The EU deal: expert commentary

The PM has emerged from the European Council summit with a deal. LSE BrexitVote looks at what academic experts and think-tanks are saying about it
This Progress crib sheet offers an insight into how (some) Labour activists will be making the case for Remain on the doorstep:

**Europe for the doorstep**

The referendum could be won or lost in conversations on the doorstep, down the pub and on Facebook. Most people have been fed a Eurosceptic cocktail of news for years. Stories about bendy bananas and banning Cornish pasties are often quoted as typical examples of ‘Brussels bureaucracy’, but rarely does anything positive make the headlines.

The Economist’s Bagehot argues that the referendum will amount to a verdict on David Cameron’s performance.

**The Brexit referendum on June 23th will be all about David Cameron**

The Brexit referendum on June 23th will be all about David Cameron. DAVID CAMERON returned home from Brussels last night to mixed reviews. The likes of Nigel Farage were always going to pan his ‘renegotiation’ of Britain’s EU membership (and did not disappoint). Less predictable was the gloomy verdict from typically friendlier sources.

David Galloway, who works in the European Council secretariat, gives an insight into how PMs interact at summits:

**An insider’s view on Cameron’s Europe negotiations**

David Cameron’s EU reform negotiations are in the home straight. Following an intense round of face to face meetings with his fellow leaders, Cameron is bracing himself for a busy European summit today and tomorrow. A deal will allow him to prepare the campaign to convince a majority of voters that the UK should remain in the European Union.

“Meetings are rarely dominated by rivalries, hostility and clashing visions. As successful politicians, EU leaders readily understand each other’s political challenges and naturally look to help one another where it is politically feasible to do so.”
The timetable...

**EU referendum: a timetable for the UK**

Now that David Cameron has won his campaign to redefine Britain’s relationship with the European Union, voters will decide on Thursday 23 June whether to accept the deal. The referendum will be the second such vote: in June 1975 just over two-thirds backed remaining a member of the then European Economic Community.

More from Charles Grant and John Springford at the Centre for European Reform:

**Deal done: Now for the hard work**

David Cameron did better than expected at the marathon Brussels summit. But his package of reforms will sway few voters, so he must now make the case for the EU itself.

"The details of the deal were very much at the upper end of what Cameron could have hoped to achieve ... What Cameron needs to do now is to move the public debate on from the merits of his reforms to the bigger issue of how the EU benefits Britain. His most recent public statements suggest that he sees this point very clearly. He should describe how the EU has changed for the better in recent decades and argue that it can continue to do so."

Michael Gove explains his decision to back Leave:
which are great privileges, you also take on big responsibilities.

Matthew Goodwin analysed the "Boris and May effects" on voters:

The effects aren't startling for either side - except:

"the image of two of Britain's most powerful political communicators standing side by side boosted Remain's majority by a rather staggering fifteen points. Now, we already know that Cameron is a major asset for the Remain camp whose reach extends further than others (e.g. check this out). So, put Boris with Dave and you likely have a dynamite combo."

Laura Kuenssberg
@bbclaurak
Home Secretary confirms she is IN
10:07 AM - 20 Feb 2016
108 65

Laura Kuenssberg
@bbclaurak
May - 'for reasons of security, protection against crime + terrorism, trade ...it is in the national interest to remain'
10:09 AM - 20 Feb 2016
71 44

Timothy Garton-Ash in campaigning mode.
Steve Peers of the University of Essex analyses the immigration elements of the deal from a legal standpoint. "It should be noted that there is no text in the deal on two of the issues which Cameron had raised: removal of job-seekers if they do not find a job within six months, and a requirement to have a job offer before entry. Both these changes would have required a Treaty amendment."

Charles Grant of the Centre for European Reform says Cameron 'did quite well':
Charles Grant
@CER_Grant

Cam did q well: treaty change on ever closer union + euro ins/outs, a good deal on protecting City interests + a 7 year benefits brake 1/2
11:31 PM - 19 Feb 2016
 10 6

The LSE’s James Ker-Lindsay:

James Ker-Lindsay
@JamesKerLindsay

As a committed pro-European, this is a sad day. Ever closer union important. But if this keeps #UKinEU then so be it twitter.com/alexebarker/st…
9:45 PM - 19 Feb 2016
 6 5

The think-tank Open Europe responds: "The deal is not transformative, but neither is it trivial... The question now is whether the EU will ever be able to embrace radical reform."

