

# Brexit Means Brexit. Causes Consequences and Implications

L-36 Scienze Politiche e relazioni Internazionali

2017-2018

- LONDEPENDENCE      London independence
- Much of the rhetoric of the pro-Brexit press centers around the reclamation of British sovereignty from the technocrats in Brussels. But proponents have also projected a NOSTALGIC VISION OF BRITAIN again as a dominant power.

# Brexit and the Empire.

«Outside the E.U the world is our oyster, and the Commonwealth the pearl within» UKIP before the referendum.

New post referendum attempts to trade with ex colonies: Empire2.0

What do we mean by the terms ‘hard’ or  
‘soft’ Brexit?

# Cloze answers

- Britain's departure from the \_\_\_\_\_ Union comes in both \_\_\_\_\_ and soft versions.
- Supporters \_\_\_\_\_ a "soft" Brexit imagine \_\_\_\_\_ future where the UK \_\_\_\_\_ some form of membership \_\_\_\_\_ the European Union single \_\_\_\_\_ in return for a \_\_\_\_\_ of free movement.
- For \_\_\_\_\_ who back a "hard" \_\_\_\_\_, the better option is \_\_\_\_\_ leave the EU and \_\_\_\_\_ single market entirely and \_\_\_\_\_ have a relationship based - \_\_\_\_\_ least initially - on World Trade Organization rules.

a – at - Brexit - degree - European – hard – market - of - of - retain –  
the - then - those - to -

# Answers

- Britain's departure from the European Union comes in both hard and soft versions.
- Supporters of a "soft" Brexit imagine a future where the UK retains some form of membership of the European Union single market in return for a degree of free movement.
- For those who back a "hard" Brexit, the better option is to leave the EU and the single market entirely and then have a relationship based - at least initially - on World Trade Organization rules.
-

# What do you know about Brexit?

- When did the United Kingdom join the EEC?
- What does Brexit stand for?
- What decision did the referendum ask voters to take?
- What was the result?
- What is the difference between refenda in the UK and in Italy?
- Who is responsible for taking the final decision in the UK?
- What have been the consequences for the UK economy?
- What does UKIP stand for?

# Answers

- 1 January 1973
- Britain leaving the EU
- To leave the EU or remain in the EU
- Leave 52%    Remain 48%
- In Great Britain referenda are considered advisory (the government does not have to respect the result) whereas in Italy referenda are binding and therefore the government is obliged to implement the result.
- There is still much uncertainty over this point. According to Theresa May the Government can/will decide without the need for an act of parliament. This position is debatable and many constitutionalists are divided. However, the Conservative Government won the debate in Parliament and an act of parliament gave the Government the authority to proceed to trigger Article 50.
- Opinion is divided over the long-term effects of Brexit. Whereas the UK economy has resisted fairly well to the shock wave of Brexit the sterling remains at a 30 year low.
- United Kingdom Independence Party. UKIP was formed after a scism in 1993 by the extreme right –wing of the Conservative Party. Their aim was to bring the UK out of the EU.

What is Article 50 of the Lisbon Treaty and what does it say?

# Article 50 of the Lisbon Treaty

- 1. Any Member State may decide to withdraw from the Union in accordance with its own constitutional requirements.
  - 2. A Member State which decides to withdraw shall notify the European Council of its intention. In the light of the guidelines provided by the European Council, the Union shall negotiate and conclude an agreement with that State, setting out the arrangements for its withdrawal, taking account of the framework for its future relationship with the Union. That agreement shall be negotiated in accordance with Article 218(3) of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union. It shall be concluded on behalf of the Union by the Council, acting by a qualified majority, after obtaining the consent of the European Parliament.
  - 3. The Treaties shall cease to apply to the State in question from the date of entry into force of the withdrawal agreement or, failing that, two years after the notification referred to in paragraph 2, unless the European Council, in agreement with the Member State concerned, unanimously decides to extend this period.
  - 4. For the purposes of paragraphs 2 and 3, the member of the European Council or of the Council representing the withdrawing Member State shall not participate in the discussions of the European Council or Council or in decisions concerning it.
- A qualified majority shall be defined in accordance with Article 238(3)(b) of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union.
- 5. If a State which has withdrawn from the Union asks to rejoin, its request shall be subject to the procedure referred to in Article 49.

