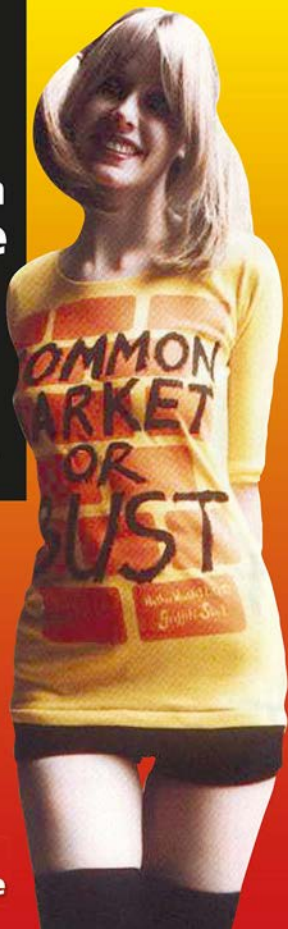


The 1975 Referendum on Europe

**Volume 1:
Reflections
of the
Participants**



**Edited By
Mark Baimbridge**

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**Volume 1
Reflections of the Participants**

Mark Baimbridge (Editor)



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Any remaining errors and omissions are solely attributable to me.

Haworth
April 2006

European Integration Timeline

From its beginnings, half a century ago, in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War, through the expansion of the seventies and eighties and the great debate surrounding the Maastricht Treaty, here we highlight some of the key events which have shaped the development of the EU towards closer integration.

1948	The Organisation for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC) is set up in Paris in April 1948, co-ordinating the distribution of the Marshall Plan financial aid which will amount to \$12.5 billion from 1948 to 1951. The OEEC consists of one representative from each of the 17 Western European countries which join the organisation. In May 1948 in The Hague, the Congress of Europe (a meeting of delegates from 16 European countries) agree to form the Council of Europe with the aim of establishing closer economic and social ties
1951	The European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) is established by the signing of the Treaty of Paris in April 1951. Along with France and West Germany, Italy, Belgium, Luxembourg and The Netherlands have also chosen to join the organisation. Members of the ECSC pledge to remove all import duties and quota restrictions on the trade of coal, iron ore, and steel between the member states
1952	The European Defence Community (EDC) Treaty is signed by France, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg in May 1952. It includes the provision for the formation of a parallel European Political Community (EPC) . However both initiatives are destined to founder since the French National Assembly never ratifies the EDC Treaty, finally rejecting it in August 1954

1955	The process of further European integration is given fresh impetus by a conference of ECSC foreign ministers at Messina, Italy, in June 1955. The meeting agrees to develop the community by encouraging free trade between member states through the removal of tariffs and quotas. Agreement is also reached to form an Atomic Energy Community to encourage co-operation in the nuclear energy industry
1958	The two Treaties of Rome are signed, establishing the European Economic Community (EEC) and the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom) . As well as stipulating the eventual removal of customs duties on trade between member countries (over a period of 12 years) the EEC Treaty sets out allow the free movement of workers, capital and services across borders and to harmonise policies on agriculture and transport
1960	At the Stockholm Convention in January 1960 Austria, Britain, Denmark, Norway, Portugal, Sweden and Switzerland form the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) . The objective of EFTA is to promote free trade but without the formal structures of the EEC
1961	UK applies to join the EEC.
1963	British application for EEC membership fails.
1967	UK submits second application to join EEC
1968	Customs union completed and Common Agricultural Policy enacted.
1972	In October, following the recommendations of the Werner Report , the EEC launches its first attempt at harmonising exchange rates. The mechanism adopted is the so called 'snake in the tunnel' whereby participating governments are required to confine the fluctuations of their currencies within a range of +/- 1% against each other. The value of the group of currencies (the snake) is also to be maintained within a range of +/-2.25% against the US Dollar (the tunnel). Countries requiring assistance to keep their currencies within the required band may receive help only in the form of loans
1973	Denmark, Ireland and the UK join the EEC.
1975	UK referendum supports staying in EEC.
1978	At a summit in Bremen in July, the French and West German governments announce their intention to create the European Monetary System (EMS) . At the centre of the EMS is the European Currency Unit (ECU) . The value of the ECU is to be derived from a weighted basket of all participating currencies with the greatest weighting against the West German mark
1981	Greece joins the EC.
1986	Portugal and Spain join the EC.