Open Europe responds to UK-EU agreement | Open Europe

Open Europe has today published its initial response to the outcome of the UK-EU negotiations.

It’s a deal.
Is a Saturday deal now likely?

Preben Aamann
@PrebenEUspox

Now "English dinner" with time tbc. Bilateral consultations continue. #EUCO #UKinEU
3:07 PM - 19 Feb 2016

Faisal Islam
@faisalislam

Polish Europe minister Symanski tells Sky- Main sticking point "indexation" & on Tsipras veto: "it's serious but I hope we can manage this"
2:17 PM - 19 Feb 2016
Taking a longer view ... what would a Trump presidency mean for Europe?
Jeremy Shapiro writes for the European Council on Foreign Relations:

**Donald Trump’s Bad Deal for Europe**

In Europe, as in America, there is a morbid fascination with the US presidential election. For 2016, the principal attraction has been Donald Trump and the spectacle of a man leading the Republican field with a unique blend of celebrity megalomania and nativist xenophobia. It has all made for a very good show.

"The bipartisan American idea that Europe must be protected, as Trump has no doubt noticed, weakens US bargaining leverage with Europe because it implies that the United States will take up whatever slack Europe leaves behind. But it also reflects an historically sound belief that the United States cannot ultimately stand aside from European conflicts. Trump, in contrast, believes in walls and in oceans."

Simon Usherwood, Senior Fellow at the UK in a Changing Europe, analyses #eureferendum talk on Twitter:

**What the #EUref campaigns say: 19 Feb 2016**

Negative campaigning and what groups talk about

Things are really getting going now amongst the various referendum campaign groups, as David Cameron meets his counterparts in Brussels to try to agree a final package, before heading to the polls. In this week’s analysis, we're looking again at the social media output, trying to unpick what each group is talking about and how.
Last week, the LSE’s Centre for Economic Performance set out the UK’s options in the event of a Brexit:

“Life after Brexit: What are the UK’s options outside the European Union?”, a report on the UK’s post-Brexit future, was released by the LSE Centre for Economic Performance on Friday 12 February 2016. To make an informed decision on the merits of leaving the European Union (EU), UK voters need to know more about what the government would do following Brexit.

Chatham House’s research on Eurosceptics discusses the demographic profile of Leave and Remain supporters:

“Our analysis of around 30,000 Britons reveals that, broadly, those who would vote to leave the EU tend to have left school before their 17th birthday, to have few or no advanced academic qualifications, to be over 55 years old, and to work in less secure, lower-income jobs. In contrast, those who want Britain to remain a member of the EU tend to be younger, to be more highly educated, and to have more financially secure and professional jobs.”

According to reports, Greece wants a guarantee that its northern border won’t be shut and is threatening to block the #euco conclusions. A source has told EU Observer’s Eric Maurice that Angela Merkel has promised German borders will stay open until the EU-Turkey summit.
The LSE’s James Ker-Lindsay:

James Ker-Lindsay
@JamesKerLindsay

So, #UK now has to persuade #Poland & other #V4 not to gang up w/ #Macedonia. And guess who are upset over benefits? twitter.com/jamesmatesiv/…
12:32 PM - 19 Feb 2016

Faisal Islam
@faisalislam

Tsipras veto threat over night classic leverage play, understandable too - he got a meeting with Hollande and Merkel this morning to discuss
1:25 PM - 19 Feb 2016

Cameron with the Polish PM:
Le Monde speaks to Brits living in France who are worried about a Brexit.

"All our health costs here are covered by the UK," says one octogenarian. "If we leave the EU, there is a chance the [reciprocal arrangement] will end. It would be a catastrophe for all the pensioners living abroad." [Our translation]

Some say they would apply for French citizenship.

Pawel Swidlicki of @openeurope has written extensively about the proposed reforms to child benefit. Here, he responds to the suggestion that cutting child benefit sent abroad might actually encourage eastern Europeans to bring their children up in the UK, potentially increasing pressure on school places:

Not when offset against higher UK living costs. Also, with new 500+ programme child benefit in Poland higher than UK twitter.com/jonworth/status…

@jonworth On its own indexation of child benefit more symbolic than practical but wider welfare package will narrow migration incentives
More from @pswidlicki on the new 500 zloty payment for Polish families:

**Will Poland support its own migrants? How the new child benefit could affect UK renegotiation**

It's unclear whether Poland’s new child benefit payment will be paid out for children living abroad, with the country’s deputy prime minister arguing that Poland “cannot afford to help out the British state”, but its PM promising the 500 zloty payment to all Polish families.

