

Contents

Chapter One: Introduction	11
End of the unions?	13
Outline of the book	19
Chapter Two: Very well, alone! Denying the narrative arc	23
The Tudors	25
Reconfiguration through the narrative arc	29
The Second World War	33
The 'Inner Empire' and the 'Outer Empire': the other narrative arc	37
Conclusion	40
Chapter Three: Europe's narrative arc	43
Where is Europe?	47
Creating European Values	51
Conclusion	52
Chapter Four: Early attempts at supranationalism	55
The nature of supranationalism	58
Are nations manageable?	60
Hobbes and the nation	62
International anarchy	65
Nations become nation-states	66
The fear of world rulers	69
Conclusion	73

Chapter Five: Monnet and his limitations	75
The little man from Cognac	75
The influencer and the campaigner	82
The supranational option is adopted	84
The flaws in the Monnet system	87
Conclusion	88
Chapter Six: The long road towards British entry	93
The Labour government and supranationalism	94
Rejection of the Coal and Steel Community	96
The Treaties of Rome	98
The UK tries to join	102
Accession and the first referendum	109
Conclusion	113
Chapter Seven: The long road towards British departure	115
The Single European Act and the Treaty of Maastricht	115
The social market	119
Hung, drawn and troikered	123
Immigration	126
Conclusion	130
Chapter Eight: Invasion and Expansion on the Isles	133
What did the Romans ever do for us?	133
1066 and all what?	139
Three kingdoms, four nations	142
The dynastic umbrella	151
Conclusion	153
Chapter Nine: Saving the UK4	155
The failure of Home Rule All Round	155
Devolution	163
The English 'problem'	167
Conclusion	174
Chapter Ten: Home Rule for Northern Ireland?	175
The significance of the Belfast Agreement	178
The Future of Northern Ireland	181

The relation of the UK to the Republic of Ireland	186
Conclusion	189
Chapter Eleven: Wales and the English	191
Survival through language and religion	193
Industrial development and English overspill	198
The history of devolution in Wales	201
The problems of sharing power	203
Conclusion	207
Chapter Twelve: Wales and a British Union	209
Parliament and the Courts	213
The House of Lords	218
The subsidiarity principle	220
Other proposals: Council of Ministers and Constitutional Convention	221
Conclusion	224
Chapter Thirteen: The Future of the UK and the Problem of Little England	227
Seeking 'national purity'	228
Black and Asian English?	230
Sitting on the rock	233
The Churn and the Cathedral	236
A comment on immigration	240
Conclusion	241
Chapter Fourteen: The strange romance of the sovereignty of parliament	243
Back to the 70s?	246
God and the British Constitution	248
Another narrative arc	251
The limitations of parliamentary sovereignty	254
Human rights and parliamentary sovereignty	259
Conclusion	262
Chapter Fifteen: Elites and Populists: Upending the top-down approach	265
Change from above to below	266
Selling Europe to Europeans	270
Working for the top-downers	272
Deliberative Democracy	275

Conclusion	280
Chapter Sixteen: On embedding the upward cascade	283
Permanent participatory mechanisms	285
Radical blinkers	288
Other proposals for reform of the EU	289
Conclusion	295
Chapter Seventeen: The Future of the UK	299
Conclusion	312
Chapter Eighteen: Conclusion	315
Final thoughts on sovereignty, constitutions – and the chance of reform	327
Bibliography	335