

# The Impact of Brexit on France's Stance in European Union

Yasmine Athirah Mulya, Airin Miranda\*

Department of French Studies, Universitas Indonesia, Depok, Indonesia

\*Corresponding author. Email: [airin\\_pane@yahoo.com](mailto:airin_pane@yahoo.com)

## ABSTRACT

The history of Europe in forming a union has gone through many challenges and changes in direction. The latest crisis in the European Union is the withdrawal of British membership in 2016 which is formally known as Brexit. Britain joined the integrated Europe when it was still called the European Economic Community. Since then, Britain had a huge influence on decision-making in the integrated Europe and the development of a union that we recognize today. The withdrawal of British membership certainly has effects on the sustainability of the European Union and its members. France, as one of the pioneers in the formation of the integrated Europe, has ambivalent relations with Britain. They helped each other develop the European Union, but they also tried to outdo each other. Brexit is seen as a chance for French competitive advantage. This study attempts to investigate France's opportunities and political stance in the post-Brexit European Union through an agreement of the withdrawal of British membership, news articles, and presidential speeches about France and Brexit. This research also uses historical methods with critical discourse analysis theory and international relations theory. The findings show that opportunities and steps to be taken by France to strengthen its position will be seen. France takes the role of defending the initial goal and the existence of European Union by complicating the transition process used to reach agreements between Britain and EU with the possibility of influencing the agreements which will benefit France.

**Keywords:** Brexit, critical discourse analysis, European union, France in European union, French politics

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The establishment of the European Community was marked by the desire of the countries which fought in the Second World War to form a union aimed at countering the potential threat, such as the Soviet (Guzzetti, 1995). As a solution, six Western European countries tried to negotiate coal production and cooperate in regulating the steel industry. The founding of European Coal and Steel Community became the starting point for integrated Europe.

In 1973, the European Union allowed new membership for other European countries, such as Denmark, Ireland, and Britain. However, before Britain officially joined the EU, there was a rejection of British membership. Howorth and Schmidt (2016) explained that France's President Charles de Gaulle, refused British membership requests for the EU twice in 1963 and 1967. De Gaulle's action was driven by his perspective on Britain's insincerity in being part of the European politics. Britain's request was eventually

approved after de Gaulle no longer served as President of France (Howorth & Schmidt, 2016). As a country with superior economy and defense, Britain was able to develop quickly to become one of the countries that has a large influence in the European Union (Alunaza & Sherin, 2018).

European history in forming a union has gone through many obstacles. The current crisis in the European Union is the withdrawal of British membership from EU, known as Brexit. The problem of EU immigrants and refugees seeking for political asylum became part of the reasons why the Eurosceptics gained power in Britain (Abrams & Travaglino, 2018). The finalization of the membership withdrawal was carried out on January 31<sup>st</sup>, 2020 with "the agreement on the withdrawal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland from the European Union and the European Atomic Energy Community by the European Union" in 2019 as a guide for the transition period which is valid until the end of 2020. This agreement is temporary and could change according to the discussion

conducted by both parties in the transition period to reach a further agreement.

The creation of an integrated Europe had been an ambition of France. A French political figure, Jean Monnet, had a vision which was later initiated by the Minister of Foreign Affairs (Adityo, Harapan, & Marihandono, 2019). The success of France and five other pioneers can be seen in the development of the organization through various agreements which accommodate the needs and desires of the members. Therefore, a membership withdrawal could threaten the existence of the European Union as an entity.

The issue of the British withdrawal has been discussed previously in "France, Britain and Brexit" by Drake (2018) in the book Brexit and Beyond. The focus of the analysis is France's view of the European Union after the Brexit. The results indicate that there are two possibilities that Macron could do as President. First, France could successfully become more involved in the European Union. Second, by doing nothing, changes will occur naturally depending on the situation. Then, in a research called "the Implications of Brexit for the future of Europe" by Cini and Verdun (2018) also discusses Brexit, namely the impact of Brexit on the future of the European Union. Brexit could be used by several parties, especially the Eurosceptics, to divide the EU and make Britain a successful example of leaving the EU. Second, the withdrawal could bring a positive impact for the EU. Brexit negotiations could help the process of rebuilding solidarity among members.

