

## ABSTRACT

Understanding the European Union Through Comparison to Sovereign States

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The European Union qualifies as a new type of intergovernmental organization, a supranational organization, because its member states have integrated to a much greater degree than any other intergovernmental organization that came before it. This new level of categorization causes many people to believe that the European Union is so unique that it has no peers with which to make meaningful comparisons. In this paper, I will argue that although the European Union exists somewhere between a traditional intergovernmental organization and a state, it does share many characteristics with sovereign states and these shared characteristics make meaningful comparison possible. Further, I will argue that by comparing the European Union to sovereign states we can better understand the European Union's formation, have greater insight into the problems the European Union faces, and attempt to comprehend the future of the European Union with more clarity.

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UNDERSTANDING THE EUROPEAN UNION THROUGH COMPARISON TO  
SOVEREIGN STATES

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## CHAPTER ONE

### The Difference Between a State and an Intergovernmental Organization

#### *Introduction*

When Gordon Brown, the British Prime Minister, was late to the signing of the Lisbon Treaty in 2007, people were furious. His absence “was widely perceived as a snub to Britain’s neighbors,” European Union (EU) supporters were “outraged,” and Andrew Duff, a pro-European Liberal Democrat member of the European Parliament, went as far as to call the situation “a complete and absolute scandal” (Castle and Bowley 2007).

Why was the presence, or lack thereof, of the British Prime Minister at a treaty signing so controversial, you may ask? Although Brown was said to have had a “scheduling clash,” people were irritated by the perceived snub because the treaty to be signed was of the utmost importance to the continued development of EU integration (Castle and Bowley 2007). The Lisbon Treaty, which replaced the European Union’s failed effort to establish a European constitution, aimed to resolve “institutional matters,” “alter the way decisions are made in the union,” establish a presidential position to “represent Europe on the world stage,” and to generally move the European Union forward toward greater unity (Castle and Bowley 2007).

Although treaties are ratified on a very frequent basis around the world, this particular treaty is of particular importance because, although it replaced a failed EU constitution, it enables the further integration of the European Union, arguably with the transfer of some sovereignty from states to the intergovernmental organization (IGO) and, further, imbues the IGO with trappings of statehood. So, the signing and ratification

of the Lisbon Treaty effectively created a constitution that includes sovereign powers, but for an ostensible IGO. The European Union is an interesting case study of an intergovernmental organization because its economic and political integration has greatly exceeded the integration and cohesion of any organization that can be considered consistent with today's idea of an IGO. In fact, based on current definitions and widely shared opinions about the characteristics of intergovernmental organizations and those of states, it appears that the European Union meets the criteria for both, although it self-identifies as, and is thus considered to be, an IGO. Since the European Union is a major political force in the international community today, it is important to not only understand its formation, but also to understand how the way it formed and has continued to evolve might impact its future.

### *What is an Intergovernmental Organization?*

Although there is no authoritative definition of what constitutes an intergovernmental organization, there is wide consensus of characteristics critical to its operation. Intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) are usually regarded as independent organizations whose members are sovereign states and which hold regular meetings, have a headquarters and permanent staff, and are governed by rules. In an early attempt to determine the number of global intergovernmental organizations at any point in time, Wallace and Singer classified an IGO as an organization that consisted of at least "two qualified members of the international system," held regular plenary meetings, had both a permanent secretariat and headquarters, and was independent from other IGOs (Wallace and Singer 1970, 245-248). A later, separate effort came to the conclusion that "IGOs are those associations established by governments or their representatives that are sufficiently

institutionalized to require regular meetings, rules governing decision making, a permanent staff, and a headquarters” (Shanks, Jacobson, and Kaplan 1996, 593). Finally, in a much more recent study, Pevehouse, Nordstrom, and Warnke (2003, 2005), as quoted in Diehl, asserted that an IGO is an organization with the following characteristics: “(1) is a formal entity; (2) has [three or more] [sovereign] states as members; and (3) possesses a permanent secretariat or other indication of institutionalization such as headquarters and/or permanent staff” (Volgy, et al. 2010, 15). As can be seen from the criteria discussed above, there is general agreement that intergovernmental organizations have characteristics of enduring, formal institutions with the added caveat that the members are sovereign states.

From an operational standpoint, IGOs can be defined as “entities created with sufficient organizational structure and autonomy to provide formal, ongoing, multilateral processes of decision making between states, along with the capacity to execute the collective will of their members (states)” (Volgy, et al. 2010, 15). Intergovernmental organizations should be able to demonstrate independence in their operations and execution of the member states’ collective will, stability of operations through an established bureaucracy, and institutionalized oversight and decision-making processes. The concept of intergovernmental organization, generally, has probably been around since the first forms of government were born through the use of alliances, agreements, and cooperation between governments. “Most contemporary scholars, however, point to the Congress of Vienna (1815–1822) as the earliest modern precedent to today’s IGO” because it served as a “forum for international collaboration on European security and commerce” (Pease 2012, 15-16). Since the formation of the Congress of Vienna,

intergovernmental organizations have had an increased presence on the international stage and have also enjoyed growing influence in the decision-making processes of states.

The intergovernmental organizations that exist today are both complex and diverse in function. Liberals argue that “international organizations provide an arena in which states can interact, develop shared norms, and cooperate to solve problems” because they emphasize coordination, sharing of information, behavioral norms, and a transparency that would not otherwise be available (Diehl and Frederking 2010, 5). Realists, who only view states as primary actors, provide a much less optimistic explanation of the role of intergovernmental organizations: IGOs are not very powerful in and of themselves, but they can be used by states as tools to help secure national interests. Constructivists, somewhere in-between the two, focus on the “potential for international organizations to socialize policymakers and states to embrace certain norms, identities, and beliefs” (Diehl and Frederking 2010, 5-6). IGOs draw their authority from all these functions. They enjoy authority from “moral standing (being the representative of the international community),” authority through the tasks that are delegated to them, “rational-legal authority” from the way they are founded by states, and authority from the specialized “expertise” they have regarding certain topics (Reinalda 2013, 18).

Once states come together and pursue common goals, IGOs have the ability to foster cooperation and work toward deeper integration of diverse states. IGOs are capable of encouraging these types of activities because they provide “a concrete and stable organizational structure and a supportive administrative apparatus” that “increase the efficiency of collective activities and enhance the organization’s ability to affect the



understandings, environment, and interests” of multiple states (Abbott and Snidal 2010, 28-29). For their member states, intergovernmental organizations facilitate mediation, negotiation, dispute resolution, implementation of standards, the reshaping of norms, and discussions about important issues.

### *What is a State?*

Like intergovernmental organizations, it is difficult to define what exactly a state is. What is “most often cited as a textual basis for statehood is the Montevideo Convention of 1933 and, in particular, its section entitled *On the Rights and Duties of States*,” which gives a list of simple criteria to determine whether a society should be recognized as a state (Grant 1999, 413). According to the Montevideo Convention, “the state as a person of international law should possess the following qualifications: a) a permanent population; b) a defined territory; c) government; and d) capacity to enter into relations with the other states (Convention on Rights and Duties of States). Another part of the document that relates to the definition of a state asserts, “the political existence of the state is independent of recognition by the other states” (Convention on Rights and Duties of States). Even though the Montevideo Convention was a treaty signed at the International Conference of American States and did not involve any states outside the western hemisphere in the discussion, the criteria it outlined have become a de facto global standard.

Although the Montevideo criteria are widely cited, many people do not agree with the treaty’s defining characteristics of a state. This may be because the criteria were not written in a setting that was prepared to write a definition of statehood that would inform international law. Instead, the criteria were set forth to resolve a particular problem that

plagued North and South America. As a result of the participants' limited scope and purpose, the Convention's definition of minimum state attributes received less attention and deliberation than it deserved and may not fully address global needs (Quigley 2010, 206-207). Perhaps also, "Article I restated and codified customary international law as existing in 1933," but that customary international law has developed since then, rendering the Montevideo criteria obsolete and in need of an update (Whitbeck 2011, 63). People disagree with many areas of the criteria, such as capacity being a prerequisite of statehood and not a product, and many additional criteria that modern scholars often discuss but are not mentioned in the Convention. If the Montevideo criteria were revisited and updated, the drafting body would likely discuss additional criteria such as "independence, a claim to statehood, popular processes as the source of a claim to statehood, legality (external), legality (internal), organic bonds within the community claiming statehood, United Nations membership, [and] recognition" (Grant 1999, 450). The Montevideo Convention may not provide a definition of statehood that is satisfactory to many people, even though "the criteria have held a prominent place in efforts to define statehood," but this may be due to "the lack of a better model rather than the sufficiency of Montevideo itself" (Grant 1999, 413-414).

Perhaps because the Montevideo Convention criteria may be obsolete in light of how international legal personality has evolved since 1933, the criteria have not "been applied rigorously by the international community in making determination about statehood" (Quigley 2010, 236). Some examples of this flexible application of the criteria are states that "lack[ed] substantial control over their own affairs" at the time of their recognition (like Ukraine, Belarus, and Bosnia), states that have failed (such as Somalia),

states that “[had] yet to establish firm control of territory” at the time of their recognition (the Philippines, the Republic of the Congo, and Bosnia), and microstates because they “exist under a formal agreement with a larger state, whereby the latter exercises considerable control” (Quigley 2010, 236-240). It seems, based on examples such as these, that the international community has recognized some sort of malleable, informal conception of what it means to be a state and has acted in regard to this new idea. However, since no new criteria have been formally recognized, it is difficult to pinpoint what exactly constitutes a state.

One interesting way to explore the current international law definition of a state is to look at societies that appear to have the characteristics of a state according to the Montevideo Convention, but are not recognized as such. Two modern examples of this kind of society are Palestine and Taiwan. Both communities appear to meet at least some attributes set forth in the Montevideo criteria and that people generally contemplate when discussing the nature of a “state.” However, neither seems to be universally regarded as a state in the eyes of the international community.

When Palestine began to voice its desire to become a state independent of Israel, “Israel’s Foreign Ministry argued that Palestine was not a state because it lacked a population within a territory, control was not exercised by a government, and capacity to engage in international relations was lacking” in accordance with Article 1 of the Montevideo Convention (Quigley 2010, 205-206). However, there are many who disagree with this sentiment and argue that Palestine does, in fact, meet the criteria of the Montevideo Convention as well as other possible indicators of statehood that scholars discuss. Because many people see a permanent population of ethnically homogenous

Palestinians living in a specific territory, Palestinians engaging in diplomatic or quasi-diplomatic activities, and Palestine having some sort of governing body, they believe that “under both the criteria of the Montevideo Convention and the more restrictive criteria of recent customary international law, the State of Palestine exists – now” (Whitbeck 2011, 66). Palestine’s assertion of statehood in 1988 even led to the recognition of its status as a state by 112 other states (Quigley 2010, 4; Whitbeck 2011, 63). Considering the arguments above, arguably Palestine should hold state status. If so, why is Palestinian statehood not universally recognized?

Two major issues obstruct recognition of Palestinian statehood. First, “the weak link in the Palestinian claim to already exist as a state is of course, the fourth criterion, ‘effective control’” over the people and territory (Whitbeck 2011, 64). The heavy violence and instability in the region is an indicator that the Palestinian governing bodies are unable to provide stability through control of the region. In fact, “several US courts that have needed to decide whether Palestine is immune from suit because of being a state have decided against Palestine statehood based on the criterion of control” (Quigley 2010, 213). The lack of support from the United States on the issue of statehood leads to the second major issue between Palestine and statehood: recognition. Although recognition is clearly indicated in the Montevideo Convention not to be a condition of statehood, the recognition of other states, especially by the most influential states, seems to be a modern implied condition of becoming a state. Based on this implied condition, it seems that there is a possibility that Palestine will gain statehood soon because- despite the fact that Israel is committed to retaining Palestinian territory- the United States, the world superpower, has voiced its commitment “to realizing the vision of a two state

solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict: an independent, viable and contiguous Palestinian state as the homeland of the Palestinian people, alongside the Jewish State of Israel” (USDS “U.S. Relations with Israel” 2014).

Unlike Palestine, Taiwan is not considered to be a state because “it does not claim to be Taiwan, but rather the Republic of China” and “few states recognize it because there is a more plausible competing claimant to that title” the People’s Republic of China (Grant 1999, 439). When the Kuomintang, the ruling party in China until the Communist party ousted them, fled to the island of Taiwan, they maintained that they were the true government of China. In fact, members of this exiled party originally held the Chinese seat in the United Nations until China took it over decades later. By claiming to be the Republic of China, Taiwan does not declare independence from Mainland China. Thus, Taiwan is regarded as a “de facto entity with international personality,” which allows them to “carry out the full range of foreign relations, including entering into international agreements and sending and receiving official missions” while not “[violating] the principle of ‘One China,’” “[addressing] the present political realities without requiring or precluding eventual reunification or any other ultimate relationship between PRC and Taiwan” (Li 1989, 168). In 1979, the United States government “[acknowledged] the Chinese position that there is but one China and Taiwan is part of China” and that sentiment is still strong today. The official stance of the US government is that it “does not support Taiwan independence,” although “maintaining strong, unofficial relations with Taiwan is a major U.S. goal, in line with the U.S. desire to further peace and stability in Asia” (Joint Communiqué; USDS “U.S. Relations with Taiwan” 2014).

These two modern cases, as well as many others, present problems for the criteria set forth in the Montevideo Convention. Customary international law has evolved since the time the criteria were written and modern situations challenge the criteria's simplicity. Some even suggest, "statehood should be regarded as a relative concept; and that rather than distinguish sharply between entities that are, and are not, states, we should regard different entities as meeting the criteria for international statehood to a greater or lesser degree" (Clapham 1998, 143). Regardless of the fact that the criteria should be reexamined and updated, "no proposals codifying statehood have been accepted since the Montevideo Convention" (Grant 1999, 447). Thus, we are left to interpret international law in the best way we can with the Montevideo Convention criteria as our aging and somewhat infirm guide.

*How is the European Union blurring the line between states and intergovernmental organizations?*

*Is the European Union an Intergovernmental Organization?*

The European Union, a "comprehensive, multipurpose regional organization" that began in the 1950s "perhaps represents the highest degree of economic, political, and social integration found in a contemporary international organization" (Pease 2012, 25). The European Union is clearly an intergovernmental organization and it possesses the characteristics previously mentioned: it is an independent organization whose members are sovereign states, it holds regular meetings, and it has headquarters and a permanent staff. Created based on the needs of European countries, the European Union does not answer to any higher authority or any one state in particular. This independence allows it to be a voice that tries to accurately represent the European community as a whole. The

European Union even has observer status within the United Nations because it is the highest independent, collective voice of the European continent. In addition to its independent status, the European Union is also made up of members that are states. Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom are all members (European Union “Countries” 2014). On top of that, Iceland, Montenegro, Serbia, Macedonia, and Turkey are all “on the road to EU membership” and Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Kosovo are “potential candidates” (European Union “Countries” 2014). The third characteristic is met because the European Union has a broad schedule of meetings that occur on a very frequent basis. The European Union has many different branches and smaller groups that meet often to discuss issues and make changes. Finally, the European Union fulfills that characteristic of having permanent headquarters and staff. The European Union does have meetings that change location due to various factors, to make traveling and hosting responsibilities fairer, but it also has permanent headquarters for certain aspects of EU activities as well. The staff members are also permanent, per elections in the state or selection processes within the European Union. When considering all these factors, the European Union is clearly an intergovernmental organization. However, other factors are considered, especially the incredible level of integration the European Union has achieved, the European Union is also assuming many criteria of a state.

*Does the European Union qualify as a State?*

According to the Montevideo Convention, a state is defined as a society with a permanent population, a defined territory, a government, and the capacity to enter into relations with other states (Convention on Rights and Duties of States). Based on these conditions alone, the European Union arguably constitutes a state because it meets all these requirements. Although the European Union “has been expanding with no clear end in view on what those territorial boundaries may ultimately be,” the EU’s territory is defined at any one point in time (Schmidt 2006, 14). At this moment, the territory of the European Union is the total territory of all its member states. It is true that the territory will probably expand in the future, just like it has done since the beginning, but the territory it encompasses is always clear. Similarly, the population of the European Union is permanent because it is always the total number of people who are citizens of the member states. This number may fluctuate based on birth, death, and immigration rates and changes in territory size, but this change is the same with any society having state status. Another feature that makes the European Union appear to be a state is the existence of a government. Although the hierarchy can be extremely confusing, the European Union is run by a governmental system complete with legislative, judicial, and executive duties. Finally, the European Union completes the requirements of statehood by the Montevideo Convention criteria because it has the capacity to enter into relations with other states. Currently, the European Union is a signatory on 234 different agreements (European Commission “Treaties” 2015). The European Union has representatives that work on behalf of the European Union in intergovernmental organizations (such as the United Nations) and in talks with other states. Further, the European Union maintains cohesive policies governing how individual states within the



European Union interact with other states. So, while it is clear that the European Union is an intergovernmental organization based on characteristics commonly set forth by scholars, the European Union also meets the criteria for statehood as spelled out in the Montevideo Convention.

*Are There Any Further Characteristics of Statehood?*

Further supporting the claim that the European Union is a state are the adoption of EU-specific symbols, the EU's high level of economic integration, and the high level of political integration. Although these elements are not included in the Montevideo Convention, they are characteristics that people recognize about states that set them apart from other organizations. Like a state, the European Union has a flag, an anthem, a celebratory day, and a motto. The flag, a recognizable symbol of the European Union, has "12 stars in a circle" on a blue background that "symbolise the ideals of unity, solidarity and harmony among the peoples of Europe" (European Union "EU symbols" 2014). For the anthem, the European Union chose the song "Ode to Joy," which comes "from the Ninth Symphony composed in 1823 by Ludwig Van Beethoven" (European Union "EU symbols" 2014). Similar to the way that states designate a day to celebrate the day of their independence and beginning as a new and independent state, the European Union celebrates "Europe Day," on May 9<sup>th</sup> because that was the day in 1950 that Robert Schuman, the French foreign minister at the time, first "put forward" the "ideas behind the European Union" (European Union "EU symbols" 2014). Finally, the European Union has a motto, "United in diversity," which "signifies how Europeans have come together, in the form of the EU, to work for peace and prosperity, while at the same time being enriched by the continent's many different cultures, traditions and languages"

(European Union “EU symbols” 2014). The language of the motto highlights the cohesive nature and deep integration the European Union has achieved so far and suggests a union beyond the simple economic goals that initially drove the European Union. Symbols are a factor in state building because they enable citizens to quickly self-identify as one community. Accordingly, these symbols suggest that the European Union is attempting to foster a European-wide identity beyond the traditional nation state.

Another sign of the European Union’s state-like nature is its extremely high level of economic cohesion. Many states have some degree of intergovernmental economic ties with other states that facilitate trade between the two, but most of these economic agreements create, at most, free trade areas. Although the European Union began as a limited organization that had “modest beginnings in the early 1950s as a six member-state organization that sought to establish a common market in coal and steel” through the European Coal and Steel Community, “the EU has gone much farther than any other such association toward a formal governance system with jurisdiction over a wide range of issues and areas” (Dinan 2006, 1-2; Schmidt 2006, 10). The European Union is not the typical regional trade organization because it has grown to develop a “single currency, a single market, a single voice in international trade negotiation, a single anti-trust authority, common policies on environmental protection, worker safety and health, a common foreign and security policy, and even the beginning of a common defense policy” (Schmidt 2006, 10).

One of the most visible signs of the European Union’s economic cohesion is the adoption of the Euro by originally twelve but now nineteen of the member countries. This monetary union, and acceptance of control by the European Central Bank, is a clear

example of how the European Union has integrated organization members to a greater degree than any other regional economic association (European Union “Economic” 2014). This scale of economic unity is unrivaled in the rest of the international community because sharing a currency is a major commitment to the other adopting states. The recent financial crisis in Greece suggests that the monetary union fosters interdependence and encourages members with stronger economies to assist other states, whereas without such a monetary union, such motivation would not be as strong. On the topic of European fiscal policies, the European Union has stated that its goal is for the “EU countries [to] coordinate their national economic policies so that they can act together when faced with challenges such as the current economic and financial crisis” (European Union “Economic” 2014). The European Union does not currently have fiscal union, as a state would have, but it is interested in coordinating between the sovereign states to try and achieve fiscal goals. There is no other collection of states attempting this same level of commitment and unity.

Another specific aspect of the economic cohesion of the European Union is the way that it raises revenue. Unlike many intergovernmental organizations, and more like a state, the European Union “is funded chiefly (99%) from the EU’s own resources” (European Commission “Where” 2012). These resources come from traditional sources, “mainly customs duties on imports from outside the EU and sugar levies,” value added tax (VAT), and a “standard percentage...levied on the GNI [gross national income] of each country” (European Commission “Where” 2012). Many intergovernmental organizations struggle to receive necessary funds even when adequate amounts are pledged and payment is a prerequisite to receiving benefits. For example, the United

Nations is financed from members' assessed and voluntary contributions. If a member does not adequately budget for assessments, the monies may not be available consistently. Further, the amount of assessed funds can be manipulated by members. In contrast, the European Union Directorate-General Eurostat determines each member's gross national income and amount owed to the European Union and a system of auditors ensure that duties and taxes are properly identified and the EU's portion is remitted. States generally raise funds in this manner, but it is much less common for intergovernmental organizations to do the same.

Finally, the European Union displays an incredibly high level of political integration. The EU member-states have pooled their international law, Westphalian, interdependence, and domestic sovereignty at an unprecedented level “in exchange for the gains that have come from the exercise of collective power and authority and the achievement of joint goals” (Schmidt 2006, 10). Moving far past economic matters, the European Union has its own foreign and security policy, “which has developed gradually over many years and which enables it to speak – and act – as one in world affairs,” which gives the member states “far greater weight and influence than if they act individually” (European Union “Foreign” 2014). The European Union has an extremely influential presence on the international stage because, even when it does not have one representative speaking for all the member states, the member states tend to purposefully vote together and influence policy outside the European Union in a concentrated effort. Member states “have attained national goals and enhanced national influence through shared EU-level authority and control” and are “able to achieve collectively that which they can no longer achieve individually” (Schmidt 2006, 14). The deep political

integration also highlights the EU's expectations of new members. As time has passed, the European Union has established "an enlargement doctrine based on a number of principles, such as accepting the Union's *acquis communautaire* (body of rules and regulations), refusing to grant derogations or permanent opt-outs," and "every acceding country has experienced a drastic transformation to its political system [and] its economy and socio-economic regime" due to this requirement (Michalski 2010, 271-272). These requirements of all members tend to enforce consistency, no matter the original systems in place in the new member state. "The EU pervades everyday life in the member states, ranging from settling farm subsidies and environmental standards to managing monetary policy, although much remains outside its direct control" and "politics and policy-making at every level in the member states has an EU dimension" (Dinan 2006, 1). This level of integration is more often associated with the relationship between regional and national governments than it is with intergovernmental organizations and member states.

More specifically, as mentioned in the introduction, the Lisbon Treaty is of vital importance to the unusually elevated political cohesion in the European Union. In fact, the treaty is a replacement for the failed Constitutional Treaty of 2004. The Lisbon Treaty seeks to establish "a more democratic and transparent Europe", increase efficiency, secure "rights and values, freedom, solidarity, and security," and increase the presence of the European Union as a single entity on the world stage (European Union External Action 2009). Although there is disagreement over just how much of a similarity there is between the Lisbon Treaty and the failed constitution, the treaty does have many similarities and it unifies the member states of the European Union to a greater degree than other intergovernmental organization treaties. For instance, the Lisbon Treaty

creates a “strengthened role for the European Parliament,” increases and arranges the complicated EU hierarchy, “improves the EU’s ability to act in several policy areas of major priority,” aims to increase the solidarity of member states, and increases the ability of EU representatives to speak for and act in the interest of all members as a combined unit (European Union External Action 2009). The Treaty of Lisbon highlights the high level of political integration because it bolsters how EU members perceive the European Union as a single unit and act accordingly vis-a-vis non-member states. Although it is not a constitution itself, many see it as an effective replacement for the failed EU constitution. As sovereign states’ typically have some sort of constitution, the presence of this strong treaty is an indicator to many that political integration of the European Union will continue and the Union will become increasingly more state-like. Indeed, many goals of the Lisbon Treaty are goals that one might expect in the constitution of a state made up of strong regions.

### *What is the Future of the EU?*

An examination of the most commonly accepted characteristics of both “intergovernmental organizations” and “states” strongly indicates that the European Union meets the criteria for both. Why, then, is it considered to be an intergovernmental organization and not a state? The clearest explanation is that the international community no longer defers to the Montevideo Convention criteria for statehood (although there is not a new standard that is commonly embraced). Instead, similar to how the international community respects Taiwan’s disavowal of statehood, the European Union’s self-identification as an IGO takes precedence. However, this does not mean that the European Union will not make the transition into a different role sometime in the future

or that the definition of what constitutes a state will not be eventually updated to provide more satisfactory criteria.

However, the future trajectory of the European Union may not be as murky as it appears. While many people discuss the European Union as a unique case because it is the first intergovernmental organization to reach this level of integration among member states, this progression actually mirrors similar progressions that occurred as sovereign city-states and principalities in Germany and the Netherlands joined together for economic purposes and eventually formed their respective states. Although these instances of integration occurred before the conception of the first modern intergovernmental organization, the similarities cannot be ignored. Similar to the case of the European Union, the fragmented states in Germany and the Netherlands cooperated for trade and economic purposes, increased their economic cooperation and interdependence, and finally added political components to their intergovernmental system that led to the eventual unification of the smaller states into larger, traditionally recognized states. Examining these cases to understand the way they transitioned from proto-international organizations or associations to statehood will shed light on the transition process between organization and state and what the tipping point is between the two.

Unlike Germany and the Netherlands, the European Union has not declared its status as a state and has not been recognized as such by other states. However, continued integration of the member states will cause the European Union to act and look more and more like a state as time goes on. At this point, it seems unlikely that the European Union will declare itself a sovereign state sometime in the near future because the individual

member states remain very concerned with their own state sovereignty and national identities and would be unlikely to give them up for a combined European state.

There is also the possibility that the international community needs to create a new type of entity to accommodate the unique status of the European Union in the world system and the possibility that other regions may follow in the EU's lead if it can successfully achieve and maintain stability. Schmidt approaches this possibility by suggesting that "if we were to see sovereignty instead as 'socially constructed' and evolving over time, following more constructivist IR theorists, then the European Union can be seen as constituting a new kind of regional sovereignty" that would be legitimized by recognition from both the member states and states outside the region (Schmidt 2006, 10). In this regional state, "the creative tension between the Union and its member-states ensures both ever-increasing regional integration and ever-continuing national differentiation," which seems to fit the description of the European Union (Schmidt 2006, 9). If the international system is evolving so much that we can no longer define modern situations with existing vocabulary, it may be time to expand the way we think about political organization.

In the following chapters, I will examine the way that the formation and continued integration of the European Union mirrors the way the city-states and small principalities in the areas known today as Germany (Fig. 4) and the Netherlands (Fig. 5) slowly coalesced into the respective modern states. Then I will examine how the solidification of these smaller states into larger, regional states can inform problems the European Union may encounter and potential resolution as integration proceeds (Fig. 6).



## CHAPTER TWO

### Germany

#### *Introduction*

“Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall!” So United States President Ronald Reagan famously demanded in 1987, facing the symbol of Cold War division of Berlin, Germans, and, to some extent, Europe (Reagan 1987). Up to that point, Germany had struggled through hundreds of years of tumultuous history, most recently facing defeat in World War II. As the aggressor and ultimate loser of the massive conflict, Germany was forcefully broken up into smaller, more manageable parts to be overseen by the victors. At the time of Reagan’s famous speech in Berlin, Germany was on the verge of reuniting into the state that we recognize today. When thinking about Germany’s long, illustrious history it is very easy to forget that the Germany of today only came about in 1990. Germany has a historical narrative that stretches back hundreds upon hundreds of years, but the concept of “Germany” was constantly changing.

Today, the *Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, or the Federal Republic of Germany, is a federal republic consisting of 16 *Länder* (states) that sits in the middle of the European continent. It is the largest economy in Europe, as well as the second most populous state, and is a key member in many international organizations, including the European Union. Germany’s history as a federal state made up of formerly independent smaller political units makes it a very compelling analog for the European Union. Both have dealt with, and are still dealing with, the complications that arise from combining formerly independent political units into one larger unit. The European Union can draw parallels with the three major unifications of Germany: the 1815 formation of the German

Confederation, the 1871 establishment of the German Empire, and the 1990 reunification of East and West Germany.

*How is the cultural diversity and political fragmentation in the early history of Germany similar to that which the European Union faced at its founding?*

*Was There Cultural Diversity in Early Germany?*

Although the phrase “Germanic tribes” is often employed, its precise meaning is very difficult to define. For the purposes of this discussion, “Germanic tribes” refers to “political entities whom ancient and early medieval sources called *gentes* belonging to, or originating in, Germania,” a territory that lies approximately “between the oceans in the north and the Danube in the south, the Rhine in the west and the Vistula in the east” (W., 1999). Tribes that are often understood to be Germanic tribes include: the Alemanni, Franks, Hermunduri, Goths, Langobards, Chatti, Vandals, Angles, and Saxons. In the historian Tacitus’ 98 C.E. work, *The Germania*, he identified more than 60 different German tribes (Turk 1999, 20). The area we now know as Germany got its name from one of its earliest neighbors: Rome. Even though the area “had not yet arrived at any form of state organisation and the individual tribes continued to fight bloody battles among themselves for the ascendancy,” the Roman Empire thought of the area as an “independent power within Europe” and referred to it as *Germania* (Tenbrock 1979, 13). In fact, people from different Germanic tribes identified most with being “German” when they were away from home because other people, such as the Romans, identified them as belonging together and they were able to find more similarities among themselves than with people from other areas (Wende 2005, 5).

The Germans took a long time “to develop a common identity because they

lacked a common ethnic substance and initially a common language” and only “achieved this goal in the end by means of a common history, that is, by the common institution of a kingship, which constantly united different tribes and peoples in common endeavours” (Wende 2005, 6). In Germany, “the individual tribes were marked off from one another by dialect, custom, popular traditions, racial characteristics, literary and artistic expression” (Reinhardt 1961, 11). The tribes were prone to civil wars amongst themselves, but “regionally, the tribes formed loose military confederations that cooperated with each other in times of danger,” seen especially in their dealings with Rome (Turk 1999, 21). Each of the Germanic tribes “spoke their own native tongues, mutations of what we call Old High German and Old Low German,” and the term “German” came to mean “a vague linguistic community (members of which were not necessarily able to understand each other!) more than a specific territory or ethnic community” (Valentin 1946, 11; Berger 2004, 15). In 786, “the word *deutsch* (*thead*) first appeared” as a way “to designate the language of the people of East Francia” and “it was not until the middle of the twelfth century that the terms *deutsch* (*dieutsch*) and *Deutschland* (*Diutskland*) were commonly applied to the people and land of the east Frankish state,” even though we think of them all as German today (Valentin 1946, 13).

As time passed, the sense and understanding of what was German grew. This shared sense of belonging together and being German stemmed from similar language, “awareness of a common ethnic identity and historical experience,” and “common political interests that needed to be defended and hence expressed in legal and institutional forms” (Whaley 2012, 17). As these connections grew stronger, the terms ‘German lands’ and ‘German nation’ were increasingly employed to convey this

community of interests” (Whaley 2012, 17). However, even though the Germanic peoples became a closer community, they did not yet form a single, large political unit to encompass every Germanic tribe.

