

Britain and European integration since 1945

Dr Matthew Broad

European integration has been one of the most hotly debated and complex questions discussed in British politics since the Second World War. This module provides a stimulating analysis of the issue up until the present day. It follows a largely chronological approach in order to understand developing British political and societal attitudes towards 'Europe'. It will involve a dissection of the policy-making mechanisms of central government, considering not only the approaches successive administrations have taken to European integration but why. How have prime ministers constructed European policy against a backdrop of a divided Cabinet and vacillating media, parliamentary, public, business, and pressure group support? Are there clear continuities as well as changes in how political elites have responded to European integration? What role have external actors played in shaping the relationship? What does all this tell us about Britain's shifting world role after 1945 and its foreign policy more generally? Central to these discussions is the perennially vexed issue of British identity, the place of 'Europe' in the British consciousness and the question of whether it is right to chastise the UK for being 'awkward', 'peripheral' and the 'other' in European politics. There will also be a strong methodological strand focusing on trends and different schools of thought in the relevant historiography, paying special attention to the importance of ideology, place and time in dictating how historians have themselves constructed narratives about Britain and European integration. Throughout we will address key concepts such as sovereignty, subsidiarity, differentiated integration and transnationalism.

Seminars

We will meet every Monday 4-6 in my office, HUMSS G27C. The sessions will be both informal and conversational so please do be prepared to discuss issues that are of particular interest to you.

Contact details

Please do make sure you get in touch should you want any help with the module. In addition to our seminars, you can either email me at m.broad@reading.ac.uk or come and see me during my office hours, which in the Autumn Term are Mondays 12-1 and Tuesdays 11-12.

Reading lists

Below I have delineated some of the relevant literature that you should access during the course. Please do note that the bibliographies are by no means comprehensive. For instance, I have not listed the array of memoirs, biographies and autobiographies available. Of course, regularly consulting publications such as *The Economist*, *Guardian* and *The Financial Times* will be useful for current debates.

In addition to the material listed below, you may also want to familiarise yourself with more general literature on British foreign policy. Some of the more important titles include:

C. Barnett, *The Collapse of British Power* (Stroud, 1997)

C. J. Bartlett, *British foreign policy in the twentieth century* (Basingstoke, 1989)

J. Dumbrell, *A special relationship: Anglo-American relations from the Cold War to Iraq* (Basingstoke, 2006)

G. Fry, *The politics of decline: an interpretation of British Politics from the 1940s to the 1970s* (Basingstoke, 2005) – ask for electronic copy

- P. Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500-2000* (London, 1989)
- P. Kennedy, *The Realities behind Diplomacy: Background Influences on British External Policy, 1965–1980* (London, 1981)
- F. S. Northedge, *Descent from Power: British Foreign Policy, 1945–1973* (London, 1974)
- D. Reynolds, *Britannia Overruled: British Policy and World Power in the 20th century* (Harlow, 2000)
- J. Young, *Britain and the world in the twentieth century* (London, 1997)

There is also specific information related to European integration history/historiography that you should examine during the course of the module. Titles include:

- W. Kaiser, B. Leucht and M. Gehler (eds.), *Transnational networks in regional integration: Governing Europe, 1945–83* (Basingstoke, 2010)
- W. Kaiser, B. Leucht and M. Rasmussen (eds.), *The History of the European Union: Origins of a trans- and supranational polity, 1950–72* (Abingdon, 2009) – ask for electronic copy
- W. Kaiser and P. Staire (eds.), *Transnational European Union: Towards a Common Political Space* (Abingdon, 2005)
- W. Kaiser and A. Varsori (eds.), *European Union History: Themes and Debates* (Basingstoke, 2010)
- A. Milward, *The European Rescue of the Nation State* (Abingdon, 2000)
- A. Moravcsik, *The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht* (Abingdon, 2005)

See also Palgrave's *The European Union Series* for background on the EU and European integration theory.

Please note that the *Journal of European Integration History* is available online free and can be found at <http://www.eu-historians.eu/journal>.

The Government of Luxembourg also maintain an online database of primary documentation relating to the European Integration process called the *Centre Virtuel de la Connaissance de l'Europe*. You can access the material free at www.cvce.eu/en.

