

1. Reasons for the Causes of integration of Portugal in the Common Market



(What I am going to ~~say~~ is a very subjective view with a kind of impressionist touch.)

Before the regime changed the discussion was mostly concentrated on ~~one~~ three dichotomies:

— either Europe or the Atlantic (P. was also a founding member + very attached to it)

— either Europe or the colonies and places where there ~~was~~ a memory of Portugal's role in the XV/XVI centuries.

— ~~for those~~ <sup>the few</sup> who were in the wake length of the late 60's, Europe was ~~the consumer~~ the equivalent to <sup>high</sup> patterns of consumption and

Thus to be rejected while for others  
the time was ripe for an industrial  
boom (of Sines, oil carriers).



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- (xx. us)  
para instituições internacionais  
- + ... → ...  
... ..  
... ..

- o ... da ...

... ..

- ... ..

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- ... ..  
- ... ..  
- ... ..

The perception of what was 2  
going on in Portugal was also  
seen through 2  $\neq$  perspectives



— one concentrated its effort <sup>civic + political</sup>  
on the question of freedom, and  
the main questions being then

• the political persecution of those  
who had  $\neq$  ideas and the ever  
present State police

• the existing only of one party

• the lack of freedom of associat-  
ion, ~~reunions~~ ~~representations~~

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— the other concentrated on the  
possible actions or interventions ~~that~~  
~~for~~ connected with the the colonial  
wars.

In these ~~two~~ fronts, the sus-  
picion about Europe was strong,  
as it was obvious that the ~~separations~~  
were coming ~~not~~ from the same  
Europe who didn't hesitate to slave  
the country in public.

- Europa estirada de la economía

- humanizar la construcción de Europa

- estamos inventando una realidad que se hace todos  
~~los~~ los otros



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2. ~~That~~ 25th April 74 changed  
all these perceptions.



The blow up of the ~~the military fact~~  
did start from Africa.

Some political leaders in with  
came back, Soares + Cunha  
being the ~~most~~ <sup>best</sup> known.

The country lived in a state of  
euphoria. Europe was put into  
brackets for a while. We were looking  
at ourselves and ~~had no time~~ to  
consider other matters.

But soon the discussion  
was reopened. The <sup>socialist party</sup> posters for  
the first elections had as slogan  
"Europe is with us".

Hence the discussion:

- we are Europe!
- we don't need patronizing!

vs. Those who knew that Kissinger wanted

to give up Portugal.

At the same time J. Callaghan + Helmut Schmidt were actively helping the Soc. Party + convincing the Conservative Party + the CDU to support the right ~~usage~~ parties in Portugal. It became a strategic option -

The links to "Europe" were becoming stronger. So, in the first Constitutional Govern/ the program continued ~~the~~ the decision to ask for adherence to Europe, without saying it was a Common Market. The request was made in 77. In 86, Port. signed its formal integration in the E. Community.

These years were lost in terms of preparation, due partly to the internal turmoil.



## Pragmatic reasons for integration 4

Besides the "strategic" reason, there were other important elements.

The 4 elements ~~of~~ that constitute the free circulation in Europe ~~are most~~ had become most important for Portugal:

a) the experience of clandestine emigration during the war and the continuation of the such a movement of people ~~as~~ led it to wish the free circulation for its workers;

b) the loss of the goods coming from Africa was going to increase the trade with Europe,  $\therefore$  free circulation for goods;

c) the need for reinforcement of foreign investment pointed out towards the free circulation of capital



## The transition years

5

There was during the first years, a sense that the integration was positive: money starting coming in and several important undertakings were on the way with the help of the EEC.

But the lack of preparation ~~but~~ didn't allow for a maximum advantage from the integration.

The Structural Funds were fully used:

- the infra-structures (mainly roads + highways) are now over-abundant; ~~many~~ of the railways were reduced — pollution increased and those who had no cars were left ~~sometimes~~ in the interior without connections;



The Regional funds were in some 6 cases well used, depending on the criteria of the mayor, such a function being a long tradition in P.

~~Speaking now in my~~ ~~It is obvious~~ that in the first years, many works were undertaken without the necessary study of the environmental impact, which is a condition for the E. funds.

~~Moreover, none~~ ~~some~~ of the projects had had consequences for the people, but we don't have yet in the EU, an analysis of the social impact of the projects.

In fact, in my country, projects are made for a ~~person~~ of a man, full of vitality, successful + fit, and naturally from the middle class.



1. Europe as Legitimation of Democracy.  
Coincidence with the same river process of  
democracy as cited in 77



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This leads me to the organization 8  
+ functioning of the institutions of the  
EU.

At this level, there are the same (if  
not bigger) shortcomings of the UNO. In  
some way, this does not help the member  
states to improve + to be accurate in their  
dealings with the Eur. institutions.

To some extent, the level of payments  
by the Eur. institutions has caused a  
decrease in the volunteer service.

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## Portugal as a full member

9

When we look back, there are two fields in which the difficulties are serious: agriculture + fisheries.

1) First of all, because of the fact that it is a scandal to leave the land uncultivated + to reduce the quota for fish when 30% of the people are still considered poor, (not necessarily starving!)

2) Because the rural tissue is disappearing. You go + see old villages empty, the human deidentification of many beautiful areas. Young people don't stay.



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