

**REPRESENTING EUROPEANS:  
A PRAGMATIC APPROACH**

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## DEMOCRACY WITHIN MEMBER STATES

- \*Citizens elect representatives  
.EU problem: UK
  
- \*Government accountable to representative assembly  
.EU problem: Italy
  
- \*Government accountable to courts  
EU problem: Portugal. Germany?
  
- \*Government needs renewed mandate  
EU problem: Germany + 26 others

## **REPRESENTATIVE EU INSTITUTIONS WITH HORIZONTAL CHECKS AND BALANCES**

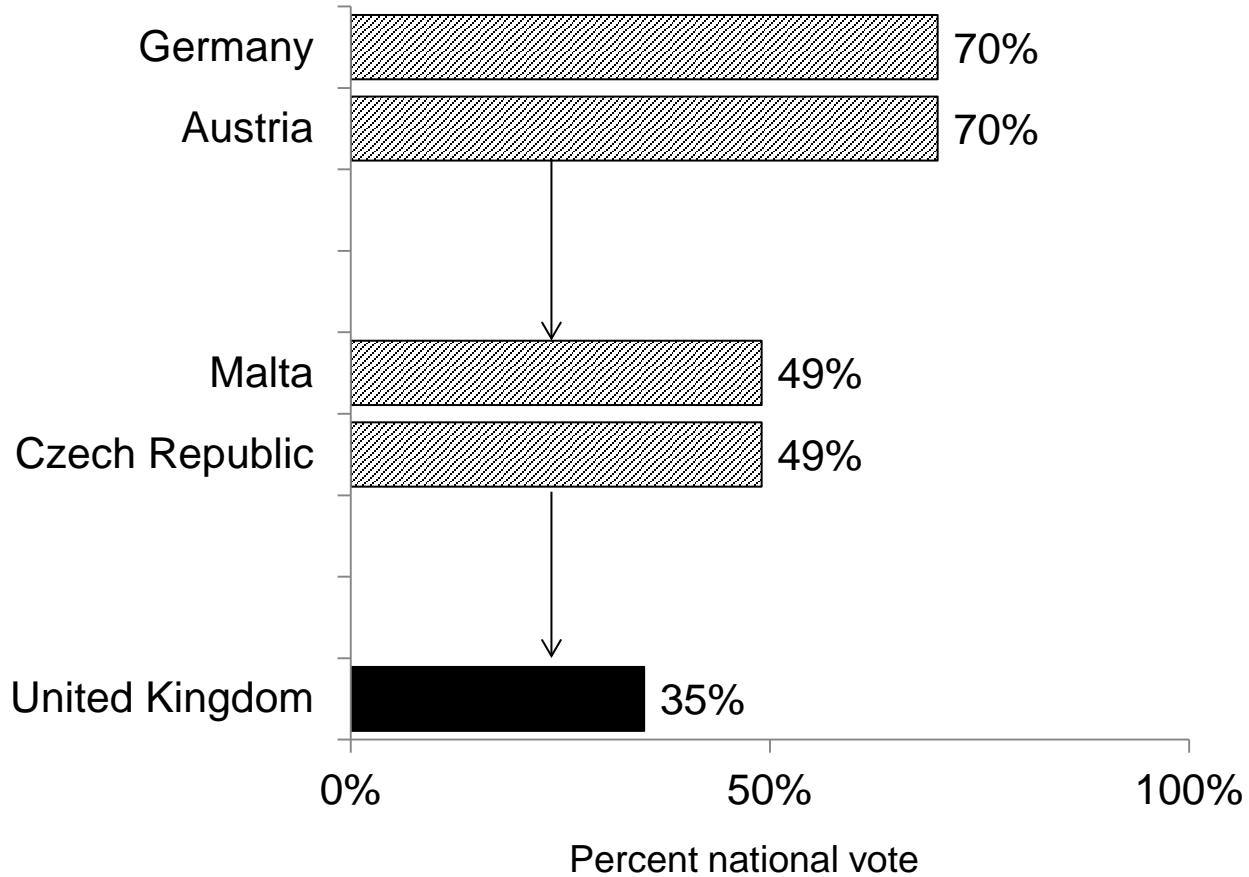
- \*European Commission represents principle of ever closer Union
- \*European Council: National governments represent states
- \*MEPs elected in national constituencies but majority is a trans-national Black/ Red coalition
- \*Court of European Justice: Represents principle rule of law
- \*European Central Bank: Represents principle of monetary economics,

