



# European integration and disintegration, UK, Spain

REGIONAL SECURITY COMPLEXES

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# Integration in Europe

- ▶ 1949 NATO
- ▶ The Council of Europe 1949
- ▶ 1975/1991 OSCE
- ▶ 1949 COMECON
- ▶ 1955 Warsaw Pact

# European integration

- ▶ 1952 European Coal and Steel Community
- ▶ 1957 Euroatom
- ▶ 1957 European (Economic) Community
- ▶ 1992 EU Maastricht (3 pillars, EC, CFSP, justice and interior)
- ▶ 2009 Lisbon Treaty



# European integration

- ▶ 1952 Fr, Ge, Benelux, It
- ▶ Northern enlargement (1973): the United Kingdom, Ireland and Denmark. Norway failed to ratify the treaty of accession.
- ▶ Two southern enlargements (1981 and 1986): Greece, Spain and Portugal.
- ▶ „Residual“ enlargement (1995): Austria, Sweden and Finland.
- ▶ Great eastern“ enlargement (2004): Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Czech r., Slovakia, Hungary, Slovenia, Malta and Cyprus.
- ▶ „Additional eastern“ enlargement (2007): Romania, Bulgaria.
- ▶ Small additional: Croatia (2013)

# Who is next??

- ▶ Balkan
- ▶ Ukraine, Georgia, Moldova??
- ▶ Who is entitled??

# Who refuses to be European??

- ▶ Norway
- ▶ Switzerland



# European integration

- ▶ Supranational institution
- ▶ No european demos
- ▶ Disputes within
- ▶ Weak
- ▶ No common stand for foreign policy
- ▶ No one official language
- ▶ European elections

# UK - integration and desintegration

- ▶ 12th century Ireland under English king
- ▶ 1301 Wales part of England
- ▶ 1707 England and Scotland United
- ▶ 1801 UK of Great Britain and Ireland
- ▶ 1922 independence of Ireland
- ▶ 2016 Brexit



# Historical background to NI conflict

- ▶ 12th century, pope gave control of Ireland to King Henry II of England
- ▶ 16th century England tried to force Protestantism on the largely Catholic population
- ▶ 17th century English and Scottish settlers moved to Ulster creating Protestant majority
- ▶ 1845-49 potato famine
- ▶ 1916 Easter Rising
- ▶ 1922 Ireland partitioned



# Protestants vs. Catholics

## Protestants

- ▶ 58 % population
- ▶ „Unionists“ – keep United with GB
- ▶ Loyalists –extreme Unionists who will use force
- ▶ Members of the Church of Ireland and other Protestant churches
- ▶ Ulster Unionist Party (UUP), Democratic Unionist Party (DUP)

## Catholics

- ▶ 42 % of the population
- ▶ „Nationalists“ – independent from GB
- ▶ Republicans are extreme Nationalists
- ▶ Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP) Sinn Fein

# Language 2011 census in NI

- ▶ (10.65%) claim to have some knowledge of Irish, of whom **104,943** (6.05%) can speak the language to varying degrees.
- ▶ Some 4,130 people (0.2%) use Irish as their main home language.



# The Troubles

▶ Since late 1960s

▶ IRA, Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF), Ulster Defence Association (UDA)

▶ British army, RUC (Royal Ulster Constabulary), NI police force

▶ Over 3 500 people killed

▶ 1960s called for elimination of job discrimination, house allocation discrimination, one man – one vote, end to gerrymandering electoral boundaries, reform of the police force, repeal of the Special Powers Act (allowed police to search without warrant, arrest without trial, used exclusively against Nationalists)

▶ 1972 Bloody Sunday in city of Derry

▶ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JFM7Ty1EEvs>

▶ 1973 Sunningdale Agreement – power sharing

▶ 1981 Hunger strike and Bobby Sands

▶ 1998 Good Friday Agreement – devolution and self-government

▶ <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-northern-ireland-1998-01>

