

The UK – in and out of Europe

Course Day & Times:

- Tuesday periods 8-9, Thursday period 9, Anderson 0134
- Office Hours: Wednesday 4pm – 5:30pm and Thursday 3pm-4pm (211 Anderson Hall)
- By Appt. via Zoom
- **Email via Canvas ONLY**

Course description and objectives:

This course investigates the shifting relationship between England/United Kingdom and continental Europe. Beginning with a very brief overview from the Norman invasion through turn of the 20th century to provide a general shared historical backdrop, the main focus of the course begins with the Entente Cordiale (1904) and follows the path of UK - European relations through the two world wars, the birth of the European integration project, the entry of the UK, its eventual exit, and the aftermath on both sides of the Channel. The focus throughout is the development of a greater understanding of the underlying currents of dissension between the UK and the continent stemming from a long history of conflict, but more critically the existence of distinct identities and perceptions. The UK's long-standing conceptualization of itself as “with, but not of Europe” can be traced throughout the events of the 20th century that led to the contentious accession of the UK to the EU, it's even more heavily debated exit, and will likely continue to shape the future of this deeply contested relationship.

Prerequisites

A basic “Introduction to Comparative Politics” course (such as CPO 2001) is strongly recommended, though not required. As this is an upper division course junior standing is suggested given the amount and level of assigned readings and expectations for assigned papers. *Freshmen and sophomores should discuss course expectations with professor.*

Attendance

Note that class attendance is required for this course. Attendance will be monitored during lectures and through participation during in-class discussions. Lecture notes and other related course materials discussed or distributed during class will NOT be posted online or otherwise distributed (except in the case of a prolonged *excused* absence).

According to the Office of the University Registrar, “acceptable reasons for absence from class include illness, serious family emergencies, special curricular requirements (e.g., judging trips, field trips, and professional conferences), military obligation, severe weather conditions, religious holidays and participation in official university activities such as music performances, athletic competition or debate. Absences from class for court-imposed legal obligations (e.g., jury duty or subpoena) must be excused.”

For further information about the University of Florida's attendance policy, please see the current Undergraduate Catalog

(<http://www.registrar.ufl.edu/catalog/policies/regulationattendance.html>).

Academic Honesty

Academic dishonesty, including cheating on exams and plagiarism, will not be tolerated. Any student engaging in such activities will be dealt with in accordance with University policy. It is your responsibility to know what constitutes plagiarism, and what the university policies are.

If you have doubts, we please discuss with the professor immediately (after the infringement is too late). Please refer to the current Undergraduate Catalogue for more information on the Student Honor code (<http://www.registrar.ufl.edu/catalog/policies/students.html>). Students who have questions about these policies, should contact the undergraduate advisement center for information.

Students with Disabilities

If you have a disability that may affect your performance in this class, you should contact the Dean of Students Office so that special arrangements can be made to accommodate you. It is your responsibility to do so at the beginning of the semester and to communicate directly with the professor during the first week of classes (or as soon as the disability occurs).

Grading & Assessment

Students are responsible for completing all readings for the topic in question prior to attending the class.

- Short papers (3@20% each, 60% total)
- Weekly assigned reading quizzes (10 @ 3% each, 30%)
- Participation **not just attendance** (10%) includes active engagement in class discussions

Grading Scale (UF standard) note that grades are NOT rounded up or down

94% - 100% = A 90% - 93% = A- 87% - 89% = B+ 84% - 86% = B 80% - 83% = B-
77% - 79% = C+ 74% - 76% = C 70% - 73% = C- 67% - 69% = D+ 64% - 66% = D
60% - 63% = D- < 60% = F

****Please note that the instructor reserves the right to make changes to this syllabus as needed during the course of the semester. As much advance warning as possible will be provided to students. Changes can be made to the schedule, assigned reading or other aspects as deemed necessary. No changes will be made to grading scale or core UF policies as noted above. ****

REQUIRED BOOKS & MATERIALS

1. Stephen Wall, The Reluctant European Britain and the European Union from 1945 to Brexit, Oxford University Press, 2020, ISBN: 9780198840671
2. Kevin O'Rourke, A Short History of Brexit, Pelican Press, 2020, ISBN 0241398231
3. Andrew Duff, Britain and the Puzzle of European Union, Routledge, 2022 ISBN: 9781032064161
4. Various articles and book chapters films and videos assigned below in detailed syllabus. These will be available online or within Canvas files as needed.

