



Conference Programme

Europe after Brexit

SOAS University of London / Department of Economics and School of Law

King's College London / Department of European and International Studies

21-22 September 2018

The Global Financial and Economic Crisis which began to unfold from late 2007 has deeply called into question the legitimacy of the institutions and putative values of the European Union. The Brexit vote, which should see the UK leave the EU in due course, represents a key turning point in this regard and raises fundamental questions about the future of Europe, with or without the EU.

This two-day Conference, co-ordinated by EReNSEP and organised by SOAS through the Department of Economics and the School of Law, and the Department of European and International Studies at King's College London, aims to bring together academics from different disciplines and actors from campaigns and social movements across and around Europe to explore the key problems that face not just the EU but Europe more broadly, and to think through radical alternatives to the status quo.

In this regard, the Conference will involve a combination of diagnosis and prescription: an attempt to grasp the fundamental challenges facing the people of Europe in the coming years and to think through responses.

We have panels and roundtables on the following five themes:

- **Sovereignty versus the institutions of the European Union** – What does national self-determination in actual practice mean for the citizens of the EU not least of those in its eastern and southern peripheries? What have been the results of superimposing supranational structures on national institutions that are supposedly to the embodiment of the will of a polity? How successfully has the EU managed this in-built incongruity and what are its future strategies? Can the 'economic' be 'divorced' from politics as simply a realm of technocratic expertise? With regards to these pressing concerns we welcome papers dissecting specific institutions forming the bedrock of the EU such as but not

limited to the European Parliament, the European Commission, the European Central Bank, the European Monetary Union, the European Stability Mechanism, etc. Papers delving into the contradictory role of the Euro as the competitor against the dollar for “world money” status while deepening the core-periphery rift within the single currency area through neoliberal austerity policy management of sovereign debt crises are encouraged.

- **Legality & The European Union** - Given the basis of the European Union in international treaties and human rights law it is of necessity to develop critical legal perspective on the development and functioning of the institutions of jurisprudence and conflict resolution mechanisms within such a project. In specific relation to the institutions forming the legal pillars of the EU such as the European Court of Justice, we welcome papers broadly from but not limited to the fields of the philosophy of law, history of law, legal theory and critical legal studies. Critical perspectives on the philosophical assumptions and social contradictions of the doctrine of natural rights as a cornerstone for international human rights law are encouraged.
- **The national impacts of the project of “European integration”**– As has become clear during the various sovereign debt bailout episodes as well as how leaders such as Merkel, Macron, Cameron, etc. position themselves domestically through their positions on the EU, the national outcomes of the EU project are diverse with a multiplicity of particularities developing directly from the institutional framework of the EU. It is then imperative that the forces seeking substantial transformation treat the manifold impacts which have arisen under unitary EU policies with precision in order to develop alternative policies at the domestic and international level. With this in mind we call for papers highlighting the country specific impacts of the evolution of the EU institutional framework since and during the post-2008 period. Papers studying the impact of the Two-pack, Six-Pack and Budgetary Pact on individual country trajectories, the impact of the Brexit negotiations, the Macron proposals for relaunching the EU amongst other such aspects are welcome. Submissions detailing the empirical concrete of the national terrains of politics upon which domestic and local alternative forces need to be articulated are encouraged.
- **“The centre cannot hold”** – Today the rise of far right and “populist” backlash against the EU can be seen as the manifestation of the double movement against the free market. This has resulted in the rise of ultraconservative nationalisms and xenophobic movements being able to pit themselves as a worthy alternative as the political centre begins to lose legitimacy. What does the mainstream acceptance of once upon a time fringe right-wing movements mean for forces who seek a markedly different Europe? Papers focusing on the rise of far-right ultranationalist, populist and conservative movements across the EU are called for submission. Specific regard should be given to the institutional, economic, political and sociocultural setting within the EU upon which such hyper-nationalist forces have been able to build a base of support such as the National Front in France, Fidesz in Hungary and the Northern League in Italy. At the same time, the current legitimacy crisis for the centre also means new opportunities for the left. Therefore, we also call for papers assessing the prospects for and developing alternative policy frameworks as

practical responses to the quagmire of neoliberal austerity, toxic levels of public and private debt, technocratic rule and market authoritarianism.

