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Euroscepticism in Britain and France: implications for NATO and the European Union

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THESIS

EUROSCEPTICISM IN BRITAIN AND FRANCE: IMPLICATIONS FOR NATO AND THE EUROPEAN UNION

by

William R. Walsh

March 2016

Thesis Advisor: David Yost
Co-Advisor: Zachary Shore

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13. ABSTRACT (maximum 200 words)

What would be the implications of a major European power leaving the European Union (EU)? Political movements in two of the most influential member states, the United Kingdom and France, have courted an EU withdrawal for decades. In recent years, however, the potential for a withdrawal has increased drastically due to the rise of two populist political parties—Britain's United Kingdom Independence Party and France's National Front. A British or French withdrawal from the EU would have security, economic, and legal implications both domestically and internationally. With the change in the EU, other international organizations, including the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), might assume an increased role or be subject to erosion.

This thesis explores the eurosceptic movement and the causes of such sentiment. It then examines the most influential eurosceptic groups in Britain and France, analyzing their histories and comparing their goals. This thesis concludes with an assessment of the potential effects on the EU and NATO if Britain and/or France were to withdraw from the EU.

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EUROSCEPTICISM IN BRITAIN AND FRANCE: IMPLICATIONS FOR NATO AND THE EUROPEAN UNION

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Submitted in partial fulfillment of the
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What would be the implications of a major European power leaving the European Union (EU)? Political movements in two of the most influential member states, the United Kingdom and France, have courted an EU withdrawal for decades. In recent years, however, the potential for a withdrawal has increased drastically due to the rise of two populist political parties—Britain's United Kingdom Independence Party and France's National Front. A British or French withdrawal from the EU would have security, economic, and legal implications both domestically and internationally. With the change in the EU, other international organizations, including the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), might assume an increased role or be subject to erosion.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AFL	Anti-Federalist League
APE	anti-political establishment
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CSDP	Common Security and Defence Policy
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
EDC	European Defense Community
EEC	European Economic Community
EP	European Parliament
EU	European Union
FN	National Front (France)
MEP	Member of European Parliament
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
PCF	Parti Communiste Français
PS	Parti Socialiste
RPR	Rassemblement pour la Republique
UDF	Union pour la Democratie Française
UKIP	United Kingdom Independence Party
UK	United Kingdom
U.S.	United States
WWII	World War II

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I.   INTRODUCTION

Two increasingly influential anti-EU political parties—Britain's United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) and France's National Front (FN)—potentially pose an existential threat to the European Union (EU). These two populist political groups seek to gain control of their countries' governments and withdraw from the EU. Economic concerns, controversial immigration policies, and strong nationalism have turned anti-EU sentiment—also known as euroscepticism—into not just a far-right agenda, but an increasingly mainstream political movement.

The possibility of a British or French withdrawal from the EU—colloquially known as Brexit or Frexit, respectively—has provoked considerable debate over the potential domestic and international effects. Across Europe—but especially in Britain and France—eurosceptic political groups are gaining popular support and momentum. While the EU is the prime target of eurosceptics, many of the policy themes shared by Eurosceptic—such as defending national sovereignty, promoting military autonomy, controlling national borders, and strengthening the domestic economy—cause concern over possible withdrawal from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) as well. In fact, France's FN has explicitly stated its intent to withdraw France from NATO's integrated military command structure.[1] What could happen to the EU or NATO if either of these major powers withdrew from the EU? This thesis investigates the implications for the EU and NATO in the event of a Brexit or Frexit, or both. Furthermore, this thesis explores the eurosceptic movement and its causes, introduces the major eurosceptic political parties in Britain and France, and analyzes the potential ramifications of a Brexit or Frexit, or both.

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[1] "Notre Projet: Programme Politique du Front National," ["Our Proposal: Political Program of the National Front"] Front National, accessed March 16, 2016. http://www.frontnational.com/pdf/Programme.pdf.

A.   MAJOR RESEARCH QUESTION

This thesis investigates the implications for NATO and the EU in the event that anti-EU political parties in France and Britain gain majority power or greater influence in national policy-making. This thesis will examine the origins of eurosceptic views; discuss the most prominent eurosceptic parties in Britain and France; analyze opinion polls, electoral results and prospects; analyze interactions between eurosceptic parties; and assess the effects that British or French withdrawal from the EU might have on NATO, the EU, and the United States.

B.   IMPORTANCE

The growing influence of populist and eurosceptic political groups in Europe has the potential to diminish the regional and global benefits of international organizations such as NATO and the EU. These eurosceptic parties campaign on the promise of withdrawing their countries from the EU. Because NATO and the EU are critical to United States foreign policy in the region, the withdrawal of major powers from these organizations could require paradigm shifts by U.S. foreign policy strategists.

Two primary eurosceptic parties, Britain's UKIP and France's FN, have garnered significant political momentum since 2009. The compounding successes of these minor political parties have pressured some of the larger and better established political parties into adopting eurosceptic views. As a result, euroscepticism, which was once a far-left or far-right radical agenda, has increasingly become mainstream as even moderate political parties now espouse elements of its rhetoric.

This euroscepticism could culminate with the withdrawal of Britain or France (or both) from the EU, which could weaken the power of this important organization. Moreover, a British or French withdrawal from the EU could result in a loss of confidence in the EU as a whole. This loss of confidence could create a "domino effect," with other countries losing confidence and withdrawing from the EU and other international organizations—such as NATO. A fragmented Europe void of effective

international organizations could increase the risk of conflict. All of these possible events would inevitably present challenges for U.S. foreign policy.

C. PROBLEMS AND HYPOTHESES

Europe without effective international organizations would necessitate changes in U.S. national security strategy, and could increase the risk of conflict. International institutions like the EU and NATO are instrumental to U.S. foreign policy.[2] The liberal, Kantian concepts of international organizations and economic interdependence—which were expressed in U.S. foreign policy by Woodrow Wilson—still inform U.S. foreign policy. The growing influence of populist and eurosceptic political groups in Europe has the potential to diminish the regional and global benefits of these international organizations, and this risk causes concern for the United States.

The 2015 U.S. National Security Strategy describes NATO as "the strongest alliance the world has ever known."[3] It emphasizes the U.S. relationship with the EU, "which has helped promote peace and prosperity across the region." It recommends that the United States work to "deepen NATO-EU ties to enhance transatlantic security."[4]

D. METHODS AND RESOURCES

This thesis is primarily a historical study of contemporary European political trends. It then attempts to identify potential implications in the event of a major power withdrawal from the EU or NATO.

The historical study follows the evolution of two primary eurosceptic parties—Britain's UKIP and France's FN. At initial glance, these parties appear to be similar in their domestic and international agendas; however, analysis of their histories and policies indicates that the two parties are significantly different.

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[2] The White House, *National Security Strategy* (Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, 2015), 25.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid.

This contemporary study is largely based on news media sources. There is inherent bias in some news media sources—primarily due to the polarizing nature of political news coverage. Thus, an array of competing opinions was studied and examined to present competing interpretations and opinions. Unfortunately, scholarly articles and published books were insufficient to adequately support this contemporary study.

Finally, the analysis of implications is based on each nation's involvement in the EU and NATO. Some scenarios are presented to depict the possible outcomes based on different actions.

E.   THESIS OVERVIEW

This thesis is organized into four chapters, excluding the introduction. Chapter II introduces the eurosceptic political movement. This background is instrumental in understanding why and how eurosceptic parties have gained popularity in recent years. More importantly, the themes supporting the rise of eurosceptic populist parties have increasingly been adopted by long-established political parties.

Chapter III presents the two prominent eurosceptic political parties in Britain and France: the UKIP and the FN. Their histories and prospects will be presented in support of a comparison.

Chapter IV offers an analysis of the potential implications for the EU, NATO, and the United States if a major power withdraws from the EU. The analysis includes a discussion of the EU security apparatus, the NATO–EU relationship, and the potential effects on the EU, NATO, and the United States.

The conclusion provides a succinct culmination of the entire thesis in addition to background on early 2016 developments in the eurosceptic movement. The concluding assessment considers actions that the United States and its partners might take to avert damage to international institutions critical to U.S. foreign policy.

II. EUROSCEPTICISM: DEFINITION AND CAUSES

Euroscepticism consists of anti-EU attitudes or perceptions. Anti-EU sentiments and views have existed since the formation of collective European international organizations such as the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) and the European Economic Community (EEC). Even before the establishment of the European Union in 1993, nationalist political parties sought to protect their countries' sovereignty by opposing or seeking reform of collective European organizations. For example, in 1974, British Prime Minister Harold Wilson, then the leader of the parliamentary Labour Party, threatened Brexit if Britain did not see reform of the EEC.[5] In 2002, former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher called the EU "fundamentally unreformable," and recommended a "fundamental renegotiation of Britain's terms of EU membership."[6] Why fight this institution designed to promote economic interdependence, prosperity, democracy, and peace? The answer to this question is quite complex; however, eurosceptics generally oppose the EU's economic and open immigration policies, including what they deem lax controls over freedom of movement, deplore the perceived inefficiency of EU institutions, and object to proposals to form a collective EU military. Increasingly, eurosceptics see the EU as a threat to national sovereignty.

A. PREVALENCE OF EUROSCEPTIC OPINION

Euroscepticism is present in all EU member states, and in many euroscepticism is gaining popular support. Opinion polling and the 2014 European Parliament (EP) election results revealed a dramatic increase in the success of eurosceptic candidates who sought to abolish the very positions to which they were just elected.[7]

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[5] Philip Stephens, "EU Referendum: History Repeated," *Financial Times*, September 22, 2015, http://ig.ft.com/sites/2015/eu-referendum-1975-archive/.

[6] Margaret Thatcher, *Statecraft: Strategies for a Changing World*, New York: Harper Collins, 2002, 321.

[7] William Jordan, "YouGov Europe: The Swing to the Euroskeptic Right," YouGov, May 14, 2014, https://today.yougov.com/news/2014/05/14/yougov-europe-swing-eurosceptic-right/.

The EU conducts Eurobarometer polling twice a year. As depicted in Figure 1, the most recent Eurobarometer has revealed that the overall positive view of the EU has decreased by more than 20 percent since 2006 (50 percent decreased to 37 percent). The total negative image has increased by over 50 percent (15 percent increased to 23 percent).[8]

Figure 1.   December 2015 Eurobarometer opinion poll regarding positive, neutral, negative image of the EU

Source: "Standard Eurobarometer 84 Autumn 2015: Public Opinion in the European Union," European Commission, last modified December 2015, http://ec.europa.eu/COMMFrontOffice/PublicOpinion/index.cfm/ResultDoc/download/DocumentKy/70150.

