

**University of Manitoba
Department of History**

**History 3110
The Road to Brexit: Britain and Europe Since 1945 (3)
Section A01
Winter Term 2021
Remote Delivery Course
Monday, Wednesday, Friday 12:30-1:20 p.m.**

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Office Hours: MW, 11:30-12:20 via phone, WebEx or Discussion through UMLearn.

Course Description: On 23 June 2016 72% of registered voters in the United Kingdom went to the polls to vote in a referendum on whether the country should remain a member of the European Union. In a result that shocked experts throughout Britain and Europe, 51.9% of voters chose to leave after having been a member of the European Economic Community and the European Union for 43 years. Journalists and scholars from a wide range of academic disciplines have struggled to understand this result and its full meanings and implications. Knowledge of history and historical debate is an important tool for making sense of the modern world, and has much light to shed on this specific event. In this course we will examine historical debates about the relationship of the United Kingdom to the project of European Integration since 1945. This course will cover the role of the United Kingdom in post-war reconstruction and the establishment of the post-war political and economic order in Western Europe. We will describe the factors that shaped the initial reaction of the British government toward the formation of the European Coal and Steel Community, and the European Economic Community (EEC). We will discuss the political and economic issues that contributed to Britain's efforts to join the EEC in the 1960s and 1970s, as well as Britain's role in the creation of the European Union. We will explore the shifting politics of European integration in the United Kingdom, which have evolved and cut across party lines in very interesting ways. We will examine the language that leaders have used to explain British interests in Europe. We will investigate what European Integration meant for the constituent parts of the United Kingdom, including Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales. We will learn about the evolution, arguments and language of Euroscepticism and its various political manifestations. We will explore debates over British identity, Britain's past, and its "rightful" role in the world. This course will hopefully shed light on issues such as the nation, sovereignty, democracy, empire and empire nostalgia, immigration, generation and gender. Finally, we will speculate on the possibilities for a post-Brexit United Kingdom.

Remote Learning: This course will be delivered remotely primarily through the UMLearn Platform. Part of the course will be asynchronous. There will be recorded lectures posted on the UM Learn page for the course under "Content Browser" and "Recorded Lectures." Lecture outlines will assist you in taking notes on these recorded lectures. These outlines will be available on the UM Learn page under "Content Browser" and "Lecture Outlines." There will

also be live discussions delivered via WebEx for which students will earn a participation mark. The dates of these discussions will be marked off in the syllabus (Weeks 3, 5, 7, 9, 11 and 12). Instructions for joining a WebEx discussion will be emailed to students directly and posted on the UMLearn page for the course under “Content Browser” and “WebEx Instructions.” At least a week before the discussion the professor will post a set of discussion questions on the UMLearn Platform under “Content Browser” and “Discussion Questions.” These will help you to prepare for our live discussions. Most weeks we will discuss assigned primary source readings or wade into historiographical debates. This syllabus, under “Lecture and Reading Schedule,” is designed to be a checklist. If you follow the instructions each week, you will be perfectly caught up in the course. Every Sunday night the professor will send out a class email reminding and updating student instructions for the coming week.

Texts/Readings: All assigned readings will be provided by the Professor through the UMLearn platform. The Readings will appear on the UMLearn page for the course under “Content Browser” and “Course Readings.” Most of the readings will also be available as E-Books or E-articles available through the University of Manitoba Library Catalogue. Every week the professor will post a series of questions about the readings under “Content Browser” and “Reading Questions.” You can use these to guide your reading of the material and to help you prepare for our exams and live discussions.

Evaluation and Assignments:

Participation Mark for active participation in Live Discussions Held Via WebEx, 20% Course Mark

One 1000 Word Critical Analysis of a Historical Speech, 20% of Course Mark, due 5 March 2020

One 2000 Word Research Essay, 20% of Course Mark, due 16 April 2020

One Remote Open Book/Open Note Mid-Term, 10% of Course Mark, 19 March 2020

One Remote Open Book/Open Note Final Examination during the University’s Winter Term Final Exam Period, (April 19- May 1, 2021) Worth 30% of Course Mark.

Students are expected to complete assignments on time, and extensions will be granted only in exceptional circumstances. Late papers will be deducted 2 points for every business day after the assigned deadline.

The Voluntary Withdrawal Date for this course is **31 March 2021**. At least 30% of your course mark will be provided before that date.

Remote exams will consist of essay questions. These exams will take place during the normal course time. Exam questions will appear in UM Learn under “Content Browser” and “Exams” at the beginning of the exam time, and students will complete the exams remotely, uploading their answers to UM Learn under “Assignments” and “Assessments.” The Final exam will follow the model of earlier in-class exams. Content and format of the exams will be thoroughly discussed in class, and study guides will be distributed via UM Learn prior to every test.

Students who wish to appeal a grade given for term work must do so within 10 working days after the grade for the term work has been made available to them. Uncollected term work will become the property of the Faculty of Arts and will be subject to confidential destruction

Grade Distribution:

A+, 90-100%, Exceptional Work
 A, 80-89%, Excellent Work
 B+, 75-79%, Very Good
 B, 70-74%, Good
 C+, 65-69%, Satisfactory
 C, 60-64%, Adequate
 D, 50-59%, Marginal
 F, 49% and Below, Failing.