Germany’s cultural diversity is a small-scale comparison for the ethnic diversity that exists in the European Union. In the early years of German history, the different groups living in the region we now know as Germany would have regarded each other as completely different culturally, even though we now consider them all to be ethnically German. The cultural differences between the different Germanic tribes, and their varying political situations, economic interests, religions, languages (or dialects), and histories kept them from uniting into a larger political unit. The German states retained regional differences and fought hard for independence within larger political units for hundreds of years. The European Union faces a similar struggle of uniting peoples with different cultures or ethnicities, but on a much larger scale.

### *Is There Cultural diversity in the European Union?*

When founded in 1958, the European Union was made up of six countries: Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands (European Union “Countries” 2014). This meant that the European Union’s population was made up of the different ethnicities of its member states, including: the Flemish and the Walloons in Belgium, the French in France, the Germans in Germany, the Italians in Italy, the Luxembourgers in Luxembourg, and the Dutch and the Frisians in the Netherlands (Levinson 1998, 13-58). In addition to these major groups, the first six states in the European Union also included “distinct regional cultures that some experts prefer to classify as distinct ethnic groups” in France (“the people of Alsace, Brittany, Burgundy,

Auvergnat, Aveyronnais, Aquitaine, Occitan, and Provence”), the Sorbs (Wends) in southeastern Germany, and traditional differences between the twenty regions of Italy that “sometimes conflicts with more general Italian national concerns and interests” (some have varying levels of autonomy) (Levinson 1998, 30-46). Finally, each of these states has diverse immigrant populations from around the world that carry with them aspects of their own ethnicities. The states have varying policies on how to incorporate immigrants into their communities, so some assimilate while others retain the elements of their original culture.

The different ethnic groups present in the first six states of the European Union complicated its formation, just as the different cultures in the German region hindered the unification of Germany. With so many diverse ideas about politics, the economy, religion, language, and experiences with history, molding the European Union to be acceptable to all ethnicities took considerable concerted effort. The states were very concerned about retaining enough sovereignty to continue to operate in their individual culturally distinct manners and remain concerned about operating in a culturally specific way.

#### *Was There Political Fragmentation in Early Germany?*

In the early period of German history, “Germany passed from being a geographical expression for a group of kindred but independent nations,” to a “consolidated kingdom under a central authority,” to, finally, “a confederation of almost independent states bound together by an elective head, whose power and authority rested more on his own personal influence than on the endowments or prerogatives of his official position” (Stubbs 1908, 59). The consolidation Germany experienced occurred

due to Charlemagne's takeover and rule of German territories. Under Charlemagne, the Carolingian Empire extended "from Saxony, Bavaria, and Lombardy to the Spanish March between the Pyrenees and the Ebro" and brought all the territories under his rule, although it was an empire "less of government than conquests- conquests that never pacified and fused into a single state" (Detwiler 1999, 14). The Franks did not change much in the territories they conquered, so the historical culture and way of life remained intact. Sometimes the continuity of the Holy Roman Empire is traced back to Charlemagne and his shouldering of the imperial mantle in 800, but sometimes it is attributed to Otto I's "'renovation' of it in 962" (Evans and Wilson 2012, 1). Either way, the breakup of Charlemagne's empire after his death led to political and territorial restructuring until the German territories were under the rule of what was known as the Holy Roman Empire. The new political unit that "emerged in the eastern half of the old Carolingian Empire was not the political organization of a specific ethnic group," instead, the "people regarded themselves as members of one of the five ancient German tribal units- the Franks, Swabians, Saxons, Bavarians, or Thuringians," tribes which "had their own laws and their own dialects" (Wende 2005, 4-5).

Although the territories of the Holy Roman Empire were united under one single central authority, the emperor, the empire was "so decentralized that it barely qualified as a state, let alone an empire" (Croxtton 2013, 28). Between the death of Charlemagne and about 1200 C.E., the Holy Roman Empire "experienced a series of territorial and organizational transformations" that resulted in a "loose confederation of feudal states that covered contemporary Germany (East and West)" as well as "a considerable number of non-Germans" (Johnson 1996, 23). It is very important to note that, "in Germany, an

empire of the *natio Germanorum*, a ‘German nation,’ the concept of the Latin “*natio*, or ‘nation’, referred to the community of feudal lords both in Germany and elsewhere, not to ‘the people’ in the nineteenth-century democratic or nationalistic sense of the word” (Johnson 1996, 23). The Germanic peoples were not a united group. In fact, “the Emperor of Germany was one of the weakest rulers in his Empire, for he had to beg and entreat the haughty lords and cities for the needed supplies and even for his daily expenses” (Barker 1906, 25). These more powerful rulers presided over the small localities within the Empire on which the Emperor depended. “Internally fragmented, further divided by electoral and religious conflicts,” the Empire was unable to consolidate into a unified, centralized state (Turk 1999, 46-47). Even though the Germanic localities were “held by different brothers and in different combinations,” they did their best to “preserve their identity and continue to preserve it, with their nationality, their own laws, and the characteristic ecclesiastical differences” which distinguished them from the start (Stubbs 1908, 52).

One way that some Germanic localities, in a sea of other small localities, dealt with the problems their political independence caused, was joining the Hanseatic League. The prolific number of small, mostly-independent states in the region burdened trade because: goods had to cross many different territories with many different rules; goods were poorly protected along their routes; local rulers could grant or retract privileges or permission at will; and, goods did not have to meet a common standard (Wubs-Mrozewicz 2013, 14). The Hanseatic League, or Hanse, “was not a monolithic block, not a ‘state within a state,’ but a loose-jointed confederation with a complex structure and numerous protagonists, each with their own interests” that eventually became very

“economically and politically powerful” (Jahnke 2013, 38). Membership in the Hanse proved to be very beneficial for its members because the Hanse was able to set up factories, work out commercial treaties, undertake successful wars, and control essential waterways, becoming “considerably stronger than the large but unorganized States which were enfeebled by the lack of union among the feudal lords and cities” (Barker 1906, 26). The Hanse as a trade organization was not unusual for the Middle Ages, but it became much more unique “when it began to use its economic power to achieve political aims” (Jahnke 2013, 39). Overall, the Hanseatic League improved the trade and economic ties between localities in the area and “[created] an environment- both cultural and linguistic- in which petty differences faded into the background and the common cause became central,” which was a benefit to the localities and gave them positive ties to each other (Jahnke 2013, 55).

After a long period of decentralization, the “normal legal order” in the Empire “broke down and violence threatened to undermine the remaining stability,” which eventually launched the Thirty Years’ War (Croxtton 2013, 35). The treaty that ended the war in 1648, the Peace of Westphalia, divided German-speaking territories into hundreds of small states. Eighteenth century Germany “was divided into over three hundred states- Kingdoms, Electorates, Duchies, Imperial Cities, ecclesiastical territories, and other political administrative bodies” (Shiue 2005, 131). The largest two states, Austria and Prussia, struggled for dominance while the smaller ones struggled to keep their independence amongst one another. The treaty “ended, for the time being, the efforts of the old German dynasties to unify and centralize the Holy Roman Empire” because it “froze the German constitution at the level of medieval anarchy” and made “central



Europe one of the weakest areas of the continent” (Turk 1999, 52). The number of localities and their borders changed over time, but up “until the latter part of the nineteenth century,” the area that “we now know as Germany was fully twenty-six different kingdoms, duchies, and free cities” (Shivley 2012, 156). The self-described identity of the German people also had not changed greatly. By the early 1800s, “most people living in the German lands did not yet think of themselves as primarily German,” instead, all their “local, regional, religious, occupational and cosmopolitan, transnational identities were all still far more important” (Berger 2004, 46).

### *Is There Political Fragmentation in the European Union?*

The political differences within what is now known as the European Union are much more apparent than those present in early Germany because the EU member states are considered internationally recognized independent states while the German states are mistaken for homogenous and referred to as if they were a cohesive group. When the first six states united in 1958, six independent political units voluntarily gave up a degree of their sovereignty to join a supranational organization. Belgium, a federal parliamentary democracy under a constitutional monarchy, France and Italy, republics, Germany, a federal republic, and Luxembourg and the Netherlands, constitutional monarchies, were all recognized as independent states on the world stage and all had different functioning political systems. When it was founded, the European Union had to create a political system that would be acceptable to each member state and that would work with their already functioning governmental organizations. Each member state of the European Union retains a high degree of sovereignty today and their individual governments remain intact, so there is still significant political fragmentation in the European Union.

*How did the German states form different combinations of territories under German political systems?*

*How Was the German Confederation (1815-1866) Formed?*

After Napoleon's defeat in 1814/15 and France's eastward expansion was halted, "Germany's political structure became reorganized into the thirty-nine states of the German Confederation (*Deutscher Bund*)" (Shiue 2005, 131). In June of 1815, the German states agreed "on a common constitution for a confederation of the 'sovereign princes and free cities of Germany'" whose aim would be "the independence and indefeasibility of the separate German states" (Wende 2005, 85). The German Confederation self-identified "according to Article 1 of the Viennese Final Act from 1820, as a 'union under international law'" whose "members were, according to article 1 of the Federal Act of 1815, 'the sovereign princes and the free cities in Germany'" (Grimm 2011, 52). The German Confederation set itself up as neither a state nor a federal state, but a confederation of states, which meant that sovereignty lay with each member state (Grimm 2011, 52). The Confederation included the incredibly powerful states of Austria and Prussia, the kingdoms of Bavaria, Hanover, Saxony, and Württemberg, the grand duchies of Baden and Hesse, the free cities of Bremen, Frankfurt, Hamburg, and Lübeck, and twenty-seven other principalities and duchies, bound together in a confederation which was more symbolic than practical. According to their constitution, unanimity was needed to undertake joint action and members voted according to the wishes of their individual governments, meaning "Germany still lacked the political unity that characterized the contemporary nation states of, for instance, France or Britain" (Shiue 2005, 133).

Many Germans were pleased by the arrangement of the Confederation, but those that advocated for more cohesion were left disappointed. On one hand, in 1815 Wilhelm von Humboldt was dissatisfied by the lack of national unity, but claimed ““It will never be possible to stop Germany from wanting to be One state and One nation; the inclination, if not toward unity, at least toward some kind of association remains...in every heart and mind”” (Sheehan 1989, 404). On the other hand, a recent prosopographical analysis done “of 535 ‘producers of literature’: poets, writers, clergymen, newspaper and journal publishers and editors, book dealers and publishers, civil servants, and educated free corps volunteers” at the time, “[found that] even among educated contemporaries who supported the political unity of Germany one heard demands mostly for a league or federation of monarchies (*ein monarchischer Staatenbund*),” federative nationalism instead of a centralized, all-German nation state (Brose 2013, 67). Instead of national unity and cohesion, the Confederation was meant to “not only to preserve Germany’s external but also its internal security, as well as to secure the independence and inviolability of the individual German states” (Grimm 2011, 52). In fact, security was so important to the territories in the Confederation that “one of the first and most detailed acts of legislation concerned the organization of federal military contingents and the upkeep of common border fortresses on the western frontier” (Wende 2005, 85). The goals of internal and external security were achieved reasonably well.

At its core, the Confederation had few central institutions and those were fairly weak. A confederal army faced outside threats, a confederal diet congregated representatives to vote on each state’s behalf, and an emperor served as the nominal head.

However, the political and economic unity Germany experiences today are the result of the organization of the civil service during the time of the Confederation. The changes “during and after the Napoleonic wars made it necessary to adapt the entire administrative organism of the German states to the requirements of the new political and social constellations” and that task was completed so well that the modern “German civil service is universally admired as a model of thoroughness and efficiency” (Reinhardt 1989, 520). Overall, the weak central authority of the German Confederation was a deliberate strategy to help maintain the sovereignty of the individual states while providing some semblance of unified action to combat conflict.

Not only did the German Confederation fail to provide real political unity between the German states, it also neglected to unify them economically. There had been interest in “the creation of a uniform currency and the abolition of trade barriers in the form of inland customs duties between the different states and principalities” before, but that never came to fruition, due to the desire of the states’ rulers to remain as sovereign as possible (Reinhardt 1989, 513). Land reforms and free-trade treaties enabled landowners to exploit their land and its position on trade routes for profit and insufficient impetus to change arose. Before 1819,

“a shipper on the Main and Rhine rivers from Bamberg to Mainz (187 km as the crow flies), or from Strasbourg to the Dutch frontier, had to pay more than thirty tolls. Fourteen tolls were charged between Magdeburg and Hamburg on the Elbe. Furthermore, tariffs were complicated: Prussia, for example, imposed over 60 different rates of customs and excise. These tolls probably reduced internal German trade while encouraging smuggling: the size of the customs area was small relative to its customs border, making the enforcement of customs payment relatively costly on a per capita (or, per square-mile) basis. Moreover, the German states as a whole were not protected by a high common external tariff as was the case for other European countries. Given the complexity of the tariff structure, and the frequency with which it changed, it is not surprising that there is no study

that is based on a comprehensive measure of transportation costs” (Shiue 2005, 133).

Starting in 1819, Prussia, as one of the most powerful states in the region, led efforts at economic union by abolishing Prussian provincial tolls to create a single tariff within Prussian borders and “reducing the tariff and trade barriers that existed among the German states” through negotiating treaties with other states to create “mutual and uniform rates” (Turk 1999, 70).

After Prussia entered into treaties with numerous states and created a free tariff zone with some, a German customs union (*Zollverein*) that consisted of 18 different states was forged in 1834 and “the economic unification of Germany was largely achieved by 1843” (Brose 2013, 119; Reinhardt 1989, 514). Trade and production increased in the area due to the customs union, improvements in transportation, the improved ease of exchanging ideas, and improvements in science and technology (Brose 2013, 119). Unification of the states continued with the introduction of a single system of weights and measurements and a single currency (the German Mark) dependent on the gold standard. These “were among the lasting achievements of the recognized *Zollverein* of 1868” (Reinhardt 1989, 547-8). The economic cohesion that the customs union created may have led to the political unity of the German states by reducing border constraints that existed between them. Whether due to coincidence or not, as the economic unity of the states strengthened, the desire among the German people for a politically unified German state increased as well.

By 1848, after internal crises, revolutions, and increased calls for political unity, delegates from the German states convened to discuss “the most suitable ways and means to give Germany both national unity and constitutional liberty” at the Frankfurt Assembly

(1848-1849) (Reinhardt 1989, 530). The president of the assembly, Heinrich von Gagern, argued in his opening remarks, “we have to frame a Constitution for Germany, and we derive our authority for this purpose from the sovereignty of the nation” because “Germany desires to be one, a single State, ruled by the will of the people” (Reinhardt 1989, 531). Over the course of about a year, the Parliament “[designed] a constitutional monarchy with a national bicameral (two-house) legislature, an executive responsible for the national economy, the army, and foreign policy, and an emperor...the German monarchs used opportunities to recover their powers,” but in the end the effort failed (Turk 1999, 71). The Parliament was dissolved and the Confederation was restored. In fact, “historians have called this midcentury attempt to unify Germany the ‘turning point that failed to turn’” (Turk 1999, 72). Later in 1866, after a conflict between Prussia and Austria ended in Austria’s defeat, the German Confederation was disbanded for good and the German states began unifying in smaller sections.

#### *How Was the German Empire (1871-1918) Formed?*

The proclamation at Versailles on 18 January 1871, when “the rulers in the North German Confederation and the south German princes signed a revised treaty,” marked the foundation of the second German empire (Turk 1999, 74). After Prussia provoked and was victorious in wars with Denmark, Austria, and France, it became clear that the combined power of the smaller German states would not be enough to serve as a protective counterweight in the face of possible Prussian domination (Shivley 2012, 157). So, “with varying mixes of enthusiasm and reluctance” the smaller German states agreed “to join with Prussia in a new German Empire” (Shivley 2012, 157). The modern state of Germany claims this date as the day of its independence because it entailed the

“destruction of multiple sovereignties, or more precisely the transference of state sovereignty from the medium and smaller German states to Berlin where it was merged with the sovereignty of the Prussian state” (Breuilly 1996, 102). The second German Empire was not a confederation, but a centralized *Bundesrat* that comprised of “four kingdoms (Prussia, Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Saxony), six grand duchies, five duchies, seven principalities, three free cities (Hamburg, Bremen, Lübeck), and the territories (*Reichslande*) of Alsace-Lorraine” (Reinhardt 1989, 546).

For the first time in history, the term “Germany” matched not just a territory, but also a “single political unit: a German nation-state” (Wende 2005, 98). However, although the term “Germany” now referred to a nation-state, Germany “only hesitantly and ambiguously asserted claims of national identity and loyalty over its subjects” (Breuilly 1996, 113). A majority of the people living in the second German Empire “were German in the double sense of” living in the empire’s territory and speaking German as a first language” and the citizens had experienced “powerful unifying political and economic” factors in recent history, but the feeling of national unity was not strong enough to supersede people identifying first and foremost with their state at the founding of the empire (Breuilly 1996, 112). In addition people who already considered themselves to be “German” trying to decide what it meant to be German, there were minorities within the area of the second German Empire that now had to wrestle with how they fit into the reality of a German nation-state. The newly unified territory included French groups in the west and Polish groups in the east, who were considered “potential threats to the new (and thus fragile) unity” (Shivley 2012, 157). In the beginning, there was little “emphasis placed on national values or symbols in the new empire” (Breuilly 1996, 111).

A national flag was only “introduced as a pragmatic necessity: one had to have something to fly on ships, consulates, and embassies,” the national colors (black, red, and white) were “an uneasy compromise between Prussian and German symbols,” it had no official national anthem until 1922, and the unofficial anthem “fell upon the Prussian war hymn sung to the tune of *Deutschland, Deutschland über alles*” (Breuilly 1996, 111). Instead of branching out and creating new symbols to illustrate a new unity, the Empire simply recycled elements from former times.

At the foundation of the Empire, the duration and popularity of the new government was insufficient to erase the deep social, religious, and regional divisions within the empire. In fact, the first round of elections in the Empire proved how direly unification was needed because “only half of those eligible bothered to turn up and of those who did, half voted for parties who were either opposed to or were at best lukewarm about German unification” (Berger 2015, 252). Since they had never really been one cohesive body before, it was yet to be seen if the new Empire consisted of sovereign states bound in a federation or if they really did owe allegiance to the Kaiser, how power would be divided between the sovereign rulers of the localities and the Kaiser, and how much the opinions of the German people (through universal male suffrage) would be taken into account (Lerman 2008, 22). However, “a distinctive German national identity” started to “emerge with the foundation of the German Empire” and “German nationalism [entered] a new, more aggressive phase” of growth (Lerman 2008, 21). At the head of the government, the King of Prussia became the Kaiser, or Emperor, and Otto von Bismarck the imperial chancellor (Shivley 2012, 157). The Kaiser retained the rights to manage foreign policy, declare war, negotiate peace, and control the



military, but the chancellor was the “only man charged with responsibility for coordinating affairs of the diverse empire” (Lerman 2008, 32). As time passed, Bismarck coordinated a system of subordinate positions to assist him, which was formalized late in the 1870s “when a series of imperial offices were created, each headed by a state secretary” (Lerman 2008, 32). Led by more powerful leaders, the Empire developed stronger central governmental bodies.

The empire was a federal constitutional monarchy with a constitution that allowed the government to control the military, foreign affairs, and some taxation (Turk 1999, 75). Legislatively, the Empire consisted of a parliament (*Reichstag*), which was elected through universal male suffrage, and a federal council (*Bundesrat*), whose members were deputies from the different states. However, these institutions were subject to some limitations. Even though they had significant authority, they could not effectively “call Germany’s rulers to account” and their “scope was particularly limited with respect to foreign policy, and most domestic issues in the empire were regulated by the various federal state governments and parliaments rather than at a national level” (Lerman 2008, 32).

The new government also adopted “a uniform criminal and civil law code” and “uniform commercial and industrial legislation,” “while the administration of justice and the judiciary, with the exception of the Supreme Court (*Reichsgericht*, 1879) in Leipzig, were relegated to the authority to the individual states” (Reinhardt 1989, 547-8). In addition, currency reform, compensation from France (for the war in 1870), free trade, protectionist measures, agricultural expansion, and an increase in the industrial workforce led to a growth of production and commerce, although not continually sustained, in the

Empire (Turk 1999, 80). Arguably, the economic success Germany experienced was “the most important factor for the successful regional integration and imperial expansion of Germany after 1871” (Berger 2015, 305). Under the guidance of Bismarck and Wilhelm II (the last Kaiser), Germany rose to prominence in Europe due to military and economic prowess, outstanding advances in science and technology, world-class educational opportunities, effective municipal administration, and innovative art (Retallack 2008, 1). From its previously insignificant role in Europe as the German Confederation, the German states rose to “a dominant position in Europe and in the world” (Reinhardt 1989, 630).

The German Empire finally came to an end with the Treaty of Versailles in 1919, after the Germans were defeated in World War I. In their defeat, the Germans lost territory, were forced to demilitarize, and had to accept total responsibility for the war and reparations. The Weimar Republic took its place, but it ultimately did not provide sufficient stability. The convergence of three “flash points” — the formation of a new state (the Empire), industrialization, and the growing interest in democracy — may have created an unstable foundation for the new Empire (Shivley 2012, 158). Germany also faced the problems of unification without significant political modernization and experienced a sudden growth in power that created fear among its neighbors, both of which led to internal and external crises (Turk 1999, 76). Despite the issues that eventually led to the demise of the Empire, this period of German history fostered an unprecedented sense of social and political national unity.

#### *How Was the Federal Republic of Germany (1990-Present) Formed?*

Following Germany’s defeat in World War II, territory largely coextensive with

the Second German Empire was divided into four different occupation zones, which were administered by the United States, Britain, France, and the Soviet Union. This was a unique division of Germany because in the beginning, when the territory had been forcibly fragmented by the Allied powers, the occupation zones were initially intended to be administered cooperatively and eventually reunited into a single state once the region had stabilized. Such intention ended with the onset of the Cold War and increased tensions between the Soviet Union and the United States. Although “the western Allies continued to support the principle of German unification” (i.e., reunification of all four zones), the United States, Britain, and France united their zones into a single political unit while the Soviet zone was set up as a separate independent state (Quint 1997, 4). The Soviet occupied zone, the northeastern third of what we now recognize as Germany, became the German Democratic Republic (GDR or East Germany) on 7 October 1949, a communist state, while the remaining two-thirds of the territory became the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG or West Germany) on 23 May 1949, a democratic state (CIA “Germany” 2015). The GDR remained allied with and dominated by the Soviet Union, but the Federal Republic had more autonomy and became a member of the NATO alliance with many western states (Shivley 2012, 164).

In West Germany, the government was set up with the idea of eventual reunification in mind. According to the Basic Law, “the ‘German people [remained] challenged to achieve the unity and freedom of Germany in free self-determination,’” the purpose of the Basic Law was “providing a constitutional order ‘for a transitional period,’” there was a “possibility that ‘other parts’ of Germany would join the Federal Republic,” the Basic Law would be replaced once a constitution of the German people’s

choosing was enacted, and the definition of “German” included people living in the GDR (Quint 1997, 12). West Germany retained the view that it represented the continuation of the entire German Reich. However, the ideas about Germany’s status developed differently in the East. Although the East Germans initially shared the idea that reunification was the ultimate goal, they came to favor the idea of two separate German states, even eliminating “all national references” and declaring a “close, ‘irrevocable’ relationship between the GDR and the Soviet Union” in their revised constitution of 1968, which replaced the 1949 document “originally intended as an all-German constitution” (Quint 1997, 13). During their separation and the Cold War, the two states did not engage in formal diplomatic relations, although they did quietly cooperate on certain necessary issues while remaining publicly very hostile. The two German states began to have some closer relations, starting with the adoption of *Ostpolitik* and the Basic Treaty (Allinson 2014, 181). These dealings with East Germany realistically confirmed the separate nature of the West and East and sixty eight different states recognized the GDR following the enactment of the treaty, although the West interpreted the treaty in a “in a very narrow manner that firmly reasserted the theory of the continuing ‘German Reich’” (Quint 1997, 14).

After some time, the economic, social, and political problems in the East finally grew too great to be ignored. The East German people demanded reforms, especially the Communist Party’s removal from power, separating them from the Soviet-supported communist regime. Although they originally desired a reformed, but still separate, East Germany, the idea of unification soon became popular with politicians and the people. There was talk of forming a confederation or another loosely connected state, but, in the

end, East Germany became part of the system already in place in the West. The first step in the unification process was ensuring economic integration. The difference in economic prosperity was so great that bringing the East up to the level of the West was both extremely difficult and important. On 18 May 1990, the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany signed a treaty to “establish Monetary, Economic, and Social Union” (Turk 1999, 179). This treaty signed over many aspects, economic and political, of state sovereignty from the East to the West. The government in the West gained control of economic policy, the West’s *Deutsch Mark* became the official currency in the East, and the East became a “social market economy” (Quint 1997, 58-60).

Following their economic union, the two German states finalized their political unity. They signed the Unification Treaty on 31 August 1990 and “the treaty took effect” on 3 October 1990, the day that “was designated as a national holiday, the Day of German Unity” (Turk 1999, 179). Then, on 12 September 1990, the treaty “on final settlement” was signed between the two German states and the four occupying powers (Detwiler 1999, 239). Essentially, with these treaties, the German Democratic Republic was absorbed into the Federal Republic of Germany. This was a difficult transition because the Westerners felt it would cost them a great deal to improve the East and the Easterners “felt themselves shunted aside by Western politicians rushing in to take over” and had to watch their way of life suddenly change (Shivley 2012, 168). East and West Germany were not separated for very long— only about forty years— but they had developed radically different economies, political systems, and ways of life during that time.

In fact, “the sharp psychic divisions of four decades, which some Germans referred to as the ‘wall in the head,’ seemed likely to divide the two regions for years to come” (Quint 1997, 3). The East was used to “state ownership, central planning and authoritarian political control” while the West had developed “market capitalism and parliamentary democracy,” which changed the way the two regions viewed many issues (Allinson 2014, 111). They had developed different ideas about politics, economic ideals, social norms, identities, and experiences, which led to culture shock as the East suddenly assimilated into the West. Fortunately, the unification was relatively smooth because it was the “culmination of a series of agreements and legislative provisions developed within a highly articulated constitutional framework that was drafted more than forty years ago with such an occurrence in mind,” that is, the constitution designed by the United States, Britain, France, and the West (Quint 1997, 4). Of course, in doing so, it “reflected the weight of political interests and the dominance of some interests over others,” namely that of the West, and the result was not really “a new nation, but rather an expansion of the constitutional structures of the Federal Republic itself” (Quint 1997, 4). Essentially, the West “[attempted] to extend the social, economic, and political structures of the west to the east with as little alteration as possible” (Quint 1997, 4).

The reunited Germany that we recognize today kept the name of West Germany, the Federal Republic of Germany, or *Bundesrepublik Deutschland*. It is a federal republic made up of sixteen different states. President Joachim Gauck has been head of state since 2012 and Chancellor Angela Merkel has been head of government since 2005. Germany’s legislative branch has a bicameral Parliament made up of the Federal Council, which has “members appointed by each of the 16 state governments,” and the Federal

Diet, with “approximately one-half of members directly elected in multi-seat constituencies by proportional representation vote and approximately one-half directly elected in single-seat constituencies by simple majority vote” (CIA “Germany” 2015). The highest court is the Federal Court of Justice and the justices are selected by the Judges Election Committee, “which consists of the Secretaries of Justice from each of the 16 federated States and 16 members appointed by the Federal Parliament,” “are appointed by the president and serve for life” (CIA “Germany” 2015).

*How were the formations of different combinations of territories under German political systems similar to the formation of the European Union?*

*How Were the Formations of the German Confederation (1815-1866) and the European Union Similar?*

Most of the parallels between the German Confederation and the European Union spring from events that occurred very early in the EU’s formation: namely, the creation of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC). Like the German Confederation, which coalesced following the end of the war that Napoleon waged on other European countries, the ECSC came into existence after the end of World War II. In fact, both the Confederation and the ECSC were created with the same goal in mind, the internal and external security of the members, even though they approached the problem in different ways. The German states attempted to secure themselves from conflict by creating a new, unified German state that was just strong enough to discourage infighting and present a united militaristic front to other states, but weak enough that each of the member states was effectively independent. Following World War II, however, the six states that formed the ECSC (Belgium, France, West Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg)

were not desperate enough to form a political union, as evidenced by the failure of the European Political Community and the European Defense Community. Instead, they formed the European Coal and Steel Community in 1951, which “delegate[d] domestic decision making authority in the coal and steel sectors to a new supranational organisation, the High Authority,” in the hopes that sharing the responsibility for resources vital to warfare at the time, coal and steel, would make militaristic conflict in Europe less likely (Glockner and Rittberger 2012, 16).

Comparable to most of the Germans, who didn't desire a centralized nation state and deliberately created a weak central authority for the Confederation, the ECSC's six member states were not interested in further political or economic unity. Thus, the ECSC was ideal because it was “less ambitious than the customs union and less spectacular than a political federation,” with “limited memberships, narrow policy briefs, and very rudimentary institutional structures” (Loth 2015, 32; McKay 1999, 5). Akin to the Confederation's weak central authoritative body, the ECSC did have a political body at its head: the High Authority. The High Authority “was composed of independent experts and authorised by the governments of the prospective member states to regulate the market for coal and steel by issuing decisions that would be binding for the member states” and operated with “an Assembly, a Council of Ministers, and a Court of Justice” (Glockner and Rittberger 2012, 18; Dutta 2001, 35). The member states even “had to approve proposals by the High Authority by either majority or unanimity” on various issues, much like the unanimity of the German states which was required to take joint action in the Confederation (Glockner and Rittberger 2012, 18).



As the years went by in the Confederation, the sense of a shared, more unified German future grew and the German people eventually used the template of the Confederation (mostly focusing on what could be improved upon) to create a stronger, more unified German nation-state after the Confederation's collapse. Although the ECSC did not disintegrate, the Europeans used the successful integration of the member states' coal and steel resources, which is considered to be the first intergovernmental organization geared towards supranationalism, as a foundation for further integration. The ECSC's "legacy for the politics and theory of European integration is disputed" because there were certainly a large number of different factors that contributed to the rise of European unity (Glockner and Rittberger 2012, 46). The ECSC definitely "provided an institutional precedent and context, serving as blueprint for future attempts at integration" because it achieved the goals it set for itself: getting the members states to cooperate over an important issue and creating internal and external stability (Glockner and Rittberger 2012, 46).

Finally, there is an aspect of the German Confederation that is analogous to a feature of the European Union that developed after the ECSC: economic unity. Under the German Confederation, Prussia, the most powerful of the German states, took the initiative to create some economic unity among the different states. They eventually created the German Customs Union, the *Zollverein*, which included a single currency, the *Deutsch Mark*. In the European Union, the foundation of the European Coal and Steel Community and the Benelux Customs Union soon gave rise to the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1957," "a unique framework of Free Trade Area (FTA)," the Europe Act (SEA) in 1986, and finally "followed by the Maastricht Treaty in 1992,

whereby a select group of sovereign nation state economies on one common geography volunteered to become one single economy” (Dutta 2001, 29). In 2002, the European Union also introduced the Euro (€), which “is the official currency of 19 out of 28 EU member countries” (Denmark and the United Kingdom have an opt-out while Bulgaria, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and Sweden are Non-Eurozone countries), which “are collectively known as the Eurozone” (European Union “The Euro” 2015). The European Union’s “Economic and Monetary Union involves the coordination of economic and fiscal policies, a common monetary policy and the euro as the common currency” (European Union “The Euro” 2015). The adoption of the Euro was a major step in the evolution of the European Union because “responsibility for macro economic policy is one of the two defining features of central government power in the modern state (the other being defence),” meaning that many observers regarded this as “a major step towards the creation of a federal system of government” (McKay 1999, 3). EU member states voluntarily giving up sovereignty over monetary (although not fiscal) policy made the intergovernmental organization look more and more like a state.