Based on the background explanation, the problem that will be discussed in this research is how France positions itself in the post-Brexit European Union. The purpose of this study is to explain the possible actions that will be taken by France in influencing and strengthening its position in the European Union after British withdrawal from the European Union. This study also discusses the role and position of France in the European Union, France's political and social context when the Brexit Referendum took place, and France's views on the Brexit issue.

## 2. METHODS

The study is conducted by using the qualitative method. Qualitative research aims to explore and understand the meaning that comes from social or humanitarian problems (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). With this understanding, the author can analyze and gain a new understanding of the views and positions of France in the European Union after the withdrawal of British membership. Data sources used are news articles, journal articles, statistics, and books relating to the European Union, Brexit, and French foreign policy. This study uses a historical approach by Gottschalk (1969) with stages of heuristics, source verification or criticism,

interpretation of sources, and compiling selected sources so that they can be presented as writing or historiography. The historical approach is the process of critically analyzing records and relics of history. By sorting and analyzing the history of European integration, patterns of French roles and actions are visible.

Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis in 1997 is also used in analyzing news articles in which textual elements of language are linked to social contexts to see language as an implementation of power relations. CDA consists of three interconnected discourse dimensions linked to a three-dimensional method of discourse analysis; a verbal or visual language discourse as the object of analysis, the practice of producing or interpreting a discourse by writing or reading, or/and speaking or listening, and the sociocultural practice surrounding the discourse. French news articles regarding Brexit become the object of the CDA. News articles are interpreted and analyzed in accordance with the social context and ideology to find France's stance in the post-Brexit European Union. The authors also use the Decision-making Theory by Afinotan (2014) in which decisions of policy makers depend on the internal and external circumstances of a country and could affect its image. Decision making is a process of bargaining and committing to an option which includes approval from various parties by building a coalition. History and data related to the condition of France during Brexit are used with the theory to find values, beliefs, and influence of France in the European Union so that its future decisions for the country in EU and EU as an entity are discovered.

## 3. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

France, as one of the countries in Western Europe, has a large contribution in the emergence of an integrated Europe. France's ambition was conveyed on May 9, 1950 in Robert Schuman's speech, which was mostly designed by Jean Monnet (Widodo, 2004). Integrated Europe was built in the form of the European Coal and Steel Community which paved the way for other European institutions and the European Union.

### 3.1. France's Opportunity to Strengthen Its Position in the European Union

France and Britain have a long and complex history of relations. The overlapping power between Britain and France have occurred since the thirteenth century. The United Kingdom in 1215 was almost led by King Louis of France, while France were led by two British kings in the early fourteenth century, namely King Henry V and VI. Then, during World War II, there was an Anglo-French Coordination Committee that coordinated joint

planning in economy, and there was a proposal for the unity of Britain and France by Charles de Gaulle and Winston Churchill which was supported by Paul Reynaud (Shlaim, 1974). The fact that the two countries have never officialized their motive with an agreement indicates that they have ambivalent relations and only aim to benefit their respective countries.

The great power and influence of Britain in the EU could be seen as a threat to France. According to the World Bank (n.d.) and the International Monetary Fund (n.d.), France occupies the third largest in Europe after Germany and UK. The following is a table of Gross Domestic Product from the five largest GDP of EU countries in 2016 to 2019.

**Table 1.** Gross domestic product of European union members in 2016 - 2019

Country	2016	2017	2018	2019 (estimation)
Germany	3.466.790	3.656.749	3.947.620	3.863.344
Spain	1.232.076	1.309.310	1.419.042	1.397.870
France	2.471.285	2.586.285	2.777.535	2.707.074
United Kingdom	2.694.283	2.666.229	2.855.297	2.743.586
Italy	1.875.579	1.956.961	2.083.864	1.988.636

Retrieved from [https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP\\_CD?end=2016&locations=EU&most\\_recent\\_year\\_desc=false&start=1960](https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP_CD?end=2016&locations=EU&most_recent_year_desc=false&start=1960) and <https://bit.ly/3aJQCtF>

Table 1 shows that the position of the three countries with the highest GDP did not change in 2016 when the Brexit Referendum was held and in the two years afterwards. Germany came first in the economy sector, followed by Britain in second place. France is in third place with GDP increasing every year. For three consecutive years, the gap between French and British GDP shortened. According to Osborne (2020), there was a weakening of pound sterling compared to US dollar and euro after Brexit. Based on the results of the analysis, it could be seen that the pattern of instable growth of British economy resulted in the reduction of disputes over the French GDP against the British. Referring to this pattern, it is likely that France's position will increase to become the second largest economy in EU following the withdrawal of British membership.

