

## Bibliographic Essay



Rather than give a full list of books and articles that I have read while writing this book, since many of them are already cited in the notes section, I thought it would be more constructive to give a brief guide to some of the key published sources in English that, for example, a liberal arts college teacher preparing an undergraduate course in post-1945 European history might wish to read and use as the basis for a syllabus.

### GENERAL HISTORIES

The best introduction to the literature produced by historians on European integration is a volume edited by Wolfram Kaiser and Antonio Varso, *European Union History: Themes and Debates* (Palgrave, 2010). This book is a collection of historiographical essays by specialist scholars on various aspects of European integration. Its huge bibliography is a starting point for both scholars and general readers.

The European Union Liaison Committee of Historians has published nineteen bulky volumes of collected conference papers since 1987. The quality of these volumes varies, but the series does contain much work that is important. The same group also publishes the *Journal of European Integration History*.

General histories in English of European integration are less common than one might imagine. The best are Desmond Dinan, *Europe Recast* (Lynne Rienner, 2014) and Wilfried Loth, *Building Europe: A History of European Unification* (De Gruyter/Oldenbourg, 2015). Hagen Schulz-Forberg and Bo Stråth's *The Political History of European Integration: The Hypocrisy of Democracy-Through-Market* (Routledge, 2010) is not, despite its title, a general history of European integration but an interpretative essay that argues that the original European project broke down in the early 1970s and was revived in the 1980s as a project based



on “neoliberal ideas of a market-driven European economy and democracy.” I have a lot of sympathy for this reading of European integration history and certainly for its antiteleological approach.

Andrew Moravcsik’s *The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht* (Cornell University Press, 1998) is a work of international relations theory applied to history, but it remains a book that makes the reader think. Luuk van Middelaar’s *The Passage to Europe: How a Continent Became a Union* (Yale University Press, 2008) is an equally challenging attempt to recount European integration through the lens of political philosophy. Kiran Klaus Patel’s *Project Europe: A History* (Cambridge, 2020) will be a milestone in the literature.

The splendid [cvce.eu](http://cvce.eu) website run by the University of Luxembourg is a crucial resource for documents.

## EARLY YEARS

The early years of European integration are the subject of Alan Milward’s *The European Rescue of the Nation State* (Routledge, 1992), which, by giving eighty pages to the travails of the Belgian coal industry and just over twenty to the “lives and teachings of the European saints,” makes its methodological priorities almost excessively explicit. Milward’s *The Reconstruction of Western Europe 1945–1951* (Routledge, 1984), however, is a classic. A challenging book combining a strong methodological statement and ultraempirical chapters is a volume edited by Wolfram Kaiser, Brigitte Leucht, and Morten Rasmussen, *The History of the European Union: Origins of a Trans- and Supranational Polity, 1950–1972* (Routledge, 2009).

It is important to look at European integration from the perspective of the protagonists: Hans-Peter Schwarz’s monumental *Konrad Adenauer: German Politician and Statesman in a Period of War, Revolution and Reconstruction* (Berghahn, 1995 vol. 1, and 1997 vol. 2) is a very lucid, informative, and well-structured account of the German statesman’s life. Robert Marjolin’s *Architect of European Unity* (Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1989) was the single most useful biographical work I read when writing this book, although Jean Monnet’s *Memoirs* (Collins, 1978) are also useful. François Duchêne’s *Jean Monnet, The First Statesman of Interdependence* (Norton, 1994) continues to be the best biography of the French administrator and visionary.

The European movement is chronicled in detail by Walter Lipgens, Alan Milward, and Wilfried Loth’s *A History of European Integration*



1945–1947 (Clarendon Press, 1987), while US policy to Europe is the main subject of Michael Hogan, *The Marshall Plan: America, Britain and the Reconstruction of Western Europe* (Cambridge University Press, 1987) and Marc Trachtenberg, *A Constructed Peace: The Making of the European Settlement 1945–1963* (Princeton University Press, 1999). Peo Hansen and Stefan Jonsson, *Eurafrica: The Untold History of European Integration and Colonialism* (Bloomsbury, 2016) is an essential new book that makes one look at European integration in a new light.

The early years of the European Commission, its policies, personalities, and struggles, is the subject of *The European Commission, 1958–1972: History and Memories* (European Communities, 2007). This Commission-financed work was edited by the Belgian scholar Michel Dumoulin and featured the contributions of a great many important researchers in the field. Inevitably, perhaps, it tends toward official history.

