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**How leaders perceive it: European integration in central political speeches  
in the UK and Germany.**

A discourse analysis.

**Main Subject Area: European integration, European politics, discourse analysis**

## **Abstract**

The European integration process has been a relevant topic since the creation of the European Communities. Member states of the European Union have often formed its projections on the development of the institutions, either favoring further integration or disagreeing with it. In this study, the establishment of the perception of European integration will be analyzed. This will be done through a critical discourse analysis on four speeches by four different conservative leaders of Germany and Britain. Speeches selected from German political leaders are by Helmut Kohl, a speech from 1991, and Angela Merkel, a speech held in 2012. The two British leaders' speeches, which will be analyzed, are by Margaret Thatcher, a speech from 1988, and David Cameron, a speech held in 2013. After the analysis of each speech, a comparison will be made in order to consider a development in perception of the two countries. Two relevant European integration theories, supranationalism and intergovernmentalism will be applied, as well as the concept of Euroscepticism. These have helped to come up with the results: Germany has developed a clear supranational, pro-European stance towards the EU and British leaders the opposite, a clear Eurosceptic, intergovernmental perception. Both stances have developed increasingly towards both poles.

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# 1 Introduction

“The word that is commonly used to describe the evolution of the European Community, ‘integration’, is itself a reflection of that assumption. It implies that the economies, societies and administrations of these national entities become gradually merged into a larger identity.“ (Milward 2000:2).

European integration is an ongoing process that started because of disunity in Europe due to the two World Wars. Because of common trends and interests the thought of becoming closer through cooperation by institutions was ideal. Six European countries, Germany; Belgium; France; Luxemburg; Italy; and the Netherlands, were the founders of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) in 1952, which created the unification based on peace and security. One can say that the process of European integration started there on after, developing the European Communities to what today is the European Union (EU). The growth of the EU institutions and the success of these led to enlargements proceeding to further integration in not only economics but also in a political cooperation.

Additionally, the essential treaties created in the European Communities constructed the EU today and slowly since the beginning, formed supranational, federal like traces. The Treaty of Rome (1957) opened the European Economic Community to a wider range welcoming more closeness of members through a common market (European Union 2013a). The Single European Act (1986) created a single market and gave more power to the European Parliament. The Maastricht treaty signed in 1991, created the three pillars which introduced cooperation in economics, foreign affairs, and home affairs. Furthermore the members started the creation of the European Monetary Union (European Union 2013a). The continuation of the following treaties ensured profound cooperation introducing an increase in supranational institutions and a growth in European closeness.

Each member of the European Union has developed its own political position towards this process of integration, either acknowledging the institutional framework and its actions or agreeing only to a limited extent. In other words, some members are pro-European and want an increase in cooperation, and some member states have developed a Eurosceptic view towards EU’s institutions, mainly because it has diminished their sovereignty. Germany and the United Kingdom (UK) are two essential member states of the EU which have been part of its process since the beginning. As mentioned above, Germany is one of the founding countries and has been an active participant when it comes to the development of the EU. The UK is not a founding member, but joined in the first accession in 1973 and has influenced the

organization. Both countries are of paramount importance to Europe and the EU because they are, economically, two of the leading members.

### **1.1 Statement of Purpose**

The aim of this study is to compare four speeches by four conservative politicians, Margaret Thatcher; David Cameron; Helmut Kohl; and Angela Merkel, from two significant EU member states, Britain and Germany. The goal is to identify their position towards the EU through the chosen speeches and look at how the discourse of this has developed throughout time. It is important to understand the differences between the politicians and determine how their political stance towards the EU has developed. Two main theories, supranationalism and intergovernmentalism, will be applied in the speeches to comprehend each political leader's position towards the EU and seek the actual tendencies in each discourse.

The research topic is relevant to the field of European Studies, since Germany and the UK are members special to the EU. It is interesting to research four different conservative leaders of two essential member states, and seek their position on the European Communities and how this perception has developed over time throughout different leaders. Their importance and the reason for choosing these countries and leaders will be justified in the background chapter.

### **1.2 Problem Formulation**

In order to answer the research study, one main research question has been created and three further questions have been developed to help answer the main one.

*Through the discourse of four conservative leaders, how has the projection of Germany's and Britain's relationship with the European Union developed throughout time?*

1. What is each leader's perception of European integration when looking at the discourse of the EU and their nation state?
2. When comparing the leaders' speeches, what differences and similarities can be found regarding their position towards European integration/EU?
3. When looking at the British and German leaders' speeches, does a development of their projection of European integration exist? If so, where can their perception be placed when looking into supranationalism and intergovernmentalism?

### **1.3 Previous Research**

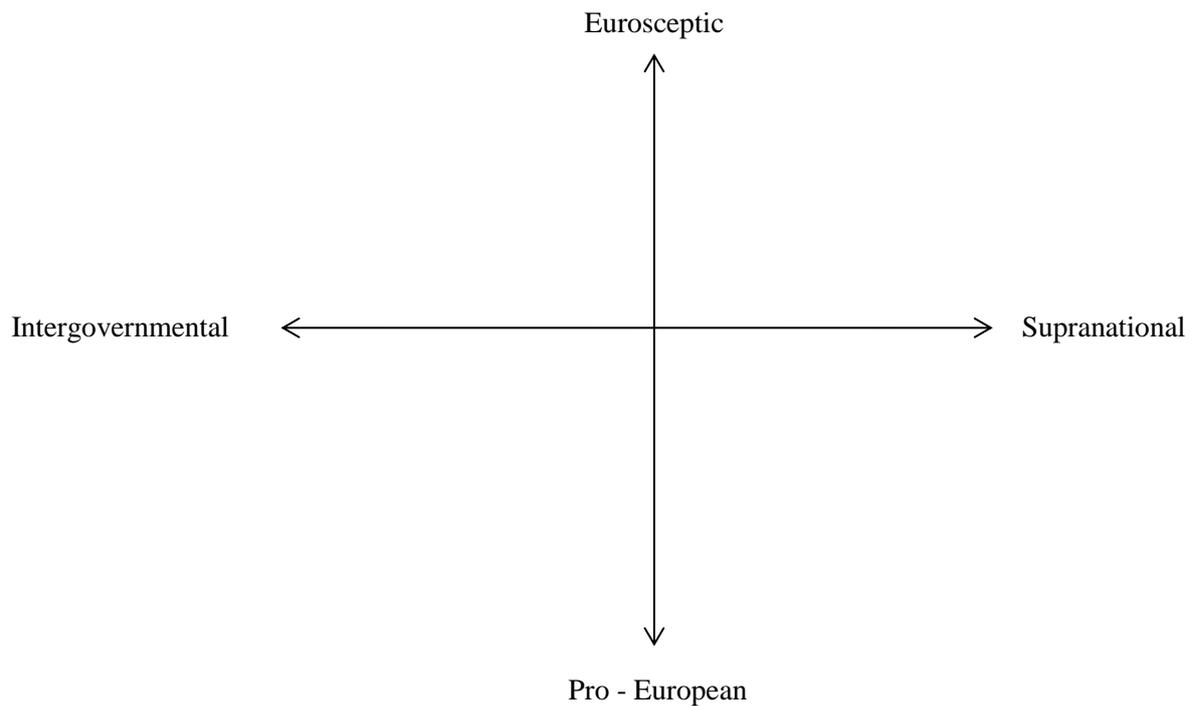
Previous research has been conducted concerning the topic of European integration and also research about Germany's and UK's role in it. The most interesting and inspiring book has been by Alan Milward who wrote *The European Rescue of the Nation-State* (2002). Milward talks about European integration in general and its development throughout the years, including two main theories intergovernmentalism and supranationalism to explain the movement of the EU institutions. Also, an article called *European Integration and Supranational Governance* (Sweet and Sandholtz 1997), which also studies this process specifically, and looks into EU's development over time, has contributed to my interest to study this further.

Milward and Sweet and Sandholtz argue that European integration and the development of the EU have become more supranational, which has been an inspiration to look into how leaders portray this issue in a discourse rather than only focusing on the actions of domestic institutions or on supranational and intergovernmental traits of institutions. The same theories, supranationalism and intergovernmentalism, will be searched for in each discourse, and through this study, a clearer view of each politician, and country's perception can be made.

## **2 Theoretical Framework**

There are two kinds of thinkers when it comes to the question of Europe: Those who defend their state wishing to halt integration process, and those wishing to see more interactions and achievements above the nation state, so that a supra-nation can be fulfilled. In order to explain the politician's stance towards the EU, it is significant to include two European integration theories that justify, solve and teach the reader about their stance. Both the supranational and intergovernmental theory as well as the concept of Euroscepticism will be searched for in the discourse analysis of the speeches.

To help visualize the two different poles, intergovernmentalism and supranationalism, a two dimensional figure has been created in order to illustrate each leader's position towards the EU/European integration process, and the form of EU governance they agree with. After the analysis of the speeches, figure 1 will be presented once more and each position of the leaders' discourse will be placed into it, demonstrating their political view presented in their speeches. On the left pole intergovernmentalism is positioned while supranationalism is on the opposite pole.



