

# THE REFERENDUM—FRIEND OR FOE OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION?

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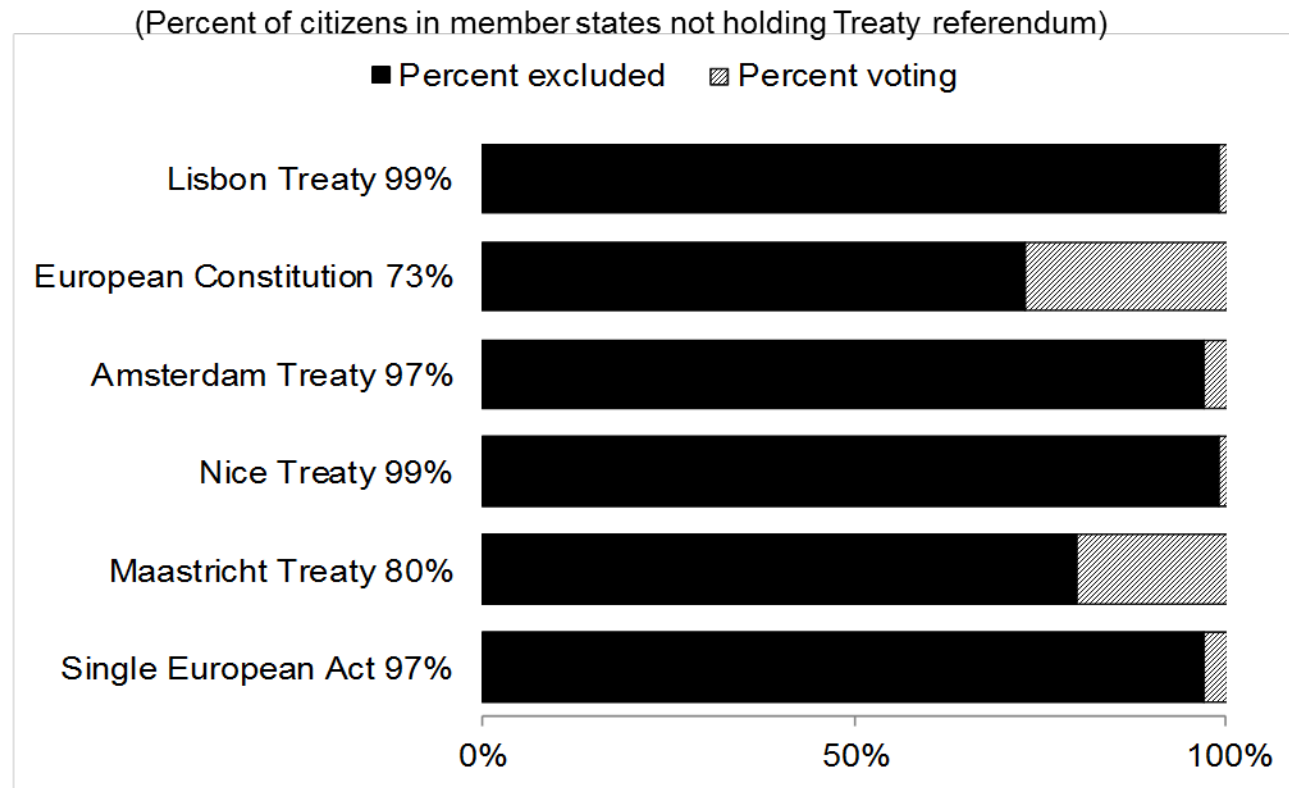
## WHAT A REFERENDUM IS AND IS NOT

- \* Vote on a specific issue
- \* Text on the ballot determined by government
- \* Can be binding OR advisory
- \* Risk: Result determined by free division of voters
- \* Not necessary for democratic government
- \* But many democracies hold do referendums

## REFERENDUMS IN AN EU CONTEXT

- \* Not required by EU for Treaty approval
- \* Treaties made by governments representing states.
- \* But governments represent an average of 49% of their voters.
- \* Almost all member states have had at least one EU referendum
- \* National referendum average division: 57% for and 43% against

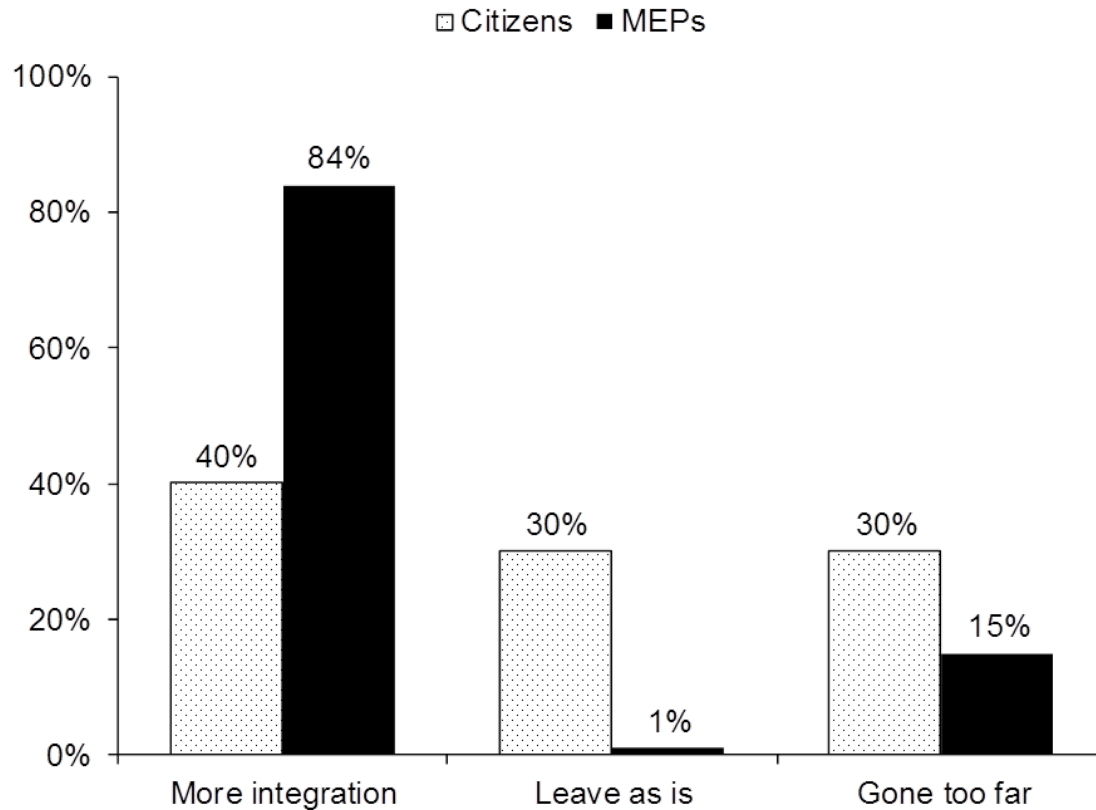
## NATIONAL REFERENDUMS EXCLUDE MOST EUROPEANS



Notes: Lisbon: Ireland voted; 26 countries did not. European Constitution: France, Spain, Luxembourg and Netherlands voted, 21 did not. Amsterdam: Ireland and Denmark voted, 13 countries did not. Nice: Ireland voted, 14 countries did not. Maastricht: France, Ireland and Denmark voted, 9 countries did not. Single European Act: Denmark and Ireland voted, 10 countries did not.

## MEPS DON'T REPRESENT CITIZENS' VIEWS ON EU INTEGRATION

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Source: Citizens: European Election Survey, 2009. Number of respondents in 27 countries: 27,069.

MEPs: Data base of policy positions of parties electing MEPs in the 2009 election; see [www.EUprofiler.eu](http://www.EUprofiler.eu).

## CURRENT SITUATION UNSTABLE

\*UK's 2011 Referendum Act: a time bomb

\*Eurozone going forward: Berlin & Karlsruhe want institutionalisation

\*Opening up the *acquis communautaire*: Mission impossible

\*A referendum on withdrawal is feasible under EU law

## REFERENDUMS—FRIEND OR FOE OF INTEGRATION?

\*If an ever closer union can be achieved by stealth, then it is a foe

\*If popular commitment is needed, then referendum can be a friend by  
mobilizing both popular and loser's consent

\*Europe's citizens want referendums on treaties

63% in favour, 19% no opinion; 18% against

\*Referendums favoured by a majority who are pro-integration  
as well as by those anti-integration

## OPTIONS FOR FEDERALISTS FACING UNKNOWN KNOWNS

- \*Fight to prevent a referendum OR to gain popular commitment to integration
- \*Can't prevent EU from enacting measures triggering a referendum ballot under the 2011 Act.
- \*Can't prevent UK Parliament from enacting a referendum
- \*Strategies
  - \*A vision that answers Dean Acheson's 1962 question
  - \*Fighting on EU's current not past performance?
  - \*Fear of the future: cf. Hillaire Belloc and Scotland 2014
- \*And be prepared for an ever looser Union through differentiated integration



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# Representing Europeans

## *A Pragmatic Approach*

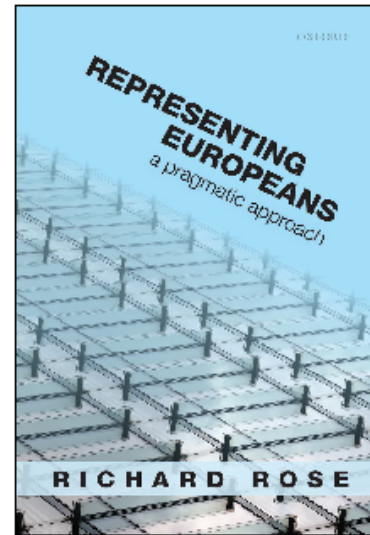
**Richard Rose**, University of Strathclyde

*Representing Europeans* makes a fresh assessment of the challenge facing the European Union today: it can no longer carry out integration by stealth. Measures adopted to save the eurozone impose visible political costs without clearly visible benefits. There is a lack of popular commitment to more European integration because EU institutions represent its citizens indirectly or not at all. Reliance on citizenship lite is politically dangerous, since people retain the power to reject their national government because of commitments it makes in Brussels. The book's pragmatic approach recommends that enhanced European integration should be based on coalitions of the willing and accommodation of the unwilling. Federalists and Eurosceptics will alternatively agree and disagree with the argument of this book. But they cannot ignore the challenge it raises for the EU to pay more attention to the half a billion people it claims to represent.

**Readership:** All those interested in the future of Europe and especially lecturers and students concerned with how the well the European Union represents its citizens political and economic concerns.

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- A common-sense and clear-sighted intervention in a heated and partisan debate
- Clearly written, accessible, free of academic jargon
- Highlights exactly how the EU currently fails its citizens
- Details a clear programme for reform

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