



**JEAN  
MONNET**

EU model

Jean Monnet Module  
“Moving the EU forward”

**Athens EU Model 2017**  
**28 - 31 March 2017, Athens, Greece**

## **GUIDELINES**

**Simulation of the European Commission  
and Council of the European Union**

**Topic: “The post-Brexit prospects”**



Co-funded by the  
Erasmus+ Programme  
of the European Union



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# 1. Programme at a Glance

<b>DATE</b>	<b>ACTIVITY</b>	<b>TIME</b>	<b>LOCATION</b>
<b>Tuesday 28/02/2017</b>	<b>The EU's institutions role in Brexit negotiations Tutor: Dr Filippa Chatzistavrou</b>	<b>17:00-20:00</b>	42-44, Aiolou Str., Monastiraki area (room 1, 2nd floor)
<b>Thursday 02/03/2017</b>	<b>Future prospects for EU-UK relations Tutor: Dr Filippa Chatzistavrou</b>	<b>10:00-13:00</b>	42-44, Aiolou Str., Monastiraki area (room 4 , 2nd floor)
<b>Friday 10/03/2017</b>	<b>Preparatory lecture - mock training session Tutor: Olga Koutsika</b>	<b>12:00-15:00</b>	42-44, Aiolou Str., Monastiraki area (room 4 , 2nd floor)
<b>Monday 20/03/2017</b>	<b>Deadline for Position Paper submission</b>		
<b>Tuesday 28/03/2017</b>	<b>Registration</b>	<b>10:00-10:30</b>	30, Panepistimiou Ave. (Drakopoulos Hall, Central building of the University of Athens)
	<b>Opening Ceremony</b>	<b>10:30-12:00</b>	30, Panepistimiou Ave. (Drakopoulos Hall, Central building of the University of Athens)
	<b>Session</b>	<b>13:30-16:00</b>	42-44, Aiolou Str., Monastiraki area (room 4, 2nd floor)
<b>Wednesday 29/03/2017</b>	<b>Session</b>	<b>09:00-16:00</b>	42-44, Aiolou Str., Monastiraki area (room 4, 2nd floor)
<b>Thursday 30/03/2017</b>	<b>Session</b>	<b>09:00-16:00</b>	42-44, Aiolou Str., Monastiraki area (room 4, 2nd floor)
<b>Friday 31/03/2017</b>	<b>Closing Ceremony</b>	<b>11:00-13:00</b>	30, Panepistimiou Ave. (Drakopoulos Hall, Central building of the University of Athens)

## 2. Preparatory lectures' syllabus

Preparation of participants is crucial for achieving high-level performance and active involvement as well as to meet the simulation's goals. To this end, participants will have the opportunity to attend 3 preparatory lectures with total duration of 9 hours. The lectures will focus on the institutional processes, negotiating techniques and key aspects of the EU politics related with the "Athens EU model" agenda. During the preparatory lectures and based on the guidance of the tutor, students will be asked to prepare their position papers.

### 2.1. Programme

DATE	TUTOR	THEME	TIME	LOCATION
<b>Tuesday 28/02/2017</b>	<b>Dr. Filippa Chatzistavrou</b>	<b>The EU's institutions role in Brexit negotiations</b>	<b>17:00-20:00</b>	42-44, Aiolou Str. Monastiraki area, 2nd floor, room 1
<b>Thursday 02/03/2017</b>	<b>Dr. Filippa Chatzistavrou</b>	<b>Future prospects for EU-UK relations</b>	<b>11:00-13:00</b>	42-44, Aiolou Str. Monastiraki area, 2nd floor, room 4
<b>Friday 10/03/2017</b>	<b>Mock training session</b>		<b>12:00-15:00</b>	42-44, Aiolou Str. Monastiraki area, 2nd floor, room 4
<b>Monday 20/03/2017</b>	<b>Paper submission</b>			

### 2.2. Literature

Bowers et al. (2016) "Brexit, some legal and constitutional issues and alternatives to EU membership", *House of Commons Library*, Briefing Paper Nr 07214, 28 July 2016.

Bruno de Witte (2016) "The United Kingdom: Towards exit from the EU or towards a different kind of membership?", *Quaderni costituzionali* 3/2016, September, p. 581-583.

Eleonora Poli (2016) "Mapping Member States' Stances in a Post-#Brexit European Union", *IAI*, November 2016.

Ferry et al. (2016) "Europe after Brexit: A proposal for a continental partnership", August 2016, <http://bruegel.org/2016/08/europe-after-brexit-a-proposal-for-a-continental-partnership/>

House of Lords (2016) “The process of withdrawing from the European Union”, *European Union Committee*, 11th report of Session 2015- 2016, <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/ld201516/ldselect/ldcom/138/138.pdf>

Jean-Claude Piris (2015) “Should the UK withdraw from the EU: legal aspects and effects of possible options”, *Robert Schuman Foundation*, European Issues No 335, May 2015.

Sara B. Hobolt (2016) “The Brexit vote: a divided nation, a divided continent”, *London School of Economic and Political Science*, London, <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/13501763.2016.1225785?needAccess=true>

Steve Peers (2016) “Migration, Internal Security and the UK’s EU Membership”, *The Political Quarterly*, Vol. 87, No. 2, April–June 2016.



## 2.3. Position Paper Guidelines

A Position Paper is a brief summary of the position of a participant representing both his/her country and the role assigned to the simulation (especially for the participants of the European Commission). It should contain a clear position on the agenda item, clear reasoning, relevance, argumentation and viable suggestions concerning a plan of action on the issue under discussion.

The Position Paper should be an original and concise document based on the participant's endeavor and willingness to research effectively on the topic of the Agenda in order to participate efficiently during the debate procedure. Precisely, the position paper is divided into two parts; the first section addresses the general topic under discussion and its current developments, indicates the participant's foreign policy on the matter, presents the actions already been taken to tackle the problem, and refers to initiatives and strategies taken either by other European Union (EU) institutions or the international community as a whole. The second part is strictly offered to suggestions or proposals on the issue after having examined national reports or recommendations by international institutions. Additionally, the participants may refer to statements made by policy-makers, representatives of national/European/international institutions or by the government they are representing (mainly for the participants in the Council of the EU).

What is required is a clear depiction of the participant's policy and expectations from the upcoming debate. However, the Position Paper should not present in detail the negotiating positions since this will be portrayed during the sessions. Furthermore, the participants represent a single person and, thus, they are encouraged to make use of the perpendicular pronoun ('I'), while addressing the forum. All participants are asked to respect diplomatic courtesy and act in a polite manner throughout the conference, an element which should be depicted in the structure and redaction of their Position Paper. Finally, the Position Papers should not exceed one page.

### Sample Position Paper-Sexual and reproductive health and rights-The Netherlands

Throughout history, women have been forced into marriages, and forced to have children at an early age. These archaic acts must be punished by the government in every single country. It is not just a case of equality and justness, but a case of humanness as well. Furthermore, there is another pressing issue when it comes to discussing the right to reproductive and sexual health- access to contraception. We believe that the time for change has come. We believe that the biggest issue with teenage pregnancies is logistics, distribution, and, most of all, taboos that are embedded in our culture. We firmly believe that sexual education must be a very important part of the school curriculum and that government, and local authorities must make sure that everyone has access to contraception. It is true that the lack of contraceptive methods have already claimed too many lives.

All of us, both women and men are incredibly affected when our sexual and reproductive health rights are stepped on. In the time that has passed, 2 people have gotten HIV. These could be your partners in the future, or people dear to you. Men should be as worried and as committed to reproductive and sexual health as women. It is taking care of your partner, and the chauvinistic idea that women are the only ones who should be involved in family planning has got to be left to the past century. By educating women and giving them a voice and a choice as to how many children they want to have, and not forcing them into having unwanted sexual relations with you, your wives will be happier, have more time to actually earn money (and spend it), more time to educate your children, and, last, but not least: more time for you- more time to be pampered and taken care of.

I would like to finish by saying that this is an issue of life and death: if you don't have the chance to marry at an age of your choice and give birth to children at the age of your choice, your life (and the life of your family) is in danger. Most of all, it is a human development issue- we ought to have the ability to live the life that we choose to live, free of discrimination, abuse, and unnecessary suffering. Our sexual and reproductive health rights should be non-negotiable and equal for all.

## How to evaluate your research

- a. Did you use a wide range of sources and references?
- b. Can you prove the validity of your sources?
- c. Does your evidence prove your claims and arguments?
- d. Did you search adequately on the “opponents” stance towards the matter?
- e. Did you put an emphasis on key words and specific aspects of the Agenda Item?
- f. Did you make use of recent statistics to support your arguments efficiently?

## Tips to ameliorate your public speaking skills

- a. Say what you want to say in a loud, clear and convincing voice.
- b. Use notes to prepare your speech.
- c. Trust yourself, take the time to breathe while talking, and make short pauses to help your audience understand the content of your speech, make adequate use of a semi-formal body language and keep your hands on the desk.
- d. Be confident, take advantage of the role-playing and act as an expert to the topic under discussion.

# 3. Rules of procedure

The Project Supervisor of the Athens EU Model 2016, the Academic Board or the Board may at any point during the debate, suspend the application of the current Rules of Procedure and instruct alterations to facilitate the debate.

## i. Language

English is the only official and working language of the Council and the European Commission.

## ii. Role of the Board

The Presidents of the two fora (Council of the European Union and European Commission) will have sole and the final power to open and close sessions, recognize speakers, place limits on speaking time and control discussion and debate. While the Board is formally in charge of the proceedings and entitled to all courtesy and respect, they would usually “propose” and “suggest,” than “decree” and “dictate.”

The two Presidents, more than any other participant, are interested in a harmonious and consensual outcome of the conference. In cases where parliamentary procedure is unclear or in doubt, the Board shall use their judgment to settle the matter and proceed with the session. Main goal of the Board is to get different documents passed during the session and summarize into a final document at the end of the negotiations' day. Note that the sessions will be chaired by the President of the Council of the European Union and the President of the European Commission, along with the assistance of the Secretaries-General and not a member state.

### iii. Delegations

**a.** Each member state will be represented by one participant and will irrespectively be afforded one vote. The participants are Ministers (Council of the European Union) or Commissioners (European Commission) of the member states of the European Union.

**b.** Participants are obliged to attend all sessions.

**c.** Participants are expected to have carefully read these rules of procedure, and to have thoroughly prepared for every session.

**d.** Participants are obliged to comply with the dress code as set by the EU Model Board of Directors during every official session. In case of non-compliance, the two Presidents has the right to take appropriate action. The accepted dress code for the Athens EU Model is formal attire.

**e.** Participants are expected to use courteous and respectful language towards the Board and their fellows.

### iv. Seating Arrangement

Ministers of the EU Member States (Council of EU Ministers) and Commissioners (European Commission) shall be seated in alphabetical order, based on the English name of the country. They will then each comment on the agenda and briefly present their country's position.

### v. Quorum, Attendance and Roll Call

**a.** At the beginning of each session, the two Presidents will conduct a roll call to verify the quorum inside the forum. Participants shall state their presence in the assigned forum in either of the two following manners: i. Present and Voting: A participant that declares himself/herself "Present and voting" shall vote in favor or against any substantive matter without the possibility of abstention. ii. Present: A participant that declares himself/herself "Present" shall vote in favor, against or abstain on any substantive matter.

**b.** If participants arrive during or after the roll call, they are required to send a note to their President. As long as participants have not informed their President of their arrival, they will not be allowed to vote or deliver a speech. All participants who have not informed their President of their arrival until voting procedure begins are not eligible to vote.

**c.** Simple and two-thirds majority are defined by the roll call as this is taken at the beginning of every session and announced by the Presidents. The same applies for the number of countries necessary for the submission of a draft document and an amendment. Participants are requested to notify their President in case of an urgent need for abstention from the proceedings of their assigned forum in order to modify the respected numbers. In case majority numbers have changed, the two Presidents will announce the new numbers before any voting on a substantive matter.

