

KARADENİZ TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ * SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ

ULUSLARARASI İLİŞKİLER ANABİLİM DALI

ULUSLARARASI İLİŞKİLER PROGRAMI

**BREXIT AND THE SMALL STATES IN THE EUROPEAN UNION:
THE CASE OF SLOVAKIA**

YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZİ

Sedanur YILDIZ

MAYIS - 2019

TRABZON

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Tez Danışmanı: Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Özgür TÜFEKÇİ

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APPROVAL

Upon the submission of the dissertation, Sedanur YILDIZ has defended the study “Brexit and the Small States in the European Union: The Case of Slovakia” in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master in International Relations at Karadeniz Technical University and the study has been found fully adequate in scope and quality as a thesis by unanimous/ majority vote on __/__/2019.

Committee Member		Decision		Signature
Title - Name and SURNAME	Mission	Accept	Refuse	
Assist. Prof. Dr. Özgür TÜFEKÇİ	Supervisor	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Assist. Prof. Dr. Alper Tolga BULUT	Member	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Hüsrev TABAK	Member	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	

Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

Prof. Dr. Yusuf SÜRMEŒ

Director

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SEDANUR YILDIZ

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ÖZET

Birleşik Krallık, küçük devletler için AB'deki büyük devletlerin özellikle de Alman-Fransız hegemonyasının engellenmesinde dengeleyici unsur olarak görülmektedir.¹ 2016'daki referandum ile AB'den çekilme kararı alan Birleşik Krallık, küçük devletlerin bu endişesini tekrar alevlendirmiştir.² Kaçınılmaz bir şekilde, Birliğe üye devletler farklı boyutlarda olsa da bu kararın sonuçlarından etkileneceklerdir. Brexit görüşmelerinde, ilk kez uygulanacak olan 50. Madde'nin diğer üyeler arasında bir zincir etkisi yaratmaması için AB çıkarları baskınlığını koruyacaktır. Buna karşın, AB'nin özellikle göç politikalarındaki uygulamaları üye devletlerde AB karşıtı grupların güçlenmesine sebep olmaktadır. Özellikle Orta ve Doğu Avrupa ülkeleri, göç dalgalarının ulaştığı ilk sınırlar olduğu için bu ülkelerdeki göç karşıtı hareketler siyasi ve toplumsal alanda yoğun olarak hissedilmektedir.

Coğrafi konumu itibariyle AB'nin merkezinde bulunan Slovakya, aynı zamanda Visegrad Grubu'nun da bir üyesidir. Slovakya, AB üyesi olduktan sonraki ilk Konsey Başkanlığında, Brexit kararı ile yüzleşmek zorunda kalmıştır. Buna karşın, Başkanlık gündemi Brexit'in gölgesinde kalmamış ve önceden belirlenmiş olan yol haritasına odaklanılmıştır. Bu sebeple, Slovakya'nın Konsey Başkanlığı herhangi bir kriz gündeminin sarsıcı etkisine maruz kalmamış ve nispeten daha ılımlı sonuçlanmıştır. AB'nin genel menfaatlerini içeren göç politikalarıyla, Slovakya'nın bakış açısının pek de uyumlu olmaması sonucu iltica ve göç başlığında herhangi bir ilerleme olmamıştır.

Bu tezde, küçük devletlerin AB içerisindeki davranışları incelenmiş ve Brexit sürecinden etkilenebilecekleri unsurlar üzerinde durulmuştur. Araştırmanın özel konusu olarak küçük devletlerden biri olan Slovakya ele alınmış ve Brexit sonrasındaki faaliyetleri değerlendirilmiştir. Çalışmanın sorunsalı olan "Brexit sonrası oluşacak olan boşluğun küçük devletler tarafından nasıl doldurulabileceği" ve küçük devletlerin AB'nin geleceği için inisiyatif alıp alamayacağı Slovakya örneği üzerinden tartışılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Küçük Devletler, Brexit, Avrupa Birliği, Slovakya

¹ Anders Wivel and Baldur Thorhallsson, Brexit and Small States in Europe: Hedging, Hiding or Seeking Shelter?, 2018, p.3

² Wivel and Thorhallsson, Ibid., p.4

ABSTRACT

The United Kingdom has been seen as a balancing element for the small states to prevent large states hegemony in the EU, especially Franco-German. The decision which is stated to withdraw the UK from the EU with a referendum in 2016, has reawakened this concern of small states. Inevitably, member states will be affected by the outcome of this decision even though in different dimension. The Brexit negotiations will preserve the dominance of the EU interests so as not to create a chain effect among the other members that based on Article 50 which will be applied for the first time. In contrast, the EU's implementation of immigration policies particularly has led to the strengthening of anti-EU groups in the member states. Since Central and Eastern European countries are the first boundaries of migration waves, anti-immigration movements are felt in the political and social spheres in those countries.

As its location, Slovakia has been in the center of the EU and also a member of the Visegrad Group. Slovakia had to face the Brexit decision at the first Council Presidency after becoming a member of the EU. On the other hand, the Presidency agenda was not overshadowed by Brexit and focused on the predetermined road map. For this reason, the Council Presidency of Slovakia has not been subject to the shocking effect of any crisis agenda and has been relatively moderate. With the immigration policies, which include the general interests of the EU, there is not any progress in the asylum and migration title as the point of view of Slovakia is not very compatible.

In this thesis, the behaviors of small states in the EU are examined and the factors that can be affected by the Brexit process are emphasized. As a special subject of the study, one of the small states, Slovakia was discussed and its activities after Brexit were evaluated. The problematic of the study is how do small states fill in the gap which Brexit might cause and whether small states can take the initiative for the future of the EU is discussed over the case of Slovakia.

Keywords: Small States, Brexit, European Union, Slovakia

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANO	: