

HS2P99: Period in Modern History  
British Foreign Policy since 1918



Dr Matthew Broad  
m.broad@reading.ac.uk

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## Introduction: British Foreign Policy since 1918

Britain emerged from the First World War still a major global player. While the events of 1914-18 witnessed the disappearance of the German, Habsburg, Ottoman and Russian empires, Britain's imperial presence reached new heights. With America back in isolation and Russia in revolution by the 1920s, Britain once again reigned as the world's sole superpower. By the turn of the century, however, Britain's international position had drastically changed. Few remnants of its imperial past remained. What was once a global foreign policy orbit had become an essentially European one under an American nuclear umbrella. The purpose of this course is to provide a stimulating analysis of this transformation by examining the successes and failures of British foreign policy from the end of the First World War to the New Labour era.

### Seminar overview

#### Week

- 1 Introduction
- 2 British foreign policy in the 1920s
- 3 Germany again: Britain, appeasement and the Second World War
- 4 Finding a role: Britain in the early Cold War period
- 5 'An era of retreat?': Suez, nuclear weapons and Europe, 1955-63
- 6 'A world power or nothing': East of Suez, the United States and Europe under Wilson
- 7 Europe (yet again), the Cold War and the domestic politics of foreign policy in the 1970s
- 8 'Britain Is Great Again': Thatcher and the wider world
- 9 From the Cold War to 'liberal interventionism': foreign policy under Major and Blair
- 10 British foreign policy since 1918: themes, continuities and changes

### Introductory and General Reading

D. Reynolds, *Britannia Overruled: British Policy and World Power in the 20<sup>th</sup> century* (Harlow, 2000).

AND

- C. J. Bartlett, *British foreign policy in the twentieth century* (Basingstoke, 1989)
- G. Bennett, *Six Moments of Crisis: Inside British Foreign Policy* (Oxford, 2013)
- N. Crowson, *Britain and Europe: A Political History since 1918* (London, 2011)
- M. Dockrill and B. McKercher (eds.), *Diplomacy and World Power: Studies in British Foreign Policy, 1890-1950* (Cambridge, 1996)
- G. Fry, *The politics of decline: an interpretation of British Politics from the 1940s to the 1970s* (Basingstoke, 2005) - BB
- S. Hasler, *Sidekick: Bulldog to Lapdog – British Global Strategy from Churchill to Blair* (London, 2007).
- P. Kennedy, *The Realities behind Diplomacy: Background to British External Policy, 1865-1980* (London, 1981)
- P. Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500-2000* (London, 1989)
- P. Mangold, *Success and Failure in British Foreign Policy: Evaluating the Record, 1900-2000* (Basingstoke, 2001)
- B. Porter, *Britain, Europe and the World, 1850-1982: Delusions of Grandeur* (London, 1983)
- M. Smith, S. Smith and B. White (eds.), *British foreign policy: tradition, change and transformation* (London, 1988)
- D. C. Watt, *Personalities and Policies: Studies in the Formulation of British Foreign Policy in the Twentieth Century* (London, 1976)
- J. Young, *Britain and the world in the twentieth century* (London, 1997)

BB = article/book on Blackboard

## Week 2 - British foreign policy in the 1920s

1. What were Britain's aims at the 1919 Paris Peace Conference? Were they achieved?
2. How did the first Labour government alter Britain's foreign policy?
3. What was the effect of the 'spirit of Locarno' on British foreign policy in the 1920s?
4. Was there a 'crisis of Empire' in the 1920s?

Reynolds, *Britannia Overruled*, chapters 4-5

A. J. P. Taylor, *English History, 1914-1945* (Oxford, 1965)

### Paris Peace Conference

- M. Dockrill and J. Fisher, *The Paris Peace Conference, 1919: Peace without Victory?* (Basingstoke, 2001) – BB
- E. Goldstein, *Winning the Peace: British Diplomatic Strategy, Peace Planning and the Paris Peace Conference, 1916-1920* (Oxford, 1991)
- M. MacMillan, *Peacemakers: the Paris Conference of 1919 and its attempt to end war* (London, 2003)
- M. Trachtenberg, 'Reparation at the Paris Peace Conference', *The Journal of Modern History*, 51/1 (1979), pp. 24-55

### First Labour government

- J. Callaghan, *The Labour Party and Foreign Policy: A History* (Abingdon, 2007), chapter 3
- D. Carlton, *MacDonald versus Henderson: the foreign policy of the second Labour Government* (London, 1970)
- S. R. Graubard, *British Labour and the Russian Revolution, 1917-1924* (Cambridge, MA, 1956)
- M. R. Gordon, *Conflict and Consensus in Labour's Foreign Policy, 1914-1965* (Stanford, 1969)
- R. Lyman, *The First Labour Government, 1924* (London, 1957)
- R. Vickers, *The Labour Party and the World, Vol. 1: The Evolution of Labour's Foreign Policy, 1900-51* (Manchester, 2004), chapter 4 – BB
- A. J. Williams, *Labour and Russia: the Attitude of the Labour Party to the USSR, 1924-1934* (Manchester, 1989)

### Spirit of Locarno

- P. W. Doerr, *British Foreign Policy, 1919-1939* (Manchester, 1998)
- R. S. Grayson, *Austen Chamberlain and the Commitment to Europe: British Foreign Policy, 1924-29* (London, 1997)
- J. Jacobson, *Locarno Diplomacy: Germany and the west, 1925-1929* (Princeton, NJ, 1972)
- F. Magee, "'Limited Liability'?: Britain and the Treaty of Locarno', *Twentieth Century British History*, 6/1 (1995), pp. 1-22
- M. L. Roi and B. J. C. McKercher, "'Ideal" and "punch-bag": Conflicting views of the balance of power and their influence on interwar years', *Diplomacy and Statecraft*, vol. 12, no. 2 (2001), pp. 47-78

### British imperialism in the 1920s

- C. Barnett, *The Collapse of British Power* (Stroud, 1997)
- J. Darwin, 'Imperialism in decline? Tendencies in British imperial policy between the wars', *The Historical Journal*, vol. 23, no. 3 (1980), pp. 657-79
- M. Dockrill and B. McKercher, *Diplomacy and World Power: Studies in British foreign policy, 1890-1950* (Cambridge, 1996)
- J. R. Ferris, 'The Greatest Power on Earth: Great Britain in the 1920s', *International History Review*, 13/4 (1991), pp. 726-750
- F. S. Northedge, *The Troubled Giant: Britain among the Great Powers, 1916-1929* (London, 1966)
- A. Sharp, 'Adapting to a New World? British Foreign Policy in the 1920s', *Contemporary British History*, vol. 18, no. 3 (2004), pp. 74-86
- Young, *Britain and the World*, pp. 80-6

### Week 3 - Germany again: Britain, appeasement and the Second World War

1. Was the Empire a wasting asset in the 1930s?
2. What did events in East Asia reveal about British foreign policy prior to 1939?
3. How do historians explain Neville Chamberlain's policy of appeasement?
4. 'A third partner'. Discuss with reference to Britain's role during the Second World War.

Reynolds, *Britannia Overruled*, chapters 5-6

#### Empire

- C. Barnett, *The Collapse of British Power* (Stroud, 1997)
- L. J. Butler, *Britain and Empire: Adjusting to a post-imperial world* (London, 2000) – chapter 1
- J. Darwin, 'Imperialism in decline? Tendencies in British imperial policy between the wars', *The Historical Journal*, vol. 23, no. 3 (1980), pp. 657-79
- M. Dockrill and B. McKercher, *Diplomacy and World Power: Studies in British foreign policy, 1890-1950* (Cambridge, 1996)
- R. Hyam, *Britain's Declining Empire: the Road to Decolonisation, 1918-1968* (Cambridge, 2006)
- P. M. Kennedy, "'Appeasement" and British defence policy in the inter-war years', *British Journal of International Studies*, no. 4 (1978), pp. 161-77
- J. Record, 'Appeasement Reconsidered: Investigating the Mythology of the 1930s', Strategic Studies Institute paper (2005), accessed at [www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pdf/pub622.pdf](http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pdf/pub622.pdf)
- P. Williamson, *National Crisis and National Government: British Politics, the Economy and Empire, 1926-1932* (Cambridge, 1992)
- Young, *Britain and the World in the Twentieth Century*, chapter 4

#### East Asia (Manchuria and Sino-Japanese relations)/Appeasement

- P. M. H. Bell, *The origins of the Second World War in Europe* (London, 1997)
- P. Finney (ed.), *The origins of the Second World War: A Reader* (London, 1997)
- M. Gilbert, *The roots of appeasement* (London, 1966)
- R. Hunig, *The origins of the Second World War. 1933-1939* (London, 1992)
- P. Kennedy, *Strategy and Diplomacy, 1870-1945: Eight Studies* (London, 1983)
- B. A. Lee, *Britain and the Sino-Japanese war, 1937-1939: A Study in the Dilemmas of British Decline* (London, 1973)
- F. McDonough, *Neville Chamberlain, Appeasement and the British Road to War* (Manchester, 1998)
- R. J. Overy, *The origins of the Second World War* (London, 1998)
- F. Owen, *Guilty Men* (1940)
- G. C. Peden, 'A Matter of Timing: The Economic Background to British Foreign Policy, 1937-39', *History*, vol. 69 (1984), pp. 15-21
- G. Post, *Dilemmas of Appeasement: British Deterrence and Defence* (Ithaca, 1993)
- J. L. Richardson, 'New Perspectives on Appeasement: Some Implications for International Relations', *World Politics*, vol. 40, no. 3 (1988), pp. 289-316
- E. M. Robertson (ed.), *The Origins of the Second World War: Historical Interpretations* (London, 1971)
- A. J. P. Taylor, *The Origins of the Second World War* (London, 1991)
- C. Thorne, 'The Shanghai Crisis of 1932: The Basis of British Policy', *The American Historical Review*, 75/6 (1970), pp. 1616-39

Britain during the Second World War – lots in the Library on this, a few good places to start:

- M. Kitchen, 'Winston Churchill and the Soviet Union during the Second World War', *Historical Journal*, 30/2 (1987), pp. 415-36
- D. Reynolds, *From World War to Cold War* (Oxford, 2006) – on BB
- Young, *Britain and the World in the Twentieth Century*, pp. 127-140

## Week 4 - Finding a role: Britain in the early Cold War period

1. Was Britain still a world power in 1945?
2. Did Labour adopt a 'socialist' foreign policy between 1945 and 1951?
3. Was there a 'special relationship' between the Labour Party and America in the years 1945-51?
4. How do you explain the European policy of the Attlee government?

