

## **BRITAIN'S ROAD TO EUROPE 1945-75**

### **- A BIBLIOGRAPHY**

This bibliography is designed to help those who are planning to put on modules concerning British relations with Europe in the post-war period, down to the 1975 referendum. It is based on a module taught at the University of Nottingham and is not intended to be comprehensive as a list of relevant works.

#### **1. Four Key Texts - very useful for the whole period**

Gowland, D and Turner, D	Reluctant Europeans Britain and European Integration 1945-98 (2000)
Greenwood, S	Britain and European Co-operation since 1945 (1992)
Young, H	This blessed plot (1998)
Young, J W	Britain and European Unity, 1945-99 (2000)

#### **2. General Texts - useful for much or all of the period**

##### **a. Broad background to British foreign policy**

Sanders, D	Losing an Empire - Finding a Role: British Foreign Policy since 1945 (1990)
Barker, E	Britain in a Divided Europe (1971)
Frankel, J	British Foreign Policy, 1945-73 (1975)
Kennedy, P	The realities behind Diplomacy : Background Influences on British External Policy (1981)

- Mangold, P                      Success and Failure in British Foreign Policy :  
Evaluating the records, 900-2000 (2001)
- Milward. A                      The United Kingdom and the European  
Community , Volume 1: The Rise and Fall of  
National Strategy, 1945-63 (2002) – the official  
history
- Northedge, F S                Descent From Power : British Foreign Policy 1945  
73 (1974)
- Reynolds, D                    Britannia Overruled (2000)
- Young, JW                      Britain and the World in the Twentieth Century  
(1997)

### **b. The development of the European Community**

- Dedman, M                      The Origins and development of the European  
Union 1945-95 (1996)
- Deighton, A (ed.)              Building post-war Europe: National Decision-  
Making and European Institutions, 1948-63  
(1995)
- Dinan, D                        Ever Closer Union? An introduction to the  
European Community (1994)
- Laffan, B                        Integration and Co-operation in Europe (1992)
- Urwin, D                        The Community of Europe : A history of  
European Integration Since 1945 (1991)

### **c. British policy towards the European Community (and see section 1)**

- Brivati, B and Jones,        From Reconstruction to Integration : Britain  
(eds)                              and Europe Since 1945 (1993)
- Charlton, M                      The Price of Victory (1983) - interviews with  
policy-makers 1945-63
- Daddow, O                      Britain and Europe Since 1945:  
Historiographical Perspectives (2004)

- Denman, R                      Missed Chances; Britain and Europe in the Twentieth Century (1996) - very critical of British policy
- George, S                      Britain and European Integration Since 1945 (1991) - best on the post-entry period
- Greenwood, S                Britain and European Integration Since the Second World War (1996) - a documents collection
- Henderson, N                'Britain's Decline ', *The Economist*, 2 June 1979
- Sharp, A and Stone, G            Anglo-French Relations in the Twentieth Century (2000)
- Sharp, P                      "The Place of EC in the Foreign Policy of British Governments, 1961-71', *Millennium*, Vol. 11(1982), 155-71
- Smith, G                      'Britain in the New Europe', *Foreign Affairs*, 71, (Fall 1992), 155-70 - a general essay on British attitudes to Europe since 1945

### **3. The End of the Second World War , 1944-5, and the Attlee Governments, 1945-51**

A considerable amount of historical research has now appeared on this period, so there is an indication below of which works are particularly useful for certain narrower periods, as follows:-

- 1944-7    - one asterisk
- 1947-8    - two asterisks
- 1948-51   - three asterisks

Regarding the *German rearmament question* in 1950-51, under Attlee, see also the books by Dockrill, Fursdon, Mawby, McGeehan and Ruane under section 4b below.