*How Were the Formations of The German Empire (1871-1918) and the European Union Similar?*

The establishment of the German Empire forms a parallel with both the creation of the German Confederation and the European Union, specifically the ECSC, because it also came about following military conflict. In the Empire’s case, the conflict was the military dominance of Prussia over several other European states. Much like the ECSC was founded after World War II to keep Germany in check and prevent further conflict on the European continent, the German states in 1871 decided that their combined efforts

would be an insufficient check for Prussia's power, so they agreed to merge under a single political structure, the German Empire, to try and keep the peace. Unlike the Confederation, however, the German Empire has more in common with the stages of EU integration that came after the founding of the ECSC. This is because the Empire was not a confederation, but a federal state.

In its early years, the Empire was plagued with deep social, religious, and regional divides. Even though it was technically a nation-state, the German people still identified more strongly with their own regional state than with Germany as a whole. The central government was stronger and more unified, but it did not place much emphasis on national symbols or values and the people did not have a strong sense of unity or what it meant to be "German." Like Germany, the European Union slowly evolved into a more unified organization, even though the citizens of the states involved did not necessarily have a sense of a shared European identity. Following the ECSC's creation in 1952, its six member states signed the Treaty of Rome in 1957, which was aimed at establishing economic integration among the signatories. The Treaty of Rome instituted the European Economic Community (EEC), which "provided for: (a) intraregional free flow of trade in goods and services," "(b) free flow of investment," "(c) freedom of movement of persons," "(d) a common agricultural policy," "(e) a common transportation policy," "(f) a European Social Fund to improve employment opportunities and standard of living across the Member states," "(g) a European Investment Fund to lend funds to correct intraregional structural imbalances," "and (h) a common EEC customs, tariff, and commercial policy toward the rest of the world" (Dutta 2001, 39). The treaty also established political institutions necessary to administer the new policies, the

Commission and the Council (executive branch), the European Parliament (legislative branch), and the Court of Justice (judicial branch) (Dutta 2001, 40). These institutions are comparable to the executive, legislative, and judicial institutions that the Empire had developed as a part of its new, centralized government, which included a Kaiser and Imperial Chancellor (executive), parliament and federal council (legislative), and uniformity in criminal code, law, and the administration of justice among the regional courts (judicial).

Of course, the biggest difference between the Empire and the early stages of the European Union is that the Empire self-identified and was recognized as a state while the European Union is only a treaty community of sovereign states. The Treaty of Rome's signing signaled that the idea of European unification was stronger than it had previously appeared and the agreement had the possibility of providing a foundation for further unification, but it "would again and again require unambiguously-convergent interests and an unambiguous political creative will" (Loth 2015, 74). As a state with a strong central government, the Empire had a much easier time furthering the unification process than the European Union did. However, the political interests of the European states did continue to converge and they continued to further their unification, slowly relinquishing sovereignty over certain issues to the European Union. In 1965, the member states signed the Merger Treaty (or Brussels Treaty), which rearranged the political institutions that oversaw their cooperation and is considered by some to be the effective beginning of the modern European Union. Then, in 1972, they adopted the Act of Accession, which "made the three original treaties – the ECSC Treaty (1951), the Treaty of Rome (1957), and the Euratom Treaty (1957) – binding on the new entrants" and stipulated that any

new member states were obligated “to accept all agreements or conventions concluded by the original Member States” (Dutta 2001, 35). Later, in 1986, the member states adopted the Schengen Agreement, which specifically “[abolished] border controls within the EU area,” but also led to increased cooperation on issues such as management of external borders, “visa issuance, asylum and immigration policy, punishment of organized crime, terrorism, and drug trafficking as well as cooperation in civil law areas” (Loth 2015, 349). All of these developments caused the European Union to appear more and more state-like because the member states pooled sovereignty over issues that a state’s strong central government, like that of the German Empire, would control.

Finally, in 1993, the member states (Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, and the United Kingdom) adopted the Maastricht Treaty, which officially created the European Union (Dutta 2001, 45). The purpose of this treaty was to integrate the European Union to an even greater degree. As stated in the treaty:

“The Union shall set itself the following objectives: to promote economic and social progress which is balanced and sustainable, in particular through the creation of an area without internal frontiers, through the strengthening of economic and social cohesion and through the establishment of economic and monetary union, ultimately including a single currency in accordance with the provisions of the Treaty; to assert its identity on the international scene, in particular through the implementation of a common foreign and security policy including the eventual framing of a common defense policy, which might in time lead to a common defense; to strengthen the protection of the rights and interests of the nationals of its Member States through the introduction of a citizenship of the Union; to develop close cooperation on justice and home affairs; to maintain in full the *acquis communautaire* and build on it with a view to consider, through the procedure referred to in Article N (2), to what extent the policies and forms of cooperation introduced by this Treaty may need to be revised with the aim of ensuring the effectiveness of the mechanisms and the institutions of the Community” (Treaty on European Union 1992).

This was an unprecedented level of integration for an intergovernmental organization. However, it does share many parallels with the German Empire, a new state formed when previously sovereign, smaller states gave up some of their sovereignty in order to pursue common goals as a group. Started as a means for security, the German Empire and the European Union achieved their goals to such a satisfactory extent that they quickly became interested in increasing integration in order to pursue further goals. In the German Empire, this further integration was achieved by building on the foundation of an established nation-state, albeit one that was unaccustomed to being a unified state and had a population that did not yet identify with each other. Within this framework, the leaders of the German Empire were able to expand their governmental systems to fit the needs of their federal state, create uniformity among the regions (i.e. codes, law, administration, trade, movement, etc.), start to develop a common identity, and use all their resources to work toward common goals. Although the European Union's integration evolved from a foundation of a coal and steel community and it did not have the advantage of a strong central government, it achieved a similar result. The ECSC's success spurred the EU's founders to expand their cooperation, increase the reach and authority of their shared political bodies to administer the pursuit of new goals, create uniformity among the member states for key issues, and even start to develop a sense of a shared community or identity.

*How Were the Formations of The Federal Republic of Germany (1990-Present) and the European Union Similar?*

Finally, the Germany that exists today was created by the reunification of two separate political entities, East and West Germany, following military and political

conflict. After the defeat of Hitler's Third Reich in World War II, the victorious states broke Germany's territory into four occupation zones in an attempt to dampen Germany's extreme nationalism and keep Germans in check militaristically and politically as Europe tried to rebuild itself. In light of World War II, many European states realized that they needed something to combat the kind of extreme nationalism that Germany developed. The European states were desperate to ensure their security in the aftermath of World War II, especially since such a devastating conflict followed so quickly behind World War I, which was supposed to be the war to end all wars. While Germany was specifically managed by being dismantled and occupied by different states, Europeans realized that they needed to work more closely to protect their internal and external security in the future. In the beginning, both the proposed European Defense Community and the European Political Community failed to come to fruition, but eventually six states formed the ECSC, which led to the European Union.

Although the Cold War never coalesced into a global physical conflict, post-War Germany echoed the international divisions. The three non-communist zones (American, British, and French) in the west unified while the zone controlled by the communist Soviet Union remained separate. Due to differing ideology and structure, East and West Germany developed into states with wildly different political structures, economies, religious outlooks, social structures, and cultures. And the differences were so pronounced that the newly reunified German state had a great deal of difficulty integrating the two, especially in a way that each side thought was fair. When they reunited in 1990, the differences between the two were parallel to the differences between the six member states of the ECSC when the community was first established. In

addition, both the European Union and reunified Germany experienced economic unity followed by political integration. For Germany, the East and West established monetary, economic, and social union with a treaty on 18 May 1990 and later initiated political union with a treaty signed on 31 August 1990. For the European Union, the Treaty of Rome established a customs union and economic integration in 1957 and the Merger Treaty first established specific political union in 1965.

Of course, the biggest difference between the creation of the European Union and Germany is the fact that when the East and West reunified, they did not create a brand new political entity. Rather, the East was absorbed into the systems that already existed in the West. This absorption is, however, comparable to the way that the European Union accepts new member states. In 1972, the European Union adopted the Act of Accession, which declared that new member states were required to “accept all agreements or conventions concluded by the original Member States” (Dutta 2001, 35). Thus, like East Germany, the European Union’s new member states are absorbed into the systems already established in the European Union.



## CHAPTER THREE

### The Netherlands

#### *Introduction*

In 2010, “splinters and cores of Flint,” materials used as tools by the oldest-known inhabitants of the Netherlands, were discovered in the city of Woerden (Radio Netherlands Worldwide 2010). These artifacts, determined to be at least 370,000 years old, are evidence of just how much history there is in the territory that the Kingdom of the Netherlands now controls. The Kingdom of the Netherlands, commonly referred to as the Netherlands, is a sovereign constitutional monarchy located in Western Europe. This state, the political and cultural entity we recognize today, was established in 1815. Between the first appearance of the relatives of modern humans at least 370,000 years ago and the official formation of the Kingdom of the Netherlands in 1815, the people living in the area in and around the state’s current boundaries went through a number of social and political changes. In this chapter, I will discuss how the social and political evolution of the region over time has similarities with the social and political changes in modern Europe that led to the formation of the European Union.

The complicated history of this region led to a confusing array of terms that refer to different aspects of society and political history:

‘Dutch’ is the key term in the master narrative of the Dutch people about itself and its past. Beware however of the confusion between Holland (the ancient province, actually two provinces, North and South), the Netherlands (either the present-day country, or, in the past, also the name of the whole territory of the present-day Netherlands, Belgium and the northern fringe of France, or – between 1815 and 1830 – that of the ‘united kingdom’), and the Low Countries (Netherlands and Belgium), or between the adjectives Flemish (formerly used in foreign countries for present-day Flanders and Holland, now for Flanders alone, either as a province or as a regional community of Belgium) and Dutch (used for

the Northern Netherlands alone). And when speaking of Holland, do not metonymically consider Amsterdam a pocket version of that whole province, or even of the Netherlands as a whole! (Frijhoff 2010, 15)

Since this region has undergone so many changes, the terms “the Netherlands” and “Dutch” can only be fully understood in the context of the region’s historic and continual change. Up until the foundation of the Kingdom of the Netherlands in 1815, “the term ‘the Netherlands’ is an anachronism” and even “the adjective ‘Dutch’ remains problematic in early history” (van Oostrom 2008, 112). In this context, “the Netherlands” refers to the region and “Dutch” refers to what is “‘relevant to the region,’ without the suggestion that this region in that time already presented a cultural, political, or linguistic unity” (van Oostrom 2008, 112). Especially before 1650, when their political separation was finalized, the territory now known as the Kingdom of the Netherlands is so intertwined with the history and territories of Belgium and Luxembourg, that the Netherlands was conceptually coterminous with what is now called Benelux (Arblaster 2012, 7).

*How is the cultural diversity and political fragmentation in the early history of Germany similar to that which the European Union faced at its founding?*

*Was there cultural diversity in the early Netherlands?*

Since the earliest-known inhabitation of the region at least 370,000 years ago, there have been many different populations who lived in the area. The early hominids who used the flint tools were replaced by Neanderthals and, eventually, modern humans. The earliest modern humans were hunter-gatherers; tribes that practiced agriculture and animal husbandry replaced them over time. Unfortunately, few records of these early inhabitants exist. The earliest surviving mentions of the area came from the Romans. As

the Romans pushed the boundaries of their empire farther north and west in the first century B.C., they came into contact with tribes that were “different from one another in language, institutions, and laws” in the Netherlands, including the Nervii, Menapii, Ubii, Eburones, and Sugambri (Caesar 1917, 3-198). The area, which the Romans referred to as Belgic Gaul, was largely populated with Celtic and Germanic tribes, but these tribes also displayed various characteristics common to other ethnic groups in the area and groups that likely lived in the area previously (Hawkes and Dunning 1930, 163).

Because the cultures of the groups were so highly influenced by rapidly changing factors such as migration and interaction with other groups, different tribes quickly developed varying political, social, religious, and linguistic traits. These different cultures existed before the Romans came into contact with them and the ethnicities of the people groups in the area continued to develop and change after the Romans eventually left. Siegfried Jan de Laet, a notable Belgian archaeologist, noted that although “the unity of the region has always been particularly evident to foreigners, the natives of the Low Countries have never failed to be aware of their own differences” (Bailey 1972, 8). These cultural differences played a major part in the diverse ways that the people living in this region organized themselves politically (i.e. the governments that the tribes developed) and the ways in which they interacted with one another. And, due to the high degree of independence the Netherlands experienced in its early history, the high degree of independence that they re-developed after the disintegration of the Frankish Empire, and the social variances that developed within the diverse systems of the independent provinces, cultural differences in different regions of the Netherlands existed for centuries.

*Is there cultural diversity in the European Union?*

Similar to the comparison between Germany and the European Union, the Netherlands has parallels with the European Union in terms of diversity. The Dutch evolved from Germanic and Celtic tribes into different provinces that had their own cultures and ways of life. Uniting them proved to be difficult because they were each more interested in maintaining their sovereignty than they were in creating a larger, stronger political unit. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the European Union had to take ethnic differences into account when the founding six countries first joined together, in order to form a system that would be compatible with and acceptable to the states. Currently, the European Union consists of twenty eight states: Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom (European Union “Countries” 2014). Each state that is added to the union means that new ethnic groups and their specific cultural traits are added to the mix.

The more states there are present in the European Union, the more diverse ethnic and cultural viewpoints are expressed in discussions about new policies. In addition to the incredible number of ethnic groups that have a stake in the European Union currently, the European Union is also considering extending membership to candidate countries Albania, Montenegro, Serbia, Macedonia, and Turkey as well as potential candidates Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo (European Union “Countries” 2014). Current rules stipulate “any European country may apply for membership if it respects the EU’s democratic values and is committed to promoting them” (European Union “Enlargement”

2015). The European Union takes many factors, including political, economic, and legal, into account when considering new members, but it also takes into account the idea of what it means to be “European,” which is ambiguous. The best example of this is Turkey, a candidate country. Turkey has territory on the European continent, but it isn’t generally considered to be “European” because its ethnic groups have traits that are vastly different from those already in the European Union and the European Union is concerned about having to take such divergent views into account and being more closely involved in the Middle Eastern community that Turkey belongs to. “Unity in Diversity” is the self-proclaimed goal of the European Union, but the ethnic and cultural diversity present in the European Union certainly makes their unity more difficult.

*Was there political fragmentation in the early Netherlands?*

After the Romans, the next major power in the area was the Frankish kingdom. Led by the legendary Charlemagne, the Franks subjugated the tribes of the Low Countries and they remained part of the empire until it slowly broke up. The Netherlands was first given to Lothair when the kingdom was divided between Charlemagne’s grandsons in the Treaty of Verdun in 843. It became part of Lorraine when the land was divided in three upon Lothair’s death, was taken over by Henry I of Germany in 925, and officially “[remained] part of the Holy Roman Empire until 1648, but actual power soon lay elsewhere” (Rietbergen and Seegers 1992, 29). In fact, the political divisions and power structures that “finally resulted in the provinces of the present Netherlands” already existed by 1000 A.D. (Rietbergen and Seegers 1992, 34). Some families with modest amounts of power in the Carolingian times gradually acquired and consolidated power and land until they operated as independent rulers of their own territory, even

though technically subordinate to the German emperor. The different types of independent political units included “independent principalities, lordships, clerical estates, and self-governing cities” and they were so small that “ the Netherlands, with its numerous petty potentates and tiny republics, resembled that of ancient Greece” (Barker 1906, 25). These self-governing localities operated under the powerless feudal ties that appeared to unify them, but, in reality, they fought hard against each other to maintain their independence and the “privileges, rights, and customs” they had individually cultivated and valued above all else (Barker 1906, 26). During the ninth and tenth centuries the Dutch localities that emerged as independent political units included Brabant, Drenthe, Friesland, Gelderland, Hainaut, Holland, Liege, Limburg, Loon, Luxembourg, Namur, Overijssel, Utrecht, and Zeeland (Bailey 1972, 23). In fact, there was so little organization and cohesion within the empire that many of the localities became members of the Hanseatic League, “a merchant guild which united numerous German and Dutch trading towns to defend their interests jointly” (Rietbergen and Seegers 1992, 42). The Netherlands appeared to be unified politically under the Holy Roman Empire, but, in reality, they operated independently under their own diverse political systems.

*Is there political fragmentation in the European Union?*

As discussed in the previous chapter about Germany, each member state of the European Union was a sovereign state prior to their introduction to the European Union, so there was a high level of political fragmentation leading up to the unification. In addition, each member state maintains a high level of sovereignty when they become a member of the European Union, so the political fragmentation remains. Presently, nine

political systems exist in the member states of the EU: federal republic (Austria and Germany), federal parliamentary democracy under a constitutional monarchy (Belgium), parliamentary democracy (Bulgaria, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, and Slovakia), republic (Cyprus, Finland, France, Italy, Malta, Poland, and Romania), constitutional monarchy (Denmark, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and Sweden), parliamentary republic (Estonia, Greece, and Slovenia), a republic/parliamentary democracy (Ireland and Portugal), parliamentary monarchy (Spain), and constitutional monarchy and commonwealth realm (the United Kingdom). On top of varying types of governments, political differences between the EU members also include methods of voting, how political figures are appointed, the make-up of legislative bodies, and titles and powers of leaders. Since all these political systems existed before each state joined the European Union and they all remained intact after they joined, the European Union faces a very high level of political fragmentation. Finally, the states in the European Union fight hard to maintain their sovereignty. Just like the states in the European Union, the provinces of the Netherlands had developed and different methods of governance and utilized different types of leaders. The main difference between the two is that the provinces of the Netherlands eventually converted to one shared form of government, while EU member states maintain their various styles and only submit some authority to the European Union's governing body.

### *The Formation of a Sovereign Netherlands*

*What was the impetus for the Dutch provinces to unite?*

Over the course of about a century, the dukes of Burgundy used a combination of “marriage, alliance, inheritance, and conquest” to unite most of the localities in the Low Countries, “including the many duchies and counties that together were now being called the Netherlands for the first time,” under one rule (Bailey 1972, 48; Rietbergen and Seegers 1992, 54). The family also sought to solidify the political unity of their lands by creating a high court, trying to move to a common currency and establishing “the first institution of higher learning in the Low Countries, the University of Louvain” (Bailey 1972, 48). In 1515, the Bergundian heir, Charles V, came of age and began to inherit a great empire. At first, his inheritance “was centered principally on the duchy of Burgundy proper, in eastern France, and most of what is now the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg” (Richardson 2002, 16). However, over the course of his life, he also inherited lands that included the “Spanish kingdoms, Aragon and Castile, which also included Mexico, Peru and the Philippine islands,” Hapsburg lands (centered around Austria), Sardinia, Sicily, Naples, territories on the upper Rhine, eastern Swabia, territory on the Adriatic, and territory bordering Poland. (Rietbergen and Seegers 1992, 54; Richardson 2002, 19). Eventually, Charles also became Holy Roman Emperor. Although Charles didn’t face many problems during his reign, the Netherlands’ forced union with Spain caused trouble down the line because their cultures and politics were not compatible and they didn’t make concentrated efforts to coordinate and compromise.

Charles tried his best to “coordinate the policies of his individual domains,” even though they continued to be separate administrative regions, including what was called the Seventeen United Netherlands, by centralizing the territories “under a single administration” (Birdal 2011, 90). These attempts at unification “aroused the greatest



opposition” in the Netherlands because the “ancient privileges in all legal, military, and ecclesiastical details were dear possessions” that the Dutch considered to be essential to their identity and way of life (Blok 1900, 55). However, during the reign of Charles V, the Dutch accepted the problems they experienced with his rule. Charles “lived in the Netherlands until his mid-teens, acquiring a deep affection for the aristocratic heritage and the chivalric ideals of the former rulers of the Netherlands,” so he understood their way of life (Richardson 2002, 16). Problems really began to arise in the Netherlands when Charles V’s son, Philip II, succeeded his father in 1555. As part of the Spanish Empire, the Netherlands had “felt the heavy hand of the emperor both in matters of religion and in the autonomous privileges of the various states which had constituted the dominions of the House of Burgundy” many times, but “Charles was one of themselves, and from him they would suffer much” (Hume 1920, 66). Philip, however, was not Dutch. Even though he was Charles V’s son, Philip had never lived in the Netherlands, he did not understand their way of life, he did not speak their language, and he considered himself to be a Spaniard. So his rule was a different matter entirely and the Dutch resented all of his attempts to change their culture and way of life.

The rebellious feelings in the Netherlands that bubbled to the surface during the reign of Philip II were “caused by a mix of unstable conditions and highly varied discontent that involved several layers of society at the same time” (‘t Hart 2014, 13). When he became king of Spain, Philip II “sought to tighten control over the provinces in the Low Countries,” which ended up “[provoking] a lengthy conflict and [kindling] Dutch awareness of a separate national identity” (Kurzer 2009, 311). The unorganized and intermittent revolt that began in the 1560s against Spanish rule in the area sprang

from concern about high taxes, the state of the economy and trade in the Netherlands, removal of local privileges, and Philip's desire to "[establish] the universal supremacy of Catholicism in the political interest of Spain," even though the Netherlands was a predominantly Protestant region ('t Hart 2014, 3; Hume 1920, 2). Over time, this conflict evolved into "a more moderate movement with increasingly national traits," even though that was not the intention of the rebels at the beginning of the rebellion ('t Hart 2014, 3).

Aside from the loss of their beloved historic political privileges and independence, one of the biggest concerns for the Dutch was the economy and trade in their region. Even though they weren't suffering unduly under the administration of Spain, the Dutch deeply resented the loss of control over their own economy, trade, and taxes. Due to various factors, trade was disrupted in the region during the reign of Philip II and the Dutch had trouble getting food, receiving supplies for personal and industrial uses, and building the thriving trade industry they desired. Spain was not concerned with these issues in the Netherlands and the Dutch people did not appreciate being neglected by a foreign king. In addition to the neglect, the Dutch also disliked the taxes they were forced to pay to Spain. As an empire that stretched almost across the entire continent of Europe, Spain was involved in many different military conflicts and the Dutch were "convinced that their tax monies were often used in wars which were of no importance to the Netherlands" and the "ever higher taxation was borne under protest and the king's attempts to introduce a capital levy on trade and industry were rejected resolutely by the States General" in the Netherlands (Rietbergen and Seegers 1992, 68). Their anger over the new taxes, especially the "tenth penny" tax, led to a slight alleviation of Spain's policy, but the Dutch argued that the "tenth penny remained oppressive, especially to

petty traders” and “so the bitterness increased and found voice in rhymes such as:

Oh, Netherland, thou art in straits,  
Death and life are at thy gates.  
Serve Spanish tyrants if you will,  
Or follow, you and all your mates,  
The prince of Orange still!  
Help him to be your guide and stay  
Or said the wolf to gain his prey.  
But quit your neutralising;  
Abjure the despot’s cruel sway  
With all its tyrannizing!” (Blok 1900, 61-62).

Although the rebellion itself did disrupt trade and the economy in the Netherlands for the duration of the conflict, the Dutch stayed their course and fought for their perceived political rights, and eventually independence, because they preferred controlling their fate rather than being part of an empire.

A further reason for the rebellion was Philip’s campaign to turn the Spanish Empire into a purely Catholic state. The Netherlands was a predominantly Protestant region and “they were well aware that religious differences caused trouble at a local level, but they saw the persecution by the central government as interference with their own authority” (Rietbergen and Seegers 1992, 68). At this time, the territories that are now part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands was mostly Protestant, but the territories that are now part of Belgium were still very Catholic. The Netherlands was Catholic until the Reformation, when the ideas of Martin Luther quickly spread. The governments in the region initially tried to stop the spread of Protestantism, but a majority of the population quickly converted and the Netherlands was eventually predominantly Calvinist. “Charles V was in favour of taking prompt action against Protestantism,” which could be seen as early as 1522, but “this was seen as another intolerable example of centralized power wielded in the various regions” and did not come to fruition (Rietbergen and Seegers

1992, 64). However, in 1555, when Philip II came to power, “a Peace of Religion was signed at Augsburg, which decreed that the religion of a ruler was to be shared by his subjects,” and since Philip II was a devoted Catholic, “this meant that the regions of the Netherlands would be obliged to remain Roman Catholic” (Rietbergen and Seegers 1992, 64). Philip was so devoted to the idea of a purely Catholic empire that he “famously remarked that he would ‘prefer not to rule than to rule over heretics’” (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 146).

Under Philip, the Spanish Inquisition was brought to the Netherlands and the Dutch Protestants were forbidden from worshipping in their chosen fashion. The suppression of Protestantism became ruthless and violent and the Council of Troubles, set up by Philip’s governor-general, was “soon commonly known as the Council of Blood on account of the death sentences pronounced” (Rietbergen and Seegers 1992, 71). Dutch Calvinists “held services in the open air as a form of provocation” because they desired the right to openly worship how they pleased and it even “became customary to go armed to these services” to defend themselves “and this tended to stir up rebellion” even further (Rietbergen and Seegers 1992, 70). Early in the rebellion against Spain, “the motive power had mostly been the great nobles, Catholics nearly all of them, whose object was to prevent the extinction of the political liberties of the States,” however, once the “religious power of resistance was aroused,” the Dutch “bourgeoisie stood shoulder to shoulder crying aloud that no papist should burn them or their for the faith” (Hume 1920, 109). Spain did make some concessions, including the ability for Protestants to “hold services openly in those areas where they were already held secretly,” but it wasn’t enough for the Dutch (Rietbergen and Seegers 1992, 70). In fact, their anger was so great

that by the mid-1570s, the Netherlands had prohibited Catholic worship (Rietbergen and Seegers 1992, 74). The loss of autonomy in political, economic, and religious matters was so abhorrent to the Dutch that they became determined to create their own independent political institution in a way that they saw fit.

The Netherlands was forced to join the Spanish Empire because of the political ambitions of a single family: the Burgundians. If not for the House of Burgundy's desire to expand its territory as much as possible, the Netherlands would have continued to exist in the independent political localities that had developed. Driven by their collective rejection of foreign control and desire to regain control of their culture, economy and political system, the Dutch eventually decided to coalesce into a state in which they could flourish and which only included peoples with the same values, goals and priorities.

*How did the Netherlands work to realize their ideal political situation?*

In order to work toward creating a beneficial political system for themselves, the Dutch needed to free themselves from the grip of the Spanish Empire. The rebels did not initially “[intend] to withdraw their support from the king, as they eventually did:” at first, “they only demanded that their rights and privileges be acknowledged and that the interests of the Netherlands would no longer be subservient to Spanish policy” (Rietbergen and Seegers 1992, 73). After 1576, the rebellion in the Netherlands turned into a full-fledged fight for independence (‘t Hart 2014, 18). This struggle for independence, which lasted from 1568 to 1648, came to be known as the Eighty Years’ War or the Dutch Wars of Independence. Because “hegemonic power,” “prestige and reputation” were of the utmost importance to the Spanish kings, they “could not afford to permit the secession of the Netherlands, even if the cost of preventing Dutch

independence resulted in bankruptcy” (‘t Hart 2014, 34). In contrast, the goals of the Dutch were much more moderate. Besides “achieving independence and recognition as a sovereign state,” the main goals of the Dutch “were defense and protection; even in their colonial enterprise it was the expansion of trade and increase of prosperity that prevailed, rather than territorial gains” (‘t Hart 2014, 34).

The Dutch ended up slowly uniting under William of Orange to achieve their goals. In the Pacification of Ghent, the provinces of the Netherlands “were pledged to cooperate in ending the ‘Spanish Fury,’” and, despite differences, the provinces were “united against Spanish politics and Spanish methods and there was a degree of religious tolerance” (Rietbergen and Seegers 1992, 74). The Dutch were very persistent in continuing their struggle against Spain and they were also very lucky. The Netherlands was only facing a war on one front and they were able to pay their troops, while Spain was facing several military conflicts at once, drawing their attention away from the Netherlands at times, and they were unable to pay their troops regularly, leading to an unruly and unfocused fighting force. In 1579 the Netherlands divided into two sections: the Union of Arras and the Union of Ghent. The Union of Arras was a group of Catholic nobles that declared their allegiance to Philip II and Catholicism, mostly in the south (what is now Belgium), and the Union of Ghent, which was mostly in the north (what is now the Kingdom of the Netherlands), was a group that pledged to continue the struggle against Spain together, but to retain their own individual historic privileges (Rietbergen and Seegers 1992, 74). The Union of Ghent agreed to make important decisions regarding war, peace, and taxes together while leaving everything else up to the localities, with the exception of religious persecution, which was outlawed (Rietbergen and Seegers

1992, 74). Then, in 1581, the Act of Abjuration was signed, “in which the States General of the northern provinces, now assembled in The Hague, withdrew its allegiance from Philip II” (Rietbergen and Seegers 1992, 76). In this semi-state of independence, “both France and England were at least prepared to support the united provinces and even to acknowledge them as an independent federation” and the Northern Netherlands joined “with France and England in the Triple Alliance” (Rietbergen and Seegers 1992, 79).

Finally, in 1648, the treaties in the Peace of Westphalia, including the Treaty of Münster, were signed. The Treaty of Münster “recognized the United Provinces as an independent, sovereign state” and the sovereignty of the Netherlands “was also acknowledged by the German Emperor, until then still the highest power in name over the largest part of the Northern Netherlands, the eastern provinces” (‘t Hart 2014, 28; (Rietbergen and Seegers 1992, 84). The territory of the United Provinces had approximately the same territorial boundaries as the Kingdom of the Netherlands does today. The provinces aligned with the Union of Arras, which encompassed much of the territory that belongs to Belgium today, stayed under the rule of Spain and were called the Spanish Netherlands. If the Dutch had not rebelled against Spain and fought for their freedom, the Netherlands would have been dragged into Spanish wars and affairs, which would have prevented the Dutch from pursuing their own goals and interests. Instead, when they signed the Treaty of Münster and became a sovereign political entity, they “acquired a common identity and were ready to create common political structures” that they thought would be most beneficial for their situation (Kurzer 2009, 312).

*What was the political system like in the independent Netherlands?*

Although most of the territory we now know as the Netherlands finally formed a sovereign state, their future still held many political changes. At first, after the Peace of Westphalia, the provinces were known as the Dutch Republic or the Republic of the Seven United Provinces. Immediately after the Eighty Years' War ended, a disagreement among the provinces about the dismissal of troops led to the Republic's first test of the role of the individual provinces within the state (van der Steen 2014). In its ruling, the Great Assembly upheld the sovereignty of the different provinces and failed to alleviate the tensions caused by the autonomous provinces being forced to surrender an unspecified amount of authority to the new Union (van der Steen 2014). The Republic still did not match the description of a modern nation state because "it resembled a confederation of city-states with a deliberative body at its head" that decided foreign policies, a "loose confederacy of practically sovereign polities" that were "often fractious and each province sought to gain and preserve as much independence as possible (Kurzer 2009, 312).