Reynolds, *Britannia Overruled*, chapters 6-7

### Labour's foreign policy 1945-51/world power

- S. Brooke, *Labour's War: the Labour Party during the Second World War* (Oxford, 1992)
- R. Ovendale (eds.), *The foreign policy of the British Labour Governments, 1945-51* (Leicester, 1984)
- H. Pelling, *America and the British left: from Bright to Bevan* (London, 1956)
- D. Russell, "'The Jolly Old Empire': Labour, the Commonwealth and Europe, 1945-51", in A. May (ed.), *Britain, the Commonwealth and Europe: the Commonwealth and Britain's Applications to Join the European Communities* (Basingstoke, 2001) – BB, good for subsequent weeks as well
- J. Schnee, 'Hopes Deferred or Shattered: The British Labour Left and the Third Force Movement, 1945-49', *The Journal of Modern History*, 56/2 (1984), pp. 198-226
- R. Vickers, *The Labour Party and the World, Vol. 1: The Evolution of Labour's Foreign Policy, 1900-51* (Manchester, 2004), chapter 7 – BB
- P. Weiler, 'British Labour and the Cold War: The Foreign Policy of the Labour Governments, 1945-1951', *Journal of British Studies*, vol. 26, no. 1 (1987), pp. 54-82
- H. Wilford, *The CIA, the British left, and the Cold War: Calling the Tune?* (London, 2003)

### Special relationship/world power

- E. Barker, *Britain in a divided Europe, 1945-1970* (London, 1971)
- J. Charmley, *Churchill's grand alliance: the Anglo-American special relationship, 1947-57* (London, 1995)
- A. Deighton (ed.), *Britain and the first cold war* (Basingstoke, 1990)
- S. Haseler, *Sidekick: Bulldog to Lapdog – British Global Strategy from Churchill to Blair* (London, 2007)
- P. Jones, *America and the British Labour Party: The Special Relationship at Work* (London, 1997), chapter 2
- D. Reynolds, 'A 'Special Relationship?' America, Britain and the International Order since the Second World War', *International Affairs*, 62. 1 (1985), 1-20
- D. Reynolds, 'Great Britain', in D. Reynolds (ed.), *The Origins of the Cold War in Europe: International Perspectives* (New Haven, CT, 2005)
- D. Sanders, *Losing an Empire, Finding a Role: British Foreign Policy since 1945* (Basingstoke, 1990)
- R. Self, *British Foreign and Defence Policy since 1945: Challenges and Dilemmas in a Changing World* (Basingstoke, 2010)
- G. Williams, *The permanent alliance: the European-American partnership, 1945-84* (Leyden, 1977)

### Europe (useful for other weeks as well)

- E. Dell, 'The 1940s and the Schuman Plan', in R. Broad and V. Preston (eds.), *Moored to the Continent? Britain and European Integration* (London, 2001)
- J. Dumbrell, *A special relationship: Anglo-American relations from the Cold War to Iraq* (Basingstoke, 2006)
- S. George, *An Awkward Partner: Britain in the European Community* (Oxford, 1998), chapter 1
- D. Gowland, A. Turner and A. Wright, *Britain and European Integration since 1945: On the Sidelines* (Abingdon, 2010), chapter 1
- W. Kaiser, 'What alternative is open to us?', in W. Kaiser and J. Elvert (eds.), *European Union Enlargement: A Comparative History* (Abingdon, 2004)
- M. Williams, *Crises and Consensus in British Politics* (Basingstoke, 2000), chapter 11 - BB
- J. W. Young, *Britain and European Unity, 1945-1999* (Basingstoke, 2000), chapter 1
- J. W. Young, 'Churchill's "No" to Europe: The "Rejection" of European Union by Churchill's Post-War Government, 1951-52', *The Historical Journal*, vol. 28, no. 4 (1985), pp. 923-37

## Week 5 – An ‘era of retreat’? Suez, nuclear weapons and Europe, 1955-64

1. Why did Suez fail? What impact did it have on Britain’s imperial policy?
2. Did Britain ‘miss the boat’ to Europe in the 1950s?
3. How do you explain the launch and subsequent failure of Britain’s first application to the EEC?
4. What did the Anglo-American nuclear alliance reveal about British foreign policy up until 1964?

Reynolds, *Britannia Overruled*, chapters 7-8

Young, *Britain and the World in the Twentieth Century*, chapters 6-7

W. Kaiser and G. Staerck (eds.), *British foreign policy, 1955-64: Contrasting options* (Basingstoke, 2000)

### Europe (and use other weeks)

- M. Camps, *Britain and the European Community, 1955-1963* (Princeton, NJ, 1964)
- O. Daddow, *Britain and Europe since 1945: Historiographical perspectives on integration* (Manchester, 2004), chapter 3
- A. Deighton, ‘Missing the Boat: Britain and Europe, 1945-61’, *Contemporary Record*, 3/3 (1990), pp. 15-17
- R. Denman, *Missed Chances: Britain and Europe in the Twentieth Century* (London, 1996), chapters 10-11
- J. Ellison, *Threatening Europe: Britain and the creation of the EC, 1955-58* (New York, 2002) - BB
- Ellison, ‘Perfidious Albion? Britain, Plan G and European Integration, 1955-1956’, *Contemporary British History*, vol. 10, no. 4 (1996), pp. 1-34
- J. Ellison, ‘Britain and the Treaties of Rome, 1955-59’, in R. Broad and V. Preston (eds.), *Moored to the Continent? Britain and European Integration* (London, 2001)
- S. George, *An Awkward Partner: Britain in the European Community* (Oxford, 1998), chapter 1
- Gowland, Turner and Wright, , *Britain and European Integration since 1945*, chapter 2
- R. T. Griffiths, ‘A slow one hundred and eighty degree turn: British policy towards the Common Market, 1955-60’, in G. Wilkes (ed.), *Britain’s Failure to Enter the European Community, 1961-63: The Enlargement Negotiations and Crises in European, Atlantic and Commonwealth Relations* (Abingdon, 1997)
- N. P. Ludlow, *Dealing with Britain: The Six and the First UK Application to the EEC* (Cambridge, 1997)
- J. W. Young, *Britain and European Unity, 1945-1999* (Basingstoke, 2000), chapters 2-3

### Suez/imperial policy

- D. Carlton, *Britain and the Suez Crisis* (Oxford, 1988)
- R. Dietl, ‘Suez 1956: A European Intervention?’, *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 43, no. 2 (2008), pp. 259-78
- D. Epstein, *British politics in the Suez crisis* (London, 1964)
- S. Kelly and A. Gorst (eds.), *Whitehall and the Suez Crisis* (London, 1999)
- W. R. Louis and R. Owen, *Suez 1956: The Crisis and its Consequences* (Oxford, 1991)
- R. McNamara, *Britain, Nasser and the Balance of Power in the Middle East, 1952-1967* (London, 2003)
- G.C. Peden, ‘Suez and Britain’s Decline as a World Power’, *The Historical Journal*, vol. 55, no. 4 (2012), pp. 1073-96
- S, C, Smith (ed.), *Reassessing Suez 1956: New Perspectives on the Crisis and its Aftermath* (Aldershot, 2008)

### Nuclear policy/US

See Week 4 US/Cold War reading list +

- N. J. Ashton, *Kennedy, Macmillan and the Cold War* (Basingstoke, 2002)
- D. Brinkley, ‘Dean Acheson and the “Special Relationship”: The West Point Speech of December 1962’, *The Historical Journal*, 33/3 (1990), pp. 599-608
- Dumbrell, *The Special Relationship*, chapter 3
- R. Neustadt, *Alliance Politics* (London, 1970) – use for Suez as well

## Week 6 - 'A world power or nothing': East of Suez, the United States and Europe under Wilson

1. What caused Harold Wilson's 'turn' towards Europe? Was the policy successful?
2. Assess the reasons and impact of Britain's withdrawal 'east of Suez'.
3. Why didn't the Labour Government choose to fight in Vietnam?
4. Did the Commonwealth prosper or decline under Harold Wilson?

Reynolds, *Britannia Overruled*, chapter 8

### Europe (and use other weeks)

- M. Broad and O. Daddow, 'Half-Remembered Quotations from Mostly Forgotten Speeches: the Limits of Labour's European Policy Discourse', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, vol. 12, no. 2 (2010), pp. 205-22.
- M. Camps, *European Unification in the 1960s* (London, 1967).
- O. Daddow (ed.), *Harold Wilson and European Integration: Britain's Second Application to join the EEC* (London, 2003).
- H. Parr, *Britain's Policy towards the European Community: Harold Wilson and Britain's World Role, 1964-1967* (Abingdon, 2006).
- H. Parr, 'A Question of Leadership: July 1966 and Harold Wilson's European Decision', *Contemporary British History*, 19/4 (2005), pp. 437-58.
- G. Wyn Rees, 'British Strategic Thinking and Europe, 1964-1970', *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 5, no. 1 (1999), pp. 57-72.

