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CENTRO DE ESTUDOS INTERNACIONAIS
SOBRE GOVERNO

FUTURE OF EUROPEAN UNION

WHICH KIND OF POLITY?

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<http://lattes.cnpq.br/3923697331385475>



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EU AS A POLITY

Growing List of EU Dilemmas

- Migration Crisis
- Sluggish Economic Growth
- Euroskepticism and Brexit
- Rising of the Far Right
- Policies regarding Russia and Turkey
- Juncker: Western Balkans in the EU?
- Juncker: Cybersecurity European Agency?
- Juncker: EU Commissioners from 28 to 15?
- Juncker: Extension of the Schengen Area?

EU Exclusive Competence

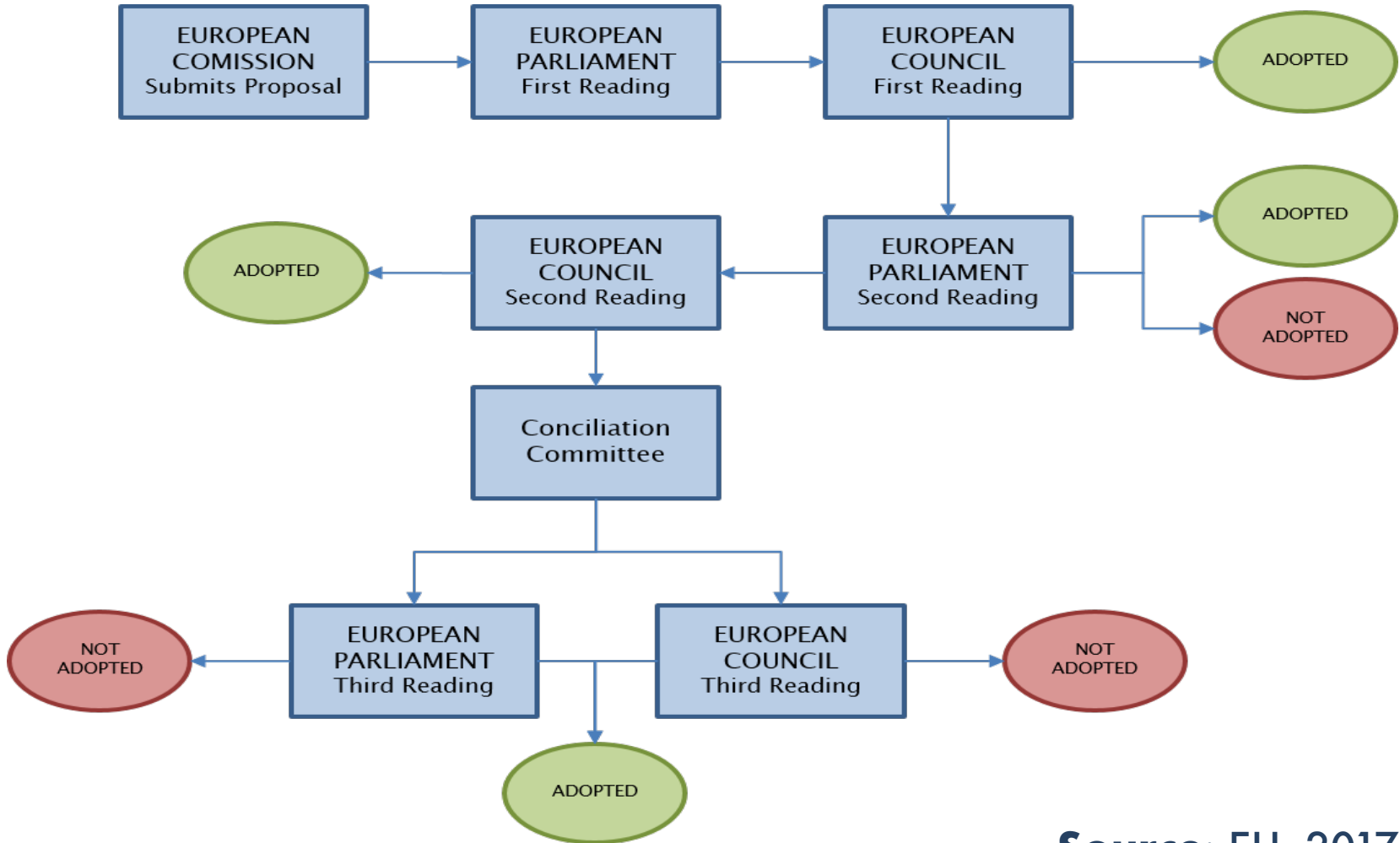
- Customs Union (common external tariffs)
- Competition Rules
- Monetary Policy (Eurozone)
- Common Fisheries Policy
- Common Commercial Policy

