

# Contents

<i>List of Tables, Figures and Boxes</i>	xi
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xiii
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	xiv
<b>1 The European Union and British Politics</b>	<b>1</b>
Introduction	1
Britain in Europe and Europe in Britain	5
Organization of the book	8
<b>2 Britain on the Edge of Europe</b>	<b>10</b>
Introduction	10
What are we talking about?	10
EU facts and figures	12
Britain in the European Union	19
Analysing awkwardness	22
Conclusion	32
<b>3 Eurospeak</b>	<b>34</b>
Introduction	34
What is economic and political integration?	34
What is supranationalism?	37
National sovereignty: myth or reality?	38
What is federalism?	43
The search for subsidiarity	44
Forms of European state	45
Neo-functionalism	48
The obsolescence of integration theory?	52
‘Realist’ views	52
What is Europeanization?	54
Contrasting perspectives on integration	55

<b>4</b>	<b>Joining the Club</b>	<b>57</b>
	Introduction	57
	East versus West	58
	Intergovernmentalism versus supranationalism	59
	Schuman's plan	61
	The European Coal and Steel Community's institutions	62
	Two steps forward, one step back	63
	All roads lead to Rome	64
	The British response	66
	The origins of the European Community	66
	1960s: Britain says yes, de Gaulle says no	67
	1973: membership	69
	Conclusion	72
<b>5</b>	<b>Full-Hearted Consent? Britain in Europe from Heath to Blair</b>	<b>74</b>
	Introduction	74
	1974–5: renegotiation and referendum	74
	1976–9: Callaghan's difficulties	76
	1979–84: the budget rebate	78
	1984–7: towards the single market	80
	1987–90: Thatcher's last hurrah	82
	1990–3: Major, the Exchange Rate Mechanism and Maastricht	84
	'Modernization' under New Labour	88
	British pragmatism in Europe	92
<b>6</b>	<b>Britain and European Union Institutions</b>	<b>94</b>
	Introduction	94
	The Brussels Empire?	94
	The Commission	96
	The Council	106
	The European Parliament	116
	The Court of Justice	120
	The European Council	123
	Looking to the future	125
<b>7</b>	<b>Britain and European Union Policies</b>	<b>127</b>
	Introduction	127
	The budget	127
	The sources of 'own resources'	128

Agriculture	131
Common Agricultural Policy objectives	131
The thwarted reform agenda	132
Britain and the Common Agricultural Policy	134
Britain and European Union environmental policy	135
The single market	137
The organization of the single market	137
Main features of the single market	137
Britain and the single market	139
Britain and European Union social policy	141
Economic and Monetary Union	142
The origins of Economic and Monetary Union	143
Key features of Economic and Monetary Union	145
The EMU plan	146
For and against Economic and Monetary Union	147
Britain and Economic and Monetary Union	149
Maastricht's intergovernmental 'pillars'	151
The Common Foreign and Security Policy	151
Common Foreign and Security Policy development	152
Britain and the Common Foreign and Security Policy	154
Justice and Home Affairs	155
Britain and Justice and Home Affairs	157
Conclusions	158
<b>8 The British State and European Integration</b>	<b>160</b>
Introduction	160
Contextual factors	161
Central government	163
Impacts of European integration	167
Sub-national government	174
Conclusions	179
<b>9 British Party Politics and the Rise of Euroscepticism</b>	<b>181</b>
Introduction	181
Arguing about Europe	183
For and against Europe in the 1960s and 1970s	186
Conservative Euroscepticism	191
The Maastricht rebellion	195
The Maastricht ratification saga	199
Europe in the 1997 general election	205
Europe in the 2001 general election	206

New Labour and European integration	208
Conclusions	210
<b>10 Public Attitudes and Media Representation</b>	<b>211</b>
Introduction	211
The power of the press?	211
United Kingdom public attitudes towards European integration	212
Media representation of Europe	217
Conclusions	224
<b>11 Conclusions: The European Union and British Politics Assessed</b>	<b>225</b>
Introduction	225
What factors have motivated British policy towards the European Union?	226
Have British governments possessed the capacity to turn preferences into European Union priorities?	227
Have British governments been particularly effective players of the European Union game?	228
What impact has European integration had on the organization of the British political system?	229
To what extent do British policy priorities and the organization of the British economy and welfare state fit with those in other member states and with an emerging European Union model?	230
In what directions have public attitudes towards the European Union developed and what part has the mass media played in shaping these views?	231
In search of a critical juncture	231
<i>Bibliography</i>	233
<i>Index</i>	243

# The European Union and British Politics

## Introduction

Why can't Britain be a little more European or Europe a little more British? Such have been the plaintive cries of many British politicians since Britain joined the European Community in 1973. While European politics have been transformed during the last 50 years by economic and political integration within the European Union (EU), Britain has been marginal to some key developments (Economic and Monetary Union – or EMU – and the Euro being the latest), failed to resolve basic tensions that have long characterized relations with the EU, and displayed levels of public support for European integration that tend to lag behind those in other member states. This is because European integration asks fundamental questions about Britain's place in the world, about national self-understanding and about its laws, economy, political system and policy priorities. Other member states have been asked similar questions too, but for various reasons most have been willing to accept or embrace the changes that European integration has brought with it. Britain has been less enthusiastic.

Analyses of Britain's role within the EU have tended to focus on 'reluctance', 'awkwardness' and 'semi-detachment' (George, 1992, 1998; Gowland and Turner, 2000). From this perspective the story reads as follows: Britain stood aside from the first steps towards European integration and has spent a good part of the time since accession in 1973 agonizing about the EU's shape, form, scope and direction. The result is that British vacillation has occurred from the sidelines rather than in 'the heart of Europe', and this is a shortcoming or failing that strikes at the heart of

British politics. A quick checklist of this 'awkwardness' could highlight the following:

- did not join the first supranational European organization, the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), when it was founded in 1951
- did not take seriously the Messina negotiations in 1955 that led to the Treaty of Rome
- made unsuccessful applications in 1961–3 and 1967
- experienced divisions within and between the main parties in the late 1960s and early 1970s on membership
- sought a renegotiation of the terms of accession soon after joining in 1973
- fought a divisive 1975 referendum on the renegotiated terms
- disputed its level of contributions to the EEC budget (this heated discussion intensified after the election of Margaret Thatcher as Prime Minister in 1979 and was not resolved until 1984)
- a civil war within the Labour Party over Britain's EC membership became a core bone of contention that led to the creation of the break-away Social Democratic Party comprising more pro-European figures
- Margaret Thatcher's Bruges speech in 1988 asserted a vision of a Europe of nation states and opposed key aspects of the plans for future European integration
- the resignation on European issues of six cabinet ministers during Margaret Thatcher's time as Prime Minister (Leon Brittan, Michael Heseltine, Nigel Lawson, Nicholas Ridley, Sir Geoffrey Howe and finally Thatcher herself)
- Thatcher's demise as Prime Minister in 1990 was linked to her increasingly vociferous Euroscepticism
- the Maastricht Treaty of 1992 and the subsequent civil war within the Conservative Party
- sterling's ejection in September 1992 from the Exchange Rate Mechanism (ERM)
- the ejection from the Parliamentary Conservative Party in November 1994 of the 'gang of eight' Eurosceptic Members of Parliament (MPs)
- John Major's 'put up or shut up' challenge in June 1995 to Conservative Eurosceptics. Major called a leadership election. John Redwood stood as a candidate of the Eurosceptic right against Major. Redwood lost, but the rebels did not shut up as Major had hoped they would
- the bovine spongiform encephalopathy (BSE) crisis in 1996 and the ensuing British beef ban by other EU member states that had highly damaging effects on British agriculture

- the ‘war on terrorism’ and the conflict in Iraq exposed once again tensions between UK Atlanticism and competing calls for closer relations with key EU states, particularly France and Germany
- the Labour government led by Tony Blair had by 2003 still to clearly resolve its attitude towards what had become the EU’s defining project: the creation of EMU and the establishment of the single currency, the Euro.

This is a long list, although Britain has not uniquely been Europe’s ‘awkward partner’. Other member states can be ‘awkward’ or ‘reluctant’ too, while some European countries (such as Norway and Switzerland) have chosen not to become members. Moreover, Britain has engaged relatively enthusiastically with some forms of co-operation and integration with other European countries, such as defence and foreign policy co-operation through the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), as well as single market integration within the EU. But crucially Britain has been on the sidelines for key steps in economic and political integration, both when the organization was founded in the 1950s and more recently with EMU and the Euro. Public opinion data show that British people declare less knowledge of, interest in, and confidence in the EU than citizens in other EU member states, whilst they are also more likely to construe the EU as a threat to national identity. To give two examples: in the spring of 2002, the Commission published its regular ‘Eurobarometer’ opinion poll gauging pan-EU public opinion. Figure 1.1 shows there was a majority in the UK in support of European integration,

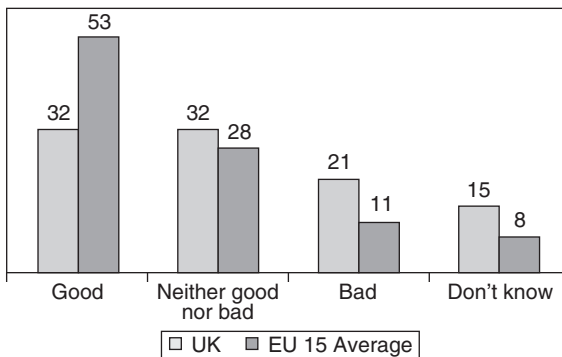


Figure 1.1 Support for European Union membership (%)

Source: Data from *Eurobarometer Standard Report* (Spring 2002).

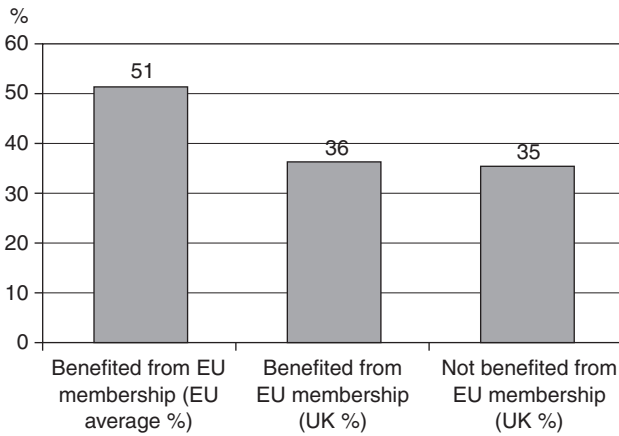


Figure 1.2 Benefit from European Union membership

Source: Data from *Eurobarometer Standard Report* (Spring 2002).

albeit at a level lower than in other member states. Figure 1.2 shows that when asked the question of whether they felt that Britain had benefited from EU membership, UK responses revealed only a small majority of 1 per cent who believed that membership had been beneficial.

Yet despite evidence of a relative lack of support for European integration, it is a political fact of life in contemporary British politics that Britain has become progressively more integrated with other EU member states in both economic and political terms. Why then, given that British political elites have at times been divided on the question and public opinion has been sceptical, has Britain become quite so engaged with European integration across such a wide range of issues? How does this tally with national self-understanding, with competing ties such as the alliance with the USA, and with the organization of British political, economic and social systems? This book attempts to unravel the extent of this engagement while also explaining the scepticism and reluctance. It explores these from a historical perspective in order to examine continuity and change in British relations with the EU, while also exploring the ways in which European integration has become absorbed within the organizational and conceptual logics of British politics; or, put another way, the extent to which British politics has been Europeanized.

To attain these objectives the book examines Britain's *conditional* and *differential* engagement with the EU. The engagement is conditional in the sense that identification with the EU seems not to be deep-seated and

appears based on pragmatic calculations about costs and benefits rather than any attachment to European ideals. It is differential in the sense that some areas of British political life have clearly been more affected than others. It is argued that decisions made in the 1950s and 1960s about Britain's role and future and the extent of its engagement with nascent EU institutions had important structuring effects on the context within which later decisions about engagement with European integration were made after accession in 1973. To use the terminology of historical institutionalist theory, a 'path' of Euro-ambivalence was established in the 1950s from which it has subsequently been hard to deviate, with the attendant consequence that 'Europe' has not become deeply embedded within the preferences, identities and interests of either Britain's political elite or its population. At the same time the European context has changed with other actors (EU institutions, other member states, pressure groups, sub-national government) becoming more deeply involved in the decision-making process with the effect that national central governments have become one of many centres in an integrating Europe. Thus Britain's half-hearted, conditional and essentially defensive 'choice for Europe' has also been exposed to the dynamics of new forms of supranational political integration that challenge some of the core underlying premises of British politics.