During the Brexit transition, Britain will remain part of the EU trade agreement, which is a single market without borders between EU countries. This means that no tariffs, quotas, or checks will be made for trading goods. An agreement in trade between Britain and the European Union has not been found so that Britain and the EU are still continuously submitting draft agreements to each other. The European Union could use the time to propose agreements which benefit it. France, with its large influence in the economy has the opportunity to decide for the European Union. However, it is possible that the two parties did not find a midpoint,

so Britain left the EU without agreement and had to follow the international rules of the World Trade Organization.

In addition to the economic sector, France has a large role in the defense sector of the European Union. According to European Parliament (2018), France, Britain, and Germany are the countries which have the biggest contribution in donating funds to EU defense sector in 2016 where Britain decided to hold a referendum on withdrawing its membership from EU. The British spent the most money on defense with the amount of 47 billion euros and France is in the second place with around 40.7 billion euros or 20.4% of the total (European Parliament, 2018). These amounts represent 23.7% and 20.4% of the total European Union expenditure on defense, respectively. France's position in the defense sector is strengthened by Britain's exit from the European Union, so that France becomes the country with the largest contribution in defense and the only country in EU which have nuclear power. This will make EU dependent on France for defense and security issues.

### **3.2. France's Step in the European Union After Brexit**

#### *3.2.1. Francois Hollande*

The Brexit problem marks the culmination of a national political trend where the majority of the people are more concerned with the internal problems inherent in the country than international relations problems (Clarke, Goodwin, & Whiteley, 2017). All actions of Britain as a country with great influence will have an effect on EU and also its members. However, the response of the French government regarding Brexit contradicts the concerns which should be present due to the impact of EU economic uncertainty.

The serving French President when the referendum took place, François Hollande, expressed his opinion as evidenced in the Guardian news article where Hollande said that Britain's desire to withdraw its membership from EU was a British right and EU must fully support this decision (Chrisafis, 2016). The title of the article is a threat posed by Hollande by highlighting the Brexit problem. According to Hollande, the European Union as an organization must act firmly on the British decision. The use of the words threat, risk, a price, and consequences in the quotation of Hollande shows that he was against Britain's action to leave the EU. His speech in front of the EU commission president and EU's top Brexit negotiator gives the impression that Hollande as the President of France has the power to influence the EU's view on Brexit. This speech could be interpreted as the efforts of France in anticipation of similar movements from other member countries caused by

Brexit and to put pressure on Britain. Hollande's mention of British history, which had caused problems for the EU in the past, was a way for Hollande to put Britain as an antagonist.

After the Brexit Referendum was held, public opinions of the European Union member countries became the focus for the continuation of EU. To see the views of the people from the EU member countries, a survey was carried out by Kantar (2019) and Ipsos (2016).

**Table 1.** Views and opinions of the people of France and other EU members regarding the results of the Brexit referendum and its impact

Brexit will be bad for EU (agree)		Brexit agreement that favors UK (disagree)	
	Kantar	Ipsos	
France	40%	41%	19%
Italy	-	51%	26%
Belgium	-	55%	20%
Germany	74%	56%	25%
Netherlands	58%	-	-
United Kingdom	-	62%	56%
Hungary	68%	63%	36%
Spain	-	64%	26%
Poland	55%	65%	31%
Sweden	-	68%	28%
Ireland	73%	-	-

Retrieved from <https://fr.kantar.com/opinion-publique/politique/2019/la-perception-du-brexit-en-france-et-en-europe/> and <https://www.ipsos.com/fr-fr/le-brexit-vu-de-france-le-plus-vite-sera-le-mieux>

