators will have the difficult task – difficult if only because of the number and complexity of the problems to be dealt with – of drawing up a negotiating timetable as they go along and determining the order in which the various topics will be covered. With a view to accelerating the procedure, I nevertheless feel it would be useful even at this early stage to make a number of suggestions on this subject. Since customs union is the very crux of the Community and given that the existing agreements have already allowed tariff dismantling to be initiated between Portugal and the Community, I think that customs union might usefully be one of the subjects to be discussed at the very outset of negotiations. The chapter on external relations, particularly the common commercial policy, might also be tackled very soon. Moreover, secondary Community legislation could be examined from three different points of view: collation of complete data, determination of the technical adjustments necessary, and possibly definition of the substantive problems to be covered in the context of the negotiations.' (Box 1, Dossiers no. 522-7).

Box 6, Dossiers no. 565-78: January 1977, COREPER established an ad-hoc working group charged with examining relations between Portugal and the Community.

Dossier no. 567: oral questions from the European Parliament on Portugal's accession, 17 February, 10 March 1977.

Dossier no. 568: Letter of application by Portugal for membership of the European Communities, 28 March 1977. Also, letter of reply from David Owen, British Foreign Secretary and President of the Council of the EC (included are multiple copies of the letter for membership for each of the Communities).

Dossier no. 569: Copies of letter of application for membership of the EEC (March 1977).

Dossier no. 570: Copies of letter of application for membership of the ECSC (March 1977).

Dossier no. 571: Council of Ministers' response to the three letters from Portugal, 28 March 1977. 13

Dossier no. 573: Press articles and brochures on 'Portugal and the EEC', May 1978, prepared by the European Commission.

Dossier no. 574: Letter from Portuguese Agricultural Federation to Sec. Gen. of the Council, 13 December 1978.

Dossier no. 575: empty. 14

Dossier no. 576: Parlement Européen, 'Documents de séance, 1977-1978', 4 July, 15 September 1977.

Dossier no. 577: Parlement Européen, Procès-verbal de la séance du vendredi, 16 septembre 1977.

Dossier no. 578: Oral question in the European Parliament, 4 July 1977.

European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC)

As with Spain, Portugal had applied for membership of the three Communities in 1977, namely the EEC, ECSC and EURATOM. The ECSC negotiations centred on, among other issues, state aids from the government of Portugal to its industries and tariffs. The following files are most useful in tracing the negotiations between the Community and Portugal and, in particular, the working party working documents prepared in advance of COREPER and ministerial meetings by the Council and the Commission secretariats. These files contain translations of the documents in the Community languages but most of the material is in French. They are usually formal

¹³ The Council noted at its meeting on 28 March 1977 that the Commission had to keep in close contact with the Member States and with Portugal when implementing the negotiating procedure provide for in the treaty.

¹⁴ An empty dossier usually contains one page stating that the material has been moved.

documents, with very few letters between officials of the institutions or verbatim records of COREPER or ministerial meetings. A useful starting point, Box 1, Dossiers no. 522-7 contains working documents, from the European Commission, related to Portugal's accession to the ECSC treaty. Dossier no. 522: European Commission, working document on negotiations with Portugal – ECSC, 19 March 1979; Working document no. 6, 13 September 1979; Working document, 25 January 1980; Working document, 18 December 1980; Working document no. 38, 3 June 1981; Working document no. 40, 9 July 1981; Commission working document no. 41, 14 July 1981; Council internal document no. 25, 16 July 1981 on ECSC; Commission working document comparing the Community and Portuguese negotiating positions, 17 December 1981.

European Commission, 'Portuguese accession negotiations (ECSC) – Oral statement by the representatives of the services of the Commission', 11 March 1982. Problems related to the islands of the Azores and Madeira; it was agreed that institutional aspects would be left until later; tariff alignment would also be left until after the completion of the renegotiation of the 'gel tarifaire' [price freeze]; agreement was reached between Portugal and the Community on Community tariff suspension although further technical problems had to be held. [File reproduced in Dossier no. 523].

