Boston University Study Abroad
London

Crises and Readjustments in Post-War British Foreign Policy, 1945-1990
CAS IR 392 HI 243 (Elective B)
[Semester] [Year]

Instructor Information

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Course Description

How did Britain go from ‘Big Three’ summits at the end of the Second World War to being a peripheral and awkward member of the European Community by the time of German reunification in 1990? Former US Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, offered an interim assessment in 1962 which still resonates, especially in the wake of the Brexit referendum of 2016: ‘Great Britain has lost an Empire and has not yet found a role’. In this course, you will study seven defining moments – international crises, small wars and policy readjustments – in post-1945 British foreign policy, weaving together history and political science, primary source Cabinet documents, and fields trips to the Churchill War Rooms and Imperial War Museum, to reflect upon one of the most significant questions in the international relations of the 20th century. In evaluating from a British policymaking perspective the interrelated processes of end of empire, the Cold War, and European integration, you will be assessed in four main ways: a class presentation based on a commentary of a Cabinet document of your own choice; a 2,000-word paper which develops cogent and critical arguments drawing upon the scholarship of history and political science, as well as your own research in cabinet documents; class participation throughout; and an end-of-course exam aimed at testing the acquisition of knowledge and understanding in an intellectually flexible and comprehensive way. As the West increasingly experiences ‘relative decline’ in the 21st century, this course will challenge you to reflect on the wider lessons of the politics and diplomacy of Britain’s retreat from power between 1945 and 1990.

Hub-aligned Course Objectives

These Course Objectives fulfil the academic requirements for the following Hub capacities:
They are ordered below in terms of a hierarchy of learning, beginning with remembering and understanding key events, progressing on to an application of this learning in analytical assignments and followed by a further deepening via the research and evaluation of primary source materials.

1. You will demonstrate a knowledge and understanding of Britain’s retreat from international power between 1945 and 1990, paying special attention to how Cold War politics, decolonisation, and European integration interconnected. [HC LO1, HC LO3; SI1 LO1]

2. You will identify and apply concepts of power (as debated in political science), paying particular attention to ‘intangible’ elements e.g. national unity, prestige, the perceived quality of leadership and associated governing institutions, as well as the more ‘tangible’ elements of military might and economic strength. [SI1 LO1]

3. You will reflect on how policy-making structures, processes, and individuals respond under pressure in crisis situations. [SI1 LO1]

4. You will deploy a range of theoretical approaches for understanding foreign policy-making and crisis management, as well as have a historical understanding of the conditions of why some crises have led to wars. [SI1 LO1, HC LO1, HC LO3]

5. You will locate Britain’s retreat from power in the context of broader changes in the international system. [SI1 LO1]

6. In the seminar section of each session, you will learn the historian’s skill of ‘source-criticism’ via the ‘commentary’ approach of explicating a passage of text from primary source Cabinet papers. [HC LO2, RIL LO2]

7. You will learn how Cabinet papers were generated and formulate meaningful research questions based on a critical use of these primary source materials. [RIL LO2; HC LO2]

8. You will demonstrate an ability to search for, select, and critically deploy Cabinet papers, and be able to illuminate in class discussion, in a class presentation, and in your 2,000-word research paper why particular actions were taken. [RIL LO1; HC LO2]

9. You will demonstrate in class discussion an ability to interpret the Churchill War Rooms and the Imperial War Museum as public spaces which have helped shape British national identity, a key background influence on Britain’s external policies. [HC LO2]

Additional Course Objectives

10. To encourage you to reflect more broadly on the nature of ‘relative decline’, and to appreciate possibilities as well as pitfalls in this process.

11. To encourage your civic mindedness based on a deeper understanding of how government works.

Educational Strategies

This course pulls together the teaching objectives and methods associated with an academically rigorous hybrid history and international relations course and the cross-cultural learning you gain from studying in a different country with a broadly applied skill set from
across the Hub capacities. The upshot should be a synergy which creates an intellectually challenging and highly relevant learning experience.