The most recent Eurobarometer, conducted in December 2015, indicated that the top three concerns of the Europeans polled were immigration, terrorism, and the economic situation (see Figure 2).[9] Immigration showed a significant same-year increase probably due to the influx of migrants from North Africa, Eastern Europe, and the Middle East. Terrorism also received a same-year increase, probably due to the November 2015 terrorist attacks in Paris and the threat of terrorist attacks by the Islamic State and other

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[8] "Standard Eurobarometer 84 Autumn 2015: Public Opinion in the European Union," European Commission, last modified December 2015. http://ec.europa.eu/COMMFrontOffice/PublicOpinion /index.cfm/ ResultDoc/download/DocumentKy/70150.

[9] Ibid.

6

extremist organizations. Finally, the economic situation has been affected by the 2008 recession and the Eurozone crisis in Greece.

Figure 2.   December 2015 Eurobarometer opinion poll regarding most important issues facing the EU

QA5 What do you think are the two most important issues facing the EU at the moment? (% - EU)

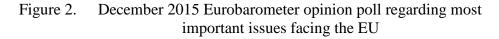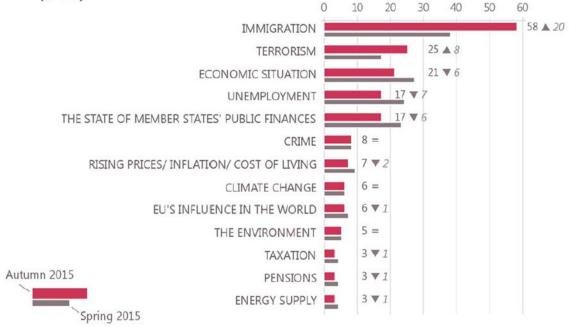| Issue	Value
IMMIGRATION	58 ▲ 20
TERRORISM	25 ▲ 8
ECONOMIC SITUATION	21 ▼ 6
UNEMPLOYMENT	17 ▼ 7
THE STATE OF MEMBER STATES' PUBLIC FINANCES	17 ▼ 6
CRIME	8 =
RISING PRICES/ INFLATION/ COST OF LIVING	7 ▼ 2
CLIMATE CHANGE	6 =
EU'S INFLUENCE IN THE WORLD	6 ▼ 1
THE ENVIRONMENT	5 =
TAXATION	3 ▼ 1
PENSIONS	3 ▼ 1
ENERGY SUPPLY	3 ▼ 1

Autumn 2015

Spring 2015

Source: "Standard Eurobarometer 84 Autumn 2015: Public Opinion in the European Union," European Commission, last modified December 2015, http://ec.europa.eu/COMMFrontOffice/PublicOpinion/index.cfm/ResultDoc/download/DocumentKy/70150.

The 2014 EP elections provide further evidence of the increasing euroscepticism. The fundamentally eurosceptic party in Britain, the UKIP, increased its EP seats from 13 to 24, becoming the largest British political party in the EP.[10] In France, the FN increased its EP seats from three to 24, becoming the largest French political party in the EP.[11]

The UKIP and the FN were only two of the eurosceptic parties to gain seats. Denmark's eurosceptic Danish People's Party finished first in the country, taking one seat each from the Social Democrats and Venstre—two parties largely in control of

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[10] Halikiopoulou and Vasilopoulou, "2014 EP Elections," 286.

[11] Ibid.

Danish politics.[12] In Hungary, the eurosceptic Jobbik party finished second, with nearly 15 percent of the vote.[13] The eurosceptic Freedom Party of Austria finished third, but gained two additional seats in the EP.[14] In Finland, the eurosceptic Finns Party finished third, but was one of the two Finnish parties which each gained an additional seat in the EP.[15] Greece's Golden Dawn eurosceptic party finished third, but gained three additional seats in the EP.[16]

B.   CAUSES OF EUROSCEPTICISM

Supporters of euroscepticism argue that the movement is a legitimate uprising of the people against EU policies. This uprising is largely a result of nationalist sentiment, which is widely regarded as the primary contributing factor to euroscepticism.[17] This nationalism combines with a tendency to blame domestic problems on the EU and, instead of reform, eurosceptics advocate national withdrawal from the EU or its abolishment.[18]

The causes behind the increased nationalism reside, in part, in the economic recession and the perception of immigration problems. Public opinion polls have consistently listed economic issues as the top issues facing the EU. In the fall of 2014, the EU-conducted opinion poll, the Eurobarometer, listed "economic situation," "unemployment," and "the state of member states public finances," as the top three issues

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[12] Daphne Halikiopoulou and Sofia Vasilopoulou, "Support for the Far Right in the 2014 European Parliament Elections: A Comparative Perspective," *Political Quarterly* 85, no. 3 (July 2014): 286.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Daphne Halikioloulou, Kyriaki Nanou, and Sofia Vasilopoulou, "The Paradox of Nationalism: The Common Denominator of Radical Right and Radical Left Euroscepticism," *European Journal of Political Research,* 51, no. 4 (June 2012): 504–539.

[18] Rowena Mason and Patrick Wintour, "Elections 2014: Farage Says UKIP May Have Common Ground with Le Pen's Front National: Leader Says Joint Vote May Form 'Blocking Minority': Eurosceptic Parties Would Look for Like-Minded Allies," *Guardian*, May 22, 2014.

facing the EU.[19] A close runner-up was immigration, which is inextricably linked to economic issues. Critics of the EU's immigration policies object to freedom of movement within the EU (for instance, Eastern Europeans migrating to the UK) and asylum for refugees, economic migrants, and other non-Europeans seeking residence and citizenship in the EU (for example, North Africans migrating to France). Marine Le Pen took it a step further and identified the EU's liberal free movement as a precipitating factor of the *Charlie Hebdo* terrorist attacks in Paris in January 2015.[20] The EU's immigration problems are only worsening, and the September 2015 migrant quota reform which was intended to share the burden of refugees among member states appears to have further bolstered public support for the eurosceptic parties' agendas. Germany's chancellor, Angela Merkel, has supported sharing migrants while eurosceptics in Britain vehemently oppose doing so.[21] This sentiment has persisted. According to the December 2015 Eurobarometer, the top concern continues to be immigration.

Additionally, among the most documented complaints by British eurosceptics is the cost of membership in the EU. In 2014, Britain's contribution to the EU was €15.32 billion. Even though UK citizens pay less than the average of €0.77 per EU citizen per day, the UK's contribution amounts to €0.65 per EU citizen per day.[22] Britain does not pay the most, and the disparity between what the British contribute and what they receive is not the largest; however, British media and politicians have used this disparity as yet another reason for a Brexit.

Other complaints have been voiced by top politicians. British Prime Minister David Cameron, a Conservative, remarked at the 2014 EU summit that "Brussels has got

[19] "Standard Eurobarometer 82 Autumn 2014: Public Opinion in the European Union," European Commission, last modified December 2014, http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-14-2702_en.htm.

[20] Marine Le Pen, "To Call This Threat by its Name: France Was Attacked by Islamic Fundamentalism," *International New York Times*, January 18, 2015.

[21] Ian Traynor, "EU Plans Migrant Quotas Forcing States to 'Share' Burden," *Guardian*, May 10, 2015. http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/may/10/european-commission-migrant-quota-plan-mediterranean-crisis.

[22] "EU Budget: Myths and Facts," European Commission, accessed June 2, 2015, http://ec.europa.eu/budget/explained/myths/myths_en.cfm.

too big, too bossy, too interfering."[23] Cameron has since requested reforms similar to those sought by Harold Wilson in 1974.[24]

C.   CRITICISM OF EUROSCEPTICISM

Critics of euroscepticism typically take a harsh stance against the anti-EU sentiment and the political parties that use it to gain populist support. A study published in 2009 labeled the eurosceptic movement the "Anti-Political Establishment" (APE).[25]

Some critics argue that eurosceptic nationalism is actually rooted in xenophobia and racism. Both of the top eurosceptic parties in France and Britain have relationships with public figures labeled as racists.[26] Britain's UKIP initially attempted to recruit Enoch Powell (1912–1998), who gave his "Rivers of Blood" speech in 1968—a speech outlining the supposed "evils" of an immigrant population.[27] In France, the founder of the FN, Jean-Marie Le Pen, routinely criticized French Jews and described the Holocaust as a mere "detail" of World War II (WWII).[28] In 2015, a public quarrel between current leader Marine Le Pen and her father, Jean Marie Le Pen, led to Jean Marie's removal from the party he established. Conversely, some critics have used what may have been isolated and unrepresentative statements by rogue party members as evidence that the entire movement or party is xenophobic or racist.[29]

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[23] "Brussels Too Big and Too Bossy, Cameron Tells EU Leaders," BBC News, May 27, 2014 http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-27583545.

[24] Stephens, "EU Referendum."

[25] Amir Abedi and Thomas Carl Lundberg, "Doomed to Failure? UKIP and the Organisational Challenges Facing Right-Wing Populist Anti-Political Establishment Parties," *Parliamentary Affairs* 62, no. 1 (January 2009): 72–87.

[26] Stephen Brasher, "Influences: Dr Alan Sked," *New Statesman* 10, no. 448 (April 11, 1997): 25; Rowena Mason, "Enoch Powell was Right on Immigration – Farage," *Guardian*, January 6, 2014.

[27] "Don't Deal with 'Racist' UKIP – Heseltine," *Daily Mail*, October 3, 2013.

[28] Craig R.Whitney, "Le Pen May be Charged for a Remark about the Holocaust," *New York Times*, October 7, 1998.

[29] Patrick Wintour, "UKIP Member Chosen for Broadcast Suspended as Racist Tweets Emerge: Builder Andre Lampitt Called Ed Miliband 'a Pole': Farage Regrets Supporter's Islamophobic Opinions," *Guardian*, April 25, 2014.

III. BREXIT AND FREXIT

This chapter chronicles the major eurosceptic parties in Britain and France. The ultimate goal of the prominent eurosceptic parties is to withdraw their countries from the European Union—a Brexit for the United Kingdom, a Frexit for France. The rise of eurosceptic parties in both Britain and France has shocked many analysts and political elites alike. Britain's UKIP and France's FN grew out of a void left by their countries' established political parties, and each struggled in relative obscurity until achieving a remarkable amount of momentum since roughly 2009—when the Lisbon Treaty was ratified and entered into effect. Both parties have evolved from their formative years and have made concerted efforts to gain popular support. As documented below, each party has distinct origins but similar reasons for gaining in appeal.

A.   BRITAIN

Britain has a storied legacy of independence and pride in national sovereignty. To some, Britain ruled an admired empire, and the British took tremendous pride in this international admiration.[30] The continentals were in Europe, and the British were markedly separated from this continental Europe. Post-WWII international politics changed Britain's stance. In 1946, Winston Churchill famously called for the creation of "The United States of Europe."[31] Such a declaration from Churchill made it appear that he desired a strong EU, but serious debate exists over whether Churchill was a believer in British participation in a European community or if he was a eurosceptic.[32]

The formative post-WWII years may have moved the normally independent British toward a stronger union with continental Europe; however, this sentiment was short lived. When the concept of creating an ever closer union of European states was introduced, many of the British were against it—almost instinctually. One school of

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[30] Luigi Barzini, *The Europeans* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1983), 42–46.

