

Contents

<i>List of Illustrative Material</i>	x
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xii
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	xiii
Introduction	1
The constraints of dissensus	3
The paradox of ever-closer union	6
The conceptual approach of the book	8
Conditional and differential engagement	11
Britain in Europe and Europe in Britain	12
Organization of the book	16
1 Britain on the Edge of Europe	19
What are we talking about?	19
Britain in the European Union	26
Analysing awkwardness	28
Conclusion	41
2 Looking In from the Outside	43
East versus West	44
Intergovernmentalism versus supranationalism	45
Schuman's Plan	48
The European Coal and Steel Community's Institutions	49
Two steps forward, one step back	50
All roads lead to Rome	50
The British response	52
The origins of the European Community	53
1960s: Britain says 'Yes', De Gaulle says 'No'	54
1973: membership	56
Conclusion	59
3 Full-hearted Consent? Britain in Europe from Heath to Major	62
1974–75: renegotiation and referendum	63
1976–79: Callaghan's difficulties	65

1979–84: The Budget rebate	67
1984–87: Towards the single market	69
1987–90: Thatcher's last hurrah	71
1990–93: Major, the exchange rate mechanism and Maastricht	73
British pragmatism in Europe?	77
4 From New Labour to the Cameron Coalition	79
Europe, political leaders and voters	79
'Modernization' under New Labour?	81
Labour's route to pro-Europeanism	83
Tony Blair and Europe	84
Blair's first term, 1997–2001	87
Blair's second term, 2001–05	92
New Labour's third term, 2005–10	96
The EU and the coalition government	100
Conclusion	112
5 Britain, EU Institutions and Decision-making Processes	114
The Brussels empire?	114
The Commission	117
The Council	121
The European Parliament	127
The Court of Justice of the European Union	131
The European Council	134
Democracy and interest representation	135
Conclusion	141
6 Britain and Core European Union Policies	143
Understanding policy impacts	144
The budget	145
Agriculture	153
The single market	158
Structural funds to promote social and economic cohesion	165
The development of cohesion policy	166
Environmental policy	170
Conclusion	172
7 Britain and the EU's Move into High Politics	174
Economic and Monetary Union	175

Justice and home affairs	188
The common foreign and security policy	191
Conclusion	196
8 The British State and European Integration	197
Contextual factors	198
Central government	200
New territorial politics within the UK	210
Conclusion	216
9 British Party Politics and the Rise of Euroscepticism	218
For and against Europe in the 1960s and 1970s	218
Conservative euroscepticism	225
The Maastricht rebellion	229
The Maastricht ratification saga	233
Europe in the 1997 General Election	241
The fading significance of the European issue in the 2000s	241
The European issue within the coalition	248
Conclusion	251
10 Conclusions: Britain and the European Union	
Assessed	252
What factors have motivated British policy towards the European Union?	253
Have British governments possessed the capacity to turn preferences into European Union priorities?	254
Have British governments been particularly effective players of the European Union game?	255
What impact has European integration had on the organization of the British political system?	256
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?	258
In search of a critical juncture?	259
<i>Bibliography</i>	261
<i>Index</i>	275