A government must trigger the article by officially notifying the EU of its intention to leave. Then there is a two-year period in which the terms of the leaver's exit are negotiated. During this time Britain would no longer be able to take part in any EU decision-making, and any exit agreements must be approved by all 27 remaining EU nations and the European Parliament. Then after Britain's formal exit, fresh negotiations can begin on any new trade deals.

When the European Union member states drafted and then approved the Treaty of Lisbon in 2007, they did not think anyone would ever want to leave – it was a few years before the Eurozone crisis, and the bloc had just expanded successfully to the east.

So when, for the first time in its history, the EU included an article – the now-infamous Article 50– for a potential exit, they left it deliberately vague.

# The United Kingdom and Europe

|             |   |
|-------------|---|
| <b>1957</b> | <b>The Treaty of Rome was signed by 6 European states</b>   |
| <b>1967</b> | The European Community was established  |
| <b>1973</b> | Britain joined the European Community. Tory Prime Minister Edward Heath took Britain in.  |
| <b>1975</b> | Labour Prime Minister Harold Wilson had a <a href="#">referendum</a> on Britain's membership – the last national <a href="#">referendum</a> this country has had. 66% voted yes – to stay in the European Community   |
| <b>1987</b> | The Single European Act was signed. This was to create an internal market; “an area without frontiers in which the free movement of goods and persons, services and capital is ensured.”  |
| <b>1991</b> | The Maastrict Treaty was signed. The heart of this was to create a single European currency so that Europe as an entity had a currency to challenge the international supremacy of the dollar. Britain, led by Tory Prime Minister John Major, pushed for and got an “opt out” clause for Britain. This meant that we were part of the European Community and wanted to be a part of it, but not to participate in a single currency, therefore, maintaining the pound should we decide to do so. |
| <b>1993</b> | The <a href="#">European Union</a> was formed   |
| <b>2002</b> | The <a href="#">Euro</a> was introduced on January 1st. Britain has its Five Tests – if these are answered successfully, then Britain will join the <a href="#">Euro</a> . British public opinion does not appear to support the <a href="#">Euro</a> as the first month of its life draws to an end.   |

# The Brexit Narrative. Key Players

# Key Brexit Players

- |                       |   |
|-----------------------|---|
| • Boris Johnson       | Foreign Secretary   |
| • Jean Claude Juncker | President of the European Commission                        |
| • Theresa May         | UK Prime Minister   |
| • David Hammond       | Chancellor of the Exchequer                                 |
| • David Davis         | Secretary of State for Exiting the European Union           |
| • Donald Tusk         | President of the European Council                           |
| • Amber Rudd          | Home Secretary  |
| • Michel Barnier      | European Chief Negotiator for Brexit                        |
| • David Cameron       | Ex UK prime Minister  |
| • Jeremy Corbyn       | Leader of the Labour Party and of the Opposition            |
| • Sir Tim Farrow      | UK Ambassador to the European Union                         |
| • Nigel Farage        | Ex UKIP (United Kingdom Independence Party) leader and MEP. |

# Key Brexit Players UK 1



# Key Brexit Players UK 2



# Key Brexit Players (EU) 3



# **British Policy and Attitudes towards the Process of European Integration. A Brief History**

# 1. The Impact of the EC/EU on Britain

# Britain and the EC/EU

- Few aspects of British politics since 1945 have attracted as much continuing attention and intense debate as British involvement in European integration.
- British membership of the EC/EU has had a pervasive influence on many aspects of Britain's political and economic life.

