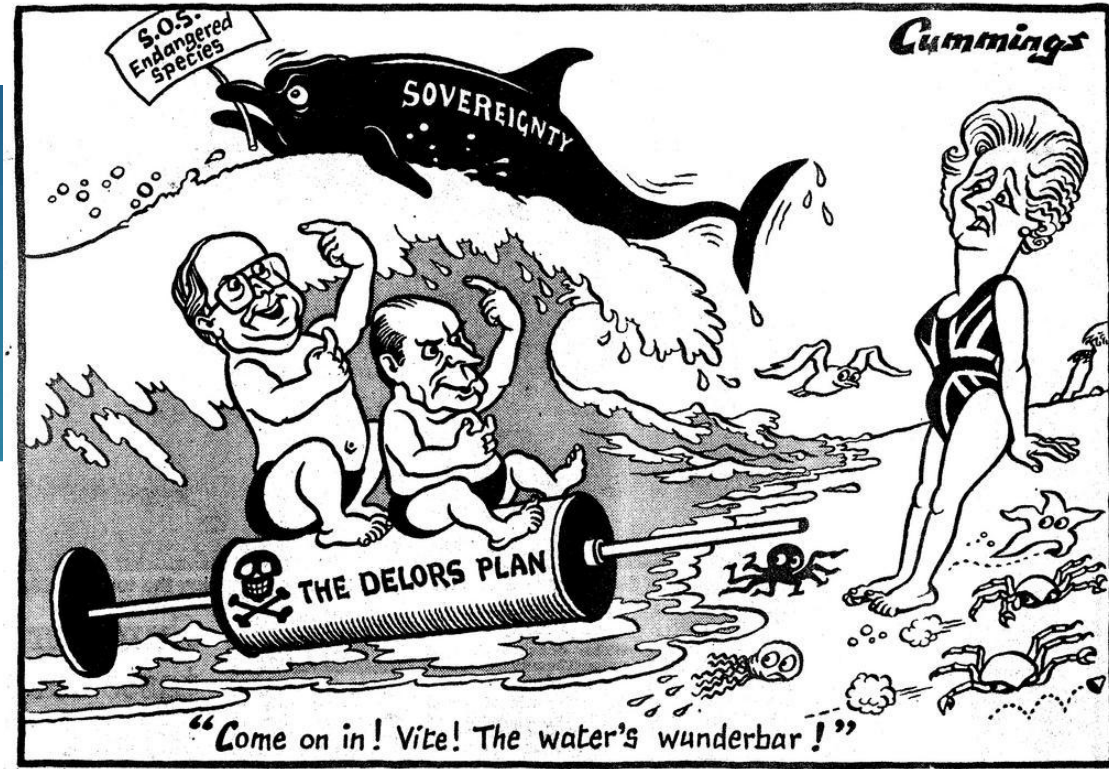




European Union Politics

SESSION 12: DILEMMAS OF FUTURE EU INTEGRATION

Dilemma 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](#)

Dilemma of ...ECONOMY

- ▶ EU Budget: net **contributors** vs. net **receivers** (CAP, Cohesion, Regional policies)?
- ▶ Is it better to be **IN the single market** rather than **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...