[31] Winston Churchill, "Speech to the Academic Youth, University of Zurich" (speech, Zurich, Switzerland, September 19, 1946), Council of Europe, https://www.coe.int/t/dgal/dit/ilcd/Archives/selection/Churchill/ZurichSpeech_en.asp.

[32] Denis Macshane, *Brexit: How Britain Will Leave Europe* (London: I.B. Taurus, 2015), 28.

thought posits a nation as an "imagined political community" – imagined in the minds of humans who may never meet in person.[33] Forging Europe into a supranational authority is heresy to those, like the British, who have a long tradition of national pride and sovereignty. As Margaret Thatcher put it, "Europe is, in fact, more like a state or an empire turned upside down. It lacks so much that would provide the solid foundations of statehood or imperial power that it can only exist through the satisfaction of accumulated vested interests."[34]

In 2016, the possibility of a Brexit exists without its main eurosceptic party, the UKIP, gaining power. The UKIP began as a fringe political party advocating British independence from continental Europe. The UKIP's successes led to the mainstream Conservative party adopting some of the UKIP's rhetoric, including a referendum for the people to decide whether they want to stay in the EU.

1.   UKIP

The origin of the current quest for a Brexit begins with Britain's most influential eurosceptic party—the UKIP. Since its inception, the UKIP has transformed from a relatively obscure party into one of the top British political parties. It has built upon a framework of euroscepticism, fiscally conservative policies, and anti-immigration advocacy to generate strong nationalist sentiment. UKIP began as the Anti-Federalist League (AFL) in 1991 and formally changed its name to UKIP in 1993. The AFL's founder, Alan Sked, a historian-turned-politician, was a staunch anti-EU advocate. Sked remarked that his political beliefs were most influenced by "The ratification of the Maastricht treaty immediately after the 1992 general election, during which the major parties steadfastly refused to debate it."[35] The Maastricht treaty formally brought the UK (and the other treaty parties) into the modern-day EU, and Sked rejected the inclusion of the UK in an organization that, he believed, would strip it of its sovereignty. Sked and the

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[33] Benedict R. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2006).

[34] Thatcher, *Statecraft*, 323.

[35] Brasher, "Influences," 25.

UKIP viewed the EU as an inept organization that impeded British prosperity.[36] In short, the UKIP held that Britain would be better off independent of the EU—hence the party's nomenclature.

The UKIP's far-right views led to a relatively calm existence in British politics in the first ten years. Sked quit the UKIP in 1997 after he became wary of his party's direction. Concerned about the UKIP's increased far-right politics, he later remarked, "My great regret is that the party I founded has been captured by the radical Right and has gone all anti-intellectual. It's gone completely fruitcake."[37] Even following Sked's departure, the UKIP remained in relative obscurity. In 2009, however, another EU treaty—the Lisbon treaty—sparked a resurgence in eurosceptic debate. The treaty offered a glimmer of hope to British eurosceptics because it formally established a procedure to withdraw from the EU.[38] This reinvigoration of euroscepticism and a general discontent in the midst of a global recession fueled support for the UKIP's message.

The UKIP's leader since 2010, Nigel Farage, used this opportunity to rally the right. This often vilified leader has been at the helm of the party during its dramatic rise. Farage has faced numerous obstacles, including assaults by protestors; egg-throwing incidents; a plane-crash[39]; and, of course, his Conservative and Labour party opponents. Farage, a member of the EP (MEP), uses his speaking time at the parliament to regularly lambast the EU and fellow EP members—typically in dramatic fashion.[40] This flamboyant style of politics, while unorthodox, seems to appeal to both voters disenchanted with the long-established major parties and fellow politicians. Conservative

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[36] Alan Sked, "Vote UKIP to Quit Europe Alan Sked, the Leader of the UKIP, Asks this Newspaper's Readers for Support on May 1," *Daily Telegraph*, April 8, 1997.

[37] Robert Watts, "UKIP's Founder Says the Party has Gone 'Completely Fruitcake,'" *Telegraph*, May 26, 2013.

[38] "Treaty of Lisbon Amending the Treaty on European Union and the Treaty Establishing the European Community, Signed at Lisbon, 13 December 2007," *Official Journal of the European Union* 50 (2007).

[39] Farage was injured in a single-engine plane crash during a campaign stunt in May 2010. A banner encouraging support for UKIP became entangled, which caused the plane to nose dive into a field.

[40] "Nigel Farage," European Parliament MEPs, European Union Parliament, accessed March 19, 2015, http://www.europarl.europa.eu/meps/en/4525/NIGEL_FARAGE_history.html.

party members have often made high profile defections to the UKIP.[41] These defections have added further legitimacy to the UKIP's dramatic rise.

Naturally, the rise of the UKIP has garnered increased attention—both friendly and unfriendly. In 2010, before becoming the FN's leader, Marine Le Pen remarked that she was modeling her toned-down FN after the UKIP rather than another British far-right party, the British National Party.[42] The unfriendly attention has come from political opponents and the media. British Labour and Conservative party politicians routinely express concern over the UKIP's rise.[43] Although the UKIP has achieved significant successes in EP elections, these elections are viewed as "second-order" elections in which voters see "less at stake" than in national elections.[44]

The ultimate fear of the Labour and Conservative parties is that the second-order elections could result in high levels of publicity for UKIP, which could in turn lead to the achievement of similar successes in domestic elections. These fears seem to be materializing as the UKIP now has five members in the British parliament. Critics believe that the UKIP's economic, immigration, and euroscepticism policies threaten negative changes for Britain if its leaders gain power. Even Alan Sked, the UKIP's founder, has targeted the UKIP, calling it "Frankenstein's monster."[45] Additionally, the media has expressed marvel, alarm, and fear over the UKIP's rise. Owen Jones, an influential British political analyst, remarked, "Farage is a dangerous man, politically speaking, and UKIP is a potential menace."[46]

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[41] Max Evans, "Eight More Conservative MPs are 'in Secret UKIP Talks' after Douglas Carswell Defection," *Express*, August 29, 2014.

[42] "Cameron must Face the Challenge of Islamisation," *Daily Telegraph*, December 28, 2010.

[43] Andrew Grice, "Labour Losing Working-Class Supporters to UKIP, Says MP," *Independent*, October 22, 2014.

[44] Karlheinz Reif and Hermann Schmitt, "Nine Second-Order National Elections - A Conceptual Framework for the Analysis of European Election Results," *European Journal of Political Research* 8, no. 1 (March 1980): 3–44.

[45] Stuart Jeffries, "G2: 'The Party Has Become a Frankenstein's Monster': He Founded UKIP, but Alan Sked's Moderate, Brussels-Boycotting Party Soon Went Rogue. Stuart Jeffries Meets the Academic Who's Desperate to Stop the Bandwagon He First Set Rolling," *Guardian*, May 27, 2014.

[46] Owen Jones, "What Does UKIP Actually Want? It Might Surprise You to Know," *Independent*, December 17, 2012.

Despite the alarm, the UKIP of the 2014 EP elections was the strongest yet. EP election results showed the largest increase in popular support since the UKIP's inception.[47] The UKIP increased its EU parliament seats to 23 of the 73 allocated to Britain.[48] As mentioned previously, the UKIP also holds three seats in the House of Lords and two seats in the House of Commons. The UKIP received tremendous support in electoral areas in which it had garnered little support during the last EP election cycle. The UKIP's simplistic and nationalistic approach toward attaining support could be a sign of the times. The euroscepticism from its inception has not garnered the support that it has achieved recently. Instead, it appears that the combination of euroscepticism, nationalism, and growing anti-immigration sentiment has driven the UKIP to the forefront of UK political debate.

Conversely, the UKIP's rise could potentially be explained by other factors. Most of these factors indicate that the UKIP has benefited from the failures of other parties. Critics—including Sked—have regularly called UKIP electoral successes a result of "protest" votes. Voters are discouraged by current British politics and, when offered a different option, are eager to vote for a new party.[49] Others have claimed that the UKIP's success is the result of "a mutiny within Conservatism." Other explanations include the theory that the UKIP targets working-class voters who feel "left behind" by the current major political parties.[50]

Some of these explanations are supported by opinion polls conducted by the EU. The Eurobarometer results of December 2014 indicated that only 30% of the British respondents polled had a positive view of the EU.[51] These results remained the same for the December 2015 iteration of the Eurobarometer.[52]

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[47] Mason and Wintour, "Elections 2014."

[48] Ibid.

[49] Alan Sked, interview by Sophie Shevardnadze, *Russia Today*, June 23, 2014.

[50] Robert Ford and Matthew Goodwin, "Understanding UKIP: Identity, Social Change and the Left Behind," *Political Quarterly* 85, no. 3 (July 2014): 277–284.

[51] "Eurobarometer 82."

[52] "Eurobarometer 84."

2.   Conservatives

Besides the UKIP, the other British party that could bring about a Brexit is the Conservative party. While the UKIP has populist appeal, the Conservative party currently has control of the British government in addition to appealing to both the common man and the socio-economic elite. The Conservatives gained momentum by adopting some of the UKIP's eurosceptic views. These views are widely held in an increasingly right-leaning British populace. By and large, however, the Conservatives are not a eurosceptic party. Conservatives endorsing the policies of PM David Cameron have repeatedly indicated their desire to stay in the EU. Cameron's promise to conduct an EU referendum was made to re-negotiate terms deemed unfavorable to Britain.[53]

The appeal of the Conservative party promising an EU referendum proved successful in 2015 national elections. The Conservative win shocked the British public because numerous opinion polls before the election predicted almost no chance for the Conservatives to receive a majority.[54] On election day, the exit polling was disbelieved so vehemently that Lord Paddy Ashdown, a former leader of the Liberal Democrats, appeared on the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and stated, "If this exit poll is right … I will publicly eat my hat."[55] The exit polls were correct, and the Conservative party's victory moved Britain closer to the possibility of a Brexit.

Cameron's campaign promise of a Brexit referendum was made conditional on concessions to some of the points of contention raised by the Conservative party.[56] The Prime Minister's decision angered some in Britain because it departed from the standard British process of parliament deciding international treaty involvement.[57] Nevertheless,

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[53] Toby Helm, "EU Referendum: David Cameron Puts Squeeze on Boris Johnson," *Guardian*, February 20, 2016, http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/feb/20/eu-referendum-david-cameron-boris-johnson-europe.

[54] Olivia Rudgard, "How Did the Conservatives Win the General Election?" *Daily Telegraph*, May 9, 2015. http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/conservative/11599600/How-did-the-Conservatives-win-the-general-election.html.

[55] "Paddy Ashdown: 'I'll Eat My Hat if Polls are Right," BBC News, May 8, 2015.