The Republic was also interesting because it "was a polity and a society unlike most other European states in that it was steered at the highest level not by the nobility or the clergy, but by a burgher elite" (Rietbergen and Seegers 1992, 94). These Burghers helped shape the identity of the Dutch through their influence on the culture in the provinces and the trade that the Republic carried out. The influence of the Burghers "was particularly strong in the various forms of art" because they became the main patrons of art in the Netherlands, instead of nobles or the clergy, and a larger base of patrons led to more art, especially paintings, being available for more common people (Rietbergen and Seegers 1992, 94). Visitors from other countries "were amazed to see the number of



paintings for sale at fairs and markets” that were available to “simple” people and that a “unique style emerged, due to the many genre pictures which were painted because they appealed to the general public” (Rietbergen and Seegers 1992, 94). During the Dutch Republic, the Netherlands not only saw a unique common culture flourishing, but also trade. Compared to other territories that had been or still were involved in military conflicts at the time the Dutch gained independence, “the Dutch Republic suffered relatively little” and “its rise in prosperity went far beyond the usual (but generally only temporary) wealth accrued by war profiteers” in the season of economic growth it experienced “from 1585 to the mid-seventeenth century” (‘t Hart 2014, 192). Many “inhabitants of the northern Netherlands paid a high price during the Dutch Wars of Independence,” including fishermen, farmers, landholders, people involved in trade, and those who had family members die, but the Dutch were able to direct their own destiny after they gained their independence with Spain and they chose pursue policies and courses of action that would grow their economy and trade empire (‘t Hart 2014, 191). The blossoming of trade in the Netherlands was the result of “no central government to enforce protectionist measures,” which “would not have fitted in the scheme of the seven autonomous little republics,” and the fact that “the leading merchants, who laid down the law in the administration of Holland and Zeeland, carried out a foreign policy which promoted their own trade” (Rietbergen and Seegers 1992, 89). Although the Dutch had been interested in expanding trade and growing their economy for some time, they had not been able to do so under the restrictive policies of Spain. After the Dutch gained their independence and set up their own political system, they “presided over a period of unprecedented stability and prosperity (Kurzer 2009, 312).

However, inspired by the revolutions in France and America, revolution took hold of the Netherlands and the government of the Dutch Republic was overthrown and replaced by a unitary state, the Batavian Republic, which lasted from 1795 to 1806. Then, in 1806, Napoleon Bonaparte installed his brother, Louis Napoleon, as king of the newly styled Kingdom of Holland. The Kingdom of Holland lasted until 1815, but the Netherlands experienced great change during that time. The French government “dismantled many local variations of various regulations to create a national tax system, a centralized judiciary, a universal system of education, and a national assembly” (Kurzer 2009, 313). When Napoleon was defeated and the Netherlands regained its independence, it “retained the institutional arrangements introduced by the French and installed a monarchy, providing a rare example of a country that switched from republic to monarchy” (Kurzer 2009, 313). The new state formed after Napoleon’s defeat, the United Kingdom of the Netherlands, united “Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxembourg (the latter two territories had been annexed by France in 1810)” under one rule, the House of Orange-Nassau, once again (Kurzer 2009, 313). The United Kingdom of the Netherlands had reunited all seventeen provinces of the Northern and Southern Netherlands again, but after a separation of 225 years, “the differences in economics, religion, culture and politics had grown so great that this union could not survive for long” (Rietbergen and Seegers 1992, 124). Many policies, from a government with a ruler from the Northern Netherlands, “alienated the Belgians (and Luxembourgers)” (Kurzer 2009, 313). Problems within the United Kingdom of the Netherlands included: the fact that representation in the Lower House was equal (even though the South had a larger population than the North), the South felt discrimination for their Catholic faith, there

was denominational education, criticism of the Kingdom was censored, and the official language was Dutch (even though many southerners spoke French) (Rietbergen and Seegers 1992, 124). Following “some rioting and disturbances in Brussels and other places in the South, a temporary administration was set up by dissatisfied Southerners in September 1830” and “an independent state called Belgium was proclaimed on 1 October” (Rietbergen and Seegers 1992, 125). The Northern Netherlands refused to accept the separation, but was forced to do so when the French got involved on behalf of Belgium. The final treaty of separation “was signed in 1839; it marked the end of the brief reunion of the Southern and Northern Netherlands. Since then the North has been known as the Kingdom of the Netherlands” (Rietbergen and Seegers 1992, 125).

The Kingdom of the Netherlands as we know it today is a constitutional monarchy with twelve provinces: Drenthe, Flevoland, Friesland, Gelderland, Groningen, Limburg, North Brabant, North Holland, Overijssel, South Holland, Utrecht, and Zeeland (CIA). The Chief of State has been King Willem-Alexander since 2013 and the Head of Government has been Prime Minister Mark Rutte since 2010 (CIA “Netherlands” 2015). The Netherlands’ legislative branch has a bicameral States General, which consists of the First Chamber, whose “members indirectly elected by the country’s 12 provincial council members by proportional representation vote,” and the Second Chamber, whose “members directly elected in multi-seat constituencies by proportional representation vote” (CIA “Netherlands” 2015). Finally, the Dutch Supreme Court, the *Hoge Raad*, has “justices appointed by the monarch from a list provided by the Second Chamber of the States General” that serve for life (CIA “Netherlands” 2015).

## *The Formation of the European Union*

*What was the impetus for the European Union's original six to unite and how was it similar to the way the Dutch were convinced that they needed to form an independent political system?*

Unlike the formations of the German Confederation, the German Empire, the Federal Republic of Germany, and the ECSC, the Netherlands was not formed in an attempt to secure peace and stability following militaristic conflict. Rather, the idea of an independent state consisting of the united provinces of the Netherlands was born during, not after, their war with Spain: the Eighty Years' War. It can be said, however, that avoiding further militaristic conflict played a role in the formation of the Netherlands. A Dutch grievance with the Spanish Empire was that Dutch tax money was used to fund Spanish wars against enemies irrelevant to the Dutch, instead of being used to secure Dutch trading vessels against enemies the Dutch frequently faced. Further, the Dutch did not want to be dragged into Spain's conflicts. In the beginning, the war was simply an attempt to get leaders of the Spanish Empire to recognize the ancient privileges and ways of life of the Dutch provinces and leave them to govern themselves as they had for hundreds of years. During the conflict, however, the Dutch provinces realized that the only way to secure their way of life and the ability to pursue their interests was to form their own independent political unit. Thus, in a broader sense, both the formation of the European Union and the formation of the Netherlands boil down to the search for security.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the original member states of the European Union came together to form the ECSC due to their desire to protect themselves from further military conflict and the possibility that they would be dominated and transformed

by a foreign power. In the Netherlands' case, the Dutch provinces were already involuntarily under the control of the Spanish Empire when they realized they were threatened by, what they considered to be, a foreign leader who wished to dominate and transform them. Before they achieved their independence from Spain, the Dutch provinces had never before organized themselves into one unified, cohesive political unit. They had technically been a part of larger political structures, like the Holy Roman Empire, but they were never forced to change the way they actually lived and governed themselves. The break with Spain and formation of the Dutch Republic was the first time that the provinces had joined together politically and gave up a degree of their individual sovereignty to pursue a common goal. Just like the EU's original member states pooled a small degree of sovereignty to secure themselves from threats, the Dutch provinces pooled a small degree of sovereignty to secure themselves from the threat of their way of life being destroyed in the wake of Phillip II's desire to make the Spanish Empire homogenous.

*How did the member states transform the earliest iterations of the European Union into a political organization and how was this similar to the evolution of the Netherlands as a sovereign state?*

In addition to similar motivations for establishment, the evolutions of the European Union and the Netherlands also share similarities. In the beginning, the Dutch Republic was a loose confederation made up of highly independent individual provinces that did not plan on becoming a unified, cohesive political unit. They came together in order to achieve their common goals of security from a foreign power and the ability to develop and focus on Dutch involvement in trade. The Dutch had begun to become aware of a shared national identity during their struggle with Spain, but they were not yet

interested in creating a unified nation-state. In fact, the provinces even fought the weak, early central government to retain as much of their independence as possible as soon as the Dutch Republic had been established.

At the time of its creation, the weak body at the head of the Republic really only handled foreign policy, because that was the security the provinces desired. However, because of increased economic prosperity due to the focus on and expansion of Dutch trade and the rise of a unique Dutch culture and identity during the Dutch golden age, the Dutch provinces began to pursue closer political integration. With dawn of the Dutch golden age, the Dutch people witnessed the potential of the provinces if they continued to work together to achieve common goals and they gradually decided that their collective prosperity was more important to them than their long-held political independence. Likewise, the European Union has continued to expand ever since the initial success of the ECSC. After they had succeeded in creating internal and external security through cooperation, they became more interested in cooperating further to accomplish other common goals and they slowly increased their levels of integration. This growth and further integration is only realistic when the constituent parts continue to share common goals. On the other hand, when what is now Belgium and Luxembourg broke away from the United Kingdom of the Netherlands, the cultural divergence overwhelmed common goals and interests. Although no state has yet left the European Union, the Lisbon Treaty of 2009 includes a clause that provides for the exit of a member state. Some member states do discuss exiting the European Union when they feel that the rewards may not outweigh the risks of pooled sovereignty and the United Kingdom recently voted in a referendum to leave the European Union. So far, however, the benefits of shared political

sovereignty in the European Union have prompted the member states to remain together, just like they have in the provinces that remain part of the Netherlands.

Since the time they were founded, due to the increased priority of integration, both the Netherlands and the European Union have evolved politically to manage integration. Today, the European Union boasts sprawling and extremely complicated executive, legislative and judicial branches to govern itself. The Netherlands, a constitutional monarchy, utilizes a king and a prime minister. The European Union is more complex, however, because “the 3 main institutions of the EU are each headed by a president: President of the European Parliament, President of the European Council, and President of the European Commission” (European Union “EU Presidents” 2015). The president of the European Commission, which “sets the EU’s overall political direction” (including foreign and security policy), is the most akin to a combined head of government and head of state position for a state like the Netherlands because he or she is a member of the European Council and also “represents the EU to the outside world” (European Union “EU Institutions” 2015).

Additionally, the European Union relies on several separate institutions for legislative purposes. In the Netherlands, the legislature is a bicameral States General, which consists of the First Chamber (elected by provincial council members by proportional representation) and the Second Chamber (directly elected in multi-seat constituencies by proportional representation). The European Union’s legislative system, again, is more complex. In the European Union, the three main bodies involved in legislation are the European Parliament, the Council of the European Union, and the European Commission. The European Parliament “represents the EU’s citizens and is

directly elected by them,” the Council of the European Union “represents the governments of the individual member countries” (and is “made up of government ministers from each EU country, according to the policy area to be discussed”), and the European Commission “represents the interests of the Union as a whole” (and is “made up of 28 Commissioners, one from each EU country”) (European Union “EU Institutions” 2015). Both the Netherlands and the European Union rely on multiple legislative bodies to deal with creating laws and rely on different methods of selecting members for the bodies in an effort to maintain better representation.

Finally, both the Netherlands and the European Union rely on judicial systems to uphold laws. However this branch of government is the most dissimilar. In the Netherlands, the Dutch Supreme Court consists of justices, who serve for life, appointed by the monarch from a list provided by the Second Chamber. The European Union operates three different judicial bodies: the Court of Justice, the General Court, and the Civil Service Tribunal. The Court of Justice consists of one judge from each member state, plus 11 Advocates General and “deals with requests for preliminary rulings from national courts, certain actions for annulment and appeals;” the General Court consists of one judge from each member state and “rules on actions for annulment brought by individuals, companies and, in some cases, EU governments” (“in practice, this means that this court deals mainly with competition law, State aid, trade, agriculture, trade marks”); and the Civil Service Tribunal consists of seven judges and “rules on disputes between the EU and its staff” (European Union “EU Institutions” 2015). In addition to the division of labor in the EU courts that is absent in the Netherlands, the EU courts also do not have justices serve for life, like the Dutch court does.



The political system in the European Union is such a highly complex bureaucratic web because it has the very difficult job of trying to manufacture some semblance of equality between its member states, coordinate a vast array of interests, and present a powerful front on the world stage, even though it does not enjoy the same level of control over internal affairs that most states do. Germany and the Netherlands, although they both started out with weak central governments, both consolidated power at the national level over time and allowed the central government to make decisions for the good of the whole state. In the European Union, gradual consolidation of power has occurred since the foundation of the ECSC, but there is more opposition to it and progress has been very slow. There are many factors that influence the growth and development of the European Union, but a major factor that has caused it to progress in a unique manner is the fact that the European Union shares many characteristics with traditional states, but identifies as an intergovernmental organization. Because of this distinction, the European Union is making history as a political organization that exists somewhere between what is recognized as an intergovernmental organization and what is recognized as a state. However, as the formation of the European Union does share similarities with the formations of states, such as Germany and the Netherlands, the European Union should look to the way states have handled issues similar to those it is now facing because these methods would provide a solid foundation for the European Union to build upon when deciding how to deal with issues that threaten their stability.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### Using States to Better Understand the Problems Facing the European Union

#### *Introduction*

In a speech given in 1946 at the University of Zurich, Winston Churchill became one of the first people to call for the formation of a united Europe. Convinced that a united Europe was the most promising way to create a “free and happy” world for Europeans, Churchill called on his audience to consider the need to “re-create the European fabric, or as much of it as we can, and to provide it with a structure under which it can dwell in peace, in safety and in freedom,” arguing that it was necessary to “build a kind of United States of Europe” (Churchill 1946). Although he was mistaken that this radical transformation could take place in only a few years, most of the states on the European continent are now members of the European Union, waiting to become members, or interact with the European Union in a significant way.

The European Union is difficult to understand because it is a massive, sprawling bureaucracy with complex rules designed to create as equal terms as possible between the incredibly different member states. Further, the European Union has no analog as an IGO. The EU’s high level of integration and assumption of sovereign powers means that it is exploring uncharted waters. One cannot apply lessons learned by other IGOs in similar situations, because IGOs have not previously been in similar situations. However, the similarities between the European Union and states formed from the coalescence of smaller, independent localities under weak governments give the European Union peers that it can be compared to and learn from: states like Germany and the Netherlands.

The first chapter of this paper focused on defining what it means to be a state, what it means to be an IGO, and how the currently accepted parameters of both affect the classification of the European Union (Fig. 1). I demonstrated that the European Union technically qualifies as both a state (Fig. 2) and an IGO (Fig. 3). The second chapter emphasized the similar formations and state-building qualities of Germany (the German Confederation, the German Empire, and reunified Germany) and the European Union. I illustrated that the histories of Germany and the European Union have many points of comparison, that they encountered many similar problems, and that they solved many of these problems in similar ways (Fig. 4). The third chapter highlighted the similar formations of the Netherlands and the European Union showing, like the chapter about Germany, that the Netherlands and the European Union have faced comparable problems and solved them using similar approaches (Fig. 5). In this chapter I will underscore the benefit of having analogous political organizations to compare with the European Union.

The benefit of having analogous political organizations to compare with the European Union is that such comparison can inform the European Union about better or worse policy decisions. Through comparison and thoughtful examination of the histories of states like Germany and the Netherlands, the European Union can learn from the successes and mistakes of others that were faced with similar situations. This will hopefully lead to better social, cultural, economic, and political outcomes for the European Union. Because the European Union is so state-like, problems that it faces now and will face in the future are likely to have already been confronted by various states. Currently, the European Union can learn from states like Germany and the Netherlands in

regard to how to handle sudden population change due to an influx of foreigners because the migrant crisis facing Europe is threatening to break the European Union apart.

*What is a prototypical state issue facing the European Union today?*

Currently, one of the biggest prototypical state issues facing the European Union is the migrant crisis. Due to destabilization, armed conflict, and economic hardship in the Middle East and Africa, EU countries are experiencing a huge wave of people seeking asylum. In 2015, the European Union experienced about 1,255,600 people (largely Syrians, Afghans, and Iraqis) applying for asylum for the first time, a number that is more than double that of the previous year (European Commission “Asylum” 2016). Of these applicants, the highest number registered in Germany (35%), followed by Hungary (14%), Sweden (12%). Austria (7%), Italy (7%), and France (6%) (European Commission “Asylum” 2016). The flow of migrants from other continents into the European Union is one of the EU’s main political issues because: thousands of migrants have died making the dangerous and well-publicized journey across the Mediterranean Sea to Europe; Europeans are worried about Muslim extremist militants posing as refugees in order to slip into Europe and commit acts of terror; and there is no unified approach to dealing with the refugees within the EU’s borders because the EU’s member states cannot agree on how to handle the situation. Some states, such as Germany, support the idea of trying to accommodate the refugees while other states, including Hungary, have closed their borders in an attempt to prevent migrants from gaining access to their territory.

This disagreement between EU member states about border security is very significant now because this is a major test of the Schengen Zone. The Schengen Zone is

“an area without internal borders, an area within which citizens, many non-EU nationals, business people and tourists can freely circulate without being subjected to border checks” and is considered to be “one of the greatest achievements of the EU,” according to the European Union itself (European Commission “Schengen, Borders” 2016). Currently, the Schengen Zone is comprised of 26 European states- 22 of the EU’s member states (Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Ireland, Romania, and the United Kingdom are not members) and the four members of the European Free Trade Association (Iceland, Lichtenstein, Norway, and Switzerland). Due to the Schengen Area, about 420 million people can (or could) cross any internal border within the over 4,300,000-km<sup>2</sup> zone “without controls” (De Capitani 2014, 103). This internal freedom of movement is accompanied by measures such as “tightened controls at [the EU’s] common external border” and “a common visa policy [that] further facilitates the entry of legal visitors into the EU” (European Commission “Schengen, Borders” 2016). However, member states also have the ability to “temporarily reintroduce border control at its internal borders” for limited times during “a serious threat to public policy or internal security” (European Commission “Schengen Area” 2016).

Presently, there are six member states of the Schengen Zone that have implemented temporary border controls: Austria (along borders with Slovenia and Hungary), Denmark (on ports with connections to Germany and along the border with Germany), France (due to the state of emergency announced after the terror attacks in their territory), Germany (along the border with Austria), Norway (on ports with connections to Denmark, Germany, and Sweden), Poland (for increased security for the NATO Summit, World Youth Days, and the visit of the Pope), and Sweden (on harbors

in the south and west and the Öresund bridge) (European Commission “Temporary” 2016). Some are unrelated, but most of the border control reintroductions are due to the problems that are caused, or are perceived to be caused, by the recent sudden influx of migrants. Eurosceptics and nationalists criticize the Schengen Zone, especially recently, as an open door for unchecked numbers of migrants, refugees, and criminals. The flood of migrants has been clearly visible for some time, but the fears of criminals using the freedom of movement within the Schengen Zone to target certain areas with terror attacks gained momentum when a coordinated attack killed 130 people in Paris, France on 13 November 2015. People became very alarmed that the gunmen and suicide bombers, Muslims with Middle Eastern heritage, were able to enter France without the knowledge of French authorities. Although all but two of the attackers were French or Belgian nationals (the two non-Europeans did pose as migrants to enter Europe) and the French authorities were already aware of several of the men, the attacks increased people’s fear that foreign terrorists were exploiting Europe’s overwhelmed external borders and open internal borders in efforts to kill Europeans and disrupt European society. In response to the influx of migrants and the fear of incoming terrorists and in addition to the temporary reinstatement of certain border controls, the European Commission proposed an amendment to Schengen that is predicted to become law. This amendment will require EU citizens, who were previously exempt, to “have their details checked against police databases at the EU’s external borders (“Schengen: Controversial” 2016). Although checks at internal borders have become more common recently, the Schengen Zone still stands and requires the cooperation of all its member states.

Trapped in the middle of a complex political and human-rights situation, every side of the argument seems to inspire criticism- those who think accommodating the migrants is too risky (i.e. their state does not have the resources to support large numbers of new people, migrants pose a security risk, etc.) are accused of heartlessly turning their backs on helpless, suffering people and those who support accommodating them are accused of recklessly endangering the stability and way of life in the European Union and/or their own state. However, many Europeans, especially those in positions of power, remain committed to maintaining the Schengen Zone and the intergovernmental cooperation that makes it possible. Cooperation over the Schengen Zone has likely been “the most active policy domain of the EU area of freedom, security and justice” (De Capitani 2014, 117). Although it does have some obvious shortcomings, the Schengen Zone facilitates “freedom of movement,” “security from external threats,” and “human dignity through the preservation of fundamental rights of third country nationals when crossing the EU external borders” (De Capitani 2014, 118). The Schengen Zone requires a high level of cooperation and coordination among the member states, which tends to overlap with policies traditionally related to the sovereignty of states and may be burdensome for the national administrations of individual states, but it does so to maintain the freedom of movement as a common European value (De Capitani 2014, 118). Issues of sudden population change are not new to European states, however. Thus, it is worthwhile to examine three recent cases of the rapid influx of foreigners into Germany and the Netherlands: the sudden influx of ethnic Germans into Germany following World War II, the influx of guestworkers between the end of World War II and

the reunification of Germany, and the influx of guestworkers and non-European immigrants into the Netherlands following World War II (Fig. 6).

*How have Germany and the Netherlands handled issues similar to that of the European Union's migrant crisis?*

*How did Germany handle the sudden influx of people immediately following the Second World War?*

In 2001, Germany's Independent Commission on Immigration reminded the German people of their history with migrants, saying:

“Throughout its recent history, Germany has experienced literally every conceivable form of cross-border migration: immigration, emigration, transit migration, labour migration as well as migration of persons fleeing and people forced to migrate, either from Germany or to Germany. In this context, not only did people migrate across border; borders were also moved to divide resident populations. Within Germany, individuals and groups have also been isolated and persecuted on the grounds of their political and religious beliefs or ethnic origin. In the light of these historical experiences, Germany has a great responsibility to promote an immigration policy that is based on humanitarian motives” (Federal Ministry of the Interior 2001, 119).

Germany, especially when compared to others, appears to be a very homogeneous state and the government maintained “the maxim that Germany is ‘not a country of immigration’ (*kein Einwanderungsland*)” for many years (Joppke 1999, 62). In reality, however, recent German history has been fraught with tension over the mass movement of people across and within its borders, battles over how to handle unexpected population changes, and discussions about who could be eligible for the privilege of being naturalized as a German citizen. In fact, “between 1950 and 1993, the net migration balance” in (West) Germany was “an astounding 12.6 million, accounting for 80 percent of the country's population growth” (Joppke 1999, 62) With the current population crisis in the European Union, discussion about and analysis of the way Germany handled



similar population changes would be a very useful guide for policymakers and everyday citizens trying to decide what actions they could take to create a better future for themselves and their communities during the wave of immigration. Unfortunately, these situations are often insufficiently covered in discussions about post-war Germany and, thus, the lessons to be learned are sometimes overlooked.

At first glance, it seems a likely mistake that the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG or West Germany) reported that there were significantly more people living within its borders at its founding in 1949 than the same territory had before the Second World War in 1939 because millions of German citizens died during the war. However, “despite nearly seven million war-related deaths, the new state came into existence with a population surplus of about eight million inhabitants,” a gain due to the “five East-West movements, which were part of the biggest population transfer in modern German history” (Larres and Panayi 2014, 36). During the final stages of the war and the post-war period, millions of people were targeted for ‘population transfers,’ a euphemism for “systematic policies of mass expulsion, spurred by planned border changes and ethnic homogenization drives Pre-Conversion across Eastern and East—Central Europe” (Ahonen 2003, 2). Although many different groups of people were forced to resettle, ethnic Germans were the main targets because they offered other groups an opportunity for revenge against the Nazis and their reign of terror. Due to a lack of precise records, it is difficult to determine exactly how many people were expelled or fled Eastern Europe, but “the grand total probably reached some fifteen million” or more□ a staggering number of refugees (Ahonen 2003, 2). The expellees came from many places: territories that had belonged to the Reich since its founding in 1871, but fell under different

authority after WWII (i.e. East Prussia, Pomerania, Silesia, Brandenburg, and Upper Silesia); territories taken from Germany after WWI that the Nazis re-conquered for a short while in WWII (i.e. the city of Danzig, West Prussia, Posen, and Upper Silesia); the Sudetenland; and territories that had never been part of the Reich (i.e. Hungary, Romania, Yugoslavia, etc.) (Ahonen 2003, 15) By 1950, about eight million expellees had taken residence in the FRG, constituting about 16% of the population, and about four million had settled in the German Democratic Republic (GDR or East Germany), comprising about 20% of the population (Ahonen 2003, 2). In addition, West Germany was also experiencing a small but growing inflow of Germans who were fleeing East Germany.

Although those that were uprooted from their homes and communities were ethnically German and the war was over, the transfers were destructive, terrifying, and confusing for them. Even if they had no connections to Nazi Germany, ethnic Germans living outside the Allies' four occupation zones "faced a variety of harsh punitive measures following the Third Reich's surrender, ranging from confinement in concentration camps to death marches and organized massacres," "a systematic campaign of looting, rape, and murder of German civilians" by the Red Army, and "brutalities that typically [accompany] flight and deportation" (Ahonen 2003, 21). The brutality of the population transfers "is reflected in the fact that up to 1.5 million Germans may have died in the course of the flight and deportation" (Ahonen 2003, 21). In the beginning, many of the expellees "clung to hopes of an eventual return to their *Heimat* (homeland), although the impossibility of these projections was more than obvious" (Larres and Panayi 2014, 42). All in all, the expellees were deeply affected by the traumatic experience of being suddenly uprooted from their homes and forced to move to unfamiliar places with

unfamiliar people: the journey was taxing and fraught with dangers, they were at the mercy of other people who frequently took advantage of them or harmed them, they lost almost all of the possessions they had, many were separated from their family and friends, and it was very difficult for them to obtain the necessities of life (food, water, shelter, etc.) and medical attention. The Allies made some attempts to regulate the transfers, which were “causing growing organizational problems” for them, but the “brutal and poorly organized deportations continued” and the expellees continued to suffer (Ahonen 2003, 20).

One political element that worked in the expellees’ favor when they arrived in Germany was that they were automatically granted German citizenship, according to Article 116 of the Basic Law for the Federal Republic of Germany. Article 16, the section dedicated to explaining the “Definition of ‘German’ □ Restoration of Citizenship,” mandated

“(1) Unless otherwise provided by a law, a German within the meaning of this Basic Law is a person who possesses German citizenship or who has been admitted to the territory of the German Reich within the boundaries of 31 December 1937 as a refugee or expellee of German ethnic origin or as the spouse or descendant of such a person” (Deutscher Bundestag 2012, 144).

Expellees had an easy time qualifying as ethnic Germans because the definition of “ethnic German” had both subjective and objective elements, was very broad, and left room for discretion of the official processing the application. This was favorable for the expellees because their status was not in limbo and it was officially “guaranteed that that the newcomers would enjoy the same entitlements as the native-born” Germans (Klusmeyer and Papademetriou 2009, 77-78). However, this appears to be one of the few

positive aspects of their migration because Germany was nowhere near ready to support the sudden influx of millions of people.

The native-born Germans already living in Germany did not welcome the expellees because they themselves were already struggling to rebuild their shattered lives and communities in the wake of WWII and the population transfers only served to exacerbate Germany's problems in the post-war era. Although conditions in Germany were steadily improving, both the native-born Germans and the expellees faced a dearth of jobs, housing, food, and basic commodities, and that meant that many of the expellees "endured long-term unemployment, abject poverty, and substandard accommodation in refugee camps and other makeshift quarters in the immediate post-war period" (Ahonen 2003, 24). Full employment was finally achieved in 1961, "after years of high though constantly declining unemployment rates" (Larres and Panayi 2014, 41). West Germany also made huge investments in housing programs, but demand still outpaced supply even into the late 1950s. The problem was so severe that Germany resorted to "house rationing, the confiscation of dwellings, and state controlled rents," which meant that "many refugee families had had to move into West German houses against the owners' will, virtually 'under the protection of machine guns'" (Larres and Panayi 2014, 41). This, along with the stiff competition for the small number of available jobs, caused the native-born Germans to consider the expellees literal intruders and unwanted competition. Finally, when specific housing projects for the expellees were undertaken, they were built beyond the fringes of existing residential zones, isolating the expellees further.

Moreover, the social and cultural differences between the native-born Germans and the expellees led to divisions and conflict, even though "the official image of the

[expellees] as returning settlers of German descent glossed over the many concrete historical and cultural differences that distinguished” different groups of expellees from each other as well as from the native-born Germans (Klusmeyer and Papademetriou 2009, 53). The sense of a shared “Germanness” between the expellees and the native-born Germans “greatly assisted their full inclusion into Federal Republic life,” but it was not enough to overlook the deep sociocultural divides (Klusmeyer and Papademetriou 2009, 78). Although from our modern perspective, “it is all too easy to view these differences as rather minor relative to contemporary forms of cultural diversity,” that was not the perspective of Germans at the time because “the perception of difference, after all, is deeply rooted into one’s frame of reference (Klusmeyer and Papademetriou 2009, 78). At the time, the expellees may have been considered ethnically German, but many of them were not considered culturally German. Many of the expellees spoke a different German dialect or a different language altogether, identified with a different heritage, practiced different customs and traditions, and/or adhered to a different way of life. In addition, the influx of expellees throughout the country changed the religious make-up of communities across West Germany. Pre-war Germany “had been divided deeply along confessional lines by region and by community,” but the “dispersion of the refugees and expellees across the FRG created new enclaves of Protestant minorities in predominantly Catholic areas and new enclaves of Catholic minorities in Protestant domains” and “substantially increased” the intermixture of Protestants and Catholics in “the more confessionally mixed urban centers” (Klusmeyer and Papademetriou 2009, 78-79).

Despite the fact that the widespread victimization and plight of the expellees gained a great deal of attention in Germany, many expellees were nevertheless met with

receptions ranging from cool to hostile because the native-born Germans viewed this increased diversity as an attack on their own cultural identity. The expellees were labeled “criminals, gypsies, foreigners, have-nots, dirty, lazy, and so on,” “*Flüchtling* (refugee) became a common swearword,” and the “very pejorative *Polacke* (Pole) was used indiscriminately for all expellees no matter where they came from” (Larres and Panayi 2014, 41). German government officials even “expressed doubt about the genuineness of the asylum motives of many of the refugees” (Klusmeyer and Papademetriou 2009, 79). “For their part, the responses of refugees and expellees often displayed ‘disappointment and even bitterness, caused by the feeling of being rejected by the native inhabitants’” (Klusmeyer and Papademetriou 2009, 79).

Ultimately, “widespread fears that millions of impoverished and embittered refugees could become a breeding-ground for social unrest and political radicalism proved unfounded” (Larres and Panayi 2014, 43). Expellees in West Germany ended up experiencing a fairly quick and peaceful integration into German society, despite the initial widespread problems, because they were able to integrate themselves into the workforce and they used their rights and influence as legal citizens to become involved in the political process and fight for policies that would benefit them. The same grim fears were also not realized in East Germany. Because the GDR operated under a completely different political structure, “the expellee question was subsumed into a broader project of socialist statebuilding, defined in class terms,” in the East (Ahonen 2003, 2). The GDR implemented “various redistributive social policy measures in the immediate post-war years,” and “declared the expellee problem solved by the beginning of the 1950s,” which held water because there was never a “serious, direct challenge to the system” from the

expellees (Ahonen 2003, 2). However, it is true that expellee issues were only discussed “on a very limited scale,” due to “its potentially anti-Soviet implications,” and almost primarily “as a socialist success story” (Ahonen 2003, 2). Thus, a variety of problems that festered below the surface remained unaddressed.

