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ROBERT
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The EU and Public Action

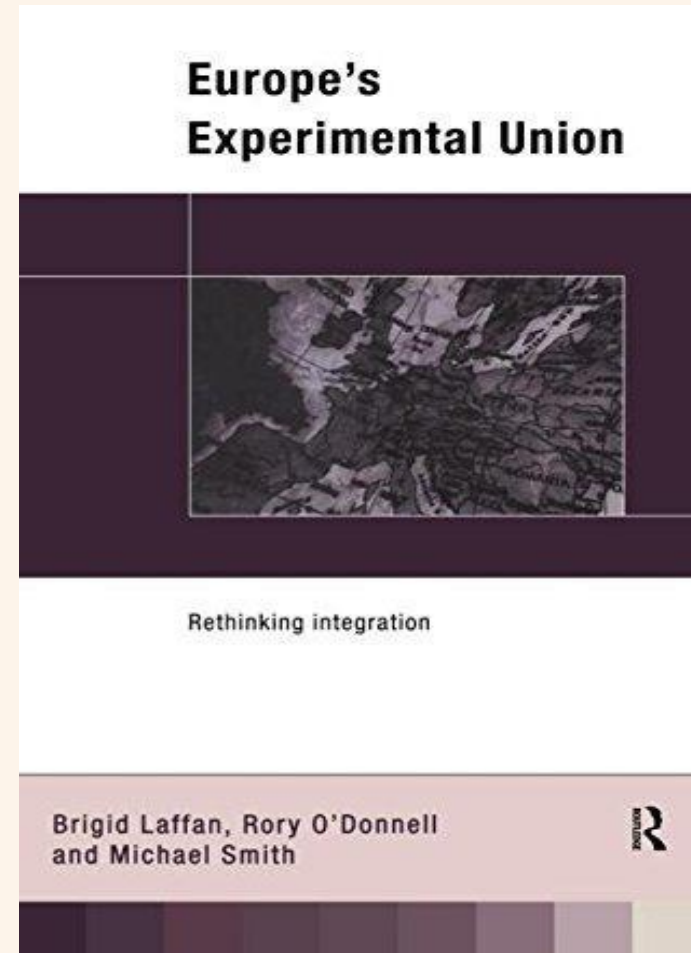
Brigid Laffan

Director Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced
Studies



Unsettled Europe

- 1980s-1990s
 - Markets and Money
 - Collapse of Communism
- 'the union is not evolving towards a federal superstate, but rather, is an arena of deep economic integration governed by a prismatic polity characterised by innovation, experimentation, pragmatism, decentralisation and devolution'
- EU 'a distinctive model of internationalization'





Conceptual Framework

- Territory
- Identity
- Function
 - Transnational Dynamics
 - Unbounded Territory/Borders
 - Technology
 - Collective Action
- Ties & Tensions of European Integration
 - Union of States/Peoples & Markets
 - National & European
 - Polity or problem solving
 - EU & the wider world



Model of
internationalisation as it
approaches the 3rd
decade of 21 Century



Decade of Crisis-Crises as 'open moments'

- **Disintegration**
- Webber (2019)
- Political Disintegration
 - Sectoral Disintegration
 - Vertical disintegration
 - Horizontal disintegration
- Hodson & Putter (2018)
- EU as 'failed state',
'destruction' 'collapse'
- **Resilience & Capacity**
- Laffan (2018)
- EU tested & contested
- Functional-Institutional
Integration
- Political-Social
Integration



The Euro: Whatever it takes

- **Bailouts** for programme countries
- Expanding the **toolkit**
 - European Stability Mechanism (ESM)
 - Banking Union
 - Non-standard ECB measures
- Expanding the **regulatory** frame

Draghi 16 November 2018

‘I want to emphasize how completing Economic and Monetary Union has become more urgent over time not less urgent – and not only for the economic reasoning that has always underpinned my remarks, but also to preserve our **European construction**’.