[56] "Election Results: Conservatives Win Majority," BBC News, May 8, 2015. http://www.bbc.com/news/election-2015-32633099.

[57] MacShane, *Brexit*, 2.

Cameron requested that the EU change its immigration policies to conform to British immigration reform. The leaders of the other European Union member countries and the President of the European Commission, Jean-Claude Juncker, categorically refuse to change the EU policies just to appease the British. Even if they could change them, Manuel Valls, the French Prime Minister, remarked there would be no new EU Treaty before 2017—and Cameron originally promised to hold the British EU referendum by the end of 2017.[58]

In February 2016, Cameron announced that the EU referendum would be held in June 2016. Various factors appear to have encouraged Cameron to hold the referendum vote sooner than the end of 2017. First, Cameron apparently fears that delaying the referendum vote any further would increase the probability of a Brexit. This fear was reinforced when significant Conservative party politicians publicly advocated Brexit after Cameron's list of preferred concessions was received by the EU in February 2016. When the referendum vote occurs, the outcome will be dependent on public sentiment at that time. Current public opinion polls depict an increasing public sentiment in favor of a Brexit. In September 2015, more voters polled backed a Brexit than those who supported staying in the EU.[59] Additionally, the EU's Presidency of the Council of the European Union is scheduled to shift to the UK in July–December 2017, and Britain would not be able to hold the referendum and hold this presidency at the same time.[60]

B.   FRANCE

France is not as close to a Frexit as Britain is to a Brexit. EU opinion polls indicate that the French population has a higher opinion of the EU than does the British population. In addition, France's most prominent eurosceptic party, the National Front,

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[58] MacShane, *Brexit*, xvi.

[59] Greg Heffer, "Huge 'Brexit' Boost as Now More Voters Back Leaving EU Than Don't," *Daily Express* (UK), September 28, 2015, http://www.express.co.uk/news/politics/608425/Brexit-YouGov-poll-leave-EU-support-British-voters.

[60] Toby Helm, "Referendum Would Turn UK's Presidency of EU into a 'Farce': Officials Alarmed Over Possible Clash of in/out Vote with Britain's Turn to Lead Member States," Observer (UK), December 28, 2014, http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/dec/27/referendum-uk-presidency-eu-vote.

has a far more difficult task in gaining power in French politics—primarily due to the French electoral system, which favors ruling political parties.

France has been ambivalent about its commitment to the construction of a supranational European organization. This ambivalence began with the opposing viewpoints of General Charles de Gaulle and Jean Monnet—a founding father of the European Union. After WWII, de Gaulle wished to recreate France as a nation, and Monnet viewed the pursuit of a united Europe as a better option.[61] De Gaulle viewed Europe as "an entity of independent states," "with no supranational authority" and "independent of the United States." France would be "the dominant power in foreign policy" in Europe and "open to the East."[62] Monnet's view of Europe starkly contrasted with that of de Gaulle. Monnet advocated a Europe that would be anti-nationalist, "based upon concrete institutions," "a European Community linked to the United States in a strong partnership," and inclusive of all who wished to join.[63]

De Gaulle further defined Europe as "from the Atlantic to the Urals." He excluded the United Kingdom as part of Europe.[64] He vetoed Britain's application to the join the European Common Market, also known as the European Economic Community (EEC). General de Gaulle accused Britain of harboring a "deep-seated hostility towards European construction."[65]

France's FN has a longer and more complex history than the UKIP. Unlike the organizers of the UKIP, the founders of France's FN did not initially set out to challenge their country's participation in the EU. The FN began as a strong nationalist party dedicated to the protection and prosperity of the French people.[66] The FN continues to

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[61] J. B. Duroselle, "General de Gaulle's Europe and Jean Monnet's Europe," *The World Today*, 22, no. 1 (January 1966): 1–13, http://www.jstor.org/stable/40393784.

[62] Ibid., 4.

[63] Ibid., 5.

[64] Ibid., 1

[65] Sam Wilson, "Britain and the EU: A Long and Rocky Relationship," BBC News, April 1, 2014, http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-26515129.

[66] Peter Davies, *The National Front in France: Ideology, Discourse, and Power* (London: Routledge, 2001).

express this sentiment—albeit toned down slightly—in its modern-day policies.[67] The FN's euroscepticism has been a natural byproduct of its dedication to all things French; since the EU's establishment in 1993, the FN has opposed it and has promoted euroscepticism as a primary policy. Over the years, the FN has evolved into a considerably more moderate group than it was at the outset, but it has managed to maintain its core tenets.[68] To gain a fuller appreciation of its goals and policies, the FN's origins and evolution must be explored.

The FN was founded by Jean-Marie Le Pen in 1972. In the 1970s, the strong anti-Gaullist, far-right movement in France led to the rise of multiple right-wing parties. The FN attempted to unite these groups and provide an alternative political prospect. The FN played the role of the underdog political party in a French political system dominated by powerful parties: the Parti Socialiste (PS), the Rassemblement pour la Republique (RPR), the Parti Communiste Français (PCF) and the Union pour la Democratie Française (UDF).[69] FN leaders tout themselves as the opposition movement and appeal to those dissatisfied with the big French political parties. These anti-Gaullists have used harsh anti-immigrant rhetoric to attract votes. The FN has maintained its position as a nationalist party and its foremost policy is to promote the vitality of France and the French people. In a 1997 campaign pamphlet, the FN summed up its core belief—the FN "wants to give back France her vitality and her power, and to the people their pride and prosperity."[70] This belief has been expounded upon to imply that the protection was for the French only—not immigrants and certainly not people from former French colonies.

Despite the union of the far-right parties, the FN was an insignificant political party in the 1970s, rarely achieving national success. In the 1980s, the party began to achieve small scale successes, such as in 1983 when the FN won ten percent of the vote in the European Parliament elections. Its notoriety snowballed in the mid-to-late 1980s

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[67] "Notre Projet."

[68] Ibid.

[69] Of these political parties, only the PS and PCF currently play roles in French politics. The RPR and UDF have been dissolved and replaced by other powerful parties, such as the Républicains.

[70] Davies, *National Front*, 1.

when the FN won legislative seats and an increased proportion of popular votes. In the 1988 presidential elections, Le Pen received 14 percent of the vote. This support increased marginally and later stagnated in the 1990s.[71] From the 1990s to the late 2000s, the FN saw a fluctuation in support leading to a remarkably strong showing of 17.8 percent in the 2002 presidential election and a considerably low showing of 4.3 percent in the 2007 legislative elections.[72] Jean-Marie Le Pen announced his retirement the following year, to begin in 2010, and the 2010 regional elections marked a turn-around for the FN, as it received nearly 12 percent of the vote.[73]

Since the FN's founder, Jean-Marie Le Pen, stepped down in 2010, his daughter, Marine Le Pen, has guided the FN to impressive political victories and an ever-increasing party base. Marine Le Pen serves as an outspoken critic of current French policies, including France's involvement in free trade, France's membership in the EU, and France's level of participation in NATO. In support of its opposition role, the FN routinely criticizes current French politics as corrupt.[74]

Marine Le Pen has also made a concerted effort to distance the FN from its past reputation of racism, anti-Semitism, and xenophobia.[75] The FN's strong protectionist policy can be seen as consistent with its strict anti-immigration stance. The FN founder, Jean-Marie Le Pen, routinely criticized French Jews. The anti-Semitic and racist reputation of the FN derived from many political gaffes. Jean-Marie Le Pen described the Holocaust as a "detail" during World War II.[76] In the 1980s, Anne Tristan went undercover to examine the inner workings of the FN. She emerged with harrowing tales

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[71] Davies, *National Front*, 1.

[72] Ibid.

[73] Ruadhan Mac Cormaic, "Le Pen to Retire as Head of Far-Right National Front," *Irish Times*, April 14, 2010.

[74] Suzanne Daley and Scott Sayare, "With Main Parties in Disarray, France's Far Right Benefits," *New York Times*, May 30, 2014.

[75] Lucy Williamson, "Le Pen's French National Front eyes route to power," BBC News, December 01, 2014.

[76] Whitney, "Remark About the Holocaust."

of xenophobia and anti-Semitism which further degraded the FN's image.[77] Only recently have members of the French Jewish population moved back towards the right and support for the FN.[78]

Marine Le Pen's battle to redefine the FN has been met with considerable success since 2011. In the 2014 EP elections, the FN was the top French party, increasing its share of EP seats from three to 24. The FN controls 24 of the 74 French seats.[79] The FN's brand of grassroots political activism and propaganda has appealed to the working class and promoted the nationalism so long sought by Jean-Marie Le Pen. The FN was among the first French political parties with a website. It has literature, gear, cartoons, and other "soft power" mechanisms to convey its message. Even if the FN does not fully succeed in dominating French politics, its message has undoubtedly influenced the prominent political parties. The adjustment of the mainstream political parties' positions to the FN's far-right policies shows the FN's influence, such as the moderate right toughening its immigration stance. Still, the opposition has been quick to publicly decry the FN's progress. Manuel Valls, the French Prime Minister, said in March 2015 that the FN's policies were a "disaster" and encouraged his supporters to "make sure that the [FN's] score is lower."[80]

In the 2015 French local elections, the FN campaigned on the theme of the EU's policies as a source of France's domestic problems.[81] This euroscepticism garnered the FN the highest percentage of votes it has ever received—over 25 percent in the first round and 22 percent in the second round. Due to the electoral system in France that favors established political parties, the FN gained only 62 out of 3,700 seats.[82] The

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[77] John Gray, "At the Heart of a 'Powerful Xenophobic Stream' Journalist Infiltrates France's National Front," *Globe and Mail*, November 2, 1987.

[78] A.B. Sanderson, "National Front Set to Be Biggest Party in France As Polls Put Them on 29 Percent," *Breitbart*, March 6, 2015.

[79] Halikiopoulou and Vasilopoulou, "2014 EP Elections," 286.

[80] "French PM Warns Far-Right Could Win 2017 Presidential Vote," Agence France-Presse, March 8, 2015, http://news.yahoo.com/french-pm-warns-far-could-win-2017-presidential-110134771.html.

[81] "Notre Projet."

[82] "France's Far-Right Wins 62 Seats but Not a Local Council," *New York Times*, March 30, 2015, accessed 02 June 2015. http://www.nytimes.com/aponline/2015/03/30/world/europe/ap-eu-france-elections.html?_r=0.

