

Contents

<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xii
Introduction	1
<i>The narrative</i>	1
<i>The historiography</i>	4
<i>Methodology</i>	8
<i>The sources</i>	8
<i>Preamble</i>	10
1 Conservative moves towards Europe, 1945–75: ‘like chasing a girl’	14
<i>The opposition years: the Council of Europe and the Schuman Plan</i>	14
<i>European defence and free trade areas</i>	21
<i>EEC and EFTA: at sixes and sevens</i>	26
<i>The first EEC application</i>	28
<i>Surviving the veto?</i>	32
<i>Labour’s 1967 application</i>	34
<i>Third time lucky? The successful 1970 application</i>	37
<i>Renegotiation and the 1975 referendum</i>	40
2 From EEC to EU, 1975–2006: ‘in Europe, but not run by Europe’?	45
<i>Direct elections</i>	45
<i>Thatcher’s budgetary battles</i>	47
<i>Towards a single market</i>	50
<i>The European Exchange Rate Mechanism</i>	53
<i>Maastricht: ‘game, set and match’?</i>	55
<i>The single currency</i>	60

3	The issues and debates: ‘head versus heart’	71
	<i>Atlantic or European world power?</i> 71	
	<i>End of empire</i> 76	
	<i>Defence of Europe</i> 78	
	<i>Common European foreign policy</i> 80	
	<i>Political union and federalism</i> 81	
	<i>Sovereignty</i> 83	
	<i>‘Let the people decide!’ Referendum demands</i> 89	
	<i>Free trade versus preference</i> 92	
	<i>Agriculture: from an economic to a patriotic issue</i> 94	
	<i>The single market, monetary union and the euro</i> 98	
	<i>Enlargement</i> 103	
4	The Conservative Europeanist	105
	<i>Definition</i> 105	
	<i>The historical Europhile</i> 106	
	<i>The Strasbourg years</i> 107	
	<i>Edward Heath</i> 108	
	<i>The converts</i> 109	
	<i>The legacy of the war</i> 110	
	<i>Political expediency and missed chances</i> 113	
	<i>Reverse decline</i> 115	
	<i>Economics and markets</i> 116	
	<i>British leadership</i> 117	
	<i>Forums</i> 118	
5	Selling Europe: ‘a pretty big thing to undertake’	127
	<i>The mechanics of selling</i> 132	
	<i>The electoral message</i> 146	
	<i>Electoral tactics 1997–2005</i> 150	
6	The Conservative sceptic: ‘a confederacy of zealots and lurchers’?	152
	<i>Leadership</i> 153	
	<i>Parliamentary support</i> 159	
	<i>Activist base</i> 165	
	<i>Tactics</i> 172	
	<i>The message</i> 179	
	<i>The alternatives?</i> 180	
	<i>The Eurosceptic media</i> 185	

7	Conservatives in Europe: ‘the concern of a private army’?	188
	<i>Inter-European party liaison</i>	188
	<i>The Council of Europe</i>	196
	<i>Members of the European Parliament</i>	201
	<i>The European experience</i>	206
	<i>Conservatives and the EU’s institutions</i>	209
	Conclusion	218
	<i>The future?</i>	225
	<i>Notes</i>	227
	<i>Bibliography</i>	279
	<i>Index</i>	293