1986	In October, following the recommendations of the Werner Report, the EEC launches its first attempt at harmonising exchange rates. The mechanism adopted is the so called 'snake in the tunnel' whereby participating governments are required to confine the fluctuations of their currencies within a range of $\pm 1\%$ against each other. The value of the group of currencies (the snake) is also to be maintained within a range of $\pm 2.25\%$ against the US Dollar (the tunnel). Countries requiring assistance to keep their currencies within the required band may receive help only in the form of loans
1990	UK joins EMS.
1992	At a summit of the European Council in Maastricht, Holland, the Treaty on European Union (TEU) , also known as the Maastricht Treaty, is signed. Originally intended to include a declaration of an intention to move towards federal union, at Britain's insistence this aspect is played down. Subsequent to the signing of the Maastricht Treaty, the European Community is referred to as the European Union (EU). UK leaves EMS.
1993	The Single European Market takes effect. Trade tariffs are scrapped, but Duty Free shopping remains until 1999.
1994	Stage 2 of EMU is initiated on January 1st with the establishment of the European Monetary Institute (EMI) to oversee the co-ordination of the monetary policies of the individual national central banks. The EMI will also work towards the introduction of stage 3 by organising the creation of the European Central Bank
1995	Austria, Finland and Sweden join the EU, bringing membership to 15. The Schengen agreement comes into force and scraps border controls. UK and Ireland stay out of the agreement.
1997	Heads of Government draft a new agreement in Amsterdam which updates the Maastricht Treaty and prepares the EU for its eastward expansion. Qualified majority voting is introduced into new areas, reducing individual countries' powers to veto new measures.
1998	At the beginning of May, at a summit of EU officials and heads of state in Brussels, the announcement is made as to which countries will participate in the launch of the euro the following January. In June the European Central Bank (ECB) is established in Frankfurt, Germany. The ECB together with the national central banks of the 15 EU member states form the European System of Central Banks (ESCB) which will be responsible for setting monetary policy for the euro countries and managing those countries' foreign reserves. The EU opens accession negotiations with Hungary, Poland, Estonia, the Czech Republic, Slovenia and Cyprus.

1999	<p>Romania, Slovakia, Latvia, Lithuania, Bulgaria and Malta are invited to begin accession negotiations.</p> <p>Eleven countries adopt the euro as their official currency (although national currency notes and coins remain in circulation), but Sweden, Denmark and the UK stay out.</p>
2000	<p>The Nice summit agrees to limit the size of the Commission and increase the President's powers. Qualified majority voting is introduced in new areas, but members keep their vetoes on social security and tax. A timetable for taking forward accession negotiations is endorsed.</p>
2001	<p>The Laeken European Council establishes the Convention on the Future of Europe.</p>
2002	<p>Euro notes and coins are introduced in twelve EU countries.</p> <p>The European Commission announces that ten countries are on course to meet the criteria for accession to the EU in 2004.</p>
2003	<p>The UK has been a member of the EU for 30 years.</p>
2004	<p>EU enlargement to 25 member states with addition of Slovakia, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Hungary, Poland, Estonia, the Czech Republic, Slovenia and Cyprus.</p>

Glossary

Acquis Communautaire

The term 'acquis communautaire' is used to denote all the rights and obligations that bind Member States to the European Union. This common body of law is constantly evolving as a result of the European integration process. It comprises:

- the provisions, principles and objectives laid down in the Treaties;
- the legislation adopted in application of the Treaties, and the case law of the Court of Justice;
- declarations and resolutions adopted within the EU;
- acts relating to the common foreign and security policy;
- acts relating to police and judicial cooperation in criminal matters;
- international agreements concluded by the Community and those concluded between Member States within the framework of the Union.