Refugee Crisis 2015

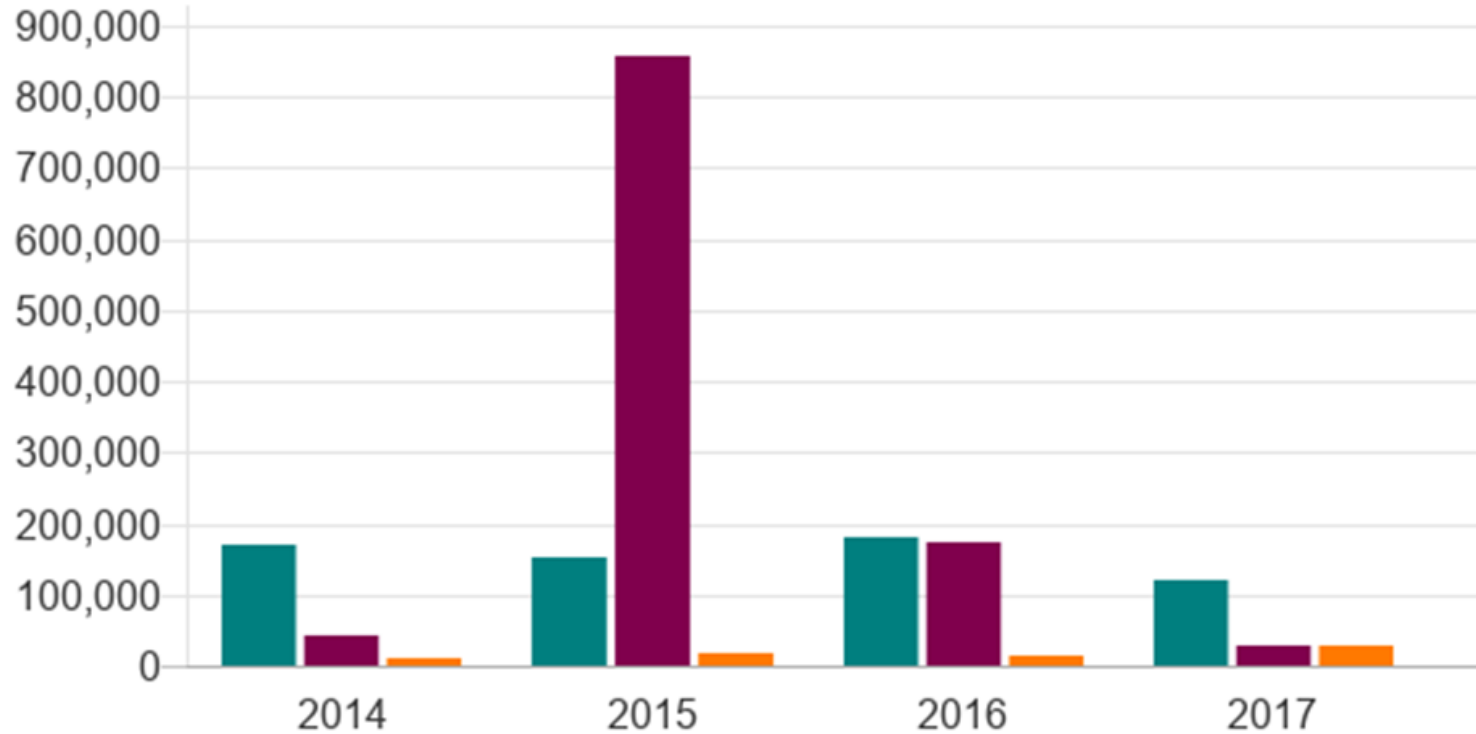
- Commission & Luxemburg Presidency burden sharing key based on QMV
- Deep cleavages across the member states
- Agenda on Migration
- Support for MS & hotspots
- Externalise & deploy money (9.7 billion)
- New legislative framework (7 proposals) on asylum
- Resettlement
- Borders are back



