

INDEX

accountability Bachtler, J 89 democratic, EU's lack of 98-9, Barber, Nick 215 106-8, 111-12 Barnier, Michel 256-7 for referendum results 46-7 Barrow, Tim 231-3 administrative co-operation, Bartels, Lorand 153-4 BBC, and Brexit referendum between UK and EU, post-Brexit 189-93 campaign 67-9 age limits, for Brexit referendum Begg, I 89 voters 52-4 Belgium, CETA ratification process Agnew, Steven 216-18 in 163 benefits of EU-membership agricultural subsidies in UK 90, 154-5 free movement of people 74 Alternative Vote (AV) electoral versus costs 92-3 Blair, Tony 94 system 49-50 Article 50 (TEU, EU membership Bloomberg Speech (Cameron) 25, 26 withdrawal clause) 197, borders, control over see 202-6, 209-10 immigration triggering by UK of 3-4, 210-12 Bratislava Declaration (EU negotiations following 255-69 Roadmap for the Future, parliamentary authorisation 2016) 274-5 requirement for 4, 215-16, 'Breaking Point' poster (UKIP) 218-26, 241, 249-52, 253-4 67, 73 timing of 229 Brexit 1, 2, 140-1 withdrawal agreement and devolution 165, 186-7, 225-6, specifications in 261-2 233, 237-8, 239 association agreements of EU Northern Ireland 216-18, 236-7 as alternative for UK Scotland 166, 233-5, 238-9 membership of EU 142-3, Wales 235-6 governmental organisation of 147-9 with Ukraine 147-9 229-33



INDEX

hard/soft 141-7 no deal over bad deal impact of 3, 65 preference 157-8 on agricultural subsidies in UK transitional arrangements 173-8 UK-EU free trade agreement 154-5 on Denmark 270-1 151, 153-8, 161, 164, on EU 273-83 173-4, 262 on EU citizens in UK 265-8 time schedule for 206, 254 on EU contributions post-Brexit referendum 1, 2, 39-40 Brexit 91 campaign 56, 67-9 on financial services firms in expenditure 62-3 UK 176-8 information provision 63-4, on immigration 84-5 65, 67-9 rules 56-8, 60-1 on Ireland 236, 272-3 on UK trade relations with see also Leave campaign; US 136 Remain campaign legal formalities of 181-5, 189-93, control issues 194, 210-12, 233 over immigration 73-4, European Union (Notification 78-9, 83-4 of Withdrawal) Bill 241, over national law/legislation 113-15, 179, 180 Great Repeal Bill 154, 179-81, over trade 125, 134-5, 163-4 185-6, 187-9 decision litigation on 4, 214-28, 256 Cameron's initiative for 9-10, Miller case 215-16, 233, 241, 21, 24-6 247, 249-52 legislation on 43-4, 50-5 negotiations between EU and UK setting date for 58-60 and UK voting system/franchise on 255-69 parliamentary oversight of 241-3, issues 49-50, 52-4 245-54 and EU treaty amendment referendums 42-3 strategies for 3-4, 139-40, 141, and 'new settlement' deal/EU 149-50, 165 association agreement with EU renegotiations 21, 39-42 results 19-20 142-3, 147-9 EEA access through EFTA and age of voters 53-4 membership 143-7, 175 and austerity policies 95-6 government White Paper on geographical spread of 80-3, 139-40, 180, 183, 190 165-6



INDEX

Brexit referendum (cont) meaning of 54-5 wording of referendum question 50-2 Brexit Time 2, 5 Brexiteers 1-2, 174-5 Brown, Gordon 83-4, 94 budgets of EU 87-9 UK cuts in, and Brexit referendum results 95-6 Bulgaria, migration to UK from 75-6, 80 Búrca, G de 97 Cameron, David Brexit referendum initiated by 2, 9-10, 21, 24-6 'new settlement' deal for UK membership of EU by 21, 30-5, 94-5, 105-6, 118, 207 resignation of 141 campaigns, referendum 46 see also Brexit referendum, campaign Canada, free trade agreement with EU (CETA) 161-4 CCP (Common Commercial Policy, EU) 160 CETA (Canada-EU Trade Agreement), EU ratification of 161-4 Churchill, Winston 10 civil service Brexit as challenge for 231-2 political involvement of 57, 65

