

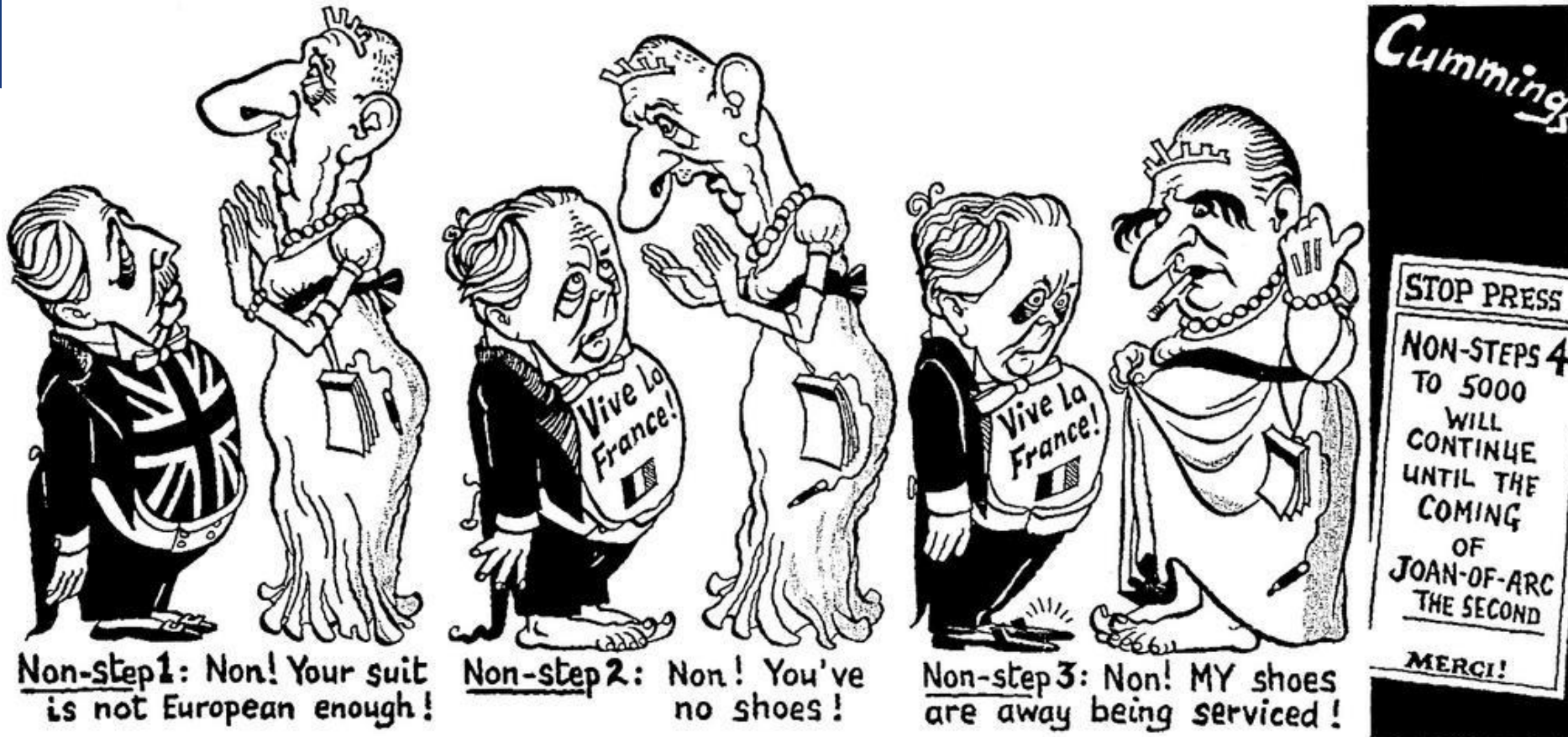
European Union Politics

SESSION 11: BREXIT ..AND DILEMMAS OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

UK: the “awkward partner” vol.1

- ▶ 1951 – UK did not join the European ECSC ‘losers club’
- ▶ 1957 – EEC, UK stayed out too, came up with a competing trade organisation
- ▶ 1960 – EFTA
- ▶ 1961 – UK applies to join the EEC (vetoed by De Gaulle in 1963)
- ▶ 1967 – ‘velvet vetoed’ again (by de Gaulle)
- ▶ 1973 – UK joins the EC (together with Denmark and Ireland)
- ▶ 1974 – **renegotiates the EC deal** (CAP, budget & regional development ...and a ‘correction mechanism’)
- ▶ 1975 – **UK referendum on renegotiated accession terms – 67% YES**

Ze antique Com-market custom of ze non-invitation waltz...