In the West, expellees were absorbed quickly into the workforce because “the FRG's economic dynamism...more than tripled industrial output between 1950 and 1965 and completely absorbed the population surplus into the labour market before 1960” (Larres and Panayi 2014, 42). The German “economic miracle” was key because it “provided jobs, rising incomes, and money for recovery;” “created a new society whose cohesion and consensus was mainly based on the experience of ever-increasing levels of consumption;” and created an “economic buoyancy” that “pacified and unified West German society, which had been deeply fragmented and in complete turmoil in the late 1940s” (Klusmeyer and Papademetriou 2009, 77; Larres and Panayi 2014, 43). Initially, expellees were over-represented in the ranks of the unemployed or they were forced to take jobs beneath or outside their skillsets, but as the economy quickly improved that began to change. Not only were expellees able to fill the void in German society left by the Germans who perished during WWII, they were also eager to work, make a living, and contribute to society. Their high degree of geographical mobility, due to their “absence of local ties in the FRG,” allowed them “an exceptional readiness to change their places of work and residence in compliance with the needs of the labour market,” which “made a very strong contribution to the establishment of a highly competitive and mobile West German society” (Larres and Panayi 2014, 46). Once employed, the expellees worked hard to re-amass property and possessions and to regain respectable

social status. Their valuable skills and expertise also ended up “[promoting] processes of regional development as well as sectoral diversification” (Larres and Panayi 2014, 47).

Finally, as full citizens of the FRG, the expellees were able to integrate themselves further into German society by involving themselves in politics and slowly but surely influencing native-born German politicians to pass policies favorable to the expellees. In order to form ties with each other as a group, the expellees formed various cultural organizations once they arrived in Germany. There were three main types of expellee organizations: those that represented specific vocations or interests (to help expellees network), those that united expellees based on their current places of residence in Germany (to connect with those around them who share similar experiences) called the Central Association of Expelled Germans, or *Zentralverband vertriebener Deutschen*, *ZvD*), and those that united expellees based on their pre-war origins (to connect people who shared a culture because they had previously lived in and were expelled from the same place) called homeland societies, or *Landsmannschaften*) (Ahonen 2003, 29). The American and British occupiers feared that a large, unified, and discontented expellee segment of German society that was unable to express their frustrations politically would “become a base for renewed anti-democratic radicalism,” so they made sure to emphasize the importance of integration and assimilation policies so that the expellees would be “treated not as a distinct minority but as citizens with equal rights whose permanent residences now lay in the West” (Ahonen 2003, 25). The expellees were forbidden from forming organizations that were openly political (political parties), in an attempt to avoid “a self-conscious refugee minority within Germany,” so they were forced to integrate themselves into existing political parties in order to exert influence (Ahonen 2003, 28).



The three main West German political parties, the Christian Democratic Union of Germany/Christian Social Union of Bavaria (CDU/CSU), the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD), and the Free Democratic Party (FDP) all courted the new expellee voters by calling for change regarding, although not necessarily fighting for, issues important to the expellees. The issues important to expellees were not necessarily the issues important to the native-born Germans. In addition, many disagreements about how to solve the expellees' problems arose amongst German politicians. Over time, the expellees won political victories such as the establishment of the Ministry for Expellees (*Magisterium für Vertriebene*) in 1949, the passing of the Lastenausgleich Act in 1952 (which dealt with financial compensation for property loss claims), the election of expellees to the *Bundestag* ("between 1949 and 1957 nearly every fifth seat (18 per cent) in the *Bundestag* was occupied by a member of a refugee organization"), the creation of "special boards, cabinet ministries, and other agencies for refugee and expellee affairs" by the federal and *Länder* governments, and the appointment of expellees to several prominent government offices (Larres and Panayi 2014, 44; Klusmeyer and Papademetriou 2009, 81; Ahonen 2003, 64). The expellees' political victories, including "the willingness of their fellow citizens to help compensate them for their losses" proved to the expellees that "they were recognized as members of a shared national community" and that kind of "moral recognition became a key turning point in their integration into West German society" (Klusmeyer and Papademetriou 2009, 81). The importance of political participation in the integration of minority groups is especially apparent when the FRG is compared to the GDR. Since the GDR did not offer the same opportunities for political participation, the expellees "never came to identify their loyalties with the

GDR,” never got the support they needed, and “were forbidden to combine their regional identities with their new societies,” and subsequently about “40 percent of the expellees that had been admitted into the GDR migrated out again by 1961” (Klusmeyer and Papademetriou 2009, 82).

*How did Germany handle the influx of foreign guestworkers?*

Unfortunately, West Germany did not take the lessons it learned from the very successful integration of the ethnic German expellees and apply them to its newest wave of incoming people: guestworkers. German policymakers failed to “draw lessons from the first experience and apply them to the second, especially in regard to integration policy,” because “neither the expellees nor the guestworkers were considered immigrants but rather were perceived as categorically different” (Klusmeyer and Papademetriou 2009, 83). The previous positive experience also did not seem to give the Germans confidence that their society could survive large numbers of foreigners or the introduction of more cultural diversity. In fact, “the FRG would approach guestworker policy in direct converse to the approach it had fashioned for the expellees and refugees” (Klusmeyer and Papademetriou 2009, 83). The guest workers were designated as categorically different than the expellees because although the German government welcomed both the expellees and the guestworkers into Germany, the German government considered the expellees as natural German citizens who were being welcomed back home while it considered the guestworkers to be necessary temporary labor that would damage the character of the nation-state if they stayed permanently.

West Germany’s initial campaigns to recruit foreign guestworkers “did not stem from a clear labor shortage, as often presumed: 900,000 Germans were unemployed at

the time” (Mushaben 2008, 47). Rather, it stemmed from a need to access a workforce that would be willing to take the hard labor jobs that the local workforce shunned. Later, in 1961, Germany did face an actual shortage when the construction of the Berlin Wall “made it impossible for Western businesses to rely on Eastern commuters” (Mushaben 2008, 47). The recruitment was a “pure form of client politics” that was “devoid of parliamentary involvement or public debate” and “involved only employers, the labour-recruiting government bureaucracy, and trade unions” (Joppke 1999, 65). The FRG “signed recruitment agreements (*Anwerbeabkommen*) with a number of Mediterranean countries:” Italy (1955), Spain and Greece (1960), Turkey (1961), Portugal (1964), Tunisia and Morocco (1965), and Yugoslavia (1968) (Joppke 1999, 65). Most of those recruited were single men, ages 20-40, who also believed the jobs were temporary and were interested in earning money to save for their future or send back to their families in their home country. Over time, many of the guestworkers did return home, just as Germany planned. For instance, many “migrants from Spain, Portugal, and Greece headed home once dictatorships crumbled in those countries” (Mushaben 2008, 48). “By 1972, Turkish workers comprised the largest share, and as the largest foreign minority they became the most prominent symbol of the guestworker in the eyes of the German public,” a position that they retain today (Klusmeyer and Papademetriou 2009, 95).

The government considered temporary guestworkers to be the perfect solution because they paid their taxes, but didn’t require much in the way of social spending. The workers required initial investment that “included such expenses such as providing transportation, housing, and job training,” but “these costs were relatively minor compared to the savings that the FRG made from not having to pay for their education

from childhood” (Klusmeyer and Papademetriou 2009, 93). Due to the temporary nature of the jobs, Germany did not even spend much on their accommodations. Many guestworkers lived clustered with other guestworkers in modest “army-style employer-provided mass quarters” that were near their jobsites and usually far from urban centers where Germans lived (Joppke 1999, 66). Unfortunately, since they held low status in German society and the government did not consider their needs long-term, the guestworkers found themselves “within a structural framework that had institutionalized discrimination, exploitation, and persecution on a systemic basis” (Klusmeyer and Papademetriou 2009, 90).

In the beginning, the German government thought about the issue and operated purely from the standpoint that the guestworkers would only be in Germany temporarily. They did not even have a basic framework that dealt with the possibility that the guestworkers’ stay might be more than temporary. The guestworkers were “a conjuncturely disposable commodity without social reproduction and education costs” whose numbers would be able to “be flexibly adjusted according to labor market needs and employer’s interests” (Joppke 1999, 66; Klusmeyer and Papademetriou 2009, 98). In addition, the German government did not believe that the guestworkers, especially the ones from outside Europe (like the Turks), could be integrated or assimilated into German society. The FRG was interested in maintaining what it considered to be the pure culture of the German nation-state and was opposed to the cultural changes that outsiders would inevitably bring. The “potential social costs” of the guestworkers were supposed to be mitigated “by rotating foreign workers back to their homelands after temporary stays of varying lengths” (Klusmeyer and Papademetriou 2009, 98). However, this plan was

not well carried out and “despite all statistical evidence to the contrary,” “the belief that imported workers would ‘go home’ developed a mythical quality of its own among lawmakers” (Mushaben 2008, 46). “By the mid 1960s, it had become obvious that Germany’s reliance on foreign workers was becoming structurally entrenched” because “the labor shortages and raised expectations were making Germans increasingly reluctant to accept low wage jobs carrying low social status, much risk, and few opportunities for advancement” (Klusmeyer and Papademetriou 2009, 92). Despite the governments stubborn assertion that the guestworkers were only temporary, many of the foreigners were in Germany to stay.

Ultimately, the FRG’s “refusal to adopt active integration policies gave rise to the very ethnic segregation, fundamentalist tendencies, and youth alienation leaders claimed they wanted to avoid” (Mushaben 2008, 46). Instead of learning from the very successful integration of the expellees, the government refused to accept foreign guestworkers as immigrants for many years. And when they finally allowed foreign guest workers to apply for citizenship, the government

“repeatedly moved the bar for would-be citizens: first by requiring ten, then fifteen, then eight years of residence; by raising application costs and demanding professions of “Germanness” to “preserve its cultural interest”; by requiring language cum “personal-belief” tests; and, lately, by raising the threshold for “economic self sufficiency” based on fluctuations in the national economy. Not surprisingly, these policy swings have shaped the reluctance of successive cohorts to shift their allegiance to the FRG in exchange for membership. Highly complex residency rules, added to local differences in naturalization criteria, foster[ed] perceptions of legal insecurity among aliens, limiting “permanent” resettlement. The 2004 reforms simplify the structural parameters but do not stop unequal treatment at Land and local levels. In retrospect, as migrant generations sought to participate in the host society, FRG lawmakers changed the rules of the game, then used their own shifts in course to fault foreigners for not “integrating themselves.” (Mushaben 2008, 79)

To begin with, the FRG used the Nazi *Ausländerpolizeiverordnung* of 1938 to “[provide] the meagre legal framework for handling the presence of foreign workers in Germany” (Joppke 1999, 66). The *Ausländerpolizeiverordnung* remained law until Germany finally passed new legislation regarding foreigners— the German Foreigner Law of 1965. While it was lauded as a “liberal and cosmopolitan foreigner policy facilitating the conditions of entry and stay,” it maintained the disposition of the *Ausländerpolizeiverordnung* “to conceive of foreigners as a threat to the home population” (Joppke 1999, 66). The continued insistence that guestworkers were only temporary immigrants and not welcome in Germany long-term ended up setting a precedent that was hard to reverse. The German Foreigner Law of 1965 did, however, change the focus of granting residence to foreigners from the foreigner’s “worthiness,” as it was with the Nazis, to the “objective criterion of state interest,” making the “issuance of residence permits virtually ‘acts of grace’” by the FRG (Joppke 1999, 66).

In 1973, the FRG’s recruitment of guestworkers from non-EC states was quickly halted due to the 1973-1974 oil price crisis (Federal Ministry of the Interior 2001, 13). Although it did stop the flow of new non-European workers into Germany, it had the unintended consequence of causing non-European guestworkers, who might have left voluntarily, to stay because they would have not been allowed to re-enter Germany if they left (Federal Ministry of the Interior 2001, 13). In addition, the cessation of recruiting “did not dispose of such issues as the rights of spouses and dependents to join already migrated workers” which, “in turn, this raised questions about dependents’ rights to seek employment in the country where the breadwinner was temporarily employed” (Martin 1980, 1). As it turns out, many of the young foreign guestworkers began to

consider the benefits of staying in Germany permanently because they had job security or they had more faith in the opportunities the German job market would have over time. Once the guestworkers decided to remain in Germany permanently, they also decided that they wanted their families to join them. In the beginning, the first generation of guestworkers were allowed to have their spouse join them, but the second generation faced restrictions in order to “close a major loophole for reoccurring immigration” (Joppke 1999, 65). From 1973-1975, the number of foreign guestworkers in Germany dropped by 500,000, but the total number of foreigners in Germany increased by 100,000 because the families of the guestworkers joined them in Germany (Martin 1980, 1).

The German government found themselves “caught between the failed assumptions of the guestworker model and a refusal to accept an immigration model” because the government still maintained “the long-standing official position that the FRG was not a country of immigration” (Klusmeyer and Papademetriou 2009, 98). It did realize, however, that it would still have a need for foreign workers for some time, so it did not pursue enforced repatriation. The three objectives that did characterize the FRG’s immigration policy were:

“to limit the influx of immigrants from states outside the European Community (EC), to encourage repatriation to, and reintegration in, the countries of origin, and finally to integrate repatriates and foreigners legally residing in Germany, which was often called for but was not consistently implemented” (Federal Ministry of the Interior 2001, 13).

The FRG went on to explicitly state in the 1977 federal naturalization guidelines that “the Federal Republic of Germany is not a land of immigration” and “it does not aspire to increase the number of its citizens through naturalization” (Klusmeyer and Papademetriou 2009, 99).

Now that the FRG recognized that it had some level of responsibility to integrate the guestworkers and their families that decided to stay in Germany, the government was faced with the “demands for social services and social infrastructure” that it had tried to avoid in the first place by keeping the workers temporary (Martin 1980, 28). The new foreign population, especially the workers’ children, required housing, “consumer durables,” health care, education, and access to other normal social services and infrastructure (Martin 1980, 31). And, due to the lack of previous integration of the guestworkers into German society and the prevailing idea that foreigners did not belong in Germany, many Germans came to view the foreigners unfavorably. When asked to choose between “sending foreign workers back to their countries of origin or promoting their integration into West German society,” support for sending them back rose from 39% in 1978 to 68% in 1982 (Klusmeyer and Papademetriou 2009, 104). German politicians also seized on the anti-foreigner sentiment by “dramatizing the foreigner threat and demanding a radical change of course to meet it,” which fueled the sentiment even more (Klusmeyer and Papademetriou 2009, 106). Many blamed the guestworkers for the unemployment of German citizens (although the foreigners were not directly responsible for unemployment and they had higher levels of unemployment than the natives did) and the welfare and unemployment benefits paid to the guestworkers were seen as a drain on public funds (Klusmeyer and Papademetriou 2009, 98). Not all German citizens criticized the integration of remaining guestworkers, though. Many groups, including churches, trade unions, and charity organizations, worked to help the foreigners and they supported Germany recognizing that there were immigrants in their midst.



Several small steps were made toward immigration reform in 1978, when the foreigners' legal status was strengthened with the "acquisition of unlimited residence permits (*unbefristete Aufenthaltserlaubnisse*)," the ability to extend foreigners' residency permits, and the stipulation of benefits or entitlements that foreigners would have access to depending on factors such as amount of time lived in Germany and German language competence (Klusmeyer and Papademetriou 2009, 100). Some officials called for better integration and non-labor market policies that would improve the long-term settlement of immigrants and their participation in German society, but many were not ready to commit to the high cost of implementing such proposals or to accepting foreigners (and their differences) into German society and culture. People started to discuss "multiculturalism," which challenged the idea of a nation-state like Germany's monoculture, but the debate "tended to focus attention on identity issues rather than on the more concrete legal and social dimensions of integration" (Klusmeyer and Papademetriou 2009, 103). In the 1980s, the government enacted little legislation to "address in practical terms the challenges of integration," which ended up being a "significant missed opportunity for reform before reunification" (Klusmeyer and Papademetriou 2009, 110). In 1981, the government published the Decree on the Socially Responsible Regulation of Family Reunification, which spelled out the complex rules that governed which foreigners were able to reunite with the guestworkers in Germany (Joppke 1999, 80). The rules in this decree were meant to restrict future immigration to only a small group of necessary people.

Starting in the end of the 1980s, repatriates and asylum seekers joined the foreigners reuniting with their families in Germany and the problems of external

migration was compounded in the early 1990s when Germany was hit with “extensive internal migration from East to West Germany,” creating an even bigger strain on German communities (Federal Ministry of the Interior 2001, 13). Finally, in 1991, a new Foreigner Law came into effect. The new law was monumental because, for the first time, wording that suggested Germany was not a country of immigration and that it was the government’s aim to encourage foreigners to return to their home states was absent from the document (Joppke 1999, 85). Although “it still conceived of the recruitment of guestworkers as a ‘historically unique event’, [and sought] to prevent the permanent immigration of non-EU nationals in the future,” it did give foreigners in Germany more rights (Joppke 1999, 85). Still, it was difficult for many foreigners who had lived in Germany for years to become naturalized citizens□ local officials had significant discretion in their application of the criteria, applicants had to express considerable integration into normal German life, the citizenship of the applicant’s family members was taken into account, dual citizenship was never granted unless the applicant’s country of birth did not accept renunciation of citizenship, and naturalization fees were too high for many to afford.

Despite the fact that many of the foreigners living in Germany have lived there for many years and have created normal lives for themselves, they were deeply affected by the German immigration policies that were based on wishful thinking and not reality. The “guestworkers were admitted under systems which [restricted] their economic and political rights” and “the fact that many become de facto immigrants explicitly [formalized] a two-tiered society in which permanent guestworkers were denied rights and services available to citizens” (Martin 1980, 41). Many German policymakers

attribute foreigners' seeming "lack of integration" to cultural differences that cannot be overcome, but the reality is they fail to recognize that the state's policies obstruct a foreigners' ability to integrate into their new society. Foreigners sometimes had to live in certain areas in order to receive benefits (which segregated them from Germans, limited their opportunities to integrate themselves into German society, and made it difficult for them to create networks that would help them advance in German society), were excluded from participating in German politics, fell through the cracks in the school systems, were more vulnerable to unemployment, lived in a society that believed that they should return to the country they came from, were subjected to xenophobia, and were all lumped into one group and treated the same, despite their various cultural, political, religious, and historical differences. Xenophobia grew in Germany due to jealousy of upwardly-mobile foreigners by Germans who were not as successful, anxiety over rising unemployment among foreigners, "the concentration of disconcerted foreign youths in certain districts" that "triggered fears of social unrest and crime which were grossly out of proportion to the real problems," the lack of knowledge of and understanding about the lives of foreigners, and "the contradictory political line pursued by various governments" that "failed to make it clear that the foreign population had become a permanent part of West German society" (Larres and Panayi 2014, 67).

Even in the face of officials' assertions that foreigners failed to integrate into German society and structural inequalities that made integration difficult, foreigners living in Germany pursued societal integration in many ways. Most foreigners had even become "economically integrated by the late 1970s because they were union members, included in Germany's social security system and welfare state, and held jobs that

Germans usually did not want to do (Mushaben 2008, 51). Over time, the foreigners increased their levels of German fluency (especially with successive generations), they became familiar with German norms and customs, they joined German clubs, a majority did not have plans to leave Germany, they reported enjoying living in Germany, and they reported that they could see themselves marrying a German (Larres and Panayi 2014, 66). And this integration only became deeper over time. Studies conducted by Dr. Barbara John, Berlin's first commissioner for foreigners found that, by the late 1990s, "third-generation [foreign] youth differed from their parents regarding religion (43 percent), the opposite sex (55 percent), family (42 percent), and politics (60 percent);" "they [had] few qualms about social mixing...in 1993, 44 percent often spent their free time with Germans" and "80.5 percent younger than thirty had German friends;" "70 percent (2001) [were] disinclined to pull back into ethnic sports, shopping, or recreational niches;" and "71 percent were oblivious to ethnic-interest organizations" (Mushaben 2008, 76). In addition, "63 percent viewed themselves as 'part of German society;'" "only 22 percent owned a house in Turkey;" 56 percent returned at least once a year, but "those who only visit every other year rose from 22 percent (1993) to 36 percent (1999);" "about half would not retire in Turkey, because their children live in Berlin (48 percent) or because they "feel at home" in Germany (37 percent);" "four-fifths feel good/very good about their lives in the capital city;" and they reported that when "troubles arise, they turn to local organizations or to the integration commissioner, not to the Turkish Embassy (Mushaben 2008, 78). While some foreigners, especially those in the first generation, did have very strong ties to their home states, those ties weakened with time and successive generations. The foreign guestworkers managed impressive integration

without much assistance and it can only be assumed that they could have achieved even greater integration if they had received support from government officials and German society at large.

*How did the Netherlands handle the influx of foreign guestworkers and non-Western immigrants following the Second World War?*

Like Germany and other Western European states, the Netherlands dealt with a large influx of foreign, non-European guestworkers and immigrants following World War II and they struggled to enact policies that would effectively deal with the situation. The Dutch had dealt with immigration before□ they became a safe haven for persecuted Protestants and Jews in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries and they welcomed neighboring countries' migrant workers (many of whom ended up staying) for years, but they did not experience major population change stemming from the influx of foreigners from outside the European Union until after World War II (Entzinger 2010, 232). Following World War II, the Dutch found themselves in a similar situation with the Germans□ they faced increasing demand for low-skilled guestworkers. The Dutch began recruiting from places like Italy in 1960, Spain in 1961, Turkey in 1964 and Morocco in 1969 (Beets, ter Bekke, and Schoorl 2008, 27). The Netherlands also experienced increased immigration from former Dutch colonies (such as Surinam) because they were given the right to Dutch citizenship and also from Eastern European asylum seekers during the Cold War.

In 1973, the oil crisis caused the Netherlands to end their recruitment campaigns for foreign guestworkers. Following this change in policy, “most Spanish and Italian guest workers returned to their country of origin due to positive economic developments in their home countries, but many Turks and Moroccans stayed in the Netherlands”

(Beets, ter Bekke, and Schoorl 2008, 28). Despite the cessation of policies that brought in foreigners to work temporarily, the numbers of non-European immigrants began to rise as families of the guestworkers who stayed in the Netherlands made the move to join them. Currently, about “one in five persons living in the Netherlands is either an immigrant or a child of an immigrant” and “the number of residents with ‘non-Western origins,’ as official Dutch statistics call them, stands at...just over one-tenth of the population” (Entzinger 2010, 232). The three largest populations of “visible minorities” are the “Turks, Surinamese and Moroccans, each numbering between 300.000 and 400.000” (Entzinger 2010, 232).

Before the arrival of the non-European immigrants, in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Dutch had constructed a society “made up of mutually isolated sub-cultures that the Dutch call ‘the pillars of society’” (Arwine and Mayer 2013, 51). The pillarization (*verzuiling*), or consociationalism, broke Dutch society into “five distinct sub-cultures or social segments, each represented by a political party:” Catholic, Orthodox Protestant, Liberal, Socialist, and Social Democratic (Arwine and Mayer 2013, 51). Members of each pillar generally did not interact socially with members of other pillars because many aspects of an individual’s social life (“schools, hospitals, social assistance agencies, newspapers, trade unions, political parties, and even broadcasting corporations”) were institutional arrangements of the individual pillars, in an attempt to “preserve religion and the specific cultural dimensions of [each] community” (Entzinger 2010, 235; Kurzer 2009, 318). This system seems like it would prevent cooperation between different pillars and the formation of a shared national identity, but it actually worked. Under the pillarization system: “confessional and social democratic organizations gave expression

to existing divergent viewpoints, expectations, and norms,” “helped articulate divergent preferences and aggregated those interests into political and social organizations,” “leadership of the pillars moderated conflicts by guiding the process of economic transformation and political mobilization” as the political system modernized, “government cabinets always consisted of broad coalitions and a mixture of confessional and non-confessional political actors,” class conflict was muted because the working class was split among different groups, and “comprehensive organizations ensured that all had access to state resources” (Kurzer 2009, 318-320). This unique social system was very effective at including different groups of people in Dutch society and politics and protecting their unique cultures.

The pillarization system began to decay in the 1960s, right at the time when the Netherlands was recruiting foreign guestworkers. In light of “a high level of affluence and trends toward secularization,” “both religion and religious segmentation quite suddenly lost their salience” (Kurzer 2009, 320). Since two of the main pillars were Catholics and Orthodox Protestants, the carefully balanced system began to crumble. Pillarization was also undermined by “the policy successes of liberalism, weakening old alliances, and then by the rise of intolerance for a growing North-African Muslim minority (non-white and culturally very different)” (Arwine and Mayer 2013, 47). Unfortunately for the foreign guestworkers and immigrants, “the declining salience of the former pillars of Dutch society appears to have given way to a concern for the protection of what had been the Christian, white, Western way of life” (Arwine and Mayer 2013, 63).

Instead of enjoying the benefits of living in a society that cooperated despite and

respected cultural differences, foreign guestworkers and immigrants only experienced the major downside of the crumbling system— institutional separation from the rest of the population. The Dutch thought “that what did not work anymore for the population as a whole might be good for the migrants who, after all, were perceived as fundamentally different from the Dutch and as people in need of emancipation” and “this institutional separation persisted even after the Dutch government finally acknowledged that most migrants would stay and should be encouraged to integrate” (Entzinger 2010, 235). This application of pillarization harmed foreigners in the Netherlands in the long run because it created barriers to integration between the native Dutch and foreigners permanently living in the Netherlands.

In the beginning, policy aimed at the foreign guestworkers focused on “combating social deprivation through selected support measures provided by the...welfare state, promoting equal treatment, and encouraging “emancipation,” while aiming at the preservation of the communities’ cultural identity” (Entzinger 2010, 235). Like the pillarization system, this was a policy of purposeful separation. This policy was referred to as the Minorities’ Policy because “the migrants were labeled ethnic minorities” (Entzinger 2010, 235). Critics worried that “stressing ethnic differences would risk perpetuating them and would therefore become an obstacle to the migrants’ fuller social participation, a phenomenon known as *ethnicization* or *minorization*” (Entzinger 2010, 236). These fears were heightened when unemployment among foreign workers skyrocketed due to an economic downturn in the early 1980s. The Dutch were concerned about “immigration [becoming] a growing burden for welfare and social policy regimes,” but they thought it would be “politically incorrect, if not racist, to discuss this in public”



(Entzinger 2010, 236). So, displeasure and an “us versus them” mentality festered under the surface.

Around this time, the Dutch, who wanted the foreign guestworkers to go home, began to realize that the foreigners were there to stay. More restrictive policies were put in place regarding most means of entry into the Netherlands (labor migration, visas, and family reunification), but the Dutch realized that they had to deal with the foreigners already inside their borders. A 1980 report from the Scientific Council for Government Policy even grudgingly admitted, “the Netherlands had become a ‘land of immigration’” (Mushaben 2008, 227). In 1979, an ethnic minorities report “urged the state to open the social security system to all residents, simplify naturalization procedures, and pursue active integration” in regard to the foreigners (Mushaben 2008, 228). The Netherlands made constitutional changes in 1983 that “granted local suffrage rights to aliens in 1985, based on five years of legal residency” in an attempt to increase the ties between foreigners and Dutch society by incentivizing them to “learn [Dutch] and familiarize themselves with the political system” (Mushaben 2008, 228). Parliament even allowed foreigners with residency but not citizenship to serve as civil servants in the Netherlands (Mushaben 2008, 228). Dutch officials also passed various policies that made it easier for long-time foreign residents of the Netherlands and their children to become naturalized or obtain Dutch citizenship. Overall, Dutch policy in the 1980s treated minorities as a problem and advocated multiculturalism (Lechner 2008, 144).

In the 1990s, Dutch policy shifted to focus “from what was once regarded as their distinctive multicultural approach to minority issues toward an ostensibly more civic nationalist approach” (Lechner 2008, 145). To shift emphasis to foreigners’ social,

economic, and political participation in Dutch society, the Migrants' Policy was renamed the Integration Policy, culture became a "private affair," jobs for immigrants was emphasized, programs teaching second-generation youth their "mother tongue" in schools were removed, and "a program of mandatory Dutch language and *inburgering* ("civic integration") courses was launched, which every newly arriving migrant from outside the European Union would be obliged to attend" (Entzinger 2010, 236). These policies demonstrated that officials recognized that one major thing keeping minorities from integrating into Dutch society was their unfamiliarity with Dutch culture and language. Finally, Dutch officials' goals "to improve the migrants' position in employment, education, housing, and other significant spheres of society proved to be quite successful," helping minorities to gain more equal footing with their native Dutch peers (Entzinger 2010, 237). Dutch policies aimed at minorities in the 90s are important because, even though disparities still exist today, they helped remove barriers between minorities and Dutch society as a whole.

Today, minority policy has three main pillars:

"the 1998 Law on the Integration of New Arrivals requires them to complete a one-year language course, six hundred hours of which are state subsidized. Participants must take a language test, unless they apply for citizenship. Non-participation in prescribed integration courses is coupled with negative sanctions, e.g., a loss of welfare benefits. Secondly, the state funds special projects aimed at preventing marginalization and criminality, especially among Moroccans and Antilleans with significant school drop-out rates. Finally, the Law on Consultation with Minority Representative Organizations allows seven roof organizations evincing diverse ideational, religious, and political orientations to coordinate activities with responsible ministers" (Mushaben 2008, 228).

These pillars attempt to build on the successes of the past and continue to encourage the integration of minorities into Dutch society. Of course, different people looking at the same situation hold opposing views on the progress of integration in the Netherlands. On

one hand, many people believe “considerable progress had been achieved in all major indicators, such as participation in employment, in education and housing” and that, “overall, the second generation [is] doing significantly better than their parents” (Entzinger 2010, 237). In addition, they view the continued identification among minorities with their ethnic culture and the increase in naturalizations as indications of thriving multiculturalism and confidence in the future of Dutch society. On the other hand, some believe multiculturalism to have failed because “a new ethnic underclass was emerging of immigrants who did not identify sufficiently with Dutch culture and society, and who were unwilling and unable to integrate” (Entzinger 2010, 237). They also remain concerned about “continuing immigration, stagnant integration, increased segregation and a rapidly growing Muslim population” (Entzinger 2010, 237). The pessimism of the latter position, coupled with the fear that “an unassimilated and alienated North-African Muslim sub-culture [is] a threat to the Western and Christian way of life” (even though traditional, Christian religiosity has waned in the Netherlands) has led to the rise of intolerance toward “perceived threats to a Western Christian life style” (Arwine and Mayer 2013, 67). Minorities are also often saddled with blame for not integrating well enough or assimilating into Dutch culture, even though they had previously been encouraged to maintain their own cultural identity. As a state well regarded for its high levels of tolerance, though, many officials continue to pursue policies that will allow minorities to integrate further into Dutch culture.

Even with increasing numbers of policies aimed at integrating minorities into Dutch society, there is no guarantee that the desired outcome will be achieved. Minority communities still have to overcome problems caused by previous policies and sometimes

the new policies do not have their intended effect. So how well are minorities integrated into Dutch society today? In 2008, the TIES project examined how well second-generation foreigners were integrated into Dutch society, focusing on second-generation Turks and Moroccans. The study was carried out in Amsterdam and Rotterdam, the Netherlands' two largest cities, home to more immigrants than any other cities in the Netherlands, and two cities that "are comparable to the ups and downs of the national trends" (Beets, ter Bekke, and Schoorl 2008, 31). The study found that, of the second-generation, 94% of Turks and 93% of Moroccans have Dutch nationality while more Turks than Moroccans have dual citizenship (even though Moroccans can not give up their citizenship, according to Moroccan law) (Beets, ter Bekke, and Schoorl 2008, 35). They have larger percentages of citizenship than first-generation immigrants, "about one-third of whom still does not have Dutch citizenship," and over half of these second-generation immigrants have held Dutch citizenship since birth (Beets, ter Bekke, and Schoorl 2008, 45). Most of the Netherlands' immigrants, both first- and second-generation, have become concentrated in areas of cities that have fallen out of favor with the native Dutch. Both Turks and Moroccans live in these neighborhoods and "in quite a lot of these neighbourhoods, they constitute more than one-fifth – and often, even more than one-third – of the total population" (van Praag and Schoorl 2008, 62). This concentration of the immigrant communities suggests that they are still somewhat segregated from native Dutch society.