## **a. Memoirs**

- Acheson, D\*\*\* Present at the Creation (1970) - US Secretary of State 1949-53
- Cooper, A Duff\* Old Men Forget (1954) - British Ambassador to Paris 1944-7
- Monnet, J Memoirs (1978) - head of the French reconstruction plan and originator of the Schuman Plan

## **b. Secondary Books**

- Barker, E The British Between the Superpowers 1945-50 (1983)
- Baylis, J The Diplomacy of Pragmatism: Britain and the Making of NATO, 1942-9 (1993)
- Becker J, and Knipping, F Power in Europe? France, Great Britain, Germany and Italy in a Post-War World, 1945-50 (New York, 1986)
- Bullen, R (ed)\*\*\* Documents on the British Policy Overseas Series II, Volume 1 (1986) - see the introductory essay on the Schuman Plan - and VOLUME III (1989) - on German rearmament
- Bullock A Ernest Bevin: Foreign Secretary, 1945-51 (1983)
- Dell, E\*\*\* The Schuman Plan and the British Abdication of Leadership in Europe (1995)
- Donnoughue, B and Jones, G W Herbert Morrison (1973)
- Duchêne, F Jean Monnet (1994)
- Greenwood, S The Alternative Alliance: Anglo-French Relations Before the Coming of NATO, 1944-8 (1996)
- Hogan, M J\*\* The Marshall Plan: America, Britain and the Reconstruction of Western Europe, 1947-52 (Cambridge 1987)

Kent, J	British Imperial Strategy and the Origins of the Cold War (1993)
Lord, C***	Absent at the Creation: Britain and the Formation of the EC, 1950-52 (1996)
Milward, A S	The reconstruction of Western Europe, 1945-51 (1984)
Morgan, K	Labour in Power, 1945-51 (Oxford 1984)
Ovendale, R (ed)	The Foreign Policy of the Labour Governments, 1945-51 (Leicester 1984)
Riste, O (ed)	Western Security: The Formative Years (New York 1985)
Young, J W	Britain, France, and the Unity of Europe, 1945-51 (Leicester 1984)

### **c) Articles and Chapters**

Adamthwaite, A	'Britain and the World, 1945-9', <i>International Affairs</i> Vol. 61 (1985), 223-35
Baylis, J*	'British Wartime Thinking about the Post-War European Security Group', <i>Review of International Studies</i> , Vol. 9 (1983), 265-81
Baylis, J*	'Britain and the Dunkirk Treaty: The Origins of NATO', <i>Journal of Strategic Studies</i> , Vol. 6 (1982), 236-47
Charmley J*	'Duff Cooper and Western European Union, 1944-7", <i>Review of International Studies</i> , Vol. 11 (1985), 53-63
Grantham, J T***	"British Labour and the Hague Congress', <i>Historical Journal</i> , Vol. 24 (1981), 443-52
Greenwood, S*	Ernest Bevin, France and Western Union, 1945-6', <i>European History Quarterly</i> , Vol. 14 (1984), 312-326
Greenwood, S*	"Return to Dunkirk: The Origins of the Anglo-French Treaty of March 1947', <i>Journal of Strategic Studies</i> , Vol. 6 (1983), 49-65

- Greenwood, S 'The Third Force Policy of Ernest Bevin', in M. Dumoulin, ed., *Wartime Plans for Post-War Europe* (Brussels, 1995), 419-36)
- Kent, J 'Bevin's Imperialism and the Idea of Euro-Africa', in Dockrill, M and Young, J W (eds) *British Foreign Policy, 1945-56* (1989), 47-76
- Kent, J 'The British Empire and the Origins of the Cold War', in Deighton, A (ed), *Britain and the First Cold War* (1990)
- Kent, J and Young, J W\*\* 'The Western Union Concept and British Defense Policy, 1947-8', in Aldrich, R (ed), *British Intelligence, Strategy and the Cold War, 1945-51* (1992), 166-92
- Kent, J and Young, J W\*\* 'The "Third Force" and the Origins of NATO', in Heuser, B & O'Neill, R (eds), *Securing Peace in Europe, 1945-62* (1992)
- Melissen, J and Zeeman, B 'Britain and Western, 1945-51, *International Affairs*, Vol. 63 (1987), 81-95
- Newton, S 'Britain, the Sterling Area and European Integration, 1945-50', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, Vol. 13 (1985), 163-82
- Newton, S\*\*\* 'The 1949 Sterling Crisis and British Policy Towards European Integration', *Review of International Studies* Vol. 11(1985), 169-82
- Schneer, J 'Hopes Deferred and Shattered: The Labour League and the Third Force Movement, 1945-9', *Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 56 (1984), 197-226
- Weiler, P 'British Labour and the Cold War', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 26 (1987), 70-81
- Young, J W\* 'Duff Cooper as Ambassador to France' in Zametica, J (ed) *British Officials and British Foreign Policy, 1945-50* (1990)