- **Fortress Europe as a refuge from the wretched of the Earth?** – The treatment of migrants in the European Union, the rise of xenophobia with the growth of the refugee crisis due to war and poverty in the Middle East and Africa and the lack of any systematic policy developed to tend to the plight of migrants and refugees suffering in the Global South brings into question the fundamental tenets of the European Union as a bastion of human rights and “European values” as enshrined in the founding Treaties of the EU. Our last theme then calls for papers from but not limited to the fields of migration studies, comparative immigration studies, the anthropology and sociology of migration as well as the international legal and policy frameworks that acts as an obstacle to the mobility of humans and reinforces the divide between the Global North and the Global South. Papers being submitted are encouraged to have a well-developed empirical focus on particular institutional policies, legal or social aspects (e.g. gender) of migration or the migrant tribulations. Case studies of specific geographical areas (e.g. Ceuta and Melilla) from which migrants have to pass through or endeavour to enter will also be accepted.

Conference Programme

Friday 21 September

Registration, 8:30 am – 9:20 am

Senate House Reception Desk

Welcome Address by Costas Lapavitsas (SOAS, 9:20 – 9:30

Senate House Alumni Lecture Theatre (SALT)

Session I, 9.30 – 11 am

Senate House Alumni Lecture Theatre (SALT)

Cedric Durand, Paris XIII University

The Workers Have No Europe

Bob Jessop, Lancaster University

Territorial Sovereignty or Multi-Spatial Metagovernance? The Road to Brexit and Beyond

Followed by discussion

Coffee/Tea Break 11 – 11.15 am

Session II, 11:15 – 1 pm

Senate House Alumni Lecture Theatre (SALT)

Lucio Baccaro, Max Planck Institute, Cologne

Tying Your Hands and Getting Stuck: The Italian Political Economy Since the 1980s

Agustin Menendez, Universidad Autonoma de Madrid

A European Union founded on capital? The fundamental norms organising public power in the European Union

Simona Talani, King's College London

Italy 2018: The Political Economy Roots of The Populist Vote

Followed by discussion

Lunch Break, 1 – 2 pm

Thematic Sessions, 2 pm – 3.45 pm

1. The EU and Democracy: A Contradiction in Terms?

Senate House Room S312

Gunnar Beck, SOAS, University of London

The hollowing out of democratic policy-making by supra-national institutions

Phillip Cunliffe, University of Kent

Brexit and the New Sovereignism,

Eva Nanopoulos, Queen Mary University and Fotis Vergis, Manchester University

The Undemocratic EU Democracy

2. Policing Europe's Peripheries

Senate House Room S209

Ana Podvršič, Paris XIII University

The imperialism of the euro project and the Southeastern European periphery

Alen Toplišek, SOAS, University of London:

The Political Economy of Populist Rule in Post-Crisis Europe: Hungary and Poland

3. 'Europeanism' and the Challenges of Identity

Senate House Room 211

Russell Foster - Kings College London

Imperial Icons? European-ness and the Euro Currency

Paolo Gerbaudo - Kings College London

Quitaly: how did Italy go from the most Europhile country in the EU to a possible exit?

Jim Wolfreys - Kings College London

The French Far-Right and the EU: the dynamics of racist intolerance

Coffee/Tea Break, 3.45 pm – 4 pm

Session III, 4 – 5.30 pm

Senate House Alumni Lecture Theatre (SALT)

Alan Cafruny - Hamilton College, New York State

Is Atlanticism Fracturing?