### **Britain in Europe and Europe in Britain**

The book's objectives can be broken down into two linked themes. The 'Britain in Europe' theme centres on analysis of British relations with the EU and the role of British governments in attempting to shape Europe's institutional architecture. The focus here is on inter-state relations and exploration of the UK's role within the EU and the attitudes of various UK governments to the development of European integration over the last 50 years. This shows the ways in which Britain has engaged (or not) with European integration since the 1950s and how Britain has sought to use its influence in the councils of Europe across the wide range of policy issues with which the EU is concerned. Britain's European policy has contained three central elements based on perceptions of the UK, its interests and its place in the world, as set out below:

- 1 A preference for intergovernmental structures that enshrine the central role and legitimate authority of national governments. This combines with a dislike for 'federal' solutions to European problems

- and a self-consciously pragmatic attitude to discussions of grand projects and the EU's *finalité* (or final destination).
- 2 A strong emphasis on the Atlantic alliance as the core element of British foreign policy, which was an approach reaffirmed by Tony Blair in 2003 in a speech to UK ambassadors when he spoke of the UK as a bridge between Europe and the USA. The war in Iraq gave a practical demonstration of this central tenet of British foreign policy.
  - 3 A preference in the realm of the international political economy for arrangements that promote global free trade, which over 20 years or so has become support for measures that promote market liberalization of the European economy.

The kinds of question raised by the Britain in Europe theme include the following. What factors have motivated British policy towards the EU? Have British governments possessed the capacity to turn preferences into EU priorities? Have British governments been particularly effective players of the EU game? How have British policies towards the EU changed over time, and what factors have contributed to these changes?

The second of the book's elements can be called the 'Europe in Britain' theme. This involves analysis of the extent to which European integration has been absorbed into the logic of British domestic politics. The kinds of question that are explored include the following. What impact has European integration had on the organization of the British political system (including decision-making in Whitehall, the organization of the British polity and the role of sub-national government)? To what extent do British policy priorities and the organization of the British economy and welfare state fit with those in other member states and with an emerging EU model? What impact has European integration had on debates within and between the main political parties? In what directions have public attitudes towards the EU developed and what part has the mass media played in shaping these views?

A key advantage of combining the 'Britain in Europe' theme with the 'Europe in Britain' theme is that it prevents the simplistic assumption that European integration simply 'happens' to the UK as though the EU were a supernatural phenomenon with its own mysterious powers, rather than a supranational organization of which Britain is a leading member. 'Europe' does not just happen when government ministers fly to Brussels, Luxembourg or Strasbourg to meet ministerial and official colleagues from other member states or deal with EU institutions located in those cities. If this were so then this would imply that decisions made at EU level would follow a simple and inexorable logic of integration driven by

higher forces that render it both inevitable and detached from national politics. This is conspiracy theory, not serious analysis. It is more useful to identify the ways in which British governments have consciously chosen European integration, the reasons for and effects of these choices, and the ways in which economic and political integration have then become integrated as central concerns in British politics. European integration is not simply a foreign policy issue because it works its way into domestic decision-making structures. These structures refract rather than simply absorb European integration's effects. Analysis of the ways in which the British political system shapes or is shaped (and perhaps transformed) by European integration provides a key perspective on British relations with the EU and on other key changes in British politics, while also facilitating understanding of the 'Europeanization' of British politics without assuming that the nature of British political change is uni-directional and linked exclusively to the impact of European integration. Europe is but one potential source of British political change.

This can be better understood if the UK political system is seen as nested within a series of interlocking relationships that extends 'down' to the sub-national and 'up' to the supranational, as represented in Figure 1.3. The diagram is intended to illustrate the ways in which intensive links between levels of government leads to overlap in terms of authority and competence and to a sharing of power between the various levels of government with regard to some of their key functions. The key circle remains the 'national' circle, although both devolved power to Britain's

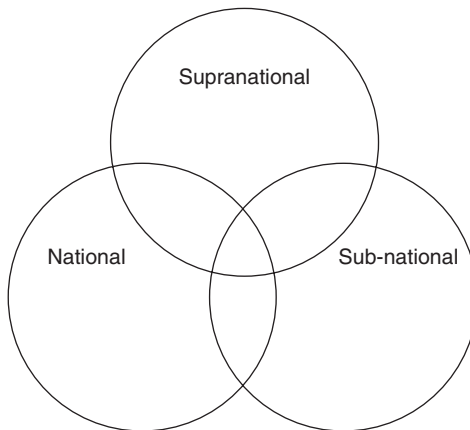


Figure 1.3 The European Union's multi-level system

sub-state nations as well as integration within the EU have weakened this national circle. Furthermore, the ways in which sub-national, national and supranational government are enmeshed indicates the extent to which British politics and policy become Europeanized, understood as the impacts of European integration on laws, institutions, policies and collective identities in Britain (Radaelli, 2000).

### **Organization of the book**

This book aims to assess Britain's role in the EU and the EU's impacts on British politics. This introductory chapter has sketched some fundamental themes:

- Chapter 2 extends the analysis to explore explanations for British 'awkwardness' and contends that the ways in which domestic institutional structures refract the impacts of European integration need to be central to analysis of the EU and British politics.
- One of the more baffling and off-putting aspects of the EU is the terminology and jargon. The survey of 'Eurospeak' in Chapter 3 seeks to clarify some of the terms and concepts that are used when analysing the EU.
- Britain's relations with emerging structures of European economic and political integration as well as the influences of competing calls from the USA and the Commonwealth are considered in Chapter 4. Central to this are the positions of British governments at the time of the Treaty of Paris (1951), the Treaty of Rome (1957) and the failed membership applications of 1961–3 and 1967.
- Chapter 5 assesses Britain's role within the EU since accession on 1 January 1973. This chapter also begins to develop the Britain in Europe theme through evaluation of the stances of successive British governments on key issues such as the Single European Act (1986), the Maastricht Treaty (1992), the Amsterdam Treaty (1997) and the Nice Treaty (2000). The pace of European integration has quickened considerably since the mid-1980s as the profusion of Treaties since the Single European Act indicates. As the pace has quickened, so has the capacity of European integration to strike at the heart of British politics.
- Chapter 6 analyses the role of the EU's main institutions (the Council of Ministers, the European Council, the European Commission, the European Parliament, and the European Court of Justice) and explores the attitudes of British governments to these institutions, as well as the ways in which the development of law-making capacity

at supranational level affects some of the fundamental precepts of British politics.

- Chapter 7 assesses key EU policies. A particular concern in this chapter is to illustrate the ‘fit’ between EU socio-economic priorities and those pursued in the UK. The chapter examines agricultural policy, competition and industrial policy, environmental policy, social policy, economic and monetary policies, foreign and security policies, and internal security policies.
- Chapter 8 looks at the ‘fit’ between the organization of the British polity and EU structures. This chapter explores the ways in which the organization of the British state has affected the ability to deal with the EU. The chapter also explores the changes in the national ‘circle’ of British politics marked by devolved power to Scotland and Wales, as well as other trends in British patterns of governance (such as privatization and other instances of changed patterns of governance) which have been seen to ‘hollow out’ the British state.
- Chapter 9 examines the impact of European integration on British party politics. The stances of the main political parties on European integration are outlined and the debates within and between the parties on European integration are evaluated. The most vigorous and divisive debates have often occurred *within* rather than *between* the parties as the civil wars of the Labour Party (in the 1980s) and the Conservative Party (since the 1990s) demonstrate.
- Chapter 10 then assesses British public attitudes towards European integration and assesses the impact of media outlets on debates about and understandings of the EU. What are the views of British people on key EU questions? How do they compare with the views in other member states? From where do people get their information on the EU? To what extent are people’s outlooks on the EU shaped by what they see, hear and read?

The book concludes with an assessment of the influence of these factors and some reflections on Britain’s place in this transformed EU. The overall aim is to assess the conditional and differential engagement with the EU. As has already been noted, it is usual to encounter analyses of Britain’s role within the EU that highlight UK’s inability to come to terms with key aspects of European integration. This is an important question and one that this book addresses. But it is equally pertinent to ask why – given evident scepticism at both elite and popular level about ‘the European project’ – Britain has become quite so engaged with the EU; where are these points of engagement and how can the differential nature of this engagement be explained?

# Index

- Accession by UK 1973 8, 12, 21, 28,  
69–72, 73, 74
- Acheson, D. 67
- Additionality 172, 177
- Aero Zipp Fasteners v. YKK Fasteners*  
(1974) 122
- affective identification with European  
integration 216
- Agenda 2000 130, 133
- Allason, N. 202
- Alsace Lorraine 51
- Alternative Economic Strategy 88,  
185, 191
- Ancram, M. 27
- Anderson, B. 27, 219
- Anti-Americanism 91
- Anti-Common Market League  
187
- anti-discrimination 169–70
- anti-globalization protests 25
- Article K4 Co-ordinating Committee  
156
- Aspinwall, M. 29–30
- asylum 155–7
- Atlantic alliance 5, 21, 37, 226
- Attlee, C. 57, 60
- Australia 68
- Austria 18, 66–7, 116, 176
- Austro-Hungarian empire 143
- awkward partner, UK as 1, 8, 10, 21, 29,  
32, 67, 104
- awkward state, Britain as 32
- Bache, I. 172
- Bagehot, W. 47
- Baker, D. 42, 192, 194–5, 208
- Balls, E. 145, 149
- Barber v. Guardian Royal Exchange*  
(1990) 123
- Barnier, M. 99
- Bauman, Z. 25
- Bavaria 153
- Belfast 184
- Belgium 14, 45, 59, 176
- Belgium–Luxembourg monetary  
union 142
- Benelux customs unions 60
- Benn, T. 38, 76, 188, 189
- Berlin blockade 59
- Berlusconi, S. 133
- Bevin, E. 60
- Biffen, J. 194
- Billig, M. 220
- Binsbergen and Reyners* (1974) 123
- Black, C. 212
- Blair T.  
1983 general election 181  
1997 general election 205–6  
2001 general election 206–7  
attitude towards national  
sovereignty 40  
economic modernization 142–3  
Euro 149, 186, 218  
Gent speech February 2001 211–12  
media representation of  
Europe 211  
New Labour and European  
integration 208–10  
Prime Minister 74, 88–92  
relations with Gordon Brown 144,  
172, 209  
speech to UK ambassadors January  
2003 6, 91  
Speech in Warsaw October 2000 42  
Speech to French National Assembly  
1998 88, 154
- Black Wednesday 144
- Board of Trade 164
- Body, R. 203
- Boland, M. 178–9
- Bolkestein, F. 99
- Bonn 197

- Border controls 18, 90  
 Bovine Spongiform Encephalopathy (BSE) 2, 131, 134, 135, 220  
 Brandt, W. 69  
 Brazil 132  
 Bretherton, R. 64  
 Britain in Europe Campaign 190  
 British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) 221  
 British Council of the European Movement 188  
 British–French summit meeting May 1971 71–2  
 Brittan, L. 2  
 Brookes, M. 220  
 Brown, G. 143, 148, 150, 172–3, 208, 209  
 Bruges Group 197  
 Bruges speech 2, 185, 191, 195–7  
 Brussels Treaty 59  
 Budapest 197  
 Budget, N. 194, 203  
 Budget 127–31  
     Britain's contributions to 2, 69–70, 75, 78, 79, 127–8, 192, 228  
 Bull, H. 152  
 Buller, J. 80, 192  
 Bulmer, S. 43, 162, 166, 167, 169  
 Bulpitt, J. 43  
 Bundesbank 42  
 Burch, M. 162, 166, 167, 169, 174, 177  
 Bush, George W. 124, 133  
 Business for Sterling 188  
 Busquin, P. 99  
 Butler, R. A. 67  
 Byers, S. 209  
 Byrne, D. 99  
  
 Cabinet Office 71, 162  
 Callaghan, J. 75, 76, 77  
 Campaign for UK Conservatism 205  
 Campbell, A. 205  
 Caporaso, J. 46  
 Cardiff 184  
 Carlisle, J. 194  
 Cartiss, M. 203  
 Cash, W. 31, 194, 205  
 Cassis de Dijon (1979) 123  
  
 Castle, B. 188, 189  
 Chequers 84  
 China 115  
 Chirac, J. 133, 155  
 Christchurch by-election 202  
 Christian Democratic Party (Germany) 80, 133  
 Churchill, W. 24, 63, 68  
 City of London 173  
 Clarke, K. 31, 87, 201, 202, 204, 207  
 Clinton, B. 223  
 Cockfield, Lord 81  
 Co-decision-making procedure 119, 125  
 Colonial Office 164  
 Committee for the Study of Economic and Monetary Union 146  
 Committee of Independent Experts 101–2  
 Committee of Permanent Representatives (COREPER) 106–8, 112, 156  
 Committee of the Regions 176  
 Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) 17, 36, 65, 70, 71, 75, 90, 116, 130, 131–5, 144  
 Common Assembly (ECSC) 63  
 Common External Tariff 66, 69  
 Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) 16, 105, 114, 121, 151–4, 166, 172  
 Common Market 35, 71, 78, 137  
 Common Market Negotiations Committee 164  
 Common Market Safeguards Campaign 188  
 Commonwealth 24, 67, 68, 69  
 Commonwealth Relations Office 194  
 compulsory expenditure 130  
 Congress of Europe 60  
 Conservative 2000 205  
 Conservative Party  
     1975 referendum 188  
     1999 European Parliament elections 116  
     anti-Common Market 75, 186–7  
     divisions over Europe 9, 11, 31  
     electoral performance 184–5  
     Euroskepticism 87, 98, 181–3, 191–205, 206–7

- Conservatives Against a Federal Europe 205  
 Convention on the Future of Europe 19, 116, 121, 125, 126  
 Cook, R. 172–3, 209  
 Co-operative federalism 56  
 Cornwall 177  
*Costa v. ENEL* (1964) 122  
 Council of Europe 50, 60, 121  
 Council of Ministers 8, 19, 31, 33, 65, 96, 98, 106–16, 156, 193  
     Presidency 108, 114–16  
 Court of First Instance 121  
 Court of Justice (ECSC) 62  
 Cram, L. 106  
 Cran, J. 194  
 Cresson, E. 103  
 Creutzfeldt–Jakob disease 134  
 Currie, E. 206  
 Curry, D. 134  
 Customs union 35  
 Czechoslovakia 59, 144  
  
*Daily Express* 214  
*Daily Mirror* 218  
*Daily Telegraph* 195, 197, 219  
 Dashwood, A. 126  
 de Gaulle, C. 51, 57, 59, 66, 67, 68, 69, 73, 113, 164  
 Defrenne (1971) 122  
 Dehaene, J.-L. 99  
 Delors, J. 80–1, 83, 89, 95, 98, 103, 141–2, 146, 193, 197  
 Democracy Movement 188  
 democratic deficit 37, 113, 119–20  
 Democratic Party (USA) 173  
 Democratic Unionist Party 120  
 Denmark 15, 18, 36–7, 66–7, 152, 199, 201  
 Department for the Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (DEFRA) 164  
 Department of the Environment 164, 167–8  
 Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) 163–4  
 Designing Tomorrow's Commission 103  
 Deutschmark 59, 81, 85, 145  
 devolution 170–1, 174–80  
 Diamantopoulou, A. 99  
 diplomatic historians 62  
 direct effect 121  
 directives 100  
 domestic politics approach 10, 29–32  
 Downing Street, 10 162  
 dual executive 104  
 Duncan Smith, I. 201, 204, 205  
 Durham miners 61  
 Dyson, K. 173  
  
 Early Day Motion 200  
 Easton, D. 216  
 East Sussex 176  
 ECOFIN 106  
 Economic and Monetary Union (EMU)  
     arguments for and against EMU 147–8  
     British Council Presidency 1998 116  
     British policy 1, 3  
     Conservative governments and EMU 31, 144–5  
     economic integration 35  
     European Monetary System 144  
     Euro-scepticism 197  
     Exchange Rate Mechanism 84–6  
     five economic tests 149–50  
     Gordon Brown's October 1997 statement 150  
     key features of EMU 145–6  
     Labour and EMU 144, 149–51, 185–6  
     Maastricht Treaty 17–18, 82, 86  
     plan for EMU 146–7  
     sovereignty 42, 142–3  
     Treasury 165, 166, 172–3  
     Treaty of Rome 144  
 Economic Association Committee (EQ) 164  
 economic historians 62  
 economic integration 13–14, 34–7  
*Economist, The* 51  
 Ecu 144  
 Edinburgh 184  
 Elysée Palace 71  
 Empire 24, 28, 67  
 end of ideology 52  
 England 174  
 English identity 26–9, 184  
 enlargement 15, 105, 116  
 environmental policy 135

- Euro 1, 3, 13, 31, 80, 135, 143, 182,  
     207, 218, 228  
 Euro '96 198, 218  
 Eurobarometer 3–4, 40–1, 94, 212–13,  
     215, 217, 221  
 EUROGROUP 153  
 Europe of Democracies and Diversities  
     Group 120  
 Europe of the Regions 101, 175  
 European Army 63  
 European Assembly Elections Bill 1977  
     77  
 European Atomic Energy Authority 15  
 European Central Bank 31, 143,  
     146, 148  
 European Coal and Steel Community 2,  
     14, 15, 49–50, 59, 60, 61–3, 70  
 European Commission  
     Common Foreign and Security Policy  
         154  
     Eurosceptic distrust 80, 184, 193, 198  
     inter-institutional relations 109, 118  
     Maastricht Treaty 16  
     media management 223  
     neo-functionalism 50–1  
     organization 97, 101–2  
     policy implementation 104–5  
     political integration 36, 39  
     public opinion in UK towards 95  
     reform 101–4, 220  
     regionalism 174–6  
     regulatory role 46  
     roles and responsibilities 100–1  
     subsidiarity 45  
     technocracy 96  
     Thatcher, attitude towards 83  
     Treaty of Nice 19  
     Treaty of Rome 64, 98  
     White Paper on single market 81–2  
 European Conference 114  
 European Convention on Human  
     Rights 60  
 European Council 96, 123–5  
     Berlin 1990 83  
     Berlin 1999 130, 133, 211  
     Bremen 1978 144  
     Brussels 2001 124, 147  
     Cardiff 1998 124  
     Cologne 1999 152  
     Florence 1996 134  
     Fontainebleau 1984 79  
     Gent 2001 124  
     Gothenberg 2001 124  
     Laeken 2001 124  
     Lisbon 2001 140  
     Madrid 1989 85  
     Milan 1985 81  
     Paris 1974 123  
     Strasbourg 1979 79  
 European Court of Human Rights 121  
 European Court of Justice 16, 43, 96,  
     120–3, 135, 139, 184, 198  
 European Defence Community (EDC)  
     24, 59, 63–4, 67  
 European Economic Area 67, 140  
 European Economic Community 14, 15,  
     64–6  
 European Foundation 205  
 European Free Trade Area 35, 59,  
     66, 68  
 European Monetary System 85, 144  
 European Parliament 8, 16, 19, 36, 65,  
     77, 81, 96, 98, 105, 109, 116–20,  
     125, 154  
     elections: 1979 77; 1989 89,  
         193–4; 1999 116–18  
     turnout 117, 118  
 European People's Party 120  
 European Political Co-operation  
     152–3  
 European Rapid Reaction Force 152,  
     211  
 European Reform Group 205  
 European Secretariat (Cabinet Office)  
     163  
 European Security and Defence Policy  
     (ESDP) 152  
 European superstate 43–4, 45, 48,  
     196  
 EU–US Senior Level Group 115  
 EU–US Task Force 115  
 European Union citizenship 14, 16  
 European Union of Federalists  
     48–9  
 European Unit (Cabinet Office) 165  
 Europeanization 7–8, 54–5, 108, 160,  
     163, 168, 175, 224, 229–30  
 EUROPES 172

- Euroscepticism  
   Conservative Party 74, 186, 191–205  
   federalism 43–4  
   Maastricht 86–7, 195–205  
   national sovereignty 39  
   single market integration 80, 82, 137  
   strands of Eurosceptic thought 194–5  
   Treasury 173  
   xenophobia 84  
 Eurosclerosis 51–2, 80  
 Exchange Rate Mechanism (ERM) 2,  
   12, 31, 42, 85–6, 142, 144–5, 182,  
   200, 216  
 export ban on British beef 134, 211  
  
 Falklands War 79  
 federalism 5, 26, 43–4, 48  
 Finland 18, 116  
 Fischler, F. 99  
 five economic tests 149–50, 173  
 Fleet Street 76, 190  
 Foot and mouth disease 131, 134  
 Foot, M. 75, 189  
 Foreign and Commonwealth Office 60,  
   71, 90, 108, 149, 162, 163–6  
 forms of European state 45–8  
 Forster, A. 31, 188, 193–4  
 Forsyth, M. 194  
 Forte, Lord 197  
 France 3, 14, 27, 36, 51, 59, 61, 65, 69,  
   70, 80, 81, 146, 156, 173, 200, 211  
 Franco–German Brigade 153  
*Francovich* (1991) 122  
 Franklin, M. 215  
 French National Assembly 64, 88, 154  
 free movement of capital 139  
 free movement of goods 138  
 free movement of people 138–9  
 free movement of services 139  
 free trade area 35  
 Fresh Start Group 199–200, 201  
 functional interdependence 24–6  
  
 Gabel, M. 216  
 ‘Gang of 8’ Eurosceptic rebels 2, 203–4  
 Gardiner, G. 87  
 Gaullists 52, 197  
 Gavin, N. 216, 220–2, 223  
 General Affairs Council 106  
  
 General elections (UK)  
   1964 68  
   1970 186  
   1974 (February) 75, 187  
   1974 (October) 187  
   1979 78  
   1983 79, 88, 186  
   1992 86, 214  
   1997 11, 90, 182, 205–6, 208, 214  
   2001 11, 90, 182, 206–7, 208–9, 214  
 geography and British attitudes to  
   Europe 23–4  
 Gamble, A. 24–5, 192, 194–5, 208  
 George, S. 29  
 Genoa 25  
 Germany (including East and  
   West Germany pre-1990) 3, 14, 45,  
   51, 59, 61, 63, 69, 75, 80, 81, 84,  
   145–6, 156, 176, 185, 218  
 Gill, C. 203  
 Giscard d’Estaing, V. 19, 125, 126  
 globalization 25, 183, 192  
 Gomez, R. 174, 177  
 Goldsmith, J. 197, 205  
 Gorman, T. 203  
 governance 161–2  
 Graham, Mr Justice 122  
 Greater Manchester 177  
 Greece 15, 32, 81  
 Green Party (UK) 120  
 Growth and Stability Pact 146, 148  
 Gummer, J. 168  
  
 Hague, The 144  
 Hague, W. 116, 206–8, 214  
 Hain, P. 126  
 Hallstein, Walter 98  
 Hamilton, N. 194  
 Hattersley, R. 75, 187  
 Haute Normandie 176  
 Hayes-Renshaw, F. 114  
 Hazell, R. 176  
 Heath, E.  
   1975 referendum 189–90  
   accession 1973 69–72, 74–5, 129  
   attitude towards national  
     sovereignty 40  
   comparison with Blair 88, 228  
   comparison with Major 202

- Heath, E. – *continued*  
 party management 187, 189, 202  
 personal attitude towards European  
 integration 70–1, 228  
 replacement by Thatcher 77  
*Hedley Lomas* (1966) 122  
 Heseltine, M. 2, 84, 87, 202, 207  
 High Authority of the ECSC 50, 61,  
 62, 96  
 High politics 17, 53, 63, 67, 230  
 Hirst, P. 25  
 historical institutionalism 22–3,  
 158–9, 225  
 history/identity and British attitudes to  
 Europe 26–9  
 Hix, S. 32, 212, 215  
 Hoffmann, S. 53, 63  
 Holliday, I. 167  
 ‘hollowing out’ of the state 9, 38–9,  
 161–2  
 Home Office 163–4  
 Hong Kong 140  
 Hooghe, L. 101  
 House of Commons Select Committee for  
 European legislation 171  
 House of Commons Treasury Select  
 Committee 151  
 House of Lords 171  
 Hurd, D. 85  
 Howard, M. 86  
 Howe, G. 2, 31, 83–4, 85, 144  
 hyperglobalism 192, 194–5  
 I-FOR (Bosnia) 153  
 imagined communities 27  
 immigration 47, 138, 155–7, 170, 187  
 Independent Television News (ITN)  
 221  
 India 68  
 infringement proceedings 105  
 intergovernmentalism 5, 17, 51, 60,  
 86, 90  
 International Monetary Fund (IMF)  
 83, 161  
 INTERREG 177  
 Ioannina compromise 87, 112–13  
 Iraq war (2003) 2, 24, 90, 151–2, 208  
 Ireland 15, 18, 19, 32, 36–7  
 Iron Curtain 59  
 Isles of Scilly 177  
 Italy 14, 140, 152, 166, 173  
 Japan 12  
 Jay, D. 188  
 Jeffrey, C. 176  
 Jenkin, B. 201  
 Jenkins, R. 75, 76, 79, 98, 187, 188,  
 189, 190, 191  
 Jordan, A. 168  
 Justice and Home Affairs 16, 105, 114,  
 121, 155–8, 172  
 Justus Lipsius building 107  
 Kaiser, W. 21, 67  
 Kashmir 68  
 Kaufman, G. 109  
 Keep Britain Out 188  
 Kennedy, John F. 68  
 Kent 176  
 Keynes, J. M. 143  
 King, Lord 197  
 Kinnock, N. 83, 89, 92, 95, 98, 99,  
 101, 191  
 Kissinger, H. 154  
 Kohl, H. 80, 84, 146, 198, 206  
 Koopmans, T. 46  
 Kyoto protocol 115  
 Labour Committee for Safeguards on the  
 Common Market 188  
 Labour Party (including New Labour)  
 1997 general election 205–6  
 2001 general election 206–7  
 continuities in EU policy 21, 74,  
 106, 226–7  
 divisions over Europe in the 1970s  
 75–8  
 EMU and the Euro 2, 80, 149–51, 209  
 European economic reform 140, 185  
 ‘modernization’ 88–92  
 opposition to European integration  
 181, 185, 187–91, 208  
 party competition 9, 83, 186, 199  
 social democracy 48, 140, 210  
 social policy 142  
 support for European integration  
 208–9  
 Labour Party special conferences  
 March 1975 76, 189  
 October 1980 191