The Commission and COREPER analysed in detail the Dossier no. 524: Commission's working document no. 69 on ECSC, 22 March 1982; Council internal working document no. 54, on ECSC, 7 April 1982 (general discussion on safeguarding measures, dumping, duration of safeguards); Council internal working document no. 55 on ECSC, 5 April 1982 (transition measures); Council internal working document no. 56 on ECSC, 21 April 1982 (tariff questions); Council internal working document no. 58, 22 April 1982; Council internal document no. 62, 24 April 1982, on ECSC (further discussion on tariff questions); Council internal working document no. 77, 2 June 1982 on ECSC (metal imports from third countries); Council working documents no. 80, 86 (14 June 1982), 75 (15 June 1985) in advance of 8th meeting of the enlargement conference at ministerial level on 22 June 1982 (main issue discussed was tariffs).

Dossier no. 523: European Commission, oral presentation by the ad-hoc working group on Portugal's accession to the Community, 25 January 1980; Council internal

working document no. 6 on ECSC, 12 February 1980; Commission's note to the Council on the state of negotiations between the Community and Portugal regarding the ECSC, 18 December 1980 (safeguard mechanisms, elimination of state aids and the Commission's opinion on each of these) [Reproduced in dossier no. 524]; Council internal document no. 40, 9 July 1981 – briefing material on ECSC ahead of un-dated conference at ministerial level; Council internal working document no. 41, 14 July 1981, on ECSC.

European Commission, ad-hoc working group report to the Council, 17 December 1981 on the chapter of the enlargement talks dealing with the ECSC and Portugal.

Dossier no. 525: Commission note to the Council, relating to the elimination of quantitative restrictions (ECSC), 18 December 1980.

Dossier no. 526: Commission oral presentation to the Council on economic union and the ECSC, 8 December 1982; Council working document no. 120 on free circulation of good in the industrial sector, 13 January 1983; Council working document no. 123 on same issues (ECSC), 21 January 1983.

Dossier no. 527: Commission *Avis* to the Council on the problems inherent in Portugal's accession to the European Coal and Steel Community, 19 March 1979.

Box 2, Dossiers no. 528-36: Specific measures on ECSC and Portugal's accession negotiations – much of the same material from Box no. 64 is reproduced in these dossiers.

Economic and Social Committee (ESC)

With the establishment of democracy in Portugal and its promise of a new relationship between that country and the Community, the ESC decided to examine to what extent economic and social interests in the Community could contribute towards stabilising the Portuguese economy and strengthening the basis of mutual relations (Box 5 Dossier no. 560: Economic and Social Committee, report to the Council presidency, 10 May 1977, on Portugal. See also Dossier no. 561 – copy of the above report in Community languages. Dossier no. 562 – copy of the above report in Community languages). The studies analysed the economic situation in Portugal and summarised the discussions that took place between in Lisbon between a Committee delegation

and Portuguese employers and workers, representatives of farming and commerce, members of the Government and senior civil servants.

EURATOM

On 3 April 1979, in connection with the negotiations for the accession of Portugal, the Secretariat-General of the Commission of European Communities drew up a working document aimed at analysing the problems that might arise in Portugal's adoption of the Community's acquis in the fields covered by the Treaty establishing the European Atomic Energy Community (*EAEC* or EURATOM).

The report was divided into two parts: Section 1 outlined the general considerations, scientific and technical information in the field of nuclear research, health protection and security. The second section examined similar issues from the Community's perspective.

On 22 December 1980, the Commission submitted to the Council a confidential proposal concerning Portugal's accession to EURATOM. This document focused in particular on the transitional measures, the safeguard clauses and customs tariffs. (Box 1, Dossiers no. 522-527, 'Adhésion du Portugal à la CEE: Reprise par le Portugal du tarif douanier unifié CECA', Dossier no. 522).

Box 3, Dossiers no. 537-49: Commission note to the Council on EURATOM, 3 April 1979 – preliminary outline of the problems inherent in Portugal's accession to the Community. Copies of the 'Opinion' can also be found in Dossiers no. 540, 541, 542 and 543.