Source: EU, 2012.

EU Political Institutions

- European Parliament
- European Council
- Council of the European Union
- European Commission
- Court of Justice of the European Union (CJEU)
- European Central Bank (ECB)
- European Court of Auditors (ECA)
- European External Action Service (EEAS)

EU Decision Making Process



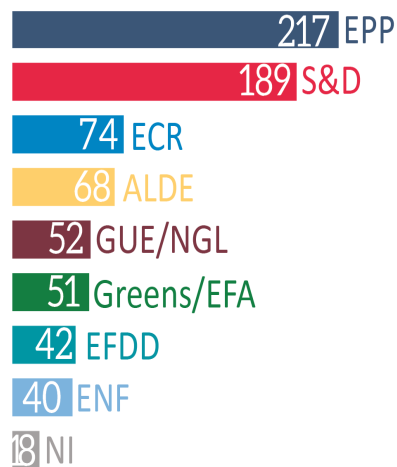
Source: EU, 2017.

EU Parliament Seats by Political Groups

European Parliament, 2014-19

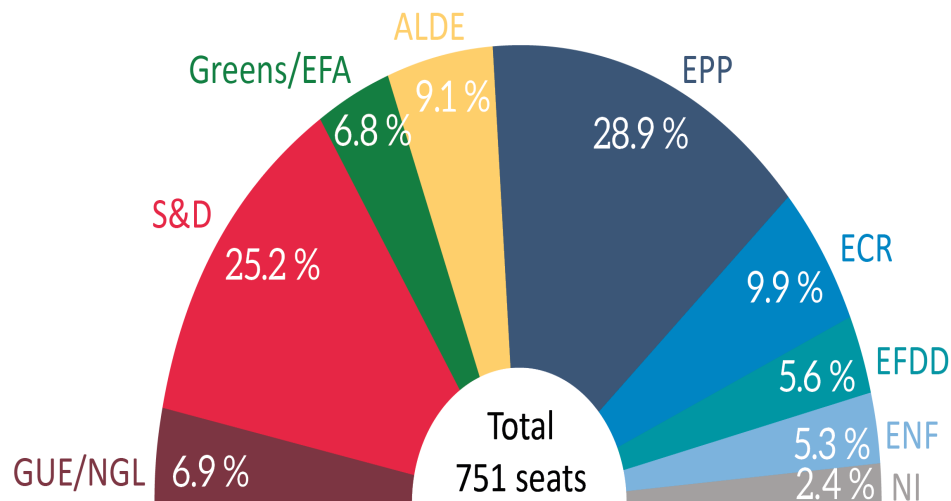
Size of the political groups

Number of MEPs in each political group as of 1 March 2017.