Hollande's view of the Brexit Referendum is supported by the views of the French community. Based on Table 1, EU member countries tend to see the results of the Brexit Referendum as an adverse event and can threaten the welfare of EU and its member countries. France, Italy, Belgium, and Germany are among the four countries with the lowest percentage in people's view of Brexit which will adversely affect the sustainability of the European Union. The same thing applies to the public opinion which disagree with the Brexit agreement which can be profitable for Britain. Therefore, the table shows that the pioneering countries of EU have a higher loyalty than other member countries. However, when viewed from the overall survey results, France is the only country with a majority of people who feel that Brexit will not have a bad impact on EU. The majority of French people do not agree if an agreement which will be produced by the EU and the post-Brexit Britain gives benefits to Britain. This view of French society tends to be extreme when compared to other EU members. According to both data, it could be concluded that the unbothered response of the French shows their

support of the withdrawal of British membership from EU. The results of these data are not surprising given the historical relationship between Britain and France.

### 3.2.2. Emmanuel Macron

The consent of the people of the European Union member countries becomes important in the sustainability and prosperity of EU. Britain became the first country to withdraw from EU. The British Government conducted Brexit Referendum at the request of the British people. On the other hand, the government in office at that time strongly supported the existence of Britain in EU even though Britain often had different opinions from other major countries in EU regarding joint policies. However, the fact that British society does not support the European Union makes Britain unable to develop optimally due to people's pressure. France, on the other hand, has great support from the public for its position and presence in the EU. This is in line with the stance and view of the French government towards the possibility of increasing French opportunity to strengthen its position.

Brexit has a major impact in decision making on small member states. According to Cini and Verdun (2018), Britain is usually the voice of the opposition and skepticism in joint decisions in EU and often the voice of representatives of other member countries. This happens because the governments of Central and Eastern European countries are reluctant to be seen as anti-Europe (Cini & Verdun, 2018). Withdrawal of British membership will likely lead to more pro-European EU governments. Therefore, with the loss of the opposition, France will try to strengthen and direct future EU decisions which can benefit France.

The internal problems experienced by the British people also happened in France. According to INSEE (2019), there has been an increase in the number of immigrants every year since 2000. Paris, as the capital of France, experienced many terrorist attacks which caused France to declare its country in a state of emergency. France's internal problems do not stop there. Labor law in 2016 led to various protests in France. Brexit which can affect the welfare of the European Union becomes an additional problem for France. Brexit referendum can trigger the Eurosceptics, including in France. However, French public opinion towards its membership in EU remains unaffected (Lequesne, 2015).

One of the reasons for the French's indifference to the withdrawal of British membership was internal problems faced by France during the Brexit Referendum. The people tended to be positive towards the sustainability of the post-Brexit European Union. They focused more on solving internal issues rather than French international relations. However, this does not rule out the possibility that there are a number of parties

who are trying to take advantage of the opportunity to gather support from those who are Eurosceptic. The campaign of the candidates for the 2017's presidential election was held in parallel with the Brexit Referendum. Some candidates used the occurrence as a momentum to win the election. Brunet (2017) reports in France 24 that Marine le Pen saw Brexit and the election of United States President Donald Trump as the beginning of a new history. The mention of Brexit, U.S. presidential election, and several other events was made to denote le Pen's ambition to change France's history. The similarities are the victory of people's aspirations, political changes, and the future of countries which uphold nationalism. Marine le Pen had the same ambition and wanted to make France a country which focused on its own identity and interests. The author of the article tries to highlight Le Pen's desires by using her words "*la disparition de la france*", "*totalitarismes qui menacent notre pays*", and "*mondialisme jihadiste*" which can be interpreted as her way of saying external parties could threaten France. Le Pen sought to attract sympathy from minority of French who do not approve of French participation in EU by holding a referendum regarding French membership in EU. She also used terrorism experienced by France due to foreign cultures to get support. Le Pen's negative opinion against EU is put at the end of the article to conclude that EU is considered a threat to France.

