Europe's Crossroads: Brexit and a Resurgent Russia

July 2016

The European Commission affirms its commitment to promoting integration among member 1 2 states in spite of the United Kingdom's recent popular referendum to withdraw from the 3 European Union. The Commission asserts its unwavering fidelity to the protection of territorial 4 sovereignty and calls on Russia to honor its international obligations and cease its destabilizing 5 activities across Europe. To address such policy matters, the following stipulations are 6 proposed for collective consideration: 7 8 PREAMBLE 9 10 WHEREAS the European Union (EU) has consistently sought to deepen integration among 11 member states and generate consensus to contend with urgent economic and security 12 challenges, the following should be taken into account: 13 i. 14 That the EU is an economic and political partnership involving 28 nations, enabling 15 the free movement of goods and persons through the establishment of a single 16 market. 17 ii. That closer integration among member states produces a net benefit for Europe and 18 enhances the economic, political, and social welfare across states. 19 iii. That the EU is a broad and diverse community of peoples historically divided by 20 conflict and misgiving for centuries, now dedicated to collectively overcoming 21 exacting strategic challenges. 22 iv. That any member state's withdrawal from the EU will inevitably alter the European 23 balance of power and the character of relations both within the Union and between 24 Europe and the rest of the world, harming intergovernmental cooperation and 25 global economic security. 26 27 Ι. BREXIT AND ITS IMPLICATIONS 28 29 A. Earlier negotiations 30 31 WHEREAS this Union diligently sought to assuage British concerns concerning the function and 32 application of EU programs. 33 34 WHEREAS the President of the European Council and the UK Prime Minister conducted 35 negotiations in good faith, culminating in a February 2016 agreement that granted Britain an

36 explicit exemption from the EU's founding goal of forming an "ever closer union." Negotiations

37 awarded the UK concessions on the welfare rights of migrant workers, including an "emergency

38 brake" on migrants' in-work benefits for four years during "exceptional" levels of migration.

39 The UK also gained the ability to enact "an emergency safeguard" against Eurozone financial

- 40 rules, to stop UK firms from being forced to relocate to Europe, and to ensure British businesses
- 41 did not face undue discrimination for operating outside of the Eurozone.
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WHEREAS the UK has enjoyed a multitude of Treaty-based exceptions intended to ameliorate British vexations with European integration. Some of these exceptions allow the UK: to not adopt the Euro; to not participate in the Schengen acquis; to exercise border controls on persons and therefore not participate in the Schengen area pertaining to internal and external borders; to choose specific measures in the area of freedom, security, and justice; and to choose to cease to apply a large majority of Union acts and provisions in police cooperation and judicial cooperation in criminal matters.

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51 WHEREAS in spite of consistent energy devoted to allaying the United Kingdom's concerns, UK 52 representatives are consistently underrepresented across EU institutions. In 2015, only 4.2 53 percent of Commissions officials (permanent and temporary) were British, compared with the 54 UK's 12.3 percent share of the EU's total population. Further, only 1.5 percent and 2.4 percent 55 UK representation existed in the Council Secretariat and European Parliament respectively. In 56 2016, only two of the Commission's 33 Director Generals in charge of policy-related 57 departments and only one of the 28 shafe do exhipt were British.

57 departments and only one of the 28 chefs de cabinet were British.

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59 **BE IT HEREBY RESOLVED** that the EU accepts the will of the British people in choosing to no 60 longer remain a member of the Union. While this Commission regrets the outcome of the UK 61 referendum, this body resolves to maintain a meaningful and enduring partnership with Great 62 Britain. The UK will persist as one of the EU's most valued partners in the future. 63

- 64 **B. Article 50 conditions and expectations**
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66 WHEREAS any member state may decide to withdraw from the European Union in accordance67 with its constitutional requirements.

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69 WHEREAS a member state that decides to withdraw shall notify the European Council of its
 70 intention, and the Union, in accordance with established guidelines, shall negotiate and
 71 conclude an agreement with that state, setting out the arrangements for its withdrawal, taking
 72 account of its future relationship with the Union.