Bretton Woods Conference

From 4–12 July 1944, an international conference was held at Bretton Woods (New Hampshire, USA) and attended by 44 countries that were soon to be victorious in the Second World War. It created the Gold Exchange Standard international monetary system and several institutions: the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) which after the success of the Marshall Plan became the World Bank.

The Bretton Woods international monetary system was based on fixed yet adjustable exchange rates, in which each currency had an official parity that was declared to the IMF and defined in gold or in dollars. The system endorsed American supremacy by making the

dollar the international currency. Having promoted world economic growth after the war, the Gold Currency Standard system ended in 1971 and was replaced by a system with broader margins and subsequently by floating exchange rates.

Common Assembly

The Common Assembly was the parliamentary body of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) established by the Treaty of Paris of 18 April 1951. The Assembly consisted of 78 members, delegated by the national parliaments of the six signatory States. Its first session was held 10-12 September 1952.

It exercised democratic control over the High Authority by means of questioning and by involving its accountability. The Common Assembly was in a position to table a motion of censure which would entail the resignation of the High Authority en bloc. However, the Assembly had no power over the Council of Ministers and had no budgetary powers.

After the Treaties of Rome came into force, the responsibilities and powers of the ECSC Common Assembly, the EEC Assembly and the Euratom Assembly were granted to a single assembly. During its first session in March 1958, this new institution changed its name to the European Parliamentary Assembly. In March 1962, it became the European Parliament.

Commonwealth

The Commonwealth comprises the States that were part of the former British Empire (except for Mozambique), freely accepting allegiance to the British Crown. The founding text is the Statute of Westminster of 11 December 1931.

The Commonwealth has a duty to maintain and strengthen cooperation between its Members. Their Prime Ministers meet periodically at conferences prepared by the Commonwealth Secretariat. Member countries strive to coordinate their policies and maintain their privileged relations with the UK, from which they have retained a number of institutions and traditions.

In 2006, the 53 Members of the Commonwealth are:

- in Africa: Botswana, Cameroon, Gambia, Ghana, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Nigeria, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia;

- in America: Antigua and Barbuda, Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Canada, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, Jamaica, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and Grenadines, Trinidad and Tobago;
- in Asia: Bangladesh, Brunei, India, Malaysia, Maldives, Pakistan, Singapore, Sri Lanka;
- in Oceania: Australia, Fiji, Kiribati, Nauru, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu;
- in Europe: Cyprus, Malta, the UK.

Council of Europe

The Council of Europe is an international organisation founded to promote greater unity among the peoples of Europe. The Statute of the Council of Europe, signed in London on 5 May 1949 by 10 European States, came into force on 3 August 1949. The aim of this organisation is to achieve a closer union between its Members in order to preserve and promote the ideals and democratic principles that form their common heritage. It seeks to reinforce human rights and the rule of law within its Member States and to encourage joint action in the administrative, legal, scientific, cultural, social and economic fields.

The bodies of the Council of Europe are the Committee of Ministers, the Consultative Assembly and the Secretariat. By 2004, its membership had increased to 45 European States.

Court of Auditors

The European Court of Auditors was provided for by the Treaty of Brussels of 22 July 1975, and it was established on 18 October 1977. Starting life as an external audit body for Community finances, it was raised to the rank of an institution by the Treaty on European Union (1992). Since the Treaty of Amsterdam (1997), it audits the finances of the entire EU, carrying out its duties under the three pillars.

The Court has two main functions: an audit function and a consultative function:

- **Audit function:** the general duty of the Court is to audit the accounts: it reviews the legality and regularity of revenue and expenditure, whilst at the same time ensuring sound financial management. The Court assists the European Parliament and

the Council in the audit and implementation of the budget. It submits to them reports which are then considered as part of the procedure for giving discharge to the Commission.

- Consultative function: the Council must consult the Court of Auditors before adopting any financial or anti-fraud legislative provisions. The Court may also deliver opinions at the (optional) request of another of the Community's institutions.