In contrast to Marine le Pen's approach and view of the European Union, Emmanuel Macron strongly recognizes the European identity of France. The election of Macron and the defeat of le Pen as The President of France in 2017 are clear evidences that French society continues to support EU. Although Macron defends the existence of France in the European Union, he still believes that communication between members in EU needs to be improved and the original purpose of the union of Europe needs to be restored. Macron criticized the current situation of EU members who do not trust one another (Drake, 2018). This is evidenced in news article titled "Brexit is a 'historic warning sign' for the European Union, says Macron" reported by AFP (2020). This article discusses the speech of the President of France in response to Britain's exit from the European Union. According to Macron, EU did not contribute to making mistakes that resulted in Brexit. Indirectly, as one of the leaders of EU members, he relinquished the responsibility of the organization for the Brexit problem and placed the blame on Britain's internal problems. The emphasis that Macron put in his speech on why Brexit happened and how EU members often blame the EU for personal problems is an insinuation and his evaluation for a better EU in the future. France's opinion on EU is emphasized in this article that France supports further European integration and cooperation to counter the development of other countries, such as China and America. In his speech, Macron alluded to his hopes for

future France and Britain but stressed that their relationship would not be the same as the pre-Brexit Britain. This is Macron's way of putting pressure on Britain. This also confirmed the relationship between France and Britain since the founding of Europe occurred only because of mutual needs. This speech is also a warning for other EU members to continue to support the organization. The speech containing a warning has another agenda by including his ambition for a more pro-Europe EU in the future. This is supported by the power France has in the economic and defense sectors of EU which makes France able to influence EU's international relations.

France, as a member of the European Union with the strongest defense post-Brexit, tries to lead this organization. In the news article "Macron calls for coordinated EU nuclear defense strategy - with France at center" by Gaubert (2020), Macron in his speech called for a more coordinated EU defense strategy. The title of the article indicates France's ambition to lead the EU's defense through the emphasis of France being the center of EU nuclear defense strategy. Macron used the fact that France is the only EU country with nuclear power as a tool to elevate its position. Macron enhanced France's position by highlighting the EU's defense threats from external parties to increase the sense of dependence of other EU members on France. He placed France as EU's protector from foreign military threats. Doing a speech in front of the military officers in Paris is Macron's way of showing that France is capable to lead European defense, and he is optimistic that France would take the lead. Indirectly, Macron also gives the impression that the European Union as an entity is not affected by Brexit and is able to handle its own problems without foreign help.

#### 4. CONCLUSION

The attitude of President Hollande and President Macron regarding the Brexit issue can be interpreted as a negative response of France. It represented the strong refusal of the leaders and people of France to provide a withdrawal agreement that will be beneficial for Britain and is in accordance with the dynamic history of relations between France and Britain in various sectors. President Macron decided not to give any privileges to diplomatic relations between France and post-Brexit Britain, as well as agreements between the two countries. By knowing the President's reaction of Brexit, France's views and next steps will be seen.

The French president is the country's decision maker so that France's position will also be known. Another possibility for France's reaction was France's initial role in the formation of the European Union. Although France experiences internal problems, the French community remains optimistic about France's presence

in the European Union. The views of the French are in line with the two presidents. Thus, France's internal situation is very different from Britain. The situation enables France to make beneficial decisions in the European Union. France's responsibility as one of the pioneers of integrated Europe can be seen through France's actions in dealing with the Brexit problem. The negative response from the two presidents is France's attempt to take on the role of defending the goals and existence of the European Union. Furthermore, Brexit brings benefits to France. European Union pioneers also have more power and influence than other countries. With the history of the founding of the EU, it will be easier for France to establish a coalition with these countries to support its post-Brexit desire and role. The transition period of Britain's withdrawal can be used to reach an agreement between Britain and the European Union which benefits the European Union. President Macron will use it to strengthen France's position and increase its influence in the European Union.