Academic Honesty: The University of Manitoba takes a very serious view of academic misconduct, which includes cheating on examinations, plagiarism, misrepresentation, submitting purchased or borrowed papers, and/or submitting the same material in two different courses. Submitted work in this course should be done independently. Students should familiarize themselves with the University's policies academic dishonesty found in "Plagiarism and Cheating" and on "Examination Impersonation found in the section on "Academic Integrity" of the General Academic Regulations in the online Academic Calendar, and Catalog (<http://crscalprod1.cc.umanitoba.ca/Catalog/ViewCatalog.aspx>). Faculty of Arts penalties for academic dishonesty include the following, which can be found at http://umanitoba.ca/faculties/arts/student/student_responsibilities.html :

The common penalty in Arts for plagiarism on a written assignment is a grade of F on the paper and a final grade of F (DISC) (for disciplinary action) for the course. For the most serious acts of plagiarism, such as purchase of an essay and repeat violations, this penalty can also include suspension for a period of up to five (5) years from registration in courses taught in a particular department/program in Arts or from all courses taught in this Faculty. The Faculty also reserves the right to submit student work that is suspected of being plagiarized to Internet sites designed to detect plagiarism or to other experts for authentication.

The common penalty in Arts for academic dishonesty on a test or examination is F for the paper, F (DISC) for the course, and a one-year suspension from courses acceptable for credit in the Faculty. For more serious acts of academic dishonesty on a test or examination, such as repeat violations, this penalty can also include suspension for a period of up to five years from registration in courses taught in a particular department or program in Arts or from all courses taught in or accepted for credit by this Faculty.

Lecture and Reading Schedule:

Week 1: 18-22 January 2021

You Need to Watch: Weekly recorded lectures on UMLearn Page for the course under

“Content Browser” and “Recorded Lectures.” The exact titles of the Lecture Files that students need to watch will be listed on the weekly Sunday email sent to each student in the class describing the tasks to be completed for the week. In the lectures that you will watch this week I will introduce the course, explore Pre-1945 ideas for an integrated and unified Europe, and discuss the economic and political context in the United Kingdom and continental Europe in 1945. These lectures will also examine cooperation and debate between the U.K., Western European Nations, and the United States over the questions of European reconstruction, recovery and defense between 1945-1949.

THE BIG TAKEAWAYS (this means “future exam type of questions”): What were Britain’s foreign policy priorities in the immediate aftermath of the war? What did the British Government consider its most important trade and political relationships? What was the British Government’s vision for post-war Europe and how did it perceive its own role?

You Need to Attend: There will be an optional live discussion on WebEx where you can meet the professor and ask questions about the syllabus and the course in general. On Sunday I will send an email dividing the class into 3 groups. One group will meet via WebEx on Monday, 12:30-1:20, a second group will meet on Wednesday, 12:30-1:20 and a third group will meet on Friday 12:30-1:20. Instructions on how to join a WebEx discussion will be emailed to students and will also be available on the UMLearn page for the course under “WebEx Instructions”.

You Need to Be Working On: Nothing this week

You Need to Read: Reading Questions for these readings will be available on the UMLearn Page under “Content Browser” and “Reading Questions.” Use these questions to guide your readings and prepare for future discussions and exams. On the UMLearn Page for the Course, under “Content Browser” and “Readings,” please find the following readings:

General Background Reading:

- (1) Stephen George, “The Background” *An Awkward Partner: Britain and the European Community* (OUP), pp.5-41.

Primary Source Reading for Discussion (week 3):

- (2) Winston Churchill, 19 September 1946 Address at University of Zurich.

Historiography Debate for Discussion (Week 3):

- (3) Piers Ludlow, “Paying the Price of Victory? Postwar Britain and Ideas of National Independence” in Dominik Geppert (ed) *The Postwar Challenge: Cultural, Social and Political Change in Western Europe, 1945-1958* (OUP, 2003), 259-272.
- (4) Alan Milward “History and Theory” and “The Post-War Nation State” and “Envoi” *The European Rescue of the Nation State* (Taylor and Francis, 2000), pp.1-39, 374-383.

Then choose one of the following:

- (5) James Ellison, “The European Rescue of Britain,” *Alan S. Milward and a Century of European Change* Eds: Guirao et al. (Routledge, 2012), 444-458.
- (6) Robert Bideleux, “Virtues of Alan Milward’s *European Rescue of the Nation State* Metaphor,” and “Important Limitations of Alan Milward’s *ERNS* thesis,” and

“Beyond Milward’s European Rescue of the Nation State thesis” in *The Oxford Handbook of Postwar European History* (OUP, 2012), pp.380-390.

Week 2: 25-29 January 2021

You Need to Watch: Weekly recorded lectures posted on the UMLearn Page for the Course under “Recorded Lectures.” This week we will discuss the British Reaction to the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), The Messina Conference (1955), The Treaty of Rome (1957) and the formation of the European Economic Community (EEC). We will explore the historical debate over whether Britain “Missed the Bus” by withdrawing from these negotiations. We will consider the national and international factors and pressure groups, as well as traditional assumptions (by both elites and the public), that shaped government policy toward these developments.

THE BIG TAKEAWAYS: What factors contributed to the British government declining to join the ECSC and the EEC? Was this a mistake? Did Britain “miss the train/bus/boat, etc.?” Or did these decisions make sense given the immediate political and economic realities in Britain?

You Need to Attend: There will be an optional live discussion on WebEx where the professor will discuss and field questions about the first writing assignment for the course. On Sunday I will send an email dividing the class into 3 groups. One group will meet via WebEx on Monday, 12:30-1:20, a second group will meet on Wednesday, 12:30-1:20 and a third group will meet on Friday 12:30-1:20. Instructions on how to join a WebEx discussion will be emailed to students and will also be available on the UMLearn page for the course under “WebEx Instructions”.

You Need to Be Working On: (1) Critical Speech Analysis Assignment (2) Discussion Questions for Week 3.

You Need to Read: Reading Questions for these readings will be available on the UMLearn Page under “Content Browser” and “Reading Questions.” Use these questions to guide your readings and prepare for future discussions and exams. On UM Learn Page for the course under “Readings,” find:

General Background Reading:

- (1) Martin Dedman, “The Schuman Plan (1950) and the European Coal and Steel Community (1951)” in *The Origins and Development of European Union, 1945-2008: A History of European Integration* (Taylor and Francis, 2009), 34-69.
- (2) “Introduction” and “Limited Liability, 1945-1955,” *Britain and European Integration Since 1945: On the Sidelines* Eds: David Gowland and Arthur Turner and Alex Wright (Routledge, 2010), pp. 1-42.

Primary Source Reading for Discussion (Week 3 Discussion):

- (3) Robert Schuman, “The Schuman Declaration” 9 May 1950.
- (4) “Lost Opportunities, 1950-1957” in *Britain and European Integration, 1945-1998: A Documentary History* Eds: David Gowland and Arthur Turner (Routledge, 2000).

Historiographical Reading for Week 3 Discussion:

- (5) Matthew Broad, "Negotiating 'Outer Europe': The Trades Union Congress (TUC), Transnational Trade Unionism and European Integration in the 1950s," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 46:1 (2020): 59-78.

Week 3: 1-5 February 2021

You Need to Watch: Weekly recorded lectures posted on the UMLearn page for the course posted under "Recorded Lectures." This week we will discuss the changing internal an external political and economic factors that compelled the MacMillan government to begin negotiations to enter the EEC. We will debate whether or not the language used in the decision to join the EEC over the long term left a popular sense of defeat from trying to enter. We will discuss the major sticking points in these negotiations, particularly issues related to the Commonwealth. We will evaluate the arguments that were made for and against British entry. We will discuss why President Charles de Gaulle exercised a veto over British entry in 1963.

THE BIG TAKEAWAYS: What factors contributed to the British Government's 180' turn in policy with respect to European integration? What groups argued most strongly in favour of British Membership in the EEC? Which British groups were opposed? Why did De Gaulle exercise a French veto over British entry?

You Need to Attend: First live WebEx discussion where participation marks will be awarded. Discussion questions will be available in advance on the UMLearn Page for the course under "Discussion Questions." For this discussion we will discuss the primary source documents from week 2 as well as the historical debate on whether or not Britain "Missed the Bus" on European Integration. On Sunday I will send an email dividing the class into 3 groups. One group will meet via WebEx on Monday, 12:30-1:20, a second group will meet on Wednesday, 12:30-1:20 and a third group will meet on Friday 12:30-1:20. Instructions on how to join a WebEx discussion will be emailed to students and will also be available on the UMLearn page for the course under "WebEx Instructions".

You Need to Be Working On: (1) Critical Speech Analysis Assignment (2) Discussion Questions for Week 5 (Available on the UMLearn Page for the course under "Content Browser" and "Discussion Questions").

You Need to Read: Reading Questions for these readings will be available on the UMLearn Page under "Content Browser" and "Reading Questions." Use these questions to guide your readings and prepare for future discussions and exams. On UMLearn Page for the course under "Readings," find:

General Background Reading:

- (1) Richard Griffiths, "A Slow One Hundred and Eighty Degree Turn: British Policy Toward the Common Market, 1955-1960," and Stuart Ward, "Anglo-Commonwealth Relations and EEC Membership: The Problem of the Old Dominions," *Britain's Failure to Enter the European Community, 1961-1963: The Enlargement Negotiations and Crises in European, Atlantic and Commonwealth Relations* ed: George Wilkes (Routledge, 1997), pp.35-48, 93-107.

Primary Source Reading for Week 5 Discussion:

- (2) Harold MacMillan, Address given to the Conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers held in London 20 September 1962.
- (3) Hugh Gaitskell, speech to Labour Party Conference in Brighton, 3 October 1962.
- (4) “Knocking at the Door, 1959-1963,” *Britain and European Integration, 1945-1998: A Documentary History* Eds: David Gowland and Arthur Turner (Routledge, 2000).

Optional Historiographical Reading for Week 5 Discussion:

- (5) Richard Grayson, “The British Government, the Channel Tunnel, and European Unity, 1948-1964,” *European History Quarterly* 26:3 (1996): 415-436.

Week 4: 8-12 February 2021

You Need to Watch: Weekly recorded lectures posted on UMLearn Page for the course posted under “Recorded Lectures.” This week we will discuss the Labour government of Harold Wilson and its attempt to negotiate entry into the EEC only to face a second de Gaulle veto in 1967. We will examine why Edward Heath was finally able to successfully negotiate entry for the UK in 1973. We will talk about why Harold Wilson decided to hold the first referendum in British History on UK membership in the EEC in 1975. We will consider the legitimacy of the use of referendum in a Parliamentary democracy, as well as what the public polling, press coverage, and the ultimate results suggested about the feelings of ordinary people about joining the EEC.

THE BIG TAKEAWAYS: How do you account for the politics of joining the EEC within the Labour Party? Why did Wilson attempt to bring Britain in to the EEC? Why did his bid fail? Why was Heath successful where Wilson failed? Why did Wilson seek the referendum in 1975? What were the arguments made for each side during the referendum? Why was the judgement issued by the voters in 1975 not the final one? Consider the use of a referendum in a Parliamentary democracy. What issues, if any, is it an appropriate method for resolving?

You Need to Attend: Nothing.

You Need to Be Working On: (1) Critical Speech Analysis Assignment (2) Week 5 Discussion Questions.

You Need to Read: Reading Questions for these readings will be available on the UMLearn Page under “Content Browser” and “Reading Questions.” Use these questions to guide your readings and prepare for future discussions and exams. On UM Learn Page for the course under “Readings,” find:

Choose only ONE of the following background articles:

- (1) Anthony. Forster, “The referendum on Britain’s continued membership of the European Community.” *Euroscepticism in Contemporary British Politics* (Routledge, 2002), p.48-62
- (2) Butler and Kitzinger, “Introduction,” “The Pro-Marketters” and “Conclusion” *The 1975 Referendum* (1976), pp. 1-20, 68-92, 279-289.

Primary Source Readings for Week 5 Discussion:

- (3) Edward Heath speech to the House of Commons, 28 October 1971.

Historiographical Readings for Week 5 Discussion:

- (4) Oliver Daddow, "The Historiography of Wilson's Attempt to Take the UK into the EEC," Anne Deighton, "The Labour Party, Public Opinion, and the Second Try in 1967," in Daddow (ed) *Harold Wilson and European Integration: Britain's Second Application to Join the EEC* (2016): 1-25, 39-51.
- (5) Helen Parr, "A Question of Leadership: July 1966 and Harold Wilson's European Decision," *Contemporary British History* 19:4 (2005): 437-458.
- (6) Laura Levine Frader, "International Institutions and Domestic Reform: Equal Pay and British Membership in the European Economic Community," *Twentieth Century British History* 29:1 (2018) pp.104-128.
- (7) Piers Ludlow, "Safeguarding British Identity or Betraying it? The Role of British Tradition in the Parliamentary Debate on EC Membership, October 1971," *Journal of Common Market Studies* 53:1 (2015): 18-34.

Reading Week/Louis Riel Day, 15-19 February 2021, No Classes.

Week 5: 22-26 February 2021

You Need to Watch: Weekly recorded lectures posted on UMLearn page for the course posted under "Recorded Lectures." This week we will discuss Margaret Thatcher and how she both aided European integration with the Single Europe Act (establishing a process for creating a single market by 1992), and then through her rhetoric over the Social Charter, qualified majority voting (QVM), The Exchange Rate Mechanism (ERM) gave encouragement to Eurosceptics on the political right.

THE BIG TAKEAWAYS: What is the relationship of Margaret Thatcher to European Integration? In what ways did she facilitate it? In what ways did she encourage Euroscepticism? How do we reconcile these contradictions?

You Need to Attend: Second live WebEx discussion where participation marks will be awarded. Discussion questions will be available in advance on the UMLearn Page for the course under "Discussion Questions." For this discussion we will discuss the primary source documents from week 3 as well as the historical debates surrounding Britain's entry into the EEC and the use and results of the Referendum of 1975. On Sunday I will send an email dividing the class into 3 groups. One group will meet via WebEx on Monday, 12:30-1:20, a second group will meet on Wednesday, 12:30-1:20 and a third group will meet on Friday 12:30-1:20. Instructions on how to join a WebEx discussion will be emailed to students and will also be available on the UMLearn page for the course under "WebEx Instructions".

You Need to Be Working On: (1) Critical Speech Analysis Essay

You Need to Read: Reading Questions for these readings will be available on the UMLearn Page under "Content Browser" and "Reading Questions." Use these questions to guide your readings and prepare for future discussions and exams. On UMLearn Page for the course under "Readings," find:

For General Background:

- (1) Andrew Gamble, "Europe and America" *Making Thatcher's Britain* eds: Robert Saunders and Ben Jackson (Cambridge 2012), pp. 218-233.

Primary Source for Week 7 Discussion:

- (2) Margaret Thatcher, Speech to the College of Europe, 20 September 1988 (The “Bruges Speech”).