*Figure 1* Positions towards European integration and Governance in the EU

## 2.1 Supranationalism

Supranationalism in European integration has developed from the theory Neo-functionalism by Haas, which was the dominant theory in the 1950s and 1960s (Schimmelfennig and Rittberger 2006:82). This occurred due to the *spill-overs* that created new policy areas and institutions (Schimmelfennig and Rittberger 2006:89). Those institutions overruled the national laws, so that nation states could create a much bigger cooperation and a European closeness. “Haas recognized that the transfer of functions to supranational bodies would always be intensely contested, as some groups foresaw gains while others feared losses. He consequently saw the initial construction of supranational authority as the crucial political hurdle.” (Sweet and Sandholtz 1997:300). Sweet and Sandholtz argue that supranationalism centralizes power and contains federal-like characteristics (1997:303), in which nation states lose sovereignty.

Defining supranationalism one could say that it is a system of institutions with laws that overrule national governments (Sweet and Sandholtz 1997:303). These national governments come together in the institutionalized community to interact and cooperate with other states. According to Schimmelfennig and Rittberger supranationalism strengthens the nation state by looking up to an institution with a higher authority than the own national government (2006:82). This system, in which different states come together, cannot only change the

nation state itself but also its identity (Schimmelfennig and Rittberger 2006:82). Sweet and Sandholtz on the other hand claim that supranational governance is possible without completely changing its identity (1997:301). Milward claims that it is commonly assumed that European states are already created on the basis of the same culture when looking into history referring to the Roman Empire and Christianity (2000:5).

## **2.2 Intergovernmentalism**

Intergovernmentalism is originally a theory of international relations proposed by Stanley Hoffmann, which has also been applied in the European Integration process. Intergovernmentalism mainly claims that, in regional integration, nation states are the main actors and European integration occurs through the aims and interests of the EU member states. Hoffman states that “integration occurs (...) when sovereign states, pursuing their national interests, negotiate cooperative agreements—a view often labeled ‘intergovernmentalism’” (Hoffman 1966:164). Intergovernmentalism opposes supranationalism and suggests that institutions should not lead states but rather help nations achieve goals through them. It is essential that all members keep their sovereignty and cooperate with others to achieve their interests, which would make it impossible for Europe to turn into a federation (Sweet and Sandholtz 1997:301).

The main known intergovernmentalists are Stanley Hoffmann and Alan Milward who came up with a definition of what intergovernmentalism means and what it defines. They claim that since the integration process, the nation states have been strengthened and are now able to compete in a global economic world (Schimmelfennig and Rittberger 2006:78). Hoffmann and Milward state that “the extent of European integration is limited by the state interest in autonomy, the interest in self-preservation of nation-state bureaucracies, the diversity of national situations and traditions, the dominance of national identities, and by external actors and influences (such as the United States and NATO)” (Schimmelfennig and Rittberger 2006:78). This means that the power lays within the nation states of how far the integration process shall go (Schimmelfennig and Rittberger 2006:75), and that supranational organizations will remain weak and are only of importance to solve matters each member cannot solve alone. Hoffmann and Milward argue furthermore that supranational institutions “lack the expertise, the resources, or the popular support” to ever become superior to the nation state (Schimmelfennig and Rittberger 2006:79). Additionally, Hoffmann claims that as soon as member states disagree or a clash in interests occurs, cooperation between them will pause or stop (Hoffmann 1966:164).

## 2.3 Euroscepticism

The concept Euroscepticism is a term which is used more frequently in the 21<sup>st</sup> century but has its roots in the late 1960s and especially started developing in the 1980s with Britain (Leconte 2010:3). In recent times, Euroscepticism usually refers to one being against the development of or being critical towards the European Union. Eurosceptics disagree with the EU due to the creation of supranational institutions, which weigh down the power of the nation state. Most Eurosceptics claim that the EU is undemocratic, lacks legitimacy and is becoming federal like (Leconte 2010:7).

Leconte researched about Euroscepticism in general, whereas Szczerbiak and Taggart have focused on Party-Based Euroscepticism. Party-based Euroscepticism will not be emphasized in this paper, but it is still relevant to mention this concept, because all chosen leaders are part of a conservative party. According to Szczerbiak and Taggart this form of Euroscepticism can occur due to the “party’s identity, policies, electoral strategies and quest for office” (2003:3) and claim that the question of European integration “has been addressed by and affected almost every European Party” (2002:5).

All three authors agree with breaking down ‘Euroscepticism’ within ‘hard Eurosceptics’ and ‘soft Eurosceptics’ in order clarify its definition. The ‘hard’ anti-Europeans are against the EU and what it stands for (Leconte 2010:6). Szczerbiak’s and Taggart’s party-based ‘hard’ Euroscepticism agrees, claiming that a clear disapproval with EU as well as a clash of the idea of European integration is seen in parties (2003:6). Furthermore, parties can also want their country to abjure from the organization completely due to their disagreements (2003:6).

According to Leconte, ‘Soft Eurosceptics’ do not completely disagree with the EU, but are dissatisfied with the functioning of it, being either against policies or EU’s influence over policy areas, or do not like that sometimes EU goals do not equal their national aims (2010:6). As mentioned before, a person, politician, party or country is considered a Eurosceptic when being against the EU developing into something federal like or simply disagreeing with the idea of supranational institutions (Leconte 2010:7). On the one hand, one would not consider someone to be a Eurosceptic when being against one or two policies. On the other hand, one clashes with the idea of the EU when disagreeing with many policy areas or major treaties (Leconte 2010:6). Szczerbiak and Taggart agree, defining it as "where there is NOT a principled objection to European integration or EU membership but where concerns on one (or a number) of policy areas leads to the expression of qualified opposition to the EU, or

where there is a sense that 'national interest' is currently at odds with the EU trajectory." (2003:6).

### **3 Methodological Framework**

In order to conduct a successful research, it is necessary to introduce the methodological framework. This thesis will apply an inductive approach, meaning that the study begins through empirical data, here speeches, using a qualitative method to analyze them, a discourse analysis, and uses theories to clarify the research and come up with solutions to the formulated research questions.

This thesis will apply an interpretivist approach to the research. When defining ontology, one can say that it deals with questions about what exists and whether or not one can distinguish between a social and a natural world (Halperin and Heath 2012:26). Furthermore, questions concerning whether or not knowledge can exist objectively from the researcher are addressed (Halperin and Heath 2012:26). In terms of ontology, the interpretivist approach argues that there exists no direct analogy between the knowledge of humans and the social world. Interpretivism, here also called constructionism, claims, "social phenomena are socially or discursively constructed". Therefore, one can say that how one perceives the reality of the social world is dependent on humans' perception of the social reality (Halperin and Heath 2012:45). Applying constructionism to this case one can say that the perception of European integration varies from leader to leader, e.g. due to their social background, history, ideologies and social events. Through these different aspects, each leader has constructed its own perception of Europe.

Epistemology deals with "what kind of knowledge of it [the social world] is possible [and] how we can know about it" (Halperin and Heath 2012:26). Moreover, epistemology is concerned with what types of knowledge about reality one can consider as legitimate (Halperin and Heath 2012:26). Interpretivism argues that knowledge cannot be objective; therefore one cannot gain knowledge about social phenomena through empirical data and statistics (Halperin and Heath 2012:40). The researcher obtains knowledge through interpreting meanings and opinions that influence people's actions (Halperin and Heath 2012:40).

Since the perception of reality is socially constructed, the knowledge that one obtains through conducting research includes hints of subjectivism. The analysis of a speech implies an interpretation of the leaders' statements and their beliefs by the researcher. Additionally, one can say that prior to conducting research; the researcher has indirectly been influenced by

media about possible leaders' beliefs. Even though the researcher has not adopted these perceptions, they may still influence the way in which the content of the speeches are interpreted. Additionally the conservative leaders make subjective decisions through how they see reality which is influenced by their predecessor, by their party, ideology and public.

### **3.1 Discourse Analysis**

In order to guide this research paper a qualitative method, discourse analysis (DA), will be performed on the specific chosen material, speeches. Norman Fairclough is one of the founders of the critical discourse analysis (CDA), who defines this as an “analysis of the dialectical relationships between discourse (...) and other elements of social practices” (Fairclough 2001:123). It is a type of discourse of a text that portrays the world in different matters from different perspectives (Fairclough 2010:172). In the case of doing an analysis of speeches, not only are the content and linguistics of importance, but also the speaker himself. Different people portray a problem differently and explain the phenomenon in a distinct way due to his/her own identity and the surrounding social life (Fairclough 2010:172). Due to this it is essential in this case to compare speeches due to the probability of different perceptions of each speaker about European integration, and to find a relationship between them.

Fairclough claims that there are four main stages when doing a linguistic CDA. The first stage is to find the common theme and the social problem connected to semiotics (Fairclough 2010:235). Secondly, one needs to find the obstacles to the social problem and phenomenon (2010:237). Thirdly, the question why the problem exists and whether it should be resolved (2010:238)? Lastly, one needs to discover if the author proposes a way to resolve the problem, and making sure to reflect critically not only to the content and linguistics, but also towards the speaker/writer (2010:239).