competitiveness, Cameron's 'new settlement' deal with EU on 32 Conservative Party on immigration issues 83 pressure to hold Brexit referendum by 25-6, 42-3 Constitutional Treaty of EU 197-8 EU membership withdrawal clause in 198-201 failure of 201 referendums on 24 control issues in Brexit referendum campaign campaign slogan on 2-3, 65-6 democratic deficit of EU 98-101, 103, 111-12 national borders/immigration 73-4, 78-9, 83-4 national laws 113-15, 179, 180 trade 125, 134-5, 163-4 Corbett, Richard 260-1 costs of EU membership, as Brexit referendum campaign issue 86-7, 90-1, 92-3 Council of Ministers (EU) 102-3 Court of Justice of EU law interpretation by, and British courts 118-21, 122-3, 193-4 primacy of EU law over domestic law principle of 115-17 UK challenges of EU decisions at 122 - 3Cox, Jo, murder of 69 CRAG (Constitutional Reform and Governance) Act 2010 242-3, 249, 250, 252



INDEX

domestic courts Craig, Paul 44, 243, 250 Cremona, M 131 Cummings, D₂ Curtin, D 111-12 customs unions 127, 144 Dashwood, Alan 198 date for Brexit referendum, setting of 58-60 Davis, David 229-30 Delors, Jacques 109 democracy EU lack of 98-9, 106-8, 111-12 European Commission 99-101, 103, 109-11 and referendums 45, 46-7 Denmark EU membership of 270 after Brexit 270-1 after Greenland opt-out 167 and Faroe Islands 168-9 and primacy of EU law 116 devolution/devolved parliaments and Brexit 186-7, 225-6, 233, 237-8, 239 see also Northern Ireland; Scotland; Wales **DEXEU** (Department for Exiting the EU) 229-31 direct democracy, attractiveness of 45 directives of EU UK withdrawal from 211-12 incorporation in UK law EEC (European Economic 114-15, 184 see also Working Time Directive DIT (Department for International Trade), creation of 229-30

EU rights enforcement through 213-14 and UK Brexit litigation 4, 214-28 domestic law, and EU law 115-17, 220-5 domestic politics and EU membership 18-19, 106-8 and European integration referendums 36 Downes, C 155 Duffy, Gillian 83-4 Duncan-Smith, Iain 56, 78-9 EAGF (European Agricultural Guarantee Fund), UK receipt of funds from 90 economic governance, 'new settlement' deal with EU on 31-2 EEA (European Economic Area agreement, EU-EFTA) access to EU Single Market via for Norway 14 as UK Brexit strategy 143-7, and EU law development 188-9 Scotland's wish to remain party

to 168-9

Community) see EU

(European Economic

Community)

(European Union)/EEC



INDEX

EFTA (European Free Trade institutions of see Council of Association) Ministers; European European Economic Area Commission; European agreement with EU Council; European Parliament see EEA membership of law of Scotland 168-9 and domestic law 115-17, 220-5 of United Kingdom 10-12, enforcement through national 125, 146 courts 4, 213-28 Elliott, Mark 43-4 implementation in UK 113-15, employment, of EU migrants to 117-18, 123-4, 181-5 UK 77-8 interpretation of 118-21, 122-3, enforcement 193-4 of EU law through national territorial application of 165 courts 4, 213-28 member states of UK legal obligations to EU EU citizenship for nationals of 264-5 265-8 equivalence decisions of European involvement in Brexit Commission 176-8 negotiations 257-9 EU (European Union)/EEC migration to UK of nationals (European Economic of 74-83, 265-8 post-Brexit rights of UK Community) agencies of 103-4, 189-93 citizens in 265-8 agricultural policy, application in membership of benefits of 74 UK 90, 154-5 Brexit impact on 273-83 of Denmark 167, 270-1 common commercial policy of disenchantment with 96-7 (CCP) 160 and domestic politics 18-19, democratic deficit of 98-9, 106-8, 106-8 exceptionalism in 16-18 111-12 European Economic Area growth of 15 agreement with EFTA of Ireland 270 see EEA referendums on 37 finances 87-90, 263-4 in Norway 14, 270 non-member contributions see also Brexit referendum of Scotland 170-2 91