### East of Suez/Commonwealth

- S. R. Ashton and W. Roger Louis (eds.), *East of Suez and the Commonwealth, 1964-71* (London, 2004).
- S.R. Ashton, 'British Government Perspectives on the Commonwealth, 1964-71: An asset or a Liability?', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, vol. 35, no. 1 (2007), pp. 73-94.
- J. Callaghan, *The Labour Party and Foreign Policy: A History* (Abingdon, 2007), chapter 8.
- S. Dockrill, *Britain's Retreat from East of Suez: The Choice Between Europe and the World? 1945-1968* (Basingstoke, 2002).
- J. Kristensen, "'In Essence still a British Country": Britain's withdrawal from East of Suez", *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, vol. 51, no. 1 (2005), pp. 40-52.
- K. Kyle, *Suez: Britain's end of empire in the Middle East* (London, 2003).
- D. McCourt, 'What was Britain's "East of Suez" Role?: Reassessing the Withdrawal, 1964-1968', *Diplomacy and Statecraft*, 20. 3 (2009), 453-472
- P. L. Pham, *Ending 'East of Suez': The British decision to withdraw from Malaysia and Singapore, 1964-68* (Oxford, 2010).
- J. Young, *The Labour governments 1964-1970, Volume 2: International Policy* (Manchester, 2003), chapters 2-4, 7 (good for entire period)

### Vietnam/Anglo-American relations

- S. Dockrill, *Britain, America and the Vietnam War* (Westport, Connecticut, 2004).
- J. Ellison, *The United States, Britain and the transatlantic crisis: rising to the Gaullist challenge, 1963-68* (Basingstoke, 2007).
- J. Colman, 'A "special relationship"? Harold Wilson, Lyndon B. Johnson and Anglo-American relations 'at the summit', 1964-68 (Manchester, 2004) – BB
- S. Ellis, *Britain, America and the Vietnam War* (Westport, CT, 2004)
- J. Dumbrell, 'The Johnson Administration and the British Labour Government: Vietnam, the Pound and East of Suez', *Journal of American Studies*, 30/2 (1996), pp. 211-31
- R. Vickers, 'Harold Wilson, the British Labour Party and the War in Vietnam', *Journal of Cold War Studies*, 10/2 (2008), pp. 41-70
- J. Young, 'Britain and 'LBJ's War', 1964-1968', *Cold War History*, 2/3 (2002), pp. 63-92

## Week 7 - Europe (yet again) and the domestic politics of foreign policy in the 1970s

1. What contributed to Britain's successful application to the EEC under Heath?
2. How did domestic politics influence British European policy after 1973?
3. How do you explain the emerging détente of the 1970s? What was Britain's role in it?
4. Was there a 'post-war consensus' in British foreign policy between 1945 and 1979?

Reynolds, *Britannia Overruled*, chapter 9

AND

### Europe (and use other weeks)

- M. Baimbridge (ed.), *The 1975 Referendum on Europe, Volume 1: Reflections of the Participants* (Exeter, 2007)
- M. Baimbridge, P. Whyman and A. Mullen, *The 1975 Referendum on Europe, Volume 2: Current Analysis and Lessons for the Future* (Exeter, 2006)
- M. Broad, "The British Labour Party and European integration in the 1970s", in G. Thiemeyer and J. Raflik (ed.), *Le partis politiques européens face à la première élection direct du Parlement européen dans les années 1970* (Munich: Oldenburg, forthcoming) – on BB
- C. Braham, *The Referendum Reconsidered* (London, 1975)
- R. Broad, *Labour's European Dilemmas: From Bevin to Blair* (Basingstoke, 2001)
- P. Byrd, 'The Labour Party and the European Community, 1970-1975', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 15/3 (1974), pp. 469-83
- D. Butler and U. Kitzinger, *The 1975 Referendum* (Basingstoke, 1996)
- U. Kitzinger, 'Entry and Referendum Revisited', in Broad and Preston, *Moored to the Continent?* – BB
- D. Sandbrook, *Seasons in the Sun: the Battle of Britain, 1974-1979* (London, 2012)
- J. Smith, 'The 1975 referendum', *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 5, no. 1 (1999), pp. 41-56
- J. Smith, 'The European dividing line in party politics', *International Affairs*, vol. 88, no. 6 (2012), pp. 1277-95, especially pp. 1280-1
- M. Pine, *Harold Wilson and Europe: Pursuing Britain's membership of the European Communities* (London, 2007) – BB

### Détente in the 1970s

- M. D. Brown, 'A Very British Vision of Détente: The United Kingdom's Foreign Policy during the Helsinki Process, 1969-75', in F. Bozo et al (eds.), *Visions of the End of the Cold War in Europe, 1945-1990* (Oxford, 2012)
- A. Spelling, 'Edward Heath and Anglo-American Relations, 1970-74', *Diplomacy and Statecraft*, vol. 20, no. 4 (2009), pp. 638-58
- J. Young, *Twentieth-Century Diplomacy: A Case Study of British Practice, 1963-1976* (Cambridge, 2008)

For post-war consensus question please use notes and reading for weeks 4-7



## Week 8 - 'Britain Is Great Again': Thatcher and the wider world

1. 'I want my money back'. Account for Britain's European policy under Margaret Thatcher
2. Was the Falklands War the exception or the rule to Thatcher's Commonwealth policy?
3. How central were superpower relations to the foreign policy of the Thatcher governments?
4. Did Thatcher welcome or fear the end of the Cold War?