The CDA will be applied as the following: Firstly the context of the speech will be connected to its timeframe and political and social happenings and of the social surrounding of that time. This requires a background of the speakers, and the political parties, which will be given in chapter 4. Then the content of the speech will be analyzed and the semiotics/language will be looked at, to explain and portray the phenomenon. To study the usage of words and how the concept ‘Europe’ and ‘EU’ is portrayed is essential when looking at the linguistics of the speeches. Furthermore, as mentioned above, it is important to compare speeches and find the differences and similarities between them, which will be included to a great extent throughout the paper. It is important to analyze how the speaker illustrates their own country and how they describe ‘Europe’ and ‘EU’, and how that speaker characterizes the relationship.

Other scientists studying methods of CDA are too issue specific e.g. Wodak concentrates on a historical approach or political discourses and does not give one the liberty to use CDA in the broader sense. According to Wodak, CDA has gotten criticism of not being able to choose whether it is part of the social science or politics and that it looks too deeply into the linguistic approach (Wodak 2009:32). Nonetheless, Fairclough's CDA will be used methodologically because it is the most accurate and general enough to help my research of the political speeches.

Putting to use a DA method brings advantages because it allows one to analyze what is written in the speeches, but also how the speaker portrays the discourses. Additionally, looking at the language will help analyze the content, which is not undergone in a regular text analysis. Another benefit of doing a DA is that the researcher does not have to solve the problem of the problematic phenomenon 'Europe' but rather describe and analyze what the politicians think of it and interpret this by focusing on the content and language. Then it is up to the researcher to analyze the findings, put it in context and compare it with the findings of the rest of the speeches. The main disadvantage of a DA is to stay as objective as possible. While interpreting and analyzing what the politician is saying, it is hard to catch the exact meaning without overanalyzing it and including one's subjectivity.

### **3.2 Empirical Data and Limitations**

As mentioned before the main material, that sets the base of this research study, are four speeches by different politicians: Margaret Thatcher, David Cameron, Helmut Kohl and Angela Merkel. The selection of this material has been made according to the point in time, the importance of the political leaders in connection the concept of Europe and their relationship with it. Also, their political ideology, conservatism, has been a factor when choosing the leaders. When selecting the speeches, the timeframe has been considered in first place, and secondly to whom the discourse is addressed to. Both politician of each country are/were from the same political party and all deliver a stance towards the EU and/or European integration. The speeches are primary sources, written transcripts, and will be analyzed in their original language. This is essential because one can be sure that the speeches are 'untouched' and in its original state. Because an official translation of Merkel's speech exists, it will be taken into consideration only when quoting.

The limitations of the material are that the speeches are in their original language which is mainly a benefit, but can lead to changing a meaning while translating a sentence for quoting. Another limitation is that due to the scope of this paper, only two speeches from each country will be compared, making it hard to state the exact development of the perception of

European integration over time. Due to the limited space, these speeches will not be found in an appendix section, but in the bibliography, listed as primary sources.

## **4 Background**

### **4.1 Choosing Leaders from UK and Germany**

Germany is one of the founding countries of the EU and has since commencement been an essential member. This country is very important because it is the third largest economy worldwide and has the largest population of any individual EU member state (European Union 2013b). Germany is by some considered to be the one of the strongest and powerful countries of the EU, helping other states financially in crisis situations. Although German domestic policies had changed much after the reunification of the East and West, its position towards the EU remained the same, supporting European integration to become a familiar network of Europe (Banchoff 1999:263). The German chancellors have been fighting for European closeness, pushing realization towards the Maastricht and Lisbon Treaty (Banchoff 1999:268, 272).

In 1946 Britain's Conservative leader Winston Churchill, and Prime Minister (1940-45;1951-55), came up with the idea of a "United States of Europe" and mentioned the necessity of an organization that would ensure peace and stability for all post-war European countries (European Union 2013c). Even though Britain had a great interest in creating and joining such an organization as the European Communities, it was not one of the six founding countries. Despite the fact that Churchill was one of the founding fathers of this organization, the UK declined the accession as a founding member and instead joined with the first enlargement in 1973 (European Union 2013d). Like Germany, the UK has been one of the most important members, because it has one of the most considerable economies in the EU (European Union 2013d). Although the UK has been significant, it lacks active participation in various policy areas and has been negotiating their way out of a few, e.g. the Schengen Agreement and the Single Currency. Due to this possibility to opt-out, it has seemed like the UK only participates in the areas that truly benefit their country.

The EU has been growing during the last decades including e.g. an increase in cooperation and a growth in supranational institutions. The result of these actions throughout European integration have influenced UK's and Germany's stance towards the EU. Both positions have not always been very clear, but sometimes have contrasted each other either favoring a more supranational, federal like EU or abstracting this power, leaning towards Euroscepticism.

## 4.2 Conservative Leaders

Four political leaders, all members of conservative parties have been chosen due to their similarities in ideologies. This will help to compare the leader's perceptions of European integration, because not only will the actual discourse, and timeframe of the chosen speeches lay a basis of the study but also their resemblance in political beliefs.

Margaret Thatcher (1925-2013) was known to be Britain's and Europe's first female Prime Minister (PM) and was the longest serving British PM in the 20th century. Thatcher was the leader of the Conservative Party and PM of Britain in 1979 – 1990 (Encyclopædia Britannica 2013a). In domestic politics she created her own economic ideas which included liberating the economy, and freeing the labor market (Blundell 2008:96). Additionally she stood for “privatizing the common heights” which e.g. included companies owned by the British state (Blundell 2008:99). Her philosophies in domestic politics shaped her career and became a well-known concept called *Thatcherism*. Concerning matters with Brussels one can say that Thatcher has overall been friendly towards the European Community (EC), welcoming an economic cooperation in Europe e.g. the Single European Act (Blundell 2008:152). However, she did not favor the Maastricht Treaty (Nunn 2002:176-177) just like many other integrating developments of the EU. Although Thatcher faced many challenges while leading Britain she managed to change her country and due to her strength earned the name *The Iron Lady*.

David Cameron was born 1966 in London, England and studied economics, politics and philosophy in Oxford (Encyclopædia Britannica 2013b). His interest in politics had always been present and after graduating he joined the Conservative Party. From there on his career built up quickly, becoming the party leader in 2005 followed by being elected as current PM in 2010 (Encyclopædia Britannica 2013b). David Cameron has been called the modernizer of the Conservative Party and abandoned many of the traditional, conservative ideologies (Finlayson 2007:4). The PM has focused his domestic politics in “economic stability and strong public services (...) over tax cuts” (Encyclopædia Britannica 2013b). Since Cameron became leader of the Conservative Party, traditional conservatism no longer existed and his new implementations like social and civic responsibility has been appreciated (Finlayson 2007:5). Although he had looked up to Thatcher and claimed that “Thatcher has been a big influence upon him” (Evans 2010:328), he did not follow her ideas of the party but created his own, modern Conservative Party.

Both Thatcher and Cameron were/are part of the Conservative Party, which stood and sometimes still stands for conservatism, traditional values and being partly Eurosceptic. The center-right party has developed an increase of a Eurosceptic view towards European integration, which started slowly with Margaret Thatcher. The topic about the European Communities is one of the most intra-party tensions up until today. Since the 1980s, the Conservative Party can be called “the most overtly Eurosceptic mainstream party in the European Union” (Gifford 2009: 331). The Conservative Party has not made up its mind about the Communities and has shifted back and forth, due to the simple agreement of an economic cooperation which to most of them meant “free movement of labor, capital and goods” (Blundell 2008:152). It was not easy leading the Conservative Party when it came to EU matters, because party members had split opinions on the organization and more became Eurosceptic (Blundell 2008:153). Moreover it was also a challenge to please the public, from which 56% by 2002 “want[ed] nothing but a European common market” (Blundell 2008:154). Despite the many opt-outs by the UK, the Conservative Party wanted to cut back in policy areas concerning social and employment matters (Gifford 2009: 331). Additionally, the Conservative Party believes that the continual threat to the national identity is still present, due to the ongoing European integration (Gifford 2009:332).

Helmut Kohl, born 1930, was the first chancellor of unified Germany from 1990-1998 (Encyclopædia Britannica 2013c). Before the unification of East and West Germany, Kohl was elected chancellor of West Germany from 1982-1989. 1947 he began working for the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) and went to the University of Heidelberg where he graduated with a doctorate in political science (Encyclopædia Britannica 2013c). His career in the CDU enhanced quickly since the start. Kohl stood for a unified Germany and Europe, but struggled while helping to restore and build up the East, which led to an “increase in taxation and cuts in government spending in order to finance unification” (Encyclopædia Britannica 2013c).