Migrants and refugees

Total arrivals 2014-17

Italy Greece Spain



Source: UNHCR



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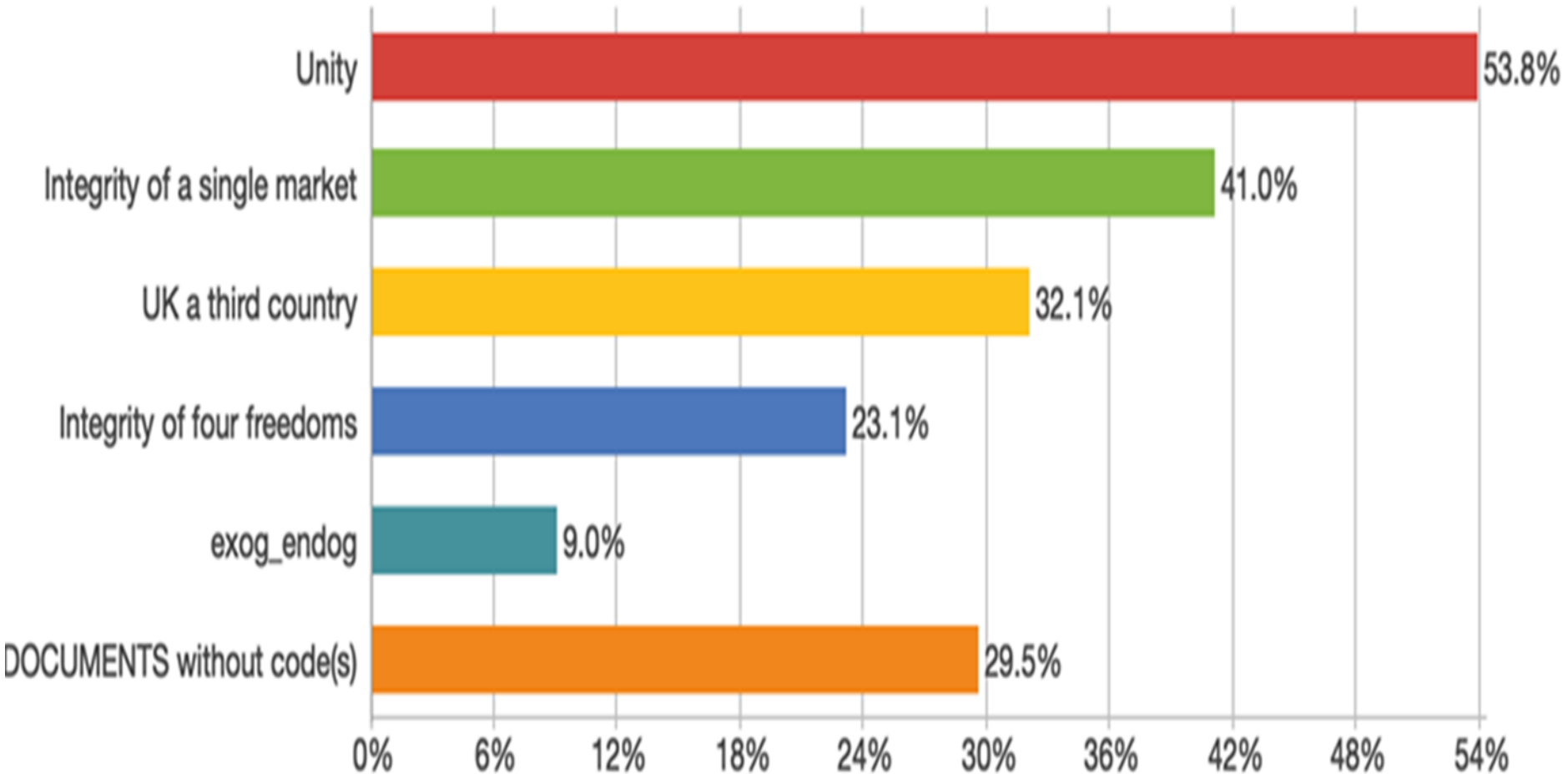
Brexit