One area where Turks and Moroccans lag behind native Dutch is in the workforce. These two groups are "among at-risk groups for having low income, due to high unemployment and low participation in the labour market" (Heering and ter Bekke

2008, 102). However, many also express a desire to improve their levels of education and improve their job prospects. At the time of the study, about ten percent of second-generation Turks and about eight percent of second-generation Moroccans was unemployed, figures about four to five times higher than their native Dutch peers, but lower than unemployment levels among the first generation immigrants (Crul, Groenewold, and Heering 2008, 162). Second-generation Turks and Moroccans also “predominantly occupy lower and secondary job positions” while more than 50% of their native Dutch peers “[work] in highly skilled and scientific jobs” (Crul, Groenewold, and Heering 2008, 162). These numbers will likely improve for the second-generation because each successive age group within the generation is achieving higher levels of education and, “particularly in the major cities, employers are especially wont to recruit employees from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds in order to meet the ever-increasing demand for social and health care needs among first-generation immigrants” (Crul, Groenewold, and Heering 2008, 163).

In regard to education, the second generation is “the classic half-full-or-half-empty glass dilemma:” “a considerable group stays behind and an equally large group performs remarkably well” (de Valk and Crul 2008, 84). Of the second-generation students who already left school, a number that is too high, “half could officially be labelled as at-risk youth,” while more than 40% of the students still in school are enrolled in higher education (de Valk and Crul 2008, 84). The second-generation is remarkably well educated, though, considering the fact that their parents usually received very little schooling. The educational development is visible throughout the second generation, if you compare different age groups: “over time, more second-generation youth attend

preschools, they are more often found in a segregated school situation (both in primary and secondary schools) and they interrupt primary school less often for a stay in Turkey or Morocco” (de Valk and Crul 2008, 84). The Netherlands was one of the first European countries to enact education policies specifically aimed at helping the children of immigrants— the Dutch Educational Priority Policy was introduced in 1985, primarily making funds “available to primary schools with high percentages of pupils from an immigrant background” (de Valk and Crul 2008, 65). This allowed schools with higher populations of immigrant children to create smaller classes and hire extra staff to give children more individual attention. Dutch schools also “increasingly started to focus on new teaching methods, especially those aimed at second-language education” (de Valk and Crul 2008, 66). The children of immigrants are making progress in the Dutch school system, although they still have to overcome significant challenges and do not perform as well in school when compared to native Dutch children. Improving educational accessibility and quality for immigrant communities is extremely important because better education translates to better job opportunities, more income stability, higher percentages of foreign families living above the poverty line, and the ability to branch out from immigrant communities and integrate further into Dutch society.

The survey data indicated, “both second-generation Turks and Moroccans strongly identify with their ethnic group and with Islam as an integral part of ethnic self-definition” and that they “[identified] more with their city of residence than with the Netherlands or Dutch culture at large” (Groenewold 2008, 124). However, it is interesting to note, “their strength of city identification is comparable to that of the comparison group” of native Dutch, who “unsurprisingly identify more often with being

Dutch because for them it is also an ‘ethnic reference’” (Groenewold 2008, 124). Despite their identification with Turkish or Moroccan culture, the second generation has less of a physical connection to their homelands. “Almost all second-generation respondents have relations with their parents’ country of origin in the sense that they frequently visit that country, on average once per year” and many frequently send money back, but “only a small fraction has also invested money or bought property in Turkey or Morocco” (Groenewold 2008, 125). Overall, “the study confirms the expectation that people may have strong feelings of belonging at simultaneously different levels,” which means that “for most respondents, feelings of being ‘Moroccan’ or ‘Turkish’ blend well with a local and/or a national identity” and “the same is found for the combination of Muslim identity with local and national belonging” (Crul, Groenewold, and Heering 2008, 164).

Second-generation Turks and Moroccans might not identify themselves as “Dutch” before “Turkish” or “Moroccan,” but they do show willingness to be a part of Dutch society. The study revealed “almost half of the second generation agrees or totally agrees with the statement that migrants and their children should live their lives outside the home according to Dutch norms and values as much as possible,” while only one in five disagreed (Crul, Groenewold, and Heering 2008, 167). Most Turkish and Moroccan families in the Netherlands might live at home according to Turkish or Moroccan norms, but they are increasingly inclined to interact with other ethnic groups, including other ethnic minorities, and adopt some aspects of Dutch society. The authors even suggest that the “growing successful middle class” of second-generation groups could “act as a sort of cement between the at-risk group and the wider society,” using “social and cultural capital...[to build] a socially cohesive urban society” (Crul, Groenewold, and Heering

2008, 167). Members of a more educated and successful “middle class of migrant backgrounds” will be the “future agents of upward social mobility in their communities” and will pave the way for further integration by their communities because they are more “likely to develop more contacts outside their own ethnic community circles” (Crul, Groenewold, and Heering 2008, 166).

Although native Dutch and minorities “mutually perceive a widening of the cultural distance between them and an increased discrimination,” there is actually “ample research evidence that most people of immigrant backgrounds living in the Netherlands are faring quite well” (Entzinger 2010, 241). A Dutch all-party parliamentary committee even “concluded in 2004 that ‘in most cases immigrants have integrated remarkably well and that this has occurred in spite of public policies rather than as an effect of these’” (Entzinger 2010, 241). The minorities living in the Netherlands were slowly integrating over time and that progress has only picked up speed with the introduction of helpful, targeted policies. More support and a policy of integration, not segregation, from the start would have allowed for an even more cohesive society at this point, but the Netherlands quick strategy reversal has led to positive progress and hope for the future.

*What can the European Union learn from Germany and the Netherlands about handling migration and population changes?*

German officials made a huge mistake when they failed to learn lessons from integrating the expellees into German society and apply them to dealing with foreigners living in Germany after their guestworker policies proved unsuccessful. Foreigners in Germany managed to integrate themselves into German society fairly well, but they would have been much more successful if they had the support of the government and the



German people and if they had the ability to fully participate in German society. In 1986, the Association for Turkish Migrants in Hamburg proclaimed:

“Nowadays we are called ‘co-citizens.’ The majority of us have lived and worked here in Hamburg for more than 10, 15 and 20 years. Many of our children were born as Hamburg-dwellers. We have long been present in the factories, schools, child-care centers and in the residential areas as an established part of this city’s population. We fulfill all of the duties of citizens (except for military service):

—We pay taxes.

—We pay pension, unemployment, health care and social insurance premiums.

—We make important contributions to the state, the economy and society with our labor and our consumption.

Why are we not allowed to vote on November 9th like our work colleagues and our neighbors? Why are we not even allowed to help shape and co-determine the policies that affect us most directly in our own residential zones, regarding nurseries, schools, parking and traffic problems?” (Mushaben 2008, 54).

Eager to continue contributing to German society as they had for decades, the foreigners were interested in gaining the ability to participate politically in Germany in order to help shape policies that affected their daily lives. The expellees were given automatic citizenship because they were ethnically German, despite that fact that most were culturally, linguistically, and historically different than the native Germans. The fear that foreigners who could not claim fairly recent German ancestors would be unable to integrate into German culture proved false and, frankly, should have been recognized as baseless from the start. The Dutch treated their guestworkers much the same, so minorities in the Netherlands faced similar exclusion, although the Dutch admitted their mistake and reversed their policies earlier than the Germans. The only things these anti-immigration and anti-foreigner policies produced were stumbling blocks for millions of foreigners and societies that are less cohesive and united than they could have been. Rather than destroy existing society and culture, the presence and hard work of the

foreign guestworkers, as with the expellees, ended up benefiting the societies in which they lived.

Due to its high degree of political integration and state-like characteristics, the European Union passes legislation dealing with immigration and that each of its member states must follow. It is important that European Union and member state policymakers learn from both expellee and guestworker cases and use those lessons to craft legislation about, make recommendations regarding, and strongly enforce policies dealing with the sudden population change caused by a sudden flood of foreigners. The European Union has the opportunity to avoid the mistakes made by both Germany and the Netherlands and the damaging effects the unsuccessful policies had on both native and foreign populations. It is true that many migrants who have made their way into Europe are fleeing current militaristic conflicts in their home states and they have a desire to return to their homelands after the conflicts have ended, but the guestworkers also thought that their stays in Germany and the Netherlands would only be temporary. The conflicts the migrants are fleeing today are likely to last for many years to come, so just like the guestworkers in both Germany and the Netherlands, the migrants today will establish lives in the European states in which they settle, they will begin to integrate into European societies, and many will decide to stay in Europe and continue the lives they have become accustomed to living, even when it is finally safe for them to return to their homelands. Not taking this into account and working under the assumptions that the migrants will only be temporary and that they pose a threat to European societies will not change the reality that many of the migrants will remain in Europe. Rather, treating the migrants purely as temporary visitors would only serve to create tension between native

and migrant populations and hinder migrants' integration into and full participation in the European Union. Many Europeans are not keen on allowing migrants to settle in their countries and integrate into their societies because they fear competition for resources and jobs, corruption of traditional European cultures by the addition of Middle Eastern and African cultural elements, and the increase of terror attacks within Europe. However, they should not let these fears prevent them from pursuing and enacting policies that prevent the long-term problems caused by ignoring the possibility of the long-term settlement of foreigners in favor of believing that the millions of foreigners are all temporary and will not have to interact with the native population in any meaningful way.

Initially, there will be concerning, high levels of unemployment in the European countries where the migrants settle. The situation today is different than all three cases discussed in this paper because all three of those cases involved great immediate need of workers: Germany needed new workers to fill positions vacated by the millions of German World War II casualties (which were filled with expellees), Germany needed to fill crucial jobs that German citizens would not stoop to take, and the Netherlands needed workers to fill a large number of open low-level jobs. Currently, most EU member states are not facing massive unemployment. According to the CIA, the estimated EU-wide average unemployment rate in 2015 was 9.5% (CIA "Unemployment" 2016). The state with the lowest unemployment rate was Denmark at 4.7% and the state with the highest unemployment rate was Greece at 25.0%, which is a large range, but 18 of the 27 member states had an unemployment rate of 10.0% or lower (CIA "Unemployment" 2016). A plan to redistribute migrants within the European Union based on several factors, including unemployment rates in the various member states was proposed.

Redistributing migrants based on specific metrics that help indicate which states are better suited to accommodate migrants is important because many of the migrants are interested in settling in either Germany or one of the Scandinavian states, which would likely overwhelm the capacity they do have. However, the first redistribution plan was scrapped and the European Union has found it very difficult to reach a consensus on how the migrants should be distributed.

Although EU member states are not facing a sudden post-war shortage of workers or a large number of vacant positions that need to be filled with someone willing to do less glamorous work, they are facing looming population changes. Most of the EU member states are facing imminent workforce decreases due to very low and falling fertility rates. In fact the CIA reports that in 2015, only one EU member state had a fertility rate higher than the rate of replacement (2.00 or higher): France, with a fertility rate of 2.08 (CIA “Total Fertility Rate” 2016). The remaining 27 EU member states had fertility rates ranging between 1.99 (Ireland) and 1.33 (Poland and Romania) and the EU-wide average is 1.61 (CIA “Total Fertility Rate” 2016). With fertility rates this low all across Europe, EU member states will not be able to replace the current, aging workforce with younger generations in the future because there will not be enough young people to fill all the impending vacancies. Smaller workforces will struggle to fund the social safety nets upon which the retired sector of the population (which has grown, due to rising life expectancy) will rely. Thus, from an economic perspective, many EU member states should welcome migrant populations, who are usually eager to quickly gain employment and regain lost social standing and who will likely provide a future boost to European economies as workers, consumers, and taxpayers. The population changes discussed in

all three cases provided these benefits to Germany and the Netherlands and the migrant crisis currently faced by the European Union could provide these benefits to Europe in the long run.

In addition to fears about competition and unemployment, Europeans are worried that the cultural differences between the migrants and EU natives will prevent the migrants from integrating into European societies and that the infusion of cultural elements from the Middle East and Africa will corrupt European cultures. The first case in this chapter provides little advice for this fear because the newly mixed population of expellees and native Germans was much more homogenous, both real and perceived. The expellees were considered to be legally German, with the same rights as native Germans, from the start; the two groups shared many cultural elements, despite apparent differences; a large number of the expellees spoke some kind of German dialect; and people living in the FRG quickly attached less importance to their homelands because “the rise of a mass-consumer society in the late 1950s levelled out many class-specific and regional traces in people's ways of life and created a more homogeneous society whose members” identified themselves more strongly with their “professional status” (Larres and Panayi 2014, 43). The second and third cases, however, paint a better picture. When the foreign guestworkers came to Germany and the Netherlands, the Germans and Dutch believed that the non-European workers would be unable to integrate into native society and that they would damage the fabric of ethnic German and Dutch cultures. Despite official policies and social sentiments that discouraged the integration of these foreign workers and the official insistence that the foreigners indeed failed to integrate, the evidence points in the opposite direction. The guestworkers’ initiative allowed them

to begin integrating in many (social, economic, and political) ways. Evidence also suggests that each subsequent generation becomes more and more interested in, integrated into, and likely to identify with the native society. The fears of German and Dutch culture being poisoned by outsiders have also not come to fruition. There may be more mosques and Döner Kebabs have become very popular in Germany and the Netherlands, but German and Dutch cultures still retain all the unique cultural elements they did before. While distressing many, the rise in globalization and increase in the ability to quickly share information have led to a world in which nations are no longer able to insulate their cultures and keep them from outside influences. Every culture has morphed and adapted over time, due to changing circumstances, and German and Dutch cultures are no exception.

Finally, Europeans are concerned that welcoming migrants from areas that contain hotbeds of extremist activity will lead to an increase of terror attacks on European soil. This fear, however, should not be a reason to hinder integration. In fact, it should be a reason to push for policies that encourage the integration of the migrants into native cultures. Preventing or complicating the integration of the migrants only increases the alienation of young people and drives them to seek acceptance from extremist groups who exploit their anger and pain. In reality the extremist groups and movements that attract disenfranchised Middle Eastern and Muslim youth are not that much different from neo-Nazi and skinhead groups already in Germany. These groups prey on those who “search for their identities at the extremes, because their marginalized position in the system (poorly educated, jobless) leaves them nowhere else to look” and they encourage “re-ethnicization,” “hyper-masculinity,” and “aggressive behavior to defend what little

turf they have, usually vis-à-vis those who possess even less” (Mushaben 2008, 81). The problem is not an ethnic or religious one. Rather, it is a problem rooted in the structural inequality, such as the lack of access to quality education and training for jobs, that many young people struggle with. This problem cannot be combated by alienating swaths of people even further□ it can only be solved by being more inclusive and working together in pursuit of common good. There is no way to completely eliminate the threat of a lone-wolf terrorist, a group of inspired believers, or an occasional infiltrating extremist on a mission, but the integration of communities provides greater incentives for members to report suspicious activity and discourages the proliferation of home-grown terrorists. In the end, it is vital that the European Union and its member states work together to encourage the integration of migrants into the societies of the states where they settle to combat the allure of extremist groups and create higher levels of intra-community awareness and policing.

Currently, the Geneva Refugee Convention, the European Human Rights Convention, and European and international obligations influence how refugees and migrants are treated in Europe. EU member states “have common, or EU-wide, immigration and visa rules that will be valid all across the EU, in the 27 EU countries” as well as “their own national rules” (European Commission “Explaining” 2016). For its part, the European Union set out some common immigration rules in the 2009 Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union, including:

“Entry and residence conditions for migrants; procedures for issuing long-term visas and residence permits; the rights of migrants living legally in an EU country; tackling irregular immigration and unauthorized residence; the fight against human trafficking; agreements on the readmission of citizens returning to their own countries; incentives and support for EU countries to promote the integration of migrants”

and it also has “EU-wide rules that allow citizens of countries outside the EU who are staying legally in an EU country to bring their families to live with them and/or to become long-term residents” (European Commission “Explaining” 2016). However, there are also several instances of immigration policy exceptions: “Denmark does not apply EU-wide rules which relate to immigration, visa and asylum policies” and “Ireland and the United Kingdom choose, on a case-by-case basis, whether or not to adopt EU rules on immigration, visa, and asylum policies” (European Commission “Explaining” 2016). EU member states are left to decide

“the total number of immigrants that can be admitted to the country to look for work; all final decisions on migrant applications; rules on long-term visas□ stays for periods longer than three months; and conditions to obtain residence and work permits when no EU-wide rules have been adopted” (European Commission “Explaining” 2016).

There is no doubt that the European Union is directly involved in and has influence regarding the treatment of migrants within the EU’s borders. It is imperative that they learn from the successes and failures of its member states, including Germany and the Netherlands, regarding major population changes caused by the sudden influx of foreigners. The three cases presented in this chapter support the position that it is in the best interest of the state, or union, to promote and ensure the swift integration of permanent (or likely to be permanent) foreign populations into society, politics, and the economy. It is easier to avoid the social, political, and economic ramifications of accepting the migrants by passing the burden to other member states or states and organizations outside of the European Union, but it is essential that the member states of the European Union recognize that the migrant population problem will not disappear, there are positives (in addition to negatives) to accepting migrants, and that swift and



comprehensive action aimed at enabling integration will lead to stronger, more stable communities. If the European Union does not learn from the past mistakes states like Germany and the Netherlands made when faced with similar situations, they run the risk of making those same mistakes themselves and being forced to remediate predictable, avoidable messes.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### What is the Future of the European Union?

#### *Introduction*

The European Union self-identifies as an intergovernmental organization and IGOs are concerned with “[creating] a mechanism for the world’s inhabitants to work more successfully together in the areas of peace and security, and also to deal with economic and social questions,” meaning that successful IGOs are ones that promote and facilitate multilateral engagement and cooperation between independent states (Harvard Law School 2016). However, because the European Union’s high level of integration catapults it beyond traditional IGOs into a new level of higher cooperation, that of a supranational organization, the European Union also faces more ambitious goals and a higher threshold for success. The success of the EU can be assessed on at least two different criteria. First, as an organization, the EU can be assessed based on its or its members' stated goals. Alternatively, as a state, the EU can be assessed on how it progresses on factors that have been indicative of success for other states' integration efforts. For Germany and the Netherlands, the most significant indicative factor seems to have been economic progress.

In both cases discussed in this paper, Germany and the Netherlands, economic success appears to be the tipping point for a successful state. Before both states experienced economic success, they both clung to the idea of a government consisting of a very weak central government and powerful, independent local governments. Arguably, the economic success Germany experienced was “the most important factor for the successful regional integration and imperial expansion of Germany after 1871” (Berger

2015, 305). After the success of their customs union, which made trade easier and more profitable, the German people began to see the benefits of working together and their interest in continuing to work together politically at the federal level to improve their economy began to outweigh their interest in keeping the different German localities socially and politically independent. In the Netherlands, their economic success came from their focus on trade following their split with Spain. The Dutch successfully devoted themselves to trade, becoming a very wealthy trading power with reach around the globe. Mirroring the Germans, the Dutch became less focused on retaining the social and political independence of their provinces as they became more focused on working together politically to improve trade and take part in the unique common Dutch culture that sprung up as a result of the Dutch Golden Age.

In fact, the Netherlands was unsuccessful in keeping their thriving state together when the Belgians sought and won their independence because the Dutch had not spread the benefits of their prosperous economy around the entire state. The trade economy was focused on the Dutch provinces in the north and did not spread into the Belgian south, so the Belgians decided that they did not have enough incentive to remain second class citizens in a state socially and politically dominated by the minority Dutch. For both the Germans and the Dutch, the development of a thriving, prosperous economy led to further political and social integration and the success of the state.

From the time of the ECSC's conception, one of the European Union's main goals has been economic cooperation and interdependency, so, as with a state, economic success has always been important. It has also pursued ensuring peace and the promotion of basic rights and freedoms. When the German *Bundestag* ratified the "Basic Law for

the Federal Republic of Germany” in May of 1949, they ratified a document that declared that “the Federation may by a law transfer sovereign powers to international organisations” and that

“with a view to maintaining peace, the Federation may enter into a system of mutual collective security; in doing so it shall consent to such limitations upon its sovereign powers as will bring about and secure a lasting peace in Europe and among the nations of the world” (Deutscher Bundestag 2012, 30).

On July 26, 1950, they went further than consenting to transferring some of Germany’s sovereign powers to international organizations, “expressly demanding the formation of a European federal state and empowering the German Federal Government to direct its policy toward realizing this aim” and declaring their intention to submit a resolution “to the Council of Europe demanding that a supranational federal organization be created for Europe” (Hallstein 1952). They were not interested in just a forum for multilateral engagement and cooperation— they were interested in a powerful organization that would receive relinquished sovereign powers from its member states and use them to achieve lofty goals on behalf of all its members. The Germans declared that

“the supranational Federal organization shall be granted the authority required 1, to bring about economic unity on the basis of social justice; 2, to make possible a joint European foreign policy that will serve world peace; 3, to create and secure the equality of rights of all European peoples; and 4, to guarantee the basic rights and human freedoms of European citizens and to put them under legal protection” (Hallstein 1952).

These are the same goals that the European Union is pursuing today, through its overarching goal of creating an ever-closer union. Today, the European Union seeks to “foster economic cooperation” and interdependency while developing a single market to provide Europeans with the maximum benefits of the area’s resources, “avoid conflict”

with one another, and “promote human rights internally and around the globe” (European Union “The EU” 2016).

In order for the European Union to be successful, based on their own goals and stated threshold for success, as well as the indicator of success in European states, they would have to achieve these goals and achieve economic progress. Two of these goals have been achieved so far: shared European policies that promote peace and common, basic rights and freedoms for Europeans. In regard to the first goal, the European Union makes joint foreign policy decisions in the European Council and their efforts have resulted in peace between EU member states, leading to the European Union winning the 2012 Nobel Peace Prize "for over six decades contributed to the advancement of peace and reconciliation, democracy and human rights in Europe" (Nobel Prize 2012). Former president of the European Council, Herman Van Rompuy, stated in his acceptance speech that, thanks to the European Union, “peace is now self-evident” and “war has become inconceivable,” but “Europe must keep its promise of peace” because “this is still our Union’s ultimate purpose” (Van Rompuy 2012). Additionally, citizens of EU member states have rights, including the rights to dignity, solidarity, and justice, which are equally protected under the Charter of Fundamental Rights (Charter of Fundamental Rights). Finally, the European Union’s Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms ensures basic rights and freedoms, such as the “right to life”, “right to a fair trial,” and “freedom of expression,” for all EU citizens (Council of Europe 2010).

Unfortunately, unlike Germany and the Netherlands, the European Union has not yet achieved economic unity and widespread prosperity for its citizens through economic

cooperation, interdependency, and success. Efforts to integrate EU member states through economic endeavors, such as the Single Market, have had positive effects in the European Union. “The world's largest free labour compact has a positive influence on European integration through trade” and “seems to be binding the continent closer together” (Davis and Gift 2014, 1555). However, “in the wake of a global financial crisis that has left the European Union teetering on the brink of collapse” and increased migration within the European Union, citizens see economic instability as well as economic policies that help some and hurt others (Davis and Gift 2014, 1542). The European Union has worked to pull itself out of the crisis through trying to “create the right conditions for growth and job creation,” “coordinating supervision and intervention,” “supporting banks,” “increasing national guarantees for bank accounts” to protect savings, “[maintaining] a flow of affordable credit for businesses and households,” and attempting to “put in place a better EU system of economic and financial governance” (European Union “Economic” 2014). However, “record unemployment persists in the periphery of the common currency area,” “growth prospects have dimmed for Germany and other core countries,” and the recovery process will be slow and difficult (Kelemen 2013).

There was significant conflict over how the crisis should have been handled and many think that the right measures were not taken in the end. The Eurozone is still fragile, austerity measures are incredibly unpopular, EU institutions seem to be unable to adequately handle economic problems, and many measures the European Union takes seem to be short-term stop-gaps and not long-term strategies. Some EU states, such as Germany, currently benefit more from the economic union than other states, such as Italy

and Greece, and citizens are upset about the economic inequality they see around them, especially if they think they are on the losing end. Many also believe that EU leaders do not have the ability to deal with future crises, based on their handling of the recent crisis. Despite all the progress the European Union has made promoting peace and protecting human rights and freedoms, economic instability deeply affects every citizen and they see the European Union as currently unable to protect and benefit them economically. What they do see, however, are social, political, and economic threats from foreigners taking advantage of the European Union's guarantee of the free movement of people and they do not see enough economic benefits from EU membership to outweigh these fears. And because of this, for the first time ever, an EU member state has voted to exit the union. In June, in an in-or-out referendum on membership in the European Union, the people of the United Kingdom voted to leave.

### *The United Kingdom's Referendum on European Union Membership*

*What led to the in-or-out referendum on European Union membership in the United Kingdom?*

The referendum came about because the then-Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, David Cameron, promised the people a referendum on the continued membership of the United Kingdom in the European Union while campaigning for the 2015 general election. "Besieged by the increasingly assertive anti-European Union wing of his own Conservative Party" and the Euroskeptic UK Independence Party, Cameron made the promise in order to create temporary peace with Euroskeptics, avoid the problem in the short-term, and hopefully ensure the Tories would remain the governing party because it must have seemed, at the time, like a risk he could manage (Erlanger and

Castle 2016b). The referendum was an in-or-out vote, although there were some that suggested “a ‘Leave’ vote might not, in fact, be a vote to fully leave, but a signal to Brussels that the United Kingdom demands a deeper renegotiation that results in more substantial opt-outs and other special treatment” (Murray 2016). Both the prime minister and the “Leave” campaign, those advocating for the United Kingdom to leave the European Union, rejected this position. In fact, Cameron “warned that a decision to leave would be an ‘irreversible’ choice” and implored British voters to think about how the result of the vote would affect future generations (Erlanger and Castle 2016b). The concept of the United Kingdom’s withdrawal from the European Union became popularly known as “Brexit.”

Cameron tried to cement support for the “Remain” campaign (i.e., those advocating for the United Kingdom to remain in the European Union) by working out another special deal with the European Union. The United Kingdom already had a very unique relationship with the European Union, but EU and British officials agreed to revisit the terms of the relationship in order to address the growing concerns of voters in the United Kingdom. During the period of renegotiation, “polls suggested that around two-thirds of British adults would vote to remain in the EU if Cameron won on those points (which included an attempted exemption from the commitment to an ‘ever-closer union’)” and “only 26 percent were willing to leave regardless” (Murray 2016). Cameron declared the talks and agreement with the European Union a victory for the United Kingdom, although the reforms were “mostly inconsequential” and “the summit was largely a charade organized for British domestic consumption” (Kelemen and Matthijs 2016). It gave Cameron a political “win” to take back to the British people as proof that



the United Kingdom enjoyed a special status within the European Union and that their concerns were enough to change the status quo. In addition to the renegotiation lacking real drive, the agreement between the two parties also still needed to be “ratified by the other member states,” meaning there was “no certainty that the United Kingdom’s European partners would hold up their end of the deal.” (Murray 2016).

Despite the positive spin on the EU-UK renegotiations, the issues that deeply concerned British voters remained. Many British voters felt left behind and less connected to their identity as citizens of the United Kingdom as Europe raced toward a more integrated future. People in the United Kingdom worried about issues, such as excessive regulation and barriers harming businesses, strengthening the position and independence of non-Eurozone members, the Eurozone crisis and sluggish economic growth in the European Union, controlling immigration and migration (from both EU states and those outside the union), protection from the goal of increasing the unity of European states, securing greater powers for national parliaments, and the changing feel of their communities due to globalization. These concerns had been growing for some time, but the people felt like the governments in both Brussels and London were not doing enough to address them. For instance, before the 2015 general election, Cameron repeatedly vowed to stem the tide of immigrants flowing into the United Kingdom and keep their numbers in the tens of thousands, but his government never seemed to come up with a solution. The United Kingdom saw a “net long-term international migration” of over 333,000 in 2015, which was the second highest number on record (Office for National Statistics 2016). Both the Remain and Leave campaigns strove to convince

British voters that their respective positions would be better equipped to tackle the voters' concerns and would be better for the United Kingdom in the long run.

*What was the Leave campaign's argument for leaving the European Union?*

Vote Leave centered on three main issues: high levels of migration and immigration, the British economy and sending money away to fund the European Union, and the transfer of power from London to Brussels. The Leave campaign argued that the United Kingdom would be stronger outside the European Union because leaving the European Union would allow the United Kingdom to regain total control over its borders, make its own decisions about the economy and how to allocate British funds, and elect the people who made decisions for the United Kingdom. These arguments clearly resonated with people all over the country who were deeply concerned that the European Union was not making decisions with the interests of the British people in mind. For all that they heard about the benefits of EU membership, people supporting Vote Leave did not see the benefits of decisions made at the EU level and thought that officials elected by the British people in the British government could lead the country in a better direction if they were not bound by EU membership.

Leave advocates postured that immigration and migration to the United Kingdom was uncontrolled as a member of the European Union and the large number of people entering the United Kingdom put too much pressure on social services. They pointed several times to Cameron's failed promise to curb immigration, arguing that such drastic reduction was not possible as a member of the European Union and that failing to live up to promises was damaging to the public's trust in the government ("EU Referendum: Gove and Johnson" 2016). According to them, the only way for the United Kingdom to

truly take control of immigration was to exit the union, which mandated freedom of movement and labor for all citizens of member states. Out of the 330,000 positive net migration to the United Kingdom in 2015, about 184,000 of those new people came from other EU states (Office for National Statistics 2016). The campaign also asserted that the United Kingdom would be threatened by the eventual inclusion of Turkey in the European Union if British voters did not vote to leave. Vote Leave challenged the Remain campaign, asking them if they would promise to veto Turkish membership, but the Remain camp declined to do so, instead saying that membership for Turkey was highly unlikely due to a number of factors. Vote Leave took the opportunity to paint a bleak picture of the risks of the free movement of Turks to the United Kingdom through membership in the European Union, arguing that “Turkey has higher levels of criminality, gun ownership and gangsterism,” the high Turkish birthrate would mean an explosion of Turks living in the United Kingdom, and the United Kingdom would be exposed to increased Muslim immigration and Islamic radicals (Erlanger 2016b). British voters were also sensitive to the influx of people migrating to the United Kingdom because they felt that the presence of foreigners, who came with their own cultural traditions, eroded the unique “native” cultures within the United Kingdom. Increased globalization around the world has heightened this fear in many cultures and many British citizens thought the best way to preserve their communities and cultures was to insulate themselves by leaving the union and allowing fewer foreigners in for extended periods of time.

Many within the Leave campaign asserted that they would be able to leave the European Union and negotiate a deal with EU officials allowing the United Kingdom to

remain in the Single Market without having to honor the free movement of people and labor, even though EU officials continually denied that this arrangement would be possible. The United Kingdom already had a fairly special relationship with the European Union regarding the movement of people because it was not a member of the Schengen Zone, so it already had the right to check people at its borders and deny entry to people who would have had access to Schengen states, but the Leave camp was insistent that the United Kingdom needed to have complete control over the flow of economic migrants from other EU states. Although leaving the European Union and declining to allow free movement of people almost certainly meant that the United Kingdom would be forced out of the Single Market, the Leave campaign's promise to return total control of British borders back to the British government was a very persuasive argument for many people. In an age of increased globalization, migration, and economic change, many people in the United Kingdom were very concerned that foreigners were stealing their jobs and diluting their identities. These fears were also heightened and took on a new urgency for many people when refugees from non-EU states (i.e. Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan, and many African states) began to stream into the European Union in ever-increasing numbers. They were also amplified because the government had promised to curb immigration and migration to the United Kingdom, but had repeatedly failed to do so. Countless people in the United Kingdom already believed that the economic benefits of EU membership that were touted by the government had not enriched their lives or improved their situations, so they were anxious that foreigners entering the United Kingdom would be a drain on already limited resources and take what belonged to people native to the United Kingdom. The argument for returning total border control to the British government

became the major focus of the Leave campaign and it was the reason many people in the United Kingdom supported Vote Leave.