Dossier no. 538: Council working document no. 49, on EURATOM – accords and convention between Portugal and third countries, 5 November 1981; Council working document no. 55, 26 January 1982 in advance of the sixth meeting at ministerial level of the enlargement conference (includes discussions on regional policy, transport and the right of establishment); Council internal working document no. 41 and 50 on EURATOM, 10 February 1982 – briefing material for the sixth meeting of the conference on 22 February 1982.

Dossier no. 544: Treaty of Accession – Portugal signs the EURATOM treaty, 12 June 1985.

Dossier no. 539: Commission *Avis* on Portugal and the EURATOM sent to the Council secretariat, 19 April 1979 – examines Portugal's nuclear programme, uranium resources, health protection and security controls; Council's internal working document no. 2 on EURATOM, 23 May 1979, prepared in advance of fourth session of the enlargement conference at deputy level on 6 June 1979; Council internal document no. 49 on EURATOM prepared for the ministerial meeting 5 November 1981.

EEC – institutional, monetary and other issues

Box 4, Dossiers no. 550-58: Council note on Portugal's contribution to the Community budget for 1986, 16 October 1985.

Dossier no. 553: Council Judicial Service note on legal aspects dealing with accession of Spain and Portugal, 25 October 1984.

Box 24, Dossiers no. 755-63: These dossiers contain thirty reports (1982-4) from the Commission's legal division to the Council of Ministers covering a wide range of topics being examined during the enlargement talks with Portugal. These included general and institutional affairs, budgetary affairs, EURATOM, scientific and technical research and energy. See also Box 27, Dossiers no. 791-8 for more briefing material from the Commission to the Council on the legal implications involved in the third enlargement.

Dossier no. 556: Working group of the ESC, summary minutes of the first meeting of the study group on Portugal (Section for External Relations), 11 May 1976. Matter of general interest discussed included commercial problems, monetary problems, income problems and emigration; dossier also contains summary of minutes of the second meeting (8 June 1976), summary minutes of the third meeting (18 June 1976), summary of minutes of fourth meeting (2 September 1976), summary of minutes of fifth meeting (30 September 1976), part two of the fifth reunion (21 October 1976), sixth meeting (8-9 November 1976), summary of seventh meeting (8 December 1976), summary of eight meeting (3 February 1977).

Box 5, Dossiers no. 559-64: Council judicial service memo to the Permanent Representatives, 11 October 1984 regarding the legal problems associated with the accession of Spain and Portugal to the EEC; Note from European Parliament to

President of the Council of Ministers, 19 March 1985 regarding aspects of the Treaty of Accession relating to the European Parliament.

Dossier no. 560: Economic and Social Committee, report to the Council presidency, 10 May 1977, on Portugal.

Dossier no. 561 – copy of the above report in Community languages.

Dossier no. 562 – copy of the above report in Community languages.

Dossier no. 563 – Council's working document, 30 January 1977 from COREPER 'Eléments de réflexion pour la poursuite des délibérations concernant en particulier l'avenir des relations avec le Portugal.' Comments on Soares' visits to Europe – briefing material for Council in advance of his visit and the questions the Council would ask the Portuguese Prime Minister during his visit.

Dossier no. 564 – Meeting of COREPER, (2ème partie) 9 November 1976 brief discussion on Portugal.

The European Parliament and Enlargement

The European Parliament had no real influence over the enlargement process but its voice was, nonetheless, an influential one. During the late 1970s and early 1980s, the Parliament adopted a significant number of resolutions aimed at ensuring its voice was heard while the enlargement negotiations were conducted in Brussels.

On 18 January 1979, the European Parliament adopted a resolution in which it expressed its support for the enlargement of the European Communities to include Greece, Spain and Portugal. See 'European Parliament resolution on the prospects of enlargement of the Community – Part one: political and institutional aspects (18 January 1979) (Boxes 16-19, Dossiers no. 671-700, examining institutional questions).

On 9 July 1982, the European Parliament adopted a resolution in which it called on the Commission and the Council to speed up the negotiations for the accession of Spain and Portugal to the EEC.

The resolutions stated that the EP 'recalls that Spain and Portugal form an integral part of Europe; reaffirms its approval of the accession of Spain and Portugal to the European Economic Community; Instructs its President [of the EP] to forward this resolution to the Council, the Commission and the applicant countries.'