French electoral system represents the most significant hurdle for the FN to become the primary French political party and pursue its goal of a Frexit from the EU and from NATO's integrated military command structure.[83]

To repeat, the FN not only advocates a Frexit—it also advocates withdrawal from key NATO institutions. Marine Le Pen has pledged a withdrawal from NATO's integrated military command structure similar to the previous withdrawal from this structure by President Charles de Gaulle in 1966.[84] It was not until 2009, under President Nicolas Sarkozy, that France returned to full participation in most NATO institutions. Le Pen's proposed course in international politics is alarming to many Europeans and Americans. Her ominous pledges are seen in the light of her party's financial connections with the Russian government.[85] The FN has received funding from Russian banks, and Russia is suspected of funding other eurosceptic political parties to destabilize the EU.[86] While most Western political leaders avoided Russia's 2015 May Day parade due to the Ukraine crisis, Marine Le Pen triumphantly appeared at the May Day rally in support of Russian President Vladimir Putin.[87]

C. COMPARISON OF BRITISH AND FRENCH EUROSCEPTIC PARTIES

Understanding the UKIP's and the FN's origins and evolution provides context to their similarities and differences. An initial glance depicts both parties as anti-EU, anti-immigration, and populist. All of these traits invoke a strong nationalist sentiment among their supporter—another key similarity contributing to their popularity. Careful analysis shows that the differences between the two parties are significant. As suggested previously, their differences actually began with their origins. The UKIP formed as an

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[83] "Notre Projet."

[84] Ibid.

[85] Luke Harding, "We Should Beware Russia's Links with Europe's Right: Moscow is Handing Cash to Front National and Other Parties to Exploit Popular Dissent Against the EU," *Guardian*, December 9, 2014.

[86] Ibid.

[87] "Femen and Her Father Ruin France's Marine Le Pen's Big Day," Agence France-Presse, May 1, 2015. http://www.digitaljournal.com/news/world/femen-and-her-father-ruin-france-s-marine-le-pen-s-big-day/article/432239.

anti-EU party while the FN formed as a strong nationalist party. Due to the limited scope of this chapter, only the major international policies will be explored.

When comparing the two parties, Le Pen admits, "OK, we don't have the same economic policies [but the UKIP] share our point of view on the European Union and immigration: everyone must control his borders, European technocrats must disappear, the European Soviet Union must collapse, everyone must have their own currency, their economic policy and decide in their own home."[88] In a letter to the editor of the *Daily Telegraph* (UK) in 2010, Farage repudiated a recommendation that Le Pen model the FN after the UKIP. "She has a lot to do to move it towards the free-trading, non-sectarian, liberal and non-racist party that is UKIP."[89] The UKIP sums up its differences with the FN via Steven Woolfe, the UKIP spokesman on Financial Affairs and Migration:

> UKIP wants a free-enterprise, lightly regulated, globally trading Britain. It wants an immigration policy that doesn't discriminate in favour of EU citizens against those from the rest of the world and recognises our ties to our Commonwealth partners. Madame Le Pen's party, on the other hand, wants an economy dominated by state intervention, by trade protectionism, by high social welfare spending and trade union influence. It wants France to establish immigration barriers against the citizens of its former colonies.[90]

Woolfe's letter highlights some of the significant differences between the two parties: economic policies and parameters of anti-immigration policies. The only true similarities between the UKIP and FN are their stated intent to leave the EU, some domestic policies, and their desire for increased national sovereignty; however, even these similarities have different rationales.

The strongest—and perhaps only true—similarity is both parties' commitment to leave the EU. Both parties agree that the EU reduces their national sovereignty and that EU policies have increased immigration problems. The UKIP's website notes, "A vote

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[88] "Marine Le Pen Says Front National and UKIP 'Closer Than They Would Like to Admit,'" *Daily Telegraph*, January 9, 2014. http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/eu/ 10561969/ Marine-Le-Pen-says-Front-National-and-Ukip-closer-than-they-would-like-to-admit.html.

[89] Nigel Farage, "Marine Le Pen's Emulation of UKIP Shows Euroscepticism is Growing across the EU," *Daily Telegraph*, December 30, 2010.

[90] "UKIP is No Mirror Image of France's National Front," *Financial Times*, October 28, 2014.

for UKIP is a vote to leave the EU and recover power over our national life."[91] Le Pen takes a harsher tone, "I expect one thing only from the European system and that's for it to explode."[92] Nationalism is invoked due to the fear of a loss of autonomy to Brussels—the headquarters of the EU. The UKIP and the FN view the EU as a subversive, resource-stripping institution which has already demonstrated its damaging potential. Both parties attribute current domestic problems as consequences of EU membership. The FN's policy document states, "The results [of EU membership] are known: open borders inducing relocation, unemployment, market dictatorship, destruction of public services, insecurity, poverty, mass immigration."[93] Opponents to the UKIP and the FN may agree that the EU is a source of problems but advocate reform instead of withdrawal.[94] A key example of this is the early 2016 effort by UK Prime Minister David Cameron, who is lobbying for concessions to keep Britain in the EU.

Their primary differences concern immigration and xenophobia, defense, foreign policy, and economic policies. Of utmost concern for the UKIP is the unwanted affiliation to a party with a history of racism, anti-Semitism, and xenophobia. The UKIP evidently considers that it has due cause to avoid association with the FN's reputation as a racist, anti-Semitic, and xenophobic party. The UKIP already battles its own accusations of racism, islamophobia, and homophobia—notably from one of its staunchest critics, founder Alan Sked.[95] Sked's critique of the UKIP now seems to go against his past beliefs. When Sked was with the UKIP, he and Farage solicited Enoch Powell (1912–1998) to run for office under the UKIP ticket to support their anti-immigration agenda.[96] Powell was a controversial anti-immigration figure. His "Rivers

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[91] United Kingdom Independence Party, accessed March 9, 2015, http://www.ukip.org/issues.

[92] Ian Johnston, "France's Marine Le Pen Wants Her Far-Right Party to Join Forces with UKIP and Destroy 'European Soviet Union,'" *Independent*, January 9, 2014, http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/frances-marine-le-pen-wants-her-farright-party-to-join-forces-with-ukip-and-destroy-european-soviet-union-9050291.html.

[93] "Notre Projet."

[94] Mason and Wintour, "Elections 2014."

[95] Jeffries, "Frankenstein's Monster."

[96] Pavan Amara, "UKIP Founder Alan Sked and Nigel Farage 'Begged Enoch Powell to Stand as a Candidate,'" *Independent*, December 12, 2014, http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/ukip-founder-alan-sked-begged-enoch-powell-to-stand-as-a-candidate-9922502.html.

of Blood" speech in 1968 was widely regarded as racist.[97] Regardless, Farage and Sked have both expressed admiration and reverence towards Powell.[98]

Concerning immigration, each party has a different rationale behind its stance. Each party's anti-immigration policies straddle the line between nationalism, racism, and xenophobia. Both parties emphasize their native countries' languages. The UKIP and the FN's websites and literature are solely in their official language. The UKIP's immigration policy is that EU citizens can come to the UK and seek British citizenship if they speak English, and have a job, housing, and health insurance.[99] The FN's immigration policy is that French citizenship can be earned after demonstrating a strong commitment to France and its language. The FN would also limit legal immigrants to 10,000 per year (down from 200,000), prohibit dual-nationality for non-Europeans, and favor French citizens for social services and employment.[100]

Critics have deplored these proposed policies as manifestations of racism, while supporters have dismissed such criticisms and have asserted that such policies are necessary to preserve the country's national identity. David Cameron has claimed that the UKIP is "closet racist."[101] Farage has also made perceived gaffes in this regard. For example, he once suggested that genetics played a role in explaining why poorer children performed less successfully in school. Additionally, former UKIP MEP Nikki Sinclaire claimed that UKIP is "without a doubt homophobic."[102] In 2012, Jose Manuel Barroso, then the EU Commission President, referred to these parties as "extremes" and

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[97] "Don't Deal."

[98] Brasher, "Sked," 25; Mason, "Enoch Powell."

[99] "Policies for People," United Kingdom Independence Party, accessed March 1, 2015, http://www.ukip.org/polices_for_people.

[100] "Notre Projet."

[101] James Reed, "Cameron Attacks UKIP's 'Closet Racists,'" *Yorkshire Post*, April 5, 2006.

[102] Jones, "What Does UKIP Actually Want?"

encouraged citizens to defend the European Union.[103] In 2014, Germany's foreign minister, Frank-Walter Steinmeier, called these parties "brainless."[104]

For defense and foreign policy, the two parties are very different. The FN has a stated goal of withdrawing France from NATO's integrated military command structure.[105] Among the rationales that Le Pen has expressed to leave the NATO command structure is the inability within this structure to use any means necessary to defend France from threats—to include torture.[106] Further, the FN wishes to distance itself from the United States, maintain the autonomy of France's forces by exiting the EU and NATO, increase France's defense spending by almost 25 percent, and bolster France's navy.[107] On the other hand, the UKIP wishes to maintain strong ties with the United States, fully fund the United Kingdom's military, and honor British veterans.[108] The FN is not only anti-EU and anti-NATO; it has also expressed an intention to distance France from the United States. Le Pen has praised Russia and President Vladimir Putin; and some analysts believe that if the FN assumes control of the French government, Russia will have a sympathetic partner in Western Europe. Further evidence of the ties between the FN and Russia is apparent in loans requested by and given to the group. As of December 2014, the FN received a €9.4 million loan from the First Czech Russian bank in Moscow.[109] Again in February 2016, Le Pen reportedly requested an additional €27 million loan from a bank with ties to Russia.[110]

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[103] Leo Cendrowicz, "10 Questions with European Commission President José Manuel Barroso," *Time International* 179, no. 20 (May 21, 2012), 1.

[104] Mark Hennessy, "Berlin Offers UK Hope on European Treaty Terms," *Irish Times*, February 4, 2014.

[105] "Notre Projet."

[106] Marine Le Pen, Twitter post, December 13, 2014, 1:22 a.m., http://twitter.com/MLP_officiel.

[107] "Notre Projet."

[108] http://www.ukip.org/issues.

[109] Harding, "Russia's Links with Europe's Right."

[110] "Marine Le Pen's Party Asks Russia for €27 Million Loan," *Moscow Times*, February 19, 2016. http://www.themoscowtimes.com/news/article/marine-le-pens-party-asks-russia-for-27-million-loan/560066.html.

Another difference is their opposing economic policies. The UKIP wishes to promote free-trade and "continue to enjoy 'most favoured nation' status in trade with the EU, as is required under [World Trade Organization] rules."[111] Conversely, the FN advocates protectionism that restricts free trade in favor of French businesses.[112]

D.   FUTURE PROSPECTS: A UKIP–FN ALLIANCE?

The future prospects for both parties appear strong despite the lack of progress in national elections. Their nationalist appeal has earned them increased support, and the EU's economic problems have only benefited their cause. The joint anti-EU cause could be an area in which the two parties form an alliance. In politics, there is power in numbers. Could a potential alliance between the two—especially in the European Parliament—result in a stronger anti-EU movement? Can the parties reach a consensus?

The alliance discussion began in 2010, before Marine Le Pen took over leadership of the FN. At first, the UKIP was partially open to a potential alliance. In response to a question about a possible modeling of the FN after the UKIP, Farage dismissed it but remarked, "Maybe we should, instead, give her a cautious welcome."[113] This cautious welcome was short-lived, and the public bickering between the two parties has persisted.