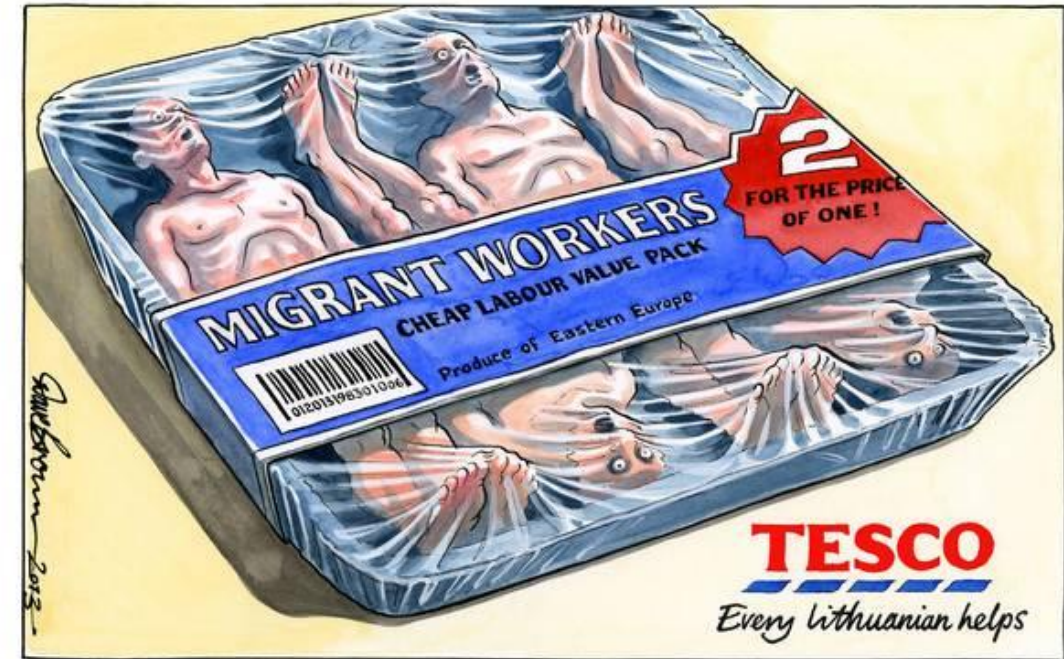


Dilemma of...(IM-)MIGRATION

- ▶ 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?

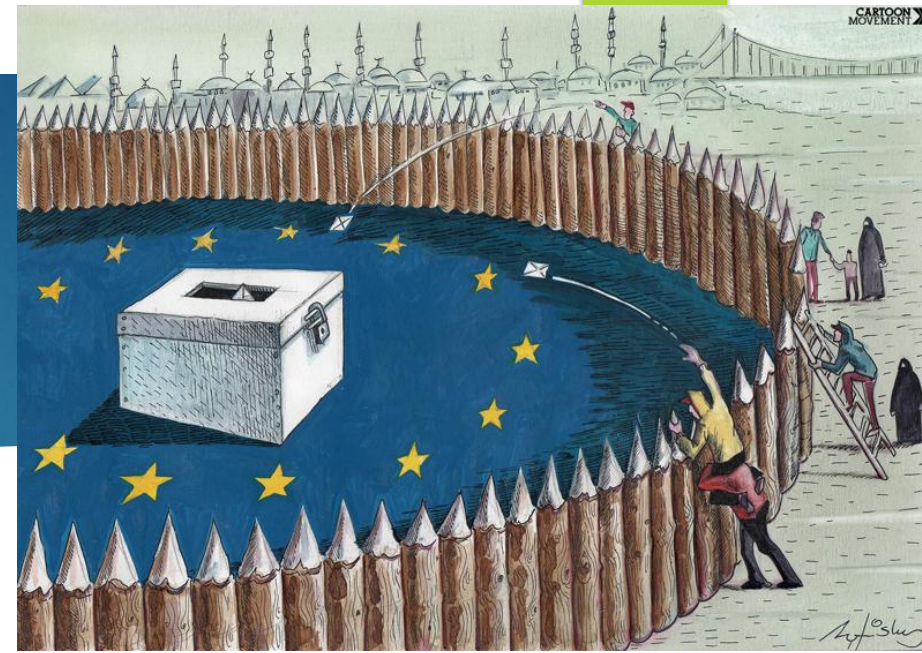
NON-EUROPEAN MIGRATION:

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



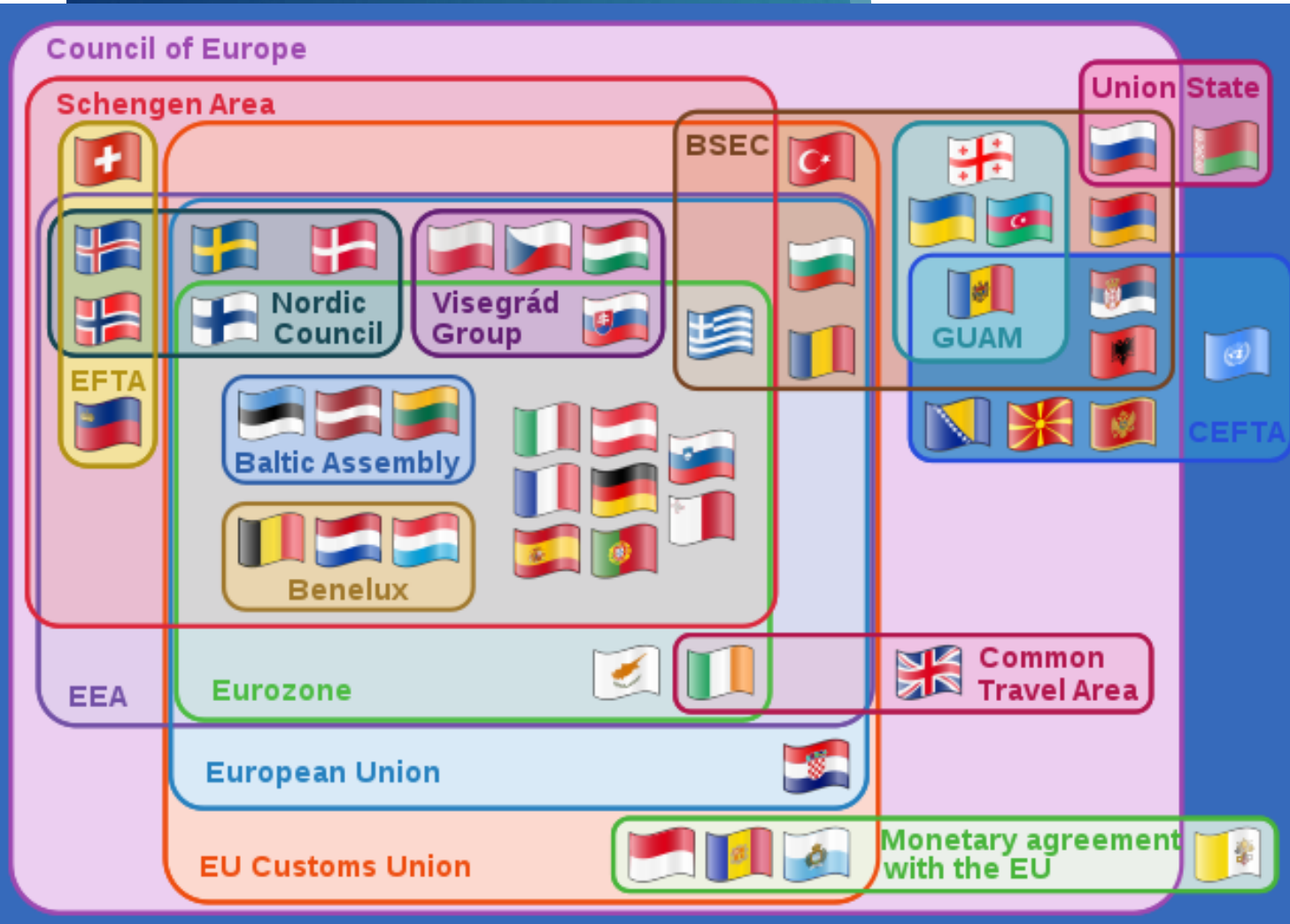
Dilemma of ...EU POLITICAL ORDER

- ▶ **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? How to re-set EU institutions?
- ▶ What are the integration options?
- ▶ Can integration be “rolled back”?



Conference on the Future of Europe
summary results three 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 *à 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 <i>Ad libitum</i> integration Français <i>A la carte</i> <i>Ad libitum</i>

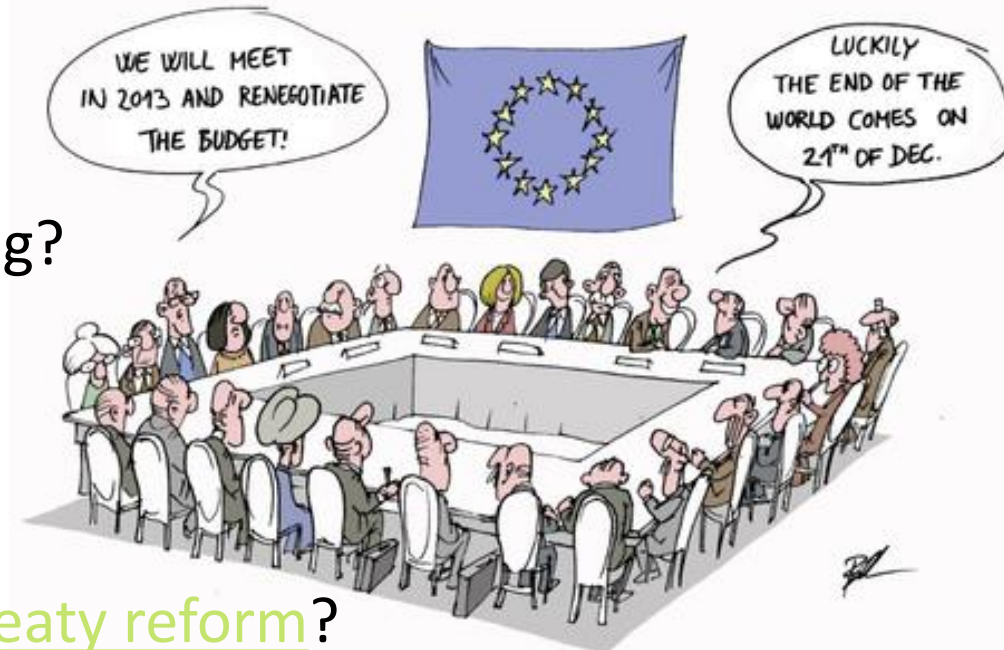
Dilemma of ...ENLARGEMENT

- ▶ 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?