# Britain and the EU (1)

- Membership has had a major impact on British political institutions, a wide range of policy fields and on the supremacy of national law.
- At least 10% of all UK laws originate in the EU.
- Approximately 50% of legislation affecting British business is determined at the EU level.
- Between 60% and 90% of national legislation is affected by EU decisions.

# Britain and the EC/EU (2)

- EC/EU membership has had a particularly profound effect on the law making powers of the UK Parliament especially with the widening of EU competencies and the continuation of European integration.
- This process is so advanced now that the House of Commons has been compared by some to the equivalent of a provincial assembly.
- EU law can confer rights on individuals that British courts are obliged to uphold/respect.
- EU law takes precedence over conflicting provisions of British law.

# Britain and the EC/EU (3)

- It is commonly felt that British membership of the EU has not put Britain at the heart of Europe but it has put Europe at the heart of Britain.

# Britain and the EC/EU (4)

- Britain's EU membership raises fundamental questions that have tormented British politics since 1945.
- These questions have centred on Britain's post-imperial role and identity in the wider world and in particular its relationship with mainland Europe.
- Should Britain primarily engage militarily, politically and financially with Europe or concentrate on the world beyond Europe?
- Is Britain politically and psychologically part of Europe or is it in some way an island apart?

# Britain and the EC/EU (5)

- In conclusion, these were precisely the sort of questions at the heart of eighteenth-century British politics so much so that the debate about European Integration would have sounded extremely familiar to the Victorian observer.
- Today the EU is regarded as being remote, complex, interfering and boring.
- In a recent survey 50% of respondents said they knew only a bit about the EU while 30% said they knew nothing at all.

# Britain and the EU (6)

- Such limited knowledge has often meant that distortions, simplistic and demonizing narratives, firmly established prejudices and stereotypes become easily part of British media representation of the EU and acquire status as immutable historical truths.
- «This is the story of fifty years in which Britain struggled to reconcile the past she could not forget with the future she could not avoid:»  
(Hugo Young)

# Cloze test 1

- Theresa May has revealed her 12-point plan for Brexit, in which she confirmed that the UK will leave the Single Market. The Prime Minister used a major \_\_\_\_\_ to declare that the EU will \_\_\_\_\_ torn into "very small pieces" if \_\_\_\_\_ does not give Britain the deal \_\_\_\_\_ wants, insisting that she will walk \_\_\_\_\_ from negotiations with Brussels if they \_\_\_\_\_ to give Britain a "bad deal". \_\_\_\_\_ her 12-point plan for divorce \_\_\_\_\_, Mrs May threatened to take control \_\_\_\_\_ the number of foreigners coming to \_\_\_\_\_ and create an immigration system "that \_\_\_\_\_ the national interest". Mrs May said \_\_\_\_\_ her plans for Brexit cannot allow \_\_\_\_\_ membership of the single market, which \_\_\_\_\_ require free movement of people and \_\_\_\_\_ the jurisdiction of the European Court \_\_\_\_\_ Justice. Instead, she said that she \_\_\_\_\_ look for "the greatest possible access \_\_\_\_\_ the single market on a reciprocal \_\_\_\_\_, through a comprehensive trade agreement". Mrs \_\_\_\_\_ said that she wanted to remain \_\_\_\_\_ of a customs agreement with the \_\_\_\_\_ 27 EU states, but said she \_\_\_\_\_ an "open mind" over whether this \_\_\_\_\_ be through associate membership of the \_\_\_\_\_ union or through some other arrangement. \_\_\_\_\_ PM said both Houses of Parliament \_\_\_\_\_ have a vote on any final \_\_\_\_\_ done with Brussels, as she signalled \_\_\_\_\_ Government could take Britain out of \_\_\_\_\_ Customs Union. Mrs May left it unclear whether such a vote would mean the UK staying in the EU, or leaving without a trade agreement in place.
- ACCEPTING - ATTEMPT - AWAY - BASIS - BE - CUSTOMS - CONTINUED - DEAL - EUROPE - HAD - IT - IT - MAY - OF - OF - PART - PRESENTING - REMAINING - SERVES - SPEECH - TALKS - THAT - THE - THE - THE - TO - WILL - WOULD - WOULD - WOULD**