Historiographical Debate for Week 7 Discussion:

- (3) Benjamin Grob-Fitzgibbon, “Mrs. Thatcher, John Major and the Road to European Union,” and “Conclusion: Post Imperial Britain and the Rise of Euroscepticism” *Continental Drift: Britain and Europe from the End of Empire to the Rise of Euroscepticism* (Cambridge, 2016), pp.431-470.
- (4) Cary Fontana and Craig Parsons, “‘One Woman’s Prejudice’: Did Margaret Thatcher Cause Britain’s Anti-Europeanism?” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 53:1 (2015): 89-105.
- (5) Andrew Roe-Crines and Tim Heppell, “Legitimising Euroscepticism? The Construction, Delivery and Significance of the Bruges Speech.” *Contemporary British History* 34:2 (2020): 204-227.

Week 6: 1-5 March 2021

You Need to Watch: Weekly recorded lectures posted on UMLearn Page for the course under “Recorded Lectures.” This week we will discuss the Maastricht Treaty and the formation of the European Union, as well as the growing civil war within the Conservative Party over European integration. We will talk about rising Euroscepticism and its expansion in the political right, manifested in the formation of the Referendum Party and the United Kingdom Independence Party.

THE BIG TAKEAWAYS:

You Need to Attend: Nothing.

You Need to Hand in: Critical Speech Analysis Essay Assignment due 5 March 2020, worth 20% of your course mark. You will upload your essay to the UMLearn page for the Course under “Assessments” and “Assignments” to a folder titled “Speech Analysis Essay” before midnight on 5 March 2020.

You Need to Be Working On: (1) Begin reviewing for your exam on 19 March 2020. On the UM Learn Page for the Course under “Content Browser” and “Study Guides” you will find a study guide for this exam. Everything you need to know to succeed on the exam is on that Study Guide. (2) Discussion Questions for Week 7 Discussion.

You Need to Read: Reading Questions for these readings will be available on the UMLearn Page under “Content Browser” and “Reading Questions.” Use these questions to guide your readings and prepare for future discussions and exams. On UM Learn Page for the course under “Readings,” find:

For General Background:

- (1) Anthony Forster, “The Struggle Against Political Union, 1990-1993” in *Euroscepticism in Contemporary British Politics* (Routledge, 2002), 83-105.
- (2) Duncan Watts and Colin Pilkington, “EU Policies and their Impact upon Britain,” *Britain and the European Union Today* (Manchester University Press, 1995), pp.150-195.

Primary Sources for Week 7 Discussion:

- (3) Tony Benn, Speech to the House of Commons on 20 November 1991.

- (4) Sir James Goldsmith, "Sleepwalking into the European Superstate" Speech to the 1996 Referendum Party Conference in Brighton.
For Historiographical Debate, Week 7 Discussion:
- (5) John Todd "The British Discourse on Europe 1992-1993: Major and the Maastricht 'Bastards'" *The UK's Relationship with Europe: Struggling Over Sovereignty* (Palgrave/Macmillan, 2016), pp.57-82.

Week 7: 8-12 March 2021

You Need to Watch: Weekly recorded lectures posted on UMLearn Page for the course under "Recorded Lectures." This week we will discuss New Labour and the reasons for its leadership's embrace of Europe barely a generation after the issue was once a deeply divisive issue for the party. We will also examine the limitations of this embrace, and the challenges posed by Monetary Union, the Constitutional Treaty, and the Lisbon Treaty.

THE BIG TAKEAWAYS:

You Need to Attend: Third live WebEx discussion where participation marks will be awarded. Discussion questions will be available in advance on the UMLearn Page for the course under "Discussion Questions." For this discussion we review for your first in class exam on 19 March 2020. On Sunday I will send an email dividing the class into 3 groups. One group will meet via WebEx on Monday, 12:30-1:20, a second group will meet on Wednesday, 12:30-1:20 and a third group will meet on Friday 12:30-1:20. Instructions on how to join a WebEx discussion will be emailed to students and will also be available on the UMLearn page for the course under "WebEx Instructions".

You Need to Be Working On: (1) You need to be studying for your 19 March 2020 Exam. Find the Study Guide on the UMLearn page for the course under "Content Browser" and "Study Guides" (2) Begin work on your research essay.

You Need to Read: Reading Questions for these readings will be available on the UMLearn Page under "Content Browser" and "Reading Questions." Use these questions to guide your readings and prepare for future discussions and exams. On UMLearn Page for the course under "Readings," find:

Primary Source Readings for Week 9 Discussion:

- (1) Tony Blair, Speech to the French National Assembly, 24 March 1998
- (2) Tony Blair, Speech to the European Parliament, 23 June 2005.

Historiographical Debate for Week 9 Discussion:

- (3) Oliver Daddow, "Playing Games with History: Tony Blair's European Policy in the Press," *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 9 (2007): 582-598.
- (4) Oliver Daddow, "Interpreting the Outsider Tradition in British European Policy Speeches from Thatcher to Cameron," *Journal of Common Market Studies* 53:1 (2015): 71-88.
- (5) Anne Deighton, "The Past in the Present: British Imperial Memories and the European Question" in Jan-Werner Muller (ed) *Memory and Power in Post War Europe* (Cambridge, 2009): 100-120.
- (6) Anderson and Weymouth, "Eurocepticism in the British Press," *Insulting the Public? The British Press and the European Union* (Longman, 1999), pp.60-92.