On 9 July 1982, the EP adopted another resolution in which it called on the European Commission to indicate which proposals it intended to submit so that the enlargement to include Portugal [and Spain] would not lead to a weakening of the Community but rather represented an opportunity for a deepening of common policies and a strengthening of the decision-making process. The resolution stated: 'The European Parliament [...] anxious to see these negotiations carried on in a realistic frame of mind so that the Community regions most directly affected, in particular the Mediterranean regions and the less-favoured areas, do not suffer as a result of an ill-prepared enlargement.'

On 17 November 1982, the Parliament adopted a resolution in which it considered, in particular, the institutional, political, economic, social and environmental implications of the future accession of Portugal [and Spain] to the EEC. Part of the resolution stated 'The European Parliament reaffirms the political will, which it has expressed on many occasions, that Portugal [and Spain] should join the Community by 1 January 1984 at the latest.'

The EP was also conscious of the impact that enlargement South would have on the existing Community. Therefore, on 17 November 1982, it adopted a resolution in which it highlighted the implications of the enlargement of the EEC with particular regard to the special situation of the applicants' agriculture. The resolution stressed 'the weaknesses inherent in Mediterranean agriculture, attributable in particular to (a) the nature of certain Mediterranean products, often highly seasonal and perishable, so that even transient difficulties on one market can wipe out the results of a year's work for the producers concerned; (d) the inadequacy of Community rules for typical Mediterranean products as regards guarantees, crisis prevention and Community preference.'

The European Commission

In a communication to the European Council of December 1982, the Commission drew up a report detailing the problems associated with the enlargement of the European Communities to include Portugal [and Spain] and set out proposals that were designed to speed up the integration of the applicant countries into the EEC. The Commission felt that three general principles has to be confirmed so that the framework within which enlargement was to take place could be assured: (i) clarity of

the terms of accession, (ii) adoption of the *acquis communautaire* and (iii) simultaneous accession of the two applicants. The Commission acknowledged the cost of enlargement would not place on the Community an intolerable financial burden and could not be regarded as disproportionate to the political importance of enlargement.

On the decision-making process, the Commission again stressed the difficulties which were being caused. Enlargement to a Community of Ten would intensify this problem unless steps were taken to make the decision-making machinery more flexible. The Commission also advocated, perhaps unsurprisingly, greater use of qualified majority voting in the Council of Ministers. Regarding the 'Obstacles thrown up by the negotiations', the Commission's memo stated the Community would be faced with intensified sectoral difficulties, arising in certain cases from the similarity between the Community's own problems and specialisation trends in the applicant countries; The difficulties related mainly to Mediterranean agricultural products, fisheries, textiles and iron and steel.

On 3 December 1982, in Brussels, with a view to Portugal's accession to the European Communities, the EEC and the Portuguese government signed a Transitional Protocol on the dismantling of tariffs (Articles 1-12).

On 5 August 1982, Letter from Margaret Thatcher, British Prime Minister, to Gaston Thorn, President of the European Commission, outlining Britain's views on the enlargement of the European Communities to include Portugal [and Spain]. (See Box 36, Dossiers no. 867-70) She placed particular emphasis on the problems surrounding some chapters of the negotiations including the textile industry, own resources, agriculture and fisheries. 'It will be important to negotiate arrangements which minimise the budgetary costs of enlargement. The own resources chapter in the accession negotiations will require the most careful consideration. It will be essential to conclude urgently the negotiations on a revised Common Fisheries Policy in order to provide a satisfactory basis for discussion on the fisheries chapter in the accession negotiations.'

On 1 March 1983, the Commission forwarded an interim report to the Council on the enlargement question. The document analysed, with the two applicant countries, the possibility of their introducing a number of domestic measures before their accession, so as to prepare particularly sensitive sectors if their economies for the post-accession period ('Rapport intérimaire de la Commission au Conseil au sujet de l'élargissement, Mesures internes dans les deux pays candidats dans des secteurs particulièrement sensibles,' (See Boxes 17-8, Dossiers no. 683-95 – briefing material for the 2-9th ministerial meetings between the Community and Portugal).