- Speed 24th-29th June
- Survival of the Union
- Unity
- Process & orderly
Withdrawal
- UK as an embryonic
other- UK as a Third
Country





EU narrative





Impact of Crises on EU

- EU hardened by crises
 - Emergency politics, whatever it takes
- Protect the polity including its market
- Politics of ‘events’ dominated by European Council
- A new supra-nationalism-Political Commission
- EU as a regional hegemon



Agreement on Priorities/Challenges

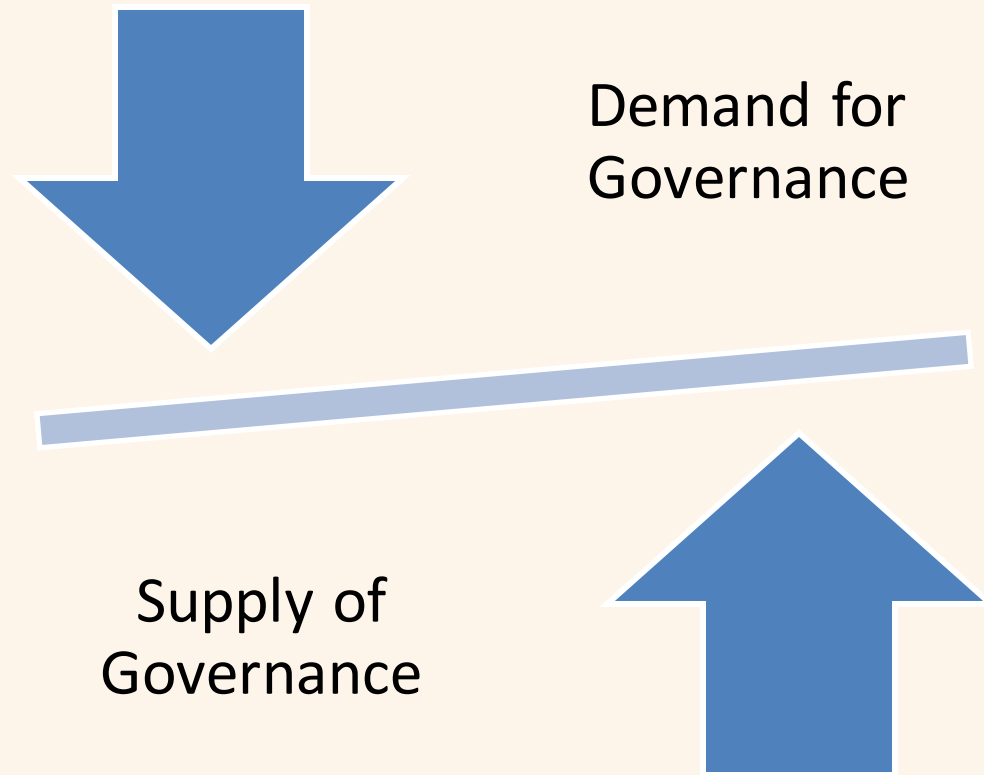
- **Leaders Strategic
Agenda (2019-2024)**

- Citizens & Freedoms
- European Economic Model
- Greener Europe
- Europe's interests & values in the world

- **Von der Leyen Agenda**

- A European Green Deal
- An economy that works for people
- A Europe fit for the digital age
- Protecting our European way of life
- A stronger Europe in the world
- **A new push for European democracy**