Zeeman, B\* 'Britain and the Cold War: An alternative Approach, The Treaty of Dunkirk Example', *European History Quarterly*, Vol. 16 (1986), 343-67

#### **4. The Churchill Government and German Rearmament , 1951-5**

##### **a. Memoirs**

Eden, A Memoirs: Full Circle (1990) - Foreign Secretary

Kilmuir, Earl of Political Adventure (1964) - Home Secretary

Nutting, A Europe Will Not Wait (1960) - junior Foreign Office minister

Macmillan, H Tides of Fortune, 1945-55 (1969) - Housing Minister

##### **b. Other Works**

Deighton, A 'The Last Piece of the Jigsaw and the Creation of the Western European Union', *Contemporary European History*, Vol 7 (1998), 181-96

Dockrill, S 'Britain and the settlement of the West German Rearmament Question in 1954' in Dockrill, M and Young, JW (eds), *British Foreign Policy, 1945-56* (1989), 149-72

Dockrill, S Britain's Policy for the West German Rearmament, 1950-5 (1991)

Fursdon, E The European Defense Community, (1980)

Gilbert, M Never Despair: Winston Churchill, 1945-65 (1988)

James, R Rhodes Anthony Eden (1986)

James, R Rhodes Bob Boothby, (1991)

- Larres, K 'Integrating Europe or Ending the Cold War? Churchill's Post-War Foreign Policy' *Journal of European Integration History*, Vol 2, No. 1 (1996), 15-49
- Mawby, S Containing Germany: Britain and the Arming of the Federal Republic (1999)
- McGeehan, R The German Rearmament Question (Urbana 1971)
- Onslow, S Backbench Debate within the Conservative part and its influence on British Foreign Policy, 1948-57 (1997)
- Ruane, K The Rise and Fall of the European Defence Community: Anglo-American Relations and the Crisis of European Defence (2000)
- Seldon, A Churchill's Indian Summer, 1951-5 (1981)
- Young, J W (ed) The Foreign Policy of Churchill's peacetime Administration, 1951-5 (Leicester 1988)
- Young, J W 'Churchill's No To Europe', 1951-2', *Historical Journal*, Vol. 28 (1985), 923-37

## **5. Eden, Macmillan and the Early Years of the EEC, 1955-63**

### **a. Memoirs**

- Beloff, N The General Says NO: Britain's Exclusion From Europe (1963) - journalist
- Dixon, P Double Diploma: The Life of Sir Pierson Dixon, Don and Diplomat (1968) - British Ambassador to Paris, 1960-65
- Gladwyn, Lord The Memoirs of Lord Gladwin (1972) - British Ambassador to Paris 1954-60
- Heath, E The Course of my Life (1998) - as Lord Privy Seal, handled the 1961-3 entry negotiations

Macmillan, H                      Riding the Storm, 1956-9 (1971)  
Pointing the Way, 1959-61 (1972) at the end o  
the day, 1961-3 (1974)  
- Macmillan was Foreign Secretary in 1955,  
Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1955-7 and  
Prime Minister 1957-63

### **b. Secondary Books**

Aldous, R and                      Harold Macmillan and Britain's World Role  
Lee, S (eds)                      (1996)

Bange, O                              The EEC Crisis of 1963 (2000)

Bell, L                                The Throw that Failed: Britain's original  
application to join the common market  
(1995)

Camps, M                            Britain and the European Community 1955-63  
(1964)

Deighton, A and                  Widening, Deepening and Acceleration: The  
Milward, A (eds)                  EEC 1957-63 (2000)