**d.** Activities of the two fora shall start when at least one quarter (1/4) of the delegations are present, based on the final list of participants that will be provided to the two Presidents by the EU Model Board of Directors. If quorum is not met within fifteen (15) minutes after the scheduled starting time of the session, the two fora shall proceed with the number of delegations present irrespectively of the number of participants

present. Quorum shall be assumed when forum activities begin.

e. The two Presidents may at any time, and especially before entering voting procedures, revisit the quorum at their own discretion.

## vi. Assignment of Agenda Items / Setting the Agenda

Both the President of the Council of the European Union and the President of the European Commission have the right to propose the topic area that will be negotiated by the Ministers/Commissioners. The Agenda Item under discussion will be set automatically since in the Athens EU Model there is only one Topic Area.

## vii. Debate Format

The default debate mode used at the Athens EU Model will be a continuous informal debate. Informal debate will require participants wishing to speak to raise their placards and be recognized by the Board. It is the Board's obligation to ensure and guide the flow of communication and to afford each participant an equal opportunity to speak. The Board keep track of the proceedings including the fair administration of the right to speak. The length of speaking time will be set by the Board. Participants make their statements while seated around the table. The Board, however, may comment on statements and express their view like all other participants. Participants may yield the remaining speaking time to a fellow member state by indicating so at the end of their speech or they can yield their time to questions. If not, the remaining time is yielded to the Board.

The normal running of the informal debate, may be interrupted by the conduction of an Unmoderated Caucus, which allows participants to leave their seats in order to talk more privately about their dispute and settle it outside the public arena. During that time, Ministers and Commissioners should negotiate amongst themselves and write/edit working papers and final documents. The Board or any participant may call for an unmoderated caucus for a specified time and explain the reasoning behind the proposal. If all the participants second the motion, it will immediately be put to a vote. The Board will allow for no more than thirty minutes of informal debate within any given hour. Once informal debate time has elapsed, formal debate will resume.

## viii. Points and Motions

Participants may propose points which are questions or statements, and motions which are proposals. Motions are always subject to a "second" by participants and the Board decides so, they are brought to a vote immediately.

**Point of Order:** If, during a session, a participant feels that the procedure is running in a manner contrary to these Rules, he/she may rise to a point of order. The Board may overrule, or accept the appeal. If accepted, the Board may make an immediate ruling or ask the participant to speak on the point of order. The Board will then immediately rule on the point of order.

**Point of Parliamentary Inquiry:** If a participant wishes to obtain clarification of procedure or of any other matter, he/she may rise to a point of parliamentary inquiry and receive clarification from the Board or anyone else designated by the Board.

**Point of information:** The point of information can be addressed either to the Board or to another participant. The point of information to the Board pertains to a clarification on the content of the Agenda Item whereas the point of information to another participant comes as the result of the yielding to questions.

**Point of Personal Privilege:** A participant may rise to a point of personal privilege if his/her well-being inside the room is impaired. The Board shall immediately try to effectively address the issue. The point of personal privilege may not interrupt the speech and it should be used with the utmost discretion.

**Motion for a Moderated Caucus:** A participant may move for a Moderated Caucus thereby suggesting a change from general informal debate to moderated debate. A participant who moves for a Moderated Caucus must suggest a specific sub-topic for the Motion. The Board may also suggest a Moderated Caucus without possibility of appeal. If the Motion passes, the fora will enter a smaller debate inside the general debate whereby the Board will recognize participants who raise their placards to speak about the issue at hand. The moderated caucus may be extended

**Motion to Extend the Moderated Caucus:** A participant may move to extend the Moderated Caucus if they feel that additional time benefits forum's work. The participant moving for an Extension of the Moderated Caucus must suggest a length for the extension, which shall not exceed the duration of the original Moderated Caucus. The Board may suggest a more appropriate caucus length or speaking time and put it to vote or may rule the Motion out of order without possibility of appeal.

**Motion for an Unmoderated Caucus:** A participant may move for an Unmoderated Caucus thereby suggesting a change from formal to informal debate. The participant who makes this motion must suggest a length and justification for the Unmoderated Caucus. The Board may suggest a more appropriate caucus length and put it to vote or may rule the Unmoderated Caucus out of order without possibility of appeal. Once the Motion has passed, the participants will carry an informal discussion on the topic specified in the Motion without leaving the conference room.

**Motion to Extend the Unmoderated Caucus:** A participant may move to extend the Unmoderated Caucus if they feel that additional time would benefit the work of the forum. The participant who moves for an Extension of Unmoderated Caucus must suggest a length for the extension, which shall not exceed the duration of the original Unmoderated Caucus. The Board may suggest a more appropriate caucus length and put it to vote or may rule the Extension of the Unmoderated Caucus out of order without the possibility of appeal.

**Motion for the Adjournment of the Meeting:** A participant may move for the Adjournment of the meeting to suspend all forum activities until the next scheduled meeting time. The Board may rule the Motion out of order without possibility of appeal or vote.

**Motion to Close Debate on a Draft Document:** A participant may move to Close Debate in order to end debate on a draft document, whereby the forum will enter voting procedure on all amendments on the floor. If the Board rules the Motion in order, there will be only two (2) participants speaking against the Motion. A two thirds (2/3) majority vote is required to pass the Motion to close debate.

**Motion for the Adjournment of the Session:** A participant may move for the Adjournment of the Session to suspend all forum activities for the duration of the conference. The Board may rule the Motion out of order without possibility of appeal or put it to an immediate vote. In the event that the Board approves this, there should be two (2) speakers in favor and two (2) speakers against the motion and the motion will require a 2/3 majority in favor to pass.

## ix. Tour de Table

A mechanism known as a tour de table will also be used at the discretion of the Board. The Board will ask each Minister/Commissioner in turn to give a short summary (up to 2 minutes) of their thinking on the matter under discussion, thus ensuring that every participant is able to outline his/her position, and allowing the Board to determine whether a compromise is possible.

## x. Working Papers

**a.** A working paper is an informal document used by the participant to work on building a draft document. It contains general ideas and proposals on the topic discussed and its purpose is to facilitate the proceedings by outlining a more concrete framework for discussion.

**b.** A working paper does not need to be written in the final document format and will be distributed at the President's discretion when requested by a participant.

**c.** A working paper does not need to be formally introduced. However, if its author wishes, he/she can ask from the Board the time to read it to the Forum. The Board will rule on this request without any possibility of appeal.

**d.** No maximum number of working papers that can be on the floor at the same time. The Board will give different numbers to the submitted working papers to avoid any possible confusion when referring to them.

## xi. Draft Conclusions

**a.** When in general debate on the topic, the Board will ask the Ministers/Commissioners to prepare draft Conclusions, following the format in the respective guide. The drafts will be submitted to the Presidents, approved, signed and coded. The Presidents will then entertain a Motion to Introduce a Draft Conclusion, which is a procedural vote and requires a simple majority to pass. Before voting on the motion, the Presidents will have the Draft Conclusion distributed to their forum, and at their discretion, give one of the sponsors of the Draft the opportunity to read it out. A vote will then be taken. Agreement with the motion to introduce the Draft Conclusion does not indicate agreement with its contents, but only expresses a wish to see it debated on the floor. If more than one draft has been submitted, the same procedure will be followed for all of them. The order in which the drafts are introduced is at the discretion of the two Presidents without any possibility of appeal.

**b.** Draft Conclusions can also be submitted to the two Presidents whilst debating other draft Conclusions.

**c.** Draft Conclusions that do not comply with the following guidelines will not be accepted:

**i.** The draft Conclusion has to follow a certain writing format.

**ii. Sponsors:** Each draft Conclusion has to be sponsored by at least ten percent of the countries present or present and voting. Sponsors are those countries that have prepared the draft Conclusion. A country that is sponsoring a draft Conclusion cannot sponsor another one on the same topic; however sponsors claim no ownership of the draft and bear no obligation to vote in favor of the draft when it is put into voting.

**iii. Signatories:** Each draft Conclusion has to be signed by at least ten percent of the countries present or present and voting in order to be eligible for introduction. Signatories are those countries who wish to see the respective draft being introduced. Signatories are at the same time neither considered as supporters of the draft nor bear any obligation towards the sponsors. A country can be a signatory to more than one draft Conclusion on the same topic.

**d.** If two or more draft Conclusions are complementary or fairly identical, the Board may request the sponsors of these drafts to combine them and re-submit them.

**e.** The sponsors of a Draft can request at any time to withdraw it from debate. If not all sponsors agree with the withdrawal of the draft, the sponsors who still wish for it to be introduced and voted upon will be given a reasonable amount of time from the Board to find new sponsors. If they do not manage to do so, the President will discuss with the remaining sponsors whether the draft will be introduced.

## xii. Amendments on a Draft Conclusion

**a.** When a Draft Resolution is on the floor, amendments can be introduced. Before introduction they require the approval of the Board. Upon gaining the Board's approval, one of the sponsors may make a Motion to Introduce an Amendment. This motion requires a second and if received it applies immediately without being put into vote. After the introduction of the amendment by the Sponsor, the Board will entertain two speakers in favor and two speakers against the amendment for forty-five (45) seconds each. After the speakers have taken the floor and concluded their speeches the amendment will be put into voting. Note that amendments to amendments are out of order but an amended part can be further amended.

**b.** Voting on an amendment is a procedural matter and a simple majority is required for passage.

**c.** If an amendment is accepted, the draft Conclusion will be changed accordingly.

**d.** Amendments that do not comply with the following guidelines will not be accepted:

**i. Writing Format:** Amendments have to clearly define their scope and purpose.

**ii. Sponsors:** Each amendment needs to be sponsored by at least one-eighth (1/8) of the countries present or present and voting in order to be submitted.

**e.** If all sponsors of the draft document have signed and/or approved an amendment, then this action is considered a friendly amendment. A friendly amendment is automatically incorporated into the draft document. Amendments that do not have the support of all sponsors of the draft document are deemed unfriendly, and require the standard procedure. A friendly amendment can be further amended via the unfriendly amendment process.

**f.** Grammatical, spelling or formatting errors on a draft Conclusion will be corrected at the discretion of the two Presidents.

**g.** The sponsors of an amendment can request at any time to withdraw it from the floor.

### xiii. Voting Procedures

In the European Commission, each participant has to cast only one vote during the final voting procedure on a Draft Communication in order to reach a consensus through a unanimous vote.

In the Council of the European Union, decision on the Draft Directive is taken by qualified majority or else a 'double majority' rule (55% of member states, representing at least 65% of the EU population, vote in favor). The weighting of the 352 votes is listed below:

<b>France, Germany, Italy, United Kingdom</b>	<b>29 (each)</b>
<b>Spain, Poland</b>	<b>27 (each)</b>
<b>Romania</b>	<b>14</b>
<b>Netherlands</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>Belgium, Czech Republic, Greece, Hungary, Portugal</b>	<b>12 (each)</b>
<b>Austria, Bulgaria, Sweden</b>	<b>10 (each)</b>
<b>Croatia, Denmark, Ireland, Lithuania, Slovakia, Finland</b>	<b>7 (each)</b>
<b>Cyprus, Estonia, Latvia, Luxembourg, Slovenia</b>	<b>4 (each)</b>
<b>Malta</b>	<b>3</b>

**a.** Where votes are taken, they should normally be open and made by roll call in alphabetical order, according to the country name of the Ministers and Commissioners, and recorded by the Board. The Board will be the last called to vote. Voting will be verbal and expressed either as "Yes" or "No". Any member can abstain at any time during voting procedures. Once the voting procedure has been declared open, no one will be allowed to speak other than to cast his or her vote. No participant may approach or leave the room. Once all votes have been cast, the Board will count the votes and immediately announce the result. The decisions of the Board on the announcement will be final.