The current chancellor of Germany, Angela Merkel, is the first female chancellor to be elected, and not only this; she is the first person to be head of the state who grew up in East Germany (Encyclopædia Britannica 2013d). She went to the University of Leipzig where she received a doctorate in Physics and after started working in a chemistry lab (Encyclopædia Britannica 2013d). Her interests in politics were not always clear, but increased when she got involved in the democracy movement. Once she found that attraction towards politics, she joined the CDU in 1990 (Encyclopædia Britannica 2013d). Since 2000, Angela Merkel has been head of the CDU and her political actions increased her popularity with the German

public as well as in her party. Five years later, Merkel got elected as chancellor of Germany and in 2009 her mandate extended to another four years (Encyclopædia Britannica 2013d). She came up with the *new social market economy* based on the already existing *social market economy*. Merkel claimed that “the basic idea of the social market economy is the basic idea of the regulated competition” which she claimed was necessary to transfer to the European level as well (Merkel 2008).

The CDU is today Germany’s leading party, which formed a coalition with the Free Democratic Party (FDP). The CDU has three main ideologies: Christian democracy, liberalism and conservatism, which, since the 1960s included pro Europeanism and being in favor of further European integration (Granieri 2009:3). The movement of European integration became very important to the CDU with an increase attraction towards “the idea of supranational integration in Western Europe” (Granieri 2009:6). In 1952 Germany was one of the founders of the ECSC, then planned the European Defense Community developed followed by the European Political Community, all leading towards a supranational organization for member states (Granieri 2009:6). Konrad Adenauer was one of the involved politicians in the ESCP organization and was one of the founders of the CDU and Chancellor of Germany in 1949-1963.

## **5 Analysis of Speeches**

In the analysis chapter, each speech will be analyzed separately which will firstly include an introduction to each speech presenting the context. Secondly the structure and the subjects discussed will be described. Thirdly the content of each discourse will be discussed and a focus of the portrayal of countries, Europe and their respective relationship will be made. Apart from the content of a discourse, Fairclough also underlines the importance of linguistics in a text in order to understand each leader’s position more clearly and see if negative or positive connotations are made towards the EU. Additionally, each discourse will be connected to the appropriate concept and theories. If the analysis of each speech does not contain references as it is supposed to, the sources are always from the respective speeches unless otherwise noted.

### **5.1 Margaret Thatcher’s Speech**

The **Speech to the College of Europe** (Margaret Thatcher Foundation 2013), mostly known as *The Bruges Speech*, was held by Margaret Thatcher on 20<sup>th</sup> September 1988, addressed to the PM, the Rector of the college, and other participants. The reason the College of Europe

asked Thatcher to give a speech was because they wanted her to clarify Britain's relationship with Europe and the EC. She does not only discuss these topics but comes up with propositions how things ought to develop in the future naming four guiding principles to make the EC a better organization.

The Bruges Speech was held subsequently to the Single European Act (SEA) (1986), signed by Britain, and before the Maastricht Treaty in 1992, which is significant to highlight and consider this timeframe. Her speech is often perceived as controversial because it has tendencies to be against European integration although she signed the SEA two years earlier. SEA's main purpose was to "complete the internal market" (European Union 2010) which agreed to Thatcher's domestic idea to liberate economy, but also to the importance of the EC, which had the point of sharing a market and simplifying trade with other states. The SEA as well as all other treaties created after, have contributed to further integration. Thatcher has opposed this and did not consider the consequences when signing the SEA. Although she was not British PM in 1991, when the discussion of the Maastricht Treaty came up (signed in 1991) Thatcher and her followers were against this (Troitiño 2013:131).

The structure of the written speech is a precise statement, in which Thatcher delivers what she believes to be right and wrong about the EC. The first main topic discussed by Thatcher is about the relationship between Britain and Europe, explaining how Britain is developing in a fast integrating Europe. She believes that Europe has in fact existed before creating an institution, which allows the member states to come together. Following, Thatcher talks about the EC, her vision of it and its development so far. She proposes principles of what the EC should be made up of and suggests how to fix the problems that have come across European integration. These guidelines are her proposals of how to "build a successful European Community".

### **5.1.1 Discourse on Britain**

Analyzing the content of the speech, Thatcher states the word "Britain" sixteen times and presents Britain very positively and tries to portray her country as something greater than other member states. According to her, it is essential to clarify that Britain is a special member of the Community. Thatcher claims "it is the record of nearly two thousand years of British involvement in Europe, cooperation with Europe and contribution to Europe". Furthermore she presents Britain as a cultural rich state, which, amongst other, has created European legacy and always stood beside it. Thatcher repeats the presentation of a positive, idealistic Britain, and how it has contributed to the creation of Europe. In her third guiding

principle she expresses, in a negative way, feelings towards other EC members when talking about Britain's lead in the global market "we wish we could say the same of many other Community members" She does not only highlight the importance of Britain to Europe but also that Britain is a model for Europe. She mentions a few implementations that the EC should make to be a better institution; mentioning those that Britain already has.

Margaret Thatcher is clearly proud of her country and very patriotic, trying to prove Britain's commitment, special role and sacrifice to Europe. She talks about Britain's loyalty to Europe several times, and claims that the examples stated are "proof of [their] commitment to Europe's future". Although Thatcher greatly praises her country she keeps in mind that Britain has also benefited from many aspects of European history.

### **5.1.2 Discourse on the EC**

Thatcher additionally presents the European Community in her speech, highlighting positive aspects that the EC has brought to Europe and its members, but also stresses that Europe is integrating too fast. She comes up with new directions the EC should take, instead of developing and expanding further. Thatcher believes that the EC is part of Europe's identity and that the Community has brought "prosperity and security" to all its members. The PM highlights the importance of nations working closer together, "speak[ing] with a single voice" but that this does not have to lead into building a centralized institution. According to her, the EC should strictly be a "willing cooperation between sovereign states" without giving up this sovereignty to a central power placed in Brussels. Thatcher states "[they] have not successfully rolled back the frontiers of the state in Britain, only to see them re-imposed at a European level with a European super-state exercising a new dominance from Brussels". Another guideline she considers is about policy areas which raise problems within the EC, and need to be tackled e.g. Common Agricultural Policy (CAP). Another principle touched upon is "the need for Community policies which encourage enterprise", which is deals with being against a "state-controlled economy". Lastly she once again accentuates the significance of the EC, but that more treaties or documents are not required. What has been created is enough and it is important to now stress that the EC is a "family of nations" that cooperate to achieve the most.

Although Thatcher in some cases seems to have a general pro-EC attitude, it is clear that she wishes to stop further integration due to her fear of losing sovereignty. Applying the concept of Euroscepticism one can say that this speech refers to being against a federal like EC in which members are becoming more and more similar due to laws and decision making

from a superior institution. Thatcher dislikes this idea stating that “Europe will be stronger precisely because it has France as France, Spain as Spain, [and] Britain as Britain”. She stresses this because of the existing multiculturalism and the many different identities Europe has. She claims that with supranational institutions these would eventually be destroyed and made into a common, European identity. Although Thatcher is against sharing an identity, she claims that Europeans share a common Christian belief. According to her, national pride is very important to Europe because it is made up of many different members, with each different wills and aims for their country. Thatcher believes that Europe should be a network, a community and even a family of distinct nations but that it is essential that all members keep its traditions and identity. With regards to this speech, Thatcher can be considered a ‘soft Eurosceptic’. As the concept explains, a soft Eurosceptic can be against policies or generally that a country does not have the same goals or interests as the EU itself has (Leconte 2010:6). Thatcher is against policies or at least policy areas, which she mentions at the end of her speech, e.g. CAP and ECB. She cannot be called a ‘hard’ Eurosceptic, since she is not against the main idea of the EC, favors the economic cooperation and believes that Britain benefits from this. Nevertheless, she is against further integration, supranationalism and favors a change in many policy areas.

Eurosceptics, like Thatcher are against supranationalism in the Community, but still favor cooperation between states to achieve the utility they could not achieve by themselves. As the intergovernmentalism theory claims, cooperation among states is necessary in order to achieve national or common goals, and it is important to have institutions that can help them to achieve this (Schimmelfennig and Rittberger 2006: 75). However, it is of paramount importance to highlight that it is only a cooperation among states and that the institutions do not weaken the power of the member’s governments. Thatcher agrees with the intergovernmentalist theory arguing that cooperation and community is excellent if it “reflect[s] the traditions and aspirations of *all* its members” (emphasis in original). She also stresses the fact that she and Britain do not want a *United States of Europe*, but, as mentioned above, simply a “willing and active cooperation between independent sovereign states”.

Additionally, the intergovernmentalist approach underlines that the supranational organization should be weaker than the nation states, since the members are the main actors (Schimmelfennig and Rittberger 2006: 78). Thatcher argues that power “does not require (...) to be centralised in Brussels” and stresses that the will of the nation state is the most important and if institutions receive more power, it would do damage to all the members of the Community. Furthermore, she believes that the integration process needs to stop or to be

slowed down by stating that “[their] aim should *not* be more and more detailed regulation from the centre: it should be to deregulate and to remove the constraints on trade” (emphasis in original).