# Solutions

- Theresa May has revealed her 12-point plan for Brexit, in which she confirmed that the UK will leave the Single Market. The Prime Minister used a major **speech** to declare that the EU will **be** torn into "very small pieces" if it does not give Britain the deal **it** wants, insisting that she will walk **away** from negotiations with Brussels if they **attempt** to give Britain a "bad deal". Presenting her 12-point plan for divorce **talks**, Mrs May threatened to take control of the number of foreigners coming to Europe and create an immigration system "that **serves** the national interest". Mrs May said **that** her plans for Brexit cannot allow **continued** membership of the single market, which **would** require free movement of people and **accepting** the jurisdiction of the European Court **of** Justice. Instead, she said that she **will** look for "the greatest possible access **to** the single market on a reciprocal **basis**, through a comprehensive trade agreement". Mrs **May** said that she wanted to remain **part** of a customs agreement with the **remaining** 27 EU states, but said she **had** an "open mind" over whether this **would** be through associate membership of the **customs** union or through some other arrangement. **The PM** said both Houses of Parliament **would** have a vote on any final **deal** done with Brussels, as she signalled **the** Government could take Britain out of **the** Customs Union. Mrs May left it unclear whether such a vote would mean the UK staying in the EU, or leaving without a trade agreement in place.

# Roots

- British post-war foreign policy
- July 1945. First post war government Labour. Prime Minister Clement Atlee succeeded war time Tory PM Winston Churchill.

Three periods of critical importance in determining the nature and extent of British involvement in the formative stages of post-war European organizations.

- January 1948-1949
- May-June 1950
- June-November 1955

# January 1948-January 1949

Initially, Britain approves and supports expansive view of European Union.

# The British Foreign Secretary (January 1948)

- “The conception of the unity of Europe and the preservation of Europe as the heart of Western civilisation is accepted by most people. The importance of this has become increasingly apparent, not only to all the European nations as a result of the post-war crises through which Europe has passed and is passing, but to the whole world. No one disputes the idea of European unity. That is not the issue. The issue is whether European unity cannot be achieved without the domination and control of one great Power. That is the issue which has to be solved.”

# The British Foreign Secretary (1)

- “The British policy has been based on three principles. The first is that no one nation should dominate Europe. The second is that the old-fashioned conception of the balance of power as an aim should be discarded if possible. The third is that there should be substituted Four-Power co-operation and assistance to all the States of Europe, to enable them to evolve freely each in its own way. As regards the first principle, I am sure this House and the world will realise that if a policy is pursued by any one Power to try to dominate Europe by whatever means, direct or indirect — one has to be frank — one is driven to the conclusion that it will inevitably lead again to another world war and I hope that that idea will be discarded by all of us. It is this which His Majesty’s Government have striven and will continue to strive to prevent.”

# The British Foreign Secretary (2)

- “Our formal relations with the various countries may differ, but between all there should be an effective understanding bound together by common ideals for which the Western Powers have twice in one generation shed their blood. If we are to preserve peace and our own safety at the same time we can only do so by the mobilisation of such a moral and material force as will create confidence and energy in the West and inspire respect elsewhere, and this means that Britain cannot stand outside Europe and regard her problems as quite separate from those of her European neighbours. ”

# Limited Liability. January 1949

- However, the period terminates with an official definition of the limits of British involvement in the post-war reconstruction and organization of western Europe.

# Limited Liability 1949

- Our policy should be to assist Europe to recover as far as we can....But the concept must be one of limited liability. In no circumstances must we assist them (the Europeans) beyond the point at which the assistance leaves us too weak to be a worth-while ally for the U.S.A. if Europe collapses... Nor can we embark upon measures of 'cooperation' which surrender our sovereignty and which lead us down a path along which there is no return.