**b.** The following stipulations apply during the voting procedure: First a participant has to put in a motion to close the debate. This means that debates on the substantive issue stop and the forum moves into a voting procedure. In voting procedure participants have the opportunity to reorder the draft conclusions via a motion to reorder. If the Board does not want to change the order there is a possibility for a participant to put forward a motion to divide the question or a motion for a roll call vote. If no motion to divide the question or for a roll call vote is introduced the voting will be done by the participants raising their placards.

**i. Motion to Reorder the Draft Conclusions:** In the event that there are multiple Draft Conclusions on the floor, the forum will vote by default on Draft Conclusions in chronological order, i.e. the Draft Conclusion introduced first will be voted on first. Only in the event that the first Draft Conclusion fails, the forum will move on the second and so forth. A participant may request to vote on the Draft Conclusions in a different order. This motion requires a simple majority to pass.

**ii. Motion to Divide the Question:** Prior to the start of the voting process on a Draft Conclusion, a participant may request a Motion to Divide the Question to vote on an individual or group of operative clauses. A participant must specify how he/she wishes to divide the operative clauses during his/her motion. Should there be more than one motion to divide the question on the floor, the forum shall vote first on the one that suggests the most radical division and continue in this descending pattern. The Board shall recognize two Speakers in favor and two Speakers against the first motion to divide the question for a speaking time of thirty seconds each. A simple majority is required to pass the motion. If the motion passes, subsequent motions to Divide the Question will be ruled dilatory and the forum will proceed to vote on the draft Conclusion in the manner suggested in the motion. If the motion fails, the remaining motions made will be considered in accordance with the above procedure. The divided section that fails during voting will be taken out of the final draft Conclusion; only those sections that have been passed shall remain. The forum will then proceed to vote upon the new final draft Conclusion as a whole after all the divisions have been voted on. If all operative clauses fail, the draft Conclusion, as a whole, fails.

**iii. Motion for a Roll Call Vote:** Roll Call Voting is only in order for voting a draft Conclusion as a whole and not for voting on clauses if division of the question exists. If this motion is made it is not put into voting and it only requires to be seconded in order for it to pass. It is at the discretion of the two Presidents to accept the motion with no possibility of appeal. If the motion is accepted the two Presidents will ask the Ministers/Commissioners to cast their vote in alphabetical order starting from a random country. The Board will place the Delegation that passed at the bottom of the voting list. A Delegation that has passed once during a voting sequence may not pass again but must vote definitively.

**iv. Voting with Rights:** A participant may request a right of explanation after voting. Voting with Rights is only in order when voting is held with a Roll Call Vote.

**c.** No participant may vote on behalf of another participant.

**d.** The Fora can pass only one Conclusion for the topic on the agenda.

**e.** Once a Draft Conclusion passes, the drafts that have not yet been voted on fail immediately.

**f.** During voting procedure on substantive matters, the doors of the forum close and no one is allowed in or out of the room apart from members of the Secretariat.

**g.** Note passing is not allowed during voting procedures.

#### xiv. Closure of Debate

The Board will normally decide on the closure of a debate, but a participant may move for closure, and (if necessary) be given a maximum of one minute to explain his/her rationale. If at least two other participants second the motion, it will immediately be put to a vote and requires the support of at least a simple majority to be successful. The Board will declare the debate closed if the vote is successful.

#### xv. Judging and Awards

The members of the presidency along with the Academic Board of the Institute and the Organizing Team of the Athens EU Model will be involved in the judging deliberations. Participants are evaluated on their preparedness, accurate representation of country position, and use of diplomacy including correct use of parliamentary procedure, negotiating skill, and ability to make compromises.

## 4. Study guides

**Topic:** “The post-Brexit prospects”

### 4.1. Institutional Framework

#### 4.1.1. The European Commission

The European Commission, the institution of the EU usually referred to as the “guardian of the Treaties”, body of 28 Commissioners appointed for a mandate of five years. The College of Commissioners consists of one President, seven Vice – Presidents, including the High-Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, and twenty Commissioners, in charge of a specific policy area portfolio. The President is elected by the European Parliament (hereinafter as “EU Parliament”) after the relative proposal has been put forward by the European Council. The latter decides by qualified majority and taking into account the results of the European Parliament elections. Once elected, the President makes a proposal to the Council for the appointment of the twenty seven members of his/her College, corresponding to the different Member-States upon suggestion by the latter. The Council, “by common accord with the President-elect, shall adopt the list of the other persons whom it proposes for appointment as members of the Commission” (article 17). In order to assume office, the body as a whole is approved by the European Parliament, following an assessment of the candidates by the Parliament’s committees.

The institutional role of the European Commission includes:

- i.** the preparation of the legislative proposals for the EU secondary law, which are then adopted by the co-legislators, the European Parliament and the Council of Ministers
- ii.** the application and the enforcement of the EU law
- iii.** the definition and the accomplishment of the objectives and priorities for action within the EU, as they are outlined in the yearly Commission Work Programme
- iv.** the implementation of the EU policies and the EU budget
- v.** the representation of the EU in its foreign relations.

#### 4.1.2. Decision making process

The Council of the European Union, casually referred as Consilium, is the intergovernmental pillar of EU institutional apparatus. It is responsible for the negotiation and adoption of new EU legislation, the adaptation of the current one and the coordination of the EU policies. In a variety of cases the Council of Ministers decides along with the European Parliament through the ordinary legislative procedure, which is also known as «co-decision». The co-decision was first introduced in 1992, and its use was extended in 1999. After the Lisbon Treaty, the co-decision became the fundamental decision-making process in legislative issues. The aforementioned procedure is common in policy areas where the EU has exclusive competence or it shares it with the member states and as a result the Consilium legislates based on certain proposals of the European Commission. Often the Council indicates earlier to the Commission that it would welcome a draft on a specific subject, and then the European Parliament acts as the co-legislator along with the Council. The policy outcome depends upon the interaction between the three institutions.

In specific areas, though, the Council takes decisions using special legislative procedures. Those are the consent procedure, in which the Parliament can accept or reject a legislative proposal by an absolute majority vote, but cannot amend it. The consultation procedure falls in the same category, where the role of the Parliament is limited and may approve, reject or propose amendments to a legislative proposal. This

procedure is described in Article 289(2) of the Treaty of the Functioning of the European Union<sup>1</sup> (TFEU).

When the proposal of the European Commission is received by the Council, the 'reading' procedure begins and the draft document is thoroughly and meticulously examined-at the same time-by both the European Parliament and the Council. There are times when the Council-in order to speed up the legislative procedure and facilitate the agreement between the two institutions-moves towards the adoption of a 'general approach' offering to the European Parliament a hint pertaining to the Council's stance on the matter discussed and negotiated upon. However, the Council shall wait the Parliament's first reading opinion to reach a final position. Throughout the 'reading' phase the proposal passes by the working party (there are more than 150 parties and committees), the Permanent Representatives Committee (ambassadors' level) and the Council as a whole. Therefore, technical scrutiny and political responsibility is achieved.

On the phase of Council configuration, there is either the listing of the item as 'A'-when the Permanent Representatives Committee has finalized the discussions of the proposal and decision will come without any debate-or the categorization as 'B' section of the Agenda when the proposal includes sensitive political matters and as a result no decision has been reached in the previous levels. When the Council acts as a legislator, the votes of its Member States are made public. Sometimes, a Member State may wish to add a note to explain its vote, which is also made public in case a legal act is adopted.

#### 4.1.3. Ordinary legislative procedure

According to Articles 289 and 294 of the TFEU, the co-decision process was renamed to ordinary legislative procedure and became the main decision-making procedure for adopting EU legislation; it applies to around 85 policy areas as well as to environmental issues. It has to be noted that most of the EU legal acts that are negotiated through this procedure, pass at the first 'reading'. This procedure includes two main legislators, the Council of the EU and the European Parliament, whereas the European Commission retains the right of the legislative initiative.

This procedure consists of four key-points that include:

1. The submission of a proposal by the European Commission to the Council and the European Parliament
2. Either at the first, or at the second reading the Council and the Parliament adopt a legislative proposal<sup>2</sup>.
3. In case the two institutions do not reach common ground, after the second reading a conciliation committee is convened.
4. The legislative act is adopted, if the text agreed by the conciliation committee is acceptable by both the Council and the Parliament in the third reading.

In case the legislative proposal of the European Commission is rejected, or the other two institutions cannot agree, the proposal is not adopted and the negotiation ends.

To present it briefly, the procedure follows the steps you can find below:

Legislative Proposal—First Reading—Second Reading—Conciliation—Third Reading

#### 4.2.1. Council of the European Union

The Council of the European Union-the third of the seven institutions of the EU as listed in the Treaty on European Union- is one of the main decision making and legislative bodies of the European Union. The

<sup>1</sup>"Special legislative procedures: at a glance", Council of the European Union, 24 September 2014, available at <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/council-eu/decision-making/special-legislative-procedures/>, read on 3 March 2016

<sup>2</sup>"The ordinary legislative procedure", Council of the European Union, 2 February 2016, available at <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/council-eu/decision-making/ordinary-legislative-procedure/>, read on 3 March 2016

Council is an intergovernmental body expressing the interest of the member-states and representing the member governments. It is the institution where national ministers from each EU country meet to adopt laws and coordinate policies in various fields, such as economic and fiscal policies, education and culture and employment policy. It exercises its powers and activities with the cooperation of the European Parliament and coordinates or defines the strategy and policy of the member-states of the European Union in every sector. Moreover, it develops the EU's common foreign and security policy, based on guidelines set by the European Council, and along with the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, it reassures the effectiveness and success of the EU's external action. It also concludes international agreements, based on a proposal from the Commission, and adopts the final decision for the closure of the negotiations on an agreement, after the Parliament has consented and the Member States have ratified it. Finally, another responsibility of the Council is the adoption of the yearly EU budget along with the European Parliament.

The Council of the EU is both an institution with collective EU functions and the creature of member governments<sup>3</sup>. Its members are Ministers from the governments of the member-states, and which Ministers attend the scheduled meetings depends on the agenda item. The Council is in law a single entity, irrespective of which Ministers take part in it. As of autumn 2009 the Council meets in 9 configurations.

It is located in the Justus Lipsius building in Brussels, Belgium, with the exception of the months of April, June and October during which its sessions are held in Luxembourg. The Ministers who are authorized to participate in the sessions depend on the topic; for example, when discussing environmental policy the Council is formed by the 28 national ministers whose portfolio includes this policy area (with the related European Commissioners contributing but not having the right to vote).<sup>4</sup>

The Council has a rotating presidency which shifts among the EU member-states every six months. The Presidency prepares the agendas and is responsible for the conduct of the meetings. To achieve a continuity in the Council's work, the Lisbon Treaty has initiated the method of 'trios'; a system that prepares an agenda with an 18-month vision and requires from each of the three countries to prepare its own program of action. The Presidency plans and chairs meetings in the Council and its preparatory bodies and also acts as the representative of the Council to the other EU institutions, working closely with the President of the European Council and the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy. The General Secretariat of the Council is assisting the European Council and the Council of the European Union, ensuring the coherence inside the Council. The Secretary-General of the Council of the European Union is the Head of the Secretariat. Often the Council and the Commission have to work closely together to reconcile policy powers between the EU and the national levels.

The Council of the EU votes either by unanimity or by qualified majority (QMV) under which each member-state has a fixed (weighted) number of votes and needs the agreement of the 55% of the member-states a sum representing the 65% of the EU population. In policy areas where it operates unanimously it only needs the consultation of the European Parliament. The weighting of votes roughly reflects the size of population of each member-state. The total number of votes is 354 and a minimum of 255 votes is required for a decision to be adopted. Simple majority is used for non-legislative issues and requires 15 out of the 28 votes for an issue to be accepted. The Council may move to voting procedures on a legislative act 8 weeks after the draft act has been submitted to national parliaments for their examination and compliance with the principle of subsidiarity, in urgent cases, though, we might have an earlier voting. The

<sup>3</sup>Wallace 2000, p.16

<sup>4</sup>Avrami L. & Chatzistavrou F. (2013) "Guide: The Greek Parliament and the EU", Athens: Representation of the European Commission (in greek) [Available at [http://ec.europa.eu/greece/news/2014/20140219\\_odigos\\_elliniko\\_koinovoulio\\_ee\\_el.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/greece/news/2014/20140219_odigos_elliniko_koinovoulio_ee_el.htm)]

President of the Council of the European Union initiates the voting procedure.

