

Index

- Adenauer, Konrad 3
Africa 11, 176, 197
agriculture 23, 32, 47, 76, 157, 163, 204-5
 protectionism 156, 204
 see also Common Agricultural Policy
Akehurst, M. 53n
Anderson, Bruce 240
Andreotti, Giulio 38, 255
Argentina 7, 67
Aristotle 41-2
Ascherson, Neal 24, 27, 33n
ASEAN (Association of South East Asia Nations) 7
Asia 7, 176
 see also individual countries
Atlantic Alliance 220
Atlantic Charter (1941) 63
Attali, Jacques 36, 38, 43n
Australia 176, 181
- Baghdad Pact 223
Baker, James 37
balance of payments 99, 104
Baltic States 146
Banca d'Italia 87
Bank of England 85-7, 98, 252
Banque de France 124
Basque separatists 40, 237
Beer, Samuel 43n
Belgium 42, 76, 143
Benn, Tony 24
Bentham, Jeremy 22
Bernholz, Professor Peter 28, 43n, 257
Body, Richard 31, 33n
Bonar Law, Andrew 55
Bradley, M. D. 116n
Brazil 7, 130, 198
Brennan, H. G. 107, 114n, 116n
Bretton Woods System 77, 199
Brezhnev, Leonid 11
Bright, John 198, 201, 205
Britain 5, 31, 37, 39, 42, 55-6, 61, 66, 130, 143, 153, 198, 211, 242, 244, 246
 and defence 215, 217, 222, 224
 and EC employment law 187-95
 and EC merger law 165-6
 and EMU 82, 95, 140, 259
 and Gulf Crisis 67, 222
 and USA 56-7
 constitution of 24, 48-9, 55, 56, 61
 entry into EC 25, 38, 48
 Hard ECU proposals 68, 78-9, 83, 90-5, 247-9, 259
 industrial relations in 176, 177-9, 180
 oppose Social Charter 175-6
 Poll Tax 231
 proposals for Political Union 249-50, 259
 sovereignty of 11-12, 19, 24-8, 45, 52, 54-5, 58-62, 230-1
 parliamentary sovereignty 48-52, 64-5, 93, 260-1
 see also Conservative Party; Thatcher, Margaret
British Empire 197
British Telecom 242
Brittain, Sir Leon 29, 60, 238-9, 258, 259
Bruges Group, The 4, 6, 8
 institutional proposals 8-21
 work of debunking myths 256-8
Bruges speech by Margaret Thatcher 40, 56-7, 63-4, 227-35, 243, 246, 256
Bryce, Lord 39
Buchanan, J.M. 28, 34n, 107, 110n, 114n, 116n, 161
Bundesbank 90, 94-5, 122, 123, 124, 151-2
Burke, Edmund 40-1
Bush, President George 65
- Canada 26, 42, 67, 68-9, 76, 176, 181, 199
Capital Adequacy Directive 250
capital movements 4, 100, 109, 144, 153, 158, 177, 184
capitalism 37-8, 63, 202
caramel trade 32, 35
Castlereagh, Robert Stewart 57-8, 59
Cecchini Report 150, 160n

- CENTO (Central Treaty Organisation) 223
- Chamberlain, Joseph 55
- Chile 7
- China 7, 197
- Christian Democrats 6, 250
- Churchill, Winston 42, 63, 71
- Cobden, Richard 201
- Cockfield Report (1985) 150
- Cockfield, Lord 246
- coercion 30-3
- Colchester, Nicholas 259
- College of Europe (Bruges) 257-8
- COMECON 200
- Common Agricultural Policy 4, 28, 65, 75-6, 172, 184, 241, 256
- Common Currency 60, 66, 78-9, 97, 139, 151, 153, 159
 advantages of 97-100
 and European monetary constitution 106-9
 and fiscal constitution 105-6
 Delors Report 102-5
 objections to 101-2
- Commonwealth, the 28, 56, 60, 70
- communism 3, 27, 35, 55, 144, 147-8, 200
 collapse in Eastern Europe 22-3, 159, 196, 207, 213
- competition 4-5, 32-3, 124-7, 129-30, 133, 136-8, 151, 158-9, 175-6, 183, 206, 250-2
