

# Miriam Camps and European Integration: Blurring the Boundaries between Scholarship and Diplomacy

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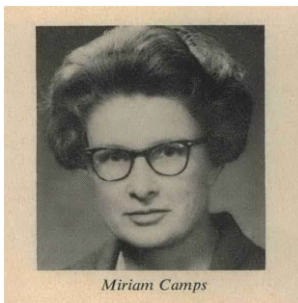
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Miriam Camps (1916–1994) was a US diplomat, journalist, economist, and scholar. Involved in the design of early postwar European integration organizations at the State Department in the 1940s, she remained at the center of US foreign policy formulation toward Europe until the late 1960s. Her practical experience as a formal and informal diplomat—from the late 1950s, Camps was affiliated with elite foreign policy think tanks—informed her output as a scholar. Like other female international thinkers and experts, she was well known in her time, but her contribution to both US foreign policy and scholarship on European integration has since been largely overlooked by historians of European integration and international relations scholars. This article explores Camps' scholarship and her contribution to the field of European Studies. It asks why we know so little about Camps and advocates revisiting early European integration research and integrate individuals with more varied careers into the founding history of the discipline.

Miriam Camps (1916–1994) était une diplomate, journaliste, économiste et chercheuse américaine. Impliquée dans la conception des organisations d'intégration des Européens au début de l'après-guerre au sein du Département d'État dans les années 1940, elle est restée au cœur de la formulation des politiques étrangères américaines à l'égard de l'Europe jusqu'à la fin des années 1960. Affiliée depuis la fin des années 1950 aux think tanks d'élite relatifs à la politique étrangère, son expérience pratique en tant que diplomate formelle et informelle a renseigné sa production académique. À l'instar d'autres penseuses et expertes internationales, elle était célèbre en son temps, mais sa contribution à la politique étrangère américaine et à la recherche sur l'intégration des Européens est depuis largement ignorée par les historiens de l'intégration européenne et les chercheurs en Relations internationales. Le présent article s'intéresse aux travaux de recherche de Miriam Camps et à sa contribution dans le domaine des Études européennes. Il s'interroge sur la raison de notre manque de connaissances sur Miriam Camps et estime que nous devrions relire les premiers travaux de recherche sur l'intégration européenne et intégrer des personnes aux carrières plus variées au sein de l'histoire fondatrice de la discipline.

Miriam Camps (1916–94) fue una diplomática, periodista, economista y académica estadounidense. Participó en el diseño de las primeras organizaciones de integración europea de la posguerra desde el Departamento de Estado en la década de 1940, y permaneció en el centro de la formulación de la política exterior estadounidense hacia Europa hasta finales de la década de 1960. Su experiencia práctica como diplomática formal e informal (desde finales de la década de 1950 Camps estuvo asociada a grupos de reflexión de élite en materia de política exterior) influyó en su producción como investigadora. Al igual que otras pensadoras y expertas internacionales, fue muy conocida en su época, pero su contribución tanto a la política exterior de Estados Unidos como a los estudios sobre la integración europea ha sido en gran medida ignorada desde entonces por los historiadores de la integración europea y por los investigadores en el campo de las relaciones internacionales. Este artículo explora el trabajo de Camps y su contribución al campo de los Estudios Europeos. Plantea la cuestión de por qué sabemos tan poco sobre Camps y propone que se revisen las primeras investigaciones sobre la integración europea y que se integren personas con trayectorias más variadas en la historia fundacional de la disciplina.

## Introduction



Miriam Camps

“A Gallery of Women in Diplomacy,” *The Foreign Service Journal*, February 1969. Used with permission.

“A former State Department official, a long-time resident in England, and a steady contributor to the *Economist*, she is close to the heart of Britain's checkered relations with the European Economic Community” (*The New York Review* 1964). This extract from a 1964 book review of the volume *Britain and the European Community, 1955–1963* (Camps 1964a) hinted at the unique vantage point from which its author, US diplomat, economist, journalist, and scholar Miriam Camps, commented on European inte-

gration and Britain's relationship with continental Western Europe. In her diplomatic career in the US State Department from 1943 to 1954, Camps had played an important role in postwar European reconstruction. In her subsequent activity as a scholar and an unofficial diplomat—from the late 1950s onward, Camps worked for a range of foreign policy think tanks in the United States and Britain—she was able to capitalize on the networks she had acquired while in the US foreign service. As a (anglophile) US citizen and foreign policy expert, she was held in high esteem in both US and UK foreign policy circles. In 1963, the Royal Institute of International Affairs (Chatham House) in London appointed her as a Senior Researcher, a joint appointment with the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) in New York, which, it was hoped, would deepen the transatlantic collaboration between both institutions (*Research Committee* 1963, pt. 1603). In this period, Camps also worked as a consultant to US Under-Secretary of State, George Ball. In 1967, for a short time, she returned to the State Department

full time to become deputy chairman of the Policy Planning Staff, her last formal diplomatic appointment.

Camps thus operated in various roles and institutions within and outside of formal diplomacy, engaging in scholarship and policy analysis geared toward informing and influencing British and US policy on European integration. Her writing was analytical, deeply rooted in her practical experience of designing European integration organizations in the immediate postwar years, and it was in many ways pioneering. From the 1950s to the late 1960s, Camps published research on European integration, Britain's relationship with the EEC, transatlantic relations, and the Atlantic Partnership. Her research outputs and foreign policy assessments were avidly read by foreign policy practitioners in Washington, London, and Brussels as well as academics and journalists. Sir Con O'Neill, Britain's Ambassador to the EEC from 1963 to 1965 and from 1965 Deputy Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs in the Foreign Office, praised her scholarship in glowing terms, referring to her "massive and masterly volume called 'Britain and the European Communities, 1955–1963,'" stressing that "[s]he probably knows more about the European Communities than anyone else in this country, inside or outside government circles" (O'Neill 1965).

This article seeks to explore Miriam Camps and her inseparable roles as a diplomat engaged in shaping transatlantic relations and as a scholar and international thinker. The research links up with two sets of literature. With recent attempts to question the "canon" of international relations (IR) and to seek out the contribution of women to international thought, this article will contribute to this literature by seeking to "recover and analyse" Camps' career as well as her contribution to the field of European Studies (Owens 2018; Owens et al. 2021). Second, Camps saw her scholarship as a way to remain engaged in diplomacy and help shape transatlantic relations. She can therefore also be qualified as an "alternative" diplomat. For women who were not able to retain roles as formal diplomats due to gender barriers, scholarship, journalism and think tank affiliations were an alternative way to remain relevant in foreign policy circles (e.g., Scott-Smith 2014; Erlandsson 2019). It is therefore important to place Camps' international thought in the 1950s and 1960s into the context of her previous diplomatic career at the State Department and her various subsequent diplomatic roles.