▶ <https://www.bitesize/guides/zrhrd2p/revision/7>





# Sunningdale Agreement 1973

- ▶ Attempt to establish power-sharing NI Executive and cross-border Council of Ireland
- ▶ General strike and Violence broke out in 1974 so the agreement failed

# Downing Street Declaration 1993

- ▶ Joint declaration of prime ministers of UK and Republic of Ireland (John Major, Albert Reynolds)
- ▶ affirmed both **the right of the people of Ireland to self-determination**, and that Northern Ireland would be transferred to the Republic of Ireland from the United Kingdom only if a majority of its population was in favour of such a move.
- ▶ **principle of consent** - the people of the island of Ireland had the exclusive right to solve the issues between North and South by mutual consent.

# Good Friday Agreement

- ▶ Internal Multi-Party Agreement and international British-Irish Agreement
- ▶ Provisions:
  - ▶ 1. the status of **NI within UK**
  - ▶ 2. Relationship **between Republic of Ireland and NI**
  - ▶ 3. Relationship between **Republic of Ireland and UK**
- ▶ New institutions:
  - ▶ Strand 1: **NI** Assembly and NI Executive
  - ▶ Strand 2: **North-South** Council, Parliamentary Association, Consultative Forum
  - ▶ Strand 3: **British-Irish** Intergovernmental conference, Parliamentary body, council.

# Good Friday Agreement

- ▶ As part of the agreement, the British parliament **repealed a territorial claim over all of Ireland**
- ▶ Republic of Ireland **repealed a territorial claim over Northern Ireland**. (articles 2 and 3 of the constitution of Ireland)
- ▶ Good Friday Agreement **approved by referendum in NI**
- ▶ Change in the constitution **approved by referendum in Republic of Ireland**

# Sunningdale vs. Belfast Agreement

- ▶ „**Sunningdale for slow learners**“
- ▶ Differences: bringing IRA in, principle of self-determination, recognition of both national identities, British-Irish Cooperation,
- ▶ **United Ireland:**
- ▶ 1. the cession of territory from one state to another state has to be by international agreement between the UK and Irish governments.
- ▶ the people of Northern Ireland can no longer bring about a united Ireland on their own; they need not only the Irish government but the people of their neighbouring state, Ireland, to also endorse unity.
- ▶ the 1998 agreement and the consequent British legislation did expressly foresee the possibility of a united Ireland.

# Further reading

- ▶ Sorj Chalandon: Return to Killybegs , Traitor
- ▶ Films: In the name of the Father, Hunger, Boxer, The Crying game, The wind that shakes the Barley, Derry Girls,



<https://www.compulsionsentents.com/detail-event/the-murals-that-make-ireland/>









UDU MEMBER



U.F.F. MEMBER



UDA MEMBER



ULSTER DEFENCE UNION  
FORMED 1893.

