Unit 9: The European Union before Brexit

(Sek 2: Jahrgangsstufe 11, 7. Lernjahr, B2/B2+)

Allgemeine Erziehungsziele:
Europäische Integration;
Historische Kenntnisse;
Medien kritisch analysieren;
Lesekompetenz schulen;
Inhalt von Informationen über komplexe Sachverhalte bearbeiten;
Eigene Stellungnahmen formulieren

Ziele fremdsprachlicher Bildung:
Karikaturen analysieren;
Interessen verstehen und zuordnen;
Umgang mit unterschiedlichen Textsorten (Fließtexte, Tabellen, Zeitraster);
Sprachliche Herausforderungen mit *scaffoldings* meistern;
Perspektivenwechsel vornehmen und Diskurse mitgestalten

Inhalte und Themen:
A short history of the EU;
Who is who in the EU;
European issues;
The capital's undesirables;
Immigration and xenophobia;
Churchill's Europe

Fertigkeiten, Fähigkeiten, Anbahnung von Kompetenzen:
GeR (Auszüge):
B2: Kann die Hauptpunkte verstehen, wenn klare Standardsprache verwendet wird und wenn es um vertraute Dinge aus Arbeit, Schule, Freizeit usw. geht. (Europarat 2001: 35); kann einfache Sachinformationen herausfinden und weitergeben (84); verfügt über ein hinreichend breites Spektrum sprachlicher Mittel, um unvorhersehbare Situationen zu beschreiben, die wichtigsten Aspekte eines Gedankens oder eines Problems mit hinreichender Genauigkeit zu erklären und eigene Überlegungen zu kulturellen Themen ... auszudrücken (111).
B2+: Kann Sachverhalte klar und systematisch beschreiben und darstellen und dabei wichtige Punkte und relevante stützende Details angemessen hervorheben (64); kann etwas systematisch erörtern und dabei entscheidende Punkte in angemessener Weise hervorheben und stützende Einzelheiten anführen (Europarat 2001: 65); kann eine klare und systematisch angelegte Präsentation vortragen und dabei wesentliche Punkte und relevante unterstützende Details hervorheben (66); kann seine/ihre Gedanken und Meinungen präzise ausdrücken, überzeugend argumentieren und auf komplexe Argumentationen anderer reagieren (81).

Sachfach-Curriculum Po/Wi
Bundesrepublik Deutschland und Europäische Union: Prozess der europäischen Integration, institutionelle Strukturen und Entscheidungsprozesse (Europäisierung von Entscheidungsprozessen), Frage nach dem Demokratiedefizit in der EU, wirtschaftliche Integration Europas und nationalstaatliche Interessen
Sprachfokus:
content-based word fields and structures;
analysing texts, cartoons and images;
CLIL discourse and useful phrases;
reading and viewing/listening comprehension;
mediation;
interpretation and individual research;
negotiation of meaning and perspectives

Lehr- und Lernstrategien:
chart analysis; plenary discussions; crib sheets; placemat activities*; think-pair-share*; double circle*; gallery walk*; gapped texts; guided and independent content-based research; assessment and commentaries*

Evaluation:
formatives Feedback (im Rahmen der Lernaktivitäten mit *comparisons, negotiations, explanations of activities and procedures, peer scaffolding; plenary discussions, findings of research)*; summatives Feedback: Ergebnisse von Präsentationen und Gruppenarbeit

Übersicht Unit 9: The EU before Brexit

Unterrichtsstunde 1
Worksheet 1: A short history of the EU

Unterrichtsstunde 2
Worksheet 2: Who is who in the EU

Unterrichtsstunde 3
Worksheet 3: European issues

Unterrichtsstunde 4:
Worksheet 4: The capital's undesirables (immigration issues and social challenges)

Unterrichtsstunde 5
Worksheet 5: Immigration and Xenophobia (British history of xenophobia)

Unterrichtsstunde 6
Worksheet 6: Churchill's Europe

Worksheets 1 bis 6: Anregungen zum Vorgehen

Zu Beginn dieser modular angelegten, d.h. keine zwingende Reihenfolge erfordernden, Unterrichtseinheit wird in mehreren Schritten die Entwicklung der europäischen Integration als Erweiterung und Vertiefung historisch hergeleitet. Mit einem Blick auf die Geschichte der EU können die Schüler die Entstehungsbedingungen nachvollziehen, erarbeiten die Funktion und Arbeitsweisen der europäischen Institutionen (*worksheets 1-2*) und machen sich mit Problemen der europäischen Integration vertraut: am Beispiel von Demokratiedefiziten und Migration (*worksheet 3*). Soziale Herausforderungen durch die aufgehende Schere zwischen Arm und Reich werden am Beispiel der britischen Hauptstadt problematisiert (*worksheet 4*). Das reaktive Aufkommen populistischer Strömungen als Folgeerscheinung wird genauer in den Blick genommen und die Entstehung von Fremdenfeindlichkeit als historisches und aktuelles Phänomen analysiert, das auch die Brexit Diskussion nachhaltig beeinflusst haben dürfte (*worksheet 5*). Seit der Rede Winston Churchills zu den „United States of Europe" ist die Ambiguität von europäischen Zielen und Politiken immer präsent gewesen und wird abschließend thematisiert (*worksheet* 6).
Im erweiterten sprachlichen Aktionsfeld ist formatives Feedback durchgängig in den *worksheets* angelegt, während summatives Feedback die gewonnenen Erkenntnisse und Fähigkeiten der Schüler in *time line, gapped texts, viewing/listening comprehension* und *rubrics* überprüft. Alle *worksheets* sind so konzipiert, dass sie in rhythmisierten Stunden (90 Minuten-Einheiten) bearbeitet werden.

