

# European Union Politics

SESSION 12: BREXIT ..AND DILEMMAS OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

## UK: the “awkward partner” vol.1

- ▶ 1951 – UK did not join the European ECSC ‘losers club’
- ▶ 1957 – EEC, UK stayed out too, came up with a competing IO
- ▶ 1960 – EFTA
- ▶ 1961 – UK applies to join the EEC (vetoed by De Gaulle in 1963)
- ▶ 1969 – ‘velvet vetoed’ again (by de Gaulle)
- ▶ 1973 – UK joins the EC (together with Denmark and Ireland)
- ▶ 1974 – **renegotiates the EC deal** (CAP, budget – regional development ...and a ‘correction mechanism’)
- ▶ 1975 – **UK referendum on new terms – 67% YES**

Ze antique Com-market custom of ze non-invitation waltz...



Non-step 1: Non! Your suit is not European enough!



Non-step 2: Non! You've no shoes!



Non-step 3: Non! MY shoes are away being serviced!



Michael Cummings for *Daily Express* 1969

## UK: the “awkward partner” vol.2



- ▶ 1979 – [Thatcher](#) elected PM and she “wants [her] money back!”
- ▶ 1979 – 1984: British Budgetary Question
- ▶ 1986 – Single European Act, UK supportive of intergovernmental solution, but alas!
- ▶ 1988 – Thatcher’s Bruges speech against political integration, against EMU
- ▶ 1990 – John Major new PM, also Conservative
- ▶ 1991 – “opt-outs” from Maastricht treaty (EMU, social policy)
- ▶ 1995(1997) – “opt-out” from Schengen Agreement too (Amsterdam tr.)

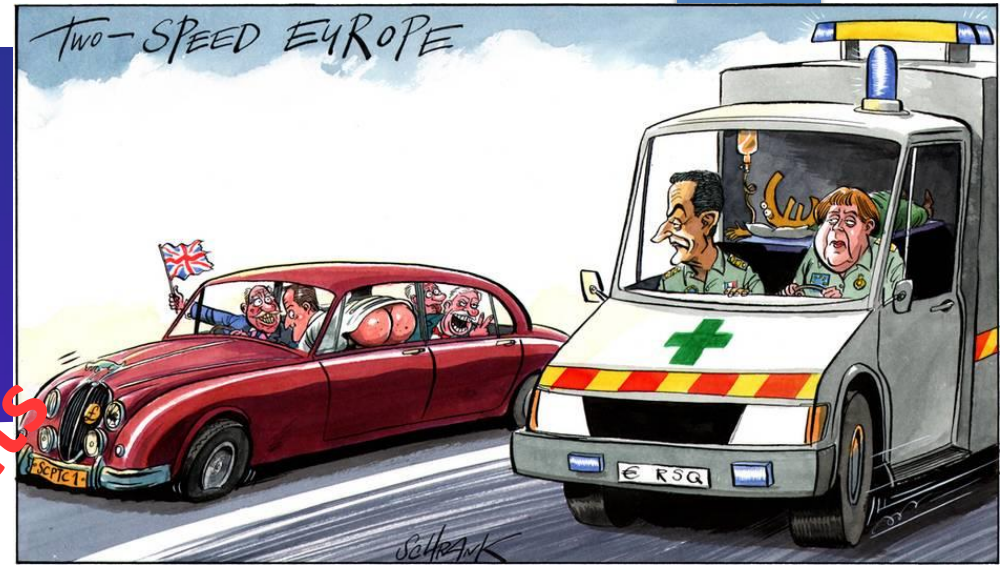
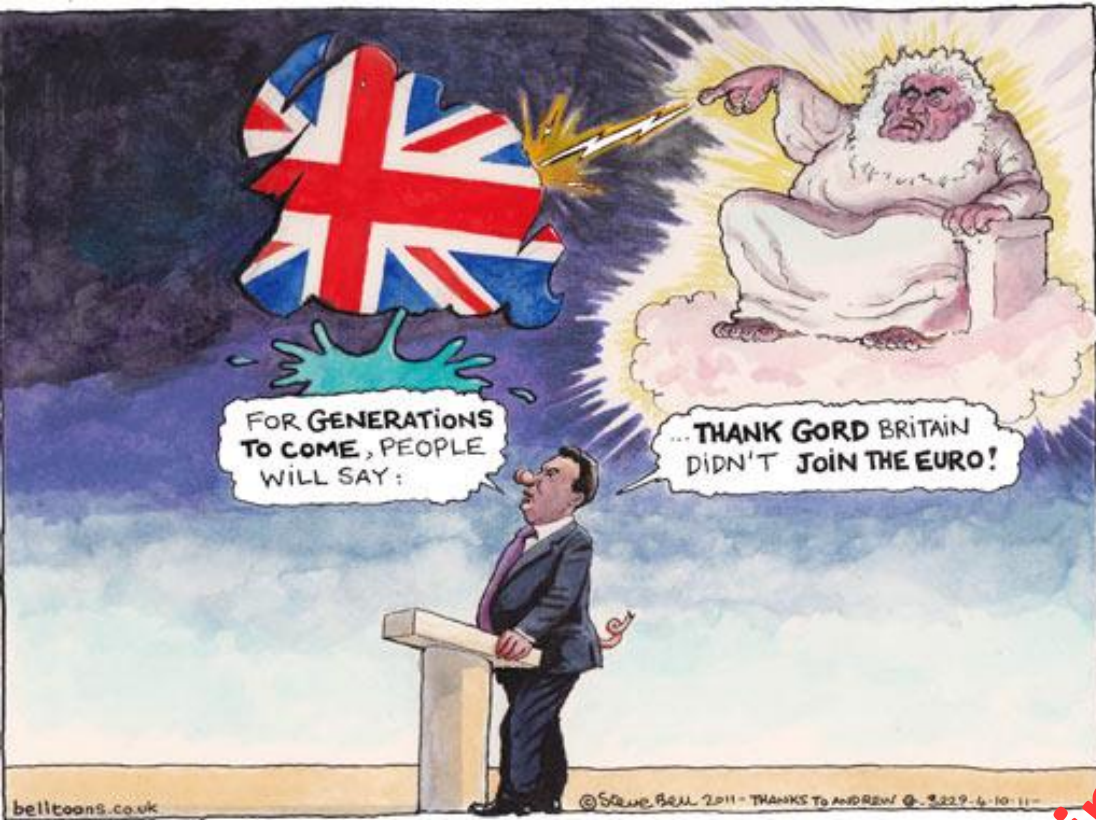


## UK: the “awkward partner” vol.3

- ▶ 1998 – **St. Malo declaration** on Eur. defence by Tony Blair and Jacques Chirac
- ▶ 2003 – War in Iraq: UK falls out with GER and FR
- ▶ 2004 – Blair announced a referendum on the *Constitutional treaty* ...it never came to it
- ▶ 2004 – **no transitional periods for CEE workers in UK** after the East European enlargement (unlike Ger)
- ▶ 2007 – Lisbon treaty, UK opt-out from the *Charter of Fundamental Rights of the EU*
- ▶ 2008 – parliamentary ratification with G. Brown absent







Autumn/Winter 2011  
European Council summit



# Domestic situation in UK

- ▶ Low citizens' knowledge of EU affairs
- ▶ Rabid Eurosceptic tabloids *The Sun, Daily Mail*
- ▶ Rise of populism and nationalism (see Snyder interview [here](#)) sentiment for “good ol’ glorious times” (akin to MAGA in US)

## Real and perceived PROBLEMS:

- **immigration** (including labour from EU)
- **sovereignty** (and ECJ jurisdiction)
- too many **regulations** & directives from Brussels do not fulfill the Conservative idea of a **small state**
- Trouble with “*ever closer union*” (especially Tory backbenchers)



## UK: the “awkward partner” vol.4

- ▶ 2011 – David Cameron amidst the Eurozone crisis blocks primary law amendments → forces the **Fiscal Compact** outside primary law (an awkward intergovernmental organization based on 6 EU regulations, and using EU institutions)
- ▶ 2013 – “Bloomberg” speech ([short](#), [full](#), [cassetteboy](#))
- ▶ 2015 – elections Conservatives win majority
- ▶ 2015-2016 – **UK renegotiation of EU membership** (‘red card’ to block Commission proposals, opt-out of an “ever closer union,” limits on free movement of people “emergency brake”, make it hard for the immigrants in UK, reduced child benefits etc.), no part in Eurozone members bail outs; competitiveness.. But no cigar
- ▶ 2016 – June REFERENDUM Leave/Remain **51.89% LEAVE**