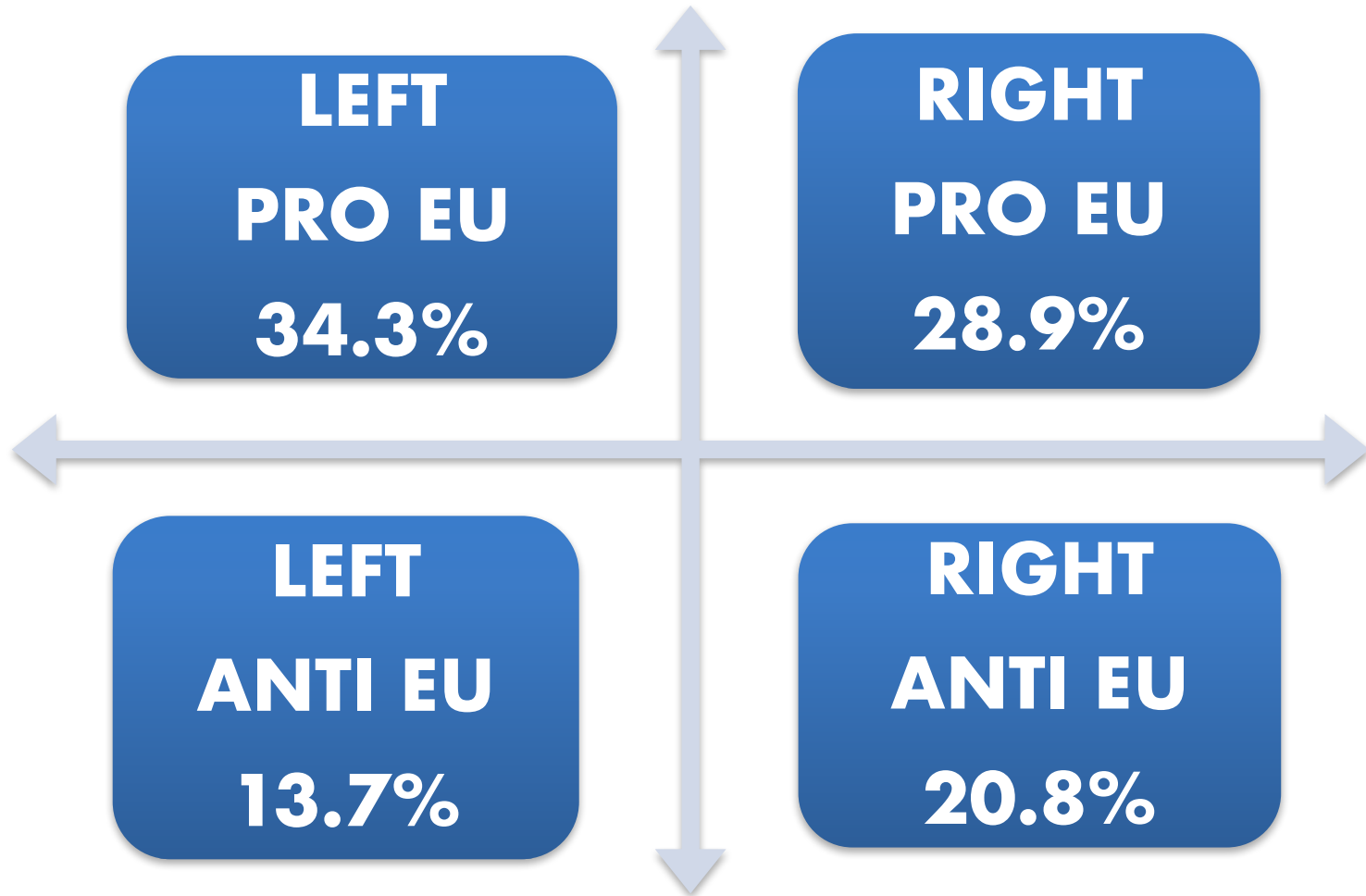


751
MEPs

Proportion of Members in each political group
Share of each political group in the total 751 seats in the Parliament.