Week 2 – Britain and Europe: background and historiography

Introductory reading

- R. Broad and V. Preston (eds.), *Moored to the Continent? Britain and European integration* (London, 2001)
- N. Crowson, *Britain and Europe: A political history since 1918* (Abingdon, 2011)
- O. Daddow, *Britain and Europe since 1945: Historiographical perspectives on integration* (Manchester, 2004)
- R. Denman, *Missed Chances: Britain and Europe in the Twentieth Century* (London, 1996)
- A. Forster, *Euroscepticism in Contemporary British Politics: Opposition to Europe in the British Conservative and Labour parties since 1945* (London, 2002)
- A. Geddes, *The European Union and British Politics* (Basingstoke, 2004)
- S. George, *Britain and European integration since 1945* (Oxford, 1991)
- S. George, *An Awkward Partner: Britain in the European Community* (Oxford, 1999)
- S. Greenwood, *Britain and European cooperation since 1945* (Oxford, 1992)
- D. Gowland, A. Turner and A. Wright, *Britain and European integration since 1945: on the sidelines* (London, 2010)
- M. Holmes, *European Integration: Scope and Limits* (Basingstoke, 2001) – ask for electronic copy
- A. May, *Britain and Europe since 1945* (Harlow, 1999)

H. Young, *This Blessed Plot: Britain and Europe from Churchill to Blair* (London, 1998)

J. W. Young, *Britain and European Unity, 1945–1999* (London, 2000)

Week 3 – Into the cold: Britain and European integration, 1945-51

A. Deighton, *The Impossible Peace: Britain, the Division of Germany and the Origins of the Cold War* (Oxford, 1993)

A. Deighton, 'The last piece of the jigsaw and the creation of the Western European Union', *Contemporary European History*, 7 (1998), 181–96

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)

W. Kaiser, 'What alternative is open to us?', in W. Kaiser and J. Elvert (eds.), *European Union Enlargement: A Comparative History* (Abingdon, 2004)

K. Larres, 'Integrating Europe or Ending the Cold War? Churchill's Post-War Foreign Policy', *Journal of European Integration History*, 2/1 (1996), pp. 15–49 - available online at http://www.eu-historians.eu/uploads/Dateien/jeih-3-1996_1.pdf

A. Milward, *The Rise and Fall of a National Strategy: The UK and the European Community, Vol. 1* (London, 2012) – available online

N. Rollings, *British Business in the Formative Years of European integration, 1945–1973* (Cambridge, 2007)

R. Vickers, *The Labour party and the World, Vol. 1: The Evolution of Labour's Foreign Policy, 1900-51* (Manchester, 2004) – ask for electronic copy

J. W. Young, 'Churchill's "No" to Europe: The "Rejection" of European Union by Churchill's Post-War Government, 1951-52', *The Historical Journal*, 28/4 (1985), 923-37

Week 4 – Missing the boat: European policy, 1951-63

S. Burgess and G. Edwards, 'The Six Plus One: British Policy-Making and the Question of European Economic integration', *International Affairs*, 64 (1988), 393–413

M. Camps, *Britain and the European Community, 1955–1963* (London, 1964)

D. Dutton, 'Anticipating Maastricht: The Conservative Party and Britain's First Application to Join the European Community', *Contemporary Record*, 3 (1993), 522–40

J. Ellison, *Threatening Europe: Britain and the Creation of the European Community, 1955–58* (Basingstoke, 2000) – ask me for electronic copy

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)

J. Ellison, 'Britain, Plan G and European integration, 1955-7', *Contemporary Politics Studies* (1996), 21–32

W. Kaiser, *Using Europe, Abusing the Europeans: Britain and European integration, 1945-63* (Basingstoke, 1999)

W. Kaiser and G. Staerck (ed.), *British Foreign Policy, 1955–64: Contracting Options* (Basingstoke, 2000)

R. J. Lieber, *British Politics and European Unity: Parties, Elites and Pressure Groups* (London, 1970)

N. P. Ludlow, *Dealing with Britain: The Six and the First UK Application to the EEC* (Cambridge, 1997)

A. Milward, *The Rise and Fall of a National Strategy: The UK and the European Community, Vol. 1* (London, 2012) – available online

A. May (ed.), *Britain, the Commonwealth and Europe: The Commonwealth and Britain's Application to Join the European Communities* (Basingstoke, 2001)

M. Schaad, 'Plan G – A Counterblast? British Policy towards the Messina Countries', *Contemporary European History*, 7 (1998), 39–60

J. Tratt, *The Macmillan government and Europe: a study in the process of policy development* (Basingstoke, 1996)

G. Wilkes (ed.), *Britain's Failure to Enter the European Community, 1961–63: The Enlargement negotiations and crises in European, Atlantic and Commonwealth Relations* (London, 1997)

