

ACHIEVED BREXIT AND PROBABLE POLEXIT: DETERMINANTS, PROSPECTS AND CONSEQUENCES FOR THE EU STABILITY

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Abstract: The article is devoted to a topical event for the European Union Member States, namely the study of threats to the EU existence in the context of Brexit and the prospects of Polexit. British think tanks and experts had given completely different forecasts, and as a result, Brexit took place. Further developments encourage analysts and experts from around the world to make forecasts for the development of entire countries and separate sectors of the states. In particular, the increase in Eurosceptic sentiment in the UK was caused by the EU's institutional crisis and the escalation of crisis processes. The main issues that are actively discussed refer to losses for the economy of the EU and the UK; the future of Scotland and Northern Ireland, Gibraltar status, the international authority of the EU, the prestige and international position of Britain. The purpose of the article is to predict further events and consequences after the UK's exit from the EU in economic, political, and international spheres, to investigate how the exit of Britain and all the mentioned factors will affect Polexit. The article also focuses on the likelihood of Poland's withdrawal from the EU and outlines possible developments in the EU's relations with Poland.

Keywords: Brexit; Polexit; Great Britain; Poland; the EU; consequences; Euroscepticism.

1 Introduction

The EU Member States have a democratic procedure to leave the structure which is based on such principles of international law as equality and the right of peoples to dispose their destiny in complete freedom, as well as to determine their internal and external political status without external interference. Withdrawal from the European Union is a legal and political process under which an EU Member State ceases to be a member of the Union under Article 50: "Any Member State may decide to withdraw from the Union in accordance with its Constitutional requirements". There have always been Eurosceptic sentiments in the United Kingdom. Partly because of these views, it took Britain long time to enter the EU, not only because of France's position when Charles de Gaulle being President perceived Britain negatively and considered it a competitor, but also because within Britain itself there was little desire to join the EU. On the third attempt, after Charles de Gaulle left and there was no blocking French vote, Britain entered the EU. In recent years, Europeans have solved the problem of their self-identification by joining the EU. In the 1960's when the British Empire ceased to exist, and it turned out to be a different state in comparison with the 19th century and early 20th century, they solved this problem by acceding to the EU. Eurosceptic sentiments did not disappear and part of the population was still dissatisfied. There were politicians who parasitized on the idea that the EU did not benefit them, and it might be worth reformatting it or leaving it altogether. But these ideas were marginal, because Britain benefited from the EU membership, from free trade specifically. After the referendum in 2016, society was divided in half - almost 50 to 50, so the questions arose again: "If we leave the EU, where should we go?, What position shall we take in this world?" [16].

The referendum on Britain's exit from the EU had just been held but a wave of predictions about the political and economic future of the European Union in general and the United Kingdom in particular was raised. Although D. Cameron, in his address after the vote count, assured the stability of the economy (which was

the second in the EU after Germany), the 'cardiogram' of capital markets changed instantly.

British think tanks and experts gave completely different forecasts, but most of them considered three possible scenarios: a rapid transition to the British economy growth; difficult transition period approximately until 2020; protracted economic crisis until 2030 [1]. As a result, the second scenario was realized, i.e., the UK left the European Union. After three and a half years of political crisis in the UK around Brexit, changes of three governments, early parliamentary elections, heated debates in the society, on December 20, 2019 the vast majority of members of the lower House of the British Parliament supported the agreement to withdraw from the EU with the amendments by the Prime-Minister B. Johnson [12].