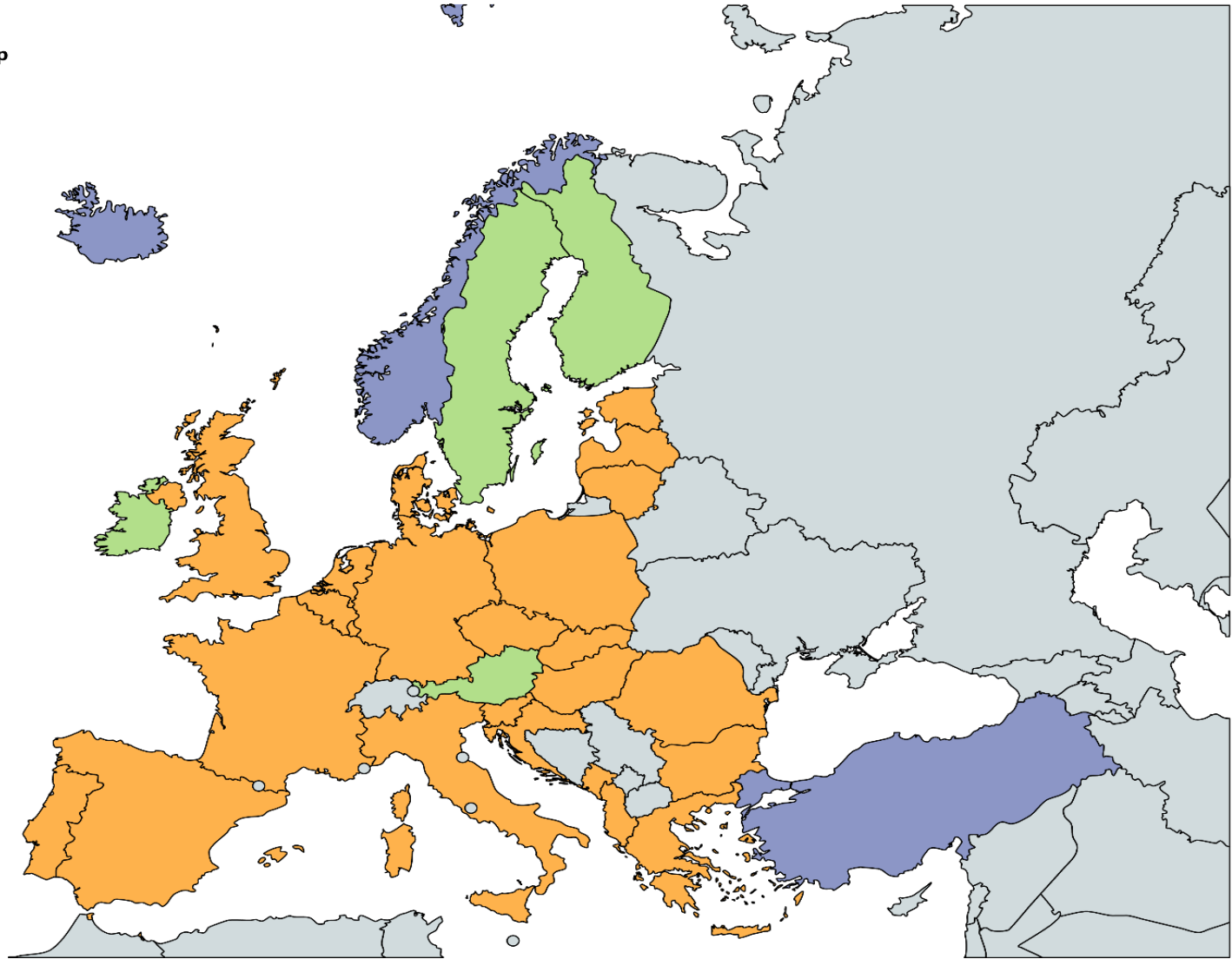
Two Dimensions



EU and NATO: good to whom?

European Region Alliances' Map

- Member of Both EU and NATO
- Member Exclusively of the EU
- Member Exclusively of NATO



Created with mapchart.net ©

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REFUGEE CRISIS

EU Members' Interventions

UK: Iraq (2003-2009), Libya (2011), Syria (2011); Syria-Iraq (2014), Nigeria (2017?)

Italy: Iraq (2003-2006), Libya (2011), Syria-Iraq (2014)

Poland: Iraq (2003-2008), Ukraine (2014?), Syria-Iraq (2016?)