Worksheet compass

phase	activities of teachers students		scaffolding
planning; backward design	issues/ problems to be solved	analysis, assessment, negotiation, critical thinking, interpreting, inferring, mediation	worksheet compass
	guiding questions and outcomes	advance organizer; study objectives, peer-scaffolding, research	
complex task	guided research, assessing ambiguities	double circle, think-pair-share, placemat activity, working in groups, text types, plenary discussion	crib sheets*, image analysis*, rubrics, word banks*, video evaluation, useful phrases, discourse files
worksheet 1	A short history of the EU	**task 1:** mark, compare, discuss **task 2:** read, create, compare, register	think-pair-share*, group work
worksheet 2	Who is who in the EU	**task 3:** outline, describe, compare **task 4:** explain, mediate, outline	gallery walk*, crib sheet*, rubrics
worksheet 3	European issues	**task 5:** compare, mediate, outline, create **task 6:** discuss, mediate, describe **task 7:** read, mediate, analyse, discuss, present	crib sheet*, think-pair-share*, placemat activity*, plenary discussion
worksheet 4	The capital's undesirables (immigration issues and social challenges)	**task 8:** describe, compare, discuss **task 9:** assess, research, present	group work, tandems, guided research
worksheet 5	Immigration and Xenophobia (British history of xenophobia)	**task 10:** read, analyse, realte, discuss **task 11:** assess, explain, outline **task 12:** research, discuss	crib sheet*, group work, rubrics, think-pair-share*
worksheet 6	Churchill's Europe	**task 13:** read, complete **task 14:** discuss, assess **task 15:** comment	gapped text, double circle*, rubrics, video evaluation

Worksheet 1: A short history of the EU

Task 1:

Mark places on the map you are familiar with, have visited and would like to go. In a think-pair-share* format, **compare** your findings and **discuss** reasons for your decision in plenary.
The political map shows the frontiers in Europe –but rather than being "natural" the European borders are a result of political allocation.

http://www.bpb.de/internationales/europa/europaeische-union/47790/themengrafiken-europaeische-union (last accessed June 2018)

familiar	visited	would like to go
…	…	…

Task 2:

Read the texts and, in groups, make notes of the major events. **Create** a time line of the EU history and **compare** your results in plenary. Use an enlarged version of the political map of Europe (to hang up in class) and **register** dates and important events as shown in your time line.

The Schuman Declaration of 9th May 1950
The French Foreign Minister Robert Schuman suggests the creation of the European Community of Steel and Coal (ECSC). This is considered the starting point of the European Union (EU). In 1985, after a decision of the European Council, 9th May became Europe Day:
"World peace cannot be safeguarded without the making of creative efforts proportionate to the dangers which threaten it. The contribution which an organized and living Europe can bring to civilization is indispensable to the maintenance of peaceful relations. … The coming together of the nations of Europe requires the elimination of the age-old opposition of France and Germany. Any action taken must in the first place concern these two countries. With this aim in view, the French Government proposes that action be taken immediately on one limited but decisive point. It proposes that Franco-German production of coal and steel as a whole be placed under a common High Authority, within the framework of an organization **open to the participation of the other countries of Europe**. The pooling of coal and steel production should immediately provide for the setting up of common foundations for economic development as a first step in the federation of Europe, and will change the destinies of those regions which have long been devoted to the manufacture of munitions of war, of which they have been the most constant victims."

© European Union, 1995-2018, https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/symbols/europe-day/schuman-declaration_en (last accessed June 2018; emphasis BK)