# A SPECTRE IS HAUNTING EUROPE...

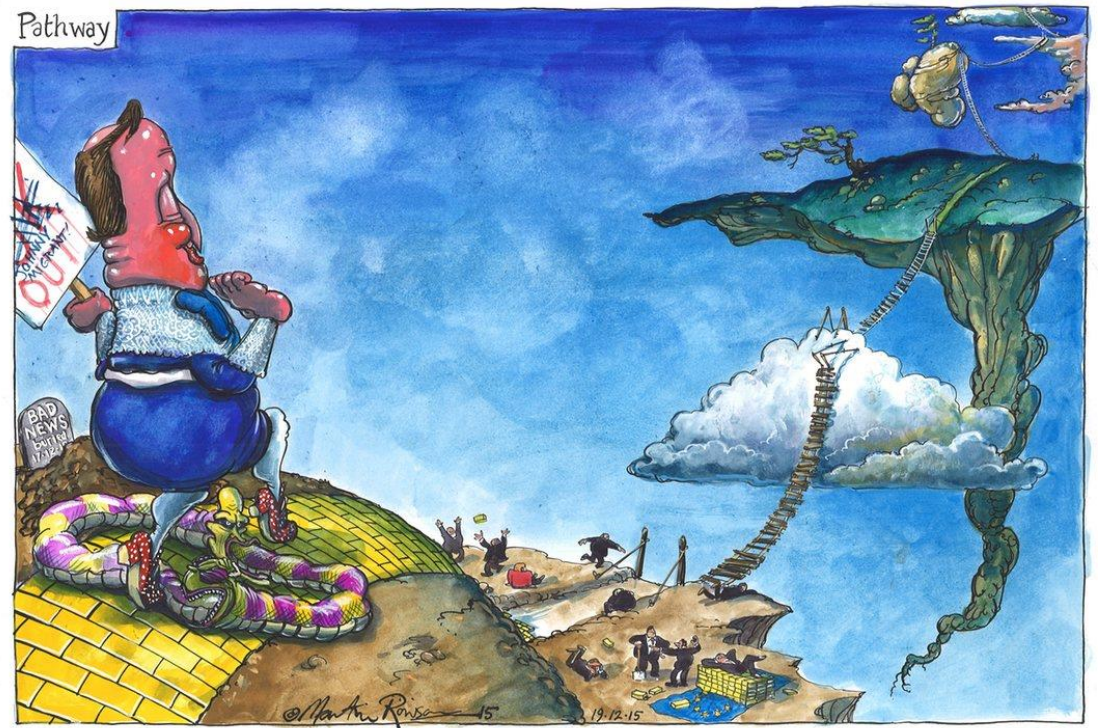


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# Flirty



# Pathway





# The Referendum: Leave

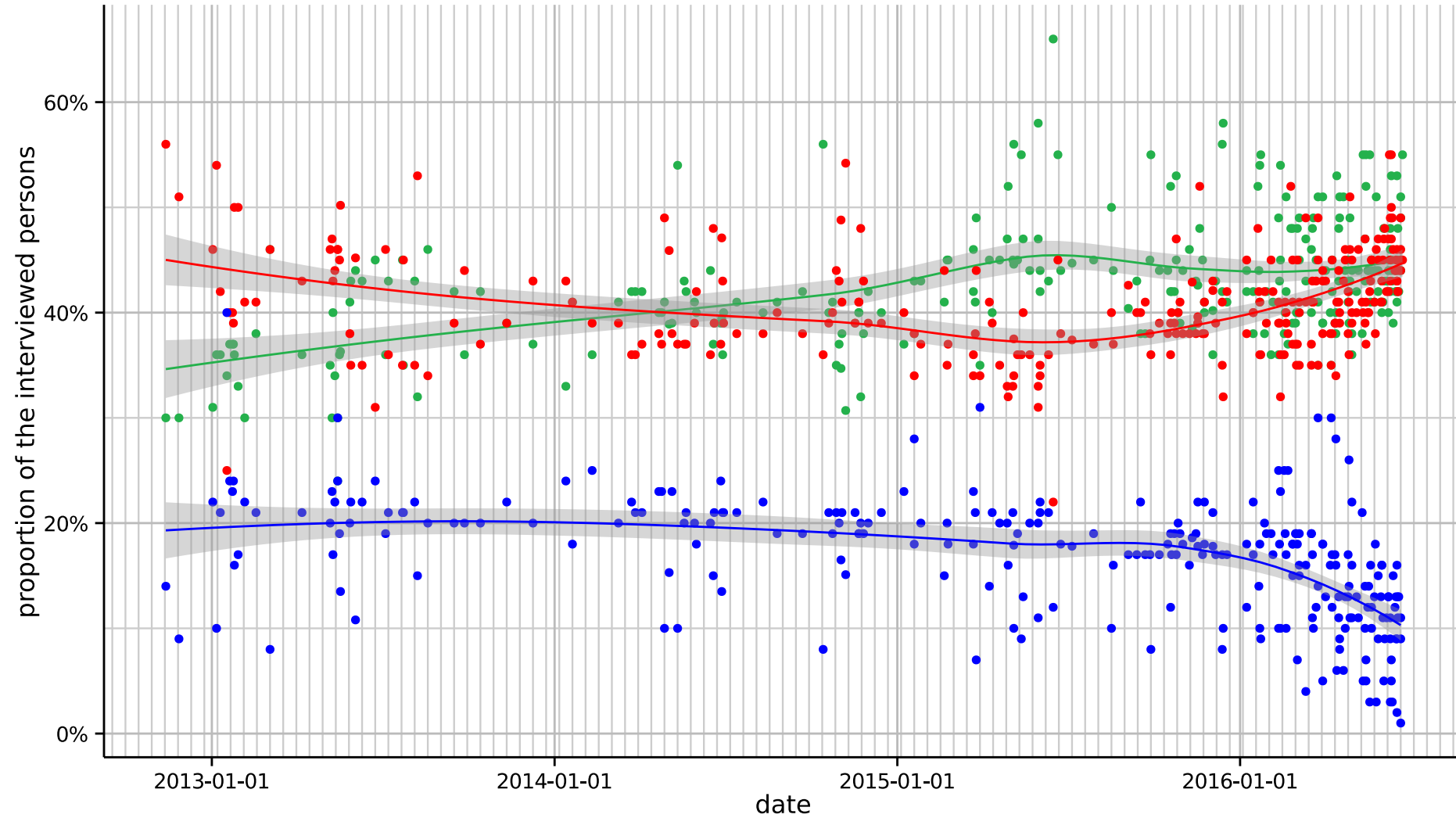
- ▶ Take back control, vote Leave
- ▶ UKIP and some Conservatives
- ▶ Personalities: [Boris Johnson](#), [Michael Gove \(Justice minister '16\)](#), [Iain Duncan Smith](#), Priti Patel
- ▶ Aggressive campaign
- ▶ Ambiguous relationship with **truth** – [350mil?](#)
- ▶ Targeting “dormant” voters



WHY Leave? [http://www.voteleavetakecontrol.org/why\\_vote\\_leave.html](http://www.voteleavetakecontrol.org/why_vote_leave.html)

# United Kingdom European Union membership referendum Opinion polling

● Remain ● Leave ● Undecided





# The Referendum: Remain

- ▶ A 'block' of parties: Labour, Liberal Democrats, Scottish National Party, some Conservatives (including Cameron)
- ▶ A 'block' of movements – with Britain Stronger in Europe

## Remain arguments:

- Economic benefits of the Single market
- Immigration is beneficial, migrants pay more *in* taxes than they send *out*
- IN = stronger UK business, jobs and consumer protection
- EU is UK's No.1 trading partner
- Keep global influence