## **WEAK COMMITMENT & ACCOUNTABILITY TO CITIZENS**

## EU COUNCIL MEMBERS REPRESENT ONLY HALF THEIR VOTERS

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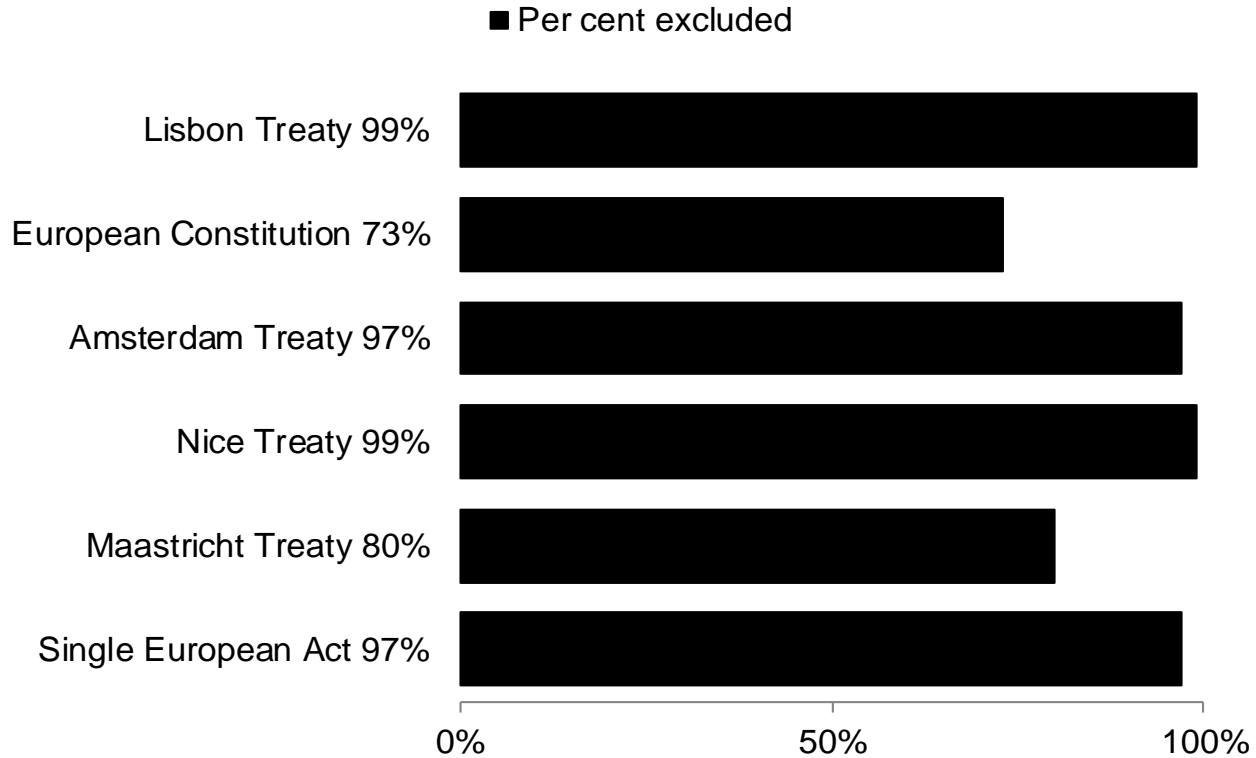
*Vote for governing parties in national election before 2009 EP ballot*