INDEX

of United Kingdom 9, 11-17, 125-6, 270 alternatives for 140-1, 142-9 costs and benefits of 86-7, 89-90 end of see Brexit and Lisbon Treaty ratification 208-9 'new settlement' of 30-5, 94-5, 118, 207 non-participation in Eurozone 94 renegotiation of 21-4, 26, 27-30, 41-2, 232-3 voluntary withdrawal of 197, 198-201, 202-6 qualified majority voting in 121-2 trade policies 126-8, 278-9 bilateral trade agreements 158-64 see also Single Market of EU Treaties referendums on 17-18, 24, 37-9, 42-3, 207 see also Constitutional Treaty of EU; Lisbon Treaty; TEU; TFEU EU-Ukraine Association agreement 147-9 Euratom Treaty, UK withdrawal from 211 **European Commission** Brexit negotiations by 256-7 decision-making by 104-5 democratic control of 99-101, 103 equivalence decisions of 176-8

international negotiations by 243-5 President nomination process 109-11 European Council 23 Brexit negotiating framework of 257-9 British negotiations with 28 budget cuts decided by 88 European Economic Area agreement see EEA European integration British views of 10, 15 referendums on 36-7 European Parliament 101-2 involvement in Brexit negotiations of 259-61 involvement in European Commission President nomination 109-11 oversight of international negotiations by European Commission 243-5 European Union (Notification of Withdrawal) Bill 241, 247 - 8Eurozone rules 31-2, 93-5 UK not participating in 94 'ever closer union' concept, British rejection of 32 exceptionalism in EU membership 16-18

fact checking, of Brexit referendum campaign claims 67–9, 90–1 Fair Deal for Expats group 256



INDEX

Farage, Nigel 233 gender equality protection, by Faroe Islands, status of 168-9 Court of Justice of EU 119 finances geographical spread of Brexit of Brexit referendum referendum results 80-3, campaign 32 165-6 of EU 87-90, 263-4 George, Stephen 10 non-member contributions 91 German Constitutional Court financial liabilities of UK to EU 116, 162 Brexit settlement of 262-5 on EU Treaty amendments post-Brexit 91 207-8, 214 financial services sector in UK, Good Friday Peace Agreement Brexit impact on 176-8 (Northern Ireland), and Fischer, Joschka 200 Brexit 216-18 Fox, Liam 154, 229-30 government France, objections to UK information provision on Brexit membership of EEC by impact by 65 organisation of Brexit by 229-33 12-14 rules of conduct for referendum franchise issues, for Brexit referendum 52-4 campaigns 56-8 free movement of people White Paper on Brexit strategy by in EU 74 139-40, 180, 183, 190 Great Repeal Bill 154, 179-81, 185-6 Ukraine-EU Association agreement not dealing timing of 187-9 with 148 Greenland, opting out of EU 167 free trade Hague, William 94 agreements Hain, Peter 198 of EU 158-64 hard Brexit 141-3 UK-EU, Brexit strategy of 151, 153-8, 161, 164, 173-4, 262 Havering (London), Brexit EU policies of 126-8, 278-9 referendum results in 81-3 US policies on 131-4, 135-6 Heath, Edward 13, 14 Future of Europe (EU White Paper) Heywood, Jeremy 57 Hickman, Tom 215 276-80 Hillion, C 205 GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) 11 immigration to UK 73 Gaulle, Charles de 14 Brexit impact on 84-5



More Information

INDEX

Brexit referendum campaign issue of 73-4, 78-9, 83-4 of EU nationals 74-83 'new settlement' with EU on 33-4, 73, 76 information provision, in Brexit referendum campaign 63-4, 65, 67-9 internationalism, in United Kingdom 10, 19-20 Ireland Brexit impact on 236, 272-3 EU membership of 270 EU Treaty referendums in 64, 207 litigation on revocability of Article 50 TEU 226-7

Jančić, D 244 Johnson, Boris 41–2, 113–14 Jones, David 248–9 Juncker, Jean-Claude 105, 109, 110–11, 255–7

Kenny, Enda 273 Kerslake, Lord (Robert Walter) 232 King, Jeff 215

Labour Party
in Brexit referendum campaign
66
on immigration issues 83–4
and UK membership of EEC/
EU 21–2
Lamy, Pascal 257
Lancaster House speech (May) 149,
151, 165, 179–80, 230, 235

lead campaign groups (Brexit referendum) 60-1 Leave campaign 61 Remain campaign 61 Leave campaign 64-6 on Article 50 209-10 on EU membership costs 86-7, 90-1 on immigration control 73-4, 78-9 lead campaign group of 61 ministerial support for 56-7 on national laws control issue 113-15 Leave voters, expectations of 194 legislation of UK on Brexit 181-5, 189-93, 194, 210-12, 233 and devolution/devolved parliaments 186-7, 225-6, 233 European Union (Notification of Withdrawal) Bill 241, 247 - 8Great Repeal Bill 154, 179-81, 185-6, 187-9 on Brexit referendum 43-4, 50-5 CRAG (Constitutional Reform and Governance) Act 2012 242-3, 249, 250, 252 and EU law implementation 113-15, 117-18, 123-4, 179, 180 EU law primacy over 115-17 on EU referendums 43-4, 50-5, 57-8

