



very warmly

college and room
happy memories

France 1989

1. Thank you for invitation. It is a great pleasure to be back at St Anthony's. I've been several times. ~~Many reasons why I should accept your invitation.~~

a. To defend ~~to a discussion~~ ^{ratione loci - ratione materiae} organized by St Anthony's College ~~discussion~~ ^{Discurso} on ~~Transition in Spain~~ ^{Transition in Spain}. Foreign Minister, S. G. Lopez. European parliamentarian. May discuss laws have been held on Spain under the ~~rule of Franco~~ ^{rule of Franco} and politics of Professor Carr, or Powell and others.

b. The topic of discussion: Democracy and Community (Europe). Two ideas very closely linked in the process of adhesion of Spain to the EEC.

2. ~~After all the detailed discussions~~ ^{discussions} ~~approach to the subject, let me~~ make some short remarks on my experience of the first steps of the adhesion of Spain to the European Institutions.

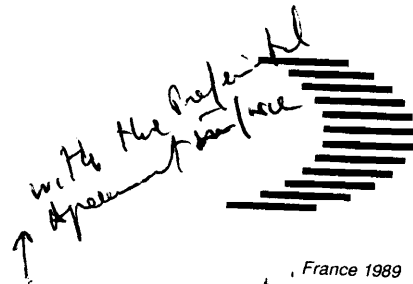
3. First of all the ~~main~~ ^{main} purpose of joining the EEC is political. ~~complete economic reconstruction later.~~ ^{membership for Spain first}

Point of departure of Spanish is that goes back to Irindale Paris

1962 ^{letter} of the Spanish Foreign Minister asking to open negotiations for association ~~envisaging a future adhesion~~. ^{No answer to the letter.}

Theme: Congress of European Movement in Munich with their ^{participation of} Not to let Spain enter into the EEC ~~until it becomes adhesion~~. ^{many participants}

1964 Reaction of Government ^{Spain for}. New demand of opening ^{approach is} of negotiations. Exploratory phase: mandate of negotiators to discuss what will be the relations between Spain and EEC ~~in the form of a commercial agreement~~. ^{Therapeutic} ~~in the form of a commercial agreement~~. Therapeutic ~~advantages for Spain~~. ~~Spain is a dictatorial~~ ^{Spain is a dictatorial} ~~soft dictatorship~~. ^{we fear from 80}



France 1989

From 1970 to 1975 Spain ~~with~~ ^{tries} to adapt its economic structure to the Community:

- Tariff reductions

attract foreign investments ⁱⁿ different ^{ways} ^{to} ^{emerge} ^{to} ^{adapt} the industry ^{to} industrial reconversion

" accommodate the agricultural structure

A great effort is made ^{to be ready to face} ^{the perspectives} all the economic turbulence of ~~the~~

- still very far of single market and free movement of ~~any~~ people, capital, goods and services

Two events will ~~break~~ ^{shake} this ~~negotiations~~ ^{atmosphere of} poor understanding between Spain and EEC

- Admission of UK, Denmark, Ireland ^{raises the problem of the enlargement of the 1970 agreement to the 3 new members}
- 5 death penalties and ^{decided by the court} ^{speculations} which stop all ^{to} ^{hinder} the relations cooperation between Spain and the Community

Nov 1975 dies General Franco

~~The ~~new~~ ~~face~~ ~~of~~ The King sets the prime objective to continue but there is a large reshuffle in particularly all the members of the cabinet. The position in foreign policy all ^{to become the dominant force in the cabinet}~~

- 1 - Sahara, a territory under Spanish administration that has not been ceded to Morocco
- 2 - The relations with the US ^{because of the expiration of the Treaty which determines the relations}
- 3 - The relations with the European Community. The foreign policy advisors to persuade the other countries that Spain was moving toward the principles of western democracy.

main target
to prepare the transition to a democracy: legalisation of political parties
and freedom unions, and call of general election on June 15th 1977.

meanwhile in [my] job we resume the cooperation with
the Community. We enlarge the Parliament
to the 3 new members. I report to the
Community that our purpose is clear: the door
is there if a democratic front it will
not fail on the Community.

the King nominate
France 1989 ...
Election of New President
François Mitterrand, a new Prime Minister, Thomas Bourgeois.

In July 76, ~~and~~ ~~the~~ ~~new~~ ~~Prime~~ ~~Minister~~,
François Mitterrand, ~~is~~ ~~helps~~ ~~internal~~ ~~policy~~.

The new government is decided to accelerate the process
toward a democratic system.

Political parties and trade unions are legalized
and the first general election is called for June 15th 1977.
Eating as Foreign Minister, VED wins the election
but does not reach the overall majority.

I stay in power and in the first statement I made
after the first cabinet meeting it is said that shortly
the government will envisage the opening of negotiations with
the EEC. It is the 11th July 1977.

In the cabinet meeting of July 23, after a long discussion
I defend the need of accelerating the opening of the
negotiations. In fact practically all the political
parties had included among their priorities the
adhesion to the EEC.

The new government had to show how things had
change. we concentrate on

- a. Amnesty to all political prisoners
- b. Face the economic problems.
- c. ~~open~~ the

Integration in the European institutions.
European institutions were considered the organization that
capable of delivering the diploma of democracy.