**Lectures (2 hours except on field trip days)**
This is the main mechanism for delivering essential course content. Each session comes with assigned readings. These are aimed at stimulating discussion as the class proceeds, rather than in a designated section of each session. While the lecturer will define key concepts and terms, and locate each of the seven defining moments in their wider context, the class as a whole will discuss and debate all these elements and seek to make connections between cause and effect, and think across the disciplines of history and political science with a strong emphasis on anchoring the latter in the former. Thus, active learning is a requirement throughout.

**Seminars (1.5 hours except on field trip days)**
Eight of the 10 sessions will include a seminar section during which primary sources will be discussed using a ‘commentary’ approach. You will need a computer in class 2 as we will learn how to do this research amongst CAB 128 and CAB 129 records (‘conclusions’ and ‘memoranda’ respectively) held digitally at the UK National Archives. **For classes 3-9, you must email the lecturer pdfs of two relevant Cabinet documents by 5pm on the previous day. These will then be uploaded on to Blackboard so that we can consult them as a class.** Each student must be able verbally to apply ‘commentary’ source-criticism to their two documents and test their arguments with their peers as part of each seminar session. The four main objectives in a ‘commentary’ are: i) You must explain the historical context, including biographical information on the speaker/writer and intended recipients. ii) You must dissect the document as a whole in terms of what it says about the speaker(s)/writer(s) and how it relates to policy choices, political pressures and the like. iii) You must identify a short passage – two or three lines – of particular interest and explain why it is significant. (For instance, it may be because it contains material which explains a particular action or policy; it may help illuminate the character of the writer/speaker; and/or it may be useful for highlighting trends in policy in a comparative manner.) iv) Finally, you must use the ‘commentary’ to reflect on how might policy concepts and theories from political science be applied, with the explicit purpose of directly connecting this discipline with the history underpinning it. The seminars in sessions 2, 3, 4 and 5 are aimed at preparing you for the ‘source-criticism’ skills needed for your class presentation in session 6.

**Television Documentary**
Learning is further supported by a one-hour television documentary ‘With Friends like These: Don’t Mention the Germans’ in the penultimate session. This was made by one of the BBC’s leading documentary makers Michael Cockerill and includes his interviews with many of the leading participants. These interviews reveal contextual issues not usually included in printed primary sources, and the programme is especially important for highlighting the personal factors in policy choices as Germany reunified (see Session 9 below).

**Field Trips: Cabinet War Rooms and Imperial War Museum**
Field trip 1 (session 1): Cabinet War Rooms (90 minutes)
This field trip is aimed at exploring the myths and realities associated with Britain’s victory during the Second World War, and especially the period in 1940-41 when Britain ‘stood alone’. By alighting at St James Park tube station, we will also use the trip to observe the close proximity of the Treasury, the Foreign Office, 10 Downing Street and two non-descript buildings connected with British intelligence – MI6’s 54 Broadway and GCHQ’s Palmer Street site – in order to get a sense of the geography relating to the centrality of the Executive branch of government in the making of foreign policy.

Field trip 2 (session 5): Imperial War Museum (2 hours)
The main purpose is to view a government propaganda film called ‘Operation Grapple’ about the testing of Britain’s hydrogen bomb in 1957. The film serves as a projection of the qualities which go to make up ‘world power’ status after 1945. You will be encouraged to reflect on the ironies of this given the Suez debacle of 1956, the EEC’s creation in 1957, and, not least, the problems of effectively deploying the new weapons.

Assessment Methods

Class participation: 10%
Class presentation: 20%
2000-word research paper: 35%
Exam: 35%

Class Participation (10%)
This is an active learning course which requires you to complete assigned readings and research tasks, and use this preparation to participate in discussions. We are interested in the arguments and counter-arguments put forth by various scholars, and how these might be modified or confirmed by the class’s own research in primary source materials, all with a view to encouraging mental flexibility and intellectual independence. To help students develop these skills, break-out sessions will be a regular feature, allowing historical arguments and the application of political science concepts to be tested in small group settings. It should be further stressed that class participation is the key feature of the seminar component of each class (see above). The attainment of all Course Objectives hinge on class participation.