Week 5 – Joining Europe: the second and third membership applications

Overview of period

R. J. Lieber, *British Politics and European Unity: Parties, Elites and Pressure Groups* (London, 1970)

N. P. Ludlow (ed.), *European integration and the Cold War: Ostpolitik–Westpolitik, 1965–1973* (London, 2007)

S. Wall, *The Office History of Britain and the European Community, Vol. II: From Rejection to Referendum, 1963-1975* (Abingdon, 2013)

Wilson government/second application

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 Sixties: From the Veto to the Crisis* (London, 1967)

J. Colman, *A 'special relationship'? Harold Wilson, Lyndon B. Johnson and Anglo-American relations 'at the summit', 1964-68* (Manchester, 2004) – ask for electronic copy

O. Daddow (ed.), *Harold Wilson and European integration: Britain's Second Application to join the EEC* (London, 2002)

U. Kitzinger, *The Second Try: Labour and the EEC* (Oxford, 1968)

T. Macintyre, *Anglo-German Relations during the Labour Governments, 1964-70: NATO strategy, détente and European integration* (Manchester, 2007)

H. Parr, *Harold Wilson and Britain's World Role: British Policy Towards the European Community, 1964–67* (Abingdon, 2006)

H. Parr, 'A Question of leadership: July 1966 and Harold Wilson's European Decision', *Contemporary British History*, 19/5 (2005), pp. 437–58

H. Parr, 'Britain, America, East of Suez and the EEC: Finding a Role in British Foreign Policy, 1964–67', *Contemporary British History*, 20/3 (2006), pp. 403–21

M. Pine, *Harold Wilson and Europe: Pursuing Britain's Membership of the European Communities* (London, 2007) – ask me for electronic copy

J. Toomey, *Harold Wilson's EEC Application: inside the Foreign Office, 1964-7* (Dublin, 2007)

G. Wyn Rees, 'British Strategic Thinking and Europe, 1964-1970', *Journal of European Integration History*, vol. 5, no. 1 (1999), pp. 57-72.

See also special issue of *Contemporary British History*, 20/3 (2006)

Heath government/third application

D. Furby, 'The Revival and Success of Britain's Second Application for Membership of the European Community, 1968-71' (unpub. PhD thesis, Queen Mary, University of London, 2010)

E. Heath, 'European unity over the next ten years', *International Affairs*, 64/2 (1998)

C. Lord, *British entry to the European Community under the Heath government of 1970–4* (Aldershot, 1993)

C. Lord, 'Sovereign or Confused? The "Great Debate" about British entry to the EU 20 years on', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 30/4 (1992), 419–36

U. Kitzinger, *Diplomacy and Persuasion: How Britain Joined the Common Market* (London, 1973)
C. O'Neill, *Britain's Entry into the European Community* (London, 2000)
S. Young, *Terms of Entry: Britain's Negotiations with the EC, 1970-72* (

Week 6 – Enrichment week, more information to follow

Week 7 – In or out: Renegotiation and the 1975 referendum

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) – ask for copy
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)
B. Donoughue, *Downing Street Diary* (London, 2005)
U. Kitzinger, 'Entry and Referendum Revisited', in Broad and Preston, *Moored to the Continent?*
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

Week 8 – Awkward partners: Towards European Union under Thatcher and Major

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), chp 4-6
A. Forster, *Euroscepticism in Contemporary British Politics: Opposition to Europe in the British Conservative and Labour Parties since 1945* (London, 2002), chapter 5
George, *An Awkward Partner*, chapters 5/6
Gowland, Turner and Wright, *Britain and European Integration since 1945*, chapters 3-4
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>
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)

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) – ask for electronic copy
Young, *Britain and European Unity*, chapter 6
Young, *Britain and the World in the Twentieth Century*, pp. 213-19

Week 9 – New Labour, New Europe: European policy under Blair and Brown

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*, 15/2 (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
S. James and K. Oppermann, 'Blair and the European union', in T. Casey (ed.), *The Blair legacy: Politics, Policy, Governance and Foreign Affairs* (Basingstoke, 2009) – ask for electronic copy
P. Lynch, 'The Conservatives and Europe', in M. Garnett and P. Lynch (eds.), *The Conservatives in Crisis* (Manchester, 2003) – ask for electronic copy
A. Seldon and P. Snowden, 'The Barren Years: 1997–2005', in S. Ball and A. Seldon (eds.), *Recovering Power: The Conservatives in Opposition since 1867* (Basingstoke, 2005) – ask for electronic copy
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*, 68/3 (1992), pp. 423-42
W. Wallace, 'The collapse of British foreign policy', *International Affairs*, 81/1 (2005), pp. 53-68
P. D. Williams, *British Foreign Policy under new Labour, 1997–2005* (Basingstoke, 2005) – ask for electronic copy

Week 10 – Conclusions