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**Agata Gostyńska**
@AgataGostynska

This is what happens when you get the EP president in the #EUCO room twitter.com/mattholehouse/…

12:52 PM - 19 Feb 2016

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**Matthew Holehouse**
@mattholehouse

Martin Schulz denounces Cameron: "The method that "I tell you what you have to give me so that we stay" won't work."

12:49 PM - 19 Feb 2016

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Martin Schulz, President of the European Parliament, who visited the LSE recently to talk about the European Parliament.

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http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/brexit/2016/02/19/cameron-in-brussels-crunch-time/
Lord Ashcroft has published some polls that reveal what citizens of other EU countries think of a Brexit.

‘You Should Hear What They Say About You’ - what our European neighbours think of Britain and the EU - Lord Ashcroft Polls

As my focus groups in EU capitals have shown, many admire Britain as a country that stands up for itself. It may overstate the case slightly to say, as someone did in Amsterdam, that the UK is “the only European country with an army”, but they think Britain has clout.

One of his most surprising findings was that most of those polled found Cameron’s renegotiation position fairly uncontroversial - with the exception of an exemption from ‘ever-closer union’:

“When it came to the UK’s specific negotiating demands, there was little resistance in most cases – suggesting that, at least as far as European voters were concerned, Cameron might have been able to win further reforms had he pushed harder. People in Eurozone countries were nervous about guaranteeing that the UK would never contribute to euro bailouts, but changes to welfare rules and the idea of more powers for national parliaments were largely uncontroversial – provided all countries, not just the UK, benefited.
"But perhaps the most revealing finding was that, of all the things on the Cameron’s agenda, exempting Britain from "ever closer union" aroused the most opposition. Some British voters think this aspiration is the pernicious rubric that reveals the Union’s wicked intent; for many more, it is dusty rhetoric or meaningless waffle with no practical consequences. It matters that many Europeans do not see it this way."

**Faisal Islam**

It’s significant - Tusk reconvenes plenary, judges the draft is capable of getting unanimous consent of EU 28 + European Parl Pres Schulz

12:16 PM - 19 Feb 2016

13 6

We could be going for a while.

**katya adler**

In aside to press, Cameron says: We’re happy to stay till Sunday. I’ve told the wife and children #EUCO

11:00 AM - 19 Feb 2016

66 25

**Open Europe**

EU leaders expected to resume talks over lunch at 2.30pm CET. Spanish (caretaker) PM Rajoy about to give presser. We'll live-tweet. #EUCO

Here’s a view of the European Council meeting room from the interpreters’ booth:
The LSE’s Tim Oliver has written about what a Brexit would mean for international relations. He says:

"Brexit could shape the EU’s development in one of three ways: it could integrate further, strengthening the power of the Eurozone and Germany; it could unravel, Britain triggering some form of domino effect that leads to further withdrawals; or it could muddle through as it has in the past, unified but strained."

David Cameron battling yesterday:
Diplomats have expressed frustration that the EUCO is spending so much time discussing minor tweaks to child benefit payments while the EU as a whole grapples with the migration crisis. The Guardian's Ian Traynor:

"#brexit total of UK child benefits paid to EU migrants with kids in homeland 0.26%. timely stuff from @Bruegel_org bruegel.org/2016/02/child-…" 

1:59 PM - 18 Feb 2016

Child benefits for EU migrants in the UK

In a letter to President Tusk, Prime Minister Cameron called for an end to “the practice of sending child benefits overseas”. bruegel.org

Statistics referenced by the House of Commons suggest that 0.26 percent of total UK child benefit claims are paid to EU migrants whose children live in another EU member state. 0.09 percent of all child tax credit claims are made by families with children residing in another EU member state.
No deal has yet been done. Charles Grant of the Centre for European Reform was pessimistic last night:

Charles Grant
@CER_Grant

I sense #EUSummit'll end in deadlock unless #Merkel - though weaker, the only serious leader in the EU - bangs heads together. @CER_London
12:15 AM - 19 Feb 2016

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