Court of Justice of the European Communities (CJEC)

The Court of Justice of the European Communities (CJEC) was set up as a single institution for the three European Communities (ESCS, EEC and EAEC) on 25 March 1957. It ensures that in the interpretation and application of the Community Treaties the law is observed.

In accordance with the decision of 24 October 1988, the Council attached to it a Court of First Instance (CFI) with responsibility for determining at first instance certain categories of actions.

Euro

The euro is the single currency of the EU. The term 'euro' was adopted by the Madrid European Council of 15-16 December 1995.

On 1 January 1999, the euro replaced the ECU and became the book currency in the countries forming the euro zone. On 1 January 2002, euro notes and coins were put into circulation. By July 2002 at the latest, the national currencies were definitively withdrawn and replaced by the euro.

Euro Zone

The euro zone is a geographical area composed of the Member States which have adopted the euro as the single currency.

Eleven Member States adopted the euro at the outset on 1 January 1999: Austria, Belgium, Finland, France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal and Spain. The first enlargement of the euro zone took place on 1 January 2001, when Greece adopted the single currency.

European Atomic Energy Community (EAEC or Euratom)

On 25 March 1957, Germany, Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands signed the Treaty establishing the European

Atomic Energy Community (EAEC or Euratom) and the Treaty establishing the European Economic Community (EEC).

Euratom entered into force on 1 January 1958. Its task was to contribute towards raising the standard of living in Member States and developing trade with other countries by establishing conditions favourable to the rapid construction and growth of the nuclear industries. Its remit was, however, limited to the civil nuclear sector.

European Central Bank (ECB)

In June 1998, the European Central Bank (ECB) replaced the European Monetary Institute (EMI). Since 1 January 1999, it has been responsible for overseeing the implementation of the tasks conferred upon the European System of Central Banks (ESCB).

The ECB decision-making bodies (the Governing Council, the Executive Board and – while certain Member States remain outside the single currency – the General Council) manage the ESCB, for which the basic tasks are to define and implement monetary policy, to conduct foreign exchange operations, to hold and manage the official foreign reserves of the Member States, and to promote the smooth operation of payment systems. The primary objective of the ESCB is to maintain price stability.

Only the ECB has the authority to issue banknotes in the euro zone. It also approves the number of coins issued by the Member States.

In addition to its monetary tasks, the ECB has an advisory function and a role in the collection of statistical data.

European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC)

On 18 April 1951, Germany, France, Italy and the Benelux countries signed the Treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC). It entered into force on 25 July 1952 and was to run for fifty years.

The ECSC's task was to contribute, in harmony with the economies of the Member States and by the establishment of a sectoral common market, to economic expansion, to job creation and to raising the standard of living in the Member States. Seeking, furthermore, to render any future armed conflict between its members materially impossible, the ECSC constituted the first embryo of a united Europe in a supranational form.

European Commission

The European Commission is the institution responsible for representing the interests of the European Community independently of the Member States. It is the driving force of the EU. The Commission has many powers and responsibilities:

- Guardian of the Treaties: the Commission monitors the proper application of the provisions of the treaties and of the decisions taken by Community institutions;
- the Commission has the right to propose legislation which allows it to propose to the Council measures aimed at developing common policies;
- the Commission has executive power: it implements common policies either on the basis of Council decisions or directly, in application of the treaties.

Its powers and responsibilities also extend into the areas of foreign and common security policy and police and judicial cooperation in criminal matters. The European Commission is independent of Member State governments and operates according to the principle of collective responsibility.

European Council

The European Council provides the EU with the necessary impetus for its development and defines the general political guidelines thereof.

It was established at the Paris Summit of December 1974 and met for the first time on 10–11 March 1975 in Dublin. It is the successor to the European summits which took place between 1961 and 1974.

The European Council brings together the Heads of State or Government of the Member States and the President of the Commission. It meets at least twice a year, under the chairmanship of the Head of State or Government of the Member State which holds the Presidency of the Council.

European Defence Community (EDC)

On 24 October 1950, the French Prime Minister, René Pleven, presented plans for a European Army to the French National Assembly.

These plans were put forward as a solution to the problem of German rearmament and envisaged the involvement of military units from Germany in the defence of Western Europe. The Paris Confer-

ence, inaugurated in February 1951, enabled the six members of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) to draw up the Treaty establishing the European Defence Community (EDC), which was signed on 27 May 1952.

The Treaty created a European army under the integrated command of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO). It also provided for the creation of a Board of Commissioners (an executive body modelled on the ECSC High Authority), an Advisory Committee, a Parliamentary Assembly, a Council composed of representatives from the Member States, and a Court that would serve as the EDC's international and administrative court.

Germany became a full member of the EDC following the Bonn Convention of May 1952, which restored complete sovereignty to the country. On 30 August 1954, in the French National Assembly, where opinion was polarised, a preliminary motion was carried, which amounted to a rejection of the Treaty. As the Treaty could not enter into force until all the signatory States had ratified it, France's rejection led to the European Defence Community being abandoned.

The failure of the EDC automatically led to the abandoning of plans for a European Political Community (EPC), which was to head the EDC. The rejection of the EDC Treaty, which symbolised the end of the process of European integration at that time, led to the creation, in October 1954, of the Western European Union (WEU), which sought to coordinate European policy in terms of defence and Germany's membership of NATO.

European Parliament

The European Parliament represents the peoples of the Member States of the European Communities.

Created in 1951 by the Treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) under the name Common Assembly, it became a single Assembly for the three European Communities with the entry into force of the Rome Treaties in 1958.

Originally a purely consultative Assembly, its powers have increased as European integration has progressed. It exercises three fundamental powers: legislative power, budgetary power, and power to monitor the Executive (the Commission).

Since 1979, the European Parliament has been elected by direct universal suffrage.

European Political Community

In September 1952, the Common Assembly of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) set up an ad hoc assembly with the task of drawing up a draft Treaty establishing the European Political Community (EPC).

Submitted to the six Foreign Ministers on 10 March 1953, the draft provided for the establishment of a Community, federal in nature, to control the future European army. The EPC was to be responsible for coordinating the foreign, monetary and financial policies of Member States. It provided for the creation of a European Executive Council, a two-chamber Parliament (comprising a House of the Peoples and a Senate) and a Council of Ministers.

The EPC project was automatically abandoned following the rejection, on 30 August 1954, by the French National Assembly of the Treaty establishing the European Defence Community (EDC) of which it was the institutional corollary.

High Authority

Created by the Treaty of Paris on 18 April 1951, the High Authority was the executive body of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC). It took up its duties on 10 August 1952.

Supranational in character, it was responsible for ensuring the establishment, operation and management of the common market for coal and steel in the six Member States. To this end, it could take decisions, formulate recommendations and deliver opinions. The High Authority comprised nine members acting independently and in accordance with the principle of collective responsibility.

Following the entry into force, on 1 July 1967, of the Treaty merging the executive bodies of the three European Communities, a single Commission – the Commission of the European Communities – assumed the powers and responsibilities previously exercised by the High Authority.

Marshall Plan

The Marshall Plan was presented by the US Secretary of State, George C. Marshall, on 5 June 1947. Also known as the 'European Recovery Program' (ERP), the plan sought to combat hunger and poverty in a Europe following the Second World War.

The Marshall doctrine sought to provide massive technical and economic aid to the countries of Europe and to stimulate growth and

trade in those countries. At the same time, the United States wanted to turn Europe into a solvent trading partner so that Europe would purchase surpluses of American industrial products.

In an international context of the Cold War, the American initiative was also part of a policy seeking to contain the Communist threat in Western Europe. Indeed, objections by the Soviets and their satellite countries of the Eastern bloc denounced the ERP as a capitalist manoeuvre.

Subsequently, the United States sought that the applicant countries develop together a method for economic cooperation and for the coordination of investment and of loans granted. To this end, the Organisation for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC) was established in Paris on 16 April 1948. The Marshall Plan, which cost some \$13 billion, ended in June 1951.

Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)

On 14 December 1960, the Convention on the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) was signed in Paris. Incorporating Canada and the United States as members, it replaced the Organisation for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC), created in 1948 as part of the Marshall Plan of aid for European reconstruction.

The OECD's role is to promote economic expansion and social progress in its Member States by assisting governments in the formulation of economic policies and by coordinating those policies. The OECD also seeks to participate in the development of world trade on a multilateral and non-discriminatory basis, in accordance with international obligations.

In 2006, the OECD has 30 Member States which share the principles of the market economy, multiparty democracy and the respect for human rights.

Organisation for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC)

The Organisation for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC) was created in Paris with the signing, on 16 April 1948, of the Convention on European Economic Cooperation.

Its initial objective was to organise the distribution of American aid allocated under the Marshall Plan, and in so doing, lay the foundations for the revival of the economies of its Member States. In particular, it was responsible for programmes relating to agricultural

matters, problems of currency convertibility, trade liberalisation, the lack of raw materials and energy sources, transport problems and technological development and productivity.

An intergovernmental organisation, the OEEC expanded to include the other side of the Atlantic with the accession of the United States and Canada. In 1961, it changed its name to the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD).

Paris Treaty

On 18 April 1951, Germany, Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands signed the Paris Treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC).

The Treaty entered into force on 25 July 1952. It established a common market for coal and steel, as proposed by the French Foreign Minister, Robert Schuman, in his Declaration of 9 May 1950.

Single European Act

The Single European Act was signed in Luxembourg on 17 February 1986 by the Benelux countries, France, Germany, Ireland, Portugal, Spain and the United Kingdom, and later by Denmark, Greece and Italy on 28 February 1986 in The Hague. The Act was the first fundamental review of the basic Treaties establishing the European Communities.

It provided for the creation of a large internal market by 31 December 1992 and for the free movement of goods, persons, capital and services throughout the Member States. To that end, the Act introduced qualified majority voting for Council decisions relating to the internal market, strengthened the powers of the European Parliament and provided for increased cooperation in the area of foreign policy. The Single European Act came into force on 1 July 1987.

The Rome Treaties

The Rome Treaties establishing the European Economic Community (EEC) and the European Atomic Energy Community (EAEC or Euratom) were signed on 25 March 1957 in Rome. The Treaties came into force on 1 January 1958.

Western European Union (WEU)

Western European Union (WEU) was created on 23 October 1954 by the Paris Agreements modifying the Treaty of Brussels (Treaty of

Economic, Social and Cultural Collaboration and Collective Self-Defence) of 17 March 1948.

After the failure of the plans for a European Defence Community (EDC) in August 1954, WEU sought to promote defence coordination between its members which, at the outset, were Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and the UK.

In 2006, the organisation has 28 members with four different types of status: Member States, Associate Members, Observers and Associate Partners. Only the ten Member States (the seven signatories of the Treaty of Brussels modified in 1954, together with Spain, Greece and Portugal) have full decision-making rights in WEU.

Promoted by the Maastricht Treaty to become an integral part of the development of the EU, the WEU relinquished its military headquarters and its responsibilities as regards crisis management, after the European Councils in Cologne (June 1999) and Helsinki (December 1999) had confirmed, in particular, the resolve of the 15 Member States to establish a European Security and Defence Identity (ESDI) and, in the long term, to subsume WEU.

List of Contributors

Mark Baimbridge is a Senior Lecturer in Economics at the University of Bradford. He is the author/editor of: *The Impact of the Euro* (Macmillan, 2000), *Economic and Monetary Union in Europe* (Edward Elgar, 2003 & 2005), *Fiscal Federalism and European Economic Integration* (Routledge, 2004), *Current Economic Issues in EU Integration* (Palgrave, 2004), *Britain and the European Union* (CIB, 2005) and *Implications of the Euro* (Routledge, 2006), together with a number of forthcoming texts: *Britain, the Euro and Beyond* (Ashgate), *EU Enlargement* (Copenhagen Business School), *Current Issues in EU Enlargement* (Palgrave) and a three volume series analysing *The EU at 50* (Palgrave). His main area of research is the political economy of European integration (EMU, central bank independence, enlargement, UK-EU relations and elections/referendums).

Tony Benn is the son, grandson and father of MPs. He was Labour MP for Bristol South East (1950–61 and 1963–83) and Chesterfield (1984–2001). He retired from the House of Commons after fifty years in Parliament, the longest serving Labour MP in the history of the party to ‘devote more time to politics’. He was a Cabinet minister in the Wilson and Callaghan governments (1964–79), as Minister of Technology, Secretary of State for both Industry and Energy, and President of the Council of European Energy ministers (1977). An elected member of the National Executive Committee of the Labour Party (1959–94), he was also Chairman of the Party (1971–2). His published Diaries in eight volumes cover the period from 1940 to 2001. He has also written seven other books, including: *Free Radical* (Continuum, 2004), *Dare to be Daniel* (Hutchinson, 2004), many pamphlets, and several videos and audiotapes. He is the holder of seven honorary Doctorates from British and American universities, a Visiting Professor at the London School of Economics and is a regular broadcaster.

Richard Body was Conservative MP for Billericay (1955–59), Holland with Boston (1966–97) and for Boston and Skegness (1997–2001). Coming from an agricultural background, he is highly critical of the use of pesticides in agriculture leading to his support for organic farming. However, it is his fervent euroscepticism that led to him becoming one of those condemned by the (then) Prime Minister John Major, which eventually lost him the Tory whip for a period. His publications include: *Agriculture* (Avebury, 1982), *Europe of Many Circles* (New European Publications, 1990), *Our food, our land* (Rider, 1991), *The Breakdown of Europe* (New European Publications, 1998), *England for the English* (New European Publications, 2000) and *The European Union versus Democracy* (New European Publications, 2003). He stood down from the Commons at the 2001 General Election.

Brian Burkitt is a Senior Lecturer in Economics at the University of Bradford. He wrote two widely quoted reports: *Britain and the European Economic Community: An Economic Reappraisal*, and *Britain and the European Economic Community: A Political Re-Appraisal* at the time of the 1975 Referendum on EEC membership. His publications include: *Trade Unions and Wages* (Crosby Lockwood Staples, 1975 & 1980), *Trade Unions and the Economy* (Macmillan, 1979), *Radical Political Economy* (Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1984), *The Political Economy of Social Credit and Guild Socialism* (Routledge, 1997), *The Impact of the Euro* (Macmillan, 2000), *Britain and the European Union* (CIB, 2005) and *Implications of the Euro* (Routledge, 2006). He is a frequent contributor to, and commentator on economic issues to television and radio programmes.

Tam Dalyell was Labour MP for West Lothian (1962–83) and Linlithgow (1983–05). In that time, he has served just two years as a frontbencher, and instead assiduously carved out a niche as a thorn in the side of successive governments of every hue. He is famed for his ability to focus on an issue and pursue it obsessively through the Commons making fine use of parliamentary procedures. He also served as an unelected Member of the European Parliament (1975–79). He became Father of the House of Commons after the retirement of Edward Heath in 2001. He stood down from the Commons at the 2005 General Election. His publications include: *Devolution* (Jonathan Cape, 1977), *Misrule* (Hamish Hamilton, 1987) and *Dick Crossman* (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1989).

Eric Deakins was Labour MP for Walthamstow West (1970–74) and Walthamstow (1974–87). He was Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State at the Department of Trade (1974–76) and DHSS (1976–79). He is a member of the Labour Euro Safeguards Campaign. His publications include: *Europe: What Next?* (Fabian Society, 1969), *European Economic Community Problems for British Agriculture* (Fabian Society, 1971), *You and Your Member of Parliament* (Nelson Thornes, 1987), *What Future for Labour?* (Shipman, 1988).