 European competition law 162-3, 169-70
 merger law 164-6
 non-merger law 166-9
- Congress of Vienna 57
- Conservative Party (British) 55, 65-6
 against political union 69-70
 and British monarchy 67-8
 and SEA 61-2
 and sovereignty 55-6, 60-1
 and the EEC 54, 59-60, 62-3, 232
 belief in Free Trade 54-5, 64, 69
 belief in market forces 66
 view of socialism 65-7
see also Thatcher, Margaret
- consumer culture 35-6
- Corsica 237
- Council of Europe 52, 196
- Social Charter 31, 185
- Council of Ministers 9, 12-13, 20, 29-31, 51-2, 236, 247, 249-50
 and industrial relations 172-4, 177, 179-80, 185
- Crick, Bernard 44n
- CSCE 196, 197, 202, 217-18
- Curzon Price, V. 116n
- Czechoslovakia 11, 22, 144
- Dahrendorf, Sir Ralf 42, 44n
Daily Telegraph 66
- De Gaulle, General Charles 157, 243
 defence 6, 11, 16, 52, 54, 243
 role of EC 213-18
- Delors, Jacques 6, 41, 67-70, 175, 241, 258, 259
 Report 64-5, 78, 82-3, 95, 102-5, 109, 120-1, 125-30, 133-4, 151-2, 248
 speech to TUC Conference 64, 66
- DeMichelis, Gianni 41
- democratic deficit 5, 13, 19, 30
- Denmark 181
- d'Estaing, Giscard 77
- Dicey, A.V. 48
- Directorate of Employment, Industrial Relations and Social Affairs of the European Commission (DG5) 171-3, 178-9, 183
- Dowd, K. 114n, 116n
Draft Treaty of European Union 6
- East Germany 94-5, 144-50, 149, 159, 238, 239-40, 248
see also Germany
- Eastern Europe 5-7, 40, 63, 69-70, 144-5, 156-7, 159, 185, 198, 201, 215, 241, 242-3
 collapse of communism 22-3, 159, 196, 207, 213
 economic reform in 202, 217
- Economic and Social Committee 174, 180, 184-5
- Economic Commission for Europe 31
Economist, The 97, 111n, 259
- Ecuador 7
- Eden, Sir Anthony 3
- Egypt 37
- Einaudi, Luigi 105, 116n
- Elizabeth II, Queen 12, 62
- Emerson, Rupert 43n
 employment 146-7, 150, 173, 175
 Employment Act (1989) 187
 employment law (EC) 187-8

- infringement procedures 189-90
- role of European Court of Justice 191-5
- End of History?*, *The* (Fukuyama) 35-6
- environmental issues 6, 32, 36, 47
- Equal Pay Act (1970) 188-90
 - (Amendment) regulations 1983 190-1
- European Bank for Reconstruction and Development 36
- European Cabinet 14-20, 258
- European Central Bank 60, 78, 79-80, 82, 124-7, 134, 137-9, 151-4, 248
- independence of 119-26
- proposed model of a Eurofed 124, 151-2
- European Coal and Steel Community 3, 59, 201
- European Commission 6, 20, 25, 29, 31, 41, 45, 46, 50-1, 56, 83, 140, 143, 144, 147, 150, 238, 247, 250, 258-9
- aim to strengthen trade unions 182-5
- and defence 213
- and Grundig case 167-9
- and industrial relations 171-83
- Bruges Group's proposals for 8, 9, 12-13, 16-19
- equal pay directive 189-91
- qualified majority voting 174-6
- radical programme of social action 172
- European Communities Act 1972 48-51, 61, 227-31
- European Community (EC) 9, 11-13, 17-18, 23-4, 27-31, 67, 75, 82-3, 88-9, 119, 143, 145-6, 147, 152, 155, 161, 196-7, 206, 236-8, 242, 259-60
- and danger of Fortress Europe 155-7, 241