Presentation in Session 6 (20%)
This is targeted especially at Course Objectives 6, 7 and 8, namely that you must demonstrate an ability to interpret primary sources, using a range of interpretive skills which situate the material in its historical context, while also drawing upon insights from political science. The learning outcome should be a 10-minute presentation utilising Cabinet conclusions (CAB 128) and/or a Cabinet memorandum (CAB 129). You may, if you wish, also use film and sound clips as part of your presentation. A pdf of the presentation (saved as your name) must be emailed to the lecturer by the start of the session. You will be graded on the evaluative skill of selecting a precise passage (and not simply paraphrasing large sections of the whole document), before honing in on its significance for understanding the assumptions, policy-choices and actions of Britain’s foreign-policy makers. A pdf is posted on Blackboard which provides a sample presentation. You will be given feedback and a grade in session 7. The ‘source-criticism’ skills developed via this ‘commentary’ approach in the presentation should then help inform, via written feedback on the graded presentation, your paper due in session 8.
Research paper due in Session 8 (35%)
This assessment method is central to helping attain almost all the Course Objectives. We will start to discuss this assignment in session 3 with students being obliged to update the lecturer by email on how your thinking is crystallising prior to sessions 4, 5 and 6 so that feedback can be given, either in person or by email, prior to the deadlines in session 7 (for the precise wording of a prompt) and session 8 (for the submission of the research paper).

The following rules must be strictly adhered to:
1) The research paper should be 2000-words in length (about 8 typed pages, double-spaced in 12-point font). Citations and bibliography should not be included in the word count; 5% over or under is permissible.
2) The research paper must be based on a prompt/question that you yourself will set. You should seek the lecturer’s approval for this prompt by the start of session 7 at the latest. You must consult Course Objectives 1-5 when framing your prompt and ensure that there is clear alignment with these objectives. You must also demonstrably realise relevant elements of Course Objectives 7 and 8 when answering the prompt. Intellectual independence and creativity is strongly encouraged.
3) You must utilise in a scholarly way your own selection of at least a dozen cabinet documents, in addition to at least half a dozen relevant secondary sources. A draft bibliography will be part of approval process for your prompt at the start of session 7.
4) If you are taking the course for IR credit, the balance of discussion may be tilted towards this discipline, albeit while also demonstrating an appropriate grasp of historical events. By the same token, the balance may be tilted in the other direction if you are seeking history credit. In all cases, you must draw effectively upon insights from both disciplines. Theories and concepts are most persuasive when anchored to actual events.

Writing a comprehensive, cogent and ultimately persuasive paper, which draws extensively upon effective research, is one of the key transferable skills when studying history and international relations at university. At the start of session 7, the lecturer will explain how the paper will be graded, and will in so doing detail the ‘mechanics’ of a paper. Special attention will be paid to the following: the functions of the introduction; the deployment of analytical thinking within single-themed paragraphs; the use of appropriate evidence to back up assertions, including an appreciation of other viewpoints; the role of topic sentences and linking sentences; the methods for developing an argument between paragraphs; when to cite; the role of the conclusion; and, finally, why a bibliography is needed in addition to citations. The paper, with a grade and comments, will be returned to you at the start of the final session (10), so as to help inform your preparation for the end-of-course exam. You will be graded according to how successfully you answer your own prompt.

Example prompts. Note how (i) they all implicitly or explicitly require comparative answers and (ii) knowingly tap into scholarly debates about Britain’s post-war foreign policy. The prompts you formulate must do likewise. Again, advice on this will be given from session 3 onwards.

- ‘Suez was the greatest postwar failure of Britain’s policy-making structures and processes, and exposed the realities of Britain’s relative decline’. Discuss.
• In what ways was Britain’s involvement in the Korean War shaped by European and imperial considerations?
• Assess the respective roles of the prime ministers and foreign secretaries in the Berlin Blockade, Suez Crisis and the Falklands War.
• What assumptions and goals linked Britain’s external policies between 1945 and 1990?
• Which was the biggest turning point for Britain – Suez in 1956, EEC entry in 1973, or the end of the Cold War in 1989?
• ‘Over the past generation our foreign policy has contributed to our economic decline just as the latter has undermined our diplomacy’ (Sir Nicholas Henderson, British ambassador to Paris, 1979). Discuss.
• ‘Wealth is usually needed to underpin military power’. How might this axiom of international affairs be applied to Britain after 1945?
• ‘The Anglo-American “special relationship” was founded on culture, ideology and common interests, but sometimes these were not enough.’ Discuss in relation to any three of the defining events discussed in this course.