**BRITAIN  
STRONGER  
IN  
EUROPE**



# Referendum: The Results

## EU Referendum results

Winners in each area

Leave: 51.9%

Remain: 48.1%

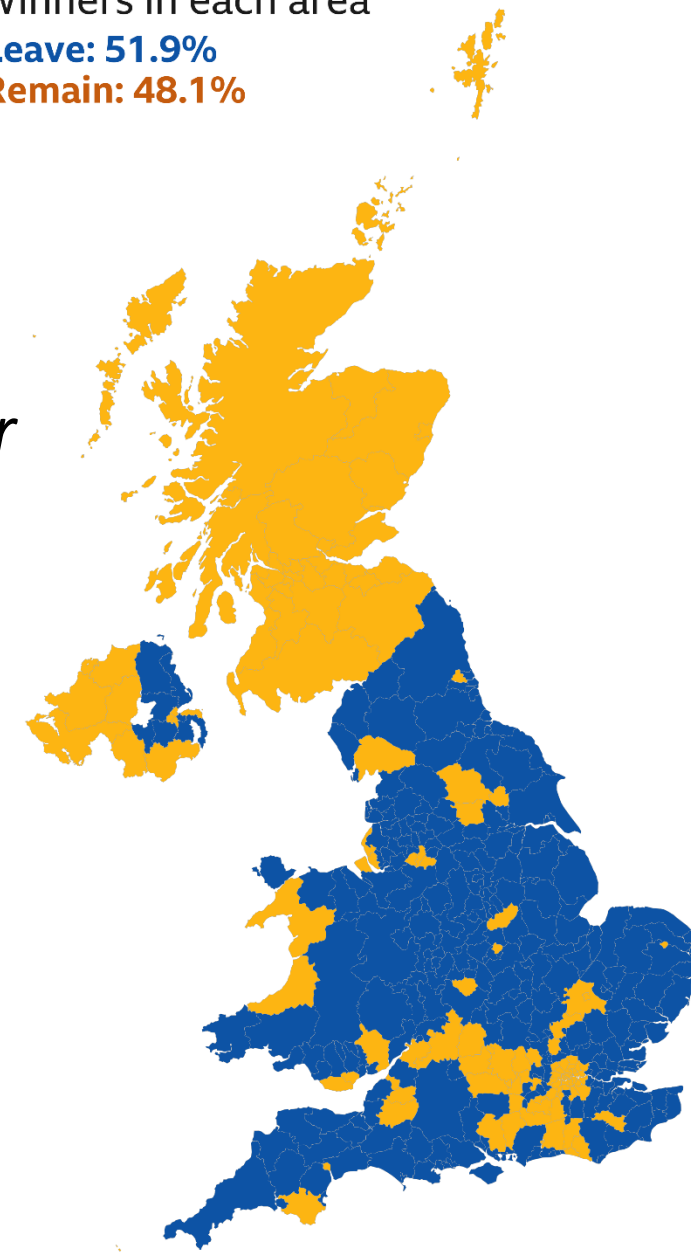
23 June 2016

*Should the United Kingdom remain a member of the European Union or leave the European Union?*

**LEAVE: 51,9%**

**REMAIN: 48.1%**

- ▶ Emotions vs rationality
- ▶ Investigation of involvement of Cambridge Analytica
- ▶ Overspending Leave.eu



Gibraltar also voted to Remain

Source: Electoral Commission





Days after...






# What does Brexit mean?!?

“Brexit means Brexit” (Theresa May, July 2016) but WHAT kind?

Options:

1. The “**Norwegian model**” – remain in the single market (and customs union) ...kind of European Economic Area agreement
2. Leave EU market but remain in its **customs union** (like Turkey)
3. **Free trade area** (like Canada)
4. **Cherry-picked** deal (Switzerland)
5. **No deal** – uncontrolled “crashing out” of EU (recourse to WTO trade rules)

from most to least integrated



# UK: the “awkward partner” vol.5



- ▶ 2016 – PM Theresa May: what is Brexit? Hard Brexit
- ▶ 2017 – March – activation of **Article 50** Lisbon treaty starting a 2 year clock to negotiate and ratify:
  1. a “withdrawal agreement” – leading to May cabinet falling and after new election Conservatives won with Boris Johnson 2019
- ▶ **2020 – Jan 31 UK Withdrawal from the EU** (transitional period till end of year 2020)
  2. and future relationship agreement with the bloc
- ▶ 24-12-2020 – **UK-EU Trade and Cooperation Agreement**
- ▶ 2021/22: “teething problems” with TCA, unilateral breaking of the agreement by UK, issues with *Northern Ireland Protocol*, EU was suing UK over failure to implement agreement
- ▶ 2023 Windsor Framework agreement about a “double customs regime” in Northern Ireland

# What does the UK want to change?

Under the Brexit deal, certain goods have to be checked when they enter Northern Ireland from Great Britain

## The current process

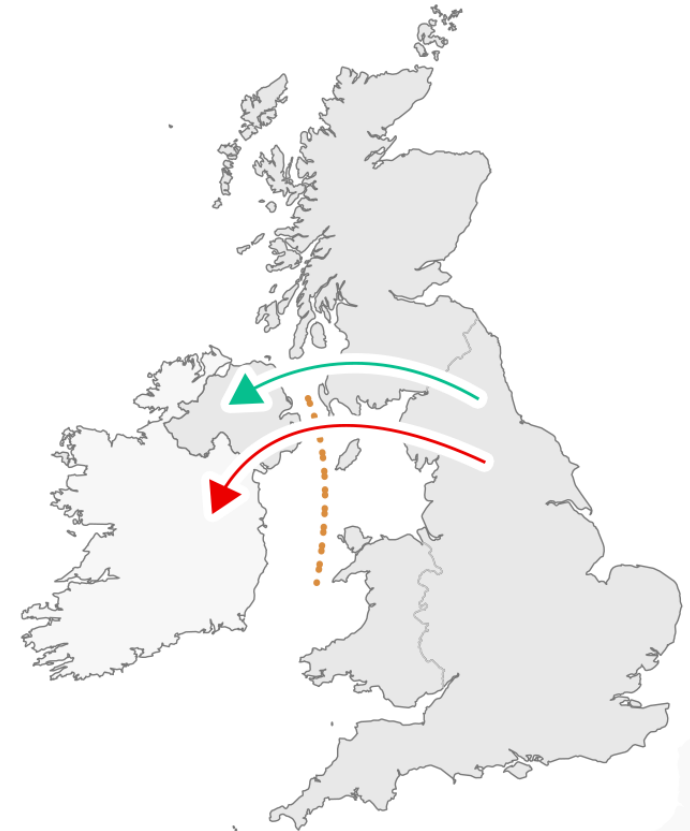
- The goods are checked at ports in Northern Ireland on arrival
- They can then be moved into the Republic of Ireland once checked