Kenneth Weisbrode has recently drawn attention to Camps' diplomatic career in his study on US diplomacy toward Europe in the twentieth century (Weisbrode 2009), but only one short biographical chapter has so far been dedicated to Camps (Curli 2019). So why do we know so little about Miriam Camps and why should we get to know her better? Camps was never a central figure in IR and its regionalism branch emerging in the 1950s, analyzing and theorizing the phenomenon of European integration. IR professors such as Ernst B. Haas, Karl Deutsch, and Stanley Hoffmann, all established at Ivy League institutions in the United States, were dominating the field. The theories they devised are seen as foundational for the discipline of European integration studies. While Haas and others, such as Karl Kaiser, cite Camps' work, her research seems to have been perceived as empirical rather than contributing to theoretical discussions of European integration (Kaiser 1967, 395 footnote). Camps' scholarship was theory informed, not theory driven, and she did not aspire to contribute an overarching theory of European integration, one of the reasons why she was not regarded as central to the field. The purpose of her scholarship was less to engage in academic debates and the-

orize European integration than to analyze government interests, constraints, and policy choices and thus to continue to inform and influence diplomatic processes. With her affiliation with Chatham House in the 1960s, she had arguably more impact on the emergence of the new interdisciplinary field of European Studies in the United Kingdom, tolerant of a variety of scholarly styles and methods.

If Camps has indeed been neglected by past and contemporary scholars, this neglect needs to be qualified. Camps' work is mostly known to scholars who analyze Britain's relations with the EEC. Her book *Britain and the European Community, 1955–1963* is still seen as a seminal study (Camps 1964a). For Piers Ludlow it was the "most thorough previous study of the [accession] negotiations," while James Ellison called her study "a classic" and he credited Camps with "founding" the study area of Britain's relationship with Europe (Ludlow 1997, 4; Ellison 2000, 1; 2007, 233, endnote 47). Most historians assumed, however, that Camps had been some kind of journalist or independent scholar. Wolfram Kaiser classified her study as political-science journalism (Kaiser 1996, 15; Daddow 2011, 194). This rather narrow representation of her research shows how little historians and other scholars have engaged with Camps' background as a diplomat, her wider oeuvre, including her analyses of Britain's postwar trajectory, the development of European integration and postwar transatlantic relations, as well as her work on the international trading order.

Historians assessing early writings of European studies arguably did not pay enough attention to alternative outlets for scholarship and alternative locations of scholarship that were however rather typical for the early phase of the establishment of European studies as an academic field, and in any case typical for mid-century women international thinkers. Camps had a variegated and at times precarious professional life that was rather typical for women born in the first decades of the twentieth century who aspired to careers related to the "international," moving from government service—often during the Second World War when more opportunities opened up for women—to journalism, employment at foreign policy think tanks, and, occasionally, longer-term academic posts. Her fellow female foreign policy practitioners and creators of international thought sharing such career paths include Elizabeth Monroe, Susan Strange, Barbara Ward, and Elizabeth Wiseman (Owens and Rietzler 2021). Often, these female international thinkers and experts were well known in their own time, but their contribution has not made it into the canon of international thinkers and has been largely overlooked and neglected—with the exception perhaps of Strange—by scholars of IR, politics, and international history. This article's "recovery" of Camps' scholarship and international thought is thus also an invitation to revisit the disciplinary history of European integration studies and to explore its eclectic and diverse origins in the 1950s and 1960s.

Research for this piece is based on a close reading and assessment of Camps' publications from the late 1950s to the late 1960s (Camps 1956, 1957a, 1957b, 1958, 1959, 1960, 1962, 1964a, 1964b, 1966a, 1966b). In these publications, Camps contributed to research on European integration, in particular Britain's relations with continental Europe, and commented on transatlantic relations more widely, in particular the Atlantic Partnership. The article also draws on archival research in Camps' personal papers at Mount Holyoke College Archives, as well as Chatham House Archives and the National Archives of the United Kingdom in Kew. The study focuses on the period of the 1950s and 1960s as Camps' appointment to the State

Department's Policy Planning Staff in 1967 seems to have been a turning point for her career and her research interests. With interest in European integration waning under US President Richard Nixon (1969–1974), Camps, who from 1970 spent more time at the CFR than at Chatham House, moved away from European integration to focus her writings on the reform of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and on challenges to the international trading order (Camps 1974, 1981). In this work, she described the increasing complexity of international economic relations that had seen the power of the state erode and new transnational players such as international corporations increase their influence. In order to manage these ever more complex relationships—she called it the “management of interdependence”—she proposed a set of institutions to deal with these new challenges (Camps 1974). Her contribution to this discussion and her role in the CFR's vast collaborative “1980s Project” also merit scholarly attention but cannot be incorporated into this piece.

The article will first outline Camps' career trajectory, characterized by crossing institutional boundaries but with the consistent aim of continued diplomatic activity and influence. Exploring Camps' early career, her role in European reconstruction and her personal experience of wartime and postwar Europe is important for assessing her scholarship on European integration. The parameters of her scholarship will be analyzed in the second part of the chapter, by placing Camps into the context of IR's regionalism and the institutionalization of European Studies as a field. Third, the article will provide an analysis of Camps' international thought and original contribution to European integration research with the aim of integrating and reinstating Camps in the early phase of European integration studies.