According to intergovernmentalists it is up to the member states how far integration goes (Schimmelfennig and Rittberger 2006:75) and Thatcher does not want it to develop further. Moreover, Thatcher does not only dislike the idea of a centralized power in Brussels, but also supports enterprise. She claims that “central planning and detailed control *do not work* and that personal endeavour and initiative *do*” and “that a state-controlled economy is a recipe for low growth and that free enterprise within a framework of law brings better results”. Furthermore intergovernmentalism states that integration and cooperation within members can achieve a greater economic and global cooperation. Thatcher agrees with this arguing that if countries and their companies “operate on a European scale, [they] can best compete with the United States, Japan and other new economic powers emerging in Asia and elsewhere”.

## **5.2 David Cameron’s Speech**

The speech **EU Speech at Bloomberg** (Gov.UK 2013) by current British PM, David Cameron, was held in London 23 January 2013. This speech came as a surprise and caused anxiousness to all member states. It received feedback in forms of speeches and interviews from other European leaders and was many times criticized. The question why Cameron held this speech at this time is because he favors a referendum and concludes this in his speech, due to factors that have caused the EU to struggle. The main example could be the European crisis, which has caused trouble for many EU members whether being part of the Eurozone or not.

Another significant factor to the importance of this speech is the Conservative Party itself. Since Thatcher, the Conservatives have had a split opinion concerning the question of Europe and Britain’s part in the EU. It is not clear whether this speech is purely his personal view or rather stated to satisfy most party members and to highlight the importance of the public. Giving an example of the divisions of the Conservatives in matters concerning the EU, one can go back to 2011 to see this path of indecisiveness. When looking at an issue in 2011, “the House of Commons voted on a motion which proposed that the UK should hold a referendum on British membership of the EU” (Bale 2012). It was agreed upon that the Conservative Party would be against this, instead 30 percent of the party decided to vote in favor. This kind of rebellion is not the first time to happen in the Conservative Party. Both

Thatcher and Major were confronted with similar situations with the SEA and the Maastricht treaty, which showed an increase of rebellion each time (Bale 2012).

As the title of the speech exposes, the main attempt of Cameron's address is to position Britain and show his political stance towards the EU. The structure of Cameron's speech is organized and begins with introducing three main challenges the EU faces today. The first challenge is the Eurozone, which is one of the most essential problems to solve, because it is relevant to have a well working single currency and a great single market. It does not matter if member states are not part of the Euro (e.g. Britain); they are still affected by this crisis due to their connection and cooperation in the single market. The second challenge the EU is confronted with is competitiveness. Due to an ongoing increase in globalization, competitiveness is significant to the EU and to all its member states. Unfortunately, Cameron claims that the EU is too weak to compete with other growing economies. The last challenge Cameron presents is the growing distance between the EU's citizens and the EU itself. According to Cameron, there is a lack of a possibility for EU citizens to participate in EU decisions. Furthermore he adds that this lack of legitimacy and the democratic deficit makes EU citizens believe that the EU is not helping them but rather pushing things on them.

To resolve the above mentioned confrontations, Cameron comes up with five principles that need to be established and introduced in the EU to construct a stronger, more open organization. Cameron claims the five principles that the EU lacks are competitiveness, flexibility, more power to the member states, democratic accountability, and general fairness to all members. Starting with competitiveness, David Cameron desires the single market to be the main focus of the EU stating "I want completing the single market to be our driving mission". Cameron wishes the EU to be "at the forefront of transformative trade deals" with other countries. This means that the EU has to focus on "helping its member countries to compete".

The second principle presented by the PM is flexibility, which "will in fact bind its Members more closely because such flexible, willing cooperation is a much stronger glue than compulsion from the centre". It is clear to Cameron that a general set of EU goals is needed, but it is also essential that all members, due to their diversity, can act in their interest. Thirdly, David Cameron wants more power to member states and less power to Brussels because "countries are different. They make different choices. [They] cannot harmonise everything".

The third principle is closely connected to the fourth: democratic accountability. By this Cameron means that the focus should be put on nations and its parliaments who should gain more power and a greater role in decision makings.

The fifth principle concerns fairness, meaning that all decisions made for the Eurozone need to be agreed with the members who share the single currency and with those who do not e.g. UK. Cameron states that “[their] participation in the single market, and [their] ability to help set its rules is the principal reason for [their] membership of the EU”. In his opinion it is not fair that the “single currency and the single market (...) share the same boundary”, because this makes cooperation unfair towards those that have not adopted the Euro.

### **5.2.1 Discourse on Britain**

In the beginning of his discourse, David Cameron refers generally to Europe’s past and Britain’s contribution towards it, mentioning the word “Britain” 49 times throughout the speech, with a proud and positive connotation. He explains how Britain has formed its positive character and its importance in the European continent e.g. stating that the UK helped write European history. He underlines that Britain has “always been a European power- and [they] always will be” and that it is a country reaching out to others, independent and open-minded highlighting the fact that Britain is a leader in Europe. According to Cameron, British “come to the European Union with a frame of mind that is more practical than emotional”. He supports the idea of the EU, but favors the simple cooperation which it had originally stating that he does want “a better deal for Europe” and Britain. Cameron considers Britain’s role in EU “thin” and wishes to strengthen their importance in decision-making. Overall, one can say that Cameron wants what is best for his country and does not see the EU as the best solution to help achieve Britain’s goals.

### **5.2.2 Discourse on the EU**

As summarized above, Cameron disagrees with how Europe has developed and sees the EU as problematic. He criticizes the EU mostly for its challenges and for not working hard enough to overcome them. On the one hand Cameron applauds the EU for securing peace, which was one of its main intentions. On the other hand he states that “today the main, over-riding purpose of the European Union is different: not to win peace, but to secure prosperity”. Most importantly, the PM threatens to leave the EU if the three main challenges will not be defeated and clarifies that “if [they] left the European Union, it would be a one-way ticket, not a return”. Although he mentions Europe in a negative way, he justifies himself and says that

the common perception that Britain has no hope for the EU is false. Additionally, Cameron compares his country to Norway and Switzerland and questions if they would be better off like them: “with access to the single market but outside the EU”.

Cameron wants to see Europe accomplish and succeed instead of fail, but the issue that the EU is “heading in a direction that they never signed up to” remains. Cameron wants a “new settlement” for Europe that would secure a pure economic relation. He favors a referendum, because clearly understand Britain’s purpose in the EU and questions their relation. Furthermore, he concludes his speech with a positive reflection of the future of Europe, wanting to see the EU succeed and most importantly succeeding with Britain in it. Linguistically, Cameron states the word “European Union” 36 times and “Europe” 38 and uses both positive, but mostly negative words to describe the organization. Words that are clearly negatively connoted are “exit” and “referendum” which underline his doubt of the EU threatening to leave it. It is clear that Cameron questions the EU and wishes to change it dramatically. This discourse is a clear statement of what Cameron thinks about the EU, which comes across as a warning, that without a new settlement creating a new EU, the UK will ask their citizens whether to stay in or out. This is underlined by the frequent repetition (seven times) of “new settlement”.

Applying a theoretical approach, one can say that the most suiting position Cameron articulates through his speech is intergovernmentalism and Euroscepticism. According to Cameron the EU is heading in a direction that is not agreeable with the UK because they did not sign up for a political integration, only an economic one. This statement disagrees with the process of further integration favoring mainly cooperation in a common market. Intergovernmentalism claims that the member states are the main actors, in which these pursue their national interest (Hoffmann 1966:164). Cameron states that this is no longer the case, because a lot of power comes from EU institutions rather than from the parliaments of the members. The national political institutions are the source of democracy and should not be pushed down by EU institutions, which have created a “greater centralisation”. Additionally he is against supranational governance and in favor of a pure cooperative organization, which secures the sovereignty of Britain and because a “willing cooperation is a much stronger glue than compulsion from the centre”. Cameron wants power to “flow back to member states” rather than being held in Brussels. The PM states that it is significant to realize that not all members wish for the same things and that the EU needs to welcome this diversity.

It is safe to say that Cameron is Eurosceptic due to his constant complaints about the EU. As mentioned above, the PM addresses many challenges the EU faces and sets guidelines on

what should be put focus on in the EU. Additionally he questions Britain's relation with the EU, offering the British public to take part in a future referendum. Cameron agrees with the concept and main idea of the EU, but disagrees with its development. Britain has joined the "European Union with a frame of mind that is more practical than emotional" and if this practical cooperation exist and gives Britain more benefits than disadvantages, the question of Europe would not be present.

Although he mentions many negative aspects of the EU he tries to solve the problems, negotiating a new settlement with the EU which would diminish the question of an exit. He could be considered a 'soft' Eurosceptic since its definition implies him being against some policy areas (Leconte 2010:6). 'Hard' Euroscepticism claims that one is against the general concept of the EU or most of its ideas and its development and who sees leaving the EU as the main solution (Szczerbiak and Taggart 2003:6). The second is rather suiting for Cameron since he is against many policy areas and complains about how the EU has developed. It has even come to the point that he is threatening to exit if a future referendum allows it. Concluding one can say that he can be considered a 'hard' Eurosceptic, when stating that "the European Union is a means to an end (...) not an end in itself".