France: Ivory Coast (2003; 2011), CAR (2006; 2013), Libya (2011), Mali (2012), Syria-Iraq (2014)

Germany: Syria-Iraq (2015)

Refugee Law Adaptation

- After the Arab Spring (2011)
 - Global Approach to Migration and Mobility (GAMM)
Intensify of Border Control and Surveillance Policies
 - New Clauses in Freedom of Movement
 - Asylum seekers need to apply from **inside** EU territory
- After the Syrian Crisis (2015)
 - EU Operation Sophia: to counter **human-smuggling**
 - Decisions 1523/1601: Relocate 160,000 people
 - 250.000 Syrians applied for EU asylum, less than 2% of the 12 million displaced (4 million in neighbouring countries)

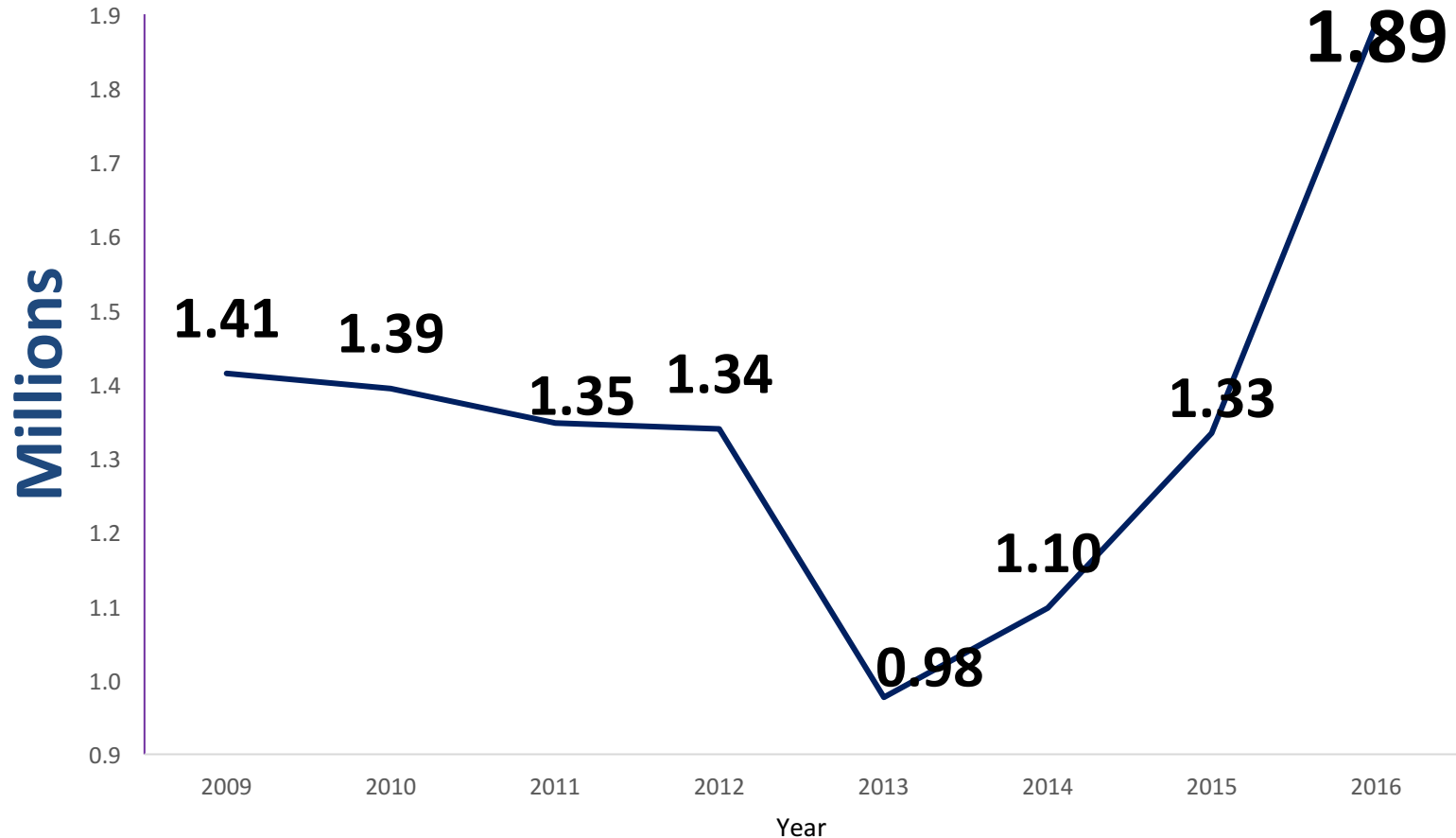
Source: CEPS, 2012.