## REFERENCES

- Abrams, D., & Travaglino, G. A. (2018). Immigration, political trust, and Brexit—testing an aversion amplification hypothesis. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 57(2), 310-326. <https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12233>
- Adityo, A., Harapan, A. A., & Marihandono, D. (2019). Re-examining de Gaulle's rejection of British membership in the European Economic Community. *Eastern Journal of European Studies*, 10(2), 5-18.
- Afinotan, L. A. (2014). Decision-making on international relations: A theoretical analysis. *Canadian Social Science*, 10(5), 249-256. <https://doi.org/10.3968/4970>
- AFP. (2020, January 31th). Brexit is a 'historic warning sign' for the European Union, says Macron. Retrieved from <https://www.france24.com/>
- Alunaza, H., & Sherin, V. (2018). Pengaruh British Exit (Brexit) terhadap kebijakan pemerintah Inggris terkait masalah imigran. *Intermestic: Journal of International Studies*, 2(2), 156-170. <https://doi.org/10.24198/intermestic.v2n2.4>
- Brunet, R. (2017, February 5). Mondialisation et identité nationale: Marine Le Pen revient aux fondamentaux du FN pour lancer sa campagne. Retrieved from <https://www.france24.com/>
- Chrisafis, A. (2016, October 7). UK must pay price for Brexit, says François Hollande. The Guardian. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/>
- Cini, M., & Verdun, A. (2018). The implications of Brexit for the future of Europe. In Martill B. & Staiger U. (Eds.), *Brexit and Beyond: Rethinking the Futures of Europe* (pp. 63-71). London: UCL Press.
- Clarke, H. D., Goodwin, M., & Whiteley, P. (2017). *Brexit: Why britain voted to leave the european union*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Creswell, J. W., & Creswell, J. D. (2017). *Research design: qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches* (5th Ed.). Los Angeles: Sage Publishing.
- Drake, H. (2018). France, Britain and Brexit. In Martill B. & Staiger U. (Eds.), *Brexit and Beyond: Rethinking the Futures of Europe* (pp. 97-104). London: UCL Press.
- European Parliament. (2018). Defence: Member States' Spending. Retrieved from [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2018/621784/IPO\\_L\\_BRI\(2018\)621784\\_EN.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2018/621784/IPO_L_BRI(2018)621784_EN.pdf)
- Fairclough, N., & Wodak, R. (1997). *Discourse as Social Interaction*. New York: Longman.
- Gaubert, J. (2020, February 10). Macron calls for coordinated EU nuclear defence strategy — with France at centre. Retrieved from <https://www.euronewa.com>
- Gottschalk, L. (1969). *Understanding history: a primer of historical method*. New York: Alfred A. Knoff.
- Guzzetti, L. (1995). *A Brief History of European Union Research Policy*. Brussels: European Commission.
- Howorth, J., & Schmidt, V. A. (2016). Brexit: Que s'est-il passé? Que va-t-il se passer?. *Politique étrangère*, 81(4), 123-138. <https://doi.org/10.3917/pe.164.0123>
- INSEE. (2019). Immigrés, étrangers. Retrieved from <https://www.insee.fr/fr/statistiques/3633212#consulter>
- International Monetary Fund. (n.d.). Report for Selected Countries and Subjects. Retrieved from <https://bit.ly/3aJQCtF>
- Ipsos. (2016). Le Brexit vu de France: « le plus vite sera le mieux ». Retrieved from <https://www.ipsos.com/fr-fr/le-brexit-vu-de-france-le-plus-vite-sera-le-mieux>
- Kantar. (2019). La perception du Brexit en France et en Europe. Retrieved from <https://fr.kantar.com/opinion-publique/politique/2019/la-perception-du-brexit-en-france-et-en-europe/>

- Lequesne, C. (2015). France and the European Union: a story of reason rather than love (Policy Briefs 5–2015). Retrieved from <https://www.nupi.no/en/Publications/CRISTin-Pub/France-and-the-European-Union-a-story-of-reason-rather-than-love>
- Osborne, S. (2020, March 18). Pound crisis: Pound sterling plummets to lowest value against dollar since 1985. Retrieved from <https://www.express.co.uk/finance/city/1256858/pound-dollar-value-pound-sterling-dollar-exchange-rate-coronavirus-uk-economy-markets>
- Shlaim, A. (1974). Prelude to downfall: the British offer of union to France, June 1940. *Journal of Contemporary History*, 9(3), 27-63.
- The World Bank. (n.d.). GDP (current US\$) - European Union. Retrieved from [https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKT.P.CD?end=2016&locations=EU&most\\_recent\\_year\\_desc=false&start=1960](https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKT.P.CD?end=2016&locations=EU&most_recent_year_desc=false&start=1960)
- Widodo, W. (2004). *Peran Perancis dalam Pembentukan Uni Eropa dan Bank Sentral Eropa*. Depok: Universitas Indonesia.