Following the Schuman Declaration, the European Community of Steel and Coal (ECSC) was established in 1952 between six founding countries (Belgium, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands). This venture was widened by the Treaties of Rome, giving birth to the European Economic Community (EEC); the treaties were ratified by National Parliaments over the following months and came into force on 1st January 1958. Ten years later, the six founding members agreed on principles to establish the EU Customs Union (Zollunion): no customs duties at internal borders between the EU Member States; common customs duties on imports from outside the EU; common rules of origin for products from outside the EU.
The first enlargement from six to nine members took place in 1973, when Denmark, Ireland and the United Kingdom decided to join. At the same time, new social and environmental policies were introduced, and the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) was set up in 1975. A further step – towards a political union – were the first elections to the European Parliament by direct universal suffrage in June 1979. These elections are held every 5 years. In 1981, Greece joined the Community, followed by Spain and Portugal in 1986 as an expansion into southern Europe.
Despite a wave of euro-pessimism, as a result of the worldwide economic recession in the early 1980s, a White Paper by the European Commission set out a timetable for completing the European single market by 1st January 1993. The aim was fixed in the Single European Act, which came into force on 1st July 1987.
The fall of the Berlin Wall (1989) led to the unification of Germany in October 1990 and the coming of democracy to the countries of central and eastern Europe as they broke away from Soviet control. The Soviet Union itself ceased to exist in December 1991. During this time, EEC Member States were negotiating a new treaty, which was adopted by the European Council (the meeting of the head of states) at Maastricht in December 1991. By adding intergovernmental cooperation (in areas such as foreign policy and internal security) to the existing Community system, the Maastricht Treaty created the European Union (EU), which came into force on 1st November 1993.
Three more countries (Austria, Finland and Sweden) joined the European Union in 1995, bringing its membership to 15. The project of creating a single currency to make life easier for businesses, consumers and travelers was completed on 1st January 2002: The Euro replaced the old currencies of 12 EU countries, which together made up the 'Euro area'. The Euro is now a major world currency alongside the US dollar. A further EU enlargement occurred in the mid-1990s with six former Soviet bloc countries (Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary,

Poland, Romania and Slovakia), the three Baltic states (Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania), one of the republics of former Yugoslavia (Slovenia) and two Mediterranean countries (Cyprus and Malta). Negotiations opened in December 1997 and 10 of the candidate countries joined the European Union on 1st May 2004. Bulgaria and Romania followed in 2007. Croatia joined in 2013, bringing the EU's membership to 28. The enlarged EU needed a simpler and more efficient method for taking its joint decisions. A new Constitution was established by the Treaty of Lisbon, which came into force on 1st December 2009.

Britain had joined the EEC in 1973, but attempted for major changes to the Common Agricultural Policy, and in a referendum, 67% of the British population vote to stay in the EEC. With the slogan "I want my money back!", Margaret Thatcher – the then UK Prime Minister –wins an EU rebate to recognize how little the UK receives in farm subsidies. In 1987, she signs the Single European Act, which eventually becomes the world's largest free trade area. Twelve EU countries introduce the Euro as legal tender, but Britain does not join.

A European migration crisis triggers anti-EU sentiment in the UK. Britain's Conservative party is re-elected on a platform promising a referendum on membership of the EU and in 2016, the UK votes to leave the EU in a close-run referendum. Negotiations begin on the terms of the UK exit and the nature of the country's subsequent relationship with the EU. A first outcome (in 2018) is that the UK will no longer be bound by existing EU treaties, unless all 27 states agree to extend negotiations. (BK)

Voc.: founding countries: Gründerstaaten; venture: Unternehmung; custom duties: Einfuhrzölle; enlargement: Erweiterung; direct universal suffrage: allgemeines direktes Wahlrecht; world currency: Weltwährung; joint decisions: gemeinsame Entscheidungen; legal tender: gesetzliches Zahlungsmittel; subsequent: folgend

Scaffolding

Members of the European Economic Community (EEC), respectively European Union (EU) (year of entry): Belgium, Germany, France, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands (1952); Denmark, Great Britain, Ireland (1973); Greece (1981); Portugal, Spain (1986); Finland, Austria, Sweden (1995); Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Czech Republic , Slovakia, Hungary, Slovenia, Malta, Cyprus (2004); Romania, Bulgaria (2007).

Time line of EU history

date	events
1950	Schuman Declaration
1952	…
1958	…
1968	…
1973	…
1975	…
1981-1986	…
1984	…
1987	…
1989	…
1993	…
1995	…
2002	…
2004	…
2007	…
2009	…

2013	…
2015	…
2016	…
2016	…
2018	…

Worksheet 2: Who is who in the EU

Task 3:

Outline the functions of the European institutions by using the three steps of the video clip. On a crib sheet*, **describe** the different bodies working in the EU. **Compare** your results in plenary and create a poster in a gallery walk*.