EU actions and inactions

- Increase assistance to the forcibly displaced
 - In 2016, EU Civil Protection and Humanitarian Aid gave more than €1,972 million to projects helping the forcibly displaced and their **host communities** in 56 countries.
- 2015: 710,000 refugees entered EU
- 2016: 354,850 refugees entered EU
- 2017: 105,000 refugees entered EU (until July)

Source: UNHCR, 2017.

Refugee Population in the EU



Source: World Bank, 2016.

And... Europe Needs Immigrants

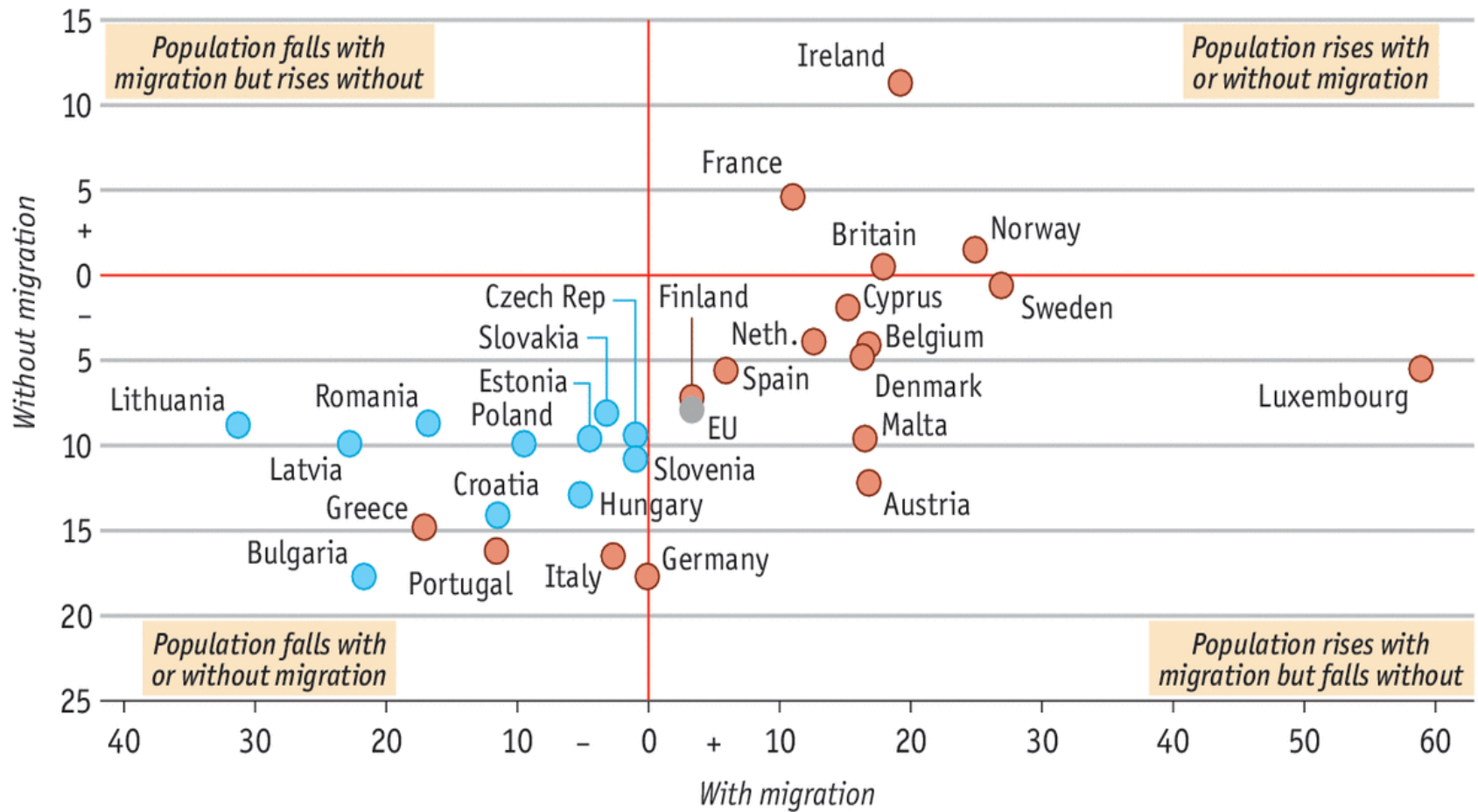
- Median Age in **Europe** will increase from 37.7 years old in 2003 to 52.3 by 2050
- Median Age in **India** will increase from 25.1 in 2010 to 37.5 by 2050