COURSE SCHEDULE AND REQUIRED READINGS

Week 1 (Jan. 14 & 17): Introduction to the class (concepts and questions)

- *Overview of course policies, assignments, etc.*
- *Central questions*
- *Core Themes*
- *Current understandings of the UK-European continent relationship*

Readings:

1. Wall, Chapter 1
2. [“Britain and the EU: A long and rocky relationship”](#) BBC News (online)
3. Ellison, J. “Britain and Europe,” Chapter 29, pp. 517-538 in P. Addison and H. Jones (Eds) A Companion to Contemporary Britain 1939-2000, Blackwell Publishing, 2005.

PART I: HISTORICAL LEGACIES – THE UK AND EUROPE PRIOR TO ACCESSION

Week 2 (Jan. 21 & 23): A Brief Overview of the History of the UK and Europe

- *“A thousand years of history”*
- *An island on the edge of Europe or the center of Europe?*
- *Historic allies and historic foes England, France and Germany*
- *Entente Cordiale*

Readings:

1. O’Rourke, Chapter 1
2. Black, J. The European Idea and Britain 1688-1815, *History of European Ideas*, Vol. 17, No. 4. pp. 439-460, 1993. *** you can skip pages 449 - 1st paragraph page 454***
3. Rammiro, D. “*First European and Pan-European Integration Efforts and British Reluctance*” **Chapter 1**, pp. 3-20 in Brexit History, Reasoning and Perspectives, Troitiño, Kerikmaë and Chochia (Eds.) Springer Press, Cham Switzerland, 2018.

Week 3 (Jan. 28 & 30): WWI, Appeasement, WWII and the Birth of the ‘Special Relationship’

- *The causes and consequences of the Entente Cordiale*
- *The path to, and impact of, WWI*
- *Isolation and appeasement*
- *UK as savior – “never give up, never surrender”*
- *The special relationship and its impact*

Readings:

1. O’Rourke, Chapter 2
2. Wall, Chapter 2
3. Kerikmaë, T. et al., “*The First Attempts to Unify Europe for Specific Purposes and British Flexibility*” **Chapter 2** (pp.21-32) in Brexit History, Reasoning and Perspectives, Troitiño, Kerikmaë and Chochia (Eds.) Springer Press, Cham Switzerland, 2018.

Week 4 (Feb. 4 & 6): Allies but not Partners – after WWII and before Accession

- *The UK with, but not of Europe*
- *De Gaulle agrees (UK veto)*
- *Alternate strategies – EFTA*

Readings:

1. O'Rourke, Chapter 3
2. Duff, Chapter 1
3. Wall, Chapter 3
4. Troitiño, D. et al. "*Cooperation or Integraion? Churcill's Attitude Towards the Organization of Europe*" **Chapter 3**, pp. 33-56 in Brexit History, Reasoning and Perspectives, Troitiño, Kerikmaë and Chochia (Eds.) Springer Press, Cham Switzerland, 2018.

Week 5 (Feb. 11 & 13): The Challenges of UK Accession

- *The impact of the French "No"*
- *The accession process and referendum*
- *The impact of accession at home – division within UK political elite*
- **Paper 1 DUE (Sunday, February 16th)**

Readings:

1. O'Rourke, Chapter 4
2. Duff, Chapter 2
3. Wall, Chapters 4 and 5
4. Troitiño, D. et al. "*De Gaulle and the British Membership in the European Communities*" **Chapter 5**, pp. 83-98 in Brexit History, Reasoning and Perspectives, Troitiño, Kerikmaë and Chochia (Eds.) Springer Press, Cham Switzerland, 2018
5. Chochia A. et al. "*Enlargement to the UK, the Referendum of 1975 and position of Margret Thatcher*" **Chapter 7**, pp. 115-140 in Brexit History, Reasoning and Perspectives, Troitiño, Kerikmaë and Chochia (Eds.) Springer Press, Cham Switzerland, 2018
6. History Matters, "[Why did the UK join the EU?](#)" (4 minutes)

PART II: THE UK IN THE EU**Week 6 (Feb. 18 & 20): Contentious Partners - Thatcher and the EU**

- *The conservative turn – from supports to skeptics*
- *The budget battle*
- *The European causes of Thatcher's fall*

Readings:

1. O'Rourke, Chapter 5
2. Duff, Chapter 3
3. Wall, Chapters 6 and 7
4. Keedus, L. "*The British Rebate and the Single European Act: Political Ramifications of Economic Reform*" **Chapter 8**, pp. 141-152 in Brexit History, Reasoning and Perspectives, Troitiño, Kerikmaë and Chochia (Eds.) Springer Press, Cham Switzerland, 2018

5. Yes Minister: [Why the UK is in the EU](#) (1980) (5 minutes)
6. Yes Minister: [The devil you know](#) (1981) (5 minutes)

Week 7 (Feb. 25 & 27): The UK's European Interlude – Blair and the EU

- *New Labour and a new EU?*
- *UK leadership – security and St. Malo*
- *The optimism of the period*

Readings:

1. Wall, Chapter 8
2. The I Paper, [The Speech. That Brought Down Margaret Thatcher & Kickstarted Brexit](#), (12 minutes) August 2024
3. Dennison, J. *Euphoria* – Explaining Britain's Most Pro-European Moment 1988-1992, UK in a changing Europe Working Paper, 04/24
4. Smith, J. A missed opportunity? New Labour's European policy 1997–2005, *International Affairs*, Vol. 81 no. 4: pp. 703-721, 2005.
5. Mölder, H. “*British Approach to the European Union: From Tony Blair to David Cameron*” **Chapter 9**, pp. 153-174 in [Brexit History, Reasoning and Perspectives](#), Troitiño, Kerikmäe and Chochia (Eds.) Springer Press, Cham Switzerland, 2018

Week 8 (Mar. 4 & 6): The UK and a Changing EU

- *Costs and benefits of EU enlargement*
- *Treaty reform and the threat of “an ever-closer union”*
- *The EU in crisis and the impact of European migration*

Readings:

1. Duff, Chapters 4 and 5
2. Wall, Chapter 9
3. Keedus, L. “*The British Role in the Emergence of Multi-Speed Europe*” **Chapter 11**, pp. 187-198 in [Brexit History, Reasoning and Perspectives](#), Troitiño, Kerikmäe and Chochia (Eds.) Springer Press, Cham Switzerland, 2018
4. Fella, S. New Labour, Same Old Britain? The Blair Government and European Treaty Reform, *Parliamentary Affairs*, Vol. 59, No. 4: 621-637, 2006
5. Blair, A. “*Britain and the Negotiation of the Lisbon Treaty*” pp. 97-121, in Finn Laursen (ed.) *The Making of the EU's Lisbon Treaty* (PIE Peter Lang), 2012

Week 9 (Mar. 11 & 13): The Decision to Leave

- *Euroscepticism in the UK*
- *Divisions within the parties (redux)*
- *The rise of UKIP and the origin of the Brexit movement*
- *The referendum*

Readings:

1. Duff, Chapter 6
2. O'Rourke, Chapters 8 and 9
3. Wall, Chapter 10

4. Circolo, A. et al “Article 50 of the Treaty on European Union: How to Understand the ‘Right’ of the Member state to Withdraw from the European Union?” **Chapter 12**, pp. 199-214 in Brexit History, Reasoning and Perspectives, Troitiño, Kerikmaë and Chochia (Eds.) Springer Press, Cham Switzerland, 2018
5. Daddow, O, Margret Thatcher, Tony Blair and the Eurosceptic Tradition in Britain, *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, Vol.15 pp. 210-227, 2013
6. Film – Haynes, Toby (Director) Brexit, the Uncivil War, 2019 (link TBD)