End-of-Course Exam (35%)
There is a two-hour examination which is split into two halves. One half requires an essay-type answer from a choice of questions covering broad themes in the course and test your ability to recall and adapt their learning in a mentally flexible way, as well as argue a case cogently and persuasively under exam conditions. This part of the exam relates to Course Objectives 1-5. The other half of the exam requires short interpretative answers to questions, including a ‘commentary’ type response, covering the seven crises/wars/ readjustments and is aimed at assessing the comprehensiveness of your learning. This part of the exam relates to Course Objectives 1-7. A sample exam paper is included on Blackboard.

Course Timetable

Note: Assignment deadlines are highlighted in yellow Return dates are highlighted green.

1. INTRODUCTORY SESSION: ‘THE PRICE OF VICTORY’
The first half of this session is devoted to discussing key terms and concepts based on a handout. Definitions include: the concept of power; ‘great power’, ‘world power’, and ‘superpower’ status; the characteristics of the European states system; the nature and motives of the new bilateral system that came into being by the end of the Second World War; the key elements in the British foreign policy establishment; the nature of ‘bureaucratic politics’ in Britain; the influence of public opinion and the media. * BREAK * Having established this context in historical and political science terms, the second half of the session will begin with a brief discussion of the myths and realities associated with Britain’s victory in two world wars, and how these have had a huge impact on national identity. To deepen your understanding of these themes, we will then visit the Cabinet War Rooms.

Readings:
• A ‘definitions and concepts’ handout will be distributed in class.

Field trip:
We will leave for the Cabinet War Rooms as part of the second half of the session. A guidance document for the field trip is included on Blackboard.


This session has four objectives. First, to delineate the origins of the Cold War and highlight British agency therein, paying special attention to the longstanding geopolitical friction between the British and Russian empires, Churchill’s ‘Iron Curtain’ speech, and Britain’s backstairs influence on the Truman Doctrine. Second, to consider how Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin, in the wake of Indian independence and prior to the Berlin Blockade, sought to create a British-led Euro-African bloc aimed at placing Britain on an equal footing with the USA and Soviet Union. Third, we will assess the extent of British political leadership once the Berlin blockade crisis begins, culminating in the creation of NATO in 1949. Following a break, a fourth objective will be tackled: to explain how Cabinet conclusions and memoranda are generated and reflect on their usefulness as primary sources for understanding the making of foreign policy. We will then learn how to use the National Archives catalogue and select CAB 128 (conclusions) and CAB 129 (memoranda) relating to the Berlin blockade. Guidance will be given on how to engage with 1) context, 2) content and 3) assessment. These ‘commentary’ skills will be further developed in the next three sessions, culminating in your individual presentations worth 20% in session 6.

**Readings:**
- Class hand-out: ‘Commentaries as applied to Cabinet documents’

**Seminar discussion:**
- Cabinet documents (on Blackboard)

3. **THE KOREAN WAR 1950-53: ORIGINS, COURSE AND EUROPEAN IMPACT**

This session will explore Britain’s role in the UN and NATO and how Britain’s significant contribution to the hot war in Asia was a product of both. Consideration will be given to the relationship between internal politics (the domestic pressures for welfare state expenditure) and external politics (US pressure to increase defence spending in order to have a greater commitment of forces to NATO). We will assess one of the highpoints, in British eyes, of the Anglo-American ‘special relationship’ – Attlee’s calming influence over the Truman administration and the dismissal of MacArthur. Events in Asia will be linked to the American pressure for the creation of the European Defence Community in the belief that communism would soon be on the march in Europe. Britain’s response to the collapse of the EDC in 1954 and West Germany’s entry into NATO will also be assessed.