## Windsor Framework

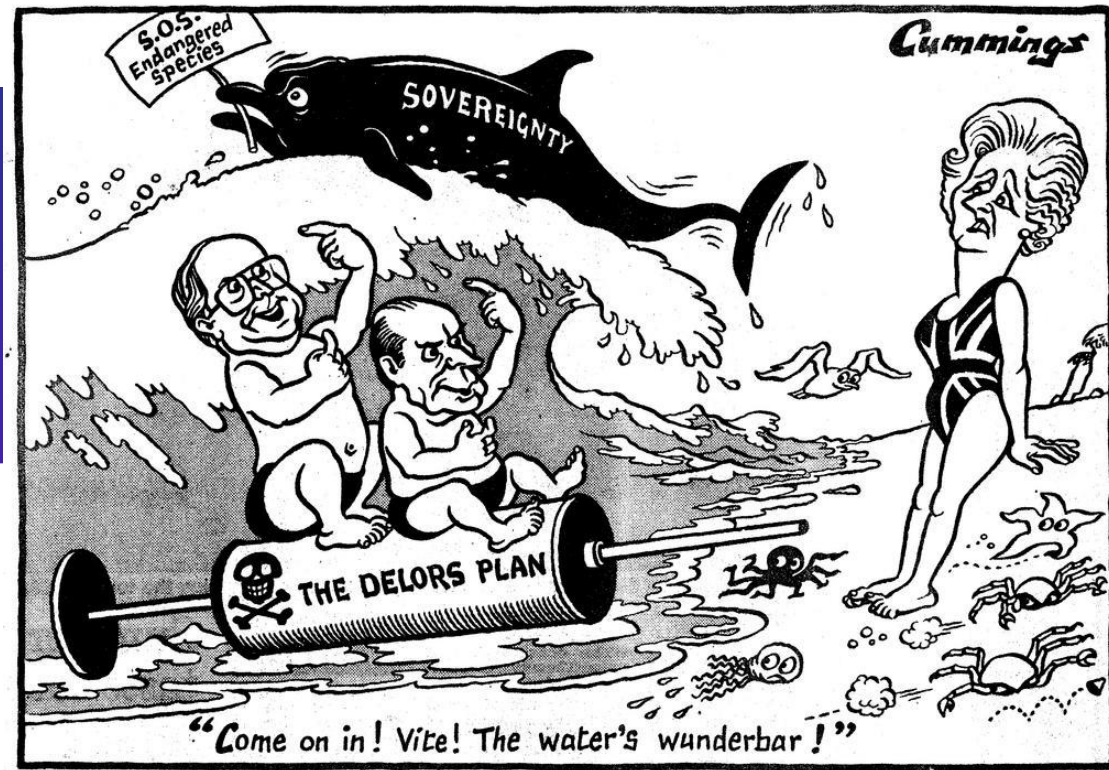
### The UK's new plan

- The goods are split into two different lanes
- Goods destined only for Northern Ireland go into the **Green Lane** and are not checked
- Goods destined for Ireland and the EU go into the **Red Lane** and checks are carried out





# (Not only) Brexit Issue of ...**SOVEREIGNTY**



- ▶ Integration or exit?
- ▶ Integration **within EU framework?**
- ▶ What kind of integration: **supranational** or **intergovernmental?**
- ▶ **Which policies** to integrate ...and how?
  - Need to transpose “**EU law**” to national legislation
  - **ECJ jurisdiction** over those laws
  - Does it undermine **democracy?**
  - What does integration do with **nations and national identity?** See [T. Snyder](#)

# (Not only) Brexit Issue of ...ECONOMY

- ▶ EU Budget: net **contributors** vs. net **receivers** (CAP, Cohesion, Regional policies)?
- ▶ Is it better to be **IN the single market** or **OUT**?
- EU **regulation** (food, health and safety; cars industry...)
- European **competition**, rules on public procurement etc...
- Protect **The City** (UK financial services from EU regulation!)
- Free movement of labour (EU citizens)!?
- Would WTO rules suffice?
- ▶ To join the **Eurozone** or not? Eurozone and the rest...



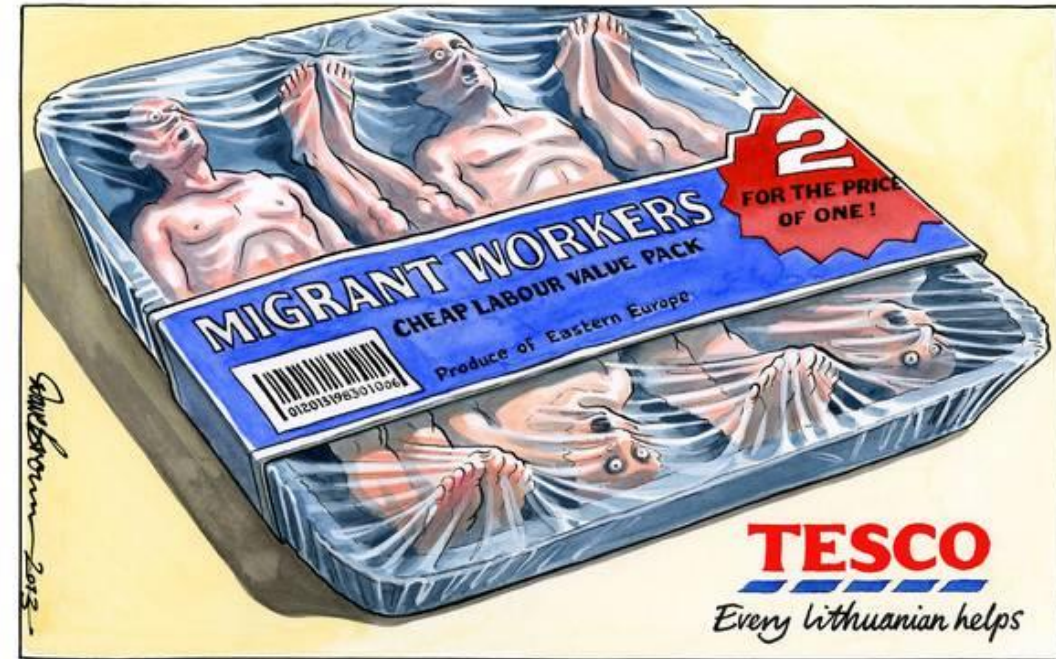


# (Not only) Brexit Issue of ...(IM-)MIGRATION

- ▶ A (not so) free movement of **labour**?
- ▶ Free movement of **people**? Travel in Schengen?
- ▶ **Sovereignty** = control over territory (borders)
- ▶ **Values**: national, European, ...non-European?!?
- ▶ **Economic** benefits/cost of cheap labour
- ▶ Economic **ideology**: market or social?