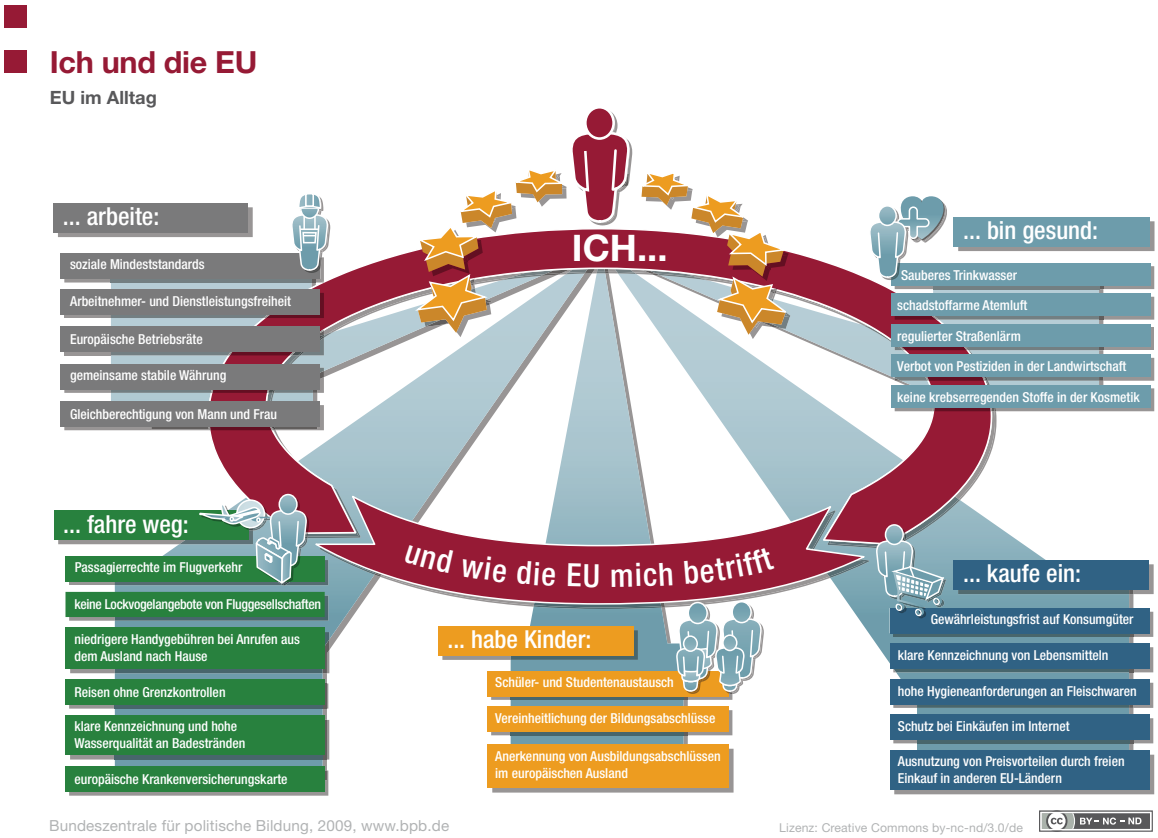
1 At home with European institutions 2 How it works: the European Parliament 3 The Parliament near you

Video: © European Union, 1995-2018, https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/institutions-bodies/european-parliament_en (last accessed June 2018)

EU bodies	European Parliament	Information offices
European Parliament …	the European Parliament meets in Strasbourg, Brussels and Luxembourg ….	in different languages …
Council of Europe …		
European Council …		
Commission …		

Task 4:

Explain the influence of the EU on the everyday life of its citizens to your Australian exchange partner for his/her project on European politics (**mediation*** required). **Outline** the five most important areas of European regulations you can benefit from.



http://www.bpb.de/internationales/europa/europaeische-union/42848/grafik-ich-und-die-eu (last accessed June 2018)

area	regulations
work	…
health	…
markets	…
family	…
travel	…

Voc.: Gewährleistungsfrist: warranty; Einkäufe im Internet: internet purchases; Bildungsabschlüsse: educational qualifications; Anerkennung: approval; Lockvogelangebote: loss leaders; Handygebühren: roaming charges

Worksheet 3: European issues

Task 5:

Compare the two texts on democratic deficit (**mediation*** required) and **outline** similarities and differences. Individually, **create** a crib sheet* for task 6.

'Democratic deficit' is a term used by people who argue that the EU institutions and their decision-making procedures suffer from a lack of democracy and seem inaccessible to the ordinary citizen due to their complexity. The real EU democratic deficit seems to be the absence of European politics. EU voters do not feel that they have an effective way to reject a 'government', they do not like, and to change, in some ways, the course of politics and policy. The current form of European governance is such that there is no 'government'. The public are still generally pro-European, but they do not understand the political system that sometimes appears to threaten their way of life. Disaffection with Europe has been expressed in the low turnouts at European elections, which reached an all-time low in 2009 with an EU average of just 43 %. The issue of democratic legitimacy has been sensitive at each stage of the process of European integration. The issue was addressed in the intergovernmental conferences leading up to the signing of the Maastricht, Amsterdam and Nice Treaties by giving more powers to the European Parliament (EP) and extending the areas in which had joint decision-making powers with Council. As a result, the EP has evolved from a consultative assembly to a co-legislator. The Lisbon Treaty, has strengthened the European Parliament's financial, legislative and supervisory powers. The EP has acquired considerable influence in the appointment of the Commission and its President. In addition, the European Citizens' Initiative was created and the importance of dialogue between civil society and the European institutions was recognised. Lastly, certain Council sessions have been made public to improve citizens' information.

© European Union, http://eur-lex.europa.eu/, 1998-2018, https://eur-lex.europa.eu/summary/glossary/democratic_deficit.html (last accessed June 2018)

Demokratiedefizit
Der Begriff D. beschreibt die mangelnde Legitimation des politischen Systems der EU aufgrund zu geringer Partizipationsmöglichkeiten der Parlamente und Bürger. Seit dem Vertrag von Maastricht (1992) nimmt die Zahl europ. Gesetze und Verordnungen beständig zu. Betrachtet man die EU als ein den Nationalstaaten vergleichbares politisches System, dann stellt sich die Frage, wie die EU politisch legitimiert ist: Das D. in der EU resultiert v. a. aus der mangelnden Anbindung der Kommission an das Europäische Parlament (EP) sowie aus der starken Stellung des Ministerrats, der nur indirekt legitimiert ist (die nationalen Minister sind durch nationale Wahlen legitimiert). Die Entscheidungen sind oft intransparent. Das EP besitzt (noch) nicht die gleichen demokratischen Rechte wie die nationalen Parlamente, und die Europawahlen sind mehr an nationalen und innenpolitischen als europ. Themen orientiert. Der Vertrag von Lissabon (2009) sieht hier Korrekturen vor (z. B. Bürgerinitiative, Stärkung des EP, neue Kontrollrechte der nationalen Parlamente bei EU-Vorhaben).

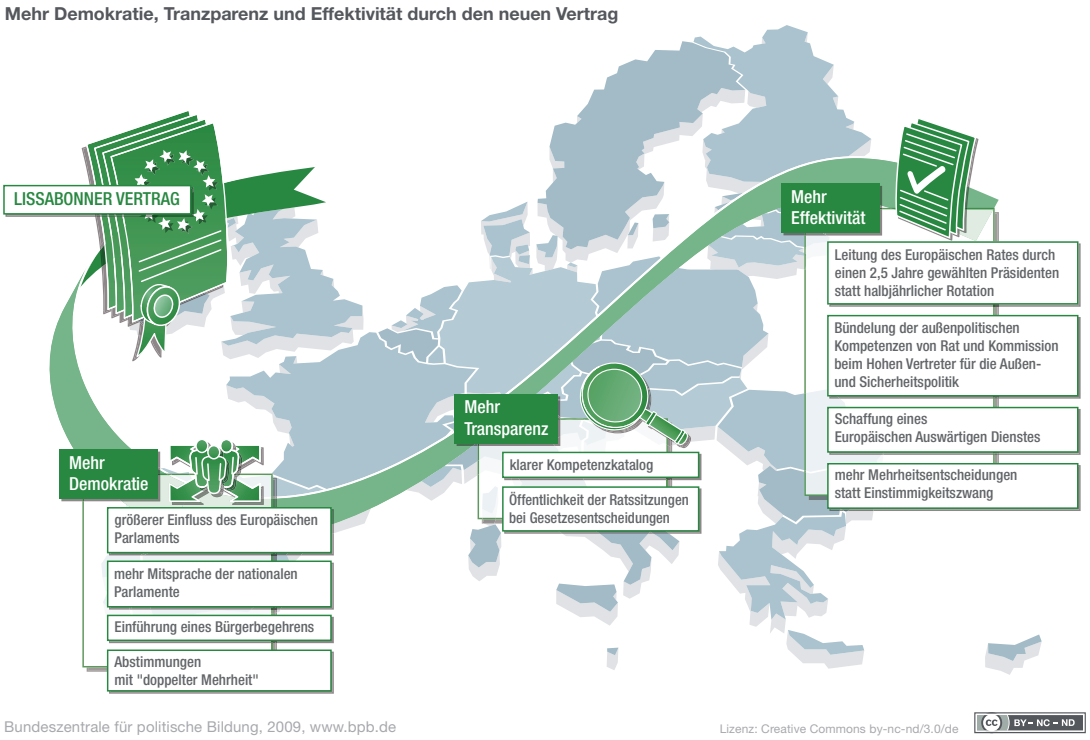
http://www.bpb.de/nachschlagen/lexika/176780/demokratiedefizit (last accessed June 2018)

Crib sheet

democratic deficit	Demokratiedefizit
EU institutions: …	lacking democratic legitimation …

Task 6:

Discuss the outcomes of the Lisbon Treaty (2009) in terms of democracy, transparency and efficiency (**mediation** required). In a think-pair-share* format, **describe** the changes it is supposed to effect.



Durch den Vertrag von Lissabon wurde die Europäische Union institutionell reformiert. Das Ziel des Vertrages ist es, die EU demokratischer, transparenter und effizienter zu machen. Der Vertrag ist seit dem 1. Dezember 2009 in Kraft.

http://www.bpb.de/internationales/europa/europaeische-union/43000/grafik-lissabonner-vertrag (last accessed June 2018)

democracy	transparency	efficiency
greater influence of the EP…	catalogue …	chair of European Council …

Voc.: double majority: doppelte Mehrheit (für einen Beschluss des Ministerrates sind nach dem Vertrag von Lissabon ab 2014 zwei "Mehrheiten" erforderlich: die Mehrheit der Mitgliedstaaten (55%), die die Mehrheit der EU-Bevölkerung (65%) repräsentieren. Diese Regelung wird jedoch erst 2017 voll wirksam); Einstimmigkeitszwang: principle of unanimity; Hoher Vertreter für Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik (GASP): High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy

Task 7:

Read the two texts (**mediation*** required) and, in groups, work on a placemat activity* to **analyse** political effects of the refugee crisis in countries like Britain and Germany. Include the Copenhagen photo of refugee lifejackets in your analysis.
Discuss the outcomes and **present** your findings in plenary.