#### *From Diplomacy to Scholarship*

Miriam Camps, née Camp, was born in 1916 and grew up in Middletown, Connecticut, in the United States. Her family was middle class, progressive with both her mother and grandmother having been university educated. Camps' father, Burton Howard Camp, was a mathematics professor at Wesleyan University (Camp 1920). Camps took a BA in History at Mount Holyoke College (1937) and an MA in History at Bryn Mawr College (1938), both elite colleges belonging to the “seven sisters” group of women's colleges. It was here that Camps embraced ideas of liberal internationalism. A role model for the students, Mount Holyoke's president, Dr Mary Woolley, was a peace campaigner who had been a member of the US delegation to the World Disarmament Conference at the League of Nations in the early 1930s (Garner 2010, 58–59). Camps herself was a member of Mount Holyoke's International Relations Society and participated in at least two Model League of Nations exercises (The Mount Holyoke News 1936; The Mount Holyoke News 1937). In 1938, she moved to Washington with the aim of joining the foreign service (Camps 1988). The State Department's reluctance to employ women was well known, however, and Camps worked in other departments to await her chance. Her opportunity came with the outbreak of war and the State Department's recruitment drive to satisfy its need for expert staff; in 1943, Camps joined “State” as a federal reserve officer. Camps' core conceptions of IR and the United States' world role were then formed during her time in the diplomatic service which included wartime and post-war service in Europe (Weisbrode 2009, 104–14). Until 1945, Camps worked for the economic warfare division at the US Embassy in London. Living and working in Lon-

don during the war and the immediate postwar means that Camps was also part of the “London moment,” so-called by researchers examining London as a wartime hub of encounters between diplomats, exiled politicians, artists, and other refugees (Eichenberg 2018). While further research is needed to establish how Camps as a young single woman, and a fairly junior member of the US Embassy, was able to participate in the various social encounters open to her male colleagues, for example, meals in clubs or invitations to social events, it is likely that the heady mix of wartime anxieties paired with thoughts of possibilities and opportunities for the future had had an impact on her. Not least, Camps met her future husband, William Anthony “Tony” Camps, at the United Nations Emergency Economic Committee for Europe (EECE) where he served on the British delegation.

In May 1945, Camps joined the secretariat of the newly founded EECE, one of three emergency organizations created to prepare for reconstruction. It was Camps' first experience of working within an international organization, serving in the EECE's secretariat not as the US representative but running the organization as part of a small international team (Emergency Economic Committee for Europe 1947; Camps 1988). Camps considered this EECE experience as formative for her career and outlook: “The experience that I had in the secretariat of the EECE was very important in giving me an understanding, which I think many government officials who never worked in an organization lack, of what you can do looking at things as a whole, rather than looking at things from the vantage-point of a particular country. The people in the secretariat—I think there were only half a dozen of us—did look at things from the standpoint of the needs of European reconstruction” (Camps 1988). It was during this period that Camps formed contacts with key British and European individuals. For example, the chairman of the EECE secretariat was Eric Wyndham White, later the first Secretary General of GATT; France's EECE representative was Etienne Hirsch, a close collaborator of Jean Monnet and later his deputy at the French Plan for Modernisation and Reconstruction.

In early 1947, Camps returned to Washington and the State Department where she became firmly involved in European economic reconstruction serving as an economic analyst within the Office of European Regional Affairs (Weisbrode 2009, 104–106). Camps drew a direct link from the EECE experience to the two subsequent organizations she was involved in creating: the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (ECE), set up in 1947, and the Organisation for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC), founded in 1948. Marshall Plan historian Michael Hogan confirms that “[i]n the State Department the thinking of some junior officials had been influenced by the regional planning for European economic recovery and integration undertaken by such UN agencies as the Emergency Economic Committee for Europe, the European Coal Organization, and the European Central Inland Transportation Organization” (Hogan 1982, 273). Camps thus had direct experience in designing intergovernmental organizations that were functional and pragmatic.

Given her background in creating all-European intergovernmental organizations—the ECE also included Eastern European countries—it is perhaps not surprising that Camps did not have a preference for a federal organization of Europe. However, she worked and formed friendships with both British federalists such as John Pinder, who was a member of the Federal Union, and the circle around Jean Monnet, in particular Max Kohnstamm. In contrast to

federalists' beliefs, however, Camps did not think that nation states were on the wane. She shared the wartime and postwar consensus on the type of international cooperation that was desirable as it had been developed in the State Department, that is, "institutions that rested on Anglo-American partnership. Their prime goal was sustainable economic stability. The means to achieve it were to be found in multilaterally concerted state control" (Segers 2019, 64). While many in the State Department later joined the "Europeanist" camp, unreservedly supporting the type of supranational integration advanced by Monnet in the Schuman Plan of May 9, 1950, Camps did not have such a preference. She was therefore part of a group of "Atlanticists," favoring "integration" over the Europeanists' preference for "unification" (Weisbrode 2009, 114). Atlanticists prioritized the transatlantic relationship with Europe over European unity that they felt could lead to a more independent Europe and a less close relationship with the United States. Nevertheless, Camps' concept of Atlanticism seems to have evolved in the course of the 1960s due to the success of the EEC and the relative failure of the British-backed European Free Trade Association. She therefore came to support the EEC and British membership in it. By then she felt that a closely integrated EEC was a precondition to strengthening Western Europe economically, politically, and militarily so that it could eventually become a partner to the United States in what she termed an "Atlantic Partnership" (Camps 1962).

Camps' background in the State Department and her involvement in the design and establishment of a variety of European organizations influenced her scholarship. She recognized Britain's postwar difficulties and preferences and was not a strong proponent of British membership in the EEC, at least not at first. Her practical experience in running and designing intergovernmental organizations and early writings thus do not chime with a claim made in contemporary scholarship that Camps was the arch-priest of the "Orthodox School," which argued that Britain should have committed to supranational integration from the start (Daddow 2011, 194). Initially Camps was supportive of the proposal for a larger free trade area (FTA) launched by Britain in late 1955 and explored in the framework of the OEEC until French President Charles de Gaulle ended the negotiations in 1959 (Camps 1957b). For Camps, an FTA that included Britain and the Six, as well as the Scandinavian countries, would have been ideal as her main concern was not for a particular type of integration but for creating strong economies in Europe that would result in strong US allies in the Cold War (Camps 1959).

In 1953, at the age of thirty-seven years, Camps married Tony Camps, a classics scholar at the University of Cambridge. While she only needed to add an "s" to her maiden name, Camp, the marriage cost her her job. The marriage bar in effect until the early 1970s meant that she had to leave the State Department. Once married, Camps sought out employments that were sufficiently flexible for a woman married to a Cambridge don. Camps' roles, while giving her financial freedom, were also somewhat precarious; they were short-term contracts dependent on funding from the large US philanthropic foundations such as Ford and Rockefeller. Yet, when employed, Camps seems to have been well paid. In 1963, Chatham House paid her £1500 for a part-time role (using money from a Ford grant), with the CFR paying her an equivalent sum and funding her travel costs (Research Committee 1963, pt. 1603). Using an inflation calculator, £1500 is worth around £32,000 in today's money.