The Council of Ministers should not be confused neither with the European Council nor with the Council of Europe. The European Council brings together the heads of member-states or governments and it is responsible for setting the general political guidelines. The Council of Europe is a regional intergovernmental organization completely separate from the EU, set up in 1949 with the aim of promoting democracy, human rights, democracy and the rule of law within 28 member-states<sup>5</sup>. The main difference between the Council of Europe and the European Union is that the former cannot legislate.

Policy-making in the European Union is considered a complex process as institutions are in flux, authority is sometimes contested and multiple levels of governance engage a variety of actors. To facilitate our understanding, we depict policy-making through a cycle that includes agenda-setting when an issue becomes important, policy formulation as the phase where specific proposals are presented, policy decision when a course of action is chosen, implementation of the policy and last but not least evaluation in order for a policy to be continuous, durable and ever-changing for the acquisition of better results.

#### 4.2.2. Decision making process in the Council

The Council of the European Union, casually referred as Consilium, is the intergovernmental pillar of EU institutional apparatus. It is responsible for the negotiation and adoption of new EU legislation, the adaptation of the current one and the coordination of the EU policies. In a variety of cases the Council of Ministers decides along with the European Parliament through the ordinary legislative procedure, which is also known as «co-decision». The co-decision was first introduced in 1992, and its use was extended in 1999. After the Lisbon Treaty, the co-decision became the fundamental decision-making process in legislative issues. The aforementioned procedure is common in policy areas where the EU has exclusive competence or it shares it with the member states and as a result the Consilium legislates based on certain proposals of the European Commission. Often the Council indicates earlier to the Commission that it would welcome a draft on a specific subject, and then the European Parliament acts as the co-legislator along with the Council. The policy outcome depends upon the interaction between the three institutions.

In specific areas, though, the Council takes decisions using special legislative procedures. Those are the consent procedure, in which the Parliament can accept or reject a legislative proposal by an absolute majority vote, but cannot amend it. The consultation procedure falls in the same category, where the role of the Parliament is limited and may approve, reject or propose amendments to a legislative proposal. This procedure is described in Article 289(2) of the Treaty of the Functioning of the European Union<sup>6</sup> (TFEU). When the proposal of the European Commission is received by the Consilium, the 'reading' procedure begins and the draft document is thoroughly and meticulously examined-at the same time-by both the European Parliament and the Consilium. There are times when the Consilium-in order to speed up the legislative procedure and facilitate the agreement between the two institutions-moves towards the adoption of a 'general approach' offering to the European Parliament a hint pertaining to the Consilium's stance on the matter discussed and negotiated upon. However, the Consilium shall wait the Parliament's first reading opinion to reach a final position. Throughout the 'reading' phase the proposal passes by the working party (there are more than 150 parties and committees), the Permanent Representatives Committee (ambassadors' level) and the Consilium as a whole. Therefore, technical scrutiny and political responsibility is achieved.

<sup>5</sup> "Voting system, how does the Council vote?", Council of the European Union, 4 November 2015, retrieved from <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/council-eu/voting-system/>, read on 3 March 2016

<sup>6</sup> "Special legislative procedures: at a glance", Council of the European Union, 24 September 2014, available at <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/council-eu/decision-making/special-legislative-procedures/>, read on 3 March 2016

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To present it briefly, the procedure follows the steps you can find below:

Legislative Proposal—First Reading—Second Reading—Conciliation—Third Reading



## 4.2. Profile of the United Kingdom

### 4.2.1. National Identity

United Kingdom is the state containing Great Britain and Northern Ireland. Great Britain consists of three autonomous regions that include England, Scotland, and Wales. UK was created in first of May 1707 as a result of the Acts of Union of England and Scotland. The current form of UK is a result of the secession of Ireland back in 1922. Queen Elizabeth II is the kingdom's monarch since 1952.

Due to its unique geographical position within European continent, separated by sea, UK was never affiliated with the rest of Europe the way mainland superpowers did, like France and Germany. It is also worth remembering that British island has not been invaded in the last 1000 years. This natural isolation, along with the imperial background, constructed a culture that treats itself as a global player more than solely a European one. The legacy of the world's greatest and richest empire ('the one that the sun never sets') forged the modern British identity. Furthermore, English language is the world's most widespread language as it serves as the world's common trade language. It is also the official language of the United Nations, European Union and the official language of 67 states and the third most common native language in the world. Modern democracy and institutions such as the constitution and state of justice also first appeared in Britain. Due to its great distance from Rome, Catholicism and Pope's influence was not as strong in Britain as in rest of Europe. The world's first unofficial constitution, Magna Carta, was signed in 1215 by King John of England after he was pressured from aristocrats. When King Carol the first in 1648 violated the charter's terms he was executed. The parliament of Great Britain was established in 1707. Ideologically, classical liberalism was born and bred in the UK along with the industrial revolution. Additionally, UK is a pioneer of institutions such as the national security system and welfare state.

### 4.2.2. Domestic political system

The domestic political system is a Unitary Parliamentary Democracy within the framework of Constitutional Monarchy where the Monarch is the Head of State but the Prime Minister is the Head of the Government and the one concentrating power around him. Furthermore, the Parliament at Westminster is the supreme legislative body composed of the House of Commons and the House of Lords. The UK has undergone a period of devolution over the past twenty years with the creation of a Scottish Parliament, a National Assembly in Wales, and an Assembly in Northern Ireland. The Prime Minister is the head of the government and the leader of the cabinet. While the Monarch is the Head of State, its role is limited to non-partisan ceremonial, diplomatic and representational functions. UK has developed over the years a bipolar political system with two major parties, the Labors and the Conservatives. The Labors lean toward the centre-left while the Conservatives, also called Tories, towards the centre-right. The liberal party used to be a major party as well during the 19th and the 20th century but since then its prestige and public support has fallen off.

### 4.2.3. National Economy

To start with, UK's economy is the country's current driving force. Despite the global financial crisis of 2008 the economy has emerged even stronger under the conservative's guidance, a success that justifies the major victory achieved in last year's elections. On a closer look, UK is the second largest economy in EU and ranked as the 5th largest in the world. Likewise, it ranks 27 on the GDP per capita ranking and 11th in the respective EU one<sup>7</sup>. Furthermore, UK experienced a GDP growth rate of 12.8 percent for the years 2005-2014, second highest between the western EU industrial powerhouses, just behind Germany, and scored a 3% GDP growth for the year 2014 when the EU average was at 1.4%<sup>8</sup>. Unlike the EU, the UK has pursued a much more expansionary fiscal policy. The Bank of England opted for quantitative easing

<sup>7</sup> IMF <http://www.imf.org/en/Data>

<sup>8</sup> World Bank <http://data.worldbank.org/country/united-kingdom>

two years before the ECB. UK tackled unemployment effectively reducing it from 8.5% in 2012 to 5.4 in 2015 while the employment rate is at 73.9%<sup>9</sup>. UK's score on GINI coefficient of inequality according to the World Bank was 32.8 for the year 2014, ranked only 33rd worldwide, meaning the distribution of wealth is not as equal as in other economies of the developed world.

Another important fact worth noting is the balance of trade of UK's economy. While the services sector presents a surplus in trade equilibrium, with exports far exceeding imports, the situation reverses in the goods sector where intense recession is observed. Moreover, the trade balance with the rest of EU is relatively low, only 48 percent of its exports go to EU-member states, which is the lowest percentage out of the 28 member states<sup>10</sup>. The annual UK contribution to EU budget reaches 11.3bn Euros<sup>11</sup>.

#### 4.2.4. European Community accession

UK road to EEC accession was not an easy one. The 1961 and 1967 applications resulted to a failure as French President de Gaulle vetoed the British application due to his distrust towards the Anglo-American close ties. The third application under Conservative Prime Minister Edward Heath resulted on the British accession to the European Economic Community in the first of January 1973.

The UK joined the European Community in 1973. At that time, a tough debate emerged that paved the way for a referendum of accession in 1975. Namely, there was severe internal conflict between the pros and cons of Britain joining the EU. As an ironic twist in relation to the current situation, the conservatives that hold the line of the "brexit" campaign in 2016 were then in favour, while the Scottish and Northern Irish parties that are now the warmest supporters of "Bremain" campaigned then for non-accession. Since then, the relationship between the UK and EC/EU remained stable. In the Council of Ministers, UK has 29 votes while in the European Parliament it holds 73 of the total 751 seats<sup>12</sup>.

Socioeconomic factors as well as international developments of the period affected UK decision to join EEC and. Initially, UK was a founding member of European Free Trade Area, the counterweight to the Franco-German led EEC. Both EFTA and the Commonwealth international organization failed to bring the estimated economic growth. While the UK economy stagnated, the rival European Coal and Steel Community member states experienced stable growth. In 1950 the difference in GDP per capita between UK and the 6 ECSC member states average was 28%, by 1956 it had been reduced to 15%<sup>13</sup>. In 1967, when de Gaulle vetoed the UK's application for a second time, the difference in GDP had fell to 6% and two years later when Britain applied for a third time to 2%. The growth of the EEC founding members compared to the weakening British economy was evident. The constant fall of UK's GDP in contrast with the expanding EU6 was explicit and the British governments sought to stabilize the country and boost the national economy through the application for EEC membership. The British economy was in desperate need of more competitive and developed markets to trade with and such economies were located in Western Europe and EEC. Consequently, economy was the main factor that led to the British application. As professor Campos of Brunel University notes 'above all, Britain joined because joining the European project was perceived to be a way to stop its relative economic decline. In 1950, UK's per capita GDP was almost a third larger than the EU6 average; in 1973, it was about 10% below; it has been comparatively stable ever since'<sup>14</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> World Bank <http://data.worldbank.org/country/united-kingdom>

<sup>10</sup> Eurostat (2015) "EU's top trading partners in 2014: the United States for exports, China for imports", <http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/products-press-releases/-/6-27032015-AP>

<sup>11</sup> BBC <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/8036097.stm>

<sup>12</sup> Gov.uk (2016) "Ways of voting", <https://www.gov.uk/voting-in-the-uk/european-elections>

<sup>13</sup> Campos N., Coricelli F. (2015) "Why did Britain join the EU? A new insight from economic history", VOX CEPR's Policy Portal, <http://www.voxeu.org/article/britain-s-eu-membership-new-insight-economic-history>

<sup>14</sup> Ibid

Besides the aforementioned financial benefits, international politics played a key role on UK's accession. Decolonization and the Suez Crisis of 1956 decreased UK's international influence and made clear that the country's power projection capabilities were limited. The days of the country as a central player of international system have long passed. The British politicians of the time realized that only through the uprising European Community would the UK continue to exercise global policy and regain its prestige. Additionally, at the time the European integration through the creation of a customs union such as the EEC was seen as the most successful and efficient way to maintain peace in Europe after two destructive world wars. Likewise, despite the British-American special relation, US supported EEC considering this cooperation as the opportunity to promote stability, security and development of the open market and free trade in general. Lastly, the prevalence of Ted Heath as the new Premier Minister instead of Labour's party Harold Wilson combined with the withdrawal of de Gaulle from politics, fervent adversary of UK's accession, meant that major obstacles were out of the way for the British application.

Although the EU has been dominated by the Franco-German axis, the UK remained an influential voice within it thanks to its status as an economic and military power.

