Brexit and the future of Europe
Brexit and the future of EU

• Brief recall of the situation
• Why Britain is leaving the EU
• Lessons from the negotiations
• Brexit outcomes
• Future of the EU
Situation

Withdrawal Agreement
• Money
• Citizens Rights
• Ireland

Political Declaration
• Future relations

European Summit
• 10 April

Brexit day
• 12 April (with no agreement)
• 22 May (with agreement)

European Parliament elections
• 23 - 26 May
• British participation?

Approved by UK PM and 27 Member States
Rejected by British Parliament 3 times
Three explanations for Brexit

1. British insularity and ambiguity about Europe
2. Leadership failures
3. Breakdown of British political system
British insularity and ambiguity about Europe

Fog in The Channel.
Continent Cut Off
Grievances
(real and perceived)

- Drift towards ever closer union (federalism)
- Loss of control of borders
- Fear of immigration
- UK budget contribution
- Wasteful farm supports (CAP)
- EU - blamed for ills of globalization
  - Precarious employment
  - Low wages
  - Income inequality

➢ Economic and identity issues reinforce each other
British never fully adjusted to EU

Dislike of compromise and confrontational style

![European Parliament](image1) = Compromise

![British Parliament](image2) = Confrontation
Through **gritted teeth** on this occasion we are going to have to listen carefully to what the Labour frontbench has to say

Andrea Leadsom  
Leader of the House of Commons
Imperial nostalgia
But insularity and imperial nostalgia did not make Brexit inevitable

Britain has engaged fully with the EU for more than 4 decades

Many core aspects of today’s EU were “Made in Britain”
Made in Britain?

- The Single Market
- CFSP/CSDP
- Regional Development Policy
- Development Assistance
  - ACP Convention
- Fisheries Policy
- Accountability and transparency
  - “Kinnock” reforms
Leadership failures

- David Cameron’s disastrous decision
- Theresa May’s bungled negotiations
- Jeremy Corbyn’s ambiguities
Breakdown in British political system

• Political parties sharply divided
• Parliament marginalised
• Weakening of traditional “transmission belts”
• Divides
  • England-Wales/Scotland-Northern Ireland
  • Urban/rural
  • Young/old
  • Somewhere/anywhere (David Goodhart)
Populism with British characteristics

- EU blamed for
  - Ills of globalization
  - Immigration
- Rejection of elites, experts and authorities
- English nationalism
- Off-shore dreams
- Rejection of “cosmopolitan” sophistication
- Sensational Eurosceptic press
“Enemies of the people”
Brexit sentiment exacerbated by events

- Influx of a million Poles
- The euro zone crisis
- 2015 migration crisis
Six lessons from Brexit referendum and negotiations

1. Beware of referendums
2. EU-bashing doesn’t pay
3. Don’t throw red meat to populists
4. Take parliament into your confidence
5. Know your negotiating partner
6. Be flexible for win-win result
What now?

Deal
No Deal
Short extension
Long extension
“Flextension”
Revocation
Outcomes?

Withdrawal
- The PM’s deal approved
- Leaving EU with no deal
- Revoking article 50 and cancelling Brexit
- Another referendum
- An election

Future
- The PM's deal plus a customs union
- The PM's deal plus a customs union and single market (“Common Market 2.0”)
- A Canada-style free trade agreement
- Security and defense partnership
12 April 2019 (?)

Who are we going to blame for our problems now?
Three scenarios for EU’s future after Brexit

1. Relaunch

2. Disintegration

3. Integration pause
So what awaits Europe?

This?

Or this?