### DE GAULLE AND THE 1960s

Works on de Gaulle and Gaullism are legion. The standard biography of de Gaulle in French is Jean Lacouture's three-volume work; the latter two volumes are available in English as *De Gaulle the Ruler 1945–1970* (Harvill, 1991). Julian Jackson's *De Gaulle* (Belknap Press, 2018) is a marvelous portrayal of the great man. De Gaulle's overall impact on the Community is best surveyed by Piers Ludlow's *The European Community and the Crises of the 1960s: Negotiating the Gaullist Challenge* (Routledge, 2006). Stephen Wall, *The Official History of Britain and the European Community*, vol. 2 (Routledge, 2013) is a vital and highly readable source for both the failed British applications and its successful one, as is Ludlow's *Dealing with Britain: The Six and the First UK Application to the EEC* (Cambridge University Press, 1996).

The key policy adopted by the EEC in these years was, of course, the CAP. The CAP was the subject of an outstanding collection of essays edited by Kiran Klaus Patel, *Fertile Ground for Europe? The History of European Integration and the Common Agricultural Policy since 1945* (Nomos Verlag, 2009) and of *Farmers on Welfare: The Making of Europe's Common Agricultural Policy* (Cornell University Press, 2009), a monograph by the Danish scholar Ann-Christina Knudsen. Lucia Coppolaro, *The Making of a World Trading Power: The European Economic Community in the GATT Kennedy Round Negotiations (1963–67)* (Ashgate, 2013) is indispensable on the EEC's second most important policy: freer trade.



## THE 1970s AND 1980s

Specialist historical works tend to follow the release of public documents, and so the period 1969 to 1984 is the area of European integration that has seen the largest volume of recent work. *The European Commission 1973–1986: Histories and Memories of an Institution*, eds., Eric Bussière, Vincent Dujardin, Michel Dumoulin, Piers Ludlow, Jan Willem Brouwer, and Pierre Tilly (Luxembourg: European Union, 2014) is livelier than its predecessor on the period up to 1972, though still official history. N. Piers Ludlow, *Roy Jenkins and the European Commission Presidency, 1976–1980: At the Heart of Europe* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2016) is a helpful study of a key politician, as is Kristina Spohr, *The Global Chancellor: Helmut Schmidt and the Reshaping of the International Order* (Oxford University Press, 2016).

A book that anchors European integration in a wider context is Giulio Garavini, *After Empires: European Integration, Decolonization, and the Challenge from the Global South 1957–1986* (Oxford University Press, 2012). On foreign policy more traditionally understood, Daniel Möckli, *European Foreign Policy during the Cold War: Heath, Brandt, Pompidou and the Dream of Political Unity* (I.B. Tauris, 2009) is important. Emmanuel Mourlon-Druol, *A Europe Made of Money: The Emergence of the European Monetary System* (Cornell University Press, 2012) is a much-applauded though dense work on the birth of the EMS.

## FROM THE SINGLE EUROPEAN ACT TO MAASTRICHT

On developments within the EC between the SEA and Maastricht, R. Keohane and S. Hoffmann, *The New European Community* (Westview, 1991) and Alberta Sbragia's *Euro-Politics* (Brookings Institution, 1993) are outstanding contemporary collections of essays by leading American scholars of the EU. Their publication represented a revival of American scholarly interest in the European project and today they have a "period piece" value.

George Ross, *Jacques Delors and European Integration* (Polity Press, 1995) was very (too?) kind to its subject, but it gave a compelling picture of what working for the upper reaches of the Commission during Delors's presidency was like. Delors's own *Mémoires* (Plon, 2004) are disappointing. Frédéric Bozo, Marie-Pierre Rey, N. Piers Ludlow, and Leopoldo Nuti, eds., *Europe and the End of the Cold War: A Reappraisal* (London: Routledge, 2008) is a collection of essays that is helpful for understanding the economic and diplomatic significance of German reunification. *European Integration and the Atlantic Community in the*



1980s (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), ed. Kiran Klaus Patel and Ken Weisbrode, is a useful collection of research articles.