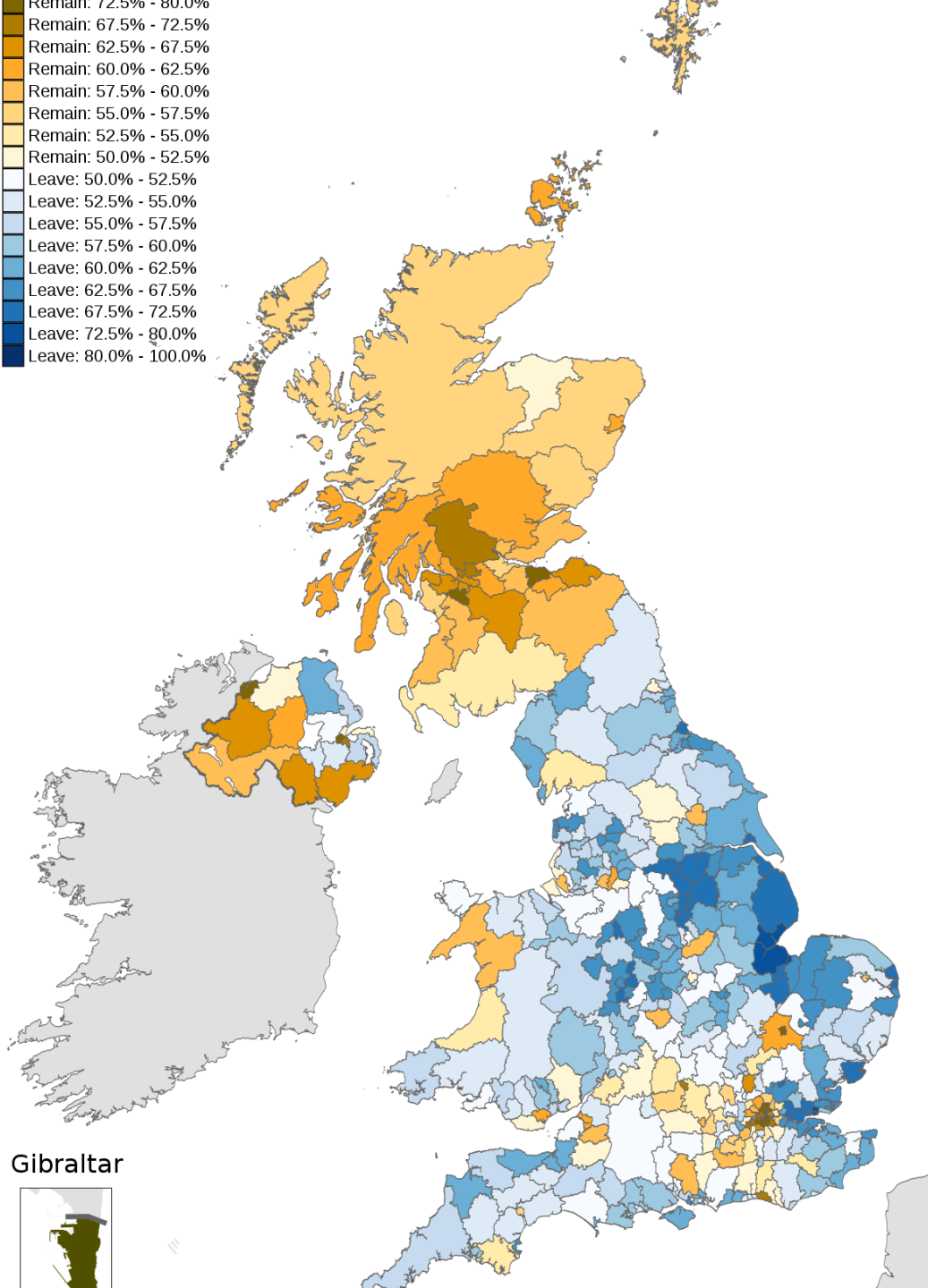


ULSTER DEFENCE ASSOCIATION  
FORMED 1972.





- Remain: 72.5% - 80.0%
- Remain: 67.5% - 72.5%
- Remain: 62.5% - 67.5%
- Remain: 60.0% - 62.5%
- Remain: 57.5% - 60.0%
- Remain: 55.0% - 57.5%
- Remain: 52.5% - 55.0%
- Remain: 50.0% - 52.5%
- Leave: 50.0% - 52.5%
- Leave: 52.5% - 55.0%
- Leave: 55.0% - 57.5%
- Leave: 57.5% - 60.0%
- Leave: 60.0% - 62.5%
- Leave: 62.5% - 67.5%
- Leave: 67.5% - 72.5%
- Leave: 72.5% - 80.0%
- Leave: 80.0% - 100.0%



Gibraltar



# ASKATASUNA



- Full Francoist period
- Francoist Basque
- Francoist territory
- Civil War
- Civil War

**NOT SPAIN NOT FRANCE**

*Self-determination for the Basque country*

★ 1959 fifty years of revolution 2009



IN GENERAL ASSEMBLY  
RESOLUTION OCT 2009  
COUNTRIES OPPOSED TO  
75 BANGKOK 198  
COUNTRIES IN FAVOR  
(BY JRM, PLM)

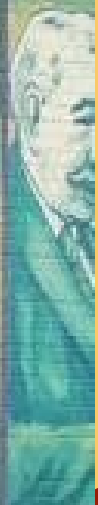
## VENCEREMOS



ARUI  
NO SE  
RINDE  
NADIE!