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74 WHEREAS the Treaties shall cease to apply to the state in question from an agreed-upon final 75 withdrawal date, or failing that, two years after the notification of intent to withdraw, unless 76 the European Council, in agreement with the member state concerned, unanimously decides to 77 extend the period. The member of the European Council or of the Council representing the 78 withdrawing member state shall not participate in discussions of the European Council or in 79 decisions concerning it. During the negotiating period, the UK shall continue to supply its 80 previously agreed upon financial contribution to the EU budget, equating to about £13 billion 81 per year. 82

83 **BE IT HEREBY RESOLVED** that this Union calls on the British government to expeditiously invoke 84 Article 50 of the Treaty on European Union, thereby officially notifying the European Council of

- its intent to initiate withdrawal negotiations from the EU. This withdrawal must be carried out
 through a negotiated agreement rather than an unilateral act, and bound to adhere to all
- 87 relevant procedures outlined in Article 50.88
- i. Domestic political considerations cannot dictate the withdrawal timeline, nor can it be
 affected by unwarranted delays. The European Commission urges the British Prime
 Minister to commence negotiations immediately. Delays in proceeding with this process
 will unnecessarily prolong financial and political uncertainty in Europe, casting a cloud
 over economic markets as well as EU policy-making institutions.
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 ii. The EU still seeks to maintain a close relationship with the UK in the coming years, but
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- BE IT HEREBY FURTHER RESOLVED that no nation should expect to forgo the responsibilities of
 being part of the EU whilst still enjoying its privileges. The UK government must not be under
 the illusion that Europe will support its continued access to the single market without its
 corresponding respect for four basic European freedoms: people, goods, services, and capital.
 This reality underscores the need for the UK to exercise Article 50 as soon as possible in order
 to forge a path for British extrication from this body.
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 109 i. There will no renegotiation of the previously agreed-upon February accord that
 110 protects London's financial markets, curbs immigration, and opts out of closer union.
 111 The earlier pact is void. Furthermore, this Commission retains the utmost confidence in
- its newly appointed principal coordinator of negotiations with Great Britain to conferwith all relevant UK representatives.
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- 115 **BE IT HEREBY FURTHER RESOLVED** that the Commission welcomes initial calls to protect the 116 legal status of UK nationals in Europe and EU nationals in the UK. Until an accord on this matter 117 is reached, this body wishes to assure the approximately 1.3 million UK nationals currently 118 working in Europe that their legal and work status is not in doubt in the near-term whilst the UK 119 remains part of the EU. Any decisions made on this topic will be contingent on the ultimate 120 withdrawal agreement reached between the UK and EU. Similarly, it is imperative that the UK 121 government honor the rights of the 3 million EU nationals living and working in the UK in the 122 short-term in order to assuage EU nationals' concerns. The UK government has an obligation to 123 transparently and fairly arbitrate this matter, ensuring that any major changes to legal statuses 124 should be instituted gradually to minimize severe disruptions to people's financial and social 125 well-being. 126
- 127 <u>C. Scotland, Northern Ireland, and Contagion</u>

- 128 WHEREAS this Union finds the UK's decision to withdraw from the European Union regrettable,
- 129 it respects the will of the British people. The referendum results were remarkably narrow, with
- 130 popular support for leaving the EU carrying the vote in England and Wales, and remaining in the
- 131 EU resoundingly prevailing in Scotland and Wales.
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- 133 WHEREAS the governments of Scotland and Northern Ireland have previously advocated for 134 their position in the UK, whilst concurrently demonstrating their willingness to pool resources 135 and sovereignty to promote the collective European good as EU members.
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BE IT HEREBY RESOLVED that the EU urges both Scottish and Northern Irish political leaders to
 avoid making any precipitous decisions regarding popular sovereignty in the wake of the
 referendum. National leaders have a responsibility to thoroughly evaluate calls for Scottish
 independence or Irish reunification with keen diligence in order to assess what is in the
 people's best interest.

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i. EU membership has been an especially critical component of Northern Ireland's
prevailing peace since the 1990s, after years of sectarian violence. The people of
Northern Ireland have benefitted from freedom of commerce and unencumbered travel
to the Republic of Ireland while still belonging to the UK, resulting in an unmatched era
of prosperity and tranquility in the region.