Magnus Ryner - Kings College London

The International Political Economy of Europe's Populist Moment

Followed by discussion

Conference dinner, 6 pm – 8.30 pm

Buffet Dinner at Hiba Restaurant. All presenters are invited.

Saturday 22 September

Session I, 9.30 – 11 am

Senate House Alumni Lecture Theatre (SALT)

Heiner Flassbeck, Ex-vice minister of Finance, Germany

No End to the Euro Crisis

Özlem Onaran, Greenwich University, London

From the flaws in the EU economic policies to Brexit – what are the progressive alternatives?

Followed by discussion

Coffee/Tea Break, 11 – 11.15 am

Session II, 1.15 am – 1 pm

Senate House Alumni Lecture Theatre (SALT)

Sergio Cesaratto - La Sapienza University, Rome

What went wrong with Italy, and what the country should now fight for in Europe

Costas Lapavitsas - SOAS University of London:

The Left Case against the EU

Engelbert Stockhammer - Kings College London:

Explaining the Euro crisis: Current account imbalances, credit booms and economic policy in different economic paradigms

John Weeks - SOAS University of London

Economic rules for a reformed Union: facilitating policies that enhance not constrain economic policy

Followed by discussion

Lunch Break, 1 – 2 pm

Thematic Sessions, 2:00 - 3:45pm

1. Portugal, A Success Story?

Senate House Room S312

Eugénia Pires, Iniciativa auditoria cidadã à Dívida, Portugal
The sustainability of the Portuguese public debt: a view from below

Joao Rodrigues, Centre for Social Studies, University of Coimbra
The political economy of the Portuguese “contraption”

Victoria Stadheim, Kings College London
Class agency, finance and the euro: The case of Portugal in the eurozone crisis

2. Migration After Brexit

Senate House Room S209

Céline Cantat, Central European University, Budapest,
The ideology of Europeanism and Europe’s migrant other

Marianna Griffini, Kings College London
The Italian Far Right at the Crossroads of Populism and Nationalism

Cristina Juverdeanu, Kings College London
When does an EU citizen stop being one?

Paolo Novak, SOAS, University of London
Neoliberalism, Asylum and the Gattopardo

3. The Fractures of Europe

Senate House Room 211

Sebastian Diessner & Giulio Lisi, London School of Economics
Monetary, fiscal and financial dominance in the Eurozone

Jesse Hembruff, Kings College London
Paying the Piper – Debt Management and Neoliberal Governance in the European Union

Rune Stahl, Copenhagen University
The post-neoliberal interregnum: EU after hegemony

Coffee/Tea Break, 3:45 – 4 pm

Session III, 4 – 6 pm

Senate House Alumni Lecture Theatre (SALT)

Sergi Cutillas, EReNSEP

Politics and Economics in the Southern European Periphery

Stathis Kouvelakis, King's College London

Peripheral Authoritarian Neoliberalism

Eric Toussaint, CADTM, Belgium

Ten Proposals for a Rupture with the European Union

Pre-conference Seminar, Thursday, September 20th

Senate House Wolfson Lecture Theatre (SWLT)

Registration, 4:30 – 5pm

Welcome Address by Stathis Kouvelakis (KCL), 5 pm– 5:10pm

Presentations 5:10pm – 6:45pm

1. Eric Toussaint, CADTM, Belgium:

Odious Debt Workshop

2. Sergi Cutillas, EReNSEP:

The dilemma of Europe: a fundamental debate on economic sovereignty for the new Spanish left

3. Pablo Cotarelo, EReNSEP:

The European framework against the energy sovereignty of the peoples in Spain

4. Kevin Vercin & Clément Verde, La France Insoumise:

The adverse effects of European integration into the British polity

5. Shehryar Qazi, SOAS & Laura Orban, St. Denis University, Paris:

The European Union Dublin Regulations: A Fortress Founded on Sand?

Coffee/Tea Break, 6:45m-6:50pm

Discussion on the next steps for ReCommons Europe, 6:50pm – 8:00pm

