

# Journal of European Integration History

Revue d'Histoire de l'Intégration Européenne

Zeitschrift für Geschichte der europäischen Integration

## Edited by

The European Union Liaison  
Committee of Historians

## Contents

*Fernando GUIRAO (co-editor)*

Introduction to the Special Issue on CAP Reform

*Carine GERMOND*

The Franco-German Tandem and the Making of  
the CAP, 1963-1966

*Rainer FATTMANN*

Die europäische Gewerkschaftsbewegung und die  
Gemeinsame Agrarpolitik (1958-1972)

*Robin M. ALLERS*

The Norwegian Challenge to the EC's Acquis  
Communautaire in the Enlargement  
Negotiations of 1970-72

*Katja SEIDEL*

Taking Farmers off Welfare. The EEC Commission's  
Memorandum "Agriculture 1980" of 1968

*Chris ELTON*

The European Commission's Construction of  
an Alternative Policy Narrative in the Late 1980s

*Adrian KAY and Robert ACKRILL*

Problems of Composition, Temporality and Change  
in Tracing the Common Agricultural Policy through  
Time

*Mark SPOERER*

Agricultural Protection in the European  
Community, 1957-2003

2 2010

Volume 16  
ISSN 0947-9511



Nomos

**Editors:** Published twice a year by the Groupe de liaison des professeurs d'histoire contemporaine auprès de la Commission européenne. This publication is part of the Network EU-History based at the Kulturwissenschaftliches Institut Essen. It is financed by the Ministère d'Etat, Présidence du gouvernement of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg.

**Editorial Board:** **Wilfried LOTH** (chairman), Universität Essen (Jean Monnet Chair) | **Gérard BOSSUAT**, Université de Cergy-Pontoise (Jean Monnet Chair) | **Elena CALANDRI**, Università degli Studi di Firenze | **Anne DEIGHTON**, Wolfson College, Oxford (Jean Monnet Chair) | **Michel DUMOULIN**, Université catholique de Louvain (Jean Monnet Chair) | **Michael GEHLER**, Universität Hildesheim (Jean Monnet Chair) | **Fernando GUIRAO**, Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona (Jean Monnet Chair) | **Johnny LAURSEN**, University of Aarhus | **N. Piers LUDLOW**, London School of Economics | **Kiran Klaus PATEL**, European University Institute, Florence | **Nicolae PĂUN**, University of Cluj-Napoca | **Sylvain SCHIRMAN**, Institut d'études politiques, Strasbourg | **Klaus SCHWABE**, Rheinisch-Westfälische Technische Hochschule Aachen (Jean Monnet Chair) | **Gilbert TRAUSCH**, Centre Robert Schuman, Université de Liège | **Jan VAN der HARST**, University of Groningen (Jean Monnet Chair) | **Antonio VARSORI**, Università di Padova (Jean Monnet Chair)

[www.eu-historians.eu](http://www.eu-historians.eu)

**Editorial Secretariat:** Charles Barthel, director, Centre d'études et de recherches européennes, Robert Schuman, 4 Rue Jules Wilhelm, L-2728 Luxembourg, Tel.: (3 52) 24 78 22 90, Fax.: (3 52) 42 27 97

## Contents / Table des matières / Inhalt

<b>In memoriam Alan S. Milward (1935-2010)</b> .....	5
<i>Carine GERMOND, Katja SEIDEL and Mark SPOERER (co-editors)</i>	
<b>Preface</b> .....	9
<i>Fernando GUIRAO (co-editor)</i>	
<b>Introduction to the Special Issue on CAP Reform</b> .....	13
<i>Carine GERMOND</i>	
<b>The Agricultural Bone of Contention: The Franco-German Tandem and the Making of the CAP, 1963-1966</b> .....	25
<i>Rainer FATTMANN</i>	
<b>Die europäische Gewerkschaftsbewegung und die Gemeinsame Agrarpolitik (1958-1972): Annäherung an einen neuen Forschungsgegenstand</b> .....	45
<i>Robin M. ALLERS</i>	
<b>Attacking the Sacred Cow. The Norwegian Challenge to the EC's Acquis Communautaire in the Enlargement Negotiations of 1970-72</b> .....	59

<i>Katja SEIDEL</i>	
<b>Taking Farmers off Welfare. The EEC Commission's Memorandum "Agriculture 1980" of 1968 .....</b>	83
<i>Chris ELTON</i>	
<b>Paradigm Change within the CAP 1985-92: The European Commission's Construction of an Alternative Policy Narrative in the Late 1980s .....</b>	103
<i>Adrian KAY and Robert ACKRILL</i>	
<b>Problems of Composition, Temporality and Change in Tracing the Common Agricultural Policy through Time .....</b>	123
<i>Mark SPOERER</i>	
<b>"Fortress Europe" in Long-term Perspective: Agricultural Protection in the European Community, 1957-2003 .....</b>	143
<b>Book reviews – Comptes rendus – Buchbesprechungen .....</b>	163
<b>PHD Theses – Thèses de doctorat – Doktorarbeiten .....</b>	183
<b>Informations – Informations – Informationen .....</b>	189
<b>Abstracts – Résumés – Zusammenfassungen .....</b>	195
<b>Contributors – Auteurs – Autoren .....</b>	203
<b>Books received – Livres reçus – Eingegangene Bücher .....</b>	205

## Impressum

**Editorial Secretariat:** Charles Barthel, director | Centre d'études et de recherches européennes | Robert Schuman | 4 Rue Jules Wilhelm | L-2728 Luxembourg | Tel.: (3 52) 24 78 22 90 | Fax.: (3 52) 42 27 97  
Published twice a year by the Groupe de liaison des professeurs d'histoire contemporaine auprès de la Commission européenne.