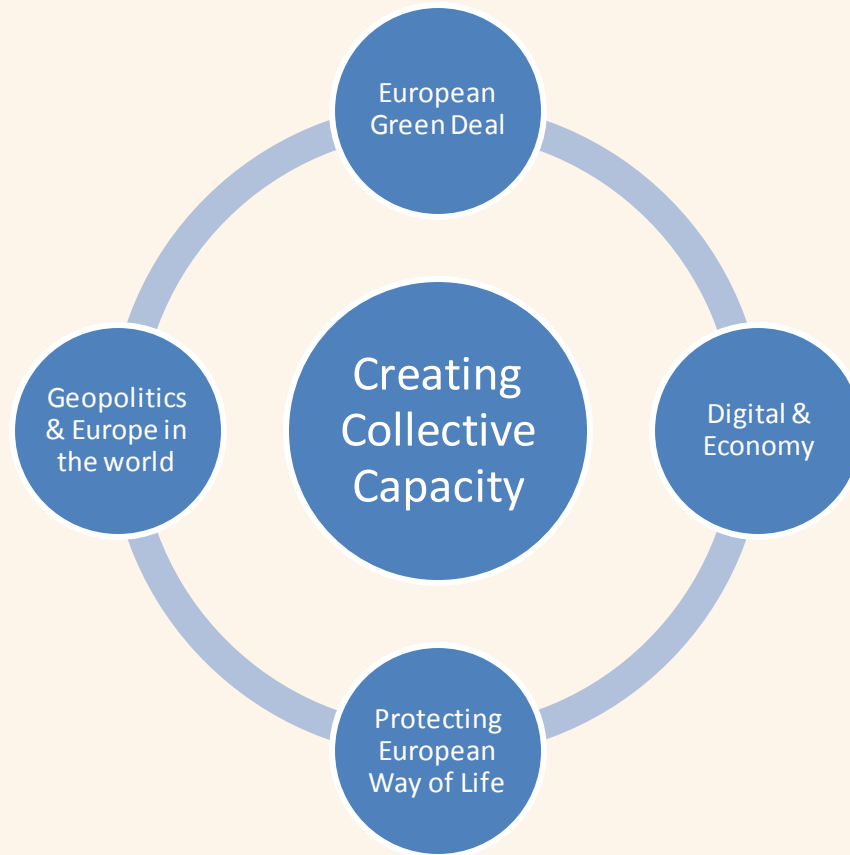


- Political fragmentation & volatility in the member states
- Government formation-9 minority Governments
- Challenger parties especially radical right
- Democratic backsliding & illiberalism Eastern Europe/Malta
- Cleavages across the member states