Upon leaving the State Department, Camps briefly joined *The Economist* as a Europe editor from 1954 to 1956. *The*

*Economist* had a history of employing gifted women with experience in IR. Camps' predecessors were Barbara Ward and Susan Strange and Camps' time at the weekly coincided with the tenure of Elizabeth Monroe. All of these women had also held positions at Chatham House. *The Economist* was pro-European, liberal, and advocated British membership in the Community. In François Duchêne and John Pinder, Camps made two valuable contacts there. Duchêne was a former collaborator of Monnet at the High Authority of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) and his Action Committee for the United States of Europe. Pinder became director of the think tank Political and Economic Planning (PEP) in 1964. Camps, Pinder, and Duchêne collaborated again when Camps joined Chatham House in 1963.

In 1956, Camps obtained her first research contracts with PEP as well as the Center of International Studies at Princeton University. At the Center, she overlapped with Margaret and Harold Sprout, the husband-wife team pioneering studies on state power and the environment (e.g., Sprout and Sprout 1962, 1965). It is intriguing to imagine conversations that were held between Camps and Margaret Sprout; however, there is no evidence that Camps and the Sprouts' institutional connection resulted in any intellectual collaboration or obvious cross-fertilization. At Princeton, Camps wrote policy memoranda on the development of the Common Market and the ongoing free trade area negotiations. The PEP and Princeton appointments also established her preferred pattern of employment, namely to hold concurrent positions at UK and US institutions. Camps' stint at PEP and as a Research Associate at Princeton also corresponded to her aim of writing impactful scholarship informing IR practitioners. PEP was founded in 1931 as a "bridge between research . . . and policy-making" (Camps 1959, back matter) and the Center of International Studies was founded by Frederick Dunn, a lawyer and professor of IR who had himself worked at the State Department in the 1920s. Dunn's concern was with analyzing and improving foreign policy decision-making. He encouraged his staff to conduct research that was practically orientated to address current problems in American foreign policy and that was written in an accessible manner. He valued short and readable studies targeted at the "very busy practitioner in the field of foreign affairs" (Fox 1962, 15). To facilitate this, Dunn had established the "Policy Memorandums," short pamphlet-style texts that were sent to the foreign policy making community. Camps published four such "Policy Memorandums" in the period 1956–1959 (Camps 1956, 1957a, 1957b, 1958).

In September 1963, Camps joined Chatham House as a Research Specialist on Europe. At the same time, she became affiliated with the CFR in New York. Chatham House and CFR each funded 50 percent of Camps' salary and she would spend 6 months a year at each institution (Research Committee 1963, pt. 1603). For Chatham House, her appointment was a coup as it reinforced the historically close relationship between the two institutions in a period where Anglo-American relations were becoming less exclusive (Roberts 2015, 547). These international think tanks aimed to bring together academic experts, official and nonofficial practitioners, and others with interest in foreign policy to "focus on immediate and long-term international issues, suggest potential ways of handling these, and attempt to steer governmental policies and influence public opinion" (Roberts 2015, 539). Foreign policy think tanks in the 1960s were male-dominated environments (Aggestam and Towns 2019), but Chatham House provided many women with the opportunity to have careers in research when university posts were still difficult to obtain. In the 1960s, Camps

was one of a few women who held senior research positions and were in charge of research areas. Strange joined in 1965 to study the Sterling crisis and the Commonwealth; Rosalyn Higgins, later Baroness Higgins, was at Chatham House from 1963 to 1974 as a specialist of international law. However, it appears that within their respective fields, these women were still in the minority. So, while Camps was not the only woman in the house, with regard to the study groups and conferences she ran, she was the only woman in the room, with the exception of Susan Byrne, the notetaking assistant librarian. The CFR, in contrast, was less open toward employing female researchers and appointing Camps was an exceptional move. It also only formally admitted women as members in 1969 and Camps became one of the first women to join as a full member (Gavrilis 2021, 66).

The mid-1950s to late 1960s were a period during which instant analyses of European integration were in high demand, both in Washington and in London. British foreign policy makers required expertise on European integration while Britain's government was considering its future relationship with the ECSC and, from 1955 onward, with the Common Market. The US government remained supportive of closer economic and political integration in Europe and encouraged British EEC membership. Generous funding was available from US philanthropic giants such as the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations (Cohen 2017). Camps was thus in the right place at the right time to develop and attract interest in her scholarship. She wrote primarily for an audience of decision makers, diplomats and European civil servants, journalists, and academics. It is through this lens that her scholarship needs to be read. While a conventional career as a diplomat was out of reach for her, her think tank affiliations were an opportunity for Camps to remain involved in policy debates and, crucially, to shape them.

Indeed, in some instances, her influence on the policy debate on Britain's role in Europe reached deep into the British Foreign Office. In late 1965, for example, while the EEC was engulfed in the so-called empty chair crisis pitting France against Belgium, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg ("the Five"), Camps used her Chatham House Study Group on Europe as well as her contacts in the British Foreign Office as vehicles to persuade the British government to use this, as she saw it, window of opportunity, to advance the issue of Britain's EEC membership. In the EEC dispute, Britain should side with the Five against France and embrace what she called a "maximum" development of the EC into a close and fairly far-reaching construction that could act effectively as a unit externally." This, she felt, was "far more in Britain's real interest, than was a 'minimum' development, although a loosely-knit, rather incoherent grouping had usually been considered to be preferable—from a British stand-point—even by many pro-Europeans in this country" (Camps 1965). In October 1965, Camps developed these suggestions further. She then used Sir Con O'Neill, Deputy Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs and in charge of European economic integration who attended Camps' Chatham House Study Group meetings, and James Marjoribanks, British Ambassador to the European Communities, as transmitters of her ideas (Marjoribanks 1965; O'Neill 1965). In December 1965, Camps' plan of action appeared almost word for word in a communication from the Foreign Secretary, Michael Stewart, to Prime Minister Harold Wilson (Stewart 1965; Seidel 2022). Wilson did not take up Stewart's, or rather Camps', suggestions—the empty chair crisis was resolved shortly afterward, in January 1966, and it would take another 17 months before Wilson would launch another membership bid. The episode

demonstrates however that an outsider like Camps, who possessed experience, expertise, a network of high-level contacts, and held a senior position, for example, in a foreign policy think tank, was able to insert her views into the foreign policy debate at the highest level.

#### *European Integration Research in the 1950s and 1960s*

The emergence of postwar regional integration organizations in Europe triggered the emergence of a new scholarly field: European integration studies. Camps' example shows that in this pioneer period of European integration boundaries between scholarship and diplomatic activity and influence were blurred. Other scholars writing about European integration at the time also often had a background in international diplomacy. For example, Uwe Kitzinger had worked for the Council of Europe before joining the University of Oxford and publishing on the issue of Britain and Europe (e.g., Kitzinger 1962, 1964). The field thus developed in two communities of researchers in particular: IR scholars in the United States and practitioners (diplomats, civil servants, and journalists). These scholars observed, analyzed, and theorized the phenomenon of European integration, particularly of the "supranational" kind, that is, the European Coal and Steel Community, founded in 1951, and the European Economic Community, founded in 1957 (e.g., Diebold 1959; Haas 2004 [1958]). Core questions of this field were why states integrate and give up a portion of their sovereignty, what the driving forces of integration might be, and how integration would develop in the future. The main theories that emerged were neofunctionalism and intergovernmentalism.

The American-German émigré scholar Ernst B. Haas, a Professor of IR at Berkeley, was at the origins of the neofunctionalist theory of regional integration (Rosamond 2006). In his seminal study *The Uniting of Europe*, published in 1958, Haas argued that integration was a process "whereby political actors in several distinct national settings are persuaded to shift their loyalties and activities towards a new centre, whose institutions possess or demand jurisdiction over the pre-existing national states" (Haas 2004 [1958], 16). Neofunctionalists expected integration to develop in what they called a "spillover" effect. This posited that nation states gave up sovereignty in one sector for efficiency reasons. This sector, for example, coal and steel, being linked to other economic sectors, integration would then "spill over" to these other sectors. This would eventually weaken and undermine the nation state. An intellectual opponent of Haas was the realist scholar Stanley Hoffmann. Hoffmann, a Professor at Harvard University, argued that nation states continued to play an important role in European integration. His intergovernmentalism contested some of neofunctionalists' assumptions, arguing that particularly in areas of "high" politics such as foreign policy and defense, national interests prevailed and prevented a spillover from occurring (Rosamond 2006, 248). In 1969, Hoffmann founded Harvard's Center for European Studies. Such research centers, endowed with generous funds, would allow these scholars to gather a following of students and ensure the survival of their ideas. Haas and Hoffmann are still celebrated for their research and seen as key thinkers and theorists of European integration.

In her scholarship, Camps did not adopt a clear theoretical position. She undogmatically used neofunctionalist vocabulary such as the idea of a spillover to describe European integration, while at the same time never underestimating the importance of nation states' interests and

power. In that sense, she was closer to the realism of Hoffmann. Owing to her own diplomatic background, Camps was close to another group of US scholars, mainly former State Department colleagues who, like her, had entered think tanks or universities and continued to analyze European integration, transatlantic relations, and international economics. She became a close friend and colleague of William Diebold Jr., a liberal economist at the CFR who wrote one of the first studies on the Schuman Plan, and Charles P. Kindleberger, an economist and economic historian who had worked with Camps on the Marshall Plan and later became a professor of international economics at Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Kindleberger, Camps, and others shared the experience of having contributed to European postwar reconstruction at the State Department, an area they were now focusing on in their research (Kindleberger 1948). Another of Camps' former State Department colleagues, Harold van B. Cleveland, director of Atlantic Policy Studies at the CFR, commissioned her to write a book on *European Integration in the Sixties*. The book appeared in the "Atlantic Studies Series" of the CFP, a prestigious series that was "policy-oriented," "seeking not only to describe and forecast but also to prescribe" (Camps 1966a, ix). Other books in this series were authored by Cleveland himself, Hoffmann, and the future doyens of US foreign policy, Zbigniew Brzezinski, then a professor at Columbia University and a CFR member, who would become National Security Adviser to Jimmy Carter (1977–1981), and Henry Kissinger. This book series thus further corroborates the idea that in the US context, in particular, institutional boundaries between the State Department, foreign policy think tanks and Ivy League universities were fluid and porous. Camps' participation in the book series also demonstrates that by the mid-1960s, she was part of the US foreign policy establishment. Indeed, less than 2 years later, she would return to the State Department's Policy Planning Staff in a leading position.

In the United Kingdom, scholarly interest in European integration was less well institutionalized and developed, but experienced a boost when the British government applied for EEC membership in July 1961. New universities such as the University of Sussex, founded in 1961, were at the forefront of this development and they had close links with Chatham House. Sussex pioneered European Studies under Asa Briggs, a historian and, from 1967, Vice-Chancellor of the university. He founded the interdisciplinary School of European Studies in the early 1960s, arguing that universities needed to embrace new ways of researching and teaching to cope with the challenges of the contemporary world (Cragoe 2015). Unlike the regional integration branch of IR, European Studies was a broad church of disciplines including politics, IR, contemporary history, modern languages, and law. A few of the first cohort of European integrationists came from Sussex, although individuals from other universities such as Oxford (with the aforementioned Kitzinger) and London School of Economics also have to be added to this small core group. Roy Pryce, for example, another former practitioner who had worked for the Press and Information Service of the European Communities, in 1965 became the first director of the Center for Contemporary European Studies at Sussex and also held fellowships at Chatham House.

The institutionalization of the field progressed further with Kitzinger founding the first dedicated journal, the *Journal for Common Market Studies*. In 1968, a group of scholars affiliated with Chatham House founded the University Association for Contemporary European Studies (UACES).

Chatham House in the 1960s served as a pro-European intellectual hub. Camps' appointment in 1963 was intended to focus more of Chatham House's program on European integration studies and Britain's relationship with the EEC. At Chatham House, Camps thus not only conducted research but also became involved in the institutionalization of the discipline through organizing seminars and conferences, bringing practitioners into contact with academics. She was part of the first cohort of European integration scholars who, like her, often crossed institutional boundaries, working at times as diplomats, journalists, civil servants, academics, think tank fellows, and officials at European organizations. Camps' background was therefore not unusual. European Studies as a discipline did not have an obvious "home," yet it was the scholarship produced by men in the more conventional settings of North American elite universities that has survived and is treated as "canonical." With her pioneering studies on European integration, discussed in the next section, Camps should be counted among the founders of the discipline.

