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THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF BREXIT

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WILSON STILL APPLYING
FOR MEMBERSHIP
OF COMMON MARKET

NON
NON
NON
NON
NON
NON
NON
NON



'S...O...M...E...D...A...Y'



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Brexit in context

- Britain's forty three year membership
- An uneasy relationship
- Optouts. ERM, Schengen, euro
- Xavier Bettel opt-outs/opt-ins
- Jacques Delors small engine/large brake



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Boxing legend
Henry Cooper
dies, aged 76

EU WANTS TO MERGE UK WITH FRANCE

Fury as millions wasted on crazy idea

**KATE
LOOKS
GREAT
IN £50
DRESS**

ON SALE NOW **OK!** MAGAZINE ROYAL WEDDING BUMPER ISSUE

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Two Referendums

- 1975

Yes : 17.4 million (67 per cent)

No: 8.5 million (33 per cent)

- 2016

Leave: 17.4 million (52 per cent)

Remain: 16.1 million (48 per cent)



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A divided political class

- Labour against European integration
1960s, 1970s, 1980s
- Conservatives against European integration
1990s, 2000s, 2010s
- Media - strong anti-EU campaign
- Universities, civil service, business

Conservatives say YES to Europe





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Divisions in country

- Labour heartlands: No in 1975 Leave in 2016
- Conservative heartlands Yes in 1975 Leave in 2016
- Generational and educational divides
- London versus small town England

specific Scotland/N.Ireland vs Wales/England

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SPECIAL EDITION

GET BRITAIN OUT OF THE EU



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What did Brexit mean?

Was it a vote for

- closed borders?
- More money for the NHS?
- A planned economy with trade and capital controls to reverse regional decline?
- A more global, deregulated Britain?



Brexit as an elite project

- The harnessing of a populist revolt. UKIP
- The project of global Britain
- De-regulation, tax cuts, reduced public services
- Immigration high for flexible labour markets
- Sacrifice of manufacturing





Brexit as a populist insurgency

- Cultural resentment
- Vote against London and its elites
- National identity defined against Europe
- British exceptionalism
- Rejection of globalisation, immigration, multilateral co-operation, openness



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SAY



TO THE EU



£48 Million a day
to this lot!

SAY



YES

TO INDEPENDENCE



VOTE UK INDEPENDENCE PARTY

ukip.org

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Democracy and elites

- Pareto. Foxes and lions
- Duplicity and cunning versus force and charisma
- The national-popular



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An unprecedented peacetime crisis

- Constitutional
- The British Union
- Geopolitical
- Party system
- Economy
- Culture

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The constitutional crisis

- Direct democracy vs. representative democracy
- The betrayal of the people
- The Remainer Parliament
- The will of the people
- Parliament versus the Executive

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Britain's pre-modern constitution



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The United Kingdom crisis

- English nationalism vs Scottish and Irish nationalism
- Scotland: strengthening of the case for independence
- Northern Ireland: the possibility of a border poll



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The geopolitical crisis

- Global interdependence vs national sovereignty
- Britain's place in the world
- Britain's place in Europe
- Britain's traditional policy: avoiding the domination of Europe by a single power





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The political system crisis

- Both main parties, Labour and Conservative, at risk of splitting
- Robert Peel and the Corn Laws 1846
- New political movements and parties emerging
- Fundamental realignment of political

allegiances under way

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The cultural crisis

- Is Britain to become more open or more closed?
- Multiculturalism and multilateralism
- Social conservatism
- Turning inward



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The economic crisis

- All Brexits worse than staying in EU
- Short-term costs/long-term costs
- Loss of access to main trading partner
- Impact on investment and supply chains
- Restrictions on labour market



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Lessons from Brexit 1

- The Brexit fantasy
- Promises made by Brexiterers in 2016 undeliverable
- Split between the elite project for Brexit and the popular demand for Brexit
- The use of populism by elites



Lessons from Brexit 2

- The remoteness of the EU from its citizens
- The dangers of two level games
- It took Brexit to unleash popular enthusiasm for the EU in the UK
- Demonstrations, petitions. 6 million signatures



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Lessons from Brexit 3

- Interdependence still powerful
- Britain will always need a close relationship with the rest of Europe
- The costs of separation
- Another Europe is possible but only if there is democratic legitimacy