#### 4.2.5. UK choice to participate in European Integration

The country, reluctant to surrender national sovereignty, has historically maintained a hard Eurosceptic stance towards European integration. The ratification act of the Maastricht Treaty in 1992 provoked a civil conflict in the conservatives. While Prime Minister John Major favored a vigorous British role in the EU and achieved a Single-Currency opt out for the UK in the Maastricht Treaty, not everyone in his party shared the same views. Although the Labour's Party stood by the conservative PM, members of his own party under the lead of MP Michael Spicer stood against the ratification and deemed the treaty as a major loss of national sovereignty over the control of economy. The Tory rebels had no intention of abiding by the rules set by the European Central Bank. Finally, the vote passed on Tuesday 3 November 1992 by 3 votes in favor. John Major mentions in his biography regarding this thrilling vote: *As I took my place on the Treasury bench, I still did not know whether we were about to win or lose the division. I did know that defeat could not be brushed aside. If we had lost I would have risen in my place and announced my resignation; the combination of Black Wednesday and the inability to proceed with the Maastricht Bill would have made my position untenable. I would not have gone on*<sup>15</sup>. Another fact worth noting is the special relation of UK with EU budget. As UK is the second richest EU member state it is understood that it belongs in the category of states that contribute more in the budget than they receive, a condition which was not acceptable from the UK for long. In June of 1984 under Thatcher's administration, "the grocer's daughter from Grantham marched into the former French royal palace at Fontainebleau to demand "our money back from the European Community"<sup>16</sup>. The Iron Lady achieved to convince the Franco-German axis to decrease UK's budget contribution by more than a billion pounds. As a result of Margaret Thatcher's rebate, France and Germany cover a portion of the total 10 billion Euro UK's contribution.

While UK benefited significantly from EU membership, it has also negotiated important opt-outs on key EU policy sectors (Schengen and Eurozone area as well as area of freedom, security and justice). The Lisbon treaty has been ratified in March-June of 2008 by the Houses of Commons and Lords.

On another matter, UK has a somewhat moderate policy regarding EU enlargement. In a summit at Vienna in 2011 Minister for Europe David Lidington spoke in favor of further EU enlargement "that is why we in Britain were and are so enthusiastic about enlargement, because it is a momentum that builds stability, se-

<sup>15</sup> Total Politics <http://www.totalpolitics.com/print/148432/the-maastricht-treaty.shtml>

<sup>16</sup> Watt J., Fenton S. (2017) "Brexit ruling: Supreme Court judges defy Government and empower Parliament", Independent

curity and prosperity across Europe. I believe it would be a profound mistake to let this momentum stall”<sup>17</sup>. Another usual bone of contention between UK and EU has been the enormous CAP funding. In the summer of 2013 PM David Cameron pressured for EU budget cuts and reached a new compromise with his EU partners under a period of economic crisis and austerity. More than that, UK opposed initiatives such as Common Foreign and Security Policy and Common Security and Defense Policy. As a core member of NATO and member of the Security Council, Britain does not fancy common defense policies. Notably, in order for UK to support CFSP the European Council offered the position of the first EU High Representative to the British C. Ashton<sup>18</sup>

## 4.3. Economic and Refugee Crisis

### 4.3.1. Economic Crisis

The worldwide financial crisis of 2008 immediately affected the British economy. In comparison with most European countries, UK addressed the issue with key actions in order to recover its economy. Conservative-led governments adopted a strict fiscal policy in order to reduce public sector expenditure. In short, UK’s national debt skyrocketed from 43.8% in 2008 to 90.6% in 2013 and down to 86% in 2015. Moreover, the budget’s deficit as a proportion of GDP has been reduced from 6.1 % in 2012 to 4% in 2015 and it is forecasted to drop below 1% in 2017<sup>19</sup>.

Furthermore, real GDP growth was at 2.9% for 2014 and is estimated at 2.5% for 2015<sup>20</sup>. Additionally, the actual nominal GDP was increased from 2791.68 billion US dollars to 2941.89 billion US dollars in 2014 making Britain the fifth richest country in the world<sup>21</sup>. The generally good state of UK’s economy, and the relatively successful way of coping with the worldwide crisis of 2008 should also be considered as one of the main reasons the Conservatives party swept the 2015 elections. The unemployment rate dropped from 8.5% in 2012 to 5% in late 2015<sup>22</sup> while the average weekly wage rose from 460 pounds per week in 2012 to nearly 490 pounds in 2015<sup>23</sup>. Nevertheless, the quality of employment deteriorated sharply with the expansion of self-employment while the social and spatial inequalities continued to worsen.

### 4.3.2. Refugee Crisis

In 2015 the conservative government refused the entrance to refugees around the borders with France around the Calais region and warned that necessary measures would be taken to secure UK’s national security. Under Commission’s Refugees Resettlement plan the government agreed to accept 20.000 Syrian refugees over the next five years while Britain has spent more than a billion euro to support Syrian refugees<sup>24</sup>. UK also faces an immigration crisis as numerous central and east Europeans choose to migrate to UK in order to benefit from the beneficiary Public and Social Care system. Counter measures against internal EU migration was also one of the main points of the latest David Cameron’s proposals to EU officials regarding opened renegotiations for the UK’s membership before the referendum. The con-

<sup>17</sup> Gov.uk (2011) “EU enlargement - a UK perspective”, <https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/eu-enlargement-a-uk-perspective>

<sup>18</sup> Ιωακείμης Π.Κ. (2010) Η Συνθήκη της Λισσαβώνας, Παρουσίαση, Ανάλυση, Αξιολόγηση, β’ έκδοση, Αθήνα: Θεμέλιο, σελ. 151

<sup>19</sup> Ashworth-Hayes S. (2014) “Factcheck: Has the budget deficit been halved?”, The UK’s Independent Factchecking Charity, <https://fullfact.org/economy/factcheck-has-budget-deficit-been-halved/>

<sup>20</sup> World Bank <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.KD.ZG>

<sup>21</sup> World Bank <http://data.worldbank.org/country/united-kingdom>

<sup>22</sup> Trading Economics <http://www.tradingeconomics.com/united-kingdom/unemployment-rate><sup>23</sup> World Bank <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.KD.ZG>

<sup>23</sup> Trade economics <http://www.tradingeconomics.com/united-kingdom/wages>

<sup>24</sup> BBC (2016) “Migrant crisis: What is the UK doing to help?” <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-34139960>

servative's government proposed a limitation to the in-work benefits that EU migrants receive in the UK for four years. According to the prime minister "unprecedented levels of immigration were undermining support for European Union in the UK". The government kept its cards closed on the referendum for most of 2015. Although the other EU member states unanimously rejected the proposed four years exclusion of EU immigrants from UK's welfare system benefits, little progress was made.

#### 4.3.3. Euroscepticism

UK is by far the most eurosceptic country in Europe and the much surprising referendum proved this point. British Euroscepticism reflects British culture and values. UK was always a strong and independent country and for many of its citizens, EU is a Franco-German controlled union that restricts national sovereignty while it does not benefit UK enough. It is worth reminding that UK never adopted a political integration policy and opposed to policies irrelevant with financial cooperation and market deepening. Only the Liberals party supported the unconditional deepening of relationship with the EU. British media were also generally negative towards European Union, especially those under Rupert Murdoch's ownership. The infamous Australian controls the Times, Sunday Times and the Sun, and played an important role in shaping public opinion before the Brexit referendum last June 2016.

#### 4.3.4. Cameron's European deal: what kind of Europe?

UK has always been in favour of an EU of sovereign states that share a common market. In other words, UK stand in favor of a single European market that "people, goods, services, and capital can move around the EU as freely as within a single country" without technical and bureaucratic restrictions. While being a strong supporter of single market and free trade policies, UK opposes to political integration reforms that result in loss of national sovereignty.

During the period before the British referendum, Cameron's negotiation efforts to prevent a Brexit vote recalled that UK seeks from EU mostly the economic benefits of the single internal market rather than political obligations and integration commitments. To simplify it, British people were not fancy of Brussels telling them how they are going to run their country. In conclusion, UK was against further EU deepening. In this direction, an agreement on Britain's new relationship with the EU was reached on February 2016 between the British government and the EU, in case the "Bremain" vote would prevail. This agreement has been an unprecedented one conferring some crucial exceptions and privileges to the country in order to persuade the British voters to opt in favor of staying in the EU. Namely:

- An "emergency brake" on migrants' in-work benefits for four years when there are "exceptional" levels of migration. The UK would be able to operate the brake for seven years.
- Child benefits for the children of EU migrants living overseas would be paid at a rate based on the cost of living in their home country - applicable immediately for new arrivals and from 2020 for the 34,000 existing claimants.
- The amending of EU treaties were to state explicitly that references to the requirement to seek "ever-closer union" do not apply to the United Kingdom, meaning Britain would never be forced into political integration.
- The ability for the UK to enact "an emergency safeguard" to protect the City of London, to stop UK firms being forced to relocate into Europe and to ensure British businesses would not face "discrimination" for being outside the Eurozone.

However, since the British voted for a Brexit, these concessions were considered not valid and could not constitute the basis for any new agreement between the two parts. Any negotiations on the post-Brexit

relationship would obligatorily start from scratch.

## **UK's EU referendum 2016 pros and cons: should UK or should UK go?**

### **Arguments in favor of:**

#### **IN**

- EU is Britain's main export destination accounting for 48% of total exports and a Brexit would mean the loss of special trade benefits of the Common Market
- London will no longer be the centre of EU economy. Many multinational companies will move their European headquarters from London to another EU member states metropolis, as Goldman Sachs investment inc. warned. This business migration will result in rising unemployment and recession.
- UK will not have the same influence in the world scene as of now that is a member of the world's largest Economic union
- UK will have to sign an economic association agreement with the EU in any case, only that this time won't have a part in the decision making process.

#### **OUT**

- UK will negotiate a new economic association agreement, same as the one that Norway and Switzerland have with EU
- Britain will not have to contribute to the EU budget, saving up to 9 billion pounds the year
- Britain will regain its national sovereignty and enforce its own legislation in crucial areas such as labor, industry, agriculture
- UK will be able to control migration and better protect its social welfare system outside EU
- UK is already not a member of the Eurozone or Schengen area, thus being highly independent from EU.

### **4.3.5. Towards a post Brexit agreement**

According to the new Prime Minister Theresa May, this new agreement will preferably entail a unique tariff regime for British access on the EU market under a condition of mutual interest. However, the new cabinet has stressed that the British delegation will not accept any type of deal on the table, and that no agreement is better than a not favorable one. In accordance with the official position of the government in the upcoming negotiations, British officials state that they will not tolerate "punishment beatings" from the EU. On the other hand, they want Britain to maintain a healthy, financially beneficial and stable relationship with the EU, despite the complete political divorce.

#### **Scotland**

The Scottish question has become more divisive than ever since the June 2016 Brexit referendum. Despite the refusal of the Scots in their referendum of independence, held in 2014, the current Nationalist government of the autonomous country (SNP party) vows to hold a new one. The main frame of the campaign is that Scotland voted for "Bremain" in a solid majority, a fact that differentiates the country from the rest, "Brexiting" nations of England, Wales and –to a lesser extent- Northern Ireland.

#### **Northern Ireland**

Northern Ireland has always been a "bleeding wound" since the era of the British Empire. After the achievement of peace in the region – a "good Friday" deal enormously sponsored by EU mediation, this front remained relatively stable. Politics in this sensitive part of Britain are divided between the "Unionists", mainly

Protestants and pro-British, and “Republicans”, mainly Catholics and in favor of a united Irish Republic that will match the physical borders of the island of Ireland. Given the fact that almost 56% voted in support of Britain remaining in the EU, debate is heating up on whether the Northern Irish should remain in Great Britain, or move towards independence and a possible union with the Republic of Ireland. One of the most decisive factors on the issue will be the possible institution of a “hard” border between the two regions, after Britain leaving the Union.

### 4.3. The Member States’ and EU officials’ viewpoint on Brexit

As to the attitude of the EU on the type of agreement to be reached with the UK, a “tough attitude” has been initially adopted. The 27-members are arranged along a common axis of hard-line policy that has the following prerequisites

- a) the direct application and activation of Article 50 TUE as a necessary condition for the beginning of negotiations and
- b) the privileges granted to the UK must be of much less importance than those enjoyed by the country as participating member state in the EU.

The Prime Minister of Malta Joseph Muscat, who took over the EU rotating presidency, confirmed “In the European Union there is more unity on the policy to be followed with respect to the withdrawal of Britain from the block than it has been in any another issue in the past”. Following the confirmation of the Prime Minister of Britain Th. May that she will invoke Article 50, triggering a two-year exit, in just two months, delegates of the European institutions were placed on the issue.

**Michel Barnier**, the EU’s chief Brexit negotiator declared that smooth negotiations on Britain’s exit from the European Union are a prerequisite for a good future relationship between London and the EU bloc. He pointed out that “Agreement on orderly exit is prerequisite for future partnership. My priority is to get the right deal for EU27”. **Guy Verhofstadt**, the European Parliament’s Brexit negotiator said it was an “illusion” to think that Britain could enjoy the advantages of the European Union’s single market without accepting the obligations that come with it. He also said the EU would not accept a Brexit deal that would leave Britain better off than a full membership of the bloc. **Donald Tusk**, the European Council president said Mrs May’s speech meant the EU had a “more realistic” view of Britain’s hopes and said the remaining 27 states were “united and ready to negotiate”.

The Franco-German axis has been particularly receptive to the decision of the Britons. German Chancellor **Angela Merkel** stated that “Britain will not be able to maintain access to the single market if they do not adopt the four basic freedoms, including the free movement of people. “German foreign minister **Frank-Walter Steinmeier** said that “other 27 countries, too, want good, close and trusting relations with Britain and will aim for constructive negotiations.” But he insisted that “talks about the so-called Brexit will not begin until London has formally notified the EU of its wish to leave the bloc.” German Economy Minister **Siegmar Gabriel** also said “It’s also clear that there will not be any cherry picking. Anyone who wants access to the common market has to also be part of the political union.” The President of France **Francois Hollande** stated also that Britain must “pay the price” of Brexit to avoid jeopardizing the rest of the EU from further separatism.

As far as concerns the Franco-British military alliance, French and British diplomats said that the bilateral agreement to increase cooperation between the two countries’ military establishments - from politicians

and generals to industrialists - is moving forward in the post-Brexit era. *“Formally nothing changes with Brexit. Both countries have a vested interest in pursuing their implementation.”*, said Camille Grand, head of the Paris-based “Fondation pour la Recherche Stratigique”.

**Mateo Renzi**, former Prime Minister of Italy stated that “it is a decision of the British people which we fully respect, as should be the case, and which requires a lot of common sense, clarity and the certainty of a clear-cut path. The Italian government is interested in working together to collaborate, and something good might come from it, not only for the United Kingdom, for Italy, but also for European Union institutions.” The Foreign Minister of Italy **Paolo Gentiloni** commented that British leaders “speak with the tones we see in Eastern Europe” in an apparent comparison with xenophobic parties in Hungary and Poland. As he confessed to the Financial Times, “this is not the Britain that we always knew.”

**The Irish government** released a statement: “Theresa May made clear that her priorities include maintaining the common travel area and avoiding a return to a hard border with Northern Ireland, both of which are welcome ...” The Government notes that the British approach is now firmly that of a country which will leave the EU but which seeks to negotiate a new, close relationship with it. While this will inevitably be seen by many as a ‘hard exit’, the analysis across Governments has covered all possible models for the future UK relationship with the EU ... “ The Government is under no illusion about the nature and scale of the Brexit challenge. The Government is acutely aware of the potential risks and challenges for the Irish economy and will remain fully engaged on this aspect as the negotiations proceed “.

**Czech secretary for European affairs Tomas Prouza** labelled May’s plan “a bit ambitious seeking combining trade as free as possible as well as full control on immigration. Where is the give for all the take?”

## 4.4. Article 50 Treaty of the European Union

The Lisbon Treaty in 2007 authorizes the withdrawal of a member state from the EU.. The article 50 of the Treaty of the European Union allows a member to negotiate its exit from the Union.<sup>25</sup> First of all, the member-state that wants to leave the Union must act in accordance with its own constitutional requirements. Then, it is obliged to notify the European Council of its intention to exit, and negotiate its future relationship with the Union. The notification of Article 50 will trigger the opening of withdrawal negotiations that should take no longer than two years. It is important to note that during the two-year negotiation period, the EU laws still apply to the UK. The UK will continue to participate in EU business as normal, but has no participating and voting rights regarding the issue of its withdrawal.

After this period, primary and secondary EU legislation ceases to apply for the exiting member state whether there is a new deal or not. If in the future, the exiting state wants to rejoin the Union, it has to follow the process according to the article 49 of the TUE.

While this process implies grave consequences for the UK, there is no clear responsibility regarding who is going to trigger the Article 50. It is evident that the result of the referendum itself cannot notify the implementation of the article. But then who has the power to do so? There has been a lot of debate about triggering art. 50 TUE. In theory, there are different legal approaches to the matter.<sup>26</sup> The first, suggested that the Government can use its “prerogative powers” that enable it to act in the field of international affairs

<sup>25</sup> Poptcheva Eva-Maria (2016) “Article 50 TEU: Withdrawal of a Member State from the EU”, European Parliamentary Research Service, [http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2016/577971/EPRS\\_BRI\(2016\)577971\\_EN.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2016/577971/EPRS_BRI(2016)577971_EN.pdf)

<sup>26</sup> Georgopoulos A. (2016) “‘Brexit’, Article 50 TEU and the Constitutional Significance of the UK Referendum”, EjiI:talk!, Blog of the European Journal of International Law, <http://www.ejiltalk.org/brexit-article-50-teu-and-the-constitutional-significance-of-the-uk-referendum/#more-14425>

and therefore notify the Council at EU level. Another view supported that the governments should start the process with the prior authorization by the Parliament. The third suggestion proposed that the Government as the executive body should take the initiative to act and notify the Commission for the intention to exit the Union.

Some argued that a constitutional convention requiring the involvement of the Parliament is necessary in order to set the outlines of the exit procedure and trigger the article 50 TUE. Actually, the UK's Constitution is quite flexible and political overnight, thus allowing wide interpretation from law specialists that can consult and support the Government throughout the process. There was general agreement that even when the participation of the Parliament is considered to be desirable, the Government should take the lead and make the next move toward and exit from the EU by submitting a formal application.

In practice, the High Court of the UK stated Article 50 of the Lisbon Treaty could only be triggered with the input of Parliament. In 7th of December 2016, Theresa May, Prime Minister, gained the majority of votes in the Parliament (461 in favor, 89 against), for triggering the article by March 2017. That means that the UK would be a member of the Union at least until March 2019 when the negotiations shall end.

Then, Prime Minister Theresa May's government launched a Supreme Court appeal on December 2016 to overturn the earlier High Court ruling. Delivering the judgement, Supreme Court President Lord Neuberger said: "By a majority of eight to three, the Supreme Court today rules that the Government cannot trigger Article 50 without an Act of Parliament authorizing it to do so."<sup>27</sup> Therefore, the government itself cannot notify the Article without a prior vote from the British Parliament<sup>28</sup>, since the decision is so important that must be discussed within the Parliament.<sup>29</sup> The Supreme Court rejected the argument of the government that Theresa May can invoke its executive powers known "royal prerogatives" to invoke Article 50 in order to launch the two-year divorce proceeding. However, the Supreme Court rejected arguments that the parliaments in Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales will also have to give their approval before the invocation of Article 50.

In February 2017, the British government won the backing of 494 MPs over Brexit bill, while 122 vote against. David Jones, the Brexit minister lately declared, as a major concession to the Labor party, that both Houses of Parliament will get a vote on the final deal before the deal is concluded and Parliament will vote on the deal before the European parliament does.

<sup>27</sup> Watt J., Fenton S. (2017) "Brexit ruling: Supreme Court judges defy Government and empower Parliament", Independent, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/brexit-supreme-court-ruling-judges-defy-theresa-may-and-hand-power-to-parliament-a7542406.html>

<sup>28</sup> Garner O. (2017) "So long (as) and Farewell?" The United Kingdom Supreme Court in Miller", European Law Blog, <http://europeanlawblog.eu/2017/01/26/so-long-as-and-farewell-the-united-kingdom-supreme-court-in-miller/>

<sup>29</sup> Supreme Court UK <https://www.supremecourt.uk/cases/docs/uksc-2016-0196-judgment.pdf>

## 4.5. Possible solutions

There are at least five scenarios after the British vote to leave the European Union.<sup>30</sup>

The first model, also known as the Norwegian model, would give to the UK the right to maintain its economic benefits by becoming member of the European Economic Area (EEA) as Norway, Liechtenstein and Iceland. At the same time the UK would be subject to European Free Trade Association (EFTA), along with Switzerland.

In this way, the UK will have access to the Single Market, without being member of the political union. Therefore the UK will not be a subject of the policies of the Union not covered by the EEA, such as agriculture, trade, security and social policies. At the same time, the UK will be legitimate to develop its own laws and policies, promote bilateral agreements with third countries, but would no longer benefit from EU policies.

Although, the UK would have still to implement a wide range of EU legislation, including the EU's four fundamental freedoms: freedom of movement of people, goods, services and capital in order to be a part of the Single Market. The condition of free movement of people raises questions over the immigration concerns that the UK tried to solve by exiting the EU.

On top of that, the UK will have to contribute financially to access the Single Market, with a special EEA grand. Given its size, the UK would have to offer a significant amount of money, even though it would pay less than it used to as a member of the EU. As drawback of losing its EU membership, the UK loses its influence since it does not have the right to vote and shape the laws that would be obliged to implement. The UK will have a seat around the table of negotiations as a fully integrated member of the Single Market, but it will not have the power of voting and influencing the legislation. In addition, baring in mind the slow process of the implementation of EU legislation within members of the EEA, especially regulations regarding financial services that play a great role in the UK's economic development as a global hub of those services is another drawback of this approach.

By not having the power to regulate financial services, the significance of the City of London as a financial services center, might be influenced negatively while other financial markets would emerge.

In terms of trade, the UK would no longer be obliged by trade agreements in force within the EU and would have the chance to develop bilateral agreements and regain control over this issue.

The next model is known as the Swiss model, is a unique relationship that enables Switzerland and the EU to trade freely. In this model, the UK would become a member of the EFTA and at the same time negotiate a framework of bilateral agreements that would regulate the relationship between the two parties. The UK would no longer be subject to EU legislation but would have to trade-off access to the Single Market for freedom of movement and other EU principles. This option is not attractive to those who are alerted by immigration concerns although it seems that the EU is only willing to provide access to the market in return for respect of the basic freedoms of the Union. In this model, where bilateral agreements regulate every aspect, the UK would have a greater chance compared to the previous model, to successfully regulate financial services that are of great importance for its economy. For access to the Single Market it has to follow specific requirements for the products trading within the market, thus the UK would be obliged to

<sup>30</sup> Slaughter and May (2016) "Brexit essentials: Alternatives to EU membership", <https://www.slaughterandmay.com/media/2535258/brexit-essentials-alternatives-to-eu-membership.pdf>

comply with those special requirements set by the EU. It is evident that in this way the UK loses influence over shaping the rules, and becomes a 'receiver' instead of 'shaper' of regulation. On top of that there is no mechanism for harmonizing legislation in the Swiss model as it stands, thus Switzerland has to constantly amend and adopt laws produced by the EU in order to be up-to-date and enable its business to access the market.

Last but not least, one positive fact for those in favor of Brexit in this model is that the UK would not be required to contribute to the EU budget. Nonetheless, Switzerland participates in ad hoc policies and programs regarding sectors of its interest such as funding research programs. Apparently this is a dynamic relationship that relies upon the ability of the UK to negotiate and gain the status that it wants based on bilateral agreements that might be more flexible than other forms of collaboration with or within the Union.

Another scenario, based on the Turkish approach, promotes the 'total exit' and allow the UK to renegotiate every sector upon bilateral agreements. The UK would aim to join the EU's Custom Union, that enables its members to have a common trade policy, common rules of origin and a common external tariff to products outside the Union. In this option, the rules set by the bilateral agreements would aim to goods and not services and as discussed before, financial services need to be regulated in the case of the UK. Within the Turkish model, the UK still loses power since it does not influence the legislative procedure and is obliged to comply with the rules set by the EU. The latter, negotiates deals with third parties and the outcomes are notified to the members of the Custom Union that have no power over the formation of those deals. Although, this model enable British products to trade freely within the Union but at the same time adds an external tariff to products from third markets where there is no guaranteed access to them.

Alternatively, in the case of 'total exit' the UK can seek access to the EU market under the rule of the WTO where the principle of the no-discrimination is of great importance. This principle gives the right of mutual treatment towards all trade partners unless there is a special trade deal that dictates something specific between two members of the organization. In such a scenario, the UK businesses not being part of the EU would lose advantage and competitiveness since their services would have to deal with an extra burden that of the EU Common External Tariff, that would be implemented to British products and services by making them more expensive compared to European ones. This is important, since the biggest trade partner of the UK is the EU with 41-51% of UK exports and 49-55% of UK imports realized with the EU, thus, it can be assumed that this trade balance would be heavily influenced. Therefore, the UK leaving the EU mean that the already existing tariffs implemented to EU products under WTO would have to be renegotiated since the UK would no longer be a member of the Union and has to seek a new status in WTO and relaunch its products. At the same time, tariffs regarding agricultural commitments have to be reformed. Thus the threat of tariffs not yet negotiated would damage the UK trade with the EU and therefore lies upon UK power to negotiate and reach the best compromise possible, the sooner the better.

Moreover, the UK can negotiate a new free trade agreement (FTA) based on its preferences and special needs of its economy. Under this possibility, the UK could develop a legal framework for financial services and exchange freedom of people for access to the market.

It is evident that a trade-off between depth and interdependence would take place, while the UK would oblige to find common ground and agree on common standards and regulations. Not to mention, that the negotiations would probably take longer since the deal has to seek ratification for the other 27 member-states.

In terms of international trade, the UK would be free to negotiate and develop special relationship with third

countries within the framework of the WTO and the principle that it sets, concerning bilateral agreements. In such a case, the total exit of the UK from the EU means no contribution to its budget. The UK seems to be a net contributor to the budget but at the same time some regions such as Wales are gaining great benefits from European funds. Moreover, the exit from the EU would stop freedom of movement and enable the UK to control its national borders. At the same time, British people leaving outside the UK will lose their rights of traveling and international British businesses will be similarly affected. The UK will no longer attract talents around the globe that resulted in its development the recent decades. The exit process will be a tough decision to be made with consequences in the everyday life of millions of people.

## 4.6. What Britain wants from Europe?

As mentioned in government's Brexit White Paper<sup>31</sup>, the UK's government sets its targets for the upcoming negotiations with the EU in twelve points. First of all, it wants to provide certainty and clarity. Moreover, UK is keen in taking control of its own laws and not be a subject to EU legislation and jurisdiction, thus strengthening the Union. It is imperative for the British side to have a deal that works for the UK as a whole. The British government also aims to protect UK's strong and historic ties with Ireland and maintaining the Common Travel Area as well as immigration control. In addition to this, it wants to secure rights for EU nationals in the UK, and UK nationals in the EU and also protect workers' rights. On top of that, it prefers to ensure free trade with European markets and secure new trade agreements with other countries. In other terms, the British government seems to assume from the start that the UK will be out of the Single Market and the customs union but that it will aim for as close to free trade as everyone else is willing to get (hard Brexit). Thus, Theresa May's government will ensure that the UK remains the best place for science and innovation. It will also, cooperate in the fight against crime and terrorism. Last but not least, it will deliver a smooth and orderly exit from the EU.

What are the implications for triggering article 50 of TEU?<sup>32</sup>

What about the process and the responsibilities?

On 29 November 2016, a first technical meeting of the EU-27 took place, to prepare the Article 50 TEU negotiations, convened by Michel Barnier, the European Commission's negotiator in charge of the preparation and conduct of the negotiations. The French politician and former European Commissioner for Internal Market and Services, Michel Barnier has been appointed to head Brexit task force set up by the Commission and is supported by a German, Sabine Weyand, previously Deputy Director General for Trade in the European Commission. The Council established a Special Committee with representative that will follow and participate in the discussions. Belgian diplomat Didier Seenws has been appointed to lead the European Council's negotiations with the British government, to provide guidance and monitor the procedure that the Commission is going to follow.

The whole procedure of the negotiating and realization of Brexit<sup>33</sup> have been set in the informal meeting of the Heads of States or Government of 27 Member States, as well as the Presidents of the European

<sup>31</sup> Gov.uk (2017) "The United Kingdom's exit from and new partnership with the European Union", [https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/589191/The\\_United\\_Kingdoms\\_exit\\_from\\_and\\_partnership\\_with\\_the\\_EU\\_Web.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/589191/The_United_Kingdoms_exit_from_and_partnership_with_the_EU_Web.pdf)

<sup>32</sup> Niblet R. (2016) "Preparing for the UK's Brexit Negotiation", Chatham House, <https://www.chathamhouse.org/publications/twt/preparing-uks-brexite-negotiation>

<sup>33</sup> "Brexit Explained: The EU's role in Brexit negotiations", Institute for Government, <https://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/brexit-explained/brexit-explained-eu%E2%80%99s-role-brexit-negotiations>

Council and the European Commission that took place in Brussels in the 15th December of 2016.<sup>34</sup> First of all, the Heads of States and Governments made clear that the agreement that will be pursued with the UK “will have to be based on a balance of rights and obligations, and that the access to the Single Market requires acceptance of all four freedoms”. On top of that, the negotiations would be conducted “in a spirit of trust and unity” among the 27 Member States.

The Commission, the Council and the Parliament will have to work close and provide information and support to each other.

The procedure following the notification of article 50 by the UK, sets the European Council responsible for setting the guidelines that will define the framework under which the negotiations will be conducted. The European Council is responsible for setting out the overall position of the EU during the negotiations. The Heads of States and Governments agreed to invite the European Parliament representatives to participate in meetings to prepare the British exit from the EU. In addition to this, the Council will provide the Commission with the mandate to deal with the negotiations and will give its guidance on substance and regulate the relationship between the Union’s negotiator and the preparatory bodies. After the adoption of these guidelines, the General Affairs Council will open the negotiations where the European Commission will be in charge of the negotiations further on.

Michel Barnier, the Union negotiator nominated by the European Commission and will be responsible to ensure transparency and build trust among members of the negotiation. He will work along with the representative of the rotating presidency of the Council as well as the representative of the President of the European Council that will support and facilitate its work. In addition to this, he would have to inform the European Council, the Council and its preparatory bodies for the ongoing discussions. Moreover, the Union negotiator is obliged to



<sup>34</sup> European Council (2016) Statement after the informal meeting of the 27 heads of state or government, <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2016/12/15-statement-informal-meeting-27/>

inform the European Parliament throughout the negotiations and keep it updated. To support and ensure the success of the process, a working group with a permanent Chair will assist the meeting of the European Council, the Council and the Coreper, in order to follow the guidelines and provide help to the Union negotiator.

To enhance transparency, members of the European Parliament will participate in the preparatory meetings and its President will be invited to be heard at the meeting of the European Council. Moreover, the Presidency of the Council has to exchange view with the European Parliament before and after the meeting of the General Affairs Council.

In these discussions, representatives from the UK will not participate and only the representative of the 27 member states will be involved.

The Parliament has appointed Guy Verhofstadt as a representative to the process, although, the influence of the Parliament in the discussion is still quite limited. The main purpose is to be informed during the negotiations but it cannot make proposals of substance. The key power that it has is the one of voting, since it has the final say for the agreement and can reject it and send it back to the Commission. The agreement can pass with a simple majority vote by the Parliament and a unanimity vote by the Commission. On the other side of the negotiations, Sir Tim Barrow is the new permanent representative of Britain in the EU and he is leading its team in Brussels. As has been said before, after the deal, signed by the EU, the UK Parliament has also to cast a vote and ratify the deal for its exit.

No doubt, the role of the Commission is of great importance since it has the technical and legal expertise, as well as the manpower to deal with the negotiations. Moreover, the Commission has to conduct a draft that recommends the process under which the negotiations will be realized. Therefore, the Commission say counts over the Union and its knowhow on negotiating is essential. Despite being responsible for this deal, it has to work closely with the Council. Another argument that proves the importance of its role over the process is the fact that the Union negotiator has been appointed by the Commission and is the one person that is moderating the discussion and sets the outlines. In other terms, he, Michel Barnier holds the responsibility for the deal on behalf of the whole Union.

In this way, the Commission as the executive body of the EU is representing the will of the Union and its interests. European Commission's mandate is to protect EU's *acquis communautaire*, EU fundamental principles, rights and liberties as well as EU common values. The Commission symbolizes the unity and embodies the spirit of collaborative action in all policy areas of the Union, therefore is the competent institution to negotiate such a deal. Thus, it is within its institutional duty to enforce compliance with the four freedoms and fundamental principles of the Union and that is the reason why it has the main role in the process. Where centrifugal forces are principally about attempting to cast doubt upon the unity, legitimacy and efficiency of the European project, it is a matter of existence for the Union to negotiate efficiently, smooth voices of discontent and to not give in to the siren of extreme right-wing forces. European Commission's role is to strengthen unity, enhance collaboration and avoid losing prestige in an era of weakened economic, social and political cohesion.

## 4.7. Points to be addressed

**For the European Commission:** the Commission will be asked to formulate (and present/negotiate with the UK) “recommendations” or positions on a large range of EU policies to be negotiated.

**a/** How much possible is to reach a good agreement for both parties (EU & UK), but still consider that EU membership always remains the most advantageous status and at the same time take into account the balance of rights and obligations agreed with other third states (what might be the “good deal” for the EU)?

**b/** According to EU’s Union negotiator Michel Barnier any agreement should respect the principle of the four freedoms and the fact that are indivisible and at the same time respect the rules of competition. In this framework, are there any possible concessions that the EU is ready to offer in the area of trade/economic cooperation in order to get a deal of close cooperation in the field of defence and security?

**For the Council of the European Union:** there are disagreements among EU member states about the approach to adopt.

**a/** Will be possible for France and Germany to find common ground given the fact that Germany adopts a more moderate position than France who do favor a real hard Brexit?

**b/** Will be possible to cross Eastern European member states’ red line on freedom of movement (freedom of movement is non negociable) considering that the vast majority of other EU member states adopts a more flexible position on that matter?

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# 5. Organisers

## 5.1 The Institute of European Integration and Policy

The Institute of European Integration and Politics is an independent, non-profit research and educational institution. It was founded in 2002 under the auspices of the Faculty of Political Science and Public Administration of the University of Athens.