#### *Miriam Camps' Contribution to European Integration Scholarship*

In her publications, Camps made original contributions to scholarship, not least as she was often the first scholar to analyze an issue and offer interpretations and analysis. The following section first assesses Camps' methods and the outlets she chose for her research, before discussing four areas of Camps' research with the aim of assessing her role in establishing European integration as a new research field. These four areas include Camps' ideas on free trade generally and the free trade area negotiations in particular, theorizing European integration, Britain's relationship with the EEC, and the Atlantic Partnership.

#### METHODS AND OUTLETS

As a history graduate, Camps employed methods of a contemporary historian with privileged access to information. While her academic apparatus was usually limited to primary sources such as newspaper articles, speeches, and other published papers, it is clear that she also had access to internal government papers gained from her personal contacts, individuals directly involved in the issue she was studying, for example, in her exchange with Russel Bretherton from the Board of Trade (Bretherton 1957; also Camps to Leddy 1955 and Leddy to Camps 1955). As a former civil servant, Camps wrote in an accessible style that was also analytical and matter-of-factly. One reviewer praised her "clear and serviceable prose style, recalling the best type of civil service English" (Leslie 1965, 121). Camps' publishing strategy was purposeful and fulfilled certain aims. Unlike many of her colleagues at CFR and Chatham House, and of course academia, Camps did not publish her work in key academic journals of the European Studies field such as the *Journal of Common Market Studies*. As far as can be established, her publications in journals were limited to the Chatham House in-house journals *International Affairs* and *The World Today* and the CFR journal *Foreign Affairs* (e.g., Camps 1960, 1966b). It is likely, given her continued interest and involvement in European integration and transatlantic diplomacy, that she felt it most useful to publish in think tank publication series, knowing the kind of audience this would attract. She even proactively sent her publications directly to the decision-makers in London and Washington, at the Board of Trade, the Foreign Office, and the State Department (e.g., Bretherton 1957). Her publications consisted

of books, shorter articles, and memoranda, lacking a heavy scholarly apparatus and direct engagement with other scholarly literature. However, her reading of other scholars' output was wide-ranging, judging from the books contained in her personal papers (MHA no date, Boxes 17-21). She also wrote book reviews of recent scholarship, for instance, on neofunctionalist scholar Leon Lindberg's influential book *The Political Dynamics of European Economic Integration*, a book she praised but dryly remarked that she felt the author was slightly too impressed by the European Commission, "mesmerized by the sheer proficiency" of it and lacking a critical distance to the Commission's "own arguments and explanations" (Camps 1964c, 165). In her own scholarship, Camps was careful to keep a critical distance from governments and European institutions to maintain her impartiality.

#### FREE TRADE AND THE FREE TRADE AREA NEGOTIATIONS 1956–1958

One of Camps' main concerns, both during and after her time at the State Department, had been the freeing up of trading relations between European countries. Free trade and the eradication of economic protectionism she felt were crucial to strengthening the Western alliance. At the ECE in 1947, Camps had already worked toward fostering trade between Western and Eastern European countries (Stinsky 2019). As an ongoing concern, Camps had dedicated much of her scholarship to this issue, in particular in the late 1950s when the EEC and Britain were engaged in free trade area negotiations and again in the 1970s and 1980s, when the economic recession threatened to bring about a new era of protectionism (e.g., Camps 1974, 1981). In this part of her work, she discussed international organizations such as GATT and the OEEC and its successor, the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). The scope of her international thought was therefore not confined to European integration but encompassed the entire international (Western) economic and trading order. In one of her first Policy Memorandums at Princeton, *Trade Policy and American Leadership*, for example, Camps urged the United States to assume a leadership role in trade liberalization. She advocated the ratification of the Organisation for Trade Cooperation, drafted during 1954–1955 to provide an administrative machinery for GATT that itself had no permanent secretariat (Camps 1957a). This would have turned GATT into a permanent organization as had been agreed in the Havana Charter for an International Trade Organization in 1947–1948 that was also never ratified. However, the United States had been reluctant to join such an organization as it might limit the country's sovereignty and undermine the independence of Congress; Congress was also still largely protectionist. This early text, as well as her later concern with GATT reform, shows that Camps not only was concerned with European trade, but also considered the entire postwar organizational structure created by the West as building blocks toward the aim of free trade in the Western world as a means to achieving general economic prosperity and political stability.

While the six member states of the ECSC were negotiating treaties for a European Economic Community and a European Atomic Energy Community, the British government had opted out of these talks. Instead, in late 1955, the British suggested negotiating a free trade area that would encompass all members of the OEEC. The British government therefore sought to minimize the disadvantages of being locked out of the EEC common market as well as promoting a form of European integration they were comfortable with, namely a loosely organized free trade area that

excluded cooperation in key sectors such as agriculture, involved minimal loss of national sovereignty, and ensured that Britain would be able to maintain close links with the Commonwealth.

While contemporary historians associate Camps with a group of scholars who "berated" Britain for having missed the bus by not joining the EEC at the outset, these historians seemed unfamiliar with Camps' background and her scholarly work on the FTA negotiations. In fact, Camps was supportive of the FTA in a political sense, as a way of bringing the Six of the EEC and Britain together, thus strengthening the Western European component in the Atlantic alliance. Economically, she felt that the FTA was a way of ensuring free trade across the whole of Western Europe. She also felt that any ending of the FTA negotiations by the Six, or more likely France, would only be justified if "the Six, in fact, become a driving force for a larger Europe" (Camps 1958, 28). Camps, like other economic liberals at the time, notably German economics minister Ludwig Erhard, felt that the EEC was a potential threat to European unity and free trade rather than the only form of integration that was thinkable and desirable.

While the complex FTA negotiations were ongoing, Camps delivered a detailed analysis of the negotiations and the participants' different conceptions and aims. In her PEP publication on the *History of the Free Trade Area Negotiations*, she explained the substantially different approaches of Britain on the one hand and the Six, led by France, on the other. She demonstrated how difficult it was to reconcile the free trade area with the customs union the Six were building at not only a technical but also an ideological level. Camps argued that the British government was unable to recognize these fundamental differences and that France and the Six were not prepared to offer the advantages of the Treaty of Rome to anyone who was not also accepting its obligations. While she praised the flexibility of the British to respond to concerns of the Six, she also emphasized that the British underestimated the cohesion of the Six and "once again, appear to have underestimated the strength of the new alliance between France and Germany" (Camps 1959, 75). Her aim was to demystify the differences on both sides and explain why they existed and proved to be an obstacle to success. Camps recognized that the issue of trade in Europe had become inextricably bound up with the issue of the political union of Europe and this was something the British government found hard to adapt to. As far as can be established, her publications on the free trade area negotiations are unparalleled as the only academic and policy publications that were published in this early period (cf. Gellner 1960). She therefore set the bar for future studies and, more immediately, contributed to shaping the discourse on European integration and trade in Washington and London.