# Limited Liability (1)

- Limited Liability saw Britain more as a sponsor than a true participant in European affairs. In the immediate post war years Britain already had its own post war national strategy to post war recovery. This strategy included Commonwealth markets, imperial resources, London's position as a financial centre as well as the importance of her armed forces and her alliance with the US. All these advantages meant that Britain's standing as a world power had substance and consequently that Europe was a not a crucial or necessary element in Britain's post war economic recovery. In short her policy of limited liability was basically dictated by economic interests.

May-June 1950

1. Discussion of a plan (the Schuman Plan) to create a coal and steel community subsequently called the European Coal and Steel Community (Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and West Germany).
2. The United Kingdom not particularly warm to the idea and begins to distance

# Why was the United Kingdom reluctant to join?

- The beginning of the idea of a supranational organisation.
- Supranationalism vs intergovernmentalism
- Supranationalism = sacrificing sovereignty
- Three worlds: America, The Commonwealth, Europe and Britain.

# June-November 1955

1. ECSC considers plans for a common market.
2. UK refuses to take part in negotiations resulting in the signing of the Treaties of Rome (March 1957) and the creation of the European Economic Community (EEC) and the European Atomic Energy Community (EAEC).

# The British refusal to join the Treaty of Rome

- Was based on the British dislike for many of the supranational and technocratic elements in the treaties. They were worried about damaging links with the Commonwealth, and they wished to pursue a ‘one-world economic system’ policy in which sterling was a central currency. The United Kingdom’s non-participation in the European Coal and Steel Community and the European Economic Community at the beginning meant than when Britain joined the European Economic Community in 1973 it had to accept many elements that have proved controversial with British voters: its supranationalism, common agricultural policy, and budget. These were all established before the British joined.

WHERE AND WHEN DID  
The UK'S POSITION TAKE  
ROOT?

This position was shaped immediately in 1945.

1. Wartime experiences
2. Early post-war conditions
3. Until 1954 the UK was occupied with the dissolution of its global empire.

# Sense of Insularity

The Second World War had a profound and lasting impact on the post-war attitudes of British policymakers and public towards involvement in mainland Europe. Britain's wartime experiences reinforced a deep-felt sense of insularity and detachment from the continent.

# British Perception of Europe in 1945

## 1. British Perception of Europe in 1945

# Result

Pathological distrust strengthened the case against too strong an involvement in mainland Europe.

The European continent did not represent the major, exclusive area of British strategic interest.

# ‘Standing Alone’

Britain had escaped the mainland European trauma of invasion, defeat and occupation.

This wartime experience reinforced British national culture, institutions and sovereignty.

‘Standing alone’ imagery as the sole wall of defence against Nazi Germany created strong sense both in policymakers and the British public of moral superiority and of unequalled leadership qualities in Europe.

# Great Power Status

1. The UK was one of the victorious powers along with the USA and the USSR.
2. Its widespread overseas ties with the Empire and then Commonwealth seemed to confirm the UK's position as a global power.
3. This feeling of global status and importance influenced how the UK managed mainland European affairs.

But was post-war Britain still a global power?



## The Answer is NO

1. Britain's economic decline had already begun before the war.
2. Despite her powerful army, militarily Great Britain became dependent on the USA.
3. Compared with the USA and the USSR she emerged from the war with few material rewards for her sacrifice and faced virtual bankruptcy.
4. Her great power status had become a mere illusion.

# The Perception of Great Power Status

- Britain had her own ‘post-war’ national strategy or path to recovery and this did not include active involvement in European integration.
- She possessed assets and resources absent in much of mainland Europe such as Commonwealth markets, colonial resources, London’s position as a financial centre and large armed forces.
- A close peacetime alliance with the US and the acquisition of nuclear weapons.

# A perception of Great Power Status (2)

1. Britain's standing as a world power appeared to have substance .
2. Europe was not a crucial or necessary element in Britain's post-war economic recovery.
3. UK's involvement in the European response to the US Marshall offer of aid in 1947. Ideally, the British Government wanted aid in dollars without involvement in European Cooperation as a prerequisite for all recipients of this aid.
4. London wanted recognition by the US of Britain's special global standing compared with the position of other states.