Le Pen routinely compares her party to the UKIP while Farage has attempted to distance his party from the FN. Le Pen believes that the two are publicly keeping their distance due to "electoral considerations."[114] In early 2014, Farage was blunt, "Look, we've made it clear that we don't intend to do a political deal at any point with [the] French National Front."[115] Months later, in May 2014, Farage went on record acknowledging the common policies between the UKIP and the FN and hinted at possibly voting with the FN to block certain EU legislation—a so-called "blocking minority." Farage remarked, "As a strictly non-racist and libertarian party, UKIP will be

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[111] http://www.ukip.org/issues.

[112] "Notre Projet."

[113] Farage, "Emulation of UKIP."

[114] "Closer Than They Would Like to Admit."

[115] Mason and Wintour, "Elections 2014."

ploughing our own furrow in Europe with parties with which we are happy to do business and make a stand against the EU's political union."[116] Although they have this in common, the UKIP has repeatedly indicated that it does not wish to align with the FN to further the "destruction of the EU." In response, Marine Le Pen told the *Daily Telegraph*, "They say they're [UKIP] not in agreement with us. My foot."[117]

As noted previously, the UKIP has attempted to distance itself from the FN because it views the FN as extreme. The UKIP wishes to stay more moderate while the FN readily advertises its far-right rhetoric. As further evidence of the UKIP's commitment to distance itself from racism or anti-Semitism, the party suspended a member for making disparaging remarks on Twitter on Islam and Nigerians.[118]

In October 2014, the UKIP's EP group, Europe of Freedom and Direct Democracy, collapsed, killing the EP's largest anti-EU group and reducing the UKIP's influence and funding. This collapse was short-lived as the second iteration of the party was re-established a few days later. This type of setback could pave the way towards closer coordination with the FN.[119]

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[116] "Closer Than They Would Like to Admit."

[117] Ibid.

[118] Wintour, "UKIP Member Suspended."

[119] Charles Bremner, "Collapse of Euro Bloc Throws UKIP Finances into Turmoil Eire Region," *The Times*, October 17, 2014.

IV. ANALYSIS: BREXIT/FREXIT IMPLICATIONS

What are the prospects of a Brexit, Frexit, or both? Since 2011, euroscepticism has gained significant traction in European politics. With each electoral success for the eurosceptic parties, both Britain and France demonstrate an increasing potential for withdrawing from the EU. In Britain, both the Conservatives and the UKIP have exploited a litany of factors to gain support and win elections on the Brexit referendum promise.[120] Based on opinion polls and electoral results, there is a strong potential for a Brexit if a referendum was held today.[121] A Frexit has a strong potential of occurring if France's FN gains control of the French government. If FN succeeds, the likelihood of strong popular support for a Frexit is assumed because France primarily campaigns on the promise of a French withdrawal from the EU.[122]

The largest threat to the EU is posed by France and the United Kingdom as they are two of the largest holders of EP seats. Additionally, the UKIP and the FN are the most prominent eurosceptic parties and their 2014 election successes worry both domestic and EU politicians. The prospects for a British or French withdrawal from the EU are encumbered by many challenges, but if it did happen, what would follow for the EU? What would happen to France and the UK? The answers would be largely speculative as there is much existing debate and numerous unknown variables.

For the British and French withdrawals from the EU, the terms Brexit and Frexit have been coined by Denis MacShane, a former UK Labour minister. MacShane believes that if the UK has a Brexit referendum, France will likely follow suit. Upon hearing of a promised British referendum, Marine Le Pen praised David Cameron and remarked, "I will be Madame Frexit if the European Union doesn't give us back our monetary,

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[120] Macshane, *Brexit*, 175–180.

[121] Heffer, "Brexit Boost."

[122] "Notre Projet."

legislative, territorial and budget sovereignty."[123] MacShane believes that there will be total "chaos" in the event of a referendum.[124]

In the event of a Brexit or Frexit, the EU has a strong likelihood of surviving as it has 26 other member countries as of 2016. The membership number has almost doubled since 2004. While Britain and France may not believe that they need the EU, many other EU countries benefit greatly from membership. 2014 and 2015 Eurobarometer polls indicate that many other countries' citizens trust the EU, believe they have a voice, and approve of the overall impact of the EU. Naturally, there are points of contention among the other states, but the overall sentiment is positive.[125]

On the British and French front, if adequate planning is undertaken, it is possible that neither country would suffer severe effects from an EU withdrawal. Undoubtedly, withdrawal would present difficulties. The loss of EU immigration policies would turn two million Britons working in other EU countries into illegal immigrants.[126] On the financial front, a report by UK economists seems to reject the eurosceptic claims of the EU hampering the UK's economic growth.[127] Conversely, an EU exit might have a negative impact on the British pound or the French franc—if France also left the Eurozone and returned to the franc as its currency. (Whether France could withdraw from the Eurozone separately from exiting the EU is another question.) If adequately planned, the negative impact might be manageable. Strong economic policies in each country should allow a smooth transition. There will also be a loss of trade agreements through associations with the EU. In 2013, 19 British business leaders warned against a Brexit.[128] To combat this line of argument, the UKIP claims that the loss of EU trade agreements

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[123] Helene Fouquet, "Marine Le Pen: Just Call Me Madame Frexit," *Bloomberg*, June 23, 2015. http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2015-06-23/call-me-mrs-frexit-le-pen-sees-france-euro-exit-next.

[124] "After Brexit and Frexit, is it Clexit?," *Evening Standard*, March 12, 2015.

[125] "Eurobarometer 84."

[126] Owen Bowcott, "EU Exit Would Make 2m Britons Abroad Illegal Immigrants Overnight – Grieve," *Guardian*, March 18, 2015.

[127] "The Economic Consequences of Leaving the EU," *Centre for European Reform*, June 2014.

[128] Stephen Castle, "Business Sees Risk of British Exit from E.U.," *New York Times*, November 19, 2012.

would be compensated by new agreements giving Britain stronger economic autonomy.[129]

The real loser could be the EU. The EU relies upon the funding from these two prominent countries. The economic interdependence does promote this international institution, and economists believe that membership in the EU is a benefit to member states.[130] Other EU countries may have to compensate for the deficit. More alarming is the potential of other countries following suit—the domino effect. Countries on the brink of EU withdrawal may actually withdraw shortly following a British or French departure. In a doomsday scenario, the EU may collapse if other countries follow France's or Britain's exit.

A.   PROGRESSION OF EU SECURITY AND DEFENSE

Defense and security in the EU is currently based on the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP), derived from authorities granted in Article 42 of the 2009 Lisbon Treaty.[131] The CSDP is only the most recent in a long history of efforts to increase European collective security and defense. In 1950 France proposed the European Defense Community (EDC) to integrate defense. France's parliament failed to approve France's EDC proposal, and the measure was not adopted.[132] As decades of the Cold War passed, European Union members slowly increased their military capabilities. In 1992, the Maastricht Treaty created the Common Foreign and Security Policy, which was a significant step in the development of a collective European policy in this domain. Then in 1998, the Saint Malo Declaration represented another significant step as two great powers—Britain and France—agreed to give the EU decision making authority to respond to crises when NATO was not involved. The Berlin Plus agreement of 2003

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[129] "Policies for People."

[130] "Economic Consequences."

[131] "Consolidated Versions of the Treaty of the European Union and the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union," *Official Journal of the European Union* 55 (October 2012), http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/HTML/?uri=OJ:C:2012:326:FULL&from=EN.

[132] Carmen-Cristina Cirlig, "European Defence Cooperation: State of Play and Thoughts on an EU Army," European Parliamentary Research Service, March 2015, http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2015/551346/EPRS_BRI(2015)551346_EN.pdf.

again provided options for the EU to act with, borrow from, and collaborate with NATO—especially promising for the six EU members not in NATO.[133]

This very succinct outline of the EU security and defense progression does not do justice to the painstaking efforts undertaken by generations of pro-EU politicians to ensure peace and prosperity for Europe. Many eurosceptics believe in the value of defense cooperation, but reject reliance on the EU in this domain. Additionally, critics routinely identify the problems with the inefficiency and lack of capable force presented by the defense treaties and agreements. The Berlin Plus agreement, for example, is constrained by the requirement for consensus of the NATO nations. If a NATO member disagrees with NATO support for the proposed EU action, that support can be blocked and the Berlin Plus arrangement would not apply. Additionally, the framework for an EU army exists in Article 42 of the 2009 Lisbon Treaty, but the inability of the EU member nations to agree has made the article ineffective. In short, the inability to achieve consensus has prevented progress.[134]

This raises the question of the EU army. As discussed below, two opinions over 60 years apart demonstrate the perennial issue of an EU army. Proponents of the EU army believe the collective effort will save money, strengthen the union, develop common foreign and security policies, and increase the deterrent effects of a strong European military body. Opponents of the EU Army are wary of the loss of military sovereignty, suspicious of the EU's centralization intent, and believe NATO already performs the collective defense function well.[135]

The EU army has been a notion debated since the end of World War II, and it has coincided with other efforts to increase European collective security and defense. Attempts to create an EU military have resulted short of any capable force. In 1951, German newspapers used political cartoons to show skepticism and disapproval of such a

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[133] Jolyon Howorth, *Security and Defence Policy in the European Union*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 78–80.

[134] Cirlig, "European Defence," 3.

[135] Ibid.

force fearing their soldiers would be thrown into the "American Stew."[136] Again in 1951, French General Marie-Emile Bethouart was perhaps well ahead of his time in an article he penned advocating an EU army. He remarked, "We must pool our resources," and further named the pre-requisite for the EU army was the creation of a "supranational authority." That supranational authority was established in 1993 as the European Union. Among the benefits highlighted, Bethouart mentioned the efficiency of an EU army, the joint budget, and the "formation of a European spirit." Bethouart conceded the primary difficulty would be the lack of "patriotism or a real European spirit."[137]

Perhaps unwittingly, General Bethouart's comments were echoed by European Commission President Jean Claude Juncker nearly 64 years later in 2015. Juncker called for an EU Army to pool EU resources, increase efficiency, and present a common foreign and security policy.[138] "With its own army, Europe could react more credibly to the threat to peace in a member's state or in a neighboring state," remarked Juncker.[139] Both Juncker and Bethouart made their cases for an EU army in the face of an unpredictable, nuclear-armed Russia. Juncker directly mentioned Russia and its threat to Eastern European nations. Bethouart wrote his article just two years after the Soviet Union became a nuclear power and was undoubtedly motivated by Cold War tensions.