#### THEORIZING EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

While Camps did not advance an overarching theory of European integration, she drew on contemporary European integration theories to describe and analyze the process of European integration. By doing so, she developed elements of her own theory of how European integration worked and how it would most likely develop in the future.

Camps used the language of neofunctionalism to describe the "process" of integration, drawing on the idea of the "spillover" or "logic of integration." This language was also widespread among Community leaders such as Commission President Walter Hallstein. While she felt that European integration did have some inherent "logic" in

that integration in one sector made integration in another, neighboring, sector more likely, she did not think that this was an automatic movement to more integration and in fact thought that disintegration was also possible. To Camps, there was no “iron law of ‘spill over,’” “nor an irresistible internal dynamic that is bound to carry the Six to full economic union and beyond to some form of political union” (Camps 1966a, 211). More akin to intergovernmentalist theory, she also thought that the member states had an important role to play in the integration process and that any transfer of more powers from the nation states to the Community depended on the agreement and willingness of national governments. Overall, Camps placed considerable emphasis on intergovernmental cooperation within the EEC, something the crises of the 1960s and de Gaulle’s proposals for political union among sovereign European states seemed to confirm (Camps 1964b). As such, Camps predicted that European integration would advance at a “slow, organic pace” in a mixture of neofunctionalist spillover and intergovernmental decision-making by member states: “integration occurring partly as a consequence of past actions, partly as a product of new policy decisions [by governments] which have been undertaken quite deliberately in full awareness of their consequences” (Camps 1966a, 219). Through her observation and analysis of political processes, she did not feel that neofunctionalism and intergovernmentalism were mutually exclusive and that both theories explained different aspects of European integration.

Camps also argued that the main motive of European states to opt for closer economic and political integration was to regain power and global influence. She thus interpreted European integration as a “rescue of the European nation state”: through European integration, European states sought to regain importance and status that had been lost after the war. Rather than abandoning sovereignty in an uncontrolled and uncontrollable “spillover,” for Camps, integration was a conscious decision that allowed European states to continue to play an important role in world affairs (Camps 1966a, 216–17). This was the case especially for France and, Camps argued, by the mid-1960s the British government started to recognize this opportunity as well. Twenty-five years later, economic historian Alan S. Milward would make this view of European integration as the “rescue” of the European nation state popular (Milward 1992).

On the functioning of the EEC, Camps’ take was that the EEC was a “mixed system,” a *sui generis* construct, that was not quite a federal state but also not an international organization in the conventional sense (Camps 1966a, 220). She painted the picture of a multilayered community with supranational and intergovernmental elements. She defined the EEC as a “compromise” between supranational and intergovernmental concepts, embodied in the institutions, the Commission on the one hand and the Council of Ministers and Committee of Permanent Representatives of the member states on the other (Camps 1958, 25). The particular setup of the EEC she referred to as the “Community approach” (Camps 1958, 2). Again, here Camps expressed an idea that became popular in the 1990s when European integration scholars theorized the European Union as a multi-level system of governance (Hooghe and Marks 2001).

strand in research on Britain’s relations with the European Communities that had a strong normative streak, and argued that Britain had “missed the bus” by not joining the ECSC in 1951 or at least the EEC in 1957 (Daddow 2011, 194). This is misleading for, when reading Camps’ book, it becomes quite obvious that she conveyed the discourse of leading politicians at the time. For example, the “missed the bus” narrative took on a prominent role in the House of Commons debates on Britain’s first application to join the EEC in the summer of 1961. It was thus not a phrase the “British pro-Europeans” coined, but it was a thought harbored by senior civil servants and politicians in Britain at the time (Camps 1964a, 364–65). As this article has established, Camps was initially rather cool toward the supranational and narrow integration of the EEC and she had been in favor of a free trade solution to overcome what she came to perceive as the division of Western Europe. Camps felt that EEC membership was just one of several solutions to the “British problem” of finding a role in Europe (Camps 1964a, 216).

The aim of Camps’ book *Britain and the European Community* was to deliver an objective blow-by-blow account of Britain’s path toward applying for EEC membership and the ensuing negotiations until they were unilaterally ended by President de Gaulle in January 1963. Thus, Camps tried to create a real understanding among her American and British readers (the book was published simultaneously in the United States and in Britain) for both the British government’s motivations and those of continental European actors. Perhaps to establish her own neutral stance on the issue, Camps in all of her publications referred to Jean Monnet and supporters of supranational integration as “the Europeans” (e.g., Camps 1964a, 131). She thus discursively distanced herself from Monnet’s camp and European federalism more generally. Camps’ book also demonstrated how important the so-called intergovernmental organizations, that is, the Council of Europe, the OEEC, North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), and the Western European Union (WEU), were as fora for negotiations and as launch pads for initiatives. Her thorough multi-institutional and multilevel analysis of Britain’s engagement with continental Europe is something later historiography often lacks.

Overall, it is true that Camps showed much sympathy for the British position facing the Six and criticism for the hardline peddled by French President de Gaulle, which according to Camps made the British negotiation position and prospects of the negotiations succeeding all but impossible. However, Camps drew out the errors and shortcomings of both sides. The conclusion of her book was indeed more polemical than the rest of the book and contained elements of the “missed opportunities” narrative Camps has become known for. For sure, there would have been a sense of disappointment at the failed membership bid. However, on the whole, this weighty volume of over 500 pages is one where Camps tried to achieve a balanced account that amounts to an in-depth, analytical, and multilayered narrative of the positions of the British government, the Six, and other actors such as the US and members of the European Free Trade Association.

#### ATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP

The notion of an Atlantic Partnership emerged in the early 1960s and was formally announced as an aim by US President John F. Kennedy in his speech on July 4, 1962 (Kennedy 1962). The term, vague but denoting some kind of structured Atlanticism, became popular among British

#### BRITAIN AND THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES

Historians refer to Camps’ book, *Britain and the European Community, 1955–1963*, both as a “classic” and as an example of a certain narrative on Britain’s relationship with the EEC that Oliver Daddow has termed “the Orthodox School,” a



politicians first as an alternative to Britain joining the EEC and later to ensure that the EEC they joined would be closely linked to the United States. “Europeanists,” to use Camps’ term, also advocated a closer relationship with the United States, even in the form of an Atlantic Community that they felt should have shared institutions similar to those of the EEC. In her writings, Camps unpicked the notion of Atlantic Community and tried to assess the opportunities and limits of such a close relationship. Her chapter “Towards Atlantic Partnership” essentially dealt a blow to any British and European hopes that the United States could and would be prepared to agree to an exclusive relationship with Europe, to form a “community.” Camps cautioned that the term Atlantic “Community” is a misnomer and that the term “Atlantic partnership” was more appropriate to express what she felt was possible and desirable (Camps 1962, 57).

Camps then argued for a gradual construction of that partnership: Britain first had to join the EEC and help develop it and only then was there a real prospect of Atlantic partnership that would strengthen the EEC and the Western alliance as a whole. She generally doubted the feasibility of a very close relationship between the EEC and the United States, because as a superpower the United States had much broader foreign policy interests. Any more exclusive arrangement with the EEC, for instance, a free trade area, would harm economic interests of third countries—developing and developed allies such as Japan—and could undermine the Western alliance and the “free world” more generally. Camps proposed to deal with the trade issue through general and broad negotiations on tariff reductions as in the GATT. She also felt that the closest and most desirable partnership was in defense, in the form of the NATO. Once the EEC had become a strong unit, similar in economic strength and perhaps political influence to the United States, then a gradual partnership could be formed and eventually even become institutionalized (Camps 1962, 62).

In her book *European Integration in the Sixties*, published in 1966, Camps returned to the issue of US interests in European integration. During the Presidency of Lyndon B. Johnson (1963–1969), the relationship between the United States and the EEC had cooled and the United States had become embroiled in the Vietnam War. In the final chapter of the book, Camps delivered a measured and well-argued discussion why European integration continued to be in the interest of the United States. She advocated that the United States take a more hands-off and less emotionally involved approach, first because she felt that the opportunities for the United States to influence the process of integration were limited anyway and, second, because any too overly enthusiastic support for European integration would make both the United States and the “Europeans” “an easy target for the ‘new realism’ that has become fashionable in the last few years on both sides of the Atlantic.” Yet, Camps felt that “continuing progress toward a more effective union in Western Europe is in the American interest and in the wider interest of a better organized international society” (Camps 1966a, 251). In this chapter, Camps provided rational arguments for continued close transatlantic ties beyond the emotional links that connected individuals in the State Department to European actors. She also provided clear policy advice to US practitioners that she continued to provide when she returned to “official” diplomacy in 1967, with her appointment as Vice Chairman of the State Department’s Policy Planning Staff, a position she held until 1970.

## Conclusion

My professional life has ... been a dual one; some 15 years working for the U.S. Government and some 30 years writing books and articles on international problems on the “outside.” (Camps 1987, 1).

This modest assessment of her time spent publishing research on the “outside” of official diplomacy suggests that her move into the world of journalism, think tanks, and scholarship had not been her first choice. Like other women international thinkers at the time, due to externally imposed constraints such as the marriage bar as well as societal conventions, Camps’ career was forcibly kaleidoscopic. While she was central to transatlantic diplomacy and scholarship in her time, as someone who did not hold an important academic position and did not engage in theorizing European integration, she is not well known beyond a small group of scholars. With the exception of her book on Britain and the EC, Camps’ scholarship to date has not been explored in its breadth and in the specific diplomatic aims it was meant to fulfil.

However, Miriam Camps had a pioneering role in the establishment of the field of European integration and made original contributions to scholarship. As this article has shown, Camps’ assessments of European integration and transatlantic relations in the 1960s were broad and multifaceted. She conveyed the multilevel and multi-institutional reality of the time and how politicians used the full range of European integration organizations to launch initiatives, probe and gauge the mood of other politicians, and network. This multilateral aspect of the history of European integration is something that has only recently been rediscovered (Patel 2020). Historians, political scientists, and IR scholars of European integration and transatlantic relations so far have, it seems, categorized contributions to scholarship using a university affiliation as the benchmark for who was a “founder” of the discipline and who was merely writing journalistic work. This chimes with Owens’ assessment that “to date, intellectual and disciplinary histories in international relations have largely failed to understand historical women as producers of international thought or as co-founders of the discipline” (Owens 2018, 469).

Generally, historians of Britain and Europe have also not squared the circle between Camps’ diplomatic experiences and her scholarship, which, as this article has argued, were two sides of the same coin. Other women who contributed scholarship on early European integration were often journalists such as Nora Beloff (1963). Yet, they were also academics in terms of their training as well as observers and eyewitnesses through their journalistic appointments. They also deserve to be reinserted into the founding history of the discipline. More generally then, returning to the rich, institutionally, and individually diverse beginnings of European integration studies might be a way to arrive at a more varied disciplinary history of the field. Susan Strange was proud of her background in journalism, not only because it “taught her to write clearly, concisely, and to the point” but also because she felt that journalists had more impact on policy than academics (Strange 1989).

While this article has focused on Camps’ writings and career in the 1950s and 1960s, linking this to her role in the creation of European integration organizations in the 1940s, her scholarship and career in the 1970s, a time during which she moved away from her focus on Europe to adopt a broader global (though still largely Western) perspective, still remains to be explored. So do the transat-

atlantic networks of civil servants, think tank scholars, activists, journalists, and academics in which Camps was embedded during and after the Second World War, forming what could be called an intellectual transatlantic Community. As Antonin Cohen has suggested, it is worth exploring what these networks can tell us about policy choices and preferences in the postwar United States and Europe and to see how this can contribute to our understanding of how and with what intention European integration research was written (Cohen 2017).

### Acknowledgments

I am very grateful for the helpful comments the editors of this Special Issue and the three anonymous reviewers have provided on this article. My deep gratitude also goes to Professor Jon Western (1963–2022), Elena Frogameni, and archivist Debbie Richards from Mount Holyoke College, Camps' alma mater, for the research support for this project. *The Foreign Service Journal* kindly permitted the use of Miriam Camps' image, extracted from this article: <https://afsa.org/foreign-service-journal-february-1969/#26>.

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