## A perception of Great Power Status (3)

1. Washington desired fuller involvement in European Integration by the UK and withheld recognition of Britain's special global standing as compared with the position of the other European states.
2. British policymakers, however, insisted on the distinctive features of Britain's standing as a major player in the world economy.

# A Brief Look at Continental Europe

# Post-War Continental Europe.

The six states (France, West Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and Belgium) that were to form the core of European integration until 1973 shared two particular experiences that encouraged them to develop a new form of cooperation.

1. They had all had their prestige weakened by virtue of national defeat: whether at the hands of Nazi Germany, or as in the case of Germany and Italy, by the Allies.

2. They had all suffered from the excesses of state power, with the Nazi regime the most extreme manifestation of this.

For these countries, unlike Britain, the nationstate had been discredited, resulting in powerful political forces for new forms of inter-state cooperation. These new forms of cooperation were needed for three reasons.

1. They all confronted the task of economic reconstruction.

2. Most of them bordered on West Germany and looked for a new way of containing German power.

3. The Cold War created a geopolitical division through the centre of Europe and a need to organise against a perceived external threat of communism.

# Supranationalism

The consequence was that the six states developed supranational integration as a specific form of cooperation between states. Hence the three European Communities were born.

# Supranationalism

1. A commitment by the states to work together.
2. But it also means formal constraints on national autonomy.

# Furthermore

1. Supranationalism places formal constraints on national autonomy.
2. It expresses itself in a distinctive institutional structure; a body of law that takes precedence over national law in a dense network of institutions located chiefly in Brussels.
3. Its unique form of government penetrates national (i.e. British) politics and policies.

# Supranational Organisations

1952

European Coal and Steel Community

1957

Treaty of Rome

1958

European Atomic Energy Community

European Economic Community (EEC)

# British reaction to the new EECs

1. Until 1961 total detachment.
2. However, two important factors played a decisive role in encouraging the UK government, under a Conservative Government, to apply for membership.

# What were these factors?

1. The stronger economic performances of those states belonging to the three communities.
2. Britain's declining foreign policy influence i.e. decolonization process and the Suez Crisis of 1956.

# Application for Membership Rejected

Britain's first application in 1963 was rejected along with a second one by the Labour Government of Harold Wilson in 1967.

Britain's application was welcomed by Belgium, the Netherlands, Germany, Luxembourg and Italy.

For the second time France led by De Gaulle vetoed British entry to the European Communities.

# De Gaulle's arguments were

1. Britain might compete with France for leadership of the EC.
2. Britain might be a vehicle for US interests in its dealings with the EC rather than supporting the direct interests of the EC.
3. Britain had originally participated in the talks that led to the creation of the EEC. However, in 1955, Britain withdrew from the talks because the ultimate aim was political union (though at that stage political union was not clearly defined). And now, a few years later, Britain was banging on the door, asking for entry on tailor-made conditions.

# French rejection of UK Membership

De Gaulle warned France's five partners in the European Economic Community (EEC) that if they tried to impose British membership on France it would result in the break-up of the community.

He accused Britain of a "deep-seated hostility" towards European construction saying London showed a "lack of interest" in the Common Market and would require a "radical transformation" before joining the EEC.

# De Gaulle's Arguments were

4. Having withdrawn from the talks, Britain set up a rival free trade area (EFTA)with other European countries outside the EEC: Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Austria, Portugal and Sweden. This infuriated De Gaulle.

# De Gaulle's view on British Membership of the EEC

Great Britain posed her candidature to the Common Market. She did it after having earlier refused to participate in the communities we are now building, as well as after creating a free trade area with six other States, and finally, after having-I may well say it, put some pressure on the Six to prevent a real beginning being made in the application of the Common Market. If England asks in turn to enter, but on her own conditions, this poses without doubt to each of the six States, and poses to England, problems of a very great dimension.