Ellison, J                            Threatening Europe: Britain and the Creation of  
the European Community (2000)

Horne, A                            Macmillian, Vols. I, 1894-1956; AND II,  
1957-86 (1988-1989)

Howard, A                          RAB: The Life of R A Butler (1987)

Kaiser, W                            Using Europe, Abusing the Europeans: Britain  
and European Integration, 1945-63 (1996) -  
actually covers 1955-63

Lamb, R                              The Failure of the Eden Government (1987)

Lamb, R                              The Macmillian Years: the emerging truth  
(1995)

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

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

- Milward, A                      The European Rescue of the Nation State (1992)
- Moon, J                            European Integration in British Politics, 1950-63: A Study of Issue Change (Aldershot 1985)
- di Nolfo, E (ed)                Power in Europe? Vol. II: Great Britain, France, Germany and Italy and the Origins of the EEC, 1952-7 (1992)
- Nutting, A                        Europe Will Not Wait (1960)
- Onslow, S                        Backbench Debate Within the Conservative Party and Its Influence on British Foreign Policy, 1948-57 (1997)
- Pagedas, C                       Anglo-American Strategic Relations and the French Problem, 1960-63 (2000)
- Schaad, M                        Bullying Bonn: Anglo-German Diplomacy on European Diplomacy 1955-61 (2000)
- Serra, E (ed)                    The Re-launching of Europe and the Treaties of Rome (Brussels 1989)
- Tratt, J                            The Macmillian Government and Europe (1996) - concentrates on 1959-61
- Turner, J                         Macmillian (1994)
- Wilkes, G (ed).,                Britain's Failure to Enter the European Community (1997)

### **c. Articles and Chapters**

- Burgess, S and Edwards, G                      The Six Plus One: British Policy-Making and the Question of European Economic Integration , 1955, *International Affairs*, Vol. 64 (1988), 393-413
- Dutton, D                        'Anticipating Maastricht: The Conservative Party and Britain's First Application to Join the European Community', *Contemporary Record*, 3 (Winter 1993), 522-40

- Ellison, J 'Britain, Plan G and European Integration 1955-7', in I. Hampshire-Monk and J. Stanker, eds., *Contemporary Political Studies*, 1996, Vol (1996), 21-32
- Kaiser, W The Bomb and Europe: Britain, France and the EEC Entry Negotiations, *Journal of European Integration History* Vol 1, No. 1 (1995), 65-85
- Lee, S Macmillian and European Integration, in R. Aldous and S. Lee, eds. *Harold Macmillian and Britain's World Role* (1996) 123-47
- Pagedas, C The After-Life of the Blue Streak: Britain's American Answer to Europe, *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 18, 2 (June 1995), 1-24 (on 1961-3)
- Schaad, M 'Plan G - A Counterblast? British Policy, Toward the Messina Countries, 1956', *Contemporary European History*, Vol 7(1998), 39-60
- Schenk, C Decolonization and European Integration: The Free Trade Area Negotiations, 1956-8, *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 24, 3 (Sept 1996), 444-63
- Singleton, J & Britain and Butter: European Integration, 1957-66
- Robertson, P *Economic History Review*, 50, 2 (1997), 327-47 (on New Zealand dairy produce)
- Steininger, R Great Britain's First EEC Failure in January 1963, *Diplomacy and Statecraft* Vol. 7 No. 2 (July 1996), pp 404-3
- Steinnes, K 'The European Challenge: Britain's EEC Application in 1961', *Contemporary European History*, Vol 7 (1998), 61-79
- Young, JW 'The Parting of the Ways? Britain, The Messina Conference and the Spaakcommittee, 1955', in Dockrill, M and Young, JW (eds), *British Foreign Policy, 1945-56* (1989) 197-224