Then for, I concentrate on the relation with the EEC
but also - conscious of the long period we should have to envisage

before entering into the EEC
I argued also to accelerate
the admission to the Council of Europe.



France 1989

(4)
~~about party to discuss
the approach of a range
demand of food in 1989
in the 13 of July
long discussion
political parties
→ study supply -
James~~

4) First step is the EEC

Chairman Pöhl has opened the negotiations in June 75
and finalized in March 77.

I ask our Ambassador in the Community to contact the Commission
and the Council chaired by the Belgian Foreign Minister, Giscard.
The President of the Commission was bad Jenkins, and I ask
my Ambassador to prepare a meeting with them
before the summer holidays.

I went to bad Jenkins on the 27th and the day after 28th July
I handed over to the President of the Council the 3 letters
to EEC, to E Council and to the Community and another to
behalf of the French Government and I announce that in the
bill I will accompany the Prime Minister in a visit to all the
capitals.

[Pöhl with the 13 countries]

With bad Jenkins I had a very instructive discussion and
he expresses all the difficulties of the negotiation.
We both examine the first reactions of the member
countries. In particular Italy and France were rather
reluctant to our admission, specially France. The
French Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries immediately ^{to hold} a meeting
of the Council in order to inform all the Parliament referring
vine, fruits and vegetables. Chirac, Mitterand and the
Communist party express all their doubts about our admission.
On the other hand Germany and UK express their
satisfaction. Ireland and Portugal were reluctant to our admission because
of the consequences in their negotiations.

But as the New York Times Zentley says in an important
article appeared on the 29th. The enlargement from 9 to
12 changes the ~~form~~ profile of the EEC. The 9 do not agree
on how should be the future structure of the Community.



The answer of the Commission ^{France 1989} to our demand ^{was} quite gentle. The Council with satisfaction ~~the~~ wish of open to negotiate in the EC and will examine the demand according to an efficient procedure.

Just after the summer holidays, on the 20th of September we receive the response of the Council giving a positive answer and asking the Commission to prepare the report in order to open the negotiations. The advisory opinion of the Commission ~~was not~~ was not ready before 1978 and the opening of the negotiations ~~with~~ ^{took} place in February 1979.

The reaction in Spain to the introduction of the demand was very positive. All the press - except the paper of the extreme right El Alcayce - greeted ~~with satisfaction~~ the initiative and also the parties of the opposition except the Communist party.

It is certain that the socialist party stated that a discussion should have taken place before ~~the introduction of the demand~~ ^{the opening of the demand} but it was only a formal remark with no consequences. The problem is that after my talks with Lord Jenkins and Simonet I was convinced that the formal opening of negotiations would take easily two years ~~time~~ as it really happened.

The Community had to digest the entrance of the 3 new members (Britain, Denmark and Ireland). was in the last phase of the negotiations with Greece; all the had to tackle with the portuguese negotiation



France 1989
matters of a new spiritual thing was envisaged. But, ~~and eventually~~ it was difficult for ~~the~~ Spanish public opinion to make them understand that being Spain a full democracy, we had to wait for years before joining the Community.

Therefore I proposed to the Government to accelerate the admission to the Council of Europe.

In ^{early} September when I met with Pahr the Foreign Minister of Austria I spoke to him about this idea asking him to be ~~out of the way~~ ~~in this position~~ patronize this initiative.

He told me there was one problem. The practice of the organization was to admit only countries that had approved the Constitution. I said Spain could not wait all that time ~~was needed to approve a constitution~~.

He then suggested me to call to the Minister, Kreisky, and he might have some additional idea.

I did so and he suggested that all the Spanish political leaders make a statement in the fall session of the Parli. Assembly declaring that in the Constitution, the principles of the Convention on H. Rights, would be included.

~~Finally~~
F. Sanguy, Carrillo, Fraga, a representative of UCD and the moderate parties went in fact to Strasbourg in late September and this permitted me to sign on the 24th of November 1977 the admission of my country to the C of Europe.



France 1989

In conclusion I would say ~~there was~~
a ~~great expectation~~ in Spanish public opinion
in the late seventies ^{wished} to join the European
institutions. ^{as soon as possible} As I mentioned before, to
join a European institution represented to be
accepted by the countries that respected freedom,
democracy, the rule of law and human rights.

The entrance of ~~the~~ to the Council of
Europe gave a partial satisfaction but
- for the people - Europe is above all the
Community.

But, with the perspective of these 12 years -
I must say ^{that in my opinion} ~~that~~ it is wise, not
to force an accelerated admission without
having ^{all the} conditions ~~to feel comfortable~~
in the Community that make you feel comfortable
in the club.



France 1989

Even if that was not my judgement
a decade ago I must confess now
that the years Spain has spent in
the waiting room has been essential
to my country in order to ~~cross~~ cross
from the preferential agreement
to the ~~the~~ treaty of Rome.

This is ~~also~~ ^{also} my advice to the
candidate members

~~But this question~~ ^{A different problem} is the position
of the member countries as far as the
dilemma deepening and ~~concerning~~ ^{urgent} is
concerned. But this is ~~is~~ another
question and doesn't strictly correspond
to our discussion to-day.
Thank you very much for your attention