- Labour Safeguards Committee 188  
 Lamont, N. 145, 200  
 Lamy, P. 99  
 Lawson, N. 2, 31, 85, 144  
 League of Concerned Conservatives 205  
 League of Nations 38  
 Leigh, E. 194  
 Leonard, M. 29  
 Levi, M. 22  
 Liberal Democrats (including Liberal Party) 77, 120, 181, 193, 207–8  
 Libya 79  
 Liikanen, E. 99  
 Lilley, P. 194, 202, 203  
 Lloyd, S. 69  
 London 197  
 low politics 53–4, 67  
 Lowe, P. 135, 136  
 Ludlam, S. 31, 192, 194–5, 208  
 Luxembourg 14, 45, 59, 153
- Maastricht Referendum Campaign 205  
 Maastricht Treaty  
 Common Foreign and Security Policy 153  
 Conservative Eurosceptics 183, 192  
 Economic and Monetary Union 145–7  
 European Commission 98  
 European Council 124  
 European Parliament 118–19  
 Intergovernmental Pillars 17, 153, 156  
 Justice and Home Affairs 156  
 negotiation 16–18, 30, 86  
 ratification 2, 36, 195–205
- MacDonald, R. 42  
 Macmillan, H. 59, 67, 69
- Major, J.  
 appointment of Santer Commission 98  
 Economic and Monetary Union 186  
 English identity 27  
 Exchange Rate Mechanism 84–6  
 federalism 43  
 Maastricht negotiation 17  
 Maastricht ratification 37, 86–8, 192, 199–205  
 party management 166–7  
 social policy 142  
 Whitehall 168
- Malawi 132  
 Malfatti, F. 98  
 Mandelson, P. 149, 173, 209  
 Mansholt, S. 98  
 Marin, M. 98  
 market liberalization (British preference for) 13, 20–1, 79–80, 90, 137, 185, 225, 227  
 Marlow, T. 194, 203  
 Marsh, D. 164  
 Marsh, M. 215  
 Marshall, George C 58  
 Marshall Aid 58  
 Marten, N. 187  
 Maude, F. 194  
 McLaren, L. 215  
 Mellor, D. 205  
 member state liability 122  
 Merger Treaty 15  
 Merseyside 177, 178–9  
 Messina negotiations 2, 94  
 Milward, A. 28, 64  
 Miners' strike 79  
 Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food (MAFF) 163–4, 168  
 Mira, P. 99  
 Mitchell, J. 176, 179  
 Mitran, D. 49  
 Mitterrand, F. 200  
 Modernization of Administration and Personnel 103  
 Monnet, J. 49, 61, 97  
 Monti, M. 99  
 Morrison, H. 61  
 Murdoch, R. 212  
 Multi-level governance 174–9
- National Referendum Campaign 76, 190  
 negative integration 53  
 Neilsen, P. 99  
 neo-functionalism 48–52, 95  
 Netherlands 14, 45, 59, 152  
 Network Europe 207  
 Newbury by-election 202  
 New Europe 188  
 'New English regionalism' 174–5, 177–8  
 New Zealand 68  
 1970 Group 187  
 No Turning Back Group 194, 202

- non-compulsory expenditure 130  
 Nord Pas de Calais 176  
 North American Free Trade Area  
   (NAFTA) 140, 195  
 North Atlantic Treaty Organisation  
   (NATO) 3, 34, 36, 37, 59, 90, 153  
 North East 178  
 North West 178  
 Northern Ireland 27–8, 174, 175,  
   178, 216  
 Norway 3, 18, 66–7  
*Nouvelle Frontières* (1986) 123  
 Nugent, N. 100  
 Nuremberg rally 70  
 Nutting, A. 65
- Objective One funding 175, 177, 178  
 Objective Two funding 177  
*Observer, The* 90  
 O'Neill, C. 71  
 open regionalism 92, 208  
 opt-outs 18–19, 146, 156–8  
 Organisation for European Economic  
   Co-operation (OECE) 58  
 Ortoli, F. 90  
 Orwell, G. 28  
 Overseas and Defence Policy Committee  
   (ODP (E)) 165  
 Owen, D. 191  
 own resources 129
- Page, E. 97, 168–70  
 Paisley, I. 120  
 Pakistan 68  
 Palacio, Loyola de 99  
 Paris 197  
 Party of European Socialists (PES) 120  
 Patten, C. 95, 98, 99  
 PEACE II Programme 175  
 Picardy 176  
 Pierson, P. 23  
 Pinder, J. 53  
 Plan Colombia 115  
 Poland 59  
 political integration 13–14, 34–7  
 poll tax 83  
 Pompidou, G. 69, 71  
 Poos, J. 153  
 Pope Leo XIII 44  
 Pope Pius XI 44
- population of EU (2002) 12  
 Portillo, M. 194, 202, 203, 204, 206  
 Portugal 15, 66–7  
 positive integration 53  
 post-modern state 47  
 Powell, C. 84  
 Powell, E. 76, 184, 187, 188, 197  
 Prescott, J. 174  
 Prodi, R. 97, 98, 105–6, 145  
 public authority model 104  
 Putney 205
- qualified majority voting (QMV)  
   19, 31, 81, 110–13, 125, 137, 142,  
   156, 193
- Radaelli, C. 97  
 Reagan, R. 184,  
   realism 52–4  
 reasoned opinions 105  
 recommendations 100  
 Reding, V. 99  
 Redwood, J. 2, 187, 194, 202, 203,  
   204, 205  
 referenda 2, 35, 75–6, 149–51, 183, 185,  
   189–90  
 Referendum Party 205  
 Regional Assemblies 174  
 Regional Development Agencies  
   174  
 Regional Government Offices 174  
 regionalization 17, 24–6  
 regulations 100  
 regulatory state 46, 48, 82  
 renegotiation of accession terms  
   2, 75–6, 189–90  
 Republican Party (USA) 173  
 Rey, J. 98  
 Rhineland 51  
   model 185  
 Richards, D. 164  
 Richardson, J. 54  
 Riddell, P. 212  
 Ridley, N. 2, 198  
 Rippon, G. 71  
 Risse, T. 26–7  
 Rodgers, W. 191  
 Rosamond, B. 48, 51, 53  
 Ross, W. 189  
 Russia 115