Bernard Donoughue worked on the editorial staff of *The Economist*, *Sunday Times*, *Sunday Telegraph* and *The Times*, and taught at the London School of Economics (1963–74), before he moved to 10 Downing Street as Senior Policy Adviser to Harold Wilson and then to James Callaghan (1974–79). After working in the City, he received a Peerage in 1985 and served as Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State at the Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food (1997–99). His previous books include: *British Politics and the American Revolution* (Macmillan, 1964), *Herbert Morrison* (Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1973), *Prime Minister* (Jonathan Cape, 1987), *Heat of the kitchen* (Politico's, 2003) and *Downing Street Diary* (Jonathan Cape, 2004).

John Edmonds began his career in the trade union movement in 1966 and rose to become General Secretary of the General, Municipal and Boilermakers (GMB) trade union (1986–2003) and President of the Trades Union Council (TUC) (1997–98). He was also a Member of Council of ACAS (1992–00). He is a Non-Executive Director of the Carbon Trust and of Salix Finance, Vice President of the National Society for Clean Air, Co-Chair of the Trade Union Advisory Committee on Sustainable Development, Member of Royal Commission on Environmental Pollution, Member of Executive of European Trade Union Confederation, Forestry Commissioner and President of Unity Trust Bank. He was Visiting Fellow of Nuffield College, Oxford (1986–94) and is Visiting Research Fellow of King's College, London (2003–).

Philip Goodhart was Conservative MP for Beckenham (1957–92) following a career in journalism at the *Daily Telegraph* (1950–54) and *Sunday Times* (1955–57). His publications include: *Fifty Ships that Saved the World* (Heinemann, 1965), *Referendum* (Stacey, 1971), 1922: *The Story of the 1922 Committee* (Macmillan, 1973) and *Full-Hearted Consent: Story of the Referendum Campaign and the Campaign for the Referendum* (Davis-Poynter, 1976).

Uwe Kitzinger was the first British economist of the Council of Europe in Strasbourg (1951–56) and served in Brussels as Cabinet Adviser (1973–75) to Sir Christopher Soames, the first British Vice-President of the European Commission. He has been a Fellow of Nuffield College, Oxford (1956–76), was Visiting Professor of Government at Harvard (1969–70) and at the University of Paris (1970–73). He was Dean of the European Institute of Business Administration (INSEAD) in Fontainebleau (1976–80) and Founding President of Templeton College Oxford (1984–91). He was the Founding Editor of the *Journal of Common Market Studies* (1962), whilst his books include: *German Electoral Politics* (OUP, 1960), *The Challenge of the Common Market* (Blackwell, 1961), *Britain and the Common Market* (BBC, 1967), *European Common Market and Community* (Routledge, 1967), *Second try* (Elsevier, 1969), *The 1975 Referendum* (Macmillan, 1976).

Juliet Lodge is Director of Jean Monnet European Centre of Excellence, Jean Monnet Professor of European Union Politics and Professor of European Studies at the University of Leeds. She was the 1991 UK Woman of Europe and European Woman of Europe 1992. She has published widely on the EU with over 200 journal articles and more than 10 books. She has written and edited work for the UK Office of the Commission and European Parliament, given evidence on EU policy to national parliaments and the European Parliament. Her books include: *European Union: European Community in Search of a Future* (Macmillan, 1986), *The European Community and the Challenge of the Future* (Pinter, 1989), *The 1989 Election of the European Parliament* (Macmillan, 1990), *Euro-Elections 1994* (Continuum, 1995), *The 1999 Elections to the European Parliament* (Palgrave, 2001), *The European Union* (Blackwell, 2003), *The 2004 Elections to the European Parliament* (Palgrave, 2005).

John Mills is an economist who has spent all his working life running companies involved in making and selling consumer products. He thus combines a theoretical background in economics with years of practical experience in international business. He is currently responsible for the budget of a major London borough. He is Secretary of the Labour Euro Safeguards Campaign. His publications include: *Monetarism or prosperity?* (Macmillan, 1981), *Tackling Britain's False Economy* (Palgrave, 1997), *Europe's Economic Dilemma* (Palgrave, 1998), *America's Soluble Problems* (Palgrave, 1999), *Manag-*