A new problem for the EU stability, which arose after Britain's exit, is to prevent a "domino effect" so that other countries do not follow its example. Poland's decision that the EU law cannot be superior to the country's domestic law has jeopardized the EU's existence. It is believed that the primacy of European legislation is the basis of a united Europe. The level of socio-political tensions caused by Brexit in the domestic and international dimensions necessitates the analysis of new challenges and threats the EU faces, which justifies the need for the research. Thus, to increasingly greater extent, a new challenge – Polexit – has been widely discussed. Poland is an example of a country where effective economic and socio-political reforms have led to strong economic growth and political stability. Poland's accession to the EU in 2004 was in fact decisive in the overall development of the country. Poland has coped with the onset of the global financial and economic crisis, and its authority and political weight in the world grows steadily. Most Polish experts attribute this success to the country's membership in the EU and NATO. Since then, the Polish economy has developed rapidly through financial assistance from the EU (both in loans and investments) and the country's integration into the European single market. Poland has been given the opportunity to influence the political, economic, and security processes in Europe and the EU [14]. This has improved Poland's image among both European and non-European countries, as well as international organizations, and at the same time it raised the question of Poland's independence from the EU.

Thus, the purpose of the article is to predict further events and consequences after the UK's exit from the EU for economic, political, international spheres, and to investigate how Britain's exit and all the mentioned factors will affect the possibility of Polexit.

2 Method

The general philosophical paradigm of research is constructivism. As methods in this article, the method of document analysis and the method of constructing scenarios were used. The methodological basis of the article was also formed by the situation analysis method, prognostic methods and elements of comparative historical analysis.

3 Results and Discussion

1. Geopolitical consequences of Brexit for the EU and Great Britain

Brexit has affected the EU political stability and continues to threaten the existence of this political entity. In the general sense, stability means the normal functioning of the system, all its structures and institutions, the absence of failures in the mechanisms of state power, its sufficient authority. Stability is also manifested in the strict observance and enforcement of laws and other regulations used in relation to peaceful, non-violent forms of struggle. The nature of political stability is determined

by the social system and its political regime. On the opposite side of political stability, there is political change, i.e., the emergence of new structural and functional features of political phenomena, which provides self-reproduction and renewal of socio-political organism.

A kind of compromise between, on the one hand, the position of the United Kingdom, which wanted a parallel discussion of the terms of exit from the EU and the format of future cooperation, and, on the other hand, the position of the EU, which insisted that negotiations on the future should begin after "divorce", was the adoption of a political declaration which was expanded and supplemented at the European Council meeting. The declaration does not fully meet the UK's ambitions for a future partnership, as it is non-binding and vague on certain issues. The most important dimensions of future relations should be economic and security ones [18].

During the transition period, the UK will retain a number of EU commitments, losing some rights, specifically Britain will be subject to the EU law (including international treaties and ECJ rulings), will pay financial contributions to the EU budget, but will lose the ability to influence the EU law, including the right to vote in the EU institutions. Until the end of the transition period, the UK will maintain its participation in ongoing EU programs and have access to the EU databases, and it will have the opportunity to discuss EU directives and policies with Member States in some cases. During the transition period, it will be able to negotiate, conclude, and ratify international agreements with other states, but they will be able to enter into force only after the end of the transition period or will require the separate consent of the EU [6]. The transition period gives the UK time to adapt its legislation to exit the EU and negotiate future trade relations. Extending the transition period could also help Britain delay the activation of the Ireland / Northern Ireland Protocol. However, the conditions of the transition period are far from allegations of the resumption of immediate control over domestic policy as a result of Brexit [18].

After the withdrawal of Great Britain from the European Union, France claims the leading role in the Union. It is unlikely that countries other than the above-mentioned Poland will want to leave the European Union, but the organization is in crisis. In 2007, the EU pursued a failed enlargement strategy, joining Romania and Bulgaria, which did not meet European standards. Their many citizens went to more developed European countries, took jobs and created social tensions. Now the leaders of France and Germany offer a strategy for parallel development for Europe [13]. Following the British referendum, the EU founding members and the new Visegrad countries put forward diametrically opposed proposals for the EU development strategy, namely the former want to continue political integration, while the latter call for a focus on the economy. The Visegrad countries, being opponents to the EU's transformation into a superpower, have lost Britain as a powerful ally. Instead, Germany and France have more weight in the EU than the four Visegrad countries. In any case, EU officials are bound by EU documents, and these documents state that it is the duty of all the EU Member States to strive for a permanent and comprehensive deepening of integration. This is exactly one of the points on which Prime Minister D. Cameron bargained with the EU before setting a referendum date. He traded successfully as the EU has confirmed that it releases Britain from this obligation [17].

