

**EU POLITICS AND DECISION MAKING: THE CAP
AND ITS ENVIRONMENTAL COSTS, AND
SYSTEMIC CHANGE**

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by

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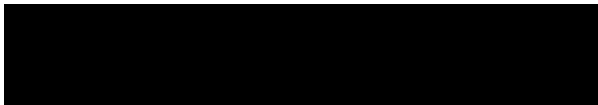
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VOLUME I

CERTIFICATE

I certify that the substance of this thesis has not already been submitted for any degree and is not currently being submitted for any other degree or qualification.

I certify that any help received in preparing this thesis, and all sources used, have been acknowledged in this thesis.



Heather Field

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ABSTRACT

The EC/EU political and decision making system is examined in order to explain its workings and the continuation of the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) in spite of its environmental costs.

The CAP is the most important EC/EU policy and focus of political activity and decision making. It was crucial to the establishment of the EC/EU. Its environmental costs have been substantial, and greater than those which would have eventuated from agricultural modernisation in the absence of the CAP.

The decision making system has been mainly intergovernmental in nature, with France and Germany having the greatest influence. The presence of the minority FDP and CSU parties in the governing CDU/CSU/FDP coalition in Germany, and the ability of the FDP to determine or influence which majority party would be in government, have led to German support for the CAP and willingness to meet much of its financial costs. France has supported the CAP because of the marginal and swinging nature of the French farm vote, the presence of the Gaullist RPR in coalition governments, and the net budgetary benefits it earlier obtained through the CAP. In both countries domestic political change can alter the national attitude towards the CAP. The diversity of environmental interests, their lack of focus on the environmental costs of the CAP, the failure of the German 'Greens' to enter national government, and the lack of a strong party organisation elsewhere, greatly limited their effectiveness over the environmental costs of the CAP.

The most useful theoretical conceptions of EC/EU decision making are derived from comparative politics, international relations theory, public choice theory, and 'bureaucratic politics'. There are different types of decision making, requiring different explanations. Member state political parties have been key actors in CAP decision making, interest groups have been of much lesser importance. The system involves bargaining over both agricultural and non-agricultural issues, with financial outcomes being a major concern.

The CAP and the EU political and decision making system are faced with further considerable prospective change.

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GLOSSARY

ABARE	Australian Bureau of Agricultural and Resource Economics
ACP	African, Caribbean and Pacific
AGPS	Australian Government Publishing Service
ANU	Australian National University
AMS	Aggregate Measure of Support
BAE	Bureau of Agricultural Economics
BANC	British Association of Nature Conservationists
CAP	Common Agriculture Policy
CDU	Christian Democratic Union
CEE	Central and Eastern Europe
CEPR	Centre for Economic Policy and Research
CFE	(Treaty on) Conventional Forces in Europe
CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy
CIIR	Catholic Institute for International Relations
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
CJFT	Combined Joint Task Forces
CND	Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament
CNSTP	<i>Confédération Nationale Syndicale des Travailleurs-Paysans</i> (National Union Federation of Workers-Peasants)
COPA	<i>Comité des Organisations Agricoles</i> (Committee of Agricultural Organisations)
COR	Committee of the Regions
COREPER	The Committee of Permanent Representatives (of the member states)
COWM	Common Organisation of the Wine Market
CSCE	Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe
CSU	Christian Social Union

DM	Deutschmark
DP	<i>Deutsche Partei</i> (German Party)
DVB	<i>Deutscher Bauernverband</i> (German Farmers' Union)
EAGGF	European Agricultural Guidance and Guarantee Fund (also known by its French acronym, FEOGA).
EBRD	European Bank for Reconstruction and Development
EC	European Community
ECHO	European Community Aid Office
ECSA	European Community Studies Association
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
EDC	European Defence Community
EEA	European Economic Area
EEC	European Economic Community
EEP	Export Enhancement Programme
EMI	European Monetary Institute
EMS	European Monetary System
EMU	Economic and Monetary Union
EP	European Parliament
EPC	European Political Cooperation
EPP	European Peoples' Party
ERM	Exchange Rate Mechanism
ERT	European Round Table of Industrialists
ESA	Environmentally Sensitive Area
ESC	Economic and Social Committee
EU	European Union
EUI	European University Institute
EVA	European Free Alliance

FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation (of the United Nations)
FDP	Free Democratic Party
FFA	<i>Fédération Française de l'Agriculture</i> (French Agricultural Federation)
FNSEA	<i>Fédération Nationale des Syndicats d'Exploitants Agricoles</i> (Federation of National Farmers' Unions)
FOE	Friends of the Earth
FRG	Federal Republic of Germany
FYROM	Former Yugoslavian Republic of Macedonia
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GDR	German Democratic Republic
GNP	Gross National Product
GRAEL	Green Alternative European Link
HMSO	Her Majesty's Stationery Office
IFAW	International Fund for Animal Welfare
IFPRI	International Food Policy Research Institute
IGC	Intergovernmental Conference
IGR	Insect Growth Regulator
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IMTA	Imported Meat Traders' Association
Less Favoured Areas	Specific areas which are recognised as being disadvantaged, for example hill, mountain and far northern regions, and therefore benefit from special assistance schemes.
MAFF	Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food
MODEF	<i>Mouvement de Défense des Exploitants Familiaux</i> (Family Farm Defence Movement)
MCA	Monetary Compensatory Amount
MEP	Member of the European Parliament

NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NDP	National Democratic Party
NEDO	National Economic Development Office
NFU	National Farmers' Union
NMP	Net Material Product
NSA	Nitrate-Sensitive Area
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
OSCE	Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PASEGES	Panhellenic Confederation of Agricultural Cooperatives' Union
PASOK	Panhellenic Socialist Party
PER	<i>Plan de Empleo Rural</i> (Rural Employment Scheme)
PETA	People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals
PFP	Partnership for Peace
PP	Popular Party
PSE	Producer Subsidy Equivalent
RSPCA	Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals
RSPB	Royal Society for the Protection of Birds
RPF	<i>Rassemblement Français du Peuple</i> (French People's Movement)
RPR	<i>Rassemblement pour la République</i> (Movement for the Republic)
SEA	Single European Act
Set-aside	Land taken out of production in return for assistance
SF	Socialist People's Party
SPD	German Socialist Party
TENs	Trans-European Networks
UACES	University Association for Contemporary European Studies
UDC	United Democratic Coalition
UDF	<i>Union pour la Démocratie Française</i> (Union for French Democracy)

UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
US	United States
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (Soviet Union)
VS	Venstre Socialist Party
WEU	Western European Union
WTO	World Trade Organisation
WWF	World Wildlife Fund

Note: A billion is taken to mean a US billion, or 1 000 000 000; in places the European word milliard is used instead.