### **5.3 Helmut Kohl's Speech**

The speech **The Idea of Europe- The Future of the Continent** (Konrad Adenauer Stiftung 2013) by Helmut Kohl was held in 1991 at Frankfurt an der Oder. He addressed this speech on behalf of his party, CDU, at a congress about the "Cultural Community of Europe". Kohl's speech deals with European integration and the future of the European Community. He touches upon three main topics: deepening of European Integration, enlargement of the EC, and the people of Europe.

This speech by Kohl is significant in its timeframe, because it highlights a new beginning for Europe after decades of the Cold War between the East- and West bloc. Additionally the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 paved the way to the reunification of Germany after 40 years. The speech was held close to the border of Poland which symbolizes the reopening of Europe and wanting European neighbors to interact and come closer. This new form of integration is talked about in Kohl's discourse and will be analyzed further below.

Starting with the structure and general topic, European integration, one can say that Kohl points out what the EC, in 1991, is and what it should be. He claims that the EC is an economic integration which has added a political one as well. In order for this integration to function in an improved way, the EC needs to deepen its integration to the next level: cultural

integration, because “Europe is more than the sum of the gross national product of all European countries”. Moreover Kohl states “only an economic strong and a politically agreeing European Community can crucially shape and secure the future of the continent” this is significant but not enough. Kohl states that this cultural integration is necessary and “the political, economic and social unification of Europe will not succeed if [they] do not regard Europe as a cultural community”.

According to Kohl cultural integration is significant, because the people of Europe are connected through culture when looking at their roots and especially into European history: “Europe is marked by a 2000 year old Christian tradition”. Furthermore, after WWII, European countries have come together in order to form democracy and with that built up the EC. Another shared cultural connection of Europeans is religion. “More than ever do [they] need the dialogue between catholic, protestant and orthodox Christians in Europe“, meaning that it is time to bring culture together to form a network between different member states. Furthermore not only the religion of EC citizens is essential for further integration, but the “respect for human rights, protection of minorities and the right to self-determination” is of paramount importance.

Last but not least, Kohl discusses the importance of the enlargement of the EC, especially eastwards. He starts of this argument by mentioning the importance of the place where the conference is being held. Frankfurt an der Oder is on the German border to Poland, which symbolizes “German-Polish reconciliation”. This represents, in a broader sense that Germany wishes to open internal, European borders to let citizens of member states mix and integrate.

Moreover Kohl states that he and Germany want to “consolidate the economic and political cooperation with [their] neighbors in Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe”. According to him it will contribute to ensuring peace and prosperity in the whole of Europe. Additionally, it is significant that these countries, especially, the eastern European countries, can be part of the European Community if an entry criterion is fulfilled, because with them it will be possible to create a cultural closer union. Furthermore, Kohl states that all members and all European countries are dependent on each other. He chose the example of Poland and Germany claiming “without freedom of Poland no German freedom, without freedom of Poland no lasting peace, no salvation for the people of Europe” meaning that all European, EC members must be democratized and free to ensure the same for all other member nations.

### **5.3.1 Discourse on Germany**

Kohl does not mention Germany often, only when it comes to history, or by using it as a country which has improved the relation to its neighboring countries and wants these countries to interconnect and create a network. Additionally, he mentions Germany in the way that he as a chancellor, wants to waken citizens to comprehend the significance of this topic. Kohl puts to use “Germany” as an example towards what has happened in the past and how to integrate the East. He does not focus his paper on Germany, but emphasizes on European integration itself.

### **5.3.2 Discourse on EC**

Helmut Kohl uses the word “Europe” 57 times with positive connotations. He discusses Europe and European integration as a positive development and something to look forward to. He uses words like “deepen”, loss of “borders”, European “patriotism”, which underline his enthusiasm when it comes to European integration. Additionally the frequent repetition of the word “common” is of importance when looking at his linguistic approach. It is used 16 times throughout the paper to highlight the mutual characteristics of Europeans and European countries and with the usage of this word explains why furthering integration is necessary.

Applying a European integration theory one can say that the applicable one is supranationalism. According to Schimmelfennig and Rittberger, supranationalism can take away a nation’s identity. Sweet and Sandholtz disagree claiming that European integration is possible with maintain multiculturalism of member states. Kohl agrees with the second statement. He believes that all Europeans have a different identity containing different cultures, but that a cultural integration is possible and necessary since all European citizens are connected through a common one. Kohl adds that “no one can want that the differences between the regions are leveled, that peculiarities and different characters disappear simultaneously in a melting pot”. Nevertheless, he favors a cultural integration that adds to the already existing political and economic one.

Additionally, supranationalism (in institutions) is characterized as a centralized power, here Brussels, that could be labeled as something like a federation (Sweet and Sandholtz 1997:303). These powers overrule the nation’s parliaments which makes them lose domestic power. When applying this characteristic of supranationalism to Kohl’s projection of European integration one could say that this is not what he looks up to. He states that he is clearly against a central power and claims that any central “state” has no future.

Moreover, it is sure to say that he is firstly in favor of the European Community and secondly wishes for further integration. As mentioned before, he wants to add cultural integration to the already existing ones which could lead to wanting more developments. Additionally, he does not only repeatedly mention the need for a cultural community, but also mentions further developments in the economic and political sector. To take an example, Kohl wants to deepen integration by introducing a common currency and creating a common foreign and security policy. These creations of new common policies have supranational strands, since these would be overruling the national ones. Concluding one could say that when putting to use supranational theory, Kohl demonstrates supranational tendencies when explaining his future views for the EC, but it is not safe to say that he is purely a supranationalist, due to his disagreement with a centralized power and a common identity.

As mentioned previously, intergovernmentalism argues that integration is achieved when nation states cooperate to achieve aims. Applying this to the speech, Kohl often stresses nation states as the main actors and how these cooperate in order to achieve similar goals. Nevertheless, even though he talks about individual states, the long-term outcome of this cooperation demonstrates supranational characteristics. As Kohl mentions repetitively, the joint goal of all EU member states is to push for deeper and deeper integration. Supranationalists claim, in the long run, this would result in the loss of importance of individual nation states and their sovereignty. As stated in the theory chapter of this thesis, intergovernmentalism states that integration can be halted by nation-states' self-interest. Kohl does not address the importance of self-interests of EU member states and how these may play a role in influencing European integration. Therefore, one can say that the intergovernmentalist perspectives in Kohl's speech are very limited, even non-existent in terms of the long-term outcomes he alludes to.

#### **5.4 Angela Merkel's Speech**

The speech, **Speech by Federal Chancellor Angela Merkel in the European Parliament** (Die Bundesregierung 2013), by Merkel, 7 November 2012, was held in Brussels and addressed to the members of the European Parliament (EP). The speech deals with her vision for the future of the EU and how to stabilize and strengthen it. Most importantly, it only focuses on the economic and currency union, not the EU in general, because it seems the most reasonable after the crisis. Additionally, the chancellor lists four elements to a better and stronger Europe.

The context of this discourse is presented simply and clearly. Europe, the EU institutions and its members have had a very difficult time in the recent years after the occurrence of the Euro crisis in 2008. Many members, until today, have been experiencing a financial crisis, relying on other members' financial assistance. An example could be Greece, which is a member struggling due to the Eurozone crisis. In order for this kind of crisis not to ever occur again, Merkel has held this speech to firstly hold the EU and its members together and to motivate all Members of Parliament (MPs) to help and strengthen the EU and not to give up hope.

As mentioned above, the economic and currency union is the main discussion in Merkel's speech. She calls for all member states of the EU and for all EU institutions to work together in order to strengthen and stabilize the EU and to pass the "major test that Europe faces today". She also states that one has to analyze what went wrong, correct their mistakes, and make sure they do not return. Furthermore, Merkel declares that it is significant to "ensure step by step at all levels of the EU that Europe's strengths can flourish once more". A change in the EU is needed and in order to achieve this long-term correction, "[they] need to be ambitious here and must not shy away from changing the treaty basis of economic and monetary union if this should prove necessary".

The chancellor talks about the Nobel Peace Prize the EU has received in 2012 claiming that it is proof of how important it is to rapidly overcome the challenges the EU faces today. She states that it also underlines what really is important when looking at the crisis: it is not the debts EU carries, but it is the single currency itself. According to Merkel, the Euro "is the symbol for the peaceful and democratic unification of Europe [they] have achieved. It is the symbol for a Europe of peace, prosperity and progress".

Thirdly, Merkel argues for the importance of the EU institutions when defeating the crisis naming the EP as an example, claiming that it needs to be seen as a partner to member states. As reported by Merkel, it is time to emphasize the cooperation in the economic sector and to notice that only by working actively together, a strong EU can be achieved. The collaboration of the EP and each member state needs to increase arguing that "a stronger dialogue between national parliaments and you – the members of the European Parliament – would also help national parliaments to perform their task of guaranteeing the Union a bright future even better". Additionally, she stresses that "Europe is domestic policy" pointing out the importance of national parliaments when it comes to European integration.

The chancellor comes up with four elements of what the EU needs in order to improve the economic and currency union. Firstly, Merkel underscores that the EU needs more

interactive and “greater financial market policy” claiming that the markets need to be defined and agreed upon in order to function in the future. Secondly, “greater fiscal policy integration” is needed to enhance the “budgetary discipline”. Thirdly the general economic policy needs to be improved. Lastly “stronger democratic legitimacy and oversight” is essential, which is only possible through domestic parliaments.

#### **5.4.1 Discourse on Germany**

“Germany” is used 3 times in Merkel’s speech. She does not emphasize on her country, which is fair since her discourse and message focuses on the EU, the current crisis and how to improve the future scenario. However, Merkel claims that as a leader of the Federal Republic of Germany, she is certain that “Germany will do everything it can to ensure the European Union can also in future keep its promise of freedom and prosperity”. Additionally, she stresses that “Germany will play its part” to ensure a successful EU. She feels sure about her statement because she knows that the “happy development of [their] country is inextricably linked to the history of the European Union”.

#### **5.4.2 Discourse on the EU**

Merkel utilizes very positive words throughout the paper and does not refer to Europe in a negative sense. She presents the EU as something great and positive for all, making use of the word “Europe” 27 times. When drawing analogies to the EU Merkel declares words like freedom, courage, change, trust, success, etc. She is very enthusiastic when it comes to the EU, knowing that sometimes today, especially after the crisis, it is looked at with skepticism. This exactly is what she wants to hinder, and instead wants EU citizens, member states, and nations world-wide, to rebuild trust towards the EU. Additionally, she refers often to “freedom” in the commencement of the discourse. She claims that “freedom is the foundation for the united and determined Europe” and with freedom the possibility of a new, better EU, without a crisis, remains. To Merkel, it is significant that all members of the EU have the “courage to change” the organization, which just as much includes domestic improvements. According to Merkel this is because the crisis also happened due to the unreliability of the member states, since no one, domestically, kept the measurements agreed upon.

Moreover, the chancellor emphasizes the word “gemeinsam” 17 times, which translates to together/common/mutual, highlighting the importance of everyone’s actions, contribution and cooperation when it comes to renewing the EU. More importantly it underlines that all members need to work together in order to succeed. She states that the “European Union is all

of [them] together” and all have built up the union today and all need to work on making it better. Additionally, she quotes Martin Schulz, President of the EP, “either [they] all lose, or [they] all win”, which underscores her personal view towards the future of the EU.

In her discourse, addressed to all members of the EP, she delivers hope claiming that it is possible to change the EU for the better and that no member should give up. Success on both levels has already begun claims Merkel and “the reforms are starting to bear fruit. It is not a waste of time. It is worth it”. She presents the problems of the EU to be fixable and that now “it is extremely important that [they] really learn the lesson of this crisis”. Although the chancellor stresses the word “crisis” 22 times, which is extremely negatively connoted, it is the only word to describe today’s situation of the EU. She manages to overcome this negative connotation and contributes positive energy and mind towards her colleagues and shows enthusiasm to change and augment the EU.

Connecting Angela Merkel’s speech to the theoretical framework provided previously, one can say that clear notions of supranationalism can be found. Supranationalism claims that European institutions were established and strengthened due to neo-functional spillovers. Since Merkel argues that it is necessary to strengthen to European institutions, this can be considered as a clear supranationalist view. Furthermore, Merkel argues that in order to be able to overcome critical situations, such as the European Sovereign Debt Crisis, changes don’t have to only be made within the EU, but also within member states. At a first glance, this seems to be more connected to intergovernmentalism. However, when looking at the types of changes to be made, which include structural adjustments, reforms, and consolidation measures, it becomes evidential that these will eventually bring EU members’ policies closer together and adjusted to the EU. Merkel’s supranationalist view also becomes evident when claiming that deepening of the EU is indispensable, pushing for more integration, which is significant for supranationalism. Furthermore, Merkel states that it is necessary to build up economic alignments, which may have the result of affecting national sovereignty of EU members. This appears to be deeply connected with the supranationalist theory, since it argues that European integration will lead to the diminishing of importance of nation states. As Merkel states in her speech, there is a fear of a “repatriation of powers”. However, when handling the crisis correctly, one will witness an “Europeanization of national powers”, which once again highlights her supranationalist stance.

## **6 Comparison**

The aim of the following chapter is to provide a comparison of the chosen speeches. More specifically, this chapter will look into the similarities and differences of the leader's perception towards the EU, as well as which audience is addressed by the speech. Besides, possible solutions to different problems which exist according to the leaders are dealt with.

It is necessary to compare not only the speeches of the leaders of the same country, but also look at each leader and find similarities and differences from the ones not from the same member state. This is significant because one looks at the timeframe which is very important when reasoning why their position towards the EU has developed in that way.

### **6.1 Comparison of British Leaders' Speeches**

Both Thatcher and Cameron address a speech concerning the same discourses. They present their position on the EU/EC and its relationship with their country. Both address future possibilities of how the European institutions should look like, due to dissatisfaction with the outcome of the EU/EC.

Thatcher held her speech in Belgium, the home of the EC where she addressed the speech to the PM, the Rector, and students of the College of Europe (in Bruges) to clarify her opinion towards the EC and present how the EC ought to look like. Cameron addressed his speech in London, Britain to his citizens, and politicians to inform about a possible referendum in 2017. As mentioned above, both leaders' discourse is about Britain and its place in Europe, while Thatcher's approach is more dramatic. She emphasizes Britain's contribution to Europe and what they have done to establish the EC, while Cameron mostly focuses on the current situation in the EU and UK's opinion towards it.

Fairclough states that when looking at a problem of a discourse, a CDA should include what kind of solutions the authors come up with and how the EU/EC "ought" to be. Thatcher comes up with four principles to guide the EC and create an improved version. Cameron comes up with five principles for the same reason, but additionally, claims he will give the public the chance to vote on leaving the EU if his guidelines are not met.

Thatcher and Cameron are both in favor of intergovernmental governance in the EU/EC in which member states keep their sovereignty. Furthermore, both underline that Britain signed to be part of the EC/EU because of economic cooperation, which is still the main reason for Britain to be a member. Both leaders wish that integration would slow down or stop completely because they disagree with a federal like union. Moreover, one can state that both are anti-Europe although Thatcher can be considered 'soft'- whereas Cameron is a 'hard'

Eurosceptic, stating to have a referendum to leave the EU. Thatcher is considered to be a 'soft' Eurosceptic because she agrees with the concept of the EC, but would like it to only concentrate on the common market.

In conclusion, both members of the Conservative Party come up with problem solutions, in which Thatcher does not want to add new treaties to develop an improved version of the EC, but who instead wishes to delete already existing treaties. Contrary, Cameron favors developing a new treaty, making the EU a simple organization of economic cooperation. Both favor an intergovernmental approach to the EU/EC and are Eurosceptic when it comes to the question of Europe.

## **6.2 Comparison of German Leaders' Speeches**

Kohl's and Merkel's speech do not address the same discourse exactly. Kohl emphasizes the European integration process after a major event of the reunification of Germany. He addresses the issue that the EC only focusses on an economic integration rather than highlighting other integration areas such as politics and most importantly culture. Merkel's speech addresses the discourse of the European Economic and Currency Union. She wishes to strengthen this economic cooperation, now that it has been in a crisis for the last years highlighting the importance of the EU.

Kohl's speech is held in Frankfurt an der Oder, Germany which is located close to Poland. This city was chosen on purpose to underscore the importance of good relations with member states. He addressed his speech on behalf of his party, CDU, to the citizens of Germany and Europe. Merkel's speech was not held in Germany, but in Brussels, in the European Parliament itself. She addresses the current issues of the EU to the MPs to request to improve and strengthen the economic cooperation before it fails.

Both leaders address to problem solutions. Merkel comes up with factors how to strengthen the Economic and Currency Union whereas Kohl highlights the significance of the need of a cultural integration to strengthen the EC and to improve it. Merkel and Kohl are supranationalists, favoring the EU and further integration. Both are discontent with how the EU has developed but feel the need of a greater union. According to Merkel, this could mean some loss of domestic power, but would improve trade and economic cooperation in the EU. Kohl, disagrees with this wanting more integration and an increase of cooperation in policy areas, but does not with centralized power.

Merkel and Kohl do not present their country as a discourse, only mention Germany in passing. Kohl presents Germany's history briefly in connection towards its neighbors and its

role in European integration. Merkel mentions her country in a way that it will do everything it can to help the EU succeed.

Concluding one could say that both leaders of Germany, agree with further European integration, but Merkel is more open towards giving up national sovereignty. Kohl wishes for a cultural integration in which national identities remain. Merkel's speech is oriented towards finding solutions to the present problems of the EU, whereas Kohl rather presents a discourse on European integration itself.