## NON-EUROPEAN MIGRATION:

- “Fortress Europe”
- **Hypocrisy** over human rights!
- Domestic political strife and culture wars
- Post-colonial “heritage”

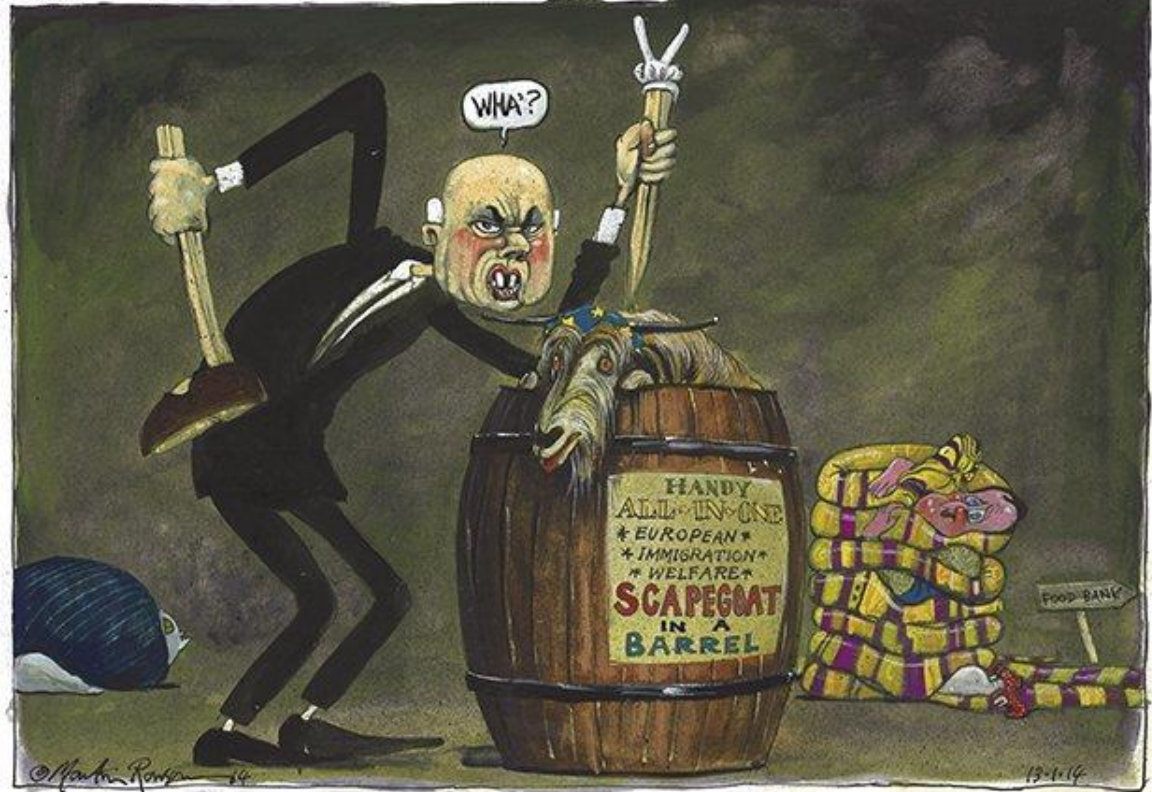




# MIGRATION WATCH WATCH:



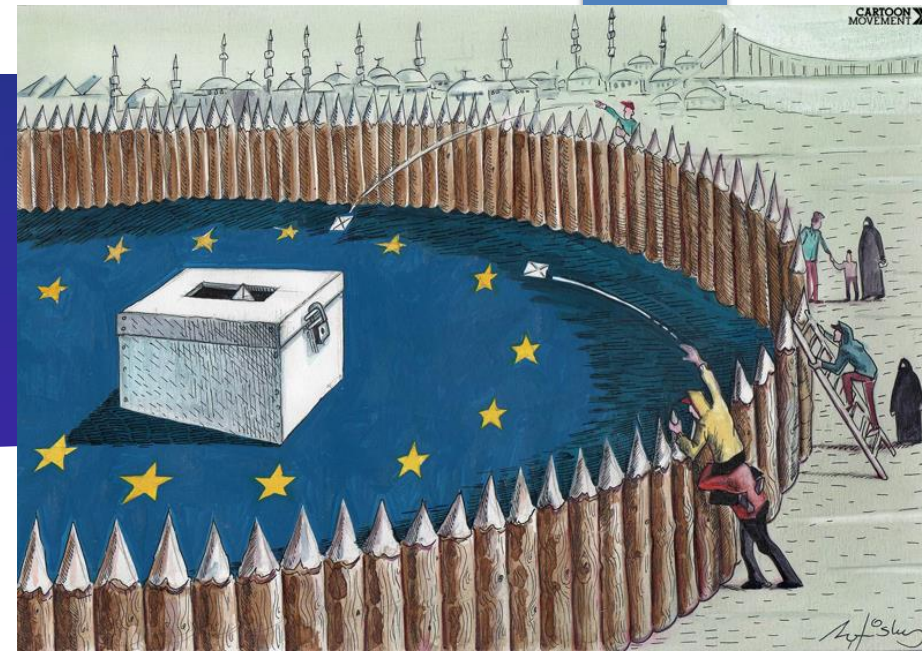
I know! Next let's control the Free Movement of CAPITAL!