**Annual subscription:** 69,- €, postage and packing extra | **Single issues:** 35,- €

**Payments** can be made

- by **cheques** payable to Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft
- by **bank transfers** to Stadtsparkasse Baden-Baden, account no 5 002 266, bank clearing number (Bankleitzahl 66 250 030) in the name of Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft. Please ensure you quote the *Journal of European Integration History* when instructing your bank and enclose a copy of your instructions to the bank with your order
- by **credit card** (VISA, Masters, Eurocard).

**Subscriptions and orders** should be sent to: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, D-76520 Baden-Baden, Germany.

**Inquiries concerning advertisements** should be sent to the Editorial Secretariat, Centre d'études et de recherches européennes Robert Schuman, 4 rue Jules Wilhelm, L-2728 Luxembourg.

**Print:** Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft mbH & Co. KG, Postfach 100 310, 76484 Baden-Baden, Telefon 0 72 21 / 21 04-0, Telefax 0 72 21 / 21 04 43.

**Anzeigen:** sales\_friendly, Bettina Roos, Siegburger Straße 123, 53229 Bonn, Telefon 02 28 / 9 78 98-0, Fax 02 28 / 9 78 98-20, roos@sales-friendly.de.

ISSN 0947-9511

**The Liaison Committee of Historians** came into being in 1982 as a result of an important international symposium that the Commission had organized in Luxembourg to launch historical research on European integration. The committee is composed of historians of the European Union member countries who work on contemporary history.

The Liaison Committee:

- gathers and conveys information about work on European history after the Second World War;
- advises the European Union on research projects concerning contemporary European history. Thus, the Liaison Committee was commissioned to make publicly available the archives of the Community institutions;
- enables researchers to make better use of the archival sources;
- promotes research meetings to get an update of work in progress and to stimulate new research: seven research conferences have been organized and their proceedings published.

*The Journal of European Integration History – Revue d'histoire de l'intégration européenne – Zeitschrift für Geschichte der europäischen Integration* is in line with the preoccupations of the Liaison Committee. Being the first history journal to deal exclusively with the history of European Integration, the Journal offers the increasing number of young historians devoting their research to contemporary Europe, a permanent forum.

The Liaison Committee works completely independently and according to historians' critical method.

\*

**Le Groupe de liaison des professeurs d'histoire contemporaine auprès de la Commission des Communautés européennes** s'est constitué en 1982 à la suite d'un grand colloque que la Commission avait organisé à Luxembourg pour lancer la recherche historique sur la construction européenne. Il regroupe des professeurs d'université des pays membres de l'Union européenne, spécialistes d'histoire contemporaine.

Le Groupe de liaison a pour mission:

- de diffuser l'information sur les travaux portant sur l'histoire de l'Europe après la Seconde Guerre mondiale;
- de conseiller l'Union européenne sur les actions scientifiques à entreprendre avec son appui; ainsi le Groupe de liaison a assuré une mission concernant la mise à la disposition du public des archives des institutions communautaires;
- d'aider à une meilleure utilisation par les chercheurs des moyens de recherche mis à leur disposition (archives, cours orales...);
- d'encourager des rencontres scientifiques afin de faire le point sur les connaissances acquises et de susciter de nouvelles recherches: sept grands colloques ont été organisés et leur actes publiés.

L'édition du *Journal of European Integration History – Revue d'histoire de l'intégration européenne – Zeitschrift für Geschichte der europäischen Integration* se situe dans le droit fil des préoccupations du Groupe de liaison. Première revue d'histoire à se consacrer exclusivement à l'histoire de la construction européenne, le Journal se propose de fournir un forum permanent au nombre croissant de jeunes historiens vouant leurs recherches à l'Europe contemporaine.

Le Groupe de liaison organise ses colloques et publications en toute indépendance et conformément à la méthode critique qui est celle des historiens.

## **Editorial notice**

Articles for inclusion in this journal may be submitted at any time. The editorial board will then arrange for the article to be refereed. Articles should not be longer than 6000 words, footnotes included. They may be in English, French or German.

Articles submitted to the Journal should be original contributions and not be submitted to any other publication at the same time as to the *Journal of European Integration History*. Authors should retain a copy of their article. The publisher and editors cannot accept responsibility for loss of or damage to authors' typescripts or disks.

The accuracy of, and views expressed in articles and reviews are the sole responsibility of the authors.

Authors should ensure that typescripts conform with the journal style. Prospective contributors should obtain further guidelines from the Editorial Secretariat.

Articles, reviews, communications relating to articles and books for review should be sent to the Editorial Secretariat.

## **Citation**

The *Journal of European Integration History* may be cited as follows:  
JEIH, (Year)/(Number), (Page).

© 2010 NOMOS Verlagsgesellschaft, Baden-Baden and the Groupe de liaison des professeurs d'histoire contemporaine auprès de la Commission européenne. Printed in Germany.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior permission of the publishers.