Kenneth Dyson and Kevin Featherstone's *The Road to Maastricht: Negotiating Economic and Monetary Union* (Oxford University Press, 1999) is a brilliantly researched history of monetary policy within the EC from the Werner Report to the EU. Bernard Connolly's *The Rotten Heart of Europe* (Faber and Faber, 1995) is an engagingly splenetic account of the same subject that casts a good deal of doubt on the purity of the Bundesbank's motives and on the general utility of monetary union. Michael Baun's *Imperfect Union: The Maastricht Treaty and the New Politics of European Integration* (Routledge, 2019) is a valuable book by a political scientist who is not hung up on theory. Last, but not least, Dennis Swann's *The Economics of the Common Market: Integration in the European Union*, 9th edition (Penguin, 2000), has an outstanding chapter on monetary policy. Swann's book is a central text for all students and scholars of European integration.

Given the impact of European integration on the UK, the chapters on European matters in Margaret Thatcher's *Downing Street Years* (HarperCollins, 1995) are important. They contain, unsurprisingly, very blunt judgments on what she regarded, by the time she wrote her memoirs, as the Community "Babel Express." *John Major: The Autobiography* (HarperCollins, 2000) gives a very illuminating picture of the civil war over Europe within the British government after Maastricht.

## THE EU TODAY

Anybody claiming to have read all, or even much, of the literature on the EU since the beginning of this century is delusional. Recent years have seen a quantum leap in the number of EU studies as experts, many of them American, have dissected the strange new polity emerging in Europe. In my opinion, the best textbook on the politics and institutions of the EU is Ian Bache, Simon Bulmer, and Stephen George's *Politics in the European Union*, 3rd edition (Oxford University Press, 2014). *The Oxford Handbook of the European Union*, ed. Erik Jones, Anand Menon, and Stephen Weatherill (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014) is a broad compendium of useful chapters by experts.

David P. Calleo's *Rethinking Europe's Future* (Princeton University Press, 2001) is a still relevant analysis of the EU's place in the global economy. Foreign policy is handled in a lively, informative way by Karen E. Smith, *European Union Foreign Policy in a Changing World* (Polity Press, 2014). Jeremy Rifkin, *The European Dream: How Europe's Vision of the Future Is Quietly Eclipsing the American Dream* (Penguin,



2004) should be read by anybody wanting to grasp the nature of the extravagant hopes aroused by the EU project in the early years of this century. The wealth of issues and debates aroused by the EU project, especially since 1992, are the subject of *Key Controversies in European Integration*, ed. Hubert Zimmerman and Andreas Dür (Palgrave, 2012).

Wilfried Loth's, *Building Europe: A History of European Integration* (De Gruyter, 2015), which I have already cited above, is absolutely exceptional in its discussion of politics in the EU since Maastricht. Turning current events into history is not easy, but Loth manages it with aplomb. Luuk van Middelaar, *Alarums and Excursions: Improvising Politics on the European Stage* (Agenda Publishing, 2019), is the most thought-provoking book I have read on the EU's long decade of crisis since 2005. The trials and tribulations of the euro are the subject of *The Future of the Euro*, ed. Matthias Matthijs and Mark Blyth (Oxford University Press, 2016), which is a very accessible set of essays.

Brexit has spawned a literature all its own—and there will be more to come. Tim Shipman's *All Out War: The Full Story of How Brexit Sank Britain's Political Class* (Collins, 2017) is a depressing chronicle of cynicism in politics: it is, alas, probably accurate. Geoffrey Evans and Anand Menon's *Brexit and British Politics* (Wiley & Sons, 2017) is an excellent introduction to the subject. Christopher Hill, *The Future of British Foreign Policy: Security and Diplomacy in a World after Brexit* (Polity, 2019) gives a plausible account of the challenges that post-Brexit Britain is bound to face.

Euroskepticism, in its various forms, is addressed in *Euroscepticisms: The Historical Roots of a Political Challenge*, ed. Mark Gilbert and Daniele Pasquinucci (Brill, 2020).

The reader who simply wishes to know what the main developments have been within the EU in recent years can rely on the very informative annual reports on the EU published as a supplement to the *Journal of Common Market Studies*, which is the principal academic journal in the field of EU studies. These reports each contain a keynote article on a major topic within the Union during the year in question and empirical, well-researched articles on the EU's institutions, its internal and external policy, legal affairs, major developments within the member states, and the economic situation of the Union and its members, as well as a useful chronology of the year's main events. The EU's website, Europa (<http://europa.eu/>), the EU's online bookshop, most of whose products are free, and the Bulletin of the European Union are essential sources for published documents.