On 17 November 1983, Portugal's Mission to the EEC drafted a progress report on the negotiations on accession to the Common Market. The most important chapters were still under consideration: agriculture, fisheries and social policy. On 6 June 1984, the Portuguese Foreign Ministry published a note on the situation of the negotiations being held on Portugal's accession talks in Brussels. At that stage, the issues relating to social affairs, agriculture and fisheries were still under discussion. (Boxes 7-13, Dossiers no. 579-655, 'Elargissement: mesures internes dans les deux pays candidats dans des secteurs particulièrement sensibles').

On 24 October 1984 in Dublin, Garrett FitzGerald, Irish Prime Minister and President of the Council of Ministers, Mário Soares, Portuguese Prime Minister, and Lorenzo Natali, Vice-President of the European Commission [responsible for Enlargement], signed a Joint Declaration in which they expressed their wish for Portugal's accession to the Community to take effect on 1 January 1986 (Box 41, Dossiers no. 907-13, *Bulletin of the European Communities*, 1984, no. 10).

On 22 and 29 November 1984, two telegrams from Portugal's mission to the EEC inform the Portuguese Foreign Ministry of concerns in Community circles at the lack of confirmed progress in successive meetings with the applicant countries.¹⁵

On 18 December 1984, with a view to Portugal's accession to the EEC, the Community decided to grant financial aid to Portugal for the improvement of its agricultural and fisheries structures. [See Council Regulation no. 3598/84 of 18

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¹⁵ Most of the Portuguese telegrams to the Community are written in Portuguese.

December 1984 on the conclusion of the Agreement in the form of an exchange of letters between the EEC and the Portuguese Republic concerning the implementation of specific financial aid for improving agricultural and fisheries structures in Portugal'.]

On 13 February 1985, in connection with the accession negotiations with Portugal, the European Commission drew up a document outlining the provisions of the general and reciprocal safeguard clause for the various chapters that still had to be reviewed before the country's accession ['Négociations d'adhésion du Portugal et de l'Espagne aux Communautés européennes].

Political agreement:

On 29 March 1985, a political agreement was reached between the Community Member States and Portugal [and Spain] concerning the main issues under discussion: agriculture, fisheries, social affairs, "own resources" and the government of the Canary Islands. [Bulletin of the European Communities, March 1985, no. 3].

Civil Society/Interest Groups

On 8 June 1984, the EEC Committee of Professional Agricultural Organisations (COPA) and the EEC General Committee for Agricultural Cooperation (Cogeca) wrote to Claude Cheysson, President-in-Office of the Council, a joint letter in which they refer to the consequences which might result from an overly hasty negotiations with Portugal [and Spain]. (See Box 37, Dossiers no. 871-877).

Days later, on 13 June, Cogeca and the EEC Association of National Organisations of Fishing Enterprises (Europêche), published a joint statement to the Council of Ministers in which they expressed their concerns at the rapid negotiations with the applicant countries in the fields of agriculture and fisheries and the need for a transitional period for the integration of the two countries into the Community. Both organisations stressed the following points: 'the Community has neither established a sufficiently clear position with regard to certain Spanish territories not on the

¹⁶ This type of political agreement had become part of the negotiating procedure regarding the enlargement question. Edward Heath, British Prime Minister, and Georges Pompidou, French President, met in May 1971 and reached agreement on many of the more sensitive issues affecting Britain's bid to join the EEC.

mainland nor expressed its opinion on the social aspects of the fisheries sector. On this latter question the two applicant countries will have to make strenuous efforts to reorganise and adjust their social legislation in order to bring it progressively into line with that in force – though there are disparities between existing Member States – in the Community.' Both argued that it was 'absolutely necessary for the EC [European Commission] to find satisfactory solutions to these questions before concluding the negotiations.'