Letwin, Oliver 141 Lidington, David 27



INDEX

Lisbon Treaty nationalism, in United Kingdom ratification of 206-9 2-3, 10, 111-12 referendums on 64, 207 negotiations see also TEU and TFEU on EU membership litigation on Brexit 4, 214-28, 256 British renegotiation of 21-4, 26, Miller case 215-16, 233, 241, 247, 27-30, 41-2, 232-3 on withdrawal of membership 249-52 London, Brexit referendum results 204-6, 255-69 in 81-3 on TTIP 131-4 Netherlands, Ukraine-EU Ludlow, P 13 Association agreement McCord, Raymond 216-18 referendum in 148-9 Macmillan, Harold 13 'new settlement' deal (UK-EU) Mair, Thomas 69 30-5, 94-5, 118, 207 Malmström, Cecilia 161, 164 and Brexit referendum 39-41, 76 May, Theresa 135, 141 newspapers, stance on Brexit 68 Northern Ireland advisors of 230 and Brexit 216-18, 236-7 Brexit strategy of 151, 157-8, 165, 179-80 Brexit referendum results in Middlesbrough, Brexit referendum 165-6 results in 81 Norway, EU membership rejected migration see immigration by 14, 270 notification of intention to withdraw Miller case 215-16, 233, 241, 247, 249-52 from EU membership Miller, Gina 216, 228 203-4 Milward, Alan 15 see also Article 50 (TEU, EU ministers, prerogative powers of membership withdrawal 220-2, 224-5 clause), triggering of Most Favoured Nation principle Nuttall, Paul 84 (MFN, WTO), application of 156-7 penalty default concept 152 Multiannual Financial Framework politics (EU) 263-4 domestic Mundell, David 187 and EU membership 18-19, 106-8 nation states, and European and European integration integration 15 referendums 36



INDEX

in United Kingdom

and Brexit referendum 25-6, 42-3 EU issues in 108-9 immigration issues in 83-4 Portes, J 84-5 primacy principle of EU law over domestic law 115-17 public policy derogations, possibilities for 76 public services, impact of migration on 79-80 qualified majority voting in EU 121-2 ratification of CETA in Belgium 163 of EU agreements 148-9, 161-4 of Lisbon Treaty 208-9 Reed, Lord 223 referendums 45-7 on EU Association agreements 148 - 9on European integration 36-7 EU Treaty referendums 17-18, 24, 37-9, 42-3, 64, 207 membership referendums 14, 37, 270 rules for conduct of 47-8 in United Kingdom 48-9 on Scottish independence 48, 52, 67, 96, 132, 150, 166, 169, 170, 234, 240 see also Brexit referendum

refugee crisis (2015), and Brexit referendum 59-60 regulations of EU, incorporation in UK law 183-4 Remain campaign 61, 66-7 cost-benefit issue of EU membership in 92-3 immigration issue in 74 Remain vote/voters 140, 194 Robbins, Oliver 230 Rogers, Ivan 27-8, 173 resignation of 76-7, 232-3 Romania, migration to UK from 75-6, 80 Rome Declaration 282 Russell, Michael 234, 238-9 Sanders, Bernie 133-4 Scholar, Tom 27-8 Schultz, Martin 110-11, 259, 260 Scotland and Brexit 166, 233-5, 238-9 Brexit referendum results in 3, 96, 165-6 independence referendums 48, 52, 67, 96, 132, 150, 166, 169, 170, 234, 240 Scotland's Place in Europe (White Paper, Scottish government) 235, 239 Seeuws, Didier 258 Sewel Convention 186-7, 225 Shipman, Tim 76 Single Market of EU 126-8 access to Scotland seeking retention of 168-9, 235