- and Gulf Crisis 67, 223, 238, 261
- and sovereignty 45-52, 58-9, 61, 64-5, 260-1
- Britain's entry 25, 38, 48
- budget 14-15, 19
- competition law 162-3, 169-70
 - merger law 164-6
 - non-merger law 166-9
- defence role for 211-19
- employment law 187-8
- infringement procedures 189-90
- role of European Court of Justice 191-5
- in a global context 157-9
- internal market policy 150-5
- negotiations with EFTA 201
- subsidiarity 29-30, 39-40, 65, 125, 164-5, 172
- supranationalism of 23, 28
- Thatcher view of 40-1, 56-7, 63-4
- see also* Treaty of Rome
- European Council 15, 18-20, 119, 124, 211
- European Court of Justice 9, 12, 16-20, 47-52, 167, 187, 260
- role in development of EC law 189-95
- European Currency Unit (ECU) 77, 82, 89-90, 130, 133, 135, 154
- Hard 68, 78-9, 83, 90-5, 247-9, 259
- European Defence Community (EDC) 211
- European Economic Area 156-7
- European Economic Community (EEC) 3-4, 76, 144, 188, 201, 257
- Conservative Party and 54, 59-60, 62-3, 232
- UK join (1972) 189, 227, 231
- European Finance Ministers (ECOFIN) 152
- European Free Trade Association (EFTA) 156, 185, 201
- European Investment Bank 88
- European Miracle, The* (Jones) 158
- European Monetary Fund (EMF) 88, 91-4, 248-9
- European Monetary System (EMS) 61, 80, 87, 103, 122, 131-3, 138, 140
- establishment of 77, 89
- history of 75-6
- improvement of present system 136
- European Monetary Union 4, 25, 61, 75, 78-80
- and European Central Bank 119-24
- Britain and 82, 95, 140, 259
- British Hard ECU proposal 83, 90-5, 247-9, 259
- Common Currency 97-110, 139
- competitive solutions 138-40
- currency competition 87, 95, 153
- Delors Report 82-3, 95, 102-5, 109, 120-1, 125-30, 133-4, 151-2, 248
- fixed exchange rates 130
- legal tender 83-9, 93, 95
- monetary cooperation 131-3

- European Monetary Union, *continued*:
- parallel currency 89-92, 94-5, 139
 - peaceful competition for internal stability 124-7
 - perfect fixity of exchange rates 136-9
 - pooling of reserves 133-5
 - single currency 129-30
 - see also* ECU; EMS
 - European Parliament 12, 20, 51-2, 61, 174, 179, 185, 238, 249-50, 261
 - adopts Draft Treaty of European Union 6
 - Bruges Group's proposals for 12-20, 258
 - socialist majority in 184
 - European Reserve System 133
 - European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC) 180
 - European Union, The 18-21, 119, 257, 258, 261
 - Euroclerosis 143
 - ex-communist countries (ECCs) 144
 - see also* individual countries
 - exchange controls 55, 139, 247
 - Exchange Rate Mechanism (ERM) 39, 55
 - exchange rate sovereignty 121-2
 - exchange rates 91, 124, 152
 - fixed 78, 103-4, 109, 128-31, 133-4, 139, 154
 - floating 87, 100, 103, 139
 - fluctuations 151
 - pegged 75-8, 103
 - perfect fixity of 136-9
 - symmetrical 132
 - Falklands War 67
 - Farrer, Sir T.H. 199
 - fascism 35, 56
 - federal structure 28-9, 37-42, 51-2, 59, 60, 67-8, 164, 177, 211, 244-6, 250, 256, 259
 - in USA 164-5
 - federalists 9-10, 25, 40
 - Bruges Group expose weak intellectual basis of 6-8
 - Financial Times* 86, 90
 - foreign policy 6, 11, 16, 46, 54, 67, 243
 - Fortress Europe 155-7, 241, 246
 - founding fathers 3-4
 - France 26, 37, 38, 42, 55, 56, 58, 61, 65, 76, 99, 135, 140, 155, 198, 238, 242, 248, 252, 259
 - and defence 211, 214, 215, 217, 221, 222-4
 - inflation 87
 - per capita income 143
 - relationship with Germany 3, 5, 8, 23, 40, 55, 67, 70, 256
 - social unrest 172
 - trade union membership 180
 - Fратиanni, M. 116n
 - free trade 54-5, 60, 64, 69, 103, 197, 242, 257
 - and GATT 197, 199-200, 203-6
 - case for 198-9
 - post war experience 199-200
 - world trading system 200-3
 - Friedensbund* 10
 - Friedman, Milton 103-4, 105-6, 113n, 115-17n
 - Fukuyama, Francis 35-8
 - Galbraith, John Kenneth 39
 - General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) 28, 46, 169, 197, 199-200, 203-4, 242, 260
 - Uruguay Round 28, 155, 204-6
 - Germany 26, 37, 41, 56, 60, 65, 68, 76, 87, 119, 143, 153, 155, 180, 197, 202, 215, 217, 242, 247, 248, 250, 252, 257, 259
 - industrial relations 177-9
 - integration 38, 55, 67-8, 77, 94-5, 145-50, 223, 238, 239-40
 - relationship with France 3, 5, 8, 23, 40, 55, 67, 256
 - see also* East Germany; West Germany
 - Giavannini, A. 81n
 - Giavazzi, F. 81n
 - Goldsmith, Sir James 66
 - goods, free movement of 4, 31, 119, 144, 159, 177, 184
 - Gorbachev, Mikhail 11, 144
 - Great Depression 197
 - Greece 180, 223, 239, 240
 - Grundig case 167-9
 - Gulf Crisis 37, 145, 158, 196, 216, 220, 222
 - EC and 67, 223, 238, 261
 - Hailsham, Lord 27
 - Hartley, Sir Frank 35

- Hartley, T.C. 34n
 Hayek, F.A. 44n, 81n
 Heath, Edward 59, 62, 243
 Hitler, Adolf 11, 33
 Holy Alliance, The 58-9
 Hong Kong 7, 134, 200, 245
 Hoskyns, Sir John 258
 House of Lords Select Committee on
 the European Communities 45-6
 Howarth, Richard 170n
 Howe, Sir Geoffrey 45-6, 49
 human rights 9-10, 18, 20, 52
 European Convention of 18
 Hungary 144, 157, 159, 213
- Imperial Preference 55
 India 7, 197
 individual freedom 6, 8-9, 13
 industrial relations 171-7
 and the European Commission
 171-85
 from national to local bargaining
 182-3
 in Britain 176, 177-9
 in Germany 177-9
 trade union influence 179-82
 inflation 4, 79-80, 101-2, 105, 120,
 125, 129, 151, 183-4, 239
 British 61
 French 87
 German 55, 90, 248
 Latin America 92
 interest rates 60, 79, 88
 Intergovernmental Conferences 48, 56,
 61, 68-9, 95, 211, 246, 247-9
 International Labour Organisation 185,
 188
 International Monetary Fund (IMF)
 217, 260
 internationalism 22-3, 27-8, 30-1
 Iraq 223
 Ireland 49, 240, 259
 Italy 6, 38, 42, 49, 56, 67-8, 143, 172,
 223, 254-5
- Jansen, D.W. 116n
 Japan 6-8, 10-11, 23, 32, 67, 143, 155-6,
 179, 197, 198, 199, 206, 222, 241,
 257
 trade disputes with USA 201
 trade union membership 181
 Jenkins, Roy 77
- Johnson, Harry 134
 Jordan 37
 Jordan J.L. 117n
- Kerr, Clark 186n
 Keynes and Keynesianism 38, 101, 244
 Kohl, Helmut 37-8, 40, 143, 211
 Korea 7, 245, 257
- labour 144, 147, 149, 150
 Labour Party (British) 38, 69-70, 71,
 184, 187-8, 250
 Langfeldt, E. 117n
 language 237
 Latin America 92, 198
 Lawson, Nigel 78
 legal tender 83-9, 93, 95
 Leigh-Pemberton, Robin 98, 102, 105-6
 Leijonhufvud, A. 117n
 Liberal Democrats 38
 Lithuania 11, 26
 London Stock Exchange 82
 Lukaszewski, Professor 258
 Luxembourg 6, 42
- Macaulay, Thomas 205
 Major, John 91-2, 238
 Mancini, G. 53n
 Mann, Thomas 38
 Mannheim, Karl 41, 44n
 market socialism 38
 Marquand, Professor David 43n, 257
 Marshall Aid 199
 Martens, Wilfried 6
 Martino, A. 117n
 marxism 26-7, 207
 members of the European Parlia-
 ment (MEPs) 12, 14, 20, 258
 Merchant Shipping Act 1988 51
 Mexico 7, 42
 Minford, Professor 102-3, 106
 Minogue, Kenneth 34n, 43n
Mittleuropa 35
 Mitterrand, President 36, 40, 64, 143,
 236
 monetary sovereignty 106, 108, 126-7,
 156
 Monnet, Jean 3
 Montesquieu, Charles de Secondat 41
- nation-state 6-8, 11, 23, 37, 39, 52,
 214-15, 244-5, 256-7

- National Consumer Council 206
 national sovereignty 7-8, 11, 19, 45, 95, 185, 256
 NATO 3, 12, 31, 37, 52, 196-7, 211-18, 220, 260
 threat from areas outside NATO
 area 221-2
 Neave, Airey 235
 Necker, Tyll 122
 Netherlands, The 6, 62, 76, 143, 155, 180
 Neumann, Franz 41, 44n
 New Zealand 109
 Nigeria 7
 Northrup, Herbert R. 186n
- OECD 12, 144-5, 183, 198-9
 Olsen, Mancur 32, 34n
One Market, One Money (European Commission) 124
 Order of Money 36, 41
- Pakistan 198
 Palmerston, Viscount 58, 71
 parallel currency 83, 89-92, 94-5, 139
 Paris Summit (1990) 202
 parliamentary accountability 5-6, 13
 parliamentary sovereignty 48-52, 61, 64-5, 260-1
 peace 9-10, 20
 Protocol 16, 18-19
 Peel, Jack 182
 Peel, Robert 203
 people, free movement of 4, 31, 119, 177
 Peru 7
 Pohl, Dr Karl Otto 70, 94
 Poland 11, 22, 144, 157, 213
 political culture 255-6
 Political Sovereignty 38, 42, 51-2, 156
 political union 4-6, 30, 48, 67, 69-70, 211-13, 238
 British proposals for 249-50, 259
 Poll Tax 231, 233
 Portugal 180, 223, 240
 Powell, Enoch 59-60, 62-3, 70
 privatisation 41
 protectionism 155-6, 162, 163, 198-9, 204, 205-6, 242
 public school, British 254-5
 Public Sector Borrowing Requirements 65
- Quadruple Alliance (1815) 57-8, 59
- Reagan, Ronald 66-7, 164-5
Real Power, The (Peel) 182
 Reich, Robert 43n
 Richards, Ivor 236
 Richards, Paul 90
 Ridley, Nicholas 41, 60
Rise and Decline of Nations, The (Olsen) 32, 34n
 Robinson, Joan 75
 Romer, C.D. 117n
 Russell, Bertrand 97
- Saddam Hussein 37
 SALT 197
 Schiller, Herbert 43n
 Schmidt, Helmut 77
 Schuman, Robert 3
 Scotland 237, 239
 security, global 222-4
 services, free movement of 4, 31, 119, 144
 Sex Discrimination Act (1986) 187, 192, 195
 Shore, Peter 69, 240
 Simeon, Richard 43n
 Simons, Henry C. 107, 117n
 Singapore 7, 245, 257
 single currency 119, 129-30, 137-8, 153-4, 238-40, 248-9
 Single European Act 9, 14, 61-2, 64, 103, 110, 119, 155, 156