Week 10 (March 18 & 20) *SPRING BREAK*****

PART III: BREXIT AND WHAT COMES NEXT

Week 11 (Mar 25 & 27): Managing the Exit – UK Perspective

- *UK ‘red lines’*
- *Brexit ‘omnishambles’*
- *The rise of the House of Commons*
- *The Irish Question*

Readings:

1. Duff, Chapters 7 and 8
2. O’Rourke Chapters 10 and 11
3. Baldini, G., E. Bressanelli and E. Massetti. Back to the Westminster model? The Brexit Process & the UK Political System, *International Political Science Review*, Vol. 43(3), 2022
4. Dooley, N. Frustrating Brexit? Ireland and the UK’s conflicting approaches to Brexit negotiations, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 30:5, 807-827, 2023
5. Martill, B., and Staiger, U. Negotiating Brexit: The Cultural Sources of British Hard Bargaining. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 59: 261–277, 2021

Week 12 (Apr. 1 &3): Managing the Exit – EU Perspective

- *EU ‘red lines’*
- *The unexpected unity of Europe*
- *The Irish Question*

Readings:

1. O’Rourke, Chapter 6
2. Laffan, B. Brexit: What Role did Process Play? *Global Policy*, 13 (Suppl. 2), 79–88.
3. Schuette, L. A. Forging Unity: European Commission Leadership in the Brexit Negotiations. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 59: 1142–1159. 2021
4. Bressanelli, E., Chelotti, N., & Lehmann, W. Managing Disintegration: How the European Parliament Responded and Adapted to Brexit. *Politics and Governance*, 9(1), 16-26, 2021
5. Patel, O. The EU and the Brexit Negotiations: Institutions, Strategies and Objectives UCL European Institute, 2018

Week 13 (Apr. 8 & 10): Brexit Aftermath – in the UK

- *The economic impact of Brexit*
- *The political impact of Brexit*
- *The return of sovereignty?*

Readings:

1. Duff, Chapter 9
2. O'Rourke, Chapter 12
3. Wall, Chapter 11
4. Baldini, G. E. Bressanelli, and E. Massetti, "Back to the Westminster model? The Brexit process and the UK political system," *International Political Science Review* vol. 43:3, 329-344, 2022
5. Financial Times, [The Brexit effect: how leaving the EU hit UK](#) (28 minutes), Oct. 2022

Week 14 (Apr. 15 & 17): Brexit Aftermath – in the EU

- *The economic impact of Brexit (EU Budget)*
- *The political impact of Brexit*
- *The (surprisingly) positive impacts of Brexit*

Readings:

1. Duff, Chapter 10
2. Huhe, N., D. Naurin and R. Thomson. Don't cry for me Britannia: The resilience of the European Union to Brexit, *European Union Politics*, Vol. 21, No. 1 152-172, 2020
3. Taggart, P. and A. Szczerbiak, Putting Brexit into perspective: the effect of the Eurozone and migration crises and Brexit on Euroscepticism in European states, *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 25, Issue 8, 2018.
4. Hobolt, S. et al. The Brexit deterrent? How member state exit shapes public support for the European Union, *European Union Politics*, Vol. 23, No. 1 100-119, 2021

Week 15 (Apr. 22): Final Thoughts

- *Global Britain or little England?*
- *The EU without the UK*
- *The UK without the EU*
- **Paper 3 DUE (*Friday, April 25th)**

Readings:

1. Duff, Chapter 11
2. Wolff, S. and A. Piquet, Post-Brexit Europeanization: Rethinking the continuum of British policies, polity and politics trajectories, *Comparative European Politics*, Vol. 20 pp. 513-526
3. Financial Times, [We Need to Talk about Brexit](#) (27 minutes), April 2024