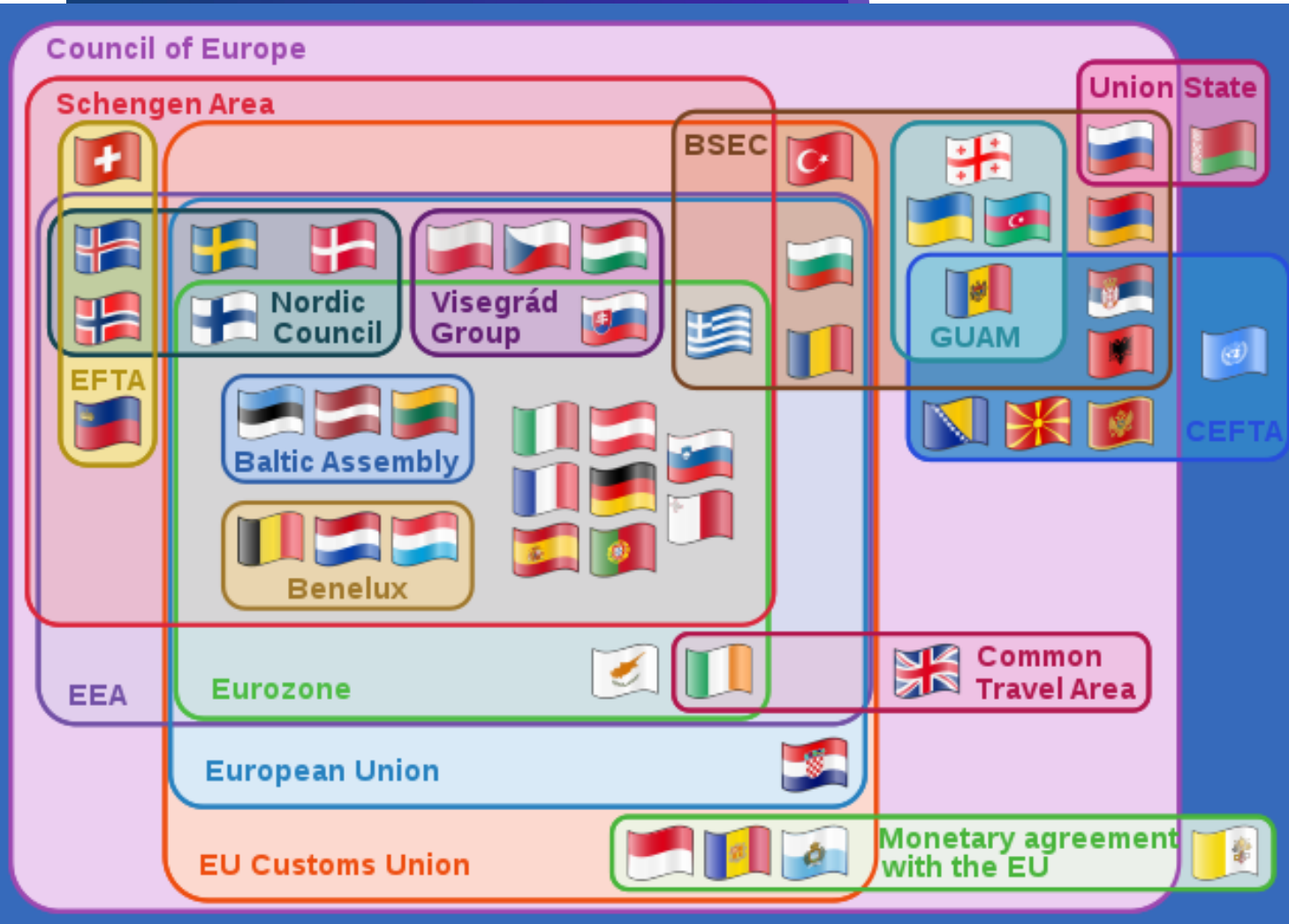
# (Not only) Brexit Issue of ...EU POLITICAL ORDER

- ▶ **Political union** or just an **economic union**?
- ▶ What kind of **values**?
- ▶ Presupposition of **solidarity**?
- ▶ Are EU **citizens** enough? Do we need **European “nationals”**?
- the proverbial *“...ever closer union among the peoples of Europe...”*
- ▶ How to reconcile **EU level democratic values** with its **democratic deficit**? Can EU become a (federal) **representative** democracy? **Should it** become one?
- ▶ Can the EU be reformed? How? **Supranational** or **intergovernmental**?
- ▶ What are the integration options? How to re-set EU institutions?
- ▶ Do we have enough information?
- ▶ Can integration be “rolled back”?



Conference on the Future of Europe  
Summary results two years ago today!

# What are the integration options?



- ▶ Core / periphery
- ▶ Eurozone / non-Eurozone
- ▶ “Concentric circles”
- ▶ Opt-outs / enhanced cooperation
- ▶ Inside / outside of primary law (treaties)
- ▶ “flexibility clause,” differentiated integration, variable geometry...
- ▶ Two-speed Europe (multiple-speed Europe)
- ▶ Europe *a la carte*



Table 1: Categorization of Differentiated Integration

| <i>Variables</i>    | <i>Time</i>        | <i>Space</i>             | <i>Matter</i>     |
|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------------|-------------------|
| <i>Main Concept</i> | <i>Multi-Speed</i> | <i>Variable Geometry</i> | <i>A la Carte</i> |

**Definition**

Mode of differentiated integration according to which the pursuit of common objectives is driven by a core group of Member States which are both able and willing to go further, the underlying assumption being that the others will follow later.