After the transition period, there may be growing political tensions in the British regions, where the majority of the population voted against Britain's exit from the EU in a referendum in 2016. Separatist protests may occur in Northern Ireland. In its election manifesto, the Sinn Féin party identified the following priorities: counteraction to Brexit, a referendum on the unification of Northern Ireland and neighboring Ireland, and the preservation of the EU membership. Prior to the referendum, the separatists are going to seek a special status for Northern Ireland as part of the United Kingdom. According to a survey by Lord Ashcroft, 46% of Northern Ireland residents support

leaving the United Kingdom and joining Ireland (45% are against, the rest are undecided) [12].

In Scotland, events can follow the Catalan scenario. Scotland has been part of Great Britain since 1707. In this British region, B. Johnson's situation is even more difficult than in Northern Ireland, as the separatist Scottish National Party dominates the local parliament and in the parliamentary elections it won 47 of the 59 seats fixed for the Scots in the House of Commons. On December 19, 2019, the First Minister of Scotland, N. Sturgeon, sent a letter to B. Johnson demanding that the local parliament be given the right to hold a second referendum on independence. The first referendum took place in 2014, when 55% of Scots voted against leaving the United Kingdom. The Scottish government may hold a referendum on independence. Scottish separatists have a solid social base for organizing provocations and protests. According to the study by YouGov, Scottish independence is supported by an active minority - 44% of the region's population (56% of respondents are against it).

Gibraltar, which has been part of Great Britain since 1713, remains an important issue for the British government after Brexit. In 2016, more than 95% of Gibraltar's population voted to keep Britain in the EU. Overseas territory has its own banking system. The basis of the overseas economy is offshore banking, services, repair and refueling of commercial vessels. Last but not least are trade and economic relations with the EU. Gibraltar does not have its own agriculture. About 9,000 Spaniards go to work in Gibraltar every day. Brexit has become a stumbling block in relations between Great Britain and Spain, which advocates joint ownership of Gibraltar. In 2018 the British government has decided to extend to Gibraltar any negotiations with the EU after Brexit. There are fears that the Spanish government will block trade talks between Britain and the EU to change Gibraltar's status.

Thus, in geopolitical terms, the United Kingdom must address a number of important issues that may jeopardize its territorial integrity.

2. Determinants and probability of Poexit

The idea of the European Union is the incarnation of the triumph of the post-war liberal elites who built the EU we know today. Previously, no country had left the EU voluntarily. And when Britain voted, it was a serious blow to European elites, as it witnessed a crisis of ideology itself - because if Britain leaves, it means that something is wrong with Eurocentric ideas. All those gave a huge allowance to Eurosceptics. Brexit became a matter of fighting ideologies between those who support the development of the European Union, strengthening its integrity, i.e., the old liberal elites, and those who are called Eurosceptics, i.e., right-wing conservatives, national populists who argue that the European Union is not the way Europe needs to move, national parliaments need to be given more power than supranational structures, and so on [3].

It is difficult to find direct and sharp differences in the statements made by Germany and France, as well as by the leaders of the Visegrad Four - Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary and Slovakia. German and French ministers offer to strengthen the European Monetary Union, emphasize tighter coordination of economic and tax policies. F.-W. Steinmeier and J.-M. Ayrault argue that all measures should be in response to the frustration of some citizens with the European project, and the result of the referendum in Britain was one of its manifestations.

The Prime Ministers of the Czech Republic B. Sobotka, Poland' B. Szydło, Hungary' V. Orban and Slovakia' R. Fico declare that the European Union should become a "Union of Trust". "Trust must be restored at all levels. The real fears of our citizens need to be better addressed (in politics). National parliaments must be heard. The institutions of the European Union must act clearly within the framework of their tasks and mandates" [17], the heads of governments of the Visegrad Group formulated their

rejection of attempts to build a superpower under the leadership of the European Commission and other central EU bodies.

The Union must focus on restarting the rapprochement process. To this end, the Union must use all key tools, namely harmonization, support for investment, support for innovation, completion of the single market for energy and digital services, promotion of free trade and freedom of movement, and strengthening the mobile labor market with the creation of promising jobs.

Relations between the Polish authorities and the EU institutions deteriorated significantly in October 2021, as a result of a decision by the Polish Constitutional Tribunal, which shocked not only the Polish society but the entire EU. On October 7, 2021, the Polish Tribunal ruled that the EU law could not be superior to domestic law. The judges also said that a number of laws and some EU court rulings contradicted the basic law of Poland. At the same time, the country's membership in the European Union did not give the EU bodies supremacy in the judiciary and did not mean the transfer of Poland's sovereignty to the EU. The judges ruled that no Polish government would agree to limit its powers to an external force. According to the decision of the Tribunal, the Constitution is the supreme law of Poland, and all international agreements and treaties are subject to it. This Tribunal decision, where the supporters of the ruling Law and Justice Party dominate, justifies the Polish government's excuse to try again to ignore the directives of the European Union Court of Justice which the government does not like, especially clauses on the independence of the judiciary [10]. In fact, by this decision, Poland questions the primacy of European legislation over national one, which is considered the basis of a single Europe. Some politicians and experts call this to be the first step towards Poland's exit from the EU, i.e., *Polexit*.

Poland's withdrawal from the EU is a rather controversial issue, as, on the one hand, there are many reasons to remain part of the European Union and, on the other, there are many differences in policy-making. One of the reasons for *Polexit* is that the values promoted by conservative Polish politicians are not similar to those of the EU. This fact does not strengthen the relations between Poland and the EU. This dispute can be seen as a conflict between social conservatism and liberalism. The Conservative Party of Poland, Law and Justice, considers the Christian roots of Europe to be the basis of any further integration into the EU. They believe, integration should be limited to European nations and their respective values and traditions. They are skeptical about opening up Europe to non-European immigration, and they criticize the idea of multiculturalism. Conservative Polish politicians are also in favor of strengthening the role of the traditional family (i.e., a husband, a wife and children) in society [8]. Thus, they oppose the legalization of homosexual relations and deny homosexual couples the right to adopt children. They also oppose the relaxation of abortion laws, believing that unborn children have the right to life and that their rights are equal to those of their potential mothers. Almost all of the above-mentioned Polish values are either contrary to political correctness or to the interests of key EU Member States.

Considering the policies of Poland and the EU, there is a difference of opinion on migration and energy policy. Poland and the EU have different energy policies. The EU is focused on the development of green energy, while Poland has a different view on this issue, that is why it is not involved in addressing these important issues for Europe. While the EU countries abandon coal, the government in Warsaw supports the construction of new power plants based on this energy source. Currently, the development of renewable energy is blocked in Poland. Poland does not want to take part in resolving the migration crisis due to its unwillingness to accept refugees from the Middle East. Although Muslims in Poland are not a large minority, political propaganda and terrorist attacks have stifled the idea of allowing refugees to cross Poland's borders [5]. This atmosphere has led to racist attacks on foreigners and even Poles

who speak foreign languages during public telephone conversations.