Intensity of migration
„Brexit" really demonstrated what we have meanwhile witnessed in many countries and societies of the EU. People across Europe respond to the changes that globalisation has triggered with uncertainty, even fear. The aftermath of the global banking and sovereign debt crisis has been weighing heavily on citizens in many EU countries. Many citizens have not been able to take prosperity and security, which are at the very heart of Europe's promise, for granted. People are losing faith that the elites in their countries are pursuing policies that are aimed at the welfare of all citizens and think that there is basically a lack of control options in politics. The recent intensity of migration movements has intensified the uncertainty. Polarisation into „us" and „them", which was the theme of the 2015 NECE Conference held in Thessaloniki, has become rampant in many places. And in this context, the EU is being branded a big party of cosmopolitans who have lost the run of themselves, of „centralisers" taking away control from the nation states, and of market liberalisers who now need to wake up to a new reality.

http://www.bpb.de/veranstaltungen/netzwerke/nece/235252/brexit-and-what-it-means-for-europe (last accessed June 2018)

Voc.: NECE Conference: "networking European citizenship education" focused on the conflicts in and around Europe; rampant: grassierend, blindwütig

Copenhagen, spring 2017: students assemble in front of stacks of lifejackets taken from refugees in the Mediterranean Sea on their flight to Europe
(photo: Bernd Klewitz)

Die „Alternative für Deutschland" (AfD)
Anlass der Gründung der „Alternative für Deutschland" (AfD) im Februar 2013 war der Protest gegen die deutsche und europäische Politik der Euro-Rettung. Den Sprung in den Bundestag verpasste die AfD 2013 knapp, schaffte aber seit 2014 den Einzug ins Europäische Parlament und in zehn Landtage. Neben der Euroskepsis profilierte sich die Partei zunehmend mit ihrer Kritik an der Einwanderungs- und Asylpolitik der Bundesregierung. Innerhalb der Partei kam es deshalb zu Konflikten über den politischen Kurs. Weil sich die Partei aus Sicht des wirtschaftsliberalen Flügels um Bernd Lucke nicht eindeutig genug von ausländer- und islamfeindlichen sowie antiwestlichen Positionen abgrenzte, verließen 2015 zahlreiche Mitglieder die AfD. In der Parteienforschung wird die AfD überwiegend als „rechtspopulistisch" bezeichnet, wobei es in der Partei neben dem dominanten liberal-konservativen Flügel auch eine Strömung mit Verbindungen zum Rechtsextremismus gibt.

http://www.bpb.de/politik/wahlen/wer-steht-zur-wahl/schleswig-holstein-2017/244711/afd (last accessed June 2018)

Worksheet 4: The capital's undesirables (immigration issues and social challenges)

Task 8:

Watch the video clip to the song "Streets of London" by Ralph McTell, in groups of four, and **describe** the pictures in the video. **Compare** your findings in plenary and **discuss** the meaning of the song.

"Streets of London" by Ralph McTell (1969)
Singer-songwriter Ralph McTell created "The Streets of London" with a first recording for his album "Spiral Staircase" (1969). It was only released as a single in the United Kingdom in 1974. The individual stories in the song are based on experiences of homeless people in Paris, inspired by McTell's busking and hitchhiking in Europe, so he intended to call it "Streets of Paris". Only later he realised that he was in fact singing about London, hence the name change of the song. (BK)

https://www.lyrics.com/lyric/2389475/Ralph+McTell/Streets+of+London (last accessed June 2018)

The widening gap between London's rich and poor is not a recent phenomenon, but has been the subject of many portrayals from one of the world's most popular and glitzy capitals. This impression is intensified by scenes from "Streets of London" and the song's lyrics that will remind us of real-life problems and question ways to deal with them. (BK)

Video: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DiWomXklfv8 (last accessed June 2018)

Task 9:

Choose a partner and in your tandem*, **assess** the issue of homelessness –start with your own personal experiences with buskers and people living on the street. Make use of the scaffolding below to guide your **research**. **Present** your findings in plenary by a power point presentation or on a poster.

Scaffolding

What do you know about homelessness?

Name possible reasons why people become homeless.
Discuss your own experiences with homeless people and your readiness to help.

Research shelters for the homeless like the one in Croydon called "Nightwatch". Their website will get you started:

http://croydonnightwatch.org.uk/ (last accessed June 2018)

The "Big Issue" is a magazine for the homeless in London. Research and describe the ways in which they support the homeless and the poor.

https://www.bigissue.com/ (last accessed June 2018)

Worksheet 5: Immigration and Xenophobia (British history of xenophobia)

Task 10:

Read the following excerpt of Powell's infamous "Rivers of Blood" speech. **Analyse** his xenophobic attitudes by writing down his arguments in a crib sheet* and **relating** it to the fears of people he would have evoked. **Discuss** your findings in plenary.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Enoch_Powell_6_Allan_Warren.jpg (last accessed June 2018)

Enoch Powell's ‚Rivers of Blood' speech

… There are among the Commonwealth immigrants who have come to live here in the last fifteen years or so, many thousands whose wish and purpose is to be integrated and whose every thought and endeavour is bent in that direction.