Michael Cummings for *Daily Express* 1969

UK: the “awkward partner” vol.2

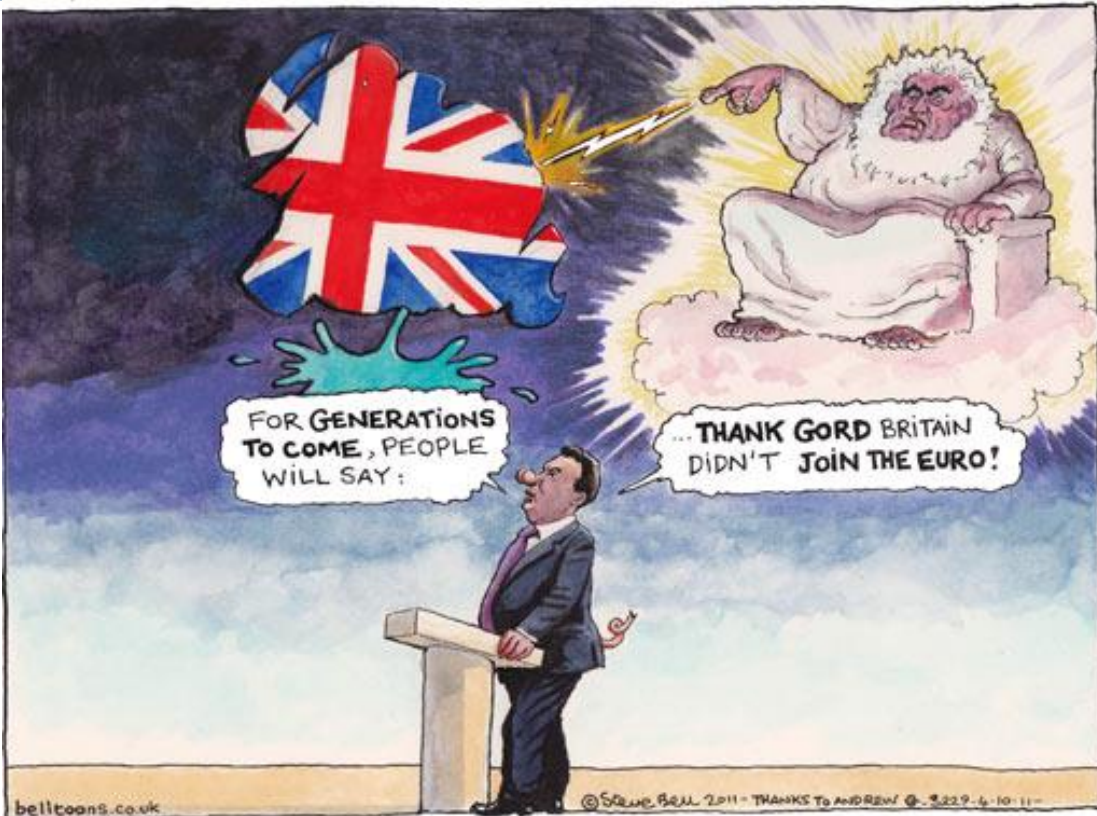


- ▶ 1979 – [Thatcher](#) elected PM and she “wants [her] money back!”
- ▶ 1979 – 1984: British Budgetary Question
- ▶ 1986 – Single European Act, UK supportive of intergovernmental solution, but alas!
- ▶ 1988 – Thatcher’s Bruges speech against political integration, against EMU
- ▶ 1990 – John Major new PM, also Conservative
- ▶ 1991 – “opt-outs” from Maastricht treaty (EMU, social policy)
- ▶ 1995(1997) – “opt-out” from Schengen Agreement too (also in Amsterdam tr.)

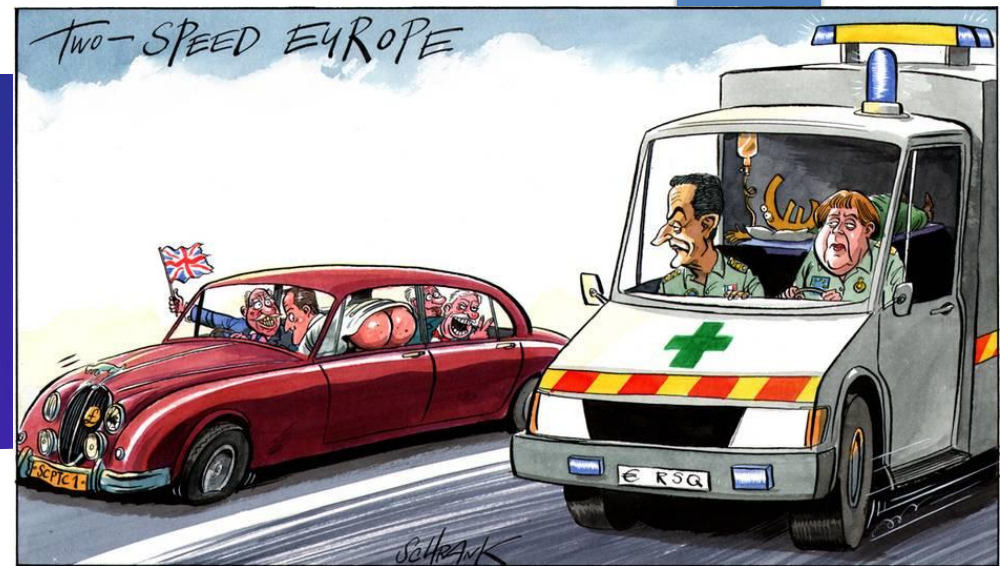
UK: the “awkward partner” vol.3

- ▶ 1998 – **St. Malo declaration** on European defence by Tony Blair and Jacques Chirac
- ▶ 2003 – War in Iraq: UK falls out with GER and FR
- ▶ 2004 – Blair announced a referendum on the *Constitutional treaty* ...it never came to it
- ▶ 2004 – **no transitional periods for CEE workers in UK** after the East European enlargement (unlike Ger.)
- ▶ 2007 – Lisbon treaty, UK opt-out from the *Charter of Fundamental Rights of the EU*
- ▶ 2008 – parliamentary ratification with G. Brown absent





Peak Eurozone crisis 2011



European Council summits

Domestic situation in UK

- ▶ Low citizens' knowledge of EU affairs
- ▶ Rabid Eurosceptic tabloids: *The Sun*, *Daily Mail*
- ▶ Rise of populism and nationalism (see Snyder interview [here](#)) sentiment for “good ol’ glorious times” (akin to MAGA in US)

Real and perceived PROBLEMS:

- **immigration** (including workers from EU)
- **sovereignty** (and ECJ jurisdiction)
- too many **regulations** & directives from Brussels
do not fulfill the Conservative idea of a **small state**
- Trouble with “[ever closer union](#)” (especially Tory backbenchers)



UK: the “awkward partner” vol.4

- ▶ 2011 – David Cameron amidst the Eurozone crisis blocks primary law amendments → forces the **Fiscal Compact** outside primary law (an intergovernmental organization based on a six-pack of EU regulations, and using EU institutions)
- ▶ 2013 – “Bloomberg” speech ([short](#), [full](#), [cassetteboy](#))
- ▶ 2015 – elections: Conservatives win majority
- ▶ 2015-2016 – **UK renegotiation of EU membership** ‘red card’ to block Commission proposals, opt-out of “ever closer union,” limits on free movement of labour in EU: incl. “emergency brake”, make it hard for the immigrants in UK (residence, family reunion), reduced child benefits etc., no taking part in Eurozone members bail outs; competitiveness.. But no cigar
- ▶ 2016 – June REFERENDUM Leave/Remain



A SPECTRE is HAUNTING EUROPE...