**Reading:**

**Seminar discussion:**
- Cabinet documents (on Blackboard)

4. **SUEZ 1956: THE REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL INTERCONNECTIONS**

This session will examine the origins of the crisis, including such ‘structural’ factors as the impact of the First Arab-Israeli War of 1948 on the Middle Eastern states system, the global decline of European imperialism, and Anglo-American rivalries in the context of the Cold War.
The descent to war will be explored in the context ‘crisis diplomacy’ and the various motivations behind the Protocol of Sevres. We will assess the breakdown in bureaucratic and ministerial decision-making during the crisis, and consider the extent to which Prime Minister Anthony Eden bears responsibility for Britain’s actions. The ‘ghost of Suez’ over subsequent British foreign policy will be evaluated. We will also use this supposed ‘turning point’ in Britain’s external policies to reflect on the systemic qualities of European imperialism in the global order, assessing the extent to which the scramble out of Africa in the wake of Suez may be seen as a reverse process to European imperialism’s scramble into Africa after Britain’s invasion of Egypt in 1882. Finally, this session will consider the impact of Suez on Anglo-French relations, not least as regards Paris’s perception of Britain as a Trojan horse for American power.

Readings:
- Michael Thornhill, ‘Suez Revisited’, Total Politics, November 2011

Seminar discussion:
- Cabinet documents (on Blackboard)

5. ACQUIRING THE HYDROGEN BOMB, 1957: THE TEST OF GREATNESS?
This session will detail Britain’s nuclear decision-making, from Ernest Bevin’s intervention in a Cabinet subcommittee in 1946 (‘we’ve got to have the bloody union jack on it’), to the successful atomic bomb test in 1952, and on to ‘Operation Grapple’ and the acquisition of the hydrogen bomb in 1957. As Britain became the third power to get nuclear weapons (after the US and Soviet Union), the West European powers were busy forming the European Coal and Steel Community and European Economic Community. You will reflect on which was more important, paying particular regard for Britain’s reliance on the United States for the delivery element of nuclear deterrence.

Readings:

Seminar discussion:
- Cabinet documents (on Blackboard)

Field trip:
We leave for the Imperial War Museum at the halfway point in this class with the main purpose of watching a propaganda film called ‘Operation Grapple’ (about the detonation of Britain’s H-bomb in 1957), which we will then discuss in the next session after presentations. A guidance document for the field trip is included on Blackboard. Should you wish, you can also use the field trip to discuss your presentation (due in the next session) on a one-to-one basis with the lecturer.

6. PRESENTATIONS based on commentaries of Cabinet documents.
Instructions for the presentation, and by extension how the presentation will be graded, are included on Blackboard. A sample commentary is also attached.

Seminar discussion following presentations:
‘Operation Grapple’, Ministry of Defence, released 1958 (viewed at Imperial War Museum in Session 5). Detail the ways in which ‘world power’ status is depicted, while also assessing the political realities of Britain’s position in 1957.

7. BRITAIN’S THREE APPLICATIONS TO JOIN THE EEC, 1961-73: THE BELATED STRUGGLE TO BOARD THE EUROPEAN BUS

Deadline for lecturer’s approval for research paper prompt

This session assesses the view that Britain ‘missed’ the European ‘bus’ of integration in the 1950s, before attempting to join twice in the 1960s (the rejections of 1963 and 1967). It considers the role of domestic politics (an ailing economy) on these decisions, along with the connected development of Britain deciding to quit its East of Suez role (announced in 1968 and completed in 1971. British official attitudes, emanating from Conservative and Labour governments, will be examined in relationship to ideas of sovereignty, interdependence and federalism. These will be contrasted with popular perceptions of democracy (the Second World War as Britain’s finest moment), national autonomy, and perceptions of power.

You will receive your ‘Class Presentation’ grade, plus feedback in this session. This feedback is intended to help inform the paper assignment due at the start of session 8.