# De Gaulle on Membership (2)

What is to be done in order that England, as she lives, produces and trades, can be incorporated in to the Common Market, as it has been conceived and as it functions?

# De Gaulle on Membership (1)

England, in effect, is insular, she is maritime, she is linked through her exchanges, her markets, her supply lines to the most diverse and often the most distant countries; she pursues essentially industrial and commercial activities, and only slight agricultural ones (*there had been much emphasis on the creation of a common agricultural policy*). She has in all her doing very marked and very original habits and traditions.

In short, the nature, the structure, the very situation that are England's differ profoundly from those of the Continentals.

How interested was the UK in really joining  
the Common Market?

# Economic Imperialism

In the early post-war years of shortages of raw materials the Commonwealth provided access to scarce resources through a stranglehold on some of the colonies.

# Protectionism

The Commonwealth offered an assured market for British goods. 50% or more of Britain's trade was with its colonies.

The whole of Europe only accounted for 20% of British trade.

Much of the Commonwealth made up the sterling area for which Britain acted as the central banker playing a prominent role in the world's financial system. 50% of all payments were in sterling.

British membership of a European customs union was therefore regarded as unacceptable.

It would undermine the British preference for a ‘one world’ trading system including the Commonwealth, North America and Europe.

Any attempt to merge this imperialist and protectionist system with a European customs union would mean a net loss for British exporters and for British management of the sterling area.

Throughout the 1950s, the precise impact of the Commonwealth on the making of British foreign policy towards the emerging EC was immeasurable.

For these reasons the dramatic economic downturn of the UK economy after the war increased the argument against membership of a European customs union even more.

# The public are already turning against Brexit. When will Theresa May listen?

The Brussels Summit 20/10/2016

If Britain wants to opt out of fundamental obligations, it can't opt into fundamental rights. Irritation built up over years at the UK demanding exceptional treatment had Luxembourg's prime minister, Xavier Bettel, echoing the rest: "Before they were in, and they had many opt-outs. Now they want to be out, with many opt-ins."

The Guardian (21/10/2016)

# Times were changing

During the 1960s the EC stagnated politically due to opposition to de Gaulle's policies.

De Gaulle believed in intergovernmentalism, or the integration of Europe with each nation having a say on policy, such as states within the United States do.

The other five members were more favourable towards supranationalism, or having an entity above the nations within the European Commission to determine an integrated policy, such as the U.S. Federal government is to each of the 50 states.

# Enlargement

De Gaulle resigned as president in 1969 in disagreement with the prevalent choice of giving the EEC a supranational structure.

With his resignation circumstances changed and integration was relaunched.

And enlargement returned to the agenda.

# Enlargement (1)

Eventually, after successful terms of membership had been negotiated, the first enlargement took place in 1973 with the UK, Ireland and Denmark acceding to the EEC.

# Enlargement (2)

For De Gaulle, the main objection to an enlarged community was that it might lead to an Atlantic community, dominated by the United States.

For Britain, an argument in favour of joining the Common Market was that it might eventually evolve into a full-scale Atlantic community. For Britain to join the kind of Europe which President De Gaulle wanted was unthinkable. This mattered at least as much as her ties with Continental Europe. In the last resort Britain was/is an Atlantic power before she is a European one.

# British Accession

The Conservative Government under Edward Heath presented the EC as an organisation which posed little major threat to sovereignty.

Final and absolute authority would remain in the UK and not be challenged from outside.

# British Accession (1)

In the House of Commons the decision to approve membership was highly contested.

The Conservative government had to rely on support from rebel Labour MPs, who rejected their party's line of opposing the terms negotiated.

## Accession (2)

Sovereignty was the key point of conflict between the two main parties and in many ways has been so ever since.

With majority voting in the Council of Ministers, the UK was in difficulty because sovereignty was challenged.

The Two Main Parties and Europe.