Week 8: 15-19 March 2021

You Need to Watch: Weekly recorded lectures posted on UMLearn Page for the course under “Recorded Lectures.” This week we will discuss the impact of the European Union upon political, economic, social and cultural life in Scotland, Northern Ireland and Wales. We will consider the role of the European Union in the Northern Ireland Peace Process, and its significance for movements for Scottish Independence and Welsh autonomy.

THE BIG TAKEAWAYS: What role has European Integration played in the Peace Process in Northern Ireland? What role has European Integration played in Scottish Independence?

You Need to Attend: 19 March 2020, Remote Mid-Term Exam, worth 10% of course mark. A little before 12:30 on 19 March 2020 the exam will appear on the UMLearn Page under “Content Browser” and “Exams.” You may begin as soon as the exam appears. You will have 50 minutes to complete the Exam and a 10 minute grace period to upload your exam to the UMLearn Page under “Assessments” and “Assignments” to a folder titled “Mid-Term Exam.”

You Need to Be Working On: (1) Studying for the midterm (2) Working on your research paper (3) Discussion Questions for week 9

You Need to Read: Reading Questions for these readings will be available on the UMLearn Page under “Content Browser” and “Reading Questions.” Use these questions to guide your readings and prepare for future discussions and exams. On UMLearn Page for the course under “Readings,” find:

Background Readings:

- (1) Mary Murphy, “Northern Ireland and the European Union: The Context” and “Northern Ireland and the European Union: The Political Dynamics.” *Northern Ireland and the European Union: The Dynamics of a Changing Relationship* (Manchester U Press, 2014), pp.22-37, 66-94.
- (2) Anwen Elias, “From Full National Status to Independence in Europe: The Case of Plaid Cymru---the Party of Wales” and Eve Hepburn, “Scottish Autonomy and European Integration: The Response of Scotland’s Political Parties,” *European Integration and the Nationalities Question* eds: John McGarry and Michael Keating (Routledge, 2006), pp. 193-238.

Primary Sources for Week 9 Discussion:

- (3) Nicola Sturgeon, Address to the Scottish Parliament 27 June 2017

Historiographical Debate for Week 9 Discussion:

- (4) Katy Hayward and Mary Murphy, “The EU’s Influence on the Peace Process and Agreement in Northern Ireland in Light of Brexit,” *Ethnopolitics* 17:3 (2018): 276-291.
- (5) Clodagh Harris, “Anglo-Irish Elite Cooperation and the Peace Process: the Impact of the EEC/EU,” *Irish Studies in International Affairs* 12 (2001):203-214.

Week 9: 22-26 March 2021

You Need to Watch: Weekly recorded lectures posted on UMLearn Page for the course under “Recorded Lectures.” This week we will discuss both “Hard” and “Soft”

Euroscepticism and criticisms that they made about British membership in the European Union, as well as whether or not these critiques were valid. We will examine the forces and transformations in British society that contributed to opposition to the European Union. We will look at some of the common tropes in Anti-EU language: The Brussels bureaucrat, the Polish plumber, etc., etc. We will discuss empire nostalgia and national greatness narratives. We will consider the gendered language of Euroscepticism.

THE BIG TAKEAWAYS: How do you account for the political rise of Euroscepticism as a force in British politics? What arguments did they make against British involvement in European Integration? What were the most effective arguments? The least? Were these arguments supported by the facts?

You Need to Attend: Fourth live WebEx discussion where participation marks will be awarded.

Discussion questions will be available in advance on the UMLearn Page for the course under “Discussion Questions.” For this discussion we will discuss the language of politicians and the press when explaining Britain and European Integration. On Sunday I will send an email dividing the class into 3 groups. One group will meet via WebEx on Monday, 12:30-1:20, a second group will meet on Wednesday, 12:30-1:20 and a third group will meet on Friday 12:30-1:20. Instructions on how to join a WebEx discussion will be emailed to students and will also be available on the UMLearn page for the course under “WebEx Instructions”.

You Need to Be Working On: (1) Your Research Paper

You Need to Read: Reading Questions for these readings will be available on the UMLearn Page under “Content Browser” and “Reading Questions.” Use these questions to guide your readings and prepare for future discussions and exams. On UM Learn Page for the course under “Readings,” find:

Primary Sources for Week 11 Discussion:

- (1) Nigel Farage Address to UKIP Conference, 19 September 2013
- (2) Nigel Farage Address to the European Parliament 18 December 2002.

Secondary Sources for Week 11 Discussion:

- (3) John Sutcliffe, “The Roots and Consequences of Euroscepticism,” *Geopolitics, History, and International Relations* 4:1 (2012):107-127.
- (4) Menno Spiering, “The Island Story” *A Cultural History of British Euroscepticism* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), pp. 30-43.
- (5) Andrew Moravcsik, “In Defense of the ‘Democratic Deficit’: Reassessing the Legitimacy of the EU,” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40:4 (2002): 603-624.
- (6) Ariel Spigelman, “The Depiction of Polish Migrants in the United Kingdom by the British Press After Poland’s Accession to the European Union” *International Journal of Sociology* 33:1-2 (2013): 98-113.