Reynolds, *Britannia Overruled*, chapter 10

Documents and speeches from the Thatcher era can be found at <http://www.margaretthatcher.org/>

### Europe (and use other weeks)

- N. J. Crowson, *The Conservative Party and European integration since 1945: At the heart of Europe?* (Abingdon, 2007)
- O. Daddow, 'Margaret Thatcher, Tony Blair and the Eurosceptic Tradition in Britain', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, vol. 15, no. 2 (2013), pp. 210-27
- D. Dinan, *Ever Closer Union: An Introduction to European Integration* (Basingstoke, 1999), chapters 4-6
- George, *An Awkward Partner*, chapters 5/6
- Gowland, Turner and Wright, , *Britain and European Integration since 1945*, chapters 3-4
- A. Forster, *Euroscepticism in Contemporary British Politics: Opposition to Europe in the British Conservative and Labour Parties since 1945* (London, 2002), chapter 5
- A. May, *Britain and Europe since 1945* (Harlow, 1999), chapter 8
- D. W. Urwin, *The Community of Europe: A History of European Integration since 1945* (Harlow, 1995), chapters 14-16
- S. Wall, *A Stranger in Europe: Britain and the EU from Thatcher to Blair* (Oxford, 2008)
- Young, *Britain and European Unity*, chapter 6
- Young, *Britain and the World in the Twentieth Century*, pp. 213-19

### Commonwealth/Falklands – check Library for full listing of literature on the Falklands War

- G. M. Dillon, *The Falklands, politics and war* (Basingstoke, 1989)
- L. Freedman, *Britain and the Falklands War* (Oxford, 1988)
- C. Hill, 'United Kingdom: Sharpening contradictions', in C. Hill (ed.), *The Actors in Europe's Foreign Policy* (London, 1996)
- J. Hollowell, 'From Commonwealth to European Integration', in J. Hollowell (ed.), *Britain since 1945* (Oxford, 2003)
- F. Lyons, 'Foreign and Defence Policy: Impact of Thatcherism', in S. P. Savage and L. Robins (eds.), *Public Policy under Thatcher* (London, 1990)
- S. Ramphal, 'Editorial: Mrs Thatcher and the Commonwealth', *The Round Table: The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs*, 102/3 (2013)

### Thatcher and the superpowers (and use other weeks)/end of the Cold War

- P. Byrd (ed.), *British Foreign Policy Under Thatcher* (Oxford, 1988)
- J. Cooper, 'The Foreign Politics of Opposition: Margaret Thatcher and the Transatlantic Relationship before Power', *Contemporary British History*, vol. 24, no. 1 (2010), pp. 23-42
- I. Poggiolini, 'Thatcher's double-track road to the end of the Cold War: The irreconcilability of liberalization and preservation', in F. Bozo et al (eds.), *Visions of the End of the Cold War in Europe, 1945-1990* (New York, 2012) – BB
- R. Renwick, *A Journey with Margaret Thatcher: Foreign Policy under the Iron Lady* (2013)
- D. Sandbrook, 'The Baptist and the Messiah: Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher', in C. Hudson and G. Davies (eds.), *Ronald Reagan and the 1980s: Perceptions, Policies, Legacies* (New York, 2008) - BB
- P. Sharp, *Thatcher's Diplomacy: The Revival of British Foreign Policy* (New York, 1997)
- Young, *Britain and the World in the Twentieth Century*

## Week 9 - From the end of the Cold War to liberal intervention

1. Was Britain at the 'heart of Europe' under John Major?
2. Was Britain at the 'heart of Europe' under Tony Blair?
3. What was new about New Labour's 'ethical' foreign policy? Was it successful?
4. How did the notion of intervention change during the 1990s?

Reynolds, *Britannia Overruled*, chapter 11

P. Williams, *British foreign policy under New Labour, 1997-2005* (Basingstoke, 2005) - BB

### Europe under Major/Blair (and use other weeks)

- M. Broad and O. Daddow, 'Half-Remembered Quotations from Mostly Forgotten Speeches: the Limits of Labour's European Policy Discourse', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, vol. 12, no. 2 (2010), pp. 205-22
- N. J. Crowson, *The Conservative Party and European integration since 1945: At the heart of Europe?* (Abingdon, 2007)
- O. Daddow, *New Labour and the European Union* (Manchester, 2005)
- O. Daddow, 'Margaret Thatcher, Tony Blair and the Eurosceptic Tradition in Britain', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, vol. 15, no. 2 (2013), pp. 210-27
- Forster, *Euroscepticism in Contemporary British Politics*, chapters 6-7
- George, *An Awkward Partner*, chapters 8
- Gowland, Turner and Wright, , *Britain and European Integration since 1945*, chapters 6-7
- M. Holmes, *European Integration: Scope and Limits* (Basingstoke, 2001), part 1 - BB
- M. Holmes, 'John Major and Europe: the Failure of a Policy, 1990-7', The Bruges Group, paper no. 28 (1997), available at <http://www.brugesgroup.com/eu/john-major-and-europe-the-failure-of-a-policy-1990-7.htm?xp=paper>
- S. Wall, *A Stranger in Europe: Britain and the EU from Thatcher to Blair* (Oxford, 2008)
- W. Wallace, 'British foreign policy after the Cold War', *International Affairs*, vol. 68, no. 3 (1992), pp. 423-42
- W. Wallace, 'The collapse of British foreign policy', *International Affairs*, vol. 81, no. 1 (2005), pp. 53-68
- D. Wincott, J. Buller and C. Hay, 'Strategic Errors and/or Structural Bind? Major and European integration', in P. Dorey, *The Major Premiership, 1990-97: Politics and Policies under John Major* (Basingstoke, 1999) - BB
- Young, *Britain and European Unity*, chapter 7/8