Hostility to the EU grows among supporters of the Polish government. As opposition to the judiciary escalated when the Commission threatened to withhold € billions from pandemic recovery funds in Poland, leaders of the ruling parties sometimes compared the EU to the Soviet Union, which occupied Poland during the Cold War. M. Morawiecki addressed the Polish Parliament, defending the veto imposed on the EU budget. He compared the Union to the former communist regime in Poland, and spoke out against "selective decisions of Eurocrats" and the "European oligarchy". At the same time, high-ranking officials insist that they are not supporters of *Polexit*. However, opposition parties claim that while immediate withdrawal from the EU is not on the Law and Justice agenda, the party's behavior could lead to this result. An important aspect is that EU membership is not in J. Kaczynski's long-term interests. As a result, namely he will decide Poland's future in the EU as the de facto ruler of the country, for whom the EU does not play a central role in his vision of a complete restructuring of Poland. He wants to dismantle all the reforms the country has carried out since the fall of communism in 1989. Kaczynski calls this period poisoned by corruption and internal agreements [9]. The Polish government does not only instill hostility towards refugees in Europe, but also tries to portray Germany in a bad light. More than 70 years after the end of World War II, Poland began to demand significant military reparations from its western neighbor. Germany, on the other hand, rejected Poland's demands and considered the issue exhausted. The issue of reparations for Poland was considered settled, as Poland allegedly refused to get them. However, the current Polish government claims that the relevant resolution of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic in 1953 was adopted under pressure from the USSR. The issue became relevant again after Kaczynski's Law and Justice Party came to power in 2015 [15].

Despite all these nuances, Poland has many reasons to remain part of the EU. Firstly, the EU is very popular among the Poles. After a majority of voters spoke in favor of joining the EU, loyalty to the organization has only strengthened. Poland has benefited significantly from the single market and the EU funding. The state has received €27 billion since 2004, which has improved living conditions in the country. Since 2004, more than 2 million Poles have taken advantage of free movement to find employment abroad. According to government estimates, Poland is to receive €39 billion in funding and about €34 billion in loans under the new budget and post-pandemic recovery mechanism. However, the governments of Poland and Hungary have blocked the plan.

Secondly, leaving the EU will undermine the Polish economy. Brexit proves how difficult it is to separate a country's economy from the entire EU market. Polish companies export and import goods and services mostly within the EU single market. In 2018, almost 80% of Polish exports were to the EU countries, and 58% of Polish imports came from the Union's domestic market. The Polish economy attracted significant foreign investment, which made the country one of the industrial centers of the entire European Union. Per capita income increased from 45% of the EU average in 2004 to 70% in 2017. This is evidenced by Eurostat data. Throughout the country's millennial history, the Poles have never had such income. While Great Britain is the 6th largest economy in the world, Poland is only 22nd [9]. It is more dependent on the EU. Withdrawal from the organization and return of all customs duties and trade barriers will destroy the Polish economy.

Thirdly, Poland's withdrawal from the EU would be tantamount to returning Russia's sphere of influence, as Poland has always been considered to be the key to Europe by Russian military strategists. Poland's ties with NATO and the EU have helped it move away from the Kremlin's sphere of influence. However, this may change if Poland decides to leave the EU.

At present, there are three potential scenarios for Poland's policy towards Europe: the British, the Conservative and the pro-European scenarios. The British scenario of Poland's policy towards Europe would mean the concentration of the Polish government in those fields of integration activity, which are important to Warsaw only, i.e., on the EU regional or agricultural policies. In this scenario, Poland regards the EU as an economic organization that provides access to the common European market, as well as political support in the event of a conflict with superpowers such as the Russian Federation.

However, this assumption is fraught with some shortcomings, especially the possibility of the Polish government to influence the EU decision-making process. The participation of the Polish government in the process of disintegration is accompanied by national selfishness, which weakens the influence on general market decisions. The disadvantage of this strategy is the further widening of the gap between the euro area and other Member States. In the UK, there were specific arguments at the EU forum, such as a strong economy or military potential, while in Poland there are no such arguments, or they are certainly weaker. The same applies to foreign relations and the above-mentioned policy towards Russia. It is very likely that in the era of the economic crisis, Germany and France will work harder to reduce sanctions against Russia, as these countries will aim to stimulate economic cooperation as much as possible. If Poland adopted the British scenario, it would imply an evolutionary shift towards Polesxit. Britain's path to leaving the EU was also evolutionary, and criticisms of the EU's way of working, increasing interference in the internal affairs of Member States, and reluctance of some citizens to understand the essence of membership were its tools. In Poland, only the last issue is still a clear obstacle to start discussions on weakening Poland's ties with the EU.