Source: World Bank, 2016.

Shrinking prospects

Europe, population change with or without migration
2017-50 forecast, %

Europe: ● Western ● Eastern



Source: Eurostat

Economist.com

3

RISE OF FAR-RIGHT

Disturbing news... 2017

- **Germany:** AfD won 25% of the votes in state elections in March 2017, and took the third place in the Federal elections (13.3% of the votes) in November. 94 of the 709 seats in the Bundestag.
- **France:** Marine Le Pen's National Front (FN) received 33.9% of votes in the presidential election run-off in May. 07 out of 577 seats in the Assemblée Nationale.
- **Netherlands:** The Party of Freedom (PVV) won 13.1% of the votes in March's general election. It is now the second party, with 20 out of 150 seats in the Tweede Kamer (House of Representatives).
- **Hungary:** The conservative and anti-immigration FIDESZ-KDNP governs the country with 131 out of 199 seats in the National Assembly. The far right JOBBIK movement won 20.54% of the votes in 2014 (24 seats).
- **Sweden:** The far right Sweden Democrats (SD) took 12.9% of the votes in the general elections of 2014, winning 49 out of the 349 seats in the Riksdag.

What they stand for?

- "White Europe of brotherly nations"
- "Refugees get out!"
- "We Want God"
- "Clean Blood"
- "Not red, not rainbow but national Poland"
- "Fight against neo-Marxists and Islamists"
- "Pray for an Islamic Holocaust"

60,000 in Warsaw, November 2017

15,000 in Dresden, December 2014

2,000 in Munich, November 1923

Facilitating Conditions

- Economic crisis and redistributive issues
- Austerity economic policies
- Representation crisis (*volk* versus elites)
- *Angst* among youngs and retirees
- Digital Era reduced costs of hate speech
- Actual insecurity (terrorism or crime)
- Lack of social integration (citizenship)
- Defeat of the organized labor movement
- Xenophobic or ideological blaming of out-groups
- Legal and social tolerance with the intolerants

4

POPULISM EVERYWHERE?

Populism: stretching the concept

- 99% Dispossessed People x 1% Corrupt Elites?
- Any kind of "othering"?
- Anti-intellectual or *Narodnik*?
- Democratic or Authoritarian Leveler Force?
- Islamic Populism, Evangelical Christians?
- Far right, but also the Far Left?
- Trump government ?
- Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela?
- Popular leaders like Xi, Putin, Lula, Merkel?
- **What do we mean by populism in 2017?**

A Nominalist Definition:

“Populism as a ***thin-centered ideology*** that considers society to be ultimately separated into two homogeneous and antagonistic camps, “the pure people” versus “the corrupt elite,” and which argues that ***politics should be an expression of the volonté générale*** (general will) of the people.”

MUDDE; KALTWASSER (2017, p. 06)

What is at stake here?

- Avoid to legitimize extremism as normal politics
- Avoid the *Kampfbegriff* (battle term) entirely
- Refuse Discursive Frame: Hate Speech as Haute-Culture
- Bet on moral and intellectual competence of citizens
- Organization matters: the grassroots level
- Organization matters: national, regional, and global
- Rethink Globalization: redistribute wealth / power
- Rethink Digital Era: Will humans be irrelevant ?
- Avoid Vicious Cycles: overspending / austerity
- Defend Pluralism against: Klepto, Pluto, Techno

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THANK YOU

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