## EU CITIZENS NOT DIRECTLY CONSULTED ON TREATIES

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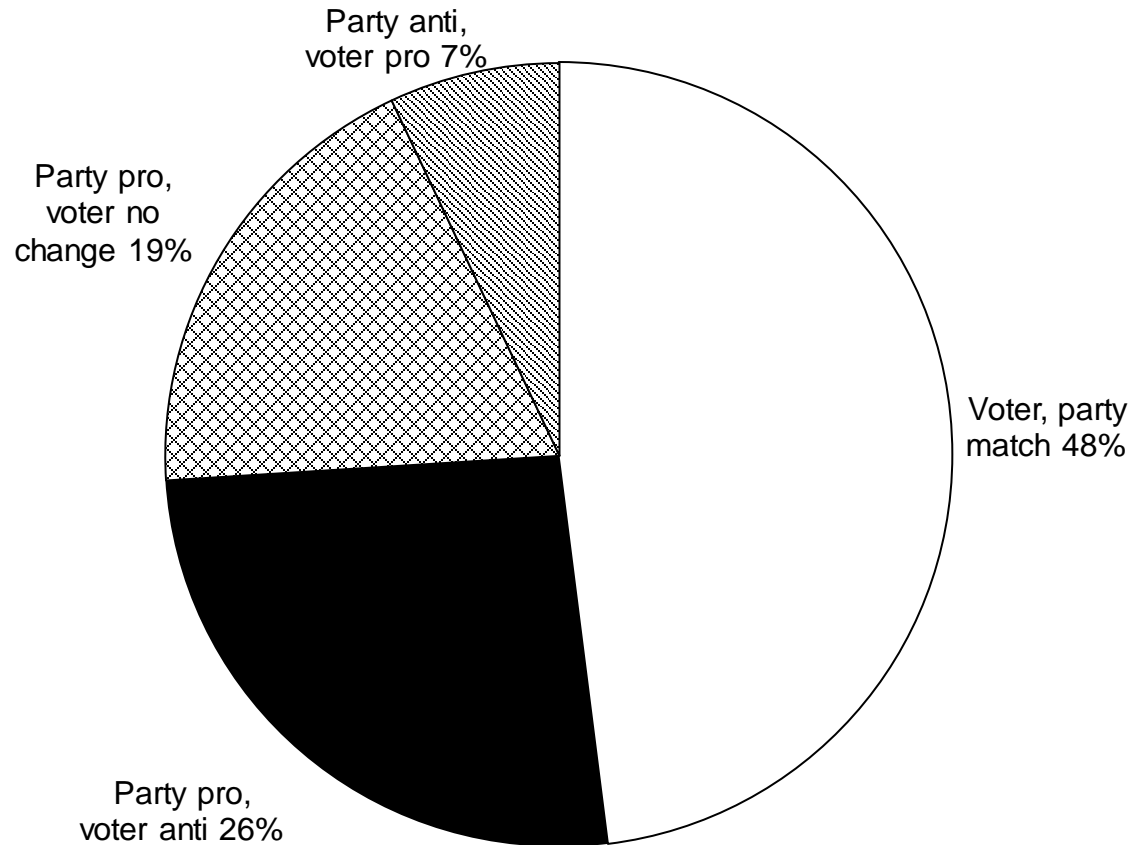
(Per cent of citizens in member states not holding treaty referendum)



## EP PARLIAMENT MOST VOTERS DON'T AGREE WITH THEIR PARTY ON EU INTEGRATION

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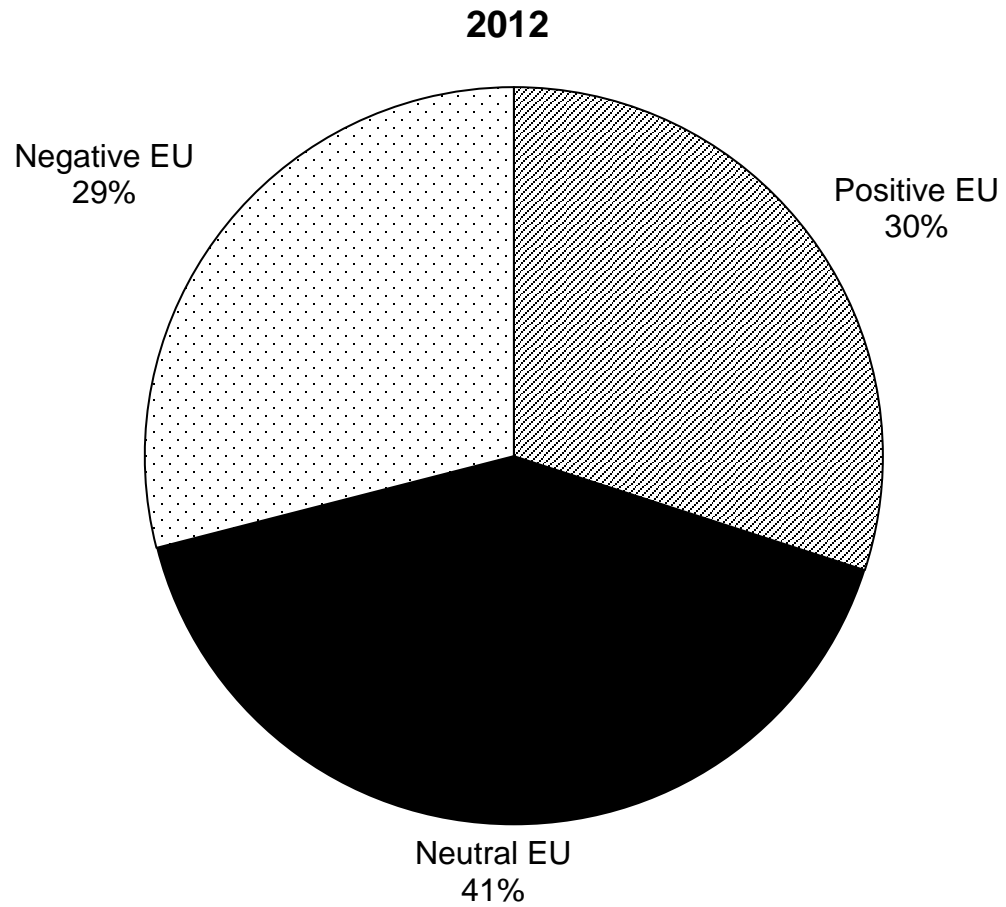
*How views of voters match position of their party on integration*



## MEDIAN EUROPEAN HAS A NEUTRAL IMAGE OF EU

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*Eurobarometer No.77, Autumn , 2012*

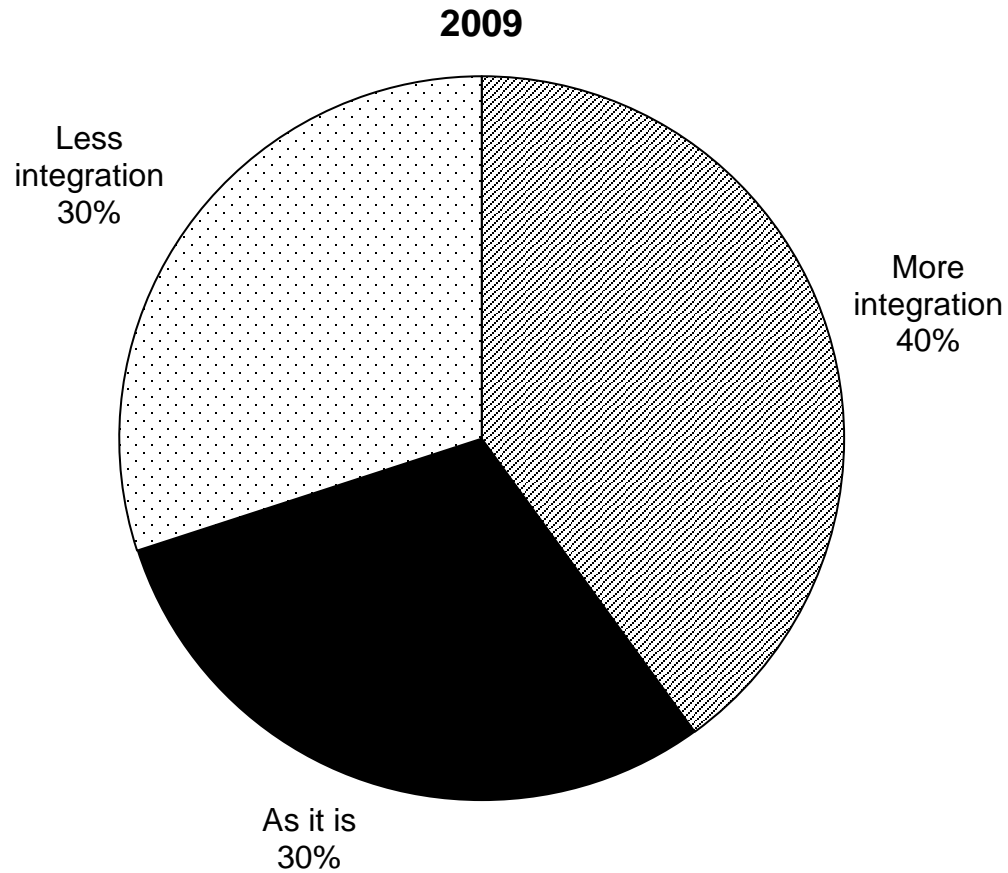


## MEDIAN EUROPEAN FAVOURS LEAVING EU AS IT IS

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*European Election Study, 27 country survey.*

*Q. Some say European unification should be pushed further. Others say it has already gone too far. What is your opinion?*





## **EU INSTITUTIONS FAVOUR LEAVING CITIZENS UNDISTURBED**

EU founded by bargaining among a cosmopolitan elite

Integration by stealth and intergovernmental treaties

Constitutional convention not popularly elected

Nor did Convention want a pan-European referendum

**INTERDEPENDENCE:  
PRESSURES FOR EU COLLECTIVE ACTION  
BUT NO CONSENSUS**

\*Eurozone: High and visible impact BUT disagreements about:

Who pays for fiscal adjustments?

Trade off between deficit reduction and growth?

\*Extending EU powers with or without a new treaty?

\*Global representation from national capitals or by Brussels?



## LIMITS TO REPATRIATION

- \*The *acquis communautaire*: an Eternity clause
- \*Lisbon Treaty offers an Open Door for withdrawal
- \*UK withdrawal would require a national referendum offering:  
Letting go of nurse for a leap in the dark
- \*Norway shows that while EU membership can be rejected,  
interdependence cannot

## **A PRAGMATIC RESPONSE**

- \*Case by case evaluation of options to deal with specific problems
- \*Abandon unanimity rule and repressive consensus
- \*Seek popular approval of new treaties by a pan-European referendum
- \*Coalitions of the willing:
  - Many precedents
  - Immediately, it satisfies both in and out countries
  - If a new policy works well, laggards can catch up with leaders
- \*If experience confirms the view of outs, this leads to a looser union

***EUROPEAN INTEGRATION--A BYPRODUCT NOT AN END IN ITSELF***