### Intervention/Ethical foreign policy

- T. Blair, 'Doctrine of International Community at the Economics Club, Chicago, 24 April 1999', [http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/international/jan-june99/blair\\_doctrine4-23.html](http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/international/jan-june99/blair_doctrine4-23.html)
- D. Chandler, 'Rhetoric without responsibility: the attraction of 'ethical' foreign policy', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 5/3 (2003), 295-316
- P. Cradock, *In Pursuit of British Interests: Reflection on Foreign Policy under Margaret Thatcher and John Major* (London, 1997)
- O. Daddow, 'The Use of Force in British Foreign Policy: From New Labour to the Coalition', *The Political Quarterly*, vol. 84, no. 1 (2013), pp. 110-18
- O. Daddow, "'Tony's War" Blair, Kosovo and the interventionist impulse in British foreign policy', *International Affairs*, vol. 85, no. 1 (2005), pp. 547-60
- O. Daddow and P. Schnapper, 'Liberal intervention in the foreign policy thinking of Tony Blair and David Cameron', *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* (2013)
- A. Deighton, 'The Foreign Policy of British Prime Minister Tony Blair: Radical or Retrograde?', paper delivered at Centre for British Studies, available at [http://www.gbz.hu-berlin.de/publications/working-papers/downloads/pdf/WPS\\_Deighton\\_Blair.pdf](http://www.gbz.hu-berlin.de/publications/working-papers/downloads/pdf/WPS_Deighton_Blair.pdf)
- R. Little and M. Wickham-Jones (eds.), *New Labour's Foreign Policy: A New Moral Crusade?* (Manchester, 2000)
- R. Self, *British Foreign and Defence Policy since 1945: Challenges and Dilemmas in a Changing World* (Basingstoke, 2010), chapter 7

## **Week 10: British foreign policy since 1918: themes, continuities and changes**

We will use our last seminar to address some of the lasting themes in British foreign policy and discuss the continuities and changes that have marked Britain's foreign policy and its place in the world since 1918.

By way of preparation, you should reacquaint yourself with the general reading listed on p. 2 and consult your notes from previous seminars.

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### **Exam Questions**

For your essay, you are free to choose any of the seminar questions above provided that you have not already presented on it in class.

Please *engage* with the question and refer to the historiographical debate.

### **Assessment**

All assessed essays must be submitted both in hard copy and electronically. Electronic submission will be via Blackboard, and students must submit twice, once as an essay submission, and once via Turnitin. Non-submission of either or both electronic copies may result in a penalty.

Turnitin software detects similarities between your essay and other material on the internet or in the Turnitin database (including other essays submitted to the database). Turnitin can thus help you to understand whether you are referencing and quoting correctly, as well as helping the Department to detect any plagiarism or poor academic practice. If you wish to use Turnitin to help you with this, you must submit a draft of your essay to Turnitin **AT LEAST 24 HOURS BEFORE** you will be submitting the final essay. Be aware that Turnitin 'scores' can be unusually high or low for a variety of reasons: a high score may not indicate plagiarism. Please see the History area on Blackboard and the Department's handbook, *Studying History at Reading* (available via Blackboard) for more detail on how to interpret Turnitin reports, and how to avoid plagiarism or poor academic practice.

Re-using work you have already submitted for another assessment is against the University's rules. This applies whether the previous assessment was for the same module, another module in the same department, a module in another department or a module in another university. Turnitin can detect the re-use of your own work as well as plagiarism of other sources. The University will impose penalties ranging up to awarding a mark of zero for modules in which work has been re-used (without the right to re-sit) for a first offence. A second offence could lead to expulsion from the University.

## **What is required for assessments? Criteria for achievement**

Students often ask what standard of work they need to produce to gain a particular mark or class. The criteria that follow have been drawn up by the Department and are relevant to all coursework and exam essays in History. If you are taking a joint degree, you will need to find out the criteria for your other subject from the School or Department in question.

The following criteria are offered as a guide to some of the characteristics typically associated with the work of each particular class. They indicate in broad terms what it is that we are looking for. Remember, however, that each class spans a range of marks and that a specific piece of work will not necessarily contain all the characteristics of the class awarded.