But to imagine that such a thing enters the heads of a great and growing majority of immigrants and their descendants is a ludicrous misconception, and a dangerous one.

We are on the verge here of a change. Hitherto it has been force of circumstance and of background which has rendered the very idea of integration inaccessible to the greater part of the immigrant population – that they never conceived or intended such a thing, and that their numbers and physical concentration meant the pressures towards integration which normally bear upon any small minority did not operate. Now we are seeing the growth of positive forces acting against integration, of vested interests in the preservation and sharpening of racial and religious differences, with a view to the exercise of actual domination, first over fellow-immigrants and then over the rest of the population. […] For these dangerous and divisive elements the legislation proposed in the Race Relations Bill is the very pabulum they need to flourish. Here is the means of showing that the immigrant communities can organise to consolidate their members, to agitate and campaign against their fellow citizens, and to overawe and dominate the rest with the legal weapons which the ignorant and the ill-informed have provided. As I look ahead, I am filled with foreboding; like the Roman, I seem to see „the River Tiber foaming with much blood" …

Excerpt from Enoch Powell's "Rivers of Blood" speech as delivered to a Conservative Association meeting in Birmingham on April 20, 1968 – edited: BK

Voc.: on the verge of: close to (a mostly harmful or extreme state); hitherto: up to this time; conceive: imagine a particular situation; vested: strong; divisive: causing disagreement; elements: here immigrants; pabulum: food, nourishment; consolidate: strengthen; overawe: intimidate, threaten; "the River Tiber foaming with much blood": allusion to the ancient Sibyl (oracle) prophesying a horrible war

Crib sheet

xenophobic attitudes/arguments	evoked fears of the people
▸ Most immigrants have no desire to integrate themselves ▸ … ▸ …	▸ British culture, values and traditions might be threatened, parallel societies might develop ▸ … ▸ …

Task 11:

Assess the information below about reactions to the "Rivers of Blood" speech. **Explain** criticism and **outline** different reactions in the aftermath of the speech. Work in groups and collect your answers in the box.

Reactions to the "Rivers of Blood" speech

The "Rivers of Blood" speech offered both a superficial confrontation with the establishment and a focus on a new black threat. … The response was immediate. Just as Powell had planned, his words secured front page news and national attention. The following day he was sacked from the shadow cabinet for a speech that the Conservative leader Heath described as "racialist in tone" and that was clearly an attempt to seize the leadership of the party. Support continued, however, and in the national news the actions of the dockers in London attracted most attention when two days after the speech a thousand London dockers stopped work and marched to the House of Commons in support of Powell. Outside Parliament they chanted "We want Enoch Powell" while a protester explained that Powell was "the only man with the guts to say what he thinks". … For a fleeting moment the speech seemed able to capture the support of large sections of the British population and in Powell's constituency of Wolverhampton there was a wave of racist attacks in the weeks that followed. … By 1970 Heath had been elected prime minister and Powell was left severely isolated within his own party. ... Abandoning his constituency of Wolverhampton South West, Powell moved to Northern Ireland to be elected MP in the South Down seat, representing the Ulster Unionists in the snap election of October 1974. ... Despite the retreat, Powell's racism still lingered within Britain. In 1976 the musician Eric Clapton declared to a huge audience in Birmingham that Powell was right and there were too many foreigners in the country. "Send them back", he shouted to the crowd, "keep Britain white!" Clapton's outburst illuminated the growing influence of the National Front. They had prominently used Powell's words to push the language and arguments of fascism into the mainstream.

© 2018 International Socialism, Shirin Hirsch, http://isj.org.uk/remembering-rivers-of-blood/ (last accessed June 2018)

critique of the speech	political reactions to the speech	reactions of the population
racialist in tone (Edward Heath); …	conservative leader Heath …	London dockers in support of Powell; …

Task 12:

Do some research about the so-called refugee crisis in Britain and world-wide, focusing on similarities and differences to the history of xenophobia. Powell did not predict Brexit, but he helped shape popular antipathy to Europe by reinforcing an exclusive vision of Europe. He gave his speech only two weeks after the assassination of Martin Luther King. In a think-pair-share* format, **discuss** your findings in plenary. You might want to use the following information as a starting point:

Info sheet
In Great Britain, more often than not, integration of foreigners failed and their influx, mainly from Pakistan and Bangladesh, resulted in parallel communities. Enoch Powell, in his infamous "Rivers of Blood" speech, was one of the politicians who, in the Conservative party, stirred up hatred against the "unwanted" foreigners, at the same time playing with fears and anxieties in parts of the English population. This anti-immigrant sentiment was particularly directed against the Muslim communities after recent terrorist attacks and was politicized by the then Prime Minister Cameron, who was in favour of greater restrictions on immigration as well as a possible "Brexit" to avoid having to participate in a European solution to the pressing refugee problem. The same fears are addressed by UKIP politicians, as many British citizens worry about losing their jobs and blame the influx of Eastern Europeans for this development. Due to the freedom of movement guaranteed to all European citizens, it was impossible for Great Britain to keep out EU citizens who were willing to work in menial jobs for less money than British citizens. (BK)

Voc.: influx: Zustrom; infamous: berüchtigt; stir up: schüren; restrictions: Einschränkungen; UKIP: fremdenfeindliche britische Partei (United Kingdom Independent Party); menial: untergeordnet, niedrig

Worksheet 6: Churchill's Europe

Task 13:

Winston Churchill is called the "Father" of the idea of a United States of Europe. **Read** about Winston Churchill to understand his role in history and **complete** the sentences.

Winston Churchill (1874-1965) is remembered as one of Britain's greatest statesmen because of his persevering role during World War II ("blood, toil, tears and sweat") and his negotiations with the Allies about the future of defeated Germany and war-ridden Europe near the end of the war. He also coined the phrase "Iron Curtain" to describe the beginnings of the Cold War. As the son of the Conservative politician Lord Randolph Churchill and his American wife, he enjoyed a privileged education and, before entering politics himself, served as a soldier in India and Egypt and worked as a journalist in South Africa. From 1900 to 1965, he was a Member of the British Parliament and until the 1930s also held various positions in government. After the resignation of Neville Chamberlain (his appeasement policy towards Nazi Germany had failed with the start of World War II), Churchill became Prime Minister and Minister of Defense. Britain suffered from heavy attacks by the German Luftwaffe during the war – called "the blitz": Germans conducted mass air attacks against industrial targets, towns and cities, with raids on London near the end of the war. Churchill proved as a charismatic leader in these times of crisis and is still remembered by catching phrases like "I have nothing to offer but blood, toil, tears and sweat" at the beginning of his office, "this was their finest hour" (about Dunkirk) and the V-sign for victory. However, he lost the elections in 1945 to return as a Prime Minister in 1951, until his retirement at the age of 80. He won the Nobel Prize for Literature (1953) and was made a knight in the same year. His state funeral was near Blenheim in Oxfordshire. (BK)

1. Winston Churchill (1874-1965) is …….. as one of Britain's greatest statesmen because of his …….. role during World War II.
2. He served as a soldier in ….. … …… and worked as a journalist in South Africa.
3. Neville Chamberlain resigned after his …….. policy towards Nazi Germany had failed with the start of World War II.
4. Churchill became Prime Minister and …….. ….. …….. in 1940.
5. In "the blitz" Germans conducted mass air attacks against …….. …….., towns and cities.
6. Churchill proved as a …….. leader in these times of crisis.
7. He won the Nobel Prize for Literature (1953) and was made a …….. in the same year.

Scaffolding

Word bank
knight – charismatic – industrial targets – Minister of Defense – appeasement – India and Egypt – persevering – remembered

Task 14:

Watch the video clip "Große Reden" and **answer** the related questions in a double circle*. **Discuss** Churchill's ambiguous role in his stance on the "United Nations of Europe" and **assess** the question whether the UK was to be included or not.

The idea of a united Europe has, among others, also British roots. It was Winston Churchill in his famous speech of 1946 in Zurich who proposed ways to a peaceful development in Europe by uniting their nations. But what exactly did he mean by that and was the UK to be included? The interpretation of his message is drawn upon by both Brexit proponents (Brexiteers) and their counterparts, the Remainers. (BK)

Churchill in his speech about the United Nations of Europe (Video: © Zurich University 19.09.1946: https://www.arte.tv/de/videos/074567-008-A/grosse-reden/, last accessed June 2018)

Questions and answers

questions	answers
What had to be overcome in 1946 in Europe?	…
How did Germany and France compare at this turning point?	…
What role did Churchill see for Europe in the impending new world order?	…

What were Churchill's two visions after losing elections (1945), travelling the USA and Europe?	…
What did the "Iron Curtain" signify?	…
What did the Swiss fear when Churchill delivered his speech at Zurich university in September 1946?	…
Instead of attacking the Soviet Union, what did Churchill talk about in Zurich?	…
What was the essence of his famous speech?	…

Task 15:

In the second part of his speech (video clip 6:27'), Churchill surprised his audience by a then unpopular idea. Watch this part again and **answer** the following questions. In a think-pair-share* format, **comment** on how the French-German relationships have developed in your generation.

Video: © Zurich University 19.09.1946: https://www.arte.tv/de/videos/074567-008-A/grose-reden/ (last accessed June 2018)

questions	**answers**
Why did the second part of Churchill's speech attract special attention?	…
How did Germany and France compare at this turning point?	…
What role did Churchill see for Europe in the impending new world order?	…

French-German relationships in the 21st century	…
my own experiences	exchange programs, travels, …