Flirty



Pathway



The Referendum: Vote Leave campaign

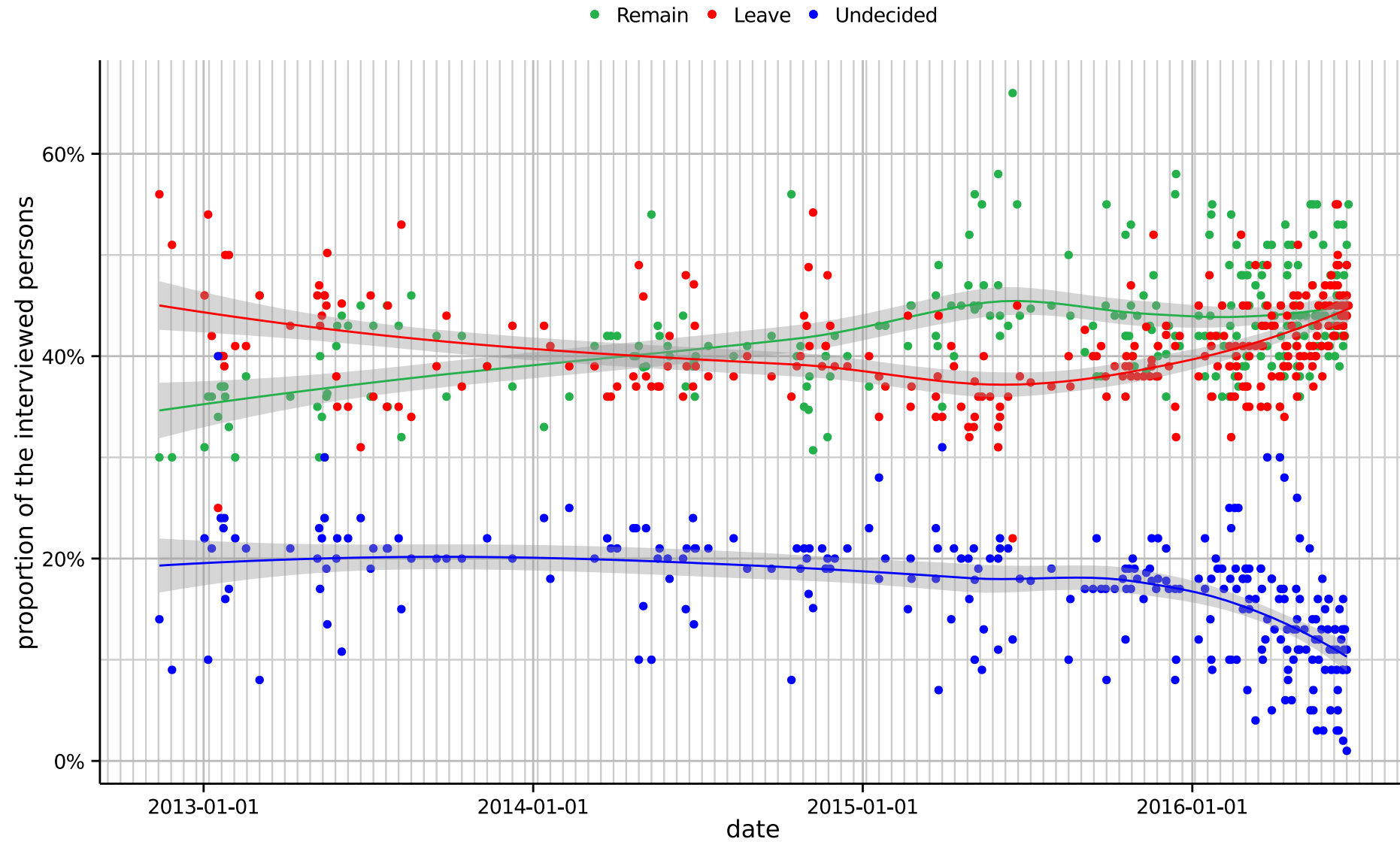
- ▶ “Take back control, vote Leave”
- ▶ UKIP and Conservatives backbenchers
leave.eu and *Vote Leave* campaigns
- ▶ Personalities: Boris Johnson, Michael Gove (Justice minister ‘16), Iain Duncan Smith, Priti Patel
- ▶ Aggressive campaign
- ▶ Ambiguous relationship with **truth** – 350mil?
- ▶ Targeting “dormant” voters (Dominic Cummings)



WHY Leave?

https://web.archive.org/web/20160620214904/http://www.voteleavetakecontrol.org/why_vote_leave

United Kingdom European Union membership referendum Opinion polling



The Referendum: Remain campaign

- ▶ A 'block' of parties: Labour, Liberal Democrats, Scottish National Party, some Conservatives (including Cameron)
- ▶ Britain Stronger in Europe

Remain arguments:

- Economic benefits of the Single market
- Immigration is beneficial, migrants pay more *in* taxes than they send *out*
- IN = stronger UK business, jobs and consumer protection
- EU is UK's No.1 trading partner
- Keep global influence

**BRITAIN
STRONGER
IN EUROPE**



Referendum: The Results

EU Referendum results

Winners in each area

Leave: 51.9%

Remain: 48.1%

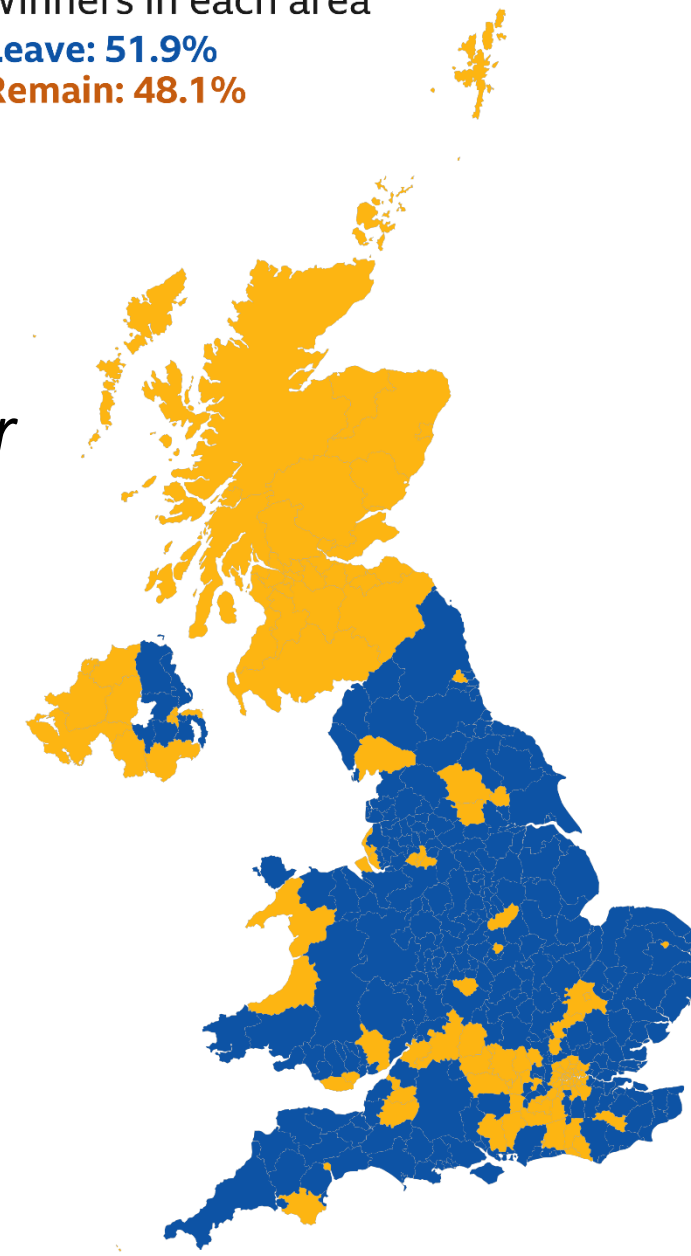
23 June 2016

Should the United Kingdom remain a member of the European Union or leave the European Union?