Its main mission is to cover the teaching and research needs of the Faculty of Political Science and Public Administration in the fields of European integration and politics, to initiate teaching activities, to cooperate and exchange scientific knowledge with other academic or research centres in Greece and abroad, to organize seminars, lectures and to forge publications. For these purposes the Institute:

- Conducts research on topics concerning European integration and politics with emphasis on European economic policy and governance, institutional and political system of the European Union, external relations of the EU, energy and environmental policy
- Provides information and conducts scientific analysis on the abovementioned issues
- Organises summer school courses on contemporary issues related with European integration and politics
- Organises simulations of the EU institutions in order to enhance the familiarization of the students with their function
- Cooperates with national and international research institutes and networks
- Organises PhD seminars on methodology

More information at: [en.eeep.pspa.uoa.gr](http://en.eeep.pspa.uoa.gr)

## 5.2. The Faculty of Political Science and Public Administration

The Faculty of Political Science and Public Administration of the University of Athens, although founded in 1982, can trace its origins back to the beginnings of the University of Athens in 1837. It evolved out of the Chair of Political Science at the Faculty of Law (which was one of the first faculties of the oldest Balkan university) into an independent academic department. This happened a few years after the Chairs of Political Economy, which were founded in the late 19th century, evolved into the Faculty of Economics in the 1970s. This reform of the School of Law, which was then renamed the School of Law, Economics and Political Science, transformed it into a higher education institution awarding since the early 1980s, three separate degrees corresponding to the titles of its faculties. This change was a genuine expression of the tradition of the School, which was not only the center of legal studies in Greece, but also the centre of the emergence and cultivation of the economic and social sciences since the middle of the 19th century. The School preserved this role for more than a century, until the 1980s, when social science departments emerged in other newly founded Greek universities. It is within this School that the first chairs of political economy have been created and retained their unique role until the 1920s. It is also within this School that one of the first chairs in sociology was established in the same decade. It is thus no coincidence that internationally renowned social scientists like Cornelius Castoriades or Nicos Poulantzas belong to the alumni. It is also extremely rare to find a democratically elected Prime Minister of Greece in the 20th century who does not hold a degree from the School of Law, Economics and Political Science, as it called now and to which the Faculty of Political Science and Public Administration belongs.

### 5.3. The National and Kapodistrian University of Athens

The National and Kapodistrian University of Athens is the largest educational state institution in Greece, and among the largest universities of Europe. With a student body of about 125,000 undergraduate and postgraduate students over 2.000 members of academic staff and approximately 1,300 administrative and secretarial staff and specialized personnel, the University of Athens aims at excellence in both teaching and research in a significantly varied range of disciplines.

The University of Athens, established on the 3rd of May 1937, was first housed in a neoclassical residence, on the northeastern side of the Acropolis, renovated today and operating as the University Museum. Initially named “Othonian University” after Greece’s first King, Othon, it consisted of 4 academic units and 52 students. As it was the first university in the newly established modern Greek state, as well as in the Balkans and the Eastern Mediterranean region, its socio-historically significant role has been decisive for the production of particular knowledge and culture in the country.

Until the early part of the 20th century, the University of Athens was the only university in Greece that provided the Greek society with qualified professionals in medicine, in physics and social sciences, in law and economics, in archeology and in education as well as in the clergy. In its many years of operation, it has offered the country a centre of intellectual production, stimulating intellectual circles functioning inside and outside its premises. Moreover, it has and still offers important social services as its academic staff regularly serves on national and international committees, carries out educational and other research projects, plans and takes part in seminars for a variety of social groups, oftentimes in addition to their full-time work at University.

## 5.4. Organising team

### **Emmanuella Doussis**

She is Director of the Institute of European Integration and Policy, Scientific Coordinator of the Jean Monnet Module “Moving the EU Forward” and Associate Professor at the Department of Political Science and Public Administration, University of Athens. She is also member of the General Assembly and of the Internal Evaluation Committee of the above Department and member of the Coordinating Committee Master’s degree in Southeast European Studies. She is supervising PhD dissertations and she is teaching graduate and postgraduate courses on EU law, international and European environmental policy and law as well as theories and policies of international organisations. She disposes thorough experience in the organization of simulations of international and European institutions for over 15 years, participating either as a member of the scientific committee or as a coach of teams for participating in such simulations (Harvard World Model United Nations, ThessismUN, EUROFORUM, Oxford MUN, Phillip Jessup Moot Court Competition).

### **Dr. Filippa Chatzistavrou**

She is a lawyer and has a PhD in Political Science (University of Paris I – Sorbonne). She is research fellow at ELIAMEP, adjunct lecturer in the Department of Political Science and Public Administration of the University of Athens and research associate in the Institute of European Integration and Policy of the University of Athens. She has previously taught at the University including Paris VII Denis-Diderot and the Institute of Political Sciences in Paris (SC-PO). She was a research associate in the Group of European political sociology GSPE-CNRS (University of Strasbourg) and member of the Centre for Comparative Analysis of Political Systems (CACSP, University of PARIS I – Sorbonne). She has many publications in the area of theories of European integration, EU institutional governance, political sociology of EU actors and administrative integration in the EU.

For more information, visit <https://fchatzistavrou.wordpress.com/>

### **Dr. Lydia Avrami**

She is project coordinator of the Jean Monnet Module “Moving the EU Forward” and postdoctoral research fellow at the Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP). She studied Political Science and Public Administration (BSc) and European and International Studies (MSc) at the University of Athens. She was awarded with distinction her Ph.D. in European climate change policy from the University of Athens (2015) and she was Scholar of the A.G. Leventis Foundation (2011-2014). She was Visiting Researcher at the Potsdam Institute for Climate Impact Research (PIK) in Germany (January-May 2014) and received a short-term research scholarship from State Scholarships Foundation (IKY). She has also worked for communication, congress and event management companies (2007-2010). Her research interests focus on energy and climate change policy, European governance, policy effectiveness and the role of interest groups.

### **Dafni Sachinoglou**

She is a Junior Researcher at the Institute of European Integration and Policy and a graduate student of the Faculty of Political Science and Public Administration of the University of Athens. She also studies Law in Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, in which she expects to obtain her second bachelor degree. Her areas

of interest are related to International and Maritime Law, which she is hoping to follow at a Master's level. Apart from her passion with Law she enjoys taking part to university activities, such as organizing conferences and trying to improve the university society.

### **Danai Konstantinidou**

She is a Junior Researcher at the Institute of European Integration and Policy and graduate of a graduate student of the Faculty of Political Science and Public Administration, University of Athens. She holds an MSc on International and European Studies from the abovementioned Faculty. Her research interests revolve around climate change, European integration and human rights. Her mother language is Greek and she also speaks English and French.

### **Eva Gouda**

She is a trainee at the Institute of European Integration and Policy and an undergraduate student of the Faculty of Political Science and Public Administration. Interested in topics that combine economy and international politics, this summer attended a course on Trade, Development and the Environment at London School of Economics where she gained first hand experience on topics related to International Political Economy, a field that she wants to pursue on a Masters level. Active participation in European Youth Parliament Sessions since High School helped her grow academically and personally. Eva appreciates environments where people work openly and passionately for what they love. With this mindset she wants to welcome you on board and make sure that EU Model 2017 will be a chance for everyone to have fun, challenge himself and grow.

### **Georgios Grigorakis**

He is an undergraduate student of Political Science and International Relations in the University of Athens. His interests vary from international security to international trips and from modern history to modern challenges. Fluent in three languages, and framed by a highly qualified team, he aspires that the upcoming conference will formulate a reformingly revolutionary approach to such a unique, modern challenge. He is currently looking forward to welcoming all participants in Athens for a vibrant, "wholegrain" political and argumentative simulation.

### **Ellie Konstantinou**

She is an undergraduate student at the Faculty of Law of the University of Athens. She first experienced a simulation of the European Parliament in Strasbourg, France at the age of 17, through the "Euroscola" program. Since then, she has taken part in numerous EU-simulating events, including EuroSimulation Athens, MEU Creta and Athens EU Model. Expressing her interest in the fields of Public and European Union Law, in which she plans to pursue a Master's Degree in the near future, she also participated in "EUROPA Moot Court Competition" in 2016 and she is currently a member of the Editorial Board of the "Applications of Public Law" academic journal. She speaks English and German. She eagerly supports initiatives that raise political and social awareness and enable the youth to share their views on the world, obtain experiential knowledge, develop their debating skills and creatively get in touch with each other.

## Georgia Giannakidou

She is 21 years old and she was born and raised in Komotini. The last three years, she lives in Athens and studies Political Science and Public Administration at the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, while she is completing her internship in the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs. She speaks English, French and Turkish and she is an alumni of the Greek Swimming team. From an early age she had a great concern in politics and also in International Relations. As a result, five years ago, when she was at high school she started participating in simulation conferences, for the first time. Her first experience in simulations started in Strasbourg, France when she participated in “Euroscola”. Since then, simulations became part of her life by determining the choice of her studies. Her passion for International Relations is constantly growing and her academic interests are focused on Islamist Fundamentalism, Terrorism, Geopolitics and Geostrategic in the Middle East Region.



## 6. Useful Information

### 6.1. The City of Athens

#### **The cradle of European culture**

Athens is considered to be the historic capital of Europe as its values and its culture crossed the geographical borders of the city and spread worldwide (in the 5th century B.C.). Political thinking, theater, arts, philosophy, science, architecture and so many other human intellectualities reached their zenith in a unique time coincidence and spiritual completion. In this sense, Athens became the cradle of European culture and civilization, while many Greek words and concepts such as democracy, harmony, music, mathematics, art, gastronomy, architecture, logic, Eros, euphoria and many more, enriched various languages and inspired different civilizations.

#### **Athens: back to the future**

Athens is distinguished by its outstanding prestige, despite its long and rich history and various conquests. It can be said that Athens is a European capital where past “nourishes” the present and they co-exist harmonically. Since 1834, Athens has been the capital of the modern Greek state and it has developed into a modern metropolitan center of incomparable charm and great interest. Visiting Athens is a unique experience. It is a “journey” to a 6.000 years history in one of the most beautiful natural landscapes (“lacy” coastlines, beaches and mountains), enlightened by the bright sunlight of Attica sky. For a short journey to Athens’ history, [click here](#).

More information are available at [www.cityofathens.gr/en/](http://www.cityofathens.gr/en/)

#### **Around neighborhoods of the historical center**

The “core” of the historic centre is the Plaka neighborhood (at the eastern side of the Acropolis), which has been inhabited without interruption since antiquity. When you walk through the narrow labyrinthine streets lined with houses and mansions from the time of the Turkish occupation and the Neoclassical period (19th c.), you will have the impression of travelling with a “time machine”. You will encounter ancient monuments, such as the Lysikrates Monument, erected by a wealthy donor of theatrical performances, the Roman Agora with the famed “Tower of the Winds” (1st c. B.C.) and Hadrian’s Library (132 A.D.), scores of bigger and smaller churches, true masterpieces of Byzantine art and architecture, as well as remnants of the Ottoman period (Fetihie Mosque, Tzistaraki Mosque, the Turkish Bath near the Tower of the Winds, the Muslim Seminary, et al.). There are also some interesting museums (Folk Art, Greek Children’s Art, Popular Musical Instruments, Frysira Art Gallery, etc.), lots of picturesque tavernas, cafis, bars, as well as shops selling souvenirs and traditional Greek products.

## 6.2. TOP 10 things to do in Athens

1. Walk uphill to see the Acropolis
2. Visit the Acropolis Museum
3. Shop around Monastiraki's flea market
4. Visit the Ancient Agora
5. Enjoy the nightlife around Agia Eirini's Square
6. Take a stroll top-down Ermou Str. for shopping and take a break for a coffee at Thisio or Gazi
7. Have a coffee in a cafe at Karytsi Square
8. Taste the Greek traditional cuisine in Plaka and Metaxourgeio
9. Visit Syntagma square, the Greek Parliament, and the National Gardens
10. Visit the Attica Zoological Park in Athens

## 6.3. Before you travel to Greece

- Depending on your country of origin you might need a passport or a visa
- Call your bank or your credit card company to let them know that you will be using it in Greece.
- In order to have access to necessary health care, tourists from member states of the European Union (EU) wishing to visit Greece must be holders of the European Health Card (EHIC) or any other legal Community document issued by their competent social security agency. Tourists from countries other than the member states of the European Union must consult their social security agency for information before travelling.
- Contact your phone company in order to make sure that you can use your mobile phone in Greece.
- The international calling code of Greece is +30.

## 6.4. Information and emergency phone numbers in Greece

**Ambulance Service: 166**

**SOS Doctors: 1016**

**Duty Hospitals and Clinics: 1434**

**Pharmacies: 1434**

**Open Line for alcohol drug Addiction: 210 3617089**

**Poisoning First Aid: 210 7793777**

**Police: 100**

**Tourist Police: 1571**

## 7. Contact details

### **Institute of European Integration and Policy (IEIP)**

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**Athens:** 2017

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