- Santer, J. 98, 99, 103  
 Schengen Agreement 156  
 Schreyer, M. 99  
 Schuman Plan 49–51, 61–2  
 Schuman, R. 49  
 Scotland 160, 174–6, 216  
 Scottish Highlands and Islands 177  
 Scottish identity 27–8  
 Scottish Parliament 174  
 Seattle 25  
 second order elections 119  
 September 11 terrorist attacks 115  
 Serbia-Montenegro 39  
 service provision model 104  
 Sharpeville massacre 68  
 Sheinwald, N. 107  
 Shepherd, R. 194, 203  
 Shore, P. 75, 188, 189  
 Silkin, J. 189  
 Single European Act 1986 15, 35, 74,  
 102, 113, 118, 141, 152, 182, 183,  
 185, 193, 197, 216  
 single market 17, 20, 79–82, 93,  
 137–40, 185, 193  
 Smith, J. 92, 187  
 Smith, M. 164  
 Soames, N. 162  
 social and economic cohesion 81, 130,  
 141  
 Social Chapter 16, 86, 87, 90, 102–3,  
 142, 202, 206  
 Social Charter 141  
 Social Democratic Party (SDP) 2, 77,  
 191, 193  
 social policy 82, 89, 102–3, 141–2,  
 185  
 Socialist Party (France) 80  
 Solana, J. 154  
 Sound and Efficient Management  
 Programme 103  
 South West 178  
 South Yorkshire 177  
 sovereignty 11, 27, 31, 38–42, 53, 68,  
 77, 183–4  
 Soviet Union 36, 58–9  
 Spaak, P.-H. 64  
 Spain 15, 140, 152, 166, 218  
 ‘Special Relationship’ 5, 28, 68  
*Spectator, The* 198  
 Spicer, M. 194, 199, 205  
 Spillover effects 50–1, 61, 82  
 St Malo 155  
 Statewatch 115  
 Stephens, P. 85–6, 88, 151, 212  
 Sterling  
 devaluation 1967 28, 42  
 ejection from ERM 1992 142, 200  
 Stevens, A. 101, 104  
 Stevens, H. 101  
 Stockholm Convention, July 1959 66  
 Story, J. 58  
 Strasbourg 60  
 structural funds 175, 177–8, 180, 229  
 subsidiarity 44–5, 86  
 sub-national government 6, 23, 32,  
 39, 45  
 sub-national mobilization 176  
*Sun, The* 198, 205, 218  
 supranationalism 11, 14–15,  
 29, 37–8  
 supremacy of EU law 122  
 Sweden 18, 66–7, 116  
 Switzerland 3, 66  
 Tapsell, P. 194  
 taxation 138  
 Taylor, T. 186, 194, 203  
 Tebbit, N. 201  
 technocracy 96–7  
 television news 221–2  
 Thatcher, M.  
 1979–83 government 79  
 1983–87 government 79  
 attitude to globalization 25  
 becomes Conservative leader 77  
 Becomes Prime Minister 78  
 Berlin summit October 1990 83  
 Bruges speech 2, 185, 191, 195–7  
 Budget rebate 79  
 Council of Ministers 83  
 creation of the single market 80–2  
 Economic and Monetary  
 Union 144–5  
 English identity 27, 184  
 European Commission 83  
 Euroscepticism 82–5  
 House of Commons 29–30  
 Maastricht Treaty 193–9  
 national sovereignty 31  
 resignation 2

- Thatcher, M. – *continued*  
 ‘rolling back the state’ 39, 42  
 seminar on ‘German character’ 84  
 social policy 89, 103, 141  
 speech to 1981 Conservative conference  
     78  
 speech to 1984 Conservative conference  
     79  
 Strasbourg summit 1979 79  
 Thatcherism 175, 193  
 Thatcherites 52, 80, 82, 84, 141  
 Third Way 90, 92  
 Thompson, G. 25  
 Thorn, G. 98  
 Thorpe, J. 76  
*Times, The* 197, 219  
 Torbay 202  
 trade union attitudes to Europe 20,  
     141–2, 185  
 Trades Union Congress (TUC) 89  
 transactionalism 26  
 Treasury 108, 145, 148, 149, 159, 162,  
     164, 172–3, 178, 180  
 Treaty Establishing Budget Procedure  
     (1970) 118, 127, 129  
 Treaty of Accession, UK (1972) 72  
 Treaty of Amsterdam (1997) 15, 18–19,  
     111, 135, 142, 154, 156  
 Treaty of Nice (2000) 15, 19, 98,  
     110–12, 135, 154  
 Treaty of Paris (1951) 8, 14, 15, 61  
 Treaties of Rome (1957) 8, 14, 15, 64,  
     98, 137, 191  
 Treaty of Washington 59  
 Trevi Group 155  
 Tribune Group 188  
 Turkey 91, 115  
 UK Independence Party (UKIP) 120,  
     188, 205, 208  
 UK Permanent Representation (UKRep)  
     107–8, 163, 165, 174  
 Ukraine 115  
 United Nations 24  
 United States of America 12, 21, 24,  
     58–9, 63, 67, 68, 90–2, 124, 195,  
     223  
 United States of Europe 43, 60  
 Urban II programme 177  
 Usherwood, S. 32  
 utilitarian identification with European  
     integration 216  
*Van Gend en Loos* (1963) 122  
 Varley, E. 189  
 Vitorino, Antonio 99  
 Vodafone-Mannesman 212  
 Wall, S. 163, 167  
 Wallace, H. 28, 165  
 Wallace, W. 28, 41, 165  
 Wallstrom, M. 99  
 Waltz, K. 42  
 ‘war on terror’ 24, 155  
 Ward, S. 135, 136  
 Wales 160, 174–6, 216  
 Warsaw 197  
 Watkins, A. 198  
 Welsh Assembly 174  
 Welsh identity 28  
 Werner, P. 144  
 Wessels, W. 43  
 West European Union 64, 153  
 West Wales and the Valleys 177  
 Westlake, M. 109, 114  
 Westphalian state 38, 42, 45  
 Weymouth, A. 220  
 White Paper on EC Membership, July  
     1971 70  
 White Paper on Single Market, 1985  
     137–8  
 Whitehall 6, 20, 101, 160, 163, 167–8,  
     173–4, 175, 180, 229  
 Wilkinson, J. 203  
 Wilks, S. 32  
 Williams, S. 76, 188, 191  
 Wilson, H. 42, 59, 67–9, 75, 189  
 Winterton, N. 194  
 World Trade Organisation (WTO) 115,  
     161  
 Young, H. 29, 61, 64, 194  
 Young, J. 65–6  
 Yugoslavia 39, 144, 153  
 Zambia 132