B.   **NATO–EU RELATIONSHIP**

To understand the potential effects of a Brexit or Frexit from the EU on NATO, it is necessary to understand the relationship between the EU and NATO. Although the two organizations share certain objectives, NATO and the EU are distinct organizations with

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[136] Beauth, "Das Flottmachen ist nicht so einfach," "The Flotation is Not So Easy") *Hamburger Abendblatt*, December 12, 1951, http://www.cvce.eu/en/obj/cartoon_by_beuth_on_the_negotiations_for_a_european_army_12_december_1951-en-85e6aec0-898e-4776-84d6-f2b53f8493e7.html.

[137] Marie-Emile Bethouart, "The European Army," *Le Figaro*, August 24, 1951, accessed June 2, 2015. http://www.cvce.eu/en/obj/cartoon_on_the_plan_to_create_a_european_army_17_february_1951-en-681a9819-1a35-4af4-b0b4-2ac4f5b8df10.html.

[138] Von Beat Balzli, "Juncker will EU-Armee," ("Juncker Wants an EU Army") *Die Welt*, accessed 31 May 2015, Google Translate, http://www.welt.de/print/wams/article138170362/Juncker-will-EU-Armee.html.

[139] Ibid.

decidedly different responsibilities.[140] They cooperate, compete, and complement each other through informal and formal agreements.[141] The cooperation has been impeded by lack of consensus and interstate conflicts between members, such as Turkey (which is not a member of the EU) and Cyprus (which is not a member of NATO). Although there have been informal and formal agreements, the relationship between the EU and NATO has been inherently lopsided, with NATO taking on most of the military security responsibilities.

With a relatively sub-optimal record of cooperation in military and security matters, there are few similarities among the two organizations. NATO was formed as primarily a collective defense organization, and the EU was formed primarily as an economic and political union. NATO was formed in 1949 "to defend its members from external coercion or aggression."[142] The EU was formed after a progression of economic and political treaties beginning with the European Coal and Steel Community in 1951. Quite simply, while there are some theoretical similarities in capabilities, the EU and NATO currently perform distinct tasks.

Since the fall of the Soviet Union, both organizations have undergone mission changes. Today, there are some responsibilities undertaken by both organizations, and the deciding factor allowing one organization to perform the functions has often been funding. NATO is well funded and suited for military operations while the EU is not as well funded but well suited for law enforcement operations. When explaining the distinct roles in Afghanistan, two authors commented, "The U.S. [and NATO] is teaching the Afghanistan National Police (ANP) how to shoot; Europe is teaching the ANP when not to shoot."[143] The informal agreements between the two organizations in their Kosovo and Afghanistan operations highlighted the funding disparities. In Kosovo, informal

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[140] Roy H. Ginsburg and Susan E. Penska, *The European Union in Global Security: The Politics of Impact* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 184–185.

[141] Ibid.

[142] David Yost, *NATO Transformed: The Alliance's New Roles in International Security* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Institute of Peace, 1998), 1.

[143] Nina Graeger and John Todd, "Still a 'Strategic' EU-NATO Partnership? Bridging Governance Challenges Through Practical Cooperation," GoodGov Policy Paper, June 21, 2015, 1–2.

agreements were originally intended for EU personnel to take primary law enforcement and rule of law roles. Funding and manning shortages ultimately compelled NATO to play the primary role in pursuing top criminals in the Balkans. This scenario appeared again in Afghanistan; the EU was intended to take the lead on police reform but only allocated a paltry $63 million (USD) in funding.[144] The United States and other NATO forces, on the other hand, provided $1.6–1.7 billion (USD) in funding.[145] Thus, the NATO mission included taking the lead on police reform. It should be noted, however, that 22 EU members are also members of NATO.

NATO expanded its responsibilities to include crisis management and cooperative security functions after the collapse of the Soviet Union. With each organization expanding its roles, a breakthrough occurred in the Berlin-Plus agreement, a formal security cooperation accord between the EU and NATO. Unfortunately, the only current EU-led mission facilitated by the agreement is the Althea operation in Bosnia and Herzegovina.[146] Other attempts to use this formal mechanism have been met with vetoes by Turkey due to its disagreements with Cyprus.[147]

The European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) and the European Economic Community (EEC) were two economic unions that included political collaboration due to necessity. Especially after the destruction of much of Europe in World War II, the liberal tenet of economic interdependence was highly encouraged by the United States. The influx of funding from the Marshall Plan and U.S. investments in industries slowly rebuilt Europe. This interdependence necessitated the formation of economic "communities" in which the members shared common interests and goals. The necessity of political union came about, in part, by the need for the community to ensure that economic rules were being respected by member states.[148]

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[144] Graeger and Todd, "EU-NATO," 1-2.

[145] Ibid., 4.

[146] Ibid., 1–2.

[147] Ibid., 3.

[148] Ginsberg and Penska, *European Union*, 16–18.

The economic and political union that exists now through the EU would not have been possible if it were not for an umbrella of NATO collective defense throughout the Cold War. NATO and the Western European Union allowed EU member states to place more focus on economic prospects than military requirements.[149]

C.   POTENTIAL EFFECTS ON EU SECURITY AND DEFENSE

The outcome of a Brexit or Frexit on European collective security and defense is difficult to predict. A Brexit or Frexit could re-ignite the EU army discussion amongst the remaining members. Alternatively, withdrawal of major powers from the EU could destabilize the union and potentially lead to a collapse. The most probable scenario is somewhere in the middle—a Brexit or Frexit would have an effect on current EU security and defense, but the effect might be mitigated if proper planning was undertaken by EU leaders.

On the other end of the spectrum is the "domino theory." In summation, a Brexit or Frexit may destabilize the EU which could lead to other nations' withdrawal. This scenario has never occurred in such a scale and is purely conjecture. However, such a scenario could create significant trust issues and set European cohesion back to the situation immediately following World War II. One should not outright dismiss this scenario as this is likely what Russia desires.

The most probable scenario is that a Brexit or Frexit would be a non-event—at least in the short term. That is, the current state of EU's security and defense would not be affected by a major power withdrawal. The loss of military manpower and funding will be evident, but the EU will likely adjust and continue with existing institutions. This scenario is most probable as it would not require a drastic change of mindset of the other EU nations. Just because France or Britain exits does not mean other countries share their same sentiments. Britain, for example, can be viewed as a pseudo-European nation. They have been independent and view the rest of Europe as the continentals. France has also been very independent by maintaining pride in their military sovereignty.

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[149] Ginsberg and Penska, *European Union*, 17.

Another primary factor leading to a likely status quo with EU security and defense immediately following a Brexit or Frexit is the ineffective European Defense Agency and European Battle Groups.[150] The current EU military capabilities are underfunded and inferior to many domestic military capacities. Additionally, withdrawal from the EU equates to withdrawals from treaties between the France or Britain and the EU. New treaties will be required and will likely follow the model France and Britain have already undertaken – bilateral or multilateral defense agreements. These agreements involve pooling and sharing, joint military training, and other joint activities to improve efficiency and pool resources especially in a fiscally austere environment. On an economic front, France or Britain could adopt Switzerland's strategy of treaties and agreements between their nation and the EU for specific economic benefits.[151]

Furthermore, EU's security and defense is largely influenced by NATO and the Berlin Plus agreement. Collective security is still viewed as largely covered by Article 5 of the NATO treaty.[152] If an aggressor attacks a NATO ally, other allies are committed to their defense. Berlin Plus, in a way, extends such an arrangement to the non-NATO members of the EU. Unfortunately, the Ukraine crisis has exposed glaring holes in the collective willingness of European nations to defend those outside of these treaties.[153]

Although this paper argues a Brexit or Frexit is unlikely to affect the current state of EU security and defense, this paper's scope does not attempt to predict long-term issues due to the dynamics of international relations. Countless other possibilities could occur that could change the course of EU security and defense.

D. POTENTIAL EFFECTS ON NATO

As with the potential effects on the EU, the effect of a Brexit or Frexit on NATO is also difficult to predict. At one end of the spectrum, a Brexit or Frexit could strengthen NATO and its collective defense and crisis management missions. At the other end, the

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[150] Cirlig, "European Defence," 1–5.

[151] Macshane, "Brexit," xix.

[152] Cirlig, "European Defence," 4.

[153] Biden, "Remarks Ukraine-Russia."

withdrawal of major powers could destabilize both the EU and NATO, and this could lead to two ineffective international institutions. Somewhere in the middle may be a "status quo" effect with no significant change. The most probable scenario is somewhere in the middle—a Brexit or Frexit would result in both the strengthening and weakening of NATO and the EU. Additionally, the secondary international effects are the wildcards. Other regional powers could fulfill new roles or assume increased responsibilities in and outside of both the EU and NATO, such as Germany and Russia.

An obvious result of a Brexit or Frexit would be the reduction of potential security forces and funding at the EU's disposal. This reduction would not necessarily represent a degradation of the EU's military ability due to existing bilateral and multilateral agreements between both EU and non-EU members.[154] For example, a February 2012 agreement between the UK and France substantially increased security, defense, and nuclear weapon cooperation.[155] The survival of the EU has no necessary bearing on this bilateral agreement, and as such, such agreements could mitigate adverse effects on the EU's ability to organize a military or security force. However, as noted above concerning the relationship between the EU and NATO, NATO has carried more of the burden.

Again, this thesis assumes that a Brexit or Frexit could occur. The British do not view themselves as European: they kept their British currency instead of adopting the euro, they do not have a written constitution like other European nations, and they have even abolished the EU identity card.[156] Although France is not as anti-EU as Britain, the French still hold views unlike those of their European neighbors. France did not participate in NATO's integrated military command structure from 1966 to 2009 and maintained a powerful military. The FN asserts that France can handle its own security needs via cooperation in bilateral and multilateral military arrangements.[157] Thus, these

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[154] Cirlig, "European Defence," 6.

[155] "UK-France Declaration on Security and Defence," UK Prime Minister's Office, February 17, 2012. https://www.gov.uk/government/news/uk-france-declaration-on-security-and-defence.

[156] MacShane, *Brexit*, xxii.

[157] "Notre Projet."

two major powers are unlike the other EU nations and their withdrawal might have a marginal effect on the EU (except for the CSDP), and a more significant effect on NATO.

There could be secondary domestic effects from a Brexit or Frexit—some good, some bad. Domestically, Britain and France would face different potential benefits and consequences from EU withdrawal. The benefits might be similar, as eurosceptics argue that an EU withdrawal would return money to their countries, reduce unemployment, allow for domestic immigration controls, preserve sovereignty, and empower national military establishments. Alternatively, the adverse effects could differ for each country. Naturally, the potential adverse effects are emphasized by the pro-EU supporters and fall under two categories: domestic and international.

Pro-EU politicians and analysts have issued warnings of the effects of a Brexit to the stability of the UK. A prominent British political commentator, Philip Stephens, has argued, "If Britain leaves Europe, Scotland will leave Britain. The union of the United Kingdom would not long survive Brexit."[158] Former Labour MEP Denis MacShane also believes that a Brexit would lead to a break up of Britain.[159]

Naturally, the removal of a great power and contributing member of the EU would cause near-term challenges within the EU bureaucracy. Issues of funding, delegates, country-specific rules, and treaties would require overhaul. Smaller EU nations—like Portugal—would receive less money from the EU and larger EU nations—such as Germany—would likely be required to increase their already disproportionate share.