Mode of differentiated integration which admits to unattainable differences within the integrative structure by allowing permanent or irreversible separation between a hard core and lesser developed integrative units.

Mode of differentiated integration whereby respective Member States are able to pick-and-choose, as from a menu, in which policy area they would like to participate, whilst at the same time holding only to a minimum number of common objectives.

**Sub/related concepts and general jargon**

**English**  
 Two-speed  
 Step-by-step  
 Graduated integration  
 Differentiation  
 Hard core  
 Variable speed  
 Flying geese  
 Orchestrating Europe

**English**  
 Concentric circles  
 Opt-in  
 Opt-up  
 Two-tier  
 Multi-tier  
 Two-level  
 Multi-level  
 Variable differentiation  
 Swing wing  
 Circles of solidarity

**English**  
 Pick-and-choose  
 Overlapping circles  
 Opt-out  
 Opt-down  
 Bits-and-pieces  
*Ad libitum* integration

**Français**  
*A la carte*  
*Ad libitum*

**Français**  
*Plusieurs vitesses*



# (Not only) Brexit Issue of ...ENLARGEMENT

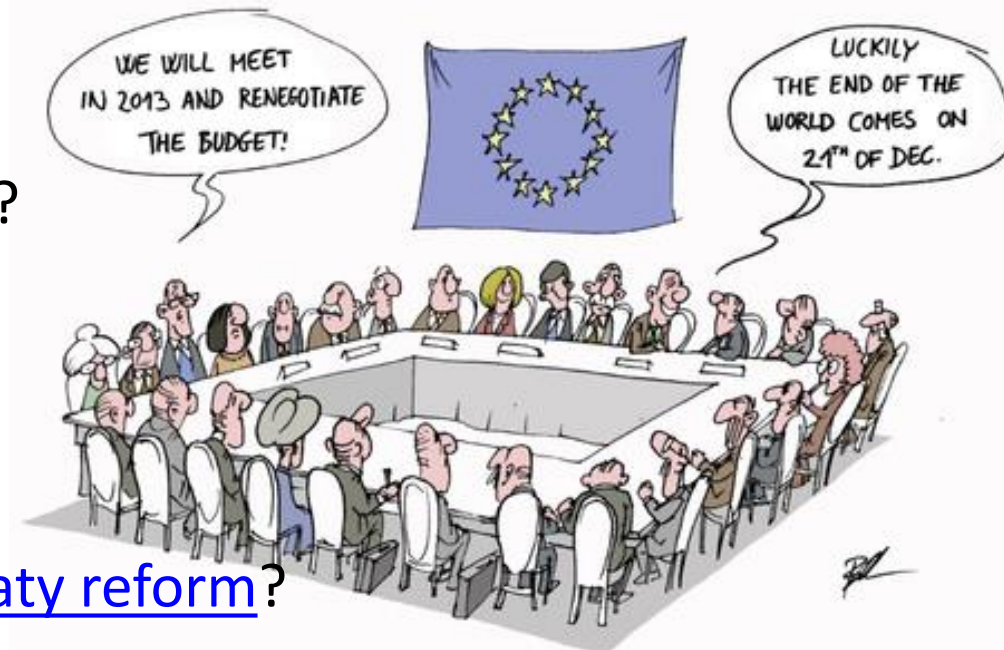
- ▶ Who belongs to Europe? Where does Europe “end”?
- ▶ What **values**?
- ▶ What **economic models**?
- ▶ Integration: in **what framework**? Association, customs union, EEA, special relationship?
- ▶ Can the EU **enlarge** and remain **effective**? How to organize/**reform** the existing political order to accommodate more members?
- ▶ **Divergence or convergence?** ...solidarity?
  - Should the EU support its **candidate** countries?
  - Should the support its **neighboring** countries?
- ▶ Is the EU an “**imperial**” **project**, **conditioning** its future members?





# (Not only) Brexit Issue of ...EU CRISES

- ▶ Eurozone crisis 2009-2015, migration crisis 2015-, Ukraine 2014-, Russia 2014-today, Syria 2015-2016, Libya 2011, Iraq 2003, Constitution 2003-04... **covid**
- ▶ Do crises **politicize** European politics? Contestation over permissive consensus?
  - Contestation **among** member states
  - Contestation **within** member states!
- ▶ **How do crises impact integration?** How's trust going?
- ▶ **Common** solutions or **variable** geometry?
  - Solidarity or each MS for itself?
  - Contributors / receivers of bailouts, funds etc?
- ▶ Use of crises to **integrate further?** ..[impetus for a treaty reform?](#)



(Not only) Brexit  
Issue of ...**DOMESTIC EU POSITIONS**



- ▶ **Euroenthusiasm ...and euroscepticism**
- ▶ Consecutive (coalition) governments have **different EU priorities**
- ▶ Positions on **economic, political, enlargement, sovereignty or reform** issues
- ▶ Regional disparities: capital city/countryside, English/Scottish preferences
- ▶ **National and/or European identity?**
- ▶ **Influence on:** economic model, values, solidarity with MS and others, type of cooperation in EU institutions ...and possibility of agreement on EU level







# (Not only) Brexit Issue of ...EU REFORM

## ► Conference on the Future of Europe

- An experiment in reform?
- EU is “locked in” roughly the same framework since 2001
- **Lisbon treaty** is practically identical to the rejected 2005 Constitutional treaty
- **Since then: eurozone crisis, migration crisis, Brexit, covid**
- Merkel '21: EU ‘probably’ needs treaty changes... O\_o
- Intergovernmental or supranational?
- Opt-outs, variable geometry??
- How to balance institutions out?
- How to make EU more democratic?
- Eurozone (and economy), migration, health, green energy, defence, agriculture, digitalisation



*Der Fortschritt*