 Single Market 150-3, 156, 158, 161, 171-2, 174, 184, 206, 242, 246, 249, 251-2, 256, 260
 Sked, Dr Alan 258
 Smiley, D.V. 43n
 Social Charter 58, 175-6, 184-5, 240, 256, 260
 Council of Europe's 31, 185
 Social Democrats 250
 Social Partners Bureau 180
 socialism 38, 41, 64, 69, 157, 169, 245-6, 257
 Conservative Party view of 65-7
 dominates Europe 59, 60
 majority in European Parliament 184
 sovereignty 6, 23-30, 37, 63, 93, 243
 British 11-12, 19, 24-8, 45, 52, 54-5, 58-62, 230-1
 Canadian 42
 definitions of 46
 see also monetary sovereignty;

- National sovereignty; Parliamentary sovereignty; political sovereignty
- Soviet Union 3, 7, 10, 22-3, 26-7, 63, 66, 68, 157, 176, 200, 214, 217-18, 220-1
- and Eastern Europe 5, 144, 146, 148
- fragmentation 245
- Spain 38, 56, 67, 80, 221, 223, 240, 248
- START 197
- state sovereignty 46-8
- subsidiarity 29-30, 39-40, 65, 125, 164-5, 172
- superpower status 9-10, 23, 36-7
- supranationalism 23, 28, 36
- Sweden 245
- Switzerland 10, 61, 245, 257, 260
- Taiwan 7, 156, 257
- taxes 4, 25, 64, 105, 121, 128, 227, 233, 239, 247
- Thatcher, Margaret 30, 41, 55, 68, 69, 71, 143, 202, 211, 236, 241
- becomes leader of Conservative Party 235
- Declaration of Bruges speech (20 Sept. 1988) 40, 56-7, 63-4, 227-35, 243, 246, 256
- Poll Tax 231
- sacked as PM 235-6
- U turn 229-30
- Third World 4, 28, 202, 241
- trade unions 64, 66, 171-4, 176
- European Commission and 182-5
- influence of 179-82
- Treasury Bulletin* 88
- Treaty of Paris 3
- Treaty of Rome 3, 13, 46-7, 49, 75-6, 153-4, 149, 167-9, 184, 236, 260
- and employment law 187-9, 192-5
- and industrial relations 171-6, 179-80
- Treaty of Union 14-18
- Turkey 37, 223
- unemployment 60, 66, 101, 172, 184
- in East Germany 148-9
- Union of Industries of the European Community (UNICE) 180
- United Nations 12, 37, 46, 196-7, 217-18
- United States of America 6-8, 10, 22-3, 26, 32, 42, 59, 76, 99, 130, 143, 199, 206, 237-8, 241-2
- and Britain 37, 56-7, 63
- and EC 67, 68-9, 70, 205
- antitrust policy 164-6, 184
- competition in 162-3
- constitution 162, 240
- debt 158
- Enoch Powell's view of 62-3
- industrial relations in 176, 181
- protectionism in 155, 162, 198-9, 206
- strategic thinking 213-14, 216, 220, 222-4
- trade dispute with Japan 201
- United States of Europe 6-7, 36, 237
- Uruguay Round of GATT negotiations 28, 155, 204-6
- Vaubel, R. 78, 81n, 101-2, 110-12n, 118n
- Voltaire, F. 41
- Voluntary Restraint Agreements 204
- Wales 237
- Wall Street Journal* 82
- Wallace, William 24, 26-7
- Walters, Sir Alan 112n, 119n
- Washington Treaty 220-1
- Weber, Max 41, 44n
- Welsh Nationalists 40
- Welsh, Michael 258
- Werner Plan (1970) 103-4
- West Germany 3, 6-7, 42, 49, 55, 67, 70, 90, 95, 144-50, 159, 211, 239-40
- GDP 76
- GNP 67, 147-8
- see also* Germany
- WEU 3, 13, 216-18, 222-3
- Wood, G.E. 78, 81n
- World Bank 200, 217
- World Development Report* (1987) (World Bank) 200
- World War II 3, 143, 244
- Young, Hugo 38
- Younger, George 239
- Yugoslavia 7