## **6.3 Comparison of all Leaders' Speeches**

### **6.3.1 Discourse of EU**

Merkel's and Cameron's speeches are held after the European crisis, Merkel's at the end of 2012, and Cameron's speech addressed in the beginning of 2013. This very close timeframe is important when comparing the discourses and due to this, many similarities in both speeches can be found. When looking into the discourse of EU the first thing to notice is that Cameron talks about the EU in general terms, whereas Merkel focuses purely on the Economic and Currency Union. Both leaders wish to strengthen the EU, especially the economic sector although Merkel also agrees with deepening integration. After the European crisis, which has troubled the EU and most of its members, both agree that a focus should be laid on stabilizing the economic cooperation. Both come up with problem solution, which are similar. Merkel only finds solutions in the economic sector, which concentrate on stabilizing and strengthening the economic cooperation, making the EU more democratic. Cameron also addresses these problem solutions claiming that the EU needs to welcome more competitiveness concerning the economy and democratic accountability, which also agrees with Merkel's domestic idea of a 'new social market economy'.

The main difference in both speeches is the approach the leaders take when solving the problems of the EU. Merkel gives hope to her audience and has a positive attitude towards EU's future development. She asks all members to work even closer together, as well as claiming that it is essential for them to introduce new reforms, domestically as well, so that the economic sector of the EU can be successful long term. Merkel is aware that this even closer cooperation could lead towards more supranationalism within the EU meaning loss of national sovereignty. Cameron has the opposite approach to solving problems. On the one hand he claims that he wants the EU to succeed, but on the other has a very negative mindset towards the EU, threatening to hold a referendum which could lead towards Britain's exit. He questions Europe and Britain's place in it, rather keeping his focus on his guidelines to

improve the EU. Additionally, he completely disagrees with Merkel, claiming that Brussels should not receive more power; instead power should be taken from it.

When comparing the speeches by Thatcher from 1988 and Kohl from 1991, not many similarities can be found, although they are both from a close timeframe. A similarity addressed by both leaders is the wish for nation states to keep their identity, because multiculturalism is what makes up Europe and the EC. Both disagree on a central European state, taking most power from members. Both Thatcher and Kohl mention Christianity and its importance in the development in Europe, because it is a common feature members share. Additionally, both are thankful that the EC exists because it has given these two countries many benefits.

Looking into the differences of Thatcher's and Kohl's discourse one can say that Kohl rather talks about the European integration process in general whereas Thatcher talks about Britain's role in the EC. Furthermore she comes up with solutions on occurring problems in the EC. Kohl also focusses on problem solving seeing the necessity of expanding integration, not only towards economy or politics, but also in the cultural aspect, creating European patriotism. Both leaders oppose each other completely in regards to solving matters in the EC. When it comes to integration, Thatcher wants to slow it down and only focus on economics. She claims that it is essential to cut down treaties and go back to the EC's original sense. Kohl presents European integration and the EC to something to look forward to, something that can help members greatly. He favors the expansion of the EC and a deeper cooperation.

### **6.3.2 Discourse of Countries**

In Merkel's and Cameron's speech a discourse of each country is not stressed upon. Both mention their countries, Cameron more than Merkel, but stay focused on the actual discourse of the speeches, the EU. The leaders mention that their country will participate in improving the EU and strengthening the economic sector. Cameron additionally states the importance of Britain in Europe, whereas Merkel does not refer to Germany in that sense.

Kohl does not highlight the importance of his country in European integration throughout the speech, although he does shortly underscore Germany's contribution towards Europe. This is also taken up by Thatcher, focusing on Britain's augmentation in the EC. Britain is stressed upon throughout her speech and is always proud and positively connoted.

## **6.4 Concluding Discussion**

Through the comparison of the leaders of the same country and also comparing the leaders from different member states, one can say that a development of the perception of the EU and

Europe can be seen. Additionally, it is noticeable that the factors of the developments have to do with party ideologies, but mainly the importance is stressed on the timeframe and occurrences.

As applied in figure 1, Germany’s chosen leaders have developed an increase of pro-European thinking as well as an agreement of supranational governance in the EU. Kohl (K) also showed these tendencies in his speech, although they were not as supranational as Merkel’s (M) is today. The speeches of the British leaders have also shown a clear tendency of perception. Thatcher (T) had a soft Eurosceptic approach, whereas this has developed with Cameron (C) towards hard Euroscepticism, favoring a referendum and possibly an exit of the EU.

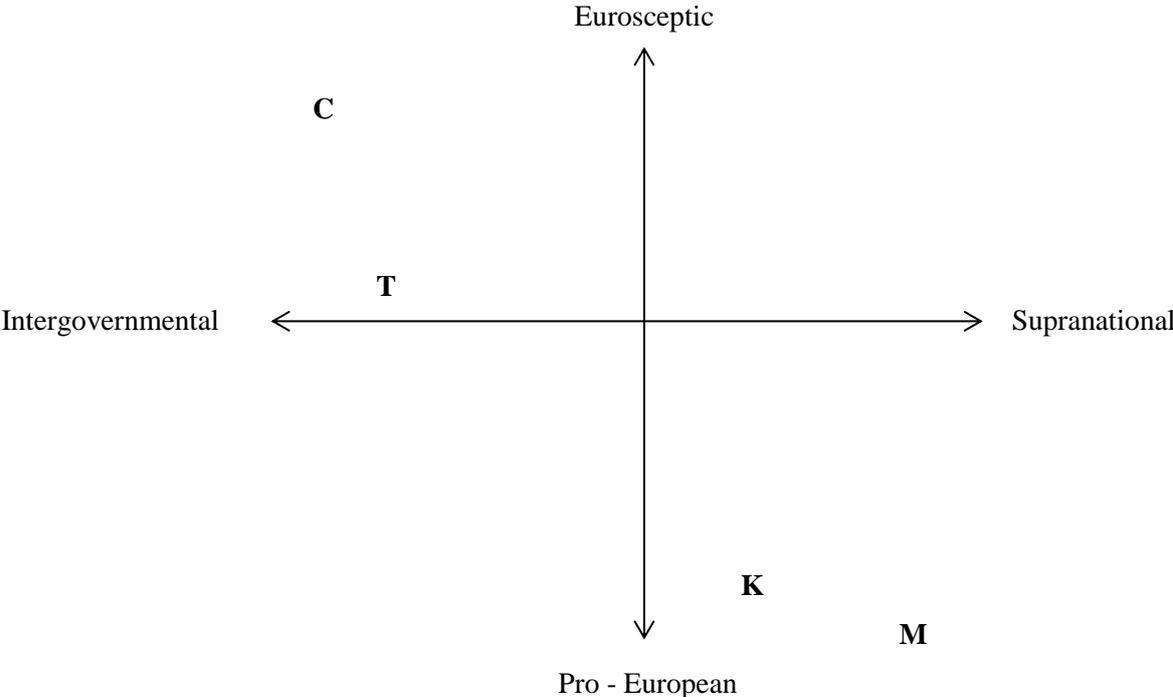


Figure 1 Positions towards European integration and Governance in the EU

Although the results are clear and an approximate development is seen through the discourse of their speeches, it is significant to mention that the projection of one country about Europe is not only due to internal happenings but rather occurrences in the respective timeframes. As we have seen, Merkel and Cameron are quite similar in their vision of the EU, but their approaches oppose each other.

Concluding the discussion one can say that although a development in the respective countries is clear: both countries have established a stronger and more extreme tendency to what is seen through the first speeches (K) and (T). Both (C) and (M) maintained this view but developed their perception further mainly due to the European crisis.

## **7 Conclusion**

The aim of this paper was to research the projection of Europe and the EU in speeches by four conservative politicians Kohl, Merkel, Thatcher and Cameron. These were chosen because they are from two relevant member states of the EU, Germany and UK and all are members of a conservative party. The main problem formulation of this study was: *Through the discourse of four conservative leaders, how has the projection of Germany's and Britain's relationship with the European Union developed throughout time?* A change in perception of EU has been seen in each country. Germany's leader Kohl was supranational and pro-European, wanting further integration towards culture instead of focusing on economics and politics. Contrary, Merkel wanted to focus on the economic sector, increasing power of the EU institutions leading to more federal-like traces in the EU. The British leader Thatcher, has not welcomed further integration, but agreed with a simple economic cooperation. Cameron wished that economic cooperation would be the main focus of the EU and threatened to introduce a referendum whether to stay or leave the EU. Putting to use CDA method it has helped bringing the results of this paper which are: Germany and Britain have developed a perception of EU: Germany being more supranational towards it, favoring further integration, whereas Britain wants to stop integration and focus on the economic sector. Both countries have had similar goals from the beginning, but have developed these to the extreme. It is clear that these countries oppose each other, not concerning the aims and interest, but how to approach these.

Additionally, one can say that my findings have contributed to the broader literature discussed in chapter 1.3. The discourse of Germany and Britain and their view of the EU have been combined the discourse of the European integration process. These have been studied through the discourse of political leaders of two timeframes, late 1980s beginning 1990s and end of 2012 and beginning of 2013, which present an authentic answer to the research question. Due to the scope of this paper, it was difficult to include another set of speeches from an earlier timeframe, which would have given a clearer answer to my questions, because one would look at a wider development. Additionally, for further research one can focus on the reasons for the outcomes of the tendencies towards its EU perception.

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