The second possible scenario, which is more conservative, assumes that Poland will face difficulties in Europe and the world related to the protracted Covid-19 pandemic and the Russian-Ukrainian war of 2022. Under this scenario, the concentration of Polish power would aim to eliminate economic consequences of the pandemic and the war without further reform of the domestic policy and not to provoke European institutions to radical, including financial actions against Warsaw. Under such a scenario, Poland would stop criticizing European institutions in order to get as much organizational and financial support as possible to save the economy and jobs. Adopting a conservative European policy scenario would be the result of a pragmatic balance of profits and losses. In fact, it is one of the most realistic concepts of the near future [7].

The last and at the same time the least probable scenario is that Poland will completely change the strategy of European policy from confrontational or conservative to more active and pro-integration, while maintaining a realistic approach to the European institutions. In this situation, the authorities in Warsaw would have to completely abandon domestic policy reforms, which would in principle mean acknowledging the mistake and agreeing with the European institutions. It will also require changes to the Polish legislation on domestic law, introduced in recent years, which has been challenged by the European institutions as well as individual Member States. Under such conditions, Poland will, in fact, have to return to the European policy model of 2007-2015, i.e., to form a coalition in the EU based on Berlin and Paris. In this context, it would be real for Poland to take Britain's place in the European Union and thus enter the first league of Member States and have a real impact on the decision-making process. However, this would mean a complete denial of the achievements of 2015-2021 in Poland's domestic and foreign policy [2]. In the context of the current political situation in Poland, this scenario is virtually impossible to implement. A complete change of policy towards Europe may occur only as a result of a change in the political groups that govern Poland.

Poland and the EU are on the verge of confrontation. Some opponents of the current government fear that the Tribunal's

decision could result in Poland's withdrawal from the European Union. However, despite the differences between Poland and the EU on legal issues, the EU does not have a legal mechanism to expel a member from the Union. This means that in order to implement Polesxit, this process must be initiated by Warsaw (according to Article 50). At the moment, this idea seems far-fetched, because Poland is a country where more than 80% of the population is in favor of the EU membership. Poland is highly dependent on the internal market as well as on the EU funds, including the Recovery Fund (COVID-19) [11].

The EU enjoys a democratic mandate stronger than any achieved by the Polish government since 1989, primarily due to two facts: national security and the economy. The EU is widely seen as the guarantor of Poland's independence, which has been threatened by Russia's imperialist ambitions for centuries.

Polish leaders reject any views on Polesxit, accusing the opposition of playing with Polesxit idea to gain political benefits. The leader of the Law and Justice Party, Deputy Prime Minister J. Kaczynski, also sees Poland's future in the European Union. However, he claims that the rule of equality of states is violated in the Union [4]. There is also a tendency to instrumentalize the EU with its strongest members, in particular, Germany.

M. Morawiecki presented the position of official Warsaw on the decision of the Constitutional Tribunal, as well as the general attitude to the processes in the European Union. He argues the current ruling coalition in Poland has no plans to withdraw the country from the EU. The decision of the Tribunal on the supremacy of Polish law over European law concerns only one specific provision rather than all the EU regulations. Official Warsaw recognizes the supremacy of the European law over Polish law, but the country's Constitution is more important than any European regulation. M. Morawiecki has stressed that the EU is not a "superpower" but an alliance of equal countries, so excessive centralization of power by Brussels cannot be allowed. He believes that the EU courts cannot interfere too deeply in the internal affairs of Member States, as no one has endowed them with such powers, and this hinders the reform process within the country [10].

It is profitable for Poland to be in the EU because the Union supports its financial and economic stability, and the EU is good for Poland because it buys European goods and is an important part of the Western alliance on Europe's eastern flank.