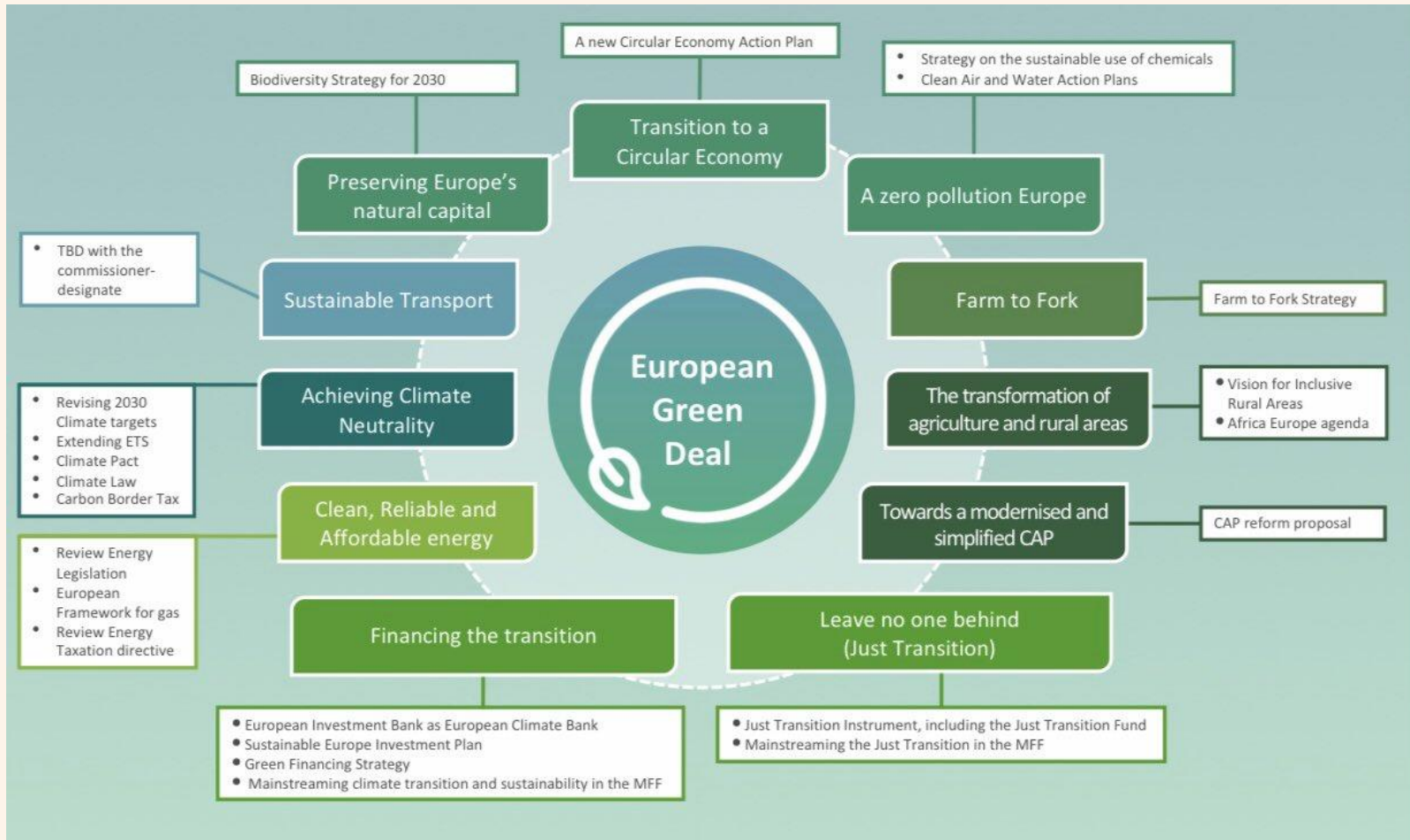
How does EU respond?

- Organize for change
 - Internal Commission organization
 - Bring the resources of the organization to bear
 - Clearer Priorities, Task Orientation & Centralisation
- Establish **Macro** Cross Cutting **Frameworks** for the Union as a whole
- Negotiate outcomes creating collective capacity.





I: Governing for the Future





II: Digital

- Regulation & Standards
 - AI
 - blockchain, high-performance computing & quantum computing
- Digital Services Act?
- Digital Education Plan
- Technological sovereignty
- Use available instruments
 - Competition Policy
 - Public Procurement
 - Investment Screening
- Cyber Security Agency
- Vestager & Breton



III: EU & Wider Global Dynamics

- Waking up from a **geopolitical** slumber
 - More assertive on China
 - Relations with the US-economy, tech, defence
 - ‘NATO brain dead’
 - Strategic autonomy without or outside NATO
- Africa
- Whither multilateralism?



Future of Europe???

- Launch of a Conference on FoE Summer 2020 for 2 years
 - Politics-transnational lists & leadership
 - Policy Agenda
 - Purpose
- European Sovereignty (Macron & Commission)
- How to create & legitimise collective capacity?



EU Model of Internationalisation

- Effort to create **collective capacity** will continue-pressures from within and outside
- Experimental governance & knowledge rich but tension between problem solving & politics
- Management of **deep diversity**-differentiated integration
- Struggle, contested, messy, incomplete bargains because stakes are that high