## **6. Labour, 1964-70**

### **a. Memoirs (all are by Cabinet ministers)**

Benn, T	Out of the Wilderness: Diaries, 1963-7 (1987) Office Without Power: Diaries, 1968-72 (1988)
Brown, G	In My Way (1971)
Castle, B	The Castle Diaries, 1964-70 (1984)
Crossman, R	The Diaries of a Cabinet Minister, VOLS. I (1964-6), II (1966-8) AND III (1968-70) (Published 1975-7)
Jay, D	Change and Fortune (1980)
Stewart, M	Life and Labour (1980)
Wilson, H	The Labour Government, 1964-70 (1971)

### **b. Other works**

Adams, J	Tony Benn (1992)
Daddow, O (ed.)	Harold Wilson and European Integration: Britain's Second Application to Join the EEC (2002)
Jowell, R and Hoinville, G (eds)	Britain into Europe: Public Opinion and the EEC 1961-75 (1976)
Kitzinger, U	The Second Try: Labour and the EEC (Oxford 1968)
Lieber, R J	British Politics and European Unity: Parties, Elites and Pressure Groups (1970)
Loth, W (ed.)	Crises and Compromises: The European Project 1963-69 (2001)
Morgan, A	Harold Wilson, (1992)
Parr, H	Harold Wilson and Britain's World Role: British Policy Towards the European Community, 1964-67 (2005)

Pimlott, B	Harold Wilson (1992)
Ponting, C	Breach of Promise (1989)
Young, JW	The Labour Governments, VOLUME 2: International Policy (2003)
Ziegler, P	Harold Wilson, (1993)
<b>7. Heath and Entry, 1970-74</b>	
Campbell, J	Edward Heath (1993)
Cosgrave, P	The Lives of Enoch Powell (1990)
Heath, E	The Course of My Life (1998) - Heaths memoirs
Heath, E	'European Unity Over the Next Ten Years', <i>International Affairs</i> , 64, 2 (1988). (Includes comments on the 1970-4 period)
Holmes, M	The Failure of the Heath Government (1997)
Hurd, D	An End to Promises: Sketch of a Government , 1970-74 (1979) – a memoir by Heath's political secretary
Jowell, R and Hoinville, G (eds)	Britain into Europe: Public Opinion and the EEC 1961-75 (1976)
Kitzinger, U	Diplomacy and Persuasion: How Britain Joined The Common Market (1973)
Lord, C	British Entry to the EEC Under the Heath Government, 1970-74 (1993)
Lord, C	'Sovereign or Confused? The "Great Debate" About British Entry to the EU 20 Years on' <i>Journal of Common Market Studies</i> , XXX, 4 (December 1992), 419-36
O'Neill, Con	Britain's Entry Into the European Community (2000)
Roth, A	Heath and the Heathmen (1972)

- Schoen, D                      Enoch Powell and the Powellites  
(1977)
- Young, S                      Terms of Entry: Britain's Negotiations with the  
EC, 1970-72 (1973)
- Young, J                      'The Heath Government and British Entry Into  
The European Community', in Ball and Seldon,  
eds., The Heath Government  
(1996)

## **8. Labour, Renegotiation and the Referendum, 1974-5**

### **a. Memoirs (unless otherwise indicated these are by government ministers)**

- Benn, T                      Against the Tide: Diaries, 1973-6 (1989)  
Conflicts of Interest: Diaries, 1977-80 (1990)
- Callaghan, J                      Time and Chance (1987)
- Castle, B                      The Castles Diaries, 1974-6 (1980)
- Donoghue, B                      Prime Minister: The conduct of Policy Under  
Harold Wilson and James Callaghan (1982) -  
political advisor to the  
Prime Minister
- Donoghue, B                      Downing Street Diary (2005)
- Healey, D                      The Time of My Life (1989)
- Jenkins, R                      A Life at the Center (1991)
- Owen, D                      Time to Declare (1991)
- Wilson, H                      Final Term: 1974-6 (1979)

### **b. Other works**

- Adams, J                      Tony Benn (1992)
- Butler, D and  
Kitzinger, U                      The 1975 Referendum (1976)
- Campbell, J                      Roy Jenkins (1983)

Morgan, K	Callaghan: A Life (1997)
Morgan, A	Harold Wilson (1992)
Pimlott, B	Harold Wilson (1992)
Ziegler, P	Harold Wilson (1993)