Conclusions to the negotiations between Portugal and the Community

Agriculture: The broad outlines of the transitional arrangements had already been worked out in advance of the March negotiations, the two sides settling for a ten-year transition period divided into equal five-year stages for the major products, and a basic seven-year period for other products (though some measures would apply for the full ten years). It was also agreed that Portugal would receive 700 million ECU from the EAGGF Guidance Section over the first ten years of membership as a special programme, over and above its normal entitlement, to help it bring about structural changes to its agriculture. (For background briefs on this issue, see Box 48, Dossiers no.965-70, 'Draft statement by the Community delegation to be made at the 2nd meeting of the Conference at Deputy level', 27 February 1979; Box 68, Dossiers no. 1095-112, 'Position of the Community at the 11th session of the Conference at Deputy level', 9 January 1981).

At the negotiating session on 28 March, further important decisions were taken concerning Portugal's agricultural trade with the rest of the Community and detailed arrangements were established for sugar, vegetable oils and fats and tomato concentrate: a quota of 75,000 tonnes was set for sugar imports from the ACP States at the cut-rate levy; the arrangements for vegetable oils and fats will be the same (a ten-year transitional period plus a five-year standstill) as those applying to Spain; while for tomato concentrate, tariffs are to be phased out over four years and the guarantee threshold has been set at 120,000 tonnes. Lastly, tariff barriers on wine will be brought down rapidly — over two years in the case of liqueur wine. (See Box 31, Dossiers no, 835-42, 'Document de travail no. 200, projet de déclaration de la Communauté lors de la 21eme session de la Conférence au niveau ministériel', 23

August 1984; Also, Memorandum by the Commission's delegation to the enlargement negotiations, 'Négociations d'adhésion du Portugal', 25 June 1984 – this deals with many of the tariff issues concluded between the Community and Portugal).

Fisheries: There would be no access to Portugal's twelve-mile zone for boats from the present Member States, and vice versa. Outside that zone, Community fishermen would be able to operate in waters under Portuguese sovereignty or control, but limits have been set on their activity up to 31 December 1995, and a ceiling has similarly been fixed on the number of Portuguese boats licensed to fish for blue whiting or horse mackerel in Community areas, again until the end of 1995, when Portuguese fishermen would also have access to the Irish box. (See Box 57, Dossiers no. 1027-9 'Instruments concerning the accession of the Kingdom of Spain and the Portuguese Government to the European Communities', vol. I).

Social affairs: The same arrangements applied to Portugal as to Spain.

Budget contributions: Portugal's budget contributions, like those of Spain, would be reimbursed on a sliding scale, making the country a net beneficiary by some 1,200 million ECU for six years. The Community would also provide financial backing for Portugal's industrial development programmes plus balance-of-payments support loans of 1,000 million ECU over six years. On 11 June 1985, the Council of the European Communities set the conditions for Spain and Portugal's accession to the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC).

On the question of Portugal's membership of the other Community institutions, see **ECSC**: 'Decision of the Council to the European Communities of 11 June 1985 on the accession of the Kingdom of Spain and the Portuguese Republic to the European Coal and Steel Community'. (Box, 77, Dossiers no. 656-662).

EURATOM: 'Decision of the Council of the European Communities of 11 June 1985 on the admission of the Kingdom of Spain and the Portuguese Republic to the European Economic Community and to the European Atomic Energy Community'.

Ratification:

Bulletin of the European Communities, 'Joint declaration by Portugal and the EEC', Dublin, 24 October 1985 that stated that Portugal would enter the Community on 1 January 1986.

Signing the Treaty of Accession:

On 12 June 1985, at the signing, in Lisbon, of Portugal's Treaty of Accession to the European Communities, Giulio Andreotti, Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs and President-in-Office of the Council of the European Communities, delivered an address in which he hailed the accession of Portugal as a victory for liberty and democratic values. (See Boxes 49-53, Dossiers no. 971-1011).

He stated: 'By this accession, Europe as a political and institutional entity is also brought closer to the Europe of physical geography. And once again we see that membership of the European Community follows naturally from the restoration of the values inherent in a pluralist democracy. This represents a guarantee, since within the process of European integration there has never been nor can there be any turning away from the path of freedom.' (See Boxes 49-53, Dossiers no. 971-1011).

On the same day, Jacques Delors, President of the European Commission, delivered an address in which he emphasised the historic significance of the accession of a free and democratic Portugal to the European Communities.