Furthermore, the EU's security and defense are largely influenced by NATO and the Lisbon Treaty, and to a lesser extent, the Berlin Plus agreement. Collective defense is still viewed as largely covered by Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty.[160] If an aggressor attacks a NATO ally, the other allies are committed to its defense.

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[158] Philip Stephens, "Britain Would Not Survive a Vote for Brexit," *Financial Times*, June 26, 2015.

[159] MacShane, *Brexit*, xviii-xix.

[160] Cirlig, "European Defence," 4.

Unfortunately, the Ukraine crisis has exposed glaring holes in the collective willingness of European nations to defend those outside the key Euro-Atlantic treaties.[161]

1. Scenario 1: Split Decision

This scenario assumes that there is a strong possibility of France withdrawing from NATO if a Frexit from the EU occurs. Additionally, there is a high likelihood that Britain would remain in NATO and continue to provide strong support to the organization. France's FN campaigns on strong nationalism and withdrawal from international organizations. If the FN rose to power in France, it would likely carry that same popular support to withdraw from both the EU and NATO. Britain has no such anti-NATO movement. Since the EU would be left with a glaring hole in its international and continental European relations, it is assessed that Britain would rely upon NATO more than it has recently.

2. Scenario 2: No Effects

A second possible outcome is that a Brexit or Frexit from the EU would have no effect on NATO. NATO would exist as a collective defense organization picking up the slack from undermanned and underfunded EU operations within Europe and abroad. Similar to the British example in the first scenario, a Brexit or Frexit might even bolster dedication to the NATO alliance. In the long term, unless dramatically significant events occur, Britain and France would continue to stay in NATO. In addition, because two major powers withdrew from the EU, NATO's crisis management responsibilities could increase due to a lack of capability or funding from the EU. NATO has already performed this role—in Kosovo and Afghanistan—but its role could increase as NATO could be the main international organization which includes Britain and/or France.

Furthermore, new treaties would be required and would likely follow the model that France and Britain have already undertaken—bilateral or multilateral defense agreements. These agreements involve pooling and sharing, joint military training, and other joint activities to improve efficiency and pool resources, especially in a fiscally

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[161] Biden, "Remarks Ukraine-Russia."

austere environment. On an economic front, France or Britain could adopt Switzerland's strategy of treaties and agreements with the EU for specific economic benefits.[162]

3. Scenario 3: Complete Loss of Confidence

A third possible outcome would be at the other end of the spectrum: Britain or France (or both) could withdraw from NATO and bring about a "domino effect," causing other European nations to lose confidence in the EU and/or NATO. This possible outcome would pose the most questions and require the greatest changes in Western foreign policies. Moreover, such a scenario could create significant trust issues and set European cohesion back to the situation immediately following World War II. One should not outright dismiss this scenario as this is probably what Russia desires. In a 1943 analysis of the Soviet vision for the future of continental Europe, Charles Bohlen, the First Secretary of the U.S. Embassy in the Soviet Union, remarked that the Soviet idea was that "Germany is to be broken up and kept broken up," "eastern, southeastern and central Europe will not be permitted to group themselves into any federations," and "France is to be stripped of her colonies." The analysis concluded, "The result would be that the Soviet Union would be the only important military and political force on the continent of Europe. The rest of Europe would be reduced to military and political impotence."[163]

E. SECONDARY INTERNATIONAL EFFECTS

Secondary effects could be provoked by the perceived instability of the EU or NATO. For example, in the event of a Brexit and/or a Frexit, Germany's position as the most populous and economically prosperous EU nation might allow it to dominate Europe and the EU. To some, such a German revival is exactly what NATO was supposed to prevent following World War II. Some observers have continued to champion a formula often attributed to NATO's first secretary general, Lord Hastings

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[162] MacShane, *Brexit*, xix.

[163] Memorandum by the First Secretary of the U.S. Embassy in the Soviet Union (Charles Bohlen), 15 December 1943, in *Foreign Relations of the United States: The Conferences at Cairo and Tehran 1943* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961), 846.

Ismay, "NATO was designed to keep the Americans in, the Russians out and the Germans down."[164]

Additionally, the fear of Germany falling under the control of an authoritarian ruler supported by populism and propaganda frightens some experts because it is comparable to what is occurring in Russia today and what happened in Germany in the interwar period. The Russian factor must also be considered. It is well known that President Vladimir Putin has disdain for NATO, but it is not fully known what efforts he will undertake to degrade the alliance.

As a counter argument to a weakened EU as a result of a Brexit and/or Frexit, the absence of those major powers could lead to the constitution of an EU Army. France and Britain have been major impediments to the EU army debate because of their national traditions. Meanwhile, Germany has been an advocate of a European military force.[165] In 2007, German Chancellor Angela Merkel remarked, "In the European Union we have to come closer to the creation of a European army."[166] Merkel has called for an EU army almost every year. In September 2015, Merkel again called for an EU army—only this time she reportedly attempted to leverage Britain's proposed EU renegotiation. Reportedly, Merkel would drop German opposition to British renegotiation if David Cameron dropped his opposition to an EU army.[167]

In the event of a Brexit and/or Frexit, the EU army discussion could gain new momentum as one or two of the major powers would no longer raise a dissenting voice in the debate. German Defense Minister Ursula von der Leyen remarked, "Our future as Europeans will at some point be with a European Army," and it will "strengthen Europe's

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[164] Ismay cited in Timothy Garton Ash, *In Europe's Name: Germany and the Divided Continent* (London: Vintage, 1994), 389, quoted in David S. Yost, *NATO Transformed: The Alliance's New Roles in International Security* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1998), p. 52.

[165] Cirlig, "European Defence," 3–10.

[166] "Merkel and the EU Crystal Ball: The European Union Needs an Army," *Der Spiegel*, March 23, 2007. http://www.spiegel.de/international/europe/merkel-and-the-eu-crystal-ball-the-european-union-needs-an-army-a-473503.html.

[167] Peter Foster and Matthew Holehouse, "Merkel 'Expects Cameron to Back EU Army' in Exchange for Renegotiation," *Daily Telegraph*, September 12, 2015. http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/eu/11861247/Merkel-expects-Cameron-to-back-EU-army-in-exchange-for-renegotiation.html.

security."[168] Germany—as a robust economic and military power—has positioned itself as the main proponent of a collective EU military to benefit the security and prosperity of the union it so strongly supports. MacShane believes Germany's power would rise in the event of a Brexit:

> A Brexit will change the course of history and the contours of European politics. The EU without Britain will be increasingly dominated by Germany—by far the biggest nation, with the strongest economy, which is increasingly integrated with Poland and new EU member states in east and central Europe. European Germany will give way to German Europe. France will have to accept junior partner status, subordinate to Germany, or seek to create a coalition of dissent with Spain and Italy, a triple alliance of the weakest of the big EU member states.[169]

Additionally, the Russians have been overtly and subversively attempting to destabilize Western international institutions. To many, Russia has become the preeminent threat to EU security and defense. In a May 2015 speech, U.S. Vice President Joe Biden remarked that the Russian aggression in Ukraine has "transformed the landscape of European security." In Biden's words, "As it tries to rattle the cage, the Kremlin is working hard to buy-off and co-opt European political forces, funding both right wing and left wing anti systemic parties throughout Europe." Biden further explained, "President Putin sees such political … forces as useful tools to be manipulated, to create cracks in the European body politic which he can then exploit."[170] As documented earlier, France's FN is one of those parties that may be susceptible to manipulation by Russia through funding. The Russian factor is an unpredictable influence in any potential scenario. If Russia succeeds at steering eurosceptic parties in its favor, an alliance could emerge which would alter international politics and potentially the argument of this thesis.

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[168] Ursula von der Leyen quoted in Andrew Sparrow, "EU Army."

[169] MacShane, *Brexit*, 7–8.

[170] Biden, "Remarks Ukraine-Russia."

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V.   CONCLUSION

In early 2016, the upcoming British referendum on whether to exit the EU repeatedly appeared in the headlines of major international newspapers. For some observers, the referendum became an alarming reality when PM David Cameron announced that it would occur in June 2016. Few outside Britain and Europe understand what a Brexit could mean for Britain, Europe, NATO, and the world. It is easy to dismiss this event as a local political squabble. In reality, however, this event could pose significant problems for international politics and United States foreign policy.

A Brexit or Frexit would almost certainly change the dynamics of domestic and international politics in Europe. The severity of this change is unknown because the adverse effects might be mitigated with sound planning and leadership. This leadership would require significant diplomatic relations and negotiations to compensate for the loss of military, economic, legal, and political agreements organic to inclusion in the EU.

The secondary international effects are the wildcards in this assessment. What would Germany do with clear majority power in the EU? What would Russia do with a weakened EU or NATO? These thought-provoking questions are subjects for speculation and future research.

Alternatively, there still remains a strong possibility that a Brexit or Frexit will not occur. Voters and politicians could conclude that the EU's problems do not outweigh the benefits of inclusion in the EU. The British population could simply vote that they want to stay in the EU. An outcome like this would probably strengthen the EU and quell eurosceptic sentiment. It is unlikely that eurosceptic parties will disappear, but these parties may not have as much confidence in their chances in future referendums.

Regardless of the British referendum outcome, the eurosceptic movement will continue to gain support if immigration, terrorism, financial instability, or unemployment remain concerns. These issues are covered extensively by media outlets regardless of their actual severity. The more these concerns appear to be dire problems, the more likely the eurosceptic movement will persist. For example, if the Islamic State perpetrates

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another high profile attack in Europe—of which the threat was assessed as high by Europol in January 2016[171]—the eurosceptic parties will likely attempt to capitalize on the event. These eurosceptic parties may use such events to advocate stricter control of borders, more rigorous immigration quotas, and restrictive limits on further European integration—much akin to the arguments set out by France's FN after the Paris attacks in 2015.[172] Moreover, the eurosceptic parties may use such events to continue to advocate withdrawal from the EU.

Perhaps the ultimate fear for United States foreign policy strategists is the potential destabilization of international institutions—not limited to the EU. International institutions are critical to the national security policy of the United States. The destabilization of international institutions in the face of Putin's Russia, the Islamic State, and persistent Eurozone problems should set off alarms. Russia could continue to violate sovereign borders, the Islamic State could continue to take advantage of freedom of movement, and the financial problems with the Eurozone—one of the largest economies in the world—could have global effects. For these reasons, it is clear that euroscepticism is not just a European problem.

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[171] "EUROPOLs European Counter Terrorism Centre Strengthens the EUs Response to Terror," EUROPOL Press Release, January 25, 2016. https://www.europol.europa.eu/content/ectc

[172] Le Pen, "Call This Threat."

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