The second major rallying point for the Leave campaign was the EU influence on the United Kingdom's economy and the United Kingdom spending money to fund the European Union. They argued that EU regulations burdened businesses, the United Kingdom could pursue better trade deals with countries outside of the European Union, and the United Kingdom should be under no obligation to help out the Eurozone. Vote Leave painted a picture of Brussels trapping British businesses in a dense web of regulations because the European Union was "a land of pencil-pushing killjoys" who were "eager to find new ways to strangle business with inscrutable directives, writing nonsensical rules that standardize everything from the length of the workweek to the acceptable shape of bananas" (Goodman 2016a). In regard to trade deals, Vote Leave argued that the European Union stops the United Kingdom from "signing trade deals with key allies like Australia or New Zealand, and growing economies like India, China or Brazil" and that operating outside of the European Union would mean that the United Kingdom would be able to "seize new opportunities which means more jobs" (Vote Leave 2016). The recent Eurozone crisis also weighed heavily on the minds of voters in the United Kingdom. The Leave camp's position was that the United Kingdom should not have to help bear the burden of trouble in the Eurozone because the United Kingdom had opted out of adopting the Euro in favor of keeping their Pound. They feared that British citizens would continue to "[pay] the bill for the Euro's failure" because "the countries that use the Euro already have a built-in majority" in the European Union and that they would always outvote the United Kingdom (Vote Leave 2016). They were also

wary of additional poor Eastern European states joining the European Union, asking voters to “imagine what it will be like in future decades when new, poorer countries join” because they disliked the thought of the United Kingdom contributing money to help prop up or bail out these states when they experienced trouble (Vote Leave 2016).

The Leave camp also highlighted the 350 million pounds a week that the United Kingdom sent to Brussels. Vote Leave famously suggested, on the sides of their huge “battle” bus, that if the United Kingdom voted to leave the European Union, they could use the 350 million pounds to help fund the National Health Service in the United Kingdom instead of sending it to Brussels. The Remain camp took serious offense at the claim on the bus because they viewed the information as highly misleading and tried to explain the complicated way that the United Kingdom’s participation in EU funding works. For instance,

“according to the U.K. Statistics Authority, Britain owed a gross contribution to the European Union of 19.1 billion pounds, or about \$28 billion, in 2014. That’s £367 million a week. However, Britain gets an immediate rebate off the top, negotiated in 1984 by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, so it actually sent £14.7 billion, or £283 million a week, in 2014. Brussels also returns money to Britain for sectors including agriculture, regional development, science and universities. The actual net contribution from Britain is about £9.9 billion a year. That’s about £190 million a week, a little more than half of what Vote Leave claims. It is roughly 0.5 percent of British gross domestic product and around 1.3 percent of the current British budget of about £770 billion” (Erlanger 2016g).

This, however, was not a simple, catchy slogan for the side of a bus. Polling indicated that Vote Leave’s slogan on the side of its bus “gained traction and was the single most remembered figure from the campaign,” drowning out more complicated, nuanced explanations of the United Kingdom’s role in EU funding and what funds would be gained and lost by leaving the European Union (“Eight Reasons Why Leave Won” 2016).

Not only was the slogan catchy, but it also struck a chord with everyday people who did not believe that the European Union added benefit to their lives. The slogan perfectly encapsulated the feeling that since the United Kingdom already had power, influence, and prosperity before they joined the European Union, the United Kingdom's role in the union was to prop up less successful states, which benefitted other Europeans but came at a great cost to British citizens. Vote Leave supporters agreed that the United Kingdom would do a better job managing and growing their economy, with the sole goal of benefiting British citizens, if they were not held back from decisions made at the EU level. Supporters also agreed that the United Kingdom could allocate their funds more wisely if they were not forced to send money away to Brussels to be used for EU-wide purposes. Since they saw the overall success of the United Kingdom before it became a member of the European Union, they saw no need for foreign influence in their economic affairs and funding decisions, which made these arguments by the Leave campaign very effective.

Finally, although insulating the United Kingdom from foreigners was an important campaign promise and a great deal of attention from the media and Remain camp was focused on the possible racist undertones of the Leave camp's discussion of migration, many people were attracted to the Leave campaign for another reason. People also supported Vote Leave due to the "fear that Brussels excludes [ordinary British citizens] and that there is a genuine deficit of democracy in Britain; that the political class, with a few exceptions, has forgotten them" (Gold 2016). Countless people in the United Kingdom perceived EU officials as far away, un-elected leaders who had nothing in common with ordinary people, so the Leave camp also focused on this issue in their

campaign. The Leave campaign argued that the European Court “overrules [the United Kingdom] on everything from how much tax we pay, to who we can let in and out of the country” and it would be better if British laws were “made by people [British voters] can elect and kick out” (Vote Leave 2016). And not only was the European Union making decisions that British voters wouldn’t make for themselves, but that the European Union was a deeply flawed “institution troubled by malaise, political dysfunction and unrelenting bureaucracy” (Goodman 2016a). Leave campaign advocate Boris Johnson also “charged that European leaders were using ‘subterfuge’ for their integrationist plans to create a country called ‘Europe’” (Erlanger 2016d).

Many people shared this feeling and believed that their voices were being drowned out in the European Union and their interests were not being advocated for or protected. For people all across the country, it was extremely worrisome that they had no say in the selection of a vast majority of EU officials. They did have the opportunity to influence the selection of some of the EU officials who came from the United Kingdom, but they were also forced to abide by laws created by EU officials who were primarily concerned about the welfare of people who did not live in the United Kingdom. It was also widely agreed that that fact that many EU officials are appointed to their posts and are not elected democratically by anyone in the EU member states kept them insulated from the concerns of ordinary people and allowed these officials to pursue agendas that would only benefit select groups within the European Union. Supporters of the Leave campaign were very motivated to vote to leave the European Union so that decisions affecting the United Kingdom would once again be made, by in large, by elected British



officials who were only concerned about the welfare of the people in the United Kingdom.

*What was the Remain campaign's argument for staying in the European Union?*

Surprisingly, the Remain campaign never really “[defended] the European Union as a meaningful or admirable institution” (Taub 2016). It is true that the United Kingdom has always maintained a fairly distant relationship with the European Union (from joining late to being exempt from many aspects of the European Union), but it is interesting that the Remain camp did not center their campaign on reminding people about the benefits of EU membership that they enjoy every day. Cameron did release a pledge card that guaranteed “full access to the European single market, protection of workers’ rights, the continued right to issue arrest warrants in Europe, [and] a special status for Britain in Europe and economic stability” on behalf of the Remain camp if the United Kingdom voted to remain, but the Remain campaign mainly focused on the potentially harmful economic ramifications of leaving the European Union (Erlanger 2016h). They even centered their position around economics on the section of their website that discussed the voting choices in the referendum, saying

“those arguing that Britain should remain a member of the EU believe that we have the best of both worlds. We enjoy the benefits of being part of EU including the economic partnership that means jobs and lower prices for your family, but have opted out of those parts that are not in our national interests including the Schengen open-borders agreement and the Eurozone. Those campaigning for Britain to leave would put the benefits of EU membership at risk” (Stronger in Europe 2016).

The Remain campaign’s website does list non-economic reasons to vote to stay in the European Union, including the ease of working, studying, or traveling in other EU states, “vital EU funding for the farming, scientific and medical research and programmes that

make a real difference” in British communities, EU protection of worker’s rights, and EU membership giving the United Kingdom a “more powerful role in the world” (Britain Stronger in Europe 2016). The other issue the Remain camp highlighted in the campaign was the importance of the United Kingdom’s connection and relationship with Europe. Overall, though, “their message [was] not that membership in the bloc is an exciting opportunity so much as a basic economic necessity” (Taub 2016).

Cameron asserted that leaving the European Union and “its single market of about 500 million people would be an ‘act of self-harm,’ and [appealed] to voters not to ‘roll a dice’ on the economic futures of their children and grandchildren” (Castle 2016b). First, the Remain campaign argued that “being in the EU creates economic and more jobs” for people in the United Kingdom, many British jobs are tied to trade with the European Union, “being in the EU will create 790,000 more UK jobs by 2030,” and leaving the European Union would lead to job loss in the United Kingdom (due to jobs moving to Europe and jobs cut in a damaged economy) (Britain Stronger in Europe 2016). They also maintained that being a member of the European Union was beneficial to businesses in the United Kingdom because “over 1 million UK businesses trade without export or import charges, or paperwork, to 500 million customers in the EU” and companies would move to Europe to retain these benefits if the United Kingdom left (Britain Stronger in Europe 2016). Additionally, they claimed remaining would be better for people’s finances because leaving the European Union would cause the “average wage would fall by £38 a week,” cost families £350 more a year due to higher prices, and cause decreases in the value of homes and pensions (Britain Stronger in Europe 2016). Finally, the Remain campaign argued that leaving the European Union would cause the United

Kingdom to take an economic hit. They predicted that that the economy would experience a shock or recession, the pound would be devalued, the government would be forced to make spending cuts, the United Kingdom would lose “benefits from investment worth £66 million from EU countries” (Britain Stronger in Europe 2016). Overall, the Remain camp argued that the European Union was “worth £91 billion to [the UK] economy” (Britain Stronger in Europe 2016). Although it was difficult to calculate what economic losses and costs would be, because it was impossible to know what kind of relationship the United Kingdom would negotiate with the European Union, a vast majority of economic experts agreed that the United Kingdom’s economy would be damaged by exiting the European Union.

This argument mainly resounded with people who had a strong interest in, or connection to, the way the economy worked as a member of the European Union, people who felt that they had personally benefitted from the economic relationship between the United Kingdom and the European Union, and people who believed the experts’ warnings that leaving the European Union would damage the British economy and leave citizens, personally, worse off. In regard to the economy, certain groups of people in the United Kingdom economically benefitted more, or better understood how they benefitted, from EU membership than others. The London area, a major center for international business and finance in the European Union, was very receptive to this message. A majority of people living in this area, including large numbers of business people, preferred the idea of keeping the current arrangements with the European Union and working to improve the situation from the inside as a member rather than risking the uncertainty of completely severing ties with the European Union and having to

renegotiate relationships with the European Union and the rest of the world. People in rural areas and areas with smaller urban centers seemed to reject the economic argument because it was too esoteric and unproven. They did not see the economic benefits of EU membership in their lives already and they were not convinced that the European Union could improve and benefit them in the future because they thought EU officials had forgotten about them. Although this message was not as effective in rural areas or areas with smaller urban centers, the Remain camp also received support from people in England and Wales who thought they benefited economically or were scared by the overwhelming forecast of economic trouble in the United Kingdom if it were to split from the European Union.

Two other regions in the United Kingdom that thought they benefitted from an economy influenced by the European Union were Scotland and Northern Ireland. Scotland's government thought "that continued membership of the EU provides the best international economic framework within which to optimise the economic and social gains of independence and tackle the global challenges," and that being a member of the Single Market, with its "free movement of goods, services, capital and people," "greatly benefits businesses, consumers, and workers in Scotland" and many Scottish people agreed (Scottish Government 2016). In Northern Ireland, the Irish people thought that they benefitted from EU membership and being a member of the Single Market because both kept the border between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland from negatively affecting their economy and the peace that currently exists between the two. The border between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland is the United Kingdom's only land border with an independent, sovereign state, but mutual

membership in the European Union allows Irish people on both sides to cooperate with each other without having to overcome the hurdles a normal international border would create. The Irish ambassador in London, Dan Mulhall, summed up this position by saying

"When you have two countries that are linked in the way our countries are, with a land border between us and extraordinary economic, political, historical people-to-people links, anything that puts a barrier between them has to be a negative thing from our point of view" (Stourton 2016).

The Remain campaign received a great deal of support in these areas due to their economic argument because these voters would rather maintain the status quo than risk incredible economic uncertainty.

In addition to touting the potentially damaging consequences of voting to leave, the Remain camp argued that the United Kingdom is stronger as a member of the European Union because of the importance of their important relationship and connection. Cameron gave a speech "warning that leaving the European Union would raise the risk of conflict," as the European Union's original goal was to ensure peace on the European continent after numerous bloody wars (Chan 2016). An exit would also change the relationship between the United Kingdom and incoming EU citizens as well as British expats living in EU states. The future for British expats would become very uncertain as they waited for their status to be negotiated. In addition, the United Kingdom would probably face falling numbers of skilled immigrants, which would especially hurt businesses in London. Researchers in the United Kingdom were also worried that exiting the union would cause them to lose out on the opportunity to benefit from EU-based grants and research teams. The Remain campaign "[opposed] isolation, splendid or dismal," and asserted that leaving would cause the United Kingdom to "lose [their] global prominence" because it would no longer be able to influence EU decisions and policies

(Gold 2016). Finally, the Remain campaign touted benefits of the EU membership, such as the freedom to live, work, travel, and go to school in other EU states.

Overall, few voters were convinced by the argument that the United Kingdom leaving the European Union might lead to more conflict in Europe. The possibility of a future where the European Union had been dissolved and European states were engaging in armed conflict with one another was too far away and too contingent on a variety of variables to be very effective. However, the other arguments gained traction. Business leaders in industries that relied on skilled workers from outside the European Union and researchers who did or hoped to collaborate with other EU researchers opposed leaving because they would lose out on vital resources. The final two points convinced higher numbers of young voters. Young people in the United Kingdom were more likely to agree that isolation is no longer a beneficial goal, globalization is the future, EU membership gives the United Kingdom more global prominence, and that the ability to easily live, work, travel, and go to school in other EU states was a privilege worth ceding some power over borders from the United Kingdom to the European Union. However, despite the fact that arguments for remaining in the European Union were very effective among young people, many young people were turned off from becoming involved in the campaign and actually voting because they were not motivated to prioritize the referendum over other activities, they did not feel energized by the Remain campaign, they disliked that both campaigns appealed to emotions over facts, and they were not always certain of who to trust due to both sides manipulating facts and relying on “propaganda” (De Freytas-Tamura 2016).

*What did experts predict would happen if the United Kingdom left the European Union?*

Experts in a variety of fields were very vocal during the campaigning leading up to the referendum. They remarked on everything from the economy, security, the movement of people, the United Kingdom's relationship with the European Union, the possible fragmentation of the European Union, and the possible fragmentation of the United Kingdom. A vast majority of experts across every field argued that it was better for the United Kingdom to remain in the European Union. However, there were a number that supported leaving the union.

Generally, economic experts agreed that leaving the European Union would be bad economically for the United Kingdom. Experts such as “the CBI, the IMF, the OECD, [and] the IFS...lined up to say economic growth would be hobbled, unemployment would go up, the pound would plummet and British business would be left in a no man's land outside the EU” and “The Treasury said it would be forced to put income tax up and slash spending on the NHS, schools and defence” (“Eight Reasons Why Leave Won” 2016). The British Treasury also examined various trade arrangements that might be struck between the United Kingdom and the European Union on the occasion of a leave vote “and concluded it could lop some 6.2 percent off the gross domestic product by 2030, leaving the average household worse off by about 4,300 pounds a year (about \$6,240)” (Goodman 2016a). The Bank of England “warned that the risks of leaving ‘could possibly include a technical recession’” and “that a leave vote may cause both growth and sterling to fall and unemployment to rise” (Robertson 2016). The International Monetary Fund predicted that “[leaving] the European Union would have “pretty bad, to very, very bad” consequences” and “such an outcome could lead to “severe regional and global damage” (“IMF” Says Brexit” 2016). European Commission

forecasted that the United Kingdom would “grow only 1.8 percent this year, and 1.9 percent in 2017” (Kanter 2016). The director of the Center for Economic Performance at the London School of Economics predicted that the United Kingdom leaving the European Union and the Single Market would have negative consequences for the United Kingdom because “there’s just no credible scenario” where the United Kingdom would be able to “strike lots of new trade deals as this buccaneering new England” if they voted to leave because “there aren’t anything like the game-changing propositions that the pro-Brexit camp is putting forward” (Goodman 2016a). The Institute for Fiscal Studies also “echoed the conclusions of several leading international organizations that the shock and uncertainty produced by a British exit...would shrink the economy” (Castle 2016a). In addition, the Institute predicted that “Britain would gain around £8 billion a year — or about £150 million a week — from quitting, less than half the sum claimed by campaigners for a withdrawal” and that this gain “would be easily outweighed by the negative impact on the economy” (Castle 2016a).

Business leaders also stepped up to predict that the United Kingdom voting to leave the European Union would cause harm to the British economy because many businesses already located in the state, especially London, would relocate to cities in EU member states in order to retain EU privileges. Nissan’s chairman and CEO stated that his company’s preference was for the United Kingdom to remain in the European Union because “it makes the most sense for jobs, trade and costs,” business leaders consider “a position of stability [to be] more positive than a collection of unknowns,” and that “Brexit will bring limits on immigration, making it difficult for [businesses] to hire people with needed skills” (Goodman 2016a). The CEO of JPMorgan Chase gave an



even more explicit caution, warning that “if the U.K. leaves the E.U., we may have no choice but to reorganize our business model here,” meaning “fewer JPMorgan jobs in the U.K. and more jobs in Europe,” and Citigroup announced a similar warning (Goodman 2016b). A large number of experts assume that a vote to leave will likely “prompt multinational banks to shift significant numbers of jobs from Britain to competing financial centers in the European Union, led by Paris, Frankfurt, Dublin and Amsterdam” (Tsang 2016).

The Leave campaign touted its own group, Economists for Brexit, that “comprised of eight independent, leading economists who were convinced of the strong economic case for leaving the EU,” including professors, PhDs, a “leading expert on sovereignty and the EU,” and a “CEO and Chief Economist” (Economists for Brexit 2016). They argued that leaving the European Union and freeing the United Kingdom from EU regulations would open up free trade, increase competition, and boost the economy and that negotiations with the European Union over business sector matters would not end up harming British businesses (Economists for Brexit 2016). When discussing economics, Vote Leave advocates spent less time making their own arguments and more time proclaiming pro-remain economists to be making incorrect predictions and politicizing institutions (“IMF” Says Brexit” 2016). “The Leave campaign was quick to dismiss the naysayers as wealthy, unaccountable elites with their own vested interests talking down Britain” and the people seemed to also discount the insights of pro-remain experts, “[suggesting] far more people felt left behind and untouched by the economic benefits of

five decades of EU involvement being trumpeted” (“Eight Reasons Why Leave Won” 2016).

Although most of the expert opinions focused on economics, there were experts with other concerns. One of these concerns was security. Many worried that voting to leave would place the United Kingdom on the outside of existing security circles because “many potential threats to national security such as Islamist terrorism, cyber security, and international crime networks are dealt with collaboratively at the EU level” and “although an independent United Kingdom would remain a member of NATO and a permanent member of the UN Security Council, it would lose its leadership role in the European Union’s fledgling foreign policy,” it might not be included in information sharing between EU states, and EU security and defense policy would be weaker (Kelemen and Matthijs 2016). Cameron also warned that “isolationism has historically led to war in Europe” and reminded voters that the European Union had helped to maintain peace between its members since its inception (Erlanger 2016d). Faced with potential threats from Russia and the Islamic State, many people thought unity was the best policy. Some, however, argued that the United Kingdom would still have a good working relationship with the European Union, which would allow for easy information sharing, and that the United Kingdom could make itself safer by having more control over who they let into the country.

The free movement of people within the European Union and the control, or lack thereof, was also another major issue. Vote Leave asserted that it is too easy for workers from other EU states to gain access to the United Kingdom and its job market. They argued that the United Kingdom, as a member of the European Union, is unable to

“control the numbers who are coming with no job offers,” manage the quality of workers based on their qualifications, or keep migrants from taking British workers’ jobs (Alderman 2016). Experts on the Remain side countered by saying that “immigrants from the European Economic Area (EEA) have made a positive fiscal contribution, even during periods when the UK was running budget deficits,” unemployment in the United Kingdom is very low (5.1 percent), and migrants currently fill jobs that British citizens do not fill as often (Dustmann and Frattini 2014, F593; Eavis 2016). Both sides seemed to agree that the free movement of people has caused many problems recently and that “EU border security is deeply flawed,” however some argued that the United Kingdom already largely controls its borders because it is not part of the Schengen Zone, “Refugee policies are decided in London,” and “it was the Labour government of Tony Blair that chose not to take advantage of a seven-year phase-in period to limit the entry of citizens of new members from Eastern Europe,” which caused a flood of immigrants (Kelemen and Matthijs 2016; Porter 2016).

Finally, Vote Leave was not really concerned about the possible disintegration of the European Union and did not think the breakup of the United Kingdom was likely, but some experts were worried that both might happen if the United Kingdom voted to exit the European Union. The Leave campaign assured people that the British government would be able to negotiate a favorable deal with the European Union because the European Union would want to continue to benefit from the United Kingdom’s strong economy and influence on the world stage. However, EU officials repeatedly stated that the United Kingdom would not be able to negotiate to keep all the things it liked about the European Union and throw away all the costs of membership. Some were more

pessimistic about the approach the European Union would take in negotiating a British exit, saying the United Kingdom should “expect a tough and unforgiving response, with capitals across the Continent intent on deterring other countries from following the British example” (Erlanger 2016e). It would be in the interest of EU member states to make the process of leaving the European Union unappealing to states still in the European Union. With populism, Euroskepticism, and far-right movements on the rise in Europe, EU officials would be keen to keep a Brexit from fanning the flames as much as possible. This would be of even greater importance because many in the European Union are already uncomfortable with German leadership, which would only increase with a British exit (Cohen 2016).

Others brought up the possibility of English voters deciding to leave with Scottish and Irish voters voting to stay, which could potentially lead to another Scottish referendum on independence and a big problem in Northern Ireland. Many argued that Scottish voters would have referendum-fatigue, but a second referendum on Scottish independence would be possible. Nicola Sturgeon, the first minister of Scotland, has indicated that “she will hold a new referendum in which Scots could vote to exit Britain — and then rejoin the union as an independent nation” (Taub 2016). Northern Ireland breaking away from the United Kingdom and reuniting with Ireland seems very unlikely, but both would not be happy with the border between them that a British exit would create.

*How did people in the United Kingdom vote on the referendum?*

The referendum was held on Thursday, June 23, 2016. A Supreme Court ruling before the referendum “ruled in favor of regulations forbidding up to two million Britons

who have lived abroad for more than 15 years from voting,” so their opinions were not counted (Cowell 2016). Of those able to vote in the referendum, many were put off by the campaigns of both sides, accusing them of scaremongering, waffling on issues, hypocrisy, creating propaganda, manipulating facts, and appealing to emotions instead of facts (Castle “For” 2016; De Freytas-Tamura 2016). Polls leading up to the referendum were too close to make an accurate prediction about which way the vote would go, but most people, even the Leave camp, thought that British voters would decide to remain in the European Union.

In the end, the people of the United Kingdom voted to leave the European Union. Turnout was around 72 percent, or over 30 million people, which was higher than the previous year’s general election (“EU referendum: The result” 2016). 17.4 million people (52 percent) voted to leave the European Union while 16.1 million (48 percent) voted to remain (Aisch, Pearce, and Russell 2016). “The Leave campaign triumphed right across England and Wales, winning in large northern cities including Sheffield, the Welsh valleys, across the Midlands including Birmingham, and the south and east of England” (“EU referendum: The result” 2016). “The Remain campaign, in contrast, dominated in London, Scotland and Northern Ireland” and also in Gibraltar (“EU referendum: The result” 2016). 53 percent of England voted to leave, 53 percent of Wales voted to leave, 62 percent of Scotland voted to remain, and 56 percent of Northern Ireland voted to remain (Aisch, Pearce, and Russell 2016). It is also important to note that 60 percent of London voted to remain (Aisch, Pearce, and Russell 2016). Younger voters voted heavily to remain and fewer people voted to remain with each successive age bracket. 73 percent of 18-24 year olds voted to remain, 62 percent of 25-34 year-old voted to remain, 52

percent of 35-44 year-old voted to remain, 56 percent of 45-54 year-old voted to leave, 57 percent of 55-64 year-olds voted to leave, and 60 percent of those over 65 years of age voted to leave (“EU referendum: The result” 2016). However, fewer younger voters turned out to vote. In addition to age, there was a voting disparity when considering levels of education and perceived national identity. 28 out of the 30 areas with the “fewest graduates” and 30 out of the 30 areas with “most people identifying as English” voted to leave (“EU referendum: The result” 2016). The referendum results showed deep divides based on age, region, education level, national identity, and country within the United Kingdom.

*What was the reaction to the result within the United Kingdom?*

Repercussions of the result were immediate in the United Kingdom. The United Kingdom will not formally begin the process of leaving the European Union until they trigger Article 50, but politically, the United Kingdom was thrown into chaos. For Cameron “the results were a humiliating disaster, forcing him to announce his departure only 13 months after he won re-election behind a surprisingly large Conservative majority in national elections” (Erlanger 2016a). He did not know when exactly his successor would be in place, although the party expected it to be finalized in October, but he did assure people that he would stay on to provide stability until his successor took over (Chokshi, Victor, and Chan 2016). The question of Cameron’s successor was thrown further into confusion when Boris Johnson, who was considered to likely be Cameron’s successor, “announced he would not run for the position of party leader (and therefore prime minister)” after his presumed ally, Michael Gove, announced his own candidacy (Chokshi, Victor, and Chan 2016; Erlanger and Castle 2016a). The Labour

party also experienced turmoil as “at least 11 of the Labour shadow cabinet’s 30 members...resigned as a signal of their opposition” to the leadership of Jeremy Corbyn, who many people thought should have campaigned harder for the Remain camp (Erlanger 2016f). Corbyn then “lost a leadership vote of party lawmakers Tuesday, 172 to 40,” which made him vulnerable to a leadership challenge (“‘Brexit’ Briefing” 2016). The sudden leadership changes in England’s political parties also dramatically altered the United Kingdom’s plans for leaving the European Union. Originally, Cameron “said that if the country voted to leave, he would begin the formal process of leaving the union immediately by sending” the Article 50 notification to the European Union (Lyons 2016). However, after the results were revealed and he announced that he was resigning, he left the duty of notifying the European Union of the United Kingdom’s intention to leave to his successor (Lyons 2016).

While the political parties in England struggled to figure out their leadership issues, the parties in Scotland and Ireland, who both voted to remain, considered their next moves. Scotland’s first minister, Nicola Sturgeon, declared that a second Scottish independence referendum was “now highly likely” because “it would be ‘democratically unacceptable’ for Scotland to be pushed out of the European Union when a majority of Scots want to stay in” (Erlanger 2016c). Sturgeon said specifically that “her party would ‘prepare the legislation that would be required to enable a new independence referendum to take place’” (Fisher 2016a). *Additionally*, “the Scottish cabinet held an emergency meeting” after the results were revealed and Sturgeon “said Scotland planned to enter discussions with European Union institutions and European governments to protect its place in the bloc” and that an “advisory panel on the legal, financial and diplomatic

implications of the vote” would be established (Erlanger and Bilefsky 2016). In Northern Ireland, Declan Kearney, chairman of the Sinn Fein political party, a party which has members in both Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland (and is interested in reuniting the two), said that his party “would seek a referendum to have Northern Ireland leave the United Kingdom and join Ireland, an independent country (and European Union member)” (Fisher 2016a).

The Leave camp also faced problems after their victory. They jubilantly proclaimed the day of the referendum as the United Kingdom’s independence day, but people began to realize that they appeared to have no real plan for how to actually achieve a British exit from the European Union. One of their most famous advocates, Boris Johnson, failed to run for the position of Prime Minister and their camp advocated for putting off sending the Article 50 notification to the European Union for years. In addition, the Leave campaign appeared to walk back some of their campaign promises the day after the referendum. Most notably, they “maintained that they had never promised that £350 million a week would be given to the N.H.S.,” calling the number an “extrapolation” and the promise “a mistake” (Lyons 2016).

Economically, the United Kingdom, and the world, experienced significant volatility. Immediately, “the value of the pound plummeted to its lowest level since 1985 (Tsang 2016). The Euro also took losses, “sinking to \$1.1071 early in the European morning” (Tsang 2016). Additionally, “European markets shuddered on opening,” “the U.S. market was down more than 3 percent,” “the DOW [shed] over 600 points,” and “the financial damage was more severe on the Continent than in Britain and the United States” (Tsang 2016; Chokshi, Victor, and Chan 2016). The United Kingdom also “lost



its last remaining AAA credit rating on June 27, when the credit rating agency Standard & Poor's downgraded the nation to AA" (Chokshi, Victor, and Chan 2016). The next week, "the market panic that initially met Britain's vote to leave the European Union showed signs of subsiding on Monday" and "financial markets regained some equilibrium on Tuesday after days of turbulence," but the immediate reaction to the results led to huge losses for the United Kingdom and proved that people felt very threatened by the political uncertainty surrounding Brexit (Popper 2016; Soble 2016).

It is hard to know exactly what the economic consequences of the vote will be going forward because the United Kingdom will be the first state to leave the union and it's impossible to speculate what their post-split relationships with each other and the rest of the world will look like. European cities, however, are already taking advantage of the situation at hand. "Within hours" of the finalization of the referendum's results, "a Lithuanian lawmaker wrote to the chief executive of HSBC, trying to court the bank," "a website promoting Frankfurt as an attractive location to invest went live," and "A Berlin start-up published an online how-to guide for anyone looking to move to the German capital" (Scott, Ewing, and Bray 2016). Just as the United Kingdom is considering their economic future, the European Union is considering if they will improve their policies and strategies to retain their remaining members, or sit back and watch the United Kingdom be the first domino to fall.

Socially, there were a wide variety of reactions. One reaction that was shared by both sides was a sudden interest to learn more about the European Union. "Google reported a spike in searches" for questions such as "What is the EU?" and "What happens if we leave the EU?" as people tried to figure out that the consequences of the vote would

be (Kannapell 2016). Another common reaction was expressing disgust at the way both sides campaigned. Some even came to regret the way they had voted because they realized that they did not fully understand the facts surrounding the issue or the consequences of their vote because of the way information had been presented during the campaign. Others who did not end up voting wished that they had taken the time to go to the polls. Many of those who voted Leave celebrated the result as the United Kingdom's independence. They felt as if their voices had finally been heard and that they were taking back control of their lives. On the other hand, many were upset to hear Vote Leave walking back key campaign promises the day after the referendum. On the Remain side, the result left many feeling incredibly disappointed and fearful about the future. A majority of people in Scotland and Northern Ireland felt as if England and Wales were dragging them down a path they did not want to go. People and businesses in London who voted to stay felt insecure about their futures. Young people who voted to stay felt betrayed by older generations that voted to pull the United Kingdom out of the European Union, even though the younger generations, who wanted to stay, would have to live with the decision longer (Kannapell 2016). Young people who wanted to remain, but did not vote, wished they had made the effort. Disappointed voters even turned to petitions to voice their opposition, signing petitions calling for London to declare its independence from the United Kingdom and apply to join the European Union (less popular) or for EU referendum rules to trigger a second British referendum (more popular) (Change.org 2016; Petitions: UK Government and Parliament 2016).