THE WORLD OPPOSES US BLOCKADE  
**OF CUBA**  
TIME FOR CHANGE MT OBAMA



Council  
IREL



# Brexit and NI Protocol

- ▶ the **Good Friday agreement** is an absolute priority.
- ▶ That meant keeping the land border open and avoiding new infrastructure such as cameras and border posts.
- ▶ This was easy to do when both Ireland and Northern Ireland were part of the EU.
- ▶ a new border has effectively been created in the Irish Sea.
- ▶ UK thinks to suspend NI Protocol
- ▶ EU respond???
- ▶ Protests and demonstrations

## How checks between Britain and Northern Ireland work

Certain goods, such as meat and eggs, need to be checked when they enter Northern Ireland from Great Britain





# And what about Scotland?

- ▶ 2014 referendum – 55% voted NO to independence
- ▶ 62% in Scotland opposed Brexit
- ▶ Scottish National Party calls for referendum 2021

# Spain integration and desintegration

- ▶ Catalonia
- ▶ Basque





# Catalonia

- ▶ Catalonia has its own language and distinctive traditions
- ▶ **population nearly as big as Switzerland's (7.5 million).**
- ▶ It is one **of Spain's wealthiest regions**
- ▶ making up 16% of the national population
- ▶ accounting for almost 19% of Spanish GDP.
- ▶ **It's also a vital part of the Spanish state, locked in since the 15th Century.**
- ▶ **Barcelona – tourism, football, 1992 Olympics**

# Catalonia

- ▶ 1931-9 2nd Spanish Republic (self-governance, language)
- ▶ 1939-75 Franco régime
- ▶ 1978 Constitution – autonomy regained, language
- ▶ 2014 Self-determinationan referendum





# Language 2011 census

- ▶ 73.2% (5,350,000 people) of the Catalan population aged 2 or more can speak Catalan, and 55.8% can write it.
- ▶ **95.2% of the Catalan population say they understand Catalan.**
- ▶ If compared to the 2001 census, the speakers percentage has suffered a slight decline of one point, down from 74.5%.

# Referendum 2017

- ▶ Spanish Constitutional Court ruled the referendum was "unconstitutional and null"
- ▶ **"Do you want Catalonia to become a State?" and "Do you want this State to be independent?"**
- ▶ Estimates for the turnout 40 %
- ▶ 80.8% of the cast votes supported the Yes–Yes option, 10.1% the Yes–No, 4.5% the No option
- ▶ Referendum marred by violence and police brutality
- ▶ 2017, a trial against the leading politicians by the Supreme Court of Catalan Justice
- ▶ Article 155 of the constitution and control over catalonia

# In the aftermath – local elections 2017

- ▶ three separatist parties won a total of 70 seats in the 135-seat regional parliament
- ▶ 80 % turnout
- ▶ Great polarization
- ▶ Democratic credentials of Spain damaged

# Basque country

- ▶ 2016 of all people aged 16 and above in the Basque Autonomous Community, 33.9% were fluent Basque speakers, 19.1% passive speakers and **47% did not speak Basque.**
- ▶ 2008 proposed referendum



# History of Basque country

- ▶ Franco régime provoked backlash
- ▶ 1959 ETA criticising both sides , paramilitary, leftist
- ▶ 2010 ceasafire and giving up of weapons
- ▶ 2018 ETA dissolved



# Further reading and videos

- ▶ Catalonian referendum explained  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Dqix>  
(6 minutes)
- ▶ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Na0>  
(5 minutes), catalonian referendum explained  
by bbc