### First Class (70% or more)

A comprehensive treatment of the topic showing a sustained, coherent, and clearly structured examination of the issues raised by the question; demonstrates a confident command of a wide range of material, including factual information, appropriate concepts and historiography; shows the ability to analyse and synthesise the different aspects of the topic, to evaluate received opinion, and to consider the subject beyond its immediate context; evidence of original and independent thought; clear writing and some stylistic flair. Stepped First-Class percentage marks are: 72, 75, 80, 85, 90, 95 and 100%

### Upper Second Class (60-69%)

Accurate exposition and confident command of a wide range of factual, conceptual and interpretative material; maintaining a logical argument; thorough in coverage without being fully comprehensive, and revealing some independence of thought without being original; good organisation and clear writing; may contain some minor errors or omissions and may not sustain a consistent depth of analysis.

### Lower Second Class (50-59%)

An answer which, though fairly detailed in terms of factual information, is more limited in its ability to handle concepts or issues of historiography, and which does not engage as far with the issues raised by the question, tending instead to deal with the subject in general in an unduly narrative or descriptive way. May contain errors and omissions, and may not cover the full range of key elements; may not always fully explain points and material may not follow on section by section.

### Third Class (40-49%)

Shows limited information, and a lack of conceptual or interpretative awareness; addresses only part of the question and does so at a very general or imprecise level, tending to narrate what happened rather than to assess its significance; shows some understanding, but has important omissions or inaccuracies; is often unclear in both the expression and the organisation of the material.

### Pass without honours (35-39%)

Work shows a very limited appreciation of the subject and the issues relating to it; limited knowledge; unclear expression and organisation.

### Fail (less than 35%)

Clear, obvious and serious deficiencies in relevance, knowledge, understanding, and expression. Work not degree-worthy. A fail may also be given where work has not been attempted or submitted, or where the student is guilty of plagiarism.

Module title: **Period in Modern History: British Foreign Policy since 1918**

Module code: **HS2P99**

Level: **5**

Terms in which taught: **Autumn or Spring**

Pre-requisites: **None**

Modules excluded: **None**

Providing Department: **History**

Number of credits: **20**

Module convenor: **Dr Matthew Broad**

Co-requisites: **None**

Current from: **2013-14**

**Aims:**

Periods involve the study of substantial chronological periods. They aim to acquaint students with the causes and consequences of continuity and change over the long term in the political, social, economic and cultural systems under study. Periods are distinguished as Medieval, Early Modern or Modern.

**Assessable outcomes:**

By the end of the module it is expected that the student will be able to:

- identify and explain the main issues and events studied
- appraise critically the primary sources and historical interpretations of the subject
- think comparatively about aspects of British, European or American history over a substantial period
- assess the nature of social, economic, political and cultural change
- organise material and articulate arguments effectively in different kinds of written exercises and orally
- locate and assemble bibliographic and other information by independent research, using IT as appropriate

**Additional outcomes:**

The module also aims to encourage the development of oral communication skills and the student's effectiveness in group situations and team-working. Students will also develop their IT skills by use of relevant web resources and databases, where appropriate.

**Outline content:**

Britain emerged from the First World War still a major global player. While the events of 1914-18 witnessed the disappearance of the German, Habsburg, Ottoman and Russian empires, Britain's imperial presence reached new heights. With America back in isolation and Russia in revolution by the 1920s, Britain once again reigned as the world's sole superpower. By the turn of the century, however, Britain's international position had drastically changed. Few remnants of its imperial past remained. What was once a global foreign policy orbit had become an essentially European one under an American nuclear umbrella. The purpose of this course is to provide a stimulating analysis of this transformation by examining the successes and failures of British foreign policy from the end of the First World War to the New Labour era.

**Brief description of teaching and learning methods:**

Seminars, requiring preparatory reading and investigation, may include informal and interactive presentations by the module teacher; structured group discussion; short seminar papers by students; occasional tutorials; team-based simulation exercises and debates; examination of primary and secondary sources, as appropriate. Staff will be available for consultation as necessary

**Contact hours:**

	Autumn or Spring
Lecture	
Seminar	30
Tutorial	
Project supervision	1 (at supervisor's discretion)
Demonstration	
Practical classes and workshops	
Supervised time in studio/workshop	
Fieldwork	
External visits	
Work based learning	
Guided independent study	169 (by students)
Placement	
Year abroad	
Total hours	200

**Formative Assessment Methods:****Summative Assessment Methods (%)**

Written exam	66.6
Written assignment, including essay	33.3
Report	
Dissertation	
Portfolio	
Project output (other than dissertation)	
Oral assessment and presentation	
Practical skills assessment	
Set exercise	
Class test administered by School	

**Assessment:*****Coursework***

Students will write ONE essay of 2,500 words, to be handed in by 12 noon on the Monday of week 8 of term, which should be submitted electronically via Blackboard and in hard copy to the History office.

***Penalties for late submission***

Penalties for late submission will be in accordance with University policy.

***Length of Examination***

One two-hour paper requiring two answers to be taken at the time of the Part 2 examinations.

***Requirements for a pass*** A mark of 40% overall.

***Reassessment arrangements***

Students who achieve an overall threshold performance may not be able to re-sit this module. Where a re-sit is permitted, students will be assessed by examination in August/September. Coursework will be carried forward if it bears a confirmed mark of 40% or more. Otherwise it must be re-submitted by 12 noon, 1 September.