Dilemma 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?



Dilemma of ...DOMESTIC EU (OP-)POSITIONS



- ▶ **Euro-enthusiasm ...and euro-scepticism**
- ▶ 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

Digital Single Market

Ioana Dragut,
Mara Stefanescu,
Ivan Shuliak

- ▶ Is it possible for the EU to remain globally competitive in AI while enforcing some of the world's strictest tech regulations?
- ▶ Should the EU focus more on funding research or enforcing existing rules?

PRO or AGAINST AI regulation?



Green Deal

Common Agricultural Policy

Desiree Blazier, Lena Heyes,
Adelina Lysenko

- ▶ **Do you think the new CAP and the Green Deal are strong enough to make real progress toward sustainable farming?**

..or are they just promises on paper?

Eurozone crisis

Economic and Monetary Union

Gaia Madejski, Sofia Benini
and Marya Sudheer

The European Union has often prioritized financial stability and strict economic rules to protect the euro...

- **But has this focus on stability come at the cost of solidarity among member states?**

After years of crises —financial, political, and social —the European Union is still searching for its identity.

- **Is the EU today a true political union, or just an economic alliance held together by rules and markets?**

Migration Pact

Area of Freedom, Security and Justice

Karolina Cerna, Ondrej
Kapralek, Christopher Truax

- ▶ Should solidarity in migration management be mandatory for EU members or remain voluntary?
- ▶ Do you think that the New Pact does have a future, given the current political climate in some member states?

Russian War against Ukraine

Common Foreign and Security Policy

Arturs Pilacis, Felix Steiner,
Baptiste Le Foulgoc

- ▶ The EU's response to the war has been more about the symbolism than substance.
- ▶ Should the EU have its own army?

Do you agree?
Why or why not?

Future of EU
enlargement

EU Enlargement

Mary Katherine Mckenzie,
Ema Loziova, Semov Marko

EU reform???

- ▶ **Faster, clearer conditions, stronger assistance, better alignment in a crisis?**

OR

- ▶ **Dilution of standards, political backlash, legal complications?**

Union for the Mediterranean & Eastern Partnership EU Neighbourhood

Maksym Loharzhevskyi,
Madina Alizada, Elena Slijper

- ▶ Should the EU move toward two fully separate neighbourhood policies — one for the Eastern region and one for the Mediterranean — instead of insisting on a single ENP umbrella?
- ▶ Is it legitimate for the EU to work with authoritarian neighbours if this protects strategic interests such as energy or migration management?

United States

China

EU ...and the Superpowers

Malin Raaf, Paula Diaz
(Tatiana Nikoletti)

- ▶ How does rising geopolitical competition (China, Russia) reshape EU–US cooperation?
- ▶ Should the EU pursue greater strategic autonomy from the United States, even if this weakens NATO cohesion?

Going “Green” or
Going “Bust”?

EU Green Deal

Filip Gartner, Florian Bohun,
Marek

Biggest concerns

- ▶ The implemented regulation may simply suck
- ▶ Large investment for an individual/business
- ▶ Many people won't be able to directly influence it, but still gotta pay
- ▶ Businesses standing solely on fossil fuels (coal power plants)
- ▶ Maximum price 45 euro per one allowance

Brexit 5 years on...

...the aftermath

Elly Duhrkoop, Kristyna Anna
Korcova and Thilo

- ▶ Has Brexit ultimately benefited the EU by uniting it, or has it merely delayed deeper problems?
- ▶ Should the EU pursue deeper political integration in the future, or did Brexit show the limits of how far integration can go?
- ▶ If the UK held a referendum today on rejoining, should the EU welcome the UK back or keep its distance?

EU and the Member States

The “Rogue ones:”
Hungary, Poland
and Slovakia

Janina Ormanova, Minh
Pham and Lilly H. Nagy

- ▶ Should the EU be allowed to suspend or downgrade membership rights of states that breach fundamental values, or even “kick member states out”?
- ▶ Is the EU even functioning if national governments can openly reject the primacy of EU law?

EU's Democratic Legitimacy and Citizens

Euroscepticism

Mihailo Dzakovic, Vlad-Alexandru Ambrus, and Niccolo Burragato

- ▶ **Why Do People Vote for Eurosceptic Parties?**
- ▶ **Do conspiracies matter?**
- ▶ **How to explain increased trust in the EU *as well as* rising popularity of Eurosceptic movements?**