The Commission President said: 'The result we have achieved after eight years of effort appears to me a fair one and provides a solid foundation for the development of cooperation and greater solidarity. We would like to be in a position to say that the path we are to follow is one of assured prosperity for our enlarged Community, at present hard hit by unemployment. But we are facing a deep and continuing recession – let us not try to hide the facts. What we can affirm, however, is that a successful outcome can be achieved only through a reinforced Europe in which each can find the grounds for hope and more effective action. We shall survive together or we shall founder singly.' (See Boxes 49-53, Dossiers no. 971-1011).

The Accession Treaties for Spain and Portugal – dossiers that examine both candidates together - see Boxes 54-66. These contain copies of the Accession Treaties for both countries in the Community languages.

Enlargement time line:

Portugal	Spain
10	5 0
19	73
1973	
Free trade agreement links Portugal and	
EEC.	
19'	76
28 March 1976	
Portugal submitted application for	
accession.	
22 September 1976	
Portugal joined the Council of Europe.	
1977	
January 1977	
COREPER established an ad hoc	
working group to examine relations	
between Portugal and EEC.	
	26 July 1977
	Spain requests the opening of
	negotiations.
	28 July 1977
	Date of application.
	September 1977
	Council of Ministers replied expressing
	satisfaction to initiate the procedure.
1978	
19 March 1978	
European commission gave a positive	
opinion to the beginning of the	
negotiations with Portugal.	
20 April 1978	
European commission sent to the Council	

a communication about the problems of		
the enlargement.		
17 October 1978		
Beginning of the negotiations with		
Portugal.		
1979		
	5 February 1979	
	Opening of the negotiations, Spain had	
	to accept the Acquis communautaire.	
3 April 1979		
Report about problems between Euratom		
and the accession of Portugal.		
	14 June 1979	
	947th meeting of the Permanent	
	Representative Committee. European	
	Commission proposed to prepare a	
	proposal for a common position about	
	the chapter on Customs Union, to	
	initiate the first session with Spain after	
	the summer.	
	27 July 1979	
	Ad Hoc working Party to work on	
	common basis for negotiations in	
	agriculture sector.	
	23 October 1979	
	2nd meeting at Deputy level. The VAT	
	(Valued Added Tax) was considered	
	important by the European commission.	
	Spain accepted the VAT on a 11th	
	meeting at ministerial level (21 June	
	1982).	
6 November 1979		
Portugal accepted the principles on		

which the Community's regional policy		
was based.		
1980		
	11 November 1980	
	Preliminary draft community statement	
	about agriculture.	
22 December 1980		
European commission submitted to the		
Council a confidential proposal		
concerning Portugal's accession to		
Euratom.		
198	81	
	13 March 1981	
	7th meeting of the conference at	
	ministerial level to initiate statement	
	about agriculture.	
199	82	
	1982	
	Mitterrand changed economic tact and	
	Felipe Gonzalez reinvigorated Spain	
	effort to join the EEC.	
199	84	
	. 19 June 1984	
	Institutional questions	
	Spain will have: 2 members in the	
	European commission, 60 seats in the	
	European parliament and 8 votes at the	
	Council	
11 October 1984		
Council judicial service memo to the		
Coreper regarding the legal problems		
associated with the accession of Portugal.		

24 October 1984		
in Dublin: declaration which expressed		
that Portugal's accession take effect on		
the first of January 1986.		
	21 December 1984	
	Concluding negotiations on ECSC	
	chapter	
1985		
	4 February 1985	
	Negotiations about relations between	
	Spain and Portugal in the context of	
	enlargement.	
	19 February 1985	
	Final phase of negotiations	
29 March 1985		
Political agreement between EEC and		
Portugal.		
	26 April 1985	
	Note from the Presidency about a	
	solution for the agriculture sector.	
12 June 1985	12 June 1985	
Portugal signed the Treaty to join the 3	Spain signed the Treaty to join the 3	
Communities.	Communities	
1986		
1 January 1986	1 January 1986	
Portugal joined the EEC.	Spain joined the EEC.	
	Į.	