Reading:

Seminar discussion:
• Cabinet documents (on Blackboard)

8. THE FALKLANDS WAR, 1982: REPLACING THE GHOST OF SUEZ WITH THE SPECTRE OF A EUROPEAN SUPER-STATE

Research paper due at start of session

The session will locate the Falklands War in the context of the heightened Cold War tensions of the early 1980s, with Thatcher’s attempts to combine economic liberalism with political nationalism in a more assertive foreign policy, winning the favour of Reagan’s America in the process. While the Falklands victory succeeded in securing Thatcher a second term of office in 1983, her subsequent bid to link her neoliberalism (her lead role in the EEC’s Single European Act of 1986) with Britain’s great power aspirations paved the way for her downfall in 1990.

Reading:
Gill Bennett, ‘Challenging the Argentines: The Decision to Send a Task Force to the Falklands, April 1962’ in Six Moments of Crisis: Inside British Foreign Policy (2013)

Seminar discussion:
• Cabinet documents (on Blackboard)


This final pivotal moment will be assessed in the context of Thatcher’s ‘Iron Lady’ stance during the 1980s being a key ingredient in the West’s Cold War victory over the Soviet bloc. Given that it was NATO’s central aim to end Russian tyranny over east-central Europe, it might have been expected that Thatcher would welcome the demise of communist East Germany and the reunification of Germany. President George Bush certainly did. But this was not the
case: this session will explore the reasons why, and the consequences for British foreign policy in 1990, which resulted in a souring of Anglo-German relations and political payback during the ‘Black Wednesday’ European Exchange Rate Mechanism crisis of September 1992, a defining moment in Eurosceptic discourse in Britain to this day.

**Reading:**

**Seminar discussion:**
- Cabinet documents (on Blackboard)

**Documentary to be shown in class:**
‘With Friends Like These: Don’t mention the War, Michael Cockerill, tx BBC2 2003

10. **Review Session / Return of research paper**
Assessment of Britain’s relative decline. Consideration of what lessons might be learnt from this process. Preparation for end-of-session exam utilising feedback from the return of research paper. The session will therefore begin by going over any gaps and misunderstandings evident from marking the class papers. You will also have a chance to raise any issues. We will then reflect on the interconnections and patterns between the defining moments considered in each session, teasing out relevant detail from the events with a view to preparing you for the exam.

**EXAM**
Exam times and locations will be posted on the BU London website and in the Student Newsletter two weeks before exam dates.

**Contingency Class Date: TBC** You must keep this date free to attend class should any class dates need to be rescheduled

**Readings:**
There is no set text for this course. Instead the approach is to have assigned readings (extracts from books and/or articles) for each session, coupled with wider reading from the list below. It is strongly recommended that these titles be used, alongside any independent initiative in digging out relevant material, for all assessment assignments.

General:
Baylis, John et al, The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations (7th edn 2016)
Bennett, Gill, Six Moments of Crisis: Inside British Foreign Policy (2013)
Gaskarth, Jamie, *British Foreign Policy: Crises, Conflicts and Future Challenges* (2013)
Young, Hugo, *This Blessed Plot* (1998)

Berlin Blockade:

Korea:
MacDonald, Callum, *Britain and the Korean War* (1990)

Suez:
Verbeek, Bertjan, *Decision-Making in Great Britain during the Suez Crisis* (2016)

Nuclear:
Cathcart, Brian, *Test of Greatness: Britain’s Struggle for the Atomic Bomb* (1994)
Hennessey, Peter, *Cabinets and the Bomb* (2007)
Jones, Matthew *The Official History of the UK Strategic Nuclear Deterrent: Volume 1: The V Bomber Era to the Arrival of Polaris* (2019)

EEC applications and quitting East of Suez:
Daddow, Oliver, *Harold Wilson and European Integration; Britain’s Second Application to Join the EEC* (2002)
Ludlow, Nicholas Piers, *Dealing with Britain: The Six and the First Application to the ECC* (1997)

Falklands:

German Reunification:

**Terms and Conditions**

Failure to produce essays at the allotted time may result in the lowering of the grade. Punctuality for class is essential.

The lecturer will make some time available in each session for you to raise questions etc. Should you wish to discuss matters individually and in person time will be made available during the break mid-lecture and at the end of class. Alternatively, please feel free to e-mail questions. If you have problems with the availability of reading materials (all of which should be in the library) please contact the lecturer either through the Academic Affairs Office or via e-mail.