Then choose one of the following articles for Week 11 Discussion:

- (7) Caroline Sayer, Brad Blitz and Miguel Otero-Iglesias, “De facto Statelessness in the United Kingdom” in *Statelessness in the European Union: Displaced, Undocumented, Unwanted* (Cambridge, 2011), p.160-195.
- (8) Alina Rzepnikowska, “Racism and Xenophobia experienced by Polish Migrants in the UK Before and After the Brexit Vote,” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 45:1 (2019): 61-77.

- (9) Linda McDowell, "Old and New European Economic Migrants: Whiteness and Managed Migration Policies," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 35:1 (2009): 19-36.

Week 10: 29-31 March, No Classes 2 April, Good Friday

You Need to Watch: Weekly recorded lectures posted on UMLearn Page for the course under "Recorded Lectures." We will talk about Prime the reasons behind David Cameron's decision negotiate membership reform for the United Kingdom with the European Union and then to hold a referendum on British Membership in the European Union. We will explore the referendum campaign and its outcome.

THE BIG TAKEAWAY: Why did David Cameron promise a referendum on UK membership in the EU? When he made the promise do you think that he expected that he'd have to follow through? Evaluate his decision? Evaluate the Referendum campaign. What were the most prominent arguments made by each side? Who is most deserving of credit/blame for the outcome of the referendum?

You Need to Attend: Nothing

You Need to Be Working On: (1) Research paper (2) Studying for final exam. Study Guide is available on the UMLearn Page under "Content Browser" and "Study Guides" (3) Week 11 Discussion Questions

You Need to Read: Reading Questions for these readings will be available on the UMLearn Page under "Content Browser" and "Reading Questions." Use these questions to guide your readings and prepare for future discussions and exams. On UMLearn Page for the course under "Readings," find:

Background Reads:

- (1) Chris Gifford, "Euro-sceptic Challenge to the Coalition Government," in *The Making of Euro-sceptic Britain* (Routledge, 2014).
- (2) Rudolf G. Adam, "Cameron Fighting the EU and His Own Party: Preparing for Brexit," *Brexit: Causes and Consequences* (Springer, 2020): 47-119.

Primary Sources for Week 11 Discussion:

- (3) David Cameron, Speech at Bloomberg on 23 January 2013.
- (4) Boris Johnson, Leave Campaign Victory Speech, 24 June 2016.

Secondary Sources for Week 11 Discussion:

- (5) Matthew Goodwin and Oliver Heath, "The 2016 Referendum, Brexit and the Left Behind: An Aggregate-level Analysis of the Result" *The Political Quarterly* 87:3 (July-September 2016): 323-332.
- (6) James Ker-Lindsay, "Turkey's EU Accession as a Factor in the 2016 Brexit Referendum" *Turkish Studies* 19:1 (2018): 1-22.
- (7) Justin Frosini and Mark Gilbert, "The Brexit Car Crash: Using E.H. Carr to explain Britain's Choice to Leave the European Union in 2016." *Journal of European Public Policy* 27:5 (2020): 761-778.

Week 11: 5-9 April 2021

You Need to Watch: Weekly recorded lectures posted on UMLearn Page for the course

under “Recorded Lectures.” This week we will discuss the shocking fallout from the leave vote in the referendum. We will examine the invocation of article 50, the negotiations under Prime Minister Theresa May with the European Union and the most serious points of contention, including the situation in Northern Ireland. We will also explore May’s failure to win Parliamentary support for the withdrawal agreement.

THE BIG TAKEAWAY: What were the critical issues to be negotiated by Theresa May and the EU in the aftermath of the referendum? What were the major stumbling blocks? What were the political limitations within which May operated? Was her decision to call an election a wise one? How do you account for the results?

You Need to Attend: Fifth live WebEx discussion where participation marks will be awarded. Discussion questions will be available in advance on the UMLearn Page for the course under “Discussion Questions.” For this discussion we will discuss the Cameron’s decision to hold a referendum on British membership in the European Union and the resulting campaign and results. On Sunday I will send an email dividing the class into 3 groups. One group will meet via WebEx on Monday, 12:30-1:20, a second group will meet on Wednesday, 12:30-1:20 and a third group will meet on Friday 12:30-1:20. Instructions on how to join a WebEx discussion will be emailed to students and will also be available on the UMLearn page for the course under “WebEx Instructions”.

You Need to Be Working On: (1) Research Paper (2) Studying for Final Exam (3) Week 12 discussion questions (very similar to Final Exam Study Guide)

You Need to Read: On UM Learn Page for the course under “Readings,” find:

- (1) Rudolf G. Adam, “Brexit Means Brexit: Squaring the Circle” *Brexit: Causes and Consequences* (Springer, 2020): 125-189.
- (2) John Doyle and Eileen Connolly, “The Effects of Brexit on the Good Friday Agreement and Northern Ireland Peace Process,” *Peace, Security and Defense Cooperation in Post-Brexit Europe* (Springer, 2019), pp. 79-95.
- (3) Lee McGowan, “Understanding Europe,” “Negotiating Brexit: The UK Position, Actors and Objectives” and “Maintaining Europe: The View from Northern Ireland,” *Preparing for Brexit: Actors, Negotiations and Consequences* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), pp. 17-32, 49-66, 87-108.
- (4) Gumbrell-McCormick and Hyman, “What about the Workers? The Implications of Brexit for British and European Labour,” *Competition and Change* 21:3 (2017): 169-184.