LEAVE: 51,9%

REMAIN: 48.1%

- ▶ Emotions vs rationality
- ▶ Investigation of involvement of Cambridge Analytica
- ▶ Overspending by *Leave.eu*

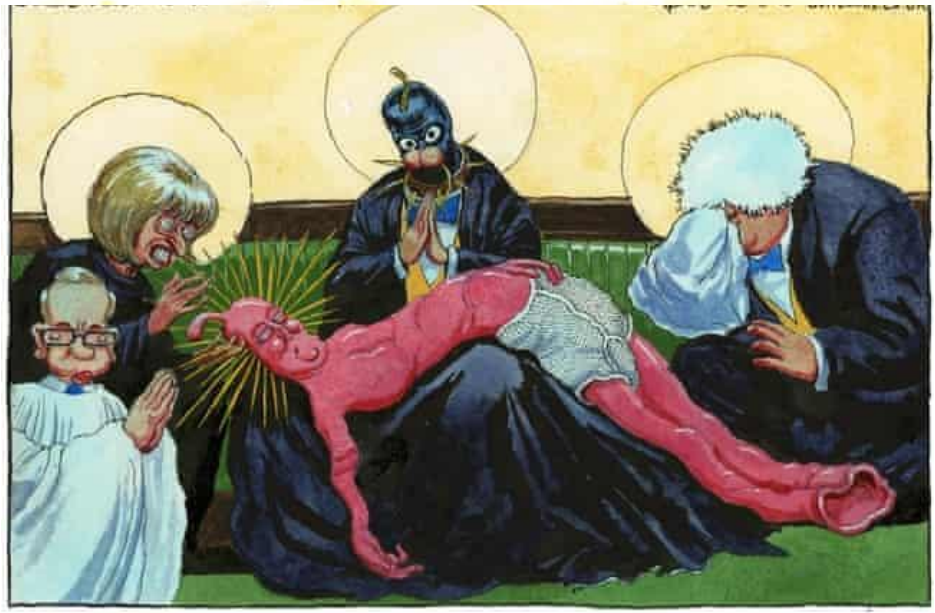


Gibraltar also voted to Remain

Source: Electoral Commission



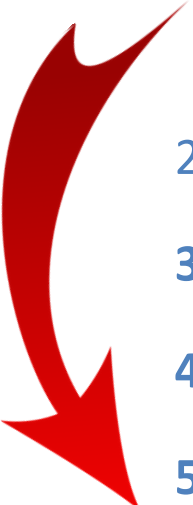
Days
after...



“Brexit means Brexit” (Theresa May, July 2016)

..but what does Brexit mean?!?

Options:

- 
1. The “**Norwegian model**” – remain in the single market (and customs union)
...a kind of European Economic Area agreement
 2. Leave EU market but remain in its **customs union** (like Turkey)
 3. **Free trade area** (like Canada)
 4. **Cherry-picked** deal (Switzerland)
 5. **No deal** – uncontrolled “crashing out” of EU (recourse to WTO trade rules)

from most to least integrated

UK: the “awkward partner” vol.5



- ▶ 2016 – PM Theresa May: What is Brexit? It’s a hard Brexit!
- ▶ 2017 – March – activation of **Article 50** Lisbon treaty starting a 2-year clock to negotiate and ratify:

1. a “withdrawal agreement” – leading to May cabinet falling and after new election Conservatives won with Boris Johnson 2019

- ▶ **2020 – Jan 31 UK Withdrawal from the EU** (transitional period till end of year 2020)

2. and future trade relationship agreement with the bloc

- ▶ 24-12-2020 – **UK-EU Trade and Cooperation Agreement**
- ▶ 2021/22: “teething problems” with TCA, unilateral breaking of the agreement by UK, issues with *Northern Ireland Protocol*, EU was suing UK over failure to implement agreement
- ▶ 2023 Windsor Framework agreement about a “double customs regime” in Northern Ireland enters into force now

What does the UK want to change?

Under the Brexit deal, certain goods have to be checked when they enter Northern Ireland from Great Britain

The current process

- The goods are checked at ports in Northern Ireland on arrival
- They can then be moved into the Republic of Ireland once checked



Windsor Framework

The UK's new plan

- The goods are split into two different lanes
- Goods destined only for Northern Ireland go into the **Green Lane** and are not checked
- Goods destined for Ireland and the EU go into the **Red Lane** and checks are carried out

