

Contents

Acknowledgements	11
List of Abbreviations	13
INTRODUCTION. Small States' Politics, the Netherlands and Engineering Influence	17
PART I. CONCEIVING THE COMMON MARKET	
CHAPTER 1. The Beyen Plan as the Dutch Response to the EPC Proposals.....	35
Introduction: On Dutch European Policy and Benelux, 1945-1952	35
I. Jan Willem Beyen Sets Off: the Luxembourg Resolution	39
II. The Beyen Plan: Pressing for European Economic Integration.....	42
III. Rethinking the Beyen Plan.....	47
IV. Intergovernmental Deliberations on EPC	56
V. Endgame: the Backlash of the European Defence Community	63
VI. Discussion	65
CHAPTER II. The Netherlands, Benelux, and the <i>Relance européenne</i>	69
Introduction	69
I. Saving Western Europe's Defence from the EDC Wreck	70
II. Patience and Defensive Reticence.....	72
III. New Policy Formulation in Belgium and Benelux	75
IV. Spring 1955: the Origins of the New Beyen Plan	79
V. The Benelux Memorandum for a European Relaunch	87
VI. Getting Down to the Brass Tacks at the June 1955 Messina Conference	93
VII. Discussion	97

CHAPTER III. Between Example and Spectre.....99

Introduction.....	99
I. The Benelux Lessons	102
II. Impact of Benelux experiences on Dutch policies on Europe, 1952-1954.....	117
III. The Benelux Factor in the EEC Negotiations 1955-1957	123
IV. Discussion	142

PART II. DEFENDING THE COMMUNITY**CHAPTER IV. Supranationality or Britain?****The Netherlands and the Fouchet Negotiations 1959-1962.....147**

Introduction	147
I. The Netherlands' policy on the De Gaulle proposals	150
II. Dutch Supranationalism and Atlanticism: Some Interpretative Comments.....	163
III. Discussion	170

CHAPTER V. A Successful Defence of the Communitarian**Model? The Netherlands and the Empty Chair Crisis.....173**

Introduction.....	173
I. Agriculture: the Motor behind Supranationalism?.....	174
II. The Hague and the Commission's Package Proposal	176
III. First Phase: An Inevitable Clash?	179
IV. Phase two: Deteriorating Relations towards France and a Deepening Crisis.....	183
V. Third Phase: France out, Britain in?.....	184
VI. Fourth Phase: Retaining Unity and Calling Bluff	187
VII. Discussion: Causes and Effects, Winners and Losers?	191

CHAPTER VI. Swan Song or Cock Crow? The Netherlands**and the Hague Conference of December 1969** 197

Introduction.....	197
I. Signs of Hope and Reappraisals.....	198
II. Towards a European Summit: Passing the Buck and a Triptych Emerging	201
III. Meeting in the Hague: Completion, Widening and Deepening.....	206
IV. Discussion	211

PART III. EXTERNALIZING EUROPE

CHAPTER VII. Learning Interdependence the Hard Way. The Netherlands, European Political Co-operation and the First Oil Crisis	217
Introduction.....	217
I. Finding New Bearings. The Hague's Views on EPC during the 1960s.....	218
II. The Hague Summit, the Davignon Report and Dutch Views on the EPC Machinery.....	221
III. A Rude Awakening. The Netherlands, EPC and the 1973 Oil Boycott	224
IV. The Netherlands and EPC in the 1970s. A Godsend for Dutch Cabaret?	228
V. Discussion	230
CHAPTER VIII. A Bumpy Road To Lomé. The Netherlands' Policy on Association and the Yaoundé Treaties, 1956-1969	233
Introduction.....	233
I. From Venice to Yaoundé I: Association as a Price Tag on the Common Market	234
II. From Yaoundé I till Yaoundé II: The Netherlands as an Ambivalent Partner.....	241
III. Discussion	251
Concluding Observations.....	255
A Note on the Making of the Netherlands' European Policy during the 1950s and 1960s.....	269
Index	277