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ii. Scotland and Northern Ireland each have significant historical, cultural, and political
 ties with Great Britain. Any talk of separation is premature and presently unmerited.
 The UK should not incite any additional popular discontent during this tumultuous

- 152 period. It should refrain from implementing additional border controls between
- 153 Northern Ireland and the Irish Republic, or enacting any measures that threaten core 154 elements of the 1998 Good Friday Agreement during the upcoming negotiations.
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BE IT HEREBY FURTHER RESOLVED that stability in Europe is of the utmost importance for all
member states. Multiple global crises threaten regional economic, social, and national security
interests. This Union is cognizant that popular discontent with European institutions is
substantial-- factors that surely contributed to the UK's vote to leave the EU. Rising
dissatisfaction, largely due to an uneven economic recovery, surging immigration and refugee
levels, terrorism, and other fears, have raised concerns regarding the utility of advancing

- 162 European integration.
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i. Member states shall therefore renew their commitment to forging new policy
 consensus in three key areas: security; migration and refugees; and jobs and growth.
 Meaningful Treaty addendums must be adopted to address critical issues in a timely
 manner, demonstrating that EU institutions have the maturity and fortitude to resolve
 crises quickly to mitigate people's fears and yield effective policy results.

ii. Enhancing institutional accountability, accelerating policy decision-making timeliness,
and easing the legitimate democratic concerns of Europeans are critical components in
validating the meaning of integration and vindicating the EU's value to constituents.

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II. RESURGENT RUSSIAN ADVENTURISM

176 A. A Complicated Relationship

WHEREAS Russia is Europe's largest neighbor and its third biggest trading partner, the EU and
Russia have a long record of cooperation on issues of bilateral and international interest,
including climate change, organized crime, counterterrorism, and nonproliferation.

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 182 WHEREAS the relationship between the European Union and Russia has historically been
 183 marked by partnerships on issues of mutual concern, the latter's illegal annexation of Crimea
 184 and continuing willful destabilization of Ukraine has significantly damaged EU-Russia relations.
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- BE IT HEREBY RESOLVED that this Union supports the renewal of targeted sanctions against
 Russia in key areas, including access to capital markets, defense, dual-use goods, and sensitive
 technologies (including those in the energy sector). Russia has failed to live up to its obligations
 under the Minsk agreements.
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i. The EU is committed to honoring the terms of previously agreed upon sanctions.
While nearly two years have passed since Russian and Ukrainian parties agreed to
ceasefire terms, the EU remains resolute that sanctions persist in place until the Minsk
agreements are wholly implemented. Renewed sanctions include both individual and
corporate entities subject to asset freezes and travel bans over their responsibility for
actions that undermine or threaten Ukraine's territorial integrity, sovereignty, and
independence.

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ii. There has been minimal progress in ending the fighting or realizing an amenable
political settlement to resolve the conflict in eastern Ukraine. The hostilities have
created incalculable human suffering and resulted in nearly 10,000 deaths and many
more wounded. Despite such a horrific human toll, Russia maintains troops and heavy
weaponry in the eastern Ukraine. The Russian government's persistently destabilizing
activities have exacerbated regional tensions and impeded achieving a lasting cessation
of violence.

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BE IT HEREBY FURTHER RESOLVED that the EU will not waver in its fidelity to uphold
 international obligations and serve as a vanguard of human rights. Some member states have
 recently publicly questioned the current EU position vis-a-vis Russia. This body avows that the
 proliferation of such sentiments, made under the auspices of individual member states, merely
 serve to undermine the Union's collective position in future multilateral fora.

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i. The Russian government has consistently sought to undermine European capitals and
 EU policies. The adopted sanctions are a tool that must be leveraged in order to ensure
 that the EU sustains credibility against Russian interference in sovereign state affairs and
 counters the latter's non-compliance with international obligations. This Commission
 urges all member states to maintain unity in exerting pressure on Russia to fulfill the

- 218terms of the Minsk agreements. Failure to maintain a unified European commitment will219only encourage continued Russian defiance in light of any EU dissension.
- ii. The EU further advises the Russian government to release its remaining 13 Ukrainian
 political prisoners, include four Crimean Tartars. This goodwill gesture would publicly
 demonstrate Russia's resolve to uphold human rights, de-escalate tensions, and
 generate greater cooperative feelings on both sides. The EU condemns both Russia and
 Ukraine's unjust detainment of any individual and calls on both governments to engage
 in more constructive dialogue in order to restore peace to the region.
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B. Russian hostility toward its neighbors

WHEREAS Russia violates sovereign borders, conducts large-scale military exercises near
European territory, including in the Baltic and Black Sea areas as well as the Eastern
Mediterranean, issues bombastic and aggressive nuclear rhetoric, and persists in repeatedly
violating EU and NATO airspace.