Week 12: 12-16 April 2021

You Need to Watch: Weekly recorded lectures posted on UMLearn Page for the course under “Recorded Lectures.” This week we will discuss the fall of Theresa May and the rise of Boris Johnson and the withdrawal agreement of January 2020. We will discuss the ongoing talks to determine the economic and trade relationship between the U.K. and the E.U. and the major points of contention there. We will talk about the implications of withdrawal for Scotland and Northern Ireland. We will speculate on what Brexit will mean for the future of the United Kingdom.

You Need to Attend: Sixth live WebEx discussion where participation marks will be awarded. Discussion questions will be available in advance on the UMLearn Page for the course

under “Discussion Questions.” For this discussion we will discuss your final exam for the course. On Sunday I will send an email dividing the class into 3 groups. One group will meet via WebEx on Monday, 12:30-1:20, a second group will meet on Wednesday, 12:30-1:20 and a third group will meet on Friday 12:30-1:20. Instructions on how to join a WebEx discussion will be emailed to students and will also be available on the UMLearn page for the course under “WebEx Instructions”.

You Need to Hand In: Research Essay Assignment due 5 March 2020, worth 20% of your course mark. You will upload your essay to the UMLearn page for the Course under “Assessments” and “Assignments” to a folder titled “Speech Analysis Essay” before midnight on 16 April 2020.

You Need to Be Working On: Preparing for your final exam.

You Need to Read:

*****NOTE: The readings for this week are subject to change (the situation is still unfolding....)**

- (1) Boris Johnson Brexit Day Speech to the Nation, 31 January 2020.
- (2) Simon Bulmer and Lucia Quaglia, “The Politics and Economics of Brexit,” *Journal of European Public Policy* 25:8 (2018), 1089-1098
- (3) Andrew Gamble, “Taking Back Control: The Political Implications of Brexit” *Journal of European Public Policy* 25:8 (2018):1215-1232.
- (4) “Brexit: Europe Has Changed UK Food Culture for the better—leaving could turn back the Clock.” theconversation.com.
- (5) Jason Edwards, “O, The Roast Beef of England! Brexit and Gastronationalism” *The Political Quarterly* 90:4 (2019): 629-636.
- (6) Piers Ludlow, “The Historical Roots of the ‘Awkward Partner Narrative.’” *Contemporary European History* 21:1 (2019): 35-38.

Final Examination During the University Exam Period of 19 April 2021-1 May 2021

Student Resources

**Student supports and resources are available throughout the Fall and Winter terms. Please consult the appropriate webpages for information on virtual appointments or other modes of contact during this period of limited in-person services.*

Academic Resources

You have access to several important resources to help you navigate your classes and university life more generally. There are writing tutors available to help you with your essays through the Academic Learning Centre (ALC): <http://umanitoba.ca/student/academiclearning/>. The History department will also make a writing tutor available exclusively to History students in the department on one day a week. More information about scheduling, etc., TBA.

The ALC page also has resources to help you with study skills, organization, as well as assistance for students using English as an Additional Language (EAL). Other issues, including accessibility services, workshops, and tips about academic integrity are addressed at the Student Advocacy Services webpage (http://umanitoba.ca/student/resource/student_advocacy/).

All of the above services can also be accessed under the heading of Student Resources on the Student Affairs website: <http://umanitoba.ca/student/studentlife/index.html>.

History students can also take advantage of the huge range of academic materials (including primary and secondary sources, as well as pages to help with writing and referencing) made available by the History subject librarian, tailored just for you! They are available on the Libraries page at this link: <http://libguides.lib.umanitoba.ca/history>. Students who need research assistance can also schedule an appointment with a librarian through the website.

Student Counselling Centre

Contact SCC if you are concerned about any aspect of your mental health, including anxiety, stress, or depression, or for help with relationships or other life concerns. SCC offers crisis services as well as counseling. <http://umanitoba.ca/student/counselling/index.html>

Student Support Case Management

Contact the Student Support Case Management team if you are concerned about yourself or another student and don't know where to turn. SSCM helps connect students with on and off campus resources, provides safety planning, and offers other supports, including consultation, educational workshops, and referral to the STATIS threat assessment team. <http://umanitoba.ca/student/case-manager/index.html>

University Health Service

Contact UHS for any medical concerns, including mental health problems. UHS offers a full range of medical services to students, including psychiatric consultation. <http://umanitoba.ca/student/health/>

Student Advocacy

Contact Student Advocacy if you want to know more about your rights and responsibilities as a student, have questions about policies and procedures, and/or want support in dealing with academic or discipline concerns. <http://umanitoba.ca/student/advocacy>

UM History Student Association (UMHiSA)

UMHiSA is a history undergraduate student run organization that seeks to establish a sense of community for students studying all facets of history, and provide support for them in their academic career. Students interested in fun times, spirited debate, new opportunities, a community of like-minded students, or all of the above, check out UMHiSA on our twitter account @UMH_Undergrad, our instagram account @UMHISA_Undergrad, or emailing umhisau@gmail.com.