The deterioration of relations between Poland and the EU was caused by the decision of the Constitutional Tribunal of Poland, which gave Polish legislation a priority over the EU law in the country. However, for Polesxit to take place, it must be initiated by Poland itself, as the EU does not have such powers. Poland will not leave the EU in the near future, as the Polish government rejects these ideas and more than half of Poles support the EU membership.

4 Conclusion

Brexit is considered a turning point in international relations and in the history of the EU development as well. That was caused by a number of reasons, specifically the breadth and diversity of the common European space, the lack of democratic processes in supranational institutions, the migration crisis, Britain's unwillingness to integrate in political sphere, Britain's distinct national identity and specific factors of Euroscepticism in the United Kingdom.

Today for Britain the main problem is the position of Scotland and Ireland. It is unlikely that the British Kingdom will collapse, but political elites have not taken into account that the various relations between the regions have historically existed and have not been resolved. They were exacerbated with Brexit. Brexit is a matter of principle for many, for instance much of Scotland's profitability came from the EU membership, and the same refers to Northern Ireland. It is a question of their own survival and well-being, as leaving the EU means higher dependence on London. There will be some reformatting of structural relations

within Britain, between London and the regions, and some compromises will have to be made.

In terms of political, economic, and reputational consequences, the UK has lost its voice in the EU's top political bodies, access to the EU commodity and financial markets has become more difficult, international cooperation in the fight against terrorism and the search for criminals has become complicated; moreover, there is a trend of outflow of foreign investment from the state. The UK has ceased to be a participant in the EU energy market and the European emissions trading scheme. On the positive side, the UK has stopped making annual payments to the EU's joint budget and has simplified the procedure for establishing trade and economic relations with other countries. It is difficult to predict the economic development or decline of Britain as well as it is difficult to predict the economic consequences of this step for the British, especially in numbers. It is likely that Britain will lose in the first years, and then a return to some growth is possible. Most politicians believe that this will be a serious blow to the country's economy.

The main consequences of Britain's exit from the EU for the organization itself were the following: the EU lost its second largest economy and one of the largest payers of a net contribution to the EU budget, which led to additional financial burdens for other countries; there is a general decline in the EU economy and its importance for the world economy; other countries try to take the place of Great Britain and to strengthen their positions; the debate on the need for reforms in the EU and the role of supranational and state institutions has intensified; the organization has lost part of its authority. However, there are also the benefits of Brexit for the EU, in particular, the implementation of the projects opposed by Britain and the revision of agreements to make them more profitable for the Europeans.

"Polexit" denotes the probable withdrawal of Poland from the EU, which was caused by the conflict between the EU and Poland over the priority of the EU legislation in the country. Politicians called the ruling of the Polish Constitutional Tribunal "legal Polexit". Poland's decision called into question the primacy of the EU legislation over the national basis of a united Europe. Some politicians called it the first step towards Polexit. The main reasons for Poland's withdrawal from the EU include differing values, differences in views on migration and energy policy, growing Euroscepticism among supporters of the Polish government, and the fact that Poland does not want to accept refugees from the Middle East. However, there will be no Polexit in the near future, as the EU supports Poland's financial and economic stability, more than half of Poles are in favor of the EU membership and Poland's exit from the EU will be tantamount to returning Russia's sphere of influence.

Britain's exit from the EU was the clearest manifestation of Euroscepticism and anti-EU sentiment began to develop faster. This threatens to increase disintegration among the societies and political elites of the EU Member States. Brexit has threatened further EU integration and provoked a weakening of its position at the external level. The regrouping of forces in the organization and the destruction of the 'union' of three countries that had the greatest influence on EU decisions have challenged the EU. In the context of disintegration processes, there is a problem of the prospect of forming the EU as a world center of power due to the weakening of positions in the system of world politics, economy, security, and international relations in general.

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Primary Paper Section: A

Secondary Paper Section: AD