- 234235 WHEREAS the EU is dedicated to condemning Russia's provocative behavior as contrary to the
 - spirit of international cooperation and its caustic rhetoric as a strikingly unhelpful discourse.
 - WHEREAS NATO confirmed its intention to rotate groups of troops through Central and Eastern
 Europe to promote military readiness and ensure regional stability.
 - BE IT HEREBY RESOLVED that the EU supports NATO's decision to permanently station weapons
 supplies, combined with a robust forward troop presence, in Poland and the Baltic states to
 strengthen European security and NATO forces' capacity to deploy quickly during crisis events.
 The decision to transport four battalions to northeastern Europe on a rotating basis not only
 strengthens collective military readiness, but also powerfully demonstrates both Europe and
 North America's commitment to defend member states' sovereignty against any external
 aggression.
 - BE IT HEREBY RESOLVED that the EU and NATO will bolster their partnership in a spirit of
 transparency and in accordance with their respective organizations' decision-making
 procedures amid Russia's repeated interference in European affairs. The Euro-Atlantic
 community faces unprecedented global security pressures, demanding that the two entities
 leverage collective expertise and resources to address these challenges.
 - i. The EU and NATO's robust cooperation, established more than 15 years ago,
 contributes to maintaining both Euro-Atlantic and global security. New security threats,
 including many from resurgent worldwide Russian aggression, including in Syria, present
 an opportunity for EU member states and NATO allies to tackle transborder and
 transnational challenges alike. The Commission calls on EU member states to generously
 contribute to NATO's expanding presence in Europe and provide upwards of \$10 billion
 over the next five years to support this expanding collective defense mission.
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263	ii. In order to enhance security and promote a sustainable peace, there is an urgent
264	need for the EU and NATO to cement its operational relationship, especially regarding
265	the threat from an often openly hostile Russia, by taking the following actions:
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267	a. Boosting EU-NATO counter-hybrid threat capacity, including by
268	enhancing resilience, timely information sharing, and early detection and
269	prevention efforts.
270	b. Expanding cyber security and defense coordination; developing coherent
271	and interoperable defense capabilities of EU member states and NATO
272	allies; and building the defense and security capacity of those states that
273	require the necessary resources and training to meet present-day
274	security requirements.
275	c. Accelerating operational cooperation across military domains, especially
276	at sea, by amplifying maritime situational awareness and improving
277	coordination and mutual reinforcement of activities in the Mediterranean
278	and elsewhere.
279	d. Augmenting use of the Secure Information Exchange Network Application
280	system to ensure rapid and secure information exchange among Europol,
281	member states, and third parties to address critical law enforcement and
282	intelligence requirements.
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284	BE IT HEREBY FURTHER RESOLVED that the EU seeks a positive and more cooperative
285	relationship with Russia, one that is more predictable and that fosters constructive engagement
286	on an array of critical issues of mutual concern. Russia is a partner that Europe believes can play
287	a pivotal role in global economic and security matters, furthering efforts to improve prosperity
288	across the world. However, the Russian government must comply with all of its international
289	commitments and cease its aggression and interference in member states affairs, as well as in
290	Ukraine. Such productive engagement will restore some of the credibility that the Russian
291	government squandered in recent years and may serve as the motivation for restarting
292	meaningful policy cooperation efforts.
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294	i. Engaging Russia on key strategic issues and cooperating when interests overlap is a
295	key and strategic EU imperative. Forging mutually supportive positions on select topics,

- key and strategic EU imperative. Forging mutually supportive positions on select topics
 including terrorism, maritime security, education, research, and cross-border
- 297 cooperation, are important policy initiatives. Such interactions will support the
- 298 establishment of closer social and cultural ties for students, civil society, and businesses,
- 299 ultimately improving geopolitical understandings and relations between states.