Outside of the United Kingdom, members of far-right, populist, and Euroskeptic groups cheered the victory and the momentum it might bring similar movements in their

own states. Marine Le Pen, of the National Front in France, celebrated the result and called for a “Frexit” referendum in France while Geert Wilders, of the Party for Freedom in the Netherlands, called for a Dutch “Nexit” referendum (Erlanger 2016a). The Republican candidate for President in the United States called the result a “great thing” and praised the United Kingdom for “[voting] to reassert control over their own politics, borders and economy” (Chokshi, Victor, and Chan 2016). Taking neither side publicly, Russian president Vladimir Putin simply remarked that the result “will certainly have consequences for Britain, for Europe and for [Russia]” and “the consequences will be global, they are inevitable; they will be both positive and negative” (Chokshi, Victor, and Chan 2016).

Barack Obama, the President of the United States, “sought to assure Britain and the European Union that the United States would not pick sides once the two are divorced,” saying that even though he had expressed his desire for the United Kingdom to remain in the European Union and said an independent United Kingdom would be moving to the back of the trade queue, that the “special relationship” between the United Kingdom and the United States would “endure” (Davis 2016). Angela Merkel, the German Chancellor, “expressed disappointment with the vote and called for European unity” (Chokshi, Victor, and Chan 2016). Donald Tusk, the president of the European Council, expressed sadness, saying “I felt as if someone very close to me had left our home, and in the same second I felt also how dear and precious this home was to me” (“‘Brexit’ Briefing” 2016).

In the wake of the British referendum results indicating that the United Kingdom would eventually no longer be a member of the European Union, EU officials called for

officials in the United Kingdom to trigger Article 50 as soon as possible. The foreign ministers of the European Union's six founding states held an emergency meeting in Berlin shortly after the vote and "told Britain to hurry up and begin the formal process of exiting the union," revealing their impatience to move forward and figure out what they would have to do to keep the rest of the European Union together (Erlanger and Bilefsky 2016). Jean-Claude Juncker, the president of the European Commission, classified the situation as "not an amicable divorce, but...also not an intimate love affair" and stated that he did "not understand why the British government needs until October to decide whether to send the divorce letter to Brussels" (Erlanger and Bilefsky 2016). In the same thread of accepting the result, moving forward, and thinking about the next steps for the European Union, Merkel declared that she would use "all her strength" to protect the European Union, and reminded Europe and the United Kingdom that "whoever wants to leave this family cannot expect to have no more obligations but to keep the privileges" ("Brexit' Briefing" 2016).

She also characterized the referendum result as a "turning point for Europe" and the process of political and economic integration in Europe (Erlanger 2016a). Other EU leaders echoed the sentiment of the referendum being a turning point and a chance to make much-needed changes to the European Union. The Prime Minister of France, Manuel Valls declared this "the time to invent another Europe" and the Prime Minister of Greece, Alexis Tsipras "described the British referendum result as a 'sad wake-up call' that should force the European Union to abandon policies of austerity and 'endless negotiations behind closed doors'" (Erlanger "Brexit" 2016; Higgins and Kanter 2016). Leaders in the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia also "urged the European

Union to ‘get back to basics’ and focus on reinforcing freedoms and building a single market” and urged that “instead of endless theoretical debates on ‘more Europe’ or ‘less Europe,’ we need to focus on ‘better Europe’” (Higgins and Kanter 2016).

*How will the results of the referendum affect both the United Kingdom and the European Union?*

*How will the United Kingdom’s vote to leave the European Union play out?*

In the end, the Remain campaign’s talk of the economic benefits of EU membership was not enough to convince British voters to vote to stay in the union. Many voters in the United Kingdom did not believe they experienced what the Remain camp argued were the positive economic effects of EU membership in their own lives. When it came down to it, voters were more concerned about limiting migration and the United Kingdom’s cooperation with other European states than they were about theoretical future economic instability and losing economic benefits that they could not see in the first place. The United Kingdom’s decision to pursue removing themselves from the European Union is certainly a blow to the European Union’s goal of increasing integration among European states. It is true that the United Kingdom has always kept the European Union at arm’s length and has never been as committed to deeper integration as other EU states, but if they leave the European Union, their contributions to the European project will be deeply missed. A British exit will also prove very challenging for both sides because the United Kingdom is the first state to ever pursue leaving the European Union. Until now, the closest the European Union came to losing a state was Greenland’s exit in the 1980s. Greenland, an autonomous territory within Denmark, was part of the European Union from 1973 to 1985 (leaving after a referendum on membership in 1982)

“and is now associated to the EU under the Overseas Association Decision” (European Commission “Greenland” 2016). The United Kingdom leaving the union will be a much greater challenge and there is no protocol or precedent for how either side should handle the negotiations.

Separation may be so difficult that there is a chance that the United Kingdom will not end up leaving the European Union. There are several ways in which this could happen. First, the referendum was not legally binding. It gives the government the mandate to invoke Article 50 and leave the European Union, but it does not force them to do so. They would be rejecting the will of those who voted to leave the European Union, but the government could refrain from sending the letter that would officially proclaim their intention to leave. This could happen for a number of reasons, including if the government is unable to agree on how they will handle the negotiations or what they hope to get out of their new relationship with the European Union. The government might also be unable to come to an agreement with the European Union for reforms that would sufficiently address the reasons why people voted for the United Kingdom to leave or the government could decide that it is in the best interest of the people of the United Kingdom to remain in the union.

Additionally, it is possible that the result could be vetoed by Scotland and Northern Ireland, both of whom voted to remain. A recent report from the House of Lords suggested that a decision to leave the European Union would have to be approved by the devolved legislatures of Scotland, Northern Ireland, and Wales; Nicola Sturgeon, the first minister of Scotland, has already been especially vocal about not giving Scotland’s consent to leaving the European Union (United Kingdom Parliament 2016).

Devolved legislatures refusing to consent could give the British government a legitimate reason to avoid Brexit. There is also the possibility that “Parliament could override the referendum” if they were given the power to accept or reject the negotiating strategy or the terms of an exit (Erlanger, Castle, and Chan 2016). A vast majority of the members of parliament supported remaining in the European Union, so they would be more likely to reject plans that they think would irreparably harm the United Kingdom, such as leaving the Single Market in order to get complete control over British borders, a promise made by the Leave campaign.

A third option would be holding a second referendum, in which the United Kingdom may vote to remain after seeing Brexit-related fallout. Other EU states, including Denmark and Ireland, have held second referendums after an EU treaty was rejected in the first (Fisher 2016b). A second referendum could be justified “by securing special concessions from the European Union, like allowing Britain to put a cap on immigration,” which “would allow politicians to claim that they had followed the will of the voters and stood up to the European Union, avoiding both populist outrage and the economic and diplomatic fallout of a British exit (Fisher 2016b). A second referendum could also be justified if it was decided that the voters should be allowed to approve or reject the terms of a British exit or a new relationship with the European Union. Andrew Moravcsik, a professor of politics at Princeton University, suggested “that Brexit was ‘Kabuki’ theater,” and in the event of a vote to leave, “Britain would do what other European Union members have done after negative referendums... ‘negotiate a new agreement, nearly identical to the old one, disguise it in opaque language and ratify it,’ with the agreement of a public that knows little” about the United Kingdom’s relationship

with the European Union or the European Union itself (Erlanger 2016f). This might be an attractive option for the British government, especially if threats of Scotland or Northern Ireland leaving the United Kingdom become more concrete. However, the European Union might refuse to negotiate another special relationship with the United Kingdom in order to prevent other member states from using threats to leave the union as leverage in negotiations to gain a special relationship with the European Union.

Finally, the United Kingdom may leave the European Union in name only. Although the Vote Leave campaigned on restricting the movement of people, removing the United Kingdom from EU bureaucracy, and not sending funds to the European Union, some British officials, including prominent Leave advocates, have suggested maintaining access to perks such as the Single Market. The United Kingdom could negotiate a relationship with the European Union like the European Union currently has with other non-member states, such as Norway, to maintain the United Kingdom's access to perks of EU membership and stability within the United Kingdom, but this strategy would likely produce no change in British powers over migration, require the United Kingdom to pay a fee to stay in the Single Market, and subject them to regulations in which they have no say. French economist Nicolas Véron indicated "that European leaders would probably oppose this arrangement, too, for fear of setting a bad precedent" (Fisher 2016b). EU leaders, he argued, would "want to send a 'clear and unambiguous' message to other member states: If you leave the union, you will not be rewarded with a sweetheart deal allowing you the benefits of membership without the burden" (Fisher 2016b).



If the United Kingdom does end up triggering Article 50 and negotiating to exit the European Union, it will be a long, difficult process. Cameron originally promised to trigger Article 50 immediately in the event of a vote to leave, but he failed to follow through, resigning as prime minister and leaving the process of official notification to his successor. It will take some time for his successor to be chosen, a new government to be formed, and for the new government to create a strategy for tackling negotiations with the European Union. Advocates for the Leave campaign have also suggested that the United Kingdom should take its time before notifying the European Union, even delaying triggering Article 50 for years. Then, after officially notifying the European Union, the United Kingdom will have two years to negotiate with the European Union before it is officially no longer a member. EU officials have been vocal about their desire for the British government to trigger Article 50 as soon as possible, but the United Kingdom seems to be in no rush and “there appears to be no mechanism to force Britain to invoke Article 50 and set the two-year clock running” (Castle 2016c). Some in the Leave campaign argued that the United Kingdom would be able to begin negotiations with the United Kingdom before triggering Article 50, but EU officials have refuted this claim.

After formally declaring their intention to leave the union through Article 50, the way forward is hazy, because “no one really knows how the process would work, since no country has ever left the European Union” (Castle 2016c). The scale of the task is enormous.

“It will mean pulling out from the world’s largest trading zone, with 508 million residents, including the 65 million people of Britain, and a commitment to the free movement of labor, capital, goods and services. It has profound implications for Britain’s legal system, which incorporates a large body of regulations that cover everything from product safety to digital privacy, and for Britain’s economy” (Erlanger 2016c).

The United Kingdom would have to individually decide what laws and regulations to keep and which to change, re-allocate funds, and negotiate entirely new trade deals. Vote Leave promised voters that the United Kingdom would be able to negotiate more beneficial trade deals, but deals with non-EU states would take years to negotiate and EU officials “warned that a jilted European Union would be in no mood to extend Britain a rewarding deal, lest other malcontent members take encouragement to go for the exits” (Goodman 2016c).

*How will the United Kingdom’s vote to leave the European Union affect the European Union and its member states?*

First and foremost, the United Kingdom leaving the European Union will deprive the European Union of one of its biggest political and economic powers and a source of credibility. The United Kingdom has been a political and economic powerhouse for centuries and that was certainly beneficial to the European Union. A recent Pew Research Center survey of many EU member states discovered that 70% of Europeans thought the United Kingdom leaving the European Union would be bad for the union while only 16% thought it would be good (Stokes 2016). Since the results of the referendum were announced, the European Union has already experienced additional economic and political instability and this instability is likely to persist at least until the major European elections and the United Kingdom’s formal exit from the union.

Moreover, the United Kingdom’s vote to leave the European Union bestowed legitimacy and power on groups in other EU member states that, like the Leave campaign, are advocating for their home states to leave the European Union. EU leaders, especially Cameron, assumed that their arguments for continuing membership in the

European Union would have no problem convincing people to back remaining in the European Union. However, with the Leave victory, it became clear that “Europe’s political mainstream has misjudged the public appetite for rapid European integration” (Yardley 2016). Younger generations “saw how an expanding Europe brought tangible benefits — borderless travel, job and educational mobility within the bloc, rising prosperity,” and pressure for member states to improve, but “as the bloc expanded, decision-making also became more unwieldy” (Yardley 2016). Frictions between member states developed, tensions over sovereignty arose between EU institutions and national governments, and historic resentments between member states never fully healed. Citizens of EU member states are increasingly skeptical of the European Union and purported benefits. The victory of the fears of common citizen over the dreams of the bureaucratic elite emboldened skeptics in other countries and gave them hope that their home state, too, could leave the European Union and flourish on its own.

For EU leaders, the referendum result revealed the power of the skepticism, fear, and distrust bubbling beneath the surface in the European Union. While they considered how to achieve further integration among EU states, people in the member states themselves were beginning to doubt the efficacy of the European Union as a whole. If it is to survive, the European Union will have to face criticism head on and make clear, effective changes because criticism of the European Union is gaining traction. Citizens of other EU member states have similar criticisms to those voiced by the Leave campaign in the United Kingdom: free movement of people causes detrimental migration (due to too many incoming migrants taking jobs and resources, as well a brain drain from poorer countries) within the European Union; an overabundance of EU regulations hinder both

economic and business growth in states that would be better off making their own decisions; and the European Union takes too much money from the individual states to fund itself. Many EU citizens also have waning enthusiasm for the union because of the fragile Eurozone, the difficult recovery from the economic crisis, economic stagnation, rising inequality, rising unemployment in certain areas, the way the European Union dealt with states' debt, the current approach to migration, EU institutions not appearing to be equipped to handle key problems, EU leaders employing short-term fixes instead of long-term ones, the feeling that EU leaders are out of touch with the common people, the slow pace of change within the bureaucracy, the situation with Russia in Ukraine, and the threat of terrorism.

Rising anti-EU sentiment “is about ill-defined frustration with the complexities of a changing world and a changing Europe, a loss of faith in mainstream politicians and experts, [and] a nostalgia for a past when nations decided their own fates and kept foreigners out” because “to those who hold these views, the European Union is the epitome of all that has gone wrong, an alien bureaucracy deaf to the traditions and values of its members” (“Britain’s Dangerous Urge” 2016). In fact, a recent survey conducted by the Pew Research Center revealed that, out of the citizens of the ten EU states surveyed (which “[included] countries that account for 80% of the EU-28 population and 82% of the EU’s GDP”), 47% of the people polled viewed the European Union as unfavorable and 51% viewed it as favorable (Stokes 2016). Views of the European Union, of course, vary wildly among the member states. EU favorability is the worst in Greece, where 71% view the European Union unfavorably and only 27% view it favorably, and the best in Poland, where only 22% view the European Union unfavorably

and 72% view it favorably (Stokes 2016). According to their survey, much of the Europeans' disaffection with the European Union "can be attributed to Brussels' handling of the refugee issue" and "the EU's handling of economic issues" (Stokes 2016). This disaffection has led to EU citizens desiring a different kind of European Union than the kind that EU leaders envision. The poll found that 42% of those surveyed thought "some powers should be returned to national governments," 27% thought that the "division of powers should remain the same," while only 19% thought that "national governments should transfer more powers to the EU" (Stokes 2016).

It would be unwise to ignore this sentiment, whether EU leaders think it accurately reflects reality or not, because movements that share this outlook will be emboldened by the victory of the Leave campaign in the United Kingdom and will be fighting for similar referendums on EU membership in their own states. Euroskepticism can already be seen, for instance, in the National Front in France, the Alternative for Germany in Germany, the Fidesz party in Hungary, the Law and Justice party in Poland, the Party for Freedom in the Netherlands, and the Five Star Movement in Italy (Chan 2016). In several EU member states, including France and the Netherlands, politicians with significant support applauded the Leave campaign's victory and explicitly called for referendums in their own countries. Seeing the success in the United Kingdom gave them more confidence they could achieve similar results at home. If it fails to come up with a beneficial Brexit negotiating strategy and a long-term plan for comprehensive reforms, the European Union risks disintegration.

*What is the future of the European Union?*

It is impossible to predict what the future of the European Union will be. Earlier this year, most people were pretty confident that the European Union would be able to hold off the populist, nationalist, Euroskeptic threat. However, with the results of the referendum now in, it is a lot easier to imagine the European Union's imminent demise. What comes next will be up to EU leaders. Using the referendum as motivation, they could work to save the European Union in some form by aggressively pursuing reforms within the union and forming a strong campaign to inform EU citizens about the benefits of EU membership. But if they fail to understand the fears and concerns of the people and take insufficient steps to address them, the European Union is doomed to fail. There are three possible outcomes for the European Union: the threat will prove too much and they will break apart; they will unify to make important reforms and stay together; or, they will make structural compromises in order to stay together in some form.

Like the United Kingdom of the Netherlands, the European Union might break apart. In the Netherlands, Belgium broke away from the Dutch provinces because, on top of being dominated culturally and politically by the minority Dutch, the Belgians did not receive economic benefits from the Dutch Golden Age and booming trade. Trade and wealth was focused up north in the Dutch provinces and the Belgians decided that they could make economic decisions that were focused on their own needs and goals. There are several lessons that can be gleaned from the examples of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands and the European Union: cultural affinity matters, deemed disrespect for culture matters, perceived economic benefit matters, control of destiny matters, and theoretical future benefit is often ignored. The European Union is in danger of breaking up because EU leaders have focused their attention on the idea of creating an ever-closer

union, while failing to “[develop] centralized political institutions strong enough to manage its diverse constituent countries” (Taub 2016). In this system, individual member states have little motivation to make sacrifices for the common good of the union and European unity is not strong enough to make necessary changes, especially in regard to economics. Many people in the European Union (like the Belgians in the original Netherlands)- are not interested in being a part of a political organization that only promises theoretical economic benefits in the future, while exacerbating economic inequality at the present, and erodes their perceptions of their cultural identity and political voice.

If the United Kingdom does end up leaving the European Union, it could very well be the first domino to fall. Kevin O’Rourke, an economic historian at the University of Oxford, notes that “popular discontent with globalization in its many forms has been building up in the West for many years now” and its effects are being seen everywhere (Porter 2016). It is very likely that more EU member states will face referendums on EU membership in the future because

“the European Union’s hapless response to its current social and economic challenges has made it an easy target. With no real European institutions of democratic accountability — the European Parliament serves little more than a decorative function — the only way voters can express their dissatisfaction is by pushing to leave and by supporting extremist political movements” (Porter 2016).

Voters are even expressing their dissatisfaction with the European Union in states that helped found the European Union, such as France and the Netherlands, and “given the low growth of so many countries in the union, it is hard to imagine that a populist revolt won’t emerge” (Sorkin 2016). An exit of one of the core, key states would be a devastating loss to the union and would almost certainly lead to more states leaving. A

fairly smooth British exit might not make an entirely compelling argument for leaving the union because it had a more distant relationship with the European Union, especially because it did not adopt the Euro, but a fairly smooth French or Dutch exit would be even more convincing. In 2011, in the midst of the euro crisis, the global chief economist at Citigroup imagined that “a breakup of the Euro Area would be rather like the movie ‘War of the Roses’ version of a divorce: disruptive, destructive and without any winners,” because “even a partial one involving the exit of one or more fiscally and competitively weak countries, would be chaotic” (Sorkin 2016). He predicted that an “exit, partial or full, would likely be precipitated by disorderly sovereign defaults in the fiscally weak and uncompetitive member states, whose currencies would weaken dramatically and whose banks would fail,” and that “if Spain and Italy were to exit, there would be a collapse of systemically important financial institutions throughout the European Union and North America and years of global depression.” (Sorkin 2016). This would certainly prompt more states to leave and would discourage other attempts at forming supranational organizations.

A more optimistic view is that the European Union, with or without the United Kingdom, will stay together. As previously mentioned, there is a possibility that the United Kingdom will not end up actually leaving the European Union, so the European Union could end up retaining all its members. However, if the United Kingdom does leave in the end, there is still a possibility that the European Union could retain all its other, more integrated members. EU leaders and citizens who would like for the union to endure could take the British referendum as a warning of the dangers the European Union faces and motivation for working harder to make the union a better organization for all



members. The German Empire was able to keep its localities under the umbrella of the central government and eventually grow into a stronger, more integrated state because the empire was able to provide widespread economic benefits to its citizens. The different localities were less concerned with the erosion of historic cultural and political traditions because they understood how being a part of the empire benefitted them in ways that they were unable to achieve alone. Their culture and traditions still mattered to them, but there was not the heavy backlash against “foreigners” that accompanies an economy in which some groups are perceived to benefit exponentially more than others.

In order for the European Union to follow the path modeled by Germany, it will have to make significant reforms and possibly alter its current agenda for integration. There are signs that EU leaders intend to use the results of the British referendum as motivation to refocus their attention within the union. Matteo Renzi, the Prime Minister of Italy, called the results of the referendum “an interesting opportunity to relaunch the European project,” “take back [the European Union’s] identity,” and rethink economic policies that “transformed the future into a threat” (Smale, Yardley, and Rubin 2016). He specifically mentioned focusing on job creation and economic growth over debt reduction and rethinking austerity policies (Smale, Yardley, and Rubin 2016). Other EU leaders voiced similar sentiments, reiterating the idea that the result would be a turning point in the history of the European Union and that the EU member states would renew their efforts to become stronger together. It remains to be seen, however, if EU leaders will work to save the European Union by continuing to pursue their current plan for deeper integration or if they will reevaluate their approach and make fundamental reforms.

Since failing to make fundamental changes in light of populist, nationalist, and Euroskeptic movements contributed to the United Kingdom voting to leave the union, the European Union will have to make some significant reforms if they want to survive. The area that will require the most reform is economics. Suggestions for economic reforms include rethinking austerity policies, focusing on economic growth and competitiveness, and boosting job creation. EU leaders will also have to make changes to address the perceived democratic deficit in the European Union. To free citizens from being forced to use referendums on EU membership to express their concerns, the European Union should reconfigure their system of governance to allow citizens to participate more directly (perhaps through having more elected officials or creating other outlets through which citizens can express their concerns) in shaping the content of EU policies and laws and better publicize existing avenues for participation. Crucially, the European Union must also get a better handle on the current migrant crisis. Additionally, the European Union could refocus their energy on “some sort of joint project, perhaps in defense,” or “areas where collective action at the European level could make a difference,” such as protecting individual states from multinational companies, using borders to evade paying taxes, and combating climate change (Smale, Yardley, and Rubin 2016; Porter 2016).

Although EU leaders were generally shocked and dismayed by the results of the referendum, the results may “deliver much-needed (if bitter) medicine to a gravely ill patient” and allow “federal-minded leaders to present voters with a more ambitious, more coherent, and more inspirational project” (Pecastaing 2016). If the results re-inspire EU leaders and citizens and renew efforts to work together, “Brexit could be the best thing for Europe since the fall of the Berlin Wall” (Pecastaing 2016). It is still true that a

majority of EU leaders and citizens are interested in the European Union's survival. For many, the benefits of cooperation and collaboration through the European Union still outweigh the costs of membership. However, the ranks of those who do not agree are steadily growing. In order to survive, the European Union must make it clear that it is working to benefit every one of its citizens and that it takes the concerns of ordinary citizens into account when making decisions.

Finally, the European Union may survive, but with a modified structure. Richard N. Haass, the president of the Council on Foreign Relations, predicts "that several countries will leave the European Union within the next five years," a sentiment "which is increasingly becoming the conventional wisdom" (Sorkin 2016). Haas suggests that it might be prudent to consider a European Union that "is not one size fits all, where the balance between national governments and Brussels is more flexible" (Porter 2016). In this "à la carte" European Union, member states would have varying degrees of participation, instead of equality among all members and special relationships with a few European states outside of the union. Karl Kaiser, a Harvard professor and former director of the German Council on Foreign Relations, has echoed this sentiment, arguing that the European Union will have to "reorganize itself in a system of different degrees of association" (Erlanger 2016c). He goes on to suggest that this model would be particularly beneficial if the United Kingdom leaves the European Union, because "Europe does have an interest in keeping Britain in the single market, if possible, and in an ad hoc security relationship" and being placed at a lower level of integration could convince the United Kingdom to stay and continue contributing to the union (Erlanger 2016c). It has also been suggested that the European Union could be restructured

“[centering] on the founding members — Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands — with different levels of membership on the perimeters” (Smale, Yardley, and Rubin 2016). Restructuring the European Union into varying levels of association might be an attractive option if EU leaders want to avoid reforming current policies in favor of pursuing their current integration plan because it would provide structure while allowing member states to not participate in elements of no concern.

Although the European Union is an intergovernmental organization that far surpasses all other IGOs in terms of integration, the European Union can learn from historic precedent. Since the European Union technically qualifies as a state and shares many similarities with states, including Germany and the Netherlands, it is more useful to compare the European Union to states than it is to compare it to less integrated IGOs in many situations. EU leaders would be wise to learn from the mistakes states have made when faced with similar situations because it would allow them to better understand the possible ramifications of different courses of action before taking them. Although it would not prevent the European Union from making mistakes, use of historic analogy would improve their decision-making process. Now that the European Union is faced with the possibility of its first member state leaving the union and the prospect of others following behind, the ability to compare the present to history may be more useful now than ever before.

## APPENDIX

Fig. 1

### Overview of the Argument

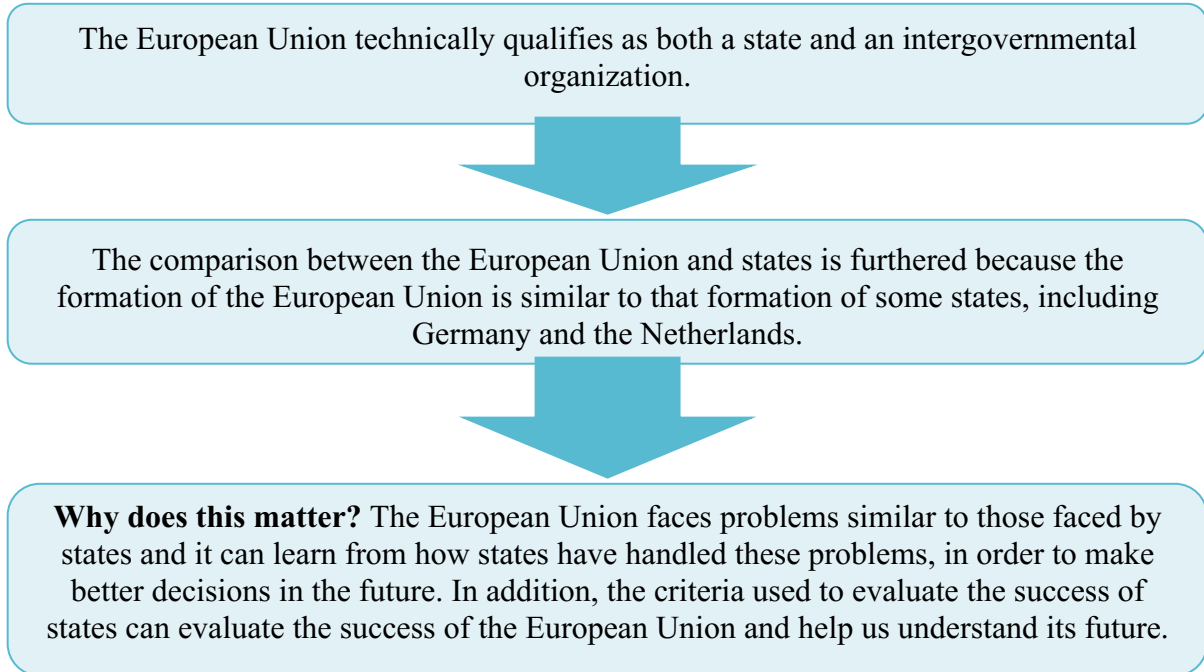


Fig. 2

**The European Union Technically Qualifies as a State, Based on the Montevideo Convention's Criteria**

<b>The Montevideo Convention's Criteria For Statehood</b>	<b>The European Union</b>
1. Permanent population	✓
2. A defined territory	✓
3. Government	✓
4. Capacity to enter into relations with other states	✓

Fig. 3

**The European Union Qualifies as an International Organization**

<b>Common Characteristics of Intergovernmental Organizations</b>	<b>The European Union</b>
- Independent organization	✓
- Members are sovereign states	✓
- Holds regular meetings	✓
- Has headquarters	✓
- Has permanent staff	✓

Fig. 4

### The Formation of the European Union is Similar to the Formation of Germany

	The European Union	The German Confederation (1815-1866)	The German Empire (1871-1918)	The Federal Republic of Germany (1990-present)
<b>Original cultural diversity</b>	✓	✓	✓	✓
<b>Original political fragmentation</b>	✓	✓	✓	✓
<b>Created following military conflict</b>	World War II	War with Napoleon	Military dominance of Prussia	World War II
<b>Created in order to ensure security</b>	Security from European infighting	Security from infighting and outside forces	Security from Prussia	✗
<b>Considered members to share some level of common identity</b>	European	Germanic tribes	Germanic tribes	German states
<b>Originally featured weak central authority</b>	At first, only concentrated on European coal and steel (ECSC) with weak High Authority	At first only concentrated on preventing infighting and presenting a united militaristic front	Stronger than German Confederation, but still very weak	✗



<b>Members originally wanted as much independence as possible</b>	No real desire for further integration	No desire for a centralized nation state, localities functioned independently	Technically a nation-state, but citizens prioritized regional affiliation	X
<b>Growing unity originally centered on economic unity</b>	Developed a single economy and currency	<i>Zollverein</i> (German Customs Union)	Benefitted from the success of the Confederation's customs union	Established monetary and economic union before political union
<b>Developed a centralized government with executive, legislative, and judicial branches</b>	Including: European Council, European Parliament, and Court of Justice of the EU	X	Kaiser and Imperial Chancellor, parliament and federal council, and uniform codes	Federal government features executive, legislative, and judicial branches
<b>Integrated and pooled sovereignty over time</b>	What once focused purely on coal and steel now has authority over many different political, economic, and social issues	Integrated through the custom union	Expanded original government to fit the needs of a federal state	Established economic, monetary, and social union before political union

Fig. 5

### **The Formation of the European Union is Similar to the Formation of the Netherlands**

	<b>The European Union</b>	<b>The Netherlands</b>
<b>Original cultural diversity</b>	✓	✓
<b>Original political fragmentation</b>	✓	✓
<b>Created following military conflict</b>	World War II	The Eighty Years' War, various Spanish wars
<b>Created in order to ensure security</b>	Security from European infighting	Security from Spain
<b>Considered members to share some level of common identity</b>	European	Dutch/localities of the Low Countries
<b>Originally featured weak central authority</b>	At first, only concentrated on European coal and steel (ECSC) with weak High Authority	Loose confederation of highly independent provinces
<b>Members originally wanted as much independence as possible</b>	No real desire for further integration	Struggled against early central government, wanted localities to stay as independent as possible
<b>Growing unity originally centered on economic unity</b>	Developed a single economy and currency	Growing, successful Dutch trade and Dutch golden age
<b>Developed a centralized government with executive, legislative, and judicial branches</b>	Including: European Council, European Parliament, and Court of Justice of the EU	Federal government features executive, legislative, and judicial branches
<b>Integrated and pooled sovereignty over time</b>	What once focused purely on coal and steel now has authority over many different political, economic, and social issues	Integrated over time and several different political iterations

Fig. 6

**The European Union’s Migrant Crisis is Similar to Waves of Migration previously faced by both Germany and the Netherlands**

	<b>The European Union’s current migrant crisis</b>	<b>Migration of ethnic Germans to Germany following World War II</b>	<b>Influx of Guestworkers into Germany</b>	<b>Influx of Guestworkers into the Netherlands</b>
<b>Huge, sudden wave of migration</b>	✓	✓	✓	✓
<b>Migration due to war or economic instability</b>	✓	✓	✓	✓
<b>Migrants differ from native population</b>	✓	✓	✓	✓
<b>Migrants considered temporary residents</b>	✓	✗	✓	✓
<b>Concerns over migrants’ integration</b>	✓	✓	✓	✓
<b>Migrants came to be considered intruders and unwanted competition</b>	✓	✓	✓	✓

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