# Party Divisions

Supranational integration has provoked opposition or division in the UK since the Schuman Plan in 1950 and has been the cause of major political divisions within both parties.

# Party Divisions (1)

Already at the time of negotiating the terms of British membership and in the subsequent parliamentary ratification of the European Communities Act (1971-72) divisions emerged within both parties.

The Heath Government required the votes of Pro-European Labour MPs to secure the necessary votes to achieve membership.

For the Labour Party, European Integration originally meant the «end of a thousand years of history»

# The Labour party (1)

In 1973 with the Labour Party in opposition divisions over closer European Integration created serious problems for maintaining party unity.

In 1974 two general elections were held and both were won by the Labour Party under Harold Wilson.

# The 1975 Referendum

Labour's general election manifesto of October 1974 committed Labour to allow people the opportunity to decide whether Britain should stay in the Common Market on renegotiated terms, or leave it entirely.

The referendum question was simply "Do you think the UK should stay in the European Community (Common Market)?"

# The 1975 referendum (1)

In the run-up to the referendum the prime minister announced that the government had decided to recommend a "yes" vote. But it emerged that the cabinet had split, with seven of its 23 members wanting withdrawal.

# The 1975 Referendum

The referendum was called with a view to resolving these domestic disputes concerning EC membership. Its ultimate aim was to limit the damage created by the serious splits in the Cabinet.

The result was a 67% victory for staying in the Economic Community.

# The Conservative Party

- The Conservatives also campaigned to stay in the Common Market. Margaret Thatcher, Tory party leader, declared the "Yes" vote would not have happened without the Opposition's support for it.

# Margaret Thatcher



# Margaret Thatcher's Speech opening the Conservative 1975 referendum campaign

- I welcome this opportunity to launch the Conservative campaign to keep Britain in Europe.
- It is not surprising that I, as Leader of the Conservative Party, should wish to give my wholehearted support to this campaign, for the Conservative Party has been pursuing the European vision almost as long as we have existed as a Party.
- "So long as the power and advice of England are felt in the Councils of Europe, peace I believe will be maintained, and maintained for a long period."
- And, of course, that is right. We are inextricably part of Europe. Europe is where we are and where we have always been.
- It is a fact that there has been peace in Europe for the last quarter of a century, and for that alone I am grateful; that my children have not been embroiled in a European conflict as were the children of the previous two generations.
- Nor do I think that we should take this peace too much for granted, for it has been secured by the conscious and concerted effort of nations to work together.
- We are part of Europe. It was Churchill who, at the Congress of Europe in 1948, said: "The movement for European unity must be a positive force, deriving its strength from our sense of common spiritual values.
- "It is a dynamic expression of democratic faith, based upon moral conceptions and inspired by a sense of mission ..."
- And as Harold Macmillan, who made Britain's first application to join the Community, said: "We are European, geographically and culturally and we cannot, even if we would, disassociate ourselves from Europe".

# Margaret Thatcher's Speech opening the Conservative 1975 referendum campaign

- The Community gives us peace and security in a free society, a peace and security denied to the past two generations.
- The Community gives us access to secure sources of food supplies. This is vital to us, a country which has to import half of what we need.
- The Community does more trade and gives more aid than any group in the world.
- The Community gives us the opportunity to represent the Commonwealth in Europe. The Commonwealth want us to stay in and has said so. The Community wants us.
- Conservatives must give a clear lead and play a vigorous part in the campaign to keep Britain in Europe to honour the treaties which you, sir, (Edward Heath) signed in Britain's name.
- We must do this, even though we dislike referenda. We must support the [ Harold Wilson] Prime Minister in this, even though we fight the Government on other issues.
- We must play our full part in ensuring that Conservative supporters say "Yes to Europe".

# Articles

# EU Referendum: Full Results and Analysis

- What information does the map give us about the referendum result?
- Explain the following terms: higher education, formal qualifications, median annual income.
- What can you say about the graphs?
- What emerges from the three river area analyses?