reform of EU, British priorities for 26



INDEX

Single Market of EU (cont) Article 50 (EU membership withdrawal clause) 197, via EEA 14, 143-7, 175 as benefit of EU 202-6, 209-10 triggering by UK of 3-4, 210-12 membership 92-3 UK concerns over 128-31 negotiations following SNP (Scottish National Party) 255-69 parliamentary authorisation 233-4 social benefits requirement for 4, 215-16, access for EU migrants to UK to 218-26, 241, 249-52, 76-7, 78 253-4 UK 'new settlement' with EU timing of 229 withdrawal agreement on 33-5 social media, in Brexit referendum specifications in 261-2 campaign 68 TFEU (Treaty on the Functioning soft Brexit 143-7 of the European Union), sovereignty, UK 'new settlement' Common Commercial Policy in 160 with EU on 32-3 Sturgeon, Nicola 169, 234 Thaler, R 4 subsidiarity principle 106 Thatcher, Margaret 17 UK 'new settlement' with EU on time limits, for reaching an EU withdrawal agreement 32-3, 105-6 Supreme Court decision on Brexit 206, 249 Timothy, Nick 230 parliamentary authorisation requirement trade control over, as Brexit 4, 218-26, 241, 249-52 referendum issue 125, 'take back control' slogan 2-3, 134-5, 163-4 liberalisation of, and EU future 65-6 Tata Steel, restructuring of 278-9 European operations UK policies on 128-31, 136 see also free trade 128-31 TDI's (Trade Defence Instruments, transitional Brexit arrangements EU) 129-31 173-8 Tees Valley, Brexit referendum treaties results 81 of EU see Constitutional Treaty TEU (Treaty of the European of EU; Lisbon Treaty; Union) TEU: TFEU



INDEX

withdrawal from 209-10 Trudeau, Justin 164 Trump, Donald 134, 135-6 TTIP (Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership, EU-US) 131-4, 135-6 Tusk, Donald 21, 258, 275-6, 278, 282 UKIP (UK Independence Party) 49, 84, 233 in Brexit referendum campaign 67, 73 Ukraine, association agreement with EU 147-9 United Kingdom agricultural subsidies 90, 154-5 austerity policies in 95-6 devolution/devolved parliaments in 186-7, 225-6, 233 EEC/EU membership 9, 11-17, 125 - 6alternatives for 140-1, 142-9 costs and benefits of 86-7, 89-90 end of see Brexit and Lisbon Treaty ratification 208-9 'new settlement' deal 30-5, 94-5, 105-6, 118, 207 non-participation in Eurozone 94 renegotiation of 21-4, 26, 27-30, 41-2, 232-3 EFTA membership 10-12 immigration to 73 Brexit impact on 84-5

as Brexit referendum campaign issue 73-4, 78-9, 83-4 of EU nationals 74-83, 265-8 legislation on Brexit see Brexit, legal formalities of on Brexit referendum 43-4, 50-5 CRAG (Constitutional Reform and Governance) Act 2010 242-3, 249, 250, 252 and EU law implementation 113-15, 117-18, 123-4, 179, and EU law interpretation 118-21, 122-3, 193-4 EU law primacy over 115-17 on EU referendums 43-4. 50-5, 57-8 ministers in, prerogative powers of 220-2, 224-5 nationalism and internationalism in 2-3, 10, 19-20, 111-12 parliament in authorisation of Article 50 requirement for 4, 215-16, 218-26, 241, 249-52 Brexit oversight by 241-3, 245-54 foreign policy oversight by 242-3 statutory instruments oversight by 185-6 politics in and Brexit referendum 25-6, 42-3



INDEX

United Kingdom (cont) Weiler, Joseph 208 Weynand, Sabine 257 EU issues in 108-9 immigration issues in 83-4 Wharton, James 50 referendums in 48-9 White Papers on Scottish independence 52, of European Commission on future of EU 276-80 see also Brexit referendum of Scottish government on trade policies 128-31, 136 Scotland and EU 235, 239 voting system in 49-50 of UK government on Brexit WTO membership of 151-4 strategy 139-40, 180, 183, 'The United Kingdom's exit from and 190, 239, 246-7 new partnership with the Wilding, Peter 1 European Union' (UK Wilson, Harold 13, 14, 21-4 government White Paper, withdrawal 2017) 139-40, 180, 183, 190, of EU membership EU Treaty on 197, 198-201, 239, 246-7 United States, free trade policies of 202-6 131-4, 135-6 by United Kingdom see Brexit withdrawal agreements of EU Verhofstadt, Guy 259, 260-1, 268 negotiations on 204-6, 255-69 procedural rules for approval Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties, on treaty of 262 specifications for 261-2 withdrawal 209-10 Villepin, Dominique de 200 time limits for reaching of Vote Leave 61 206, 249 voters wording of Brexit referendum age of 53-4 question 50-2 competence of 45-6 Working Time Directive (EU), registration of 68-9 legal interpretation of voting systems 119, 122 in EU 121-2 WTO (World Trade Organization) in United Kingdom 49-50 UK-EU trade agreement under rules of 153-8 wages, depression of 78-9 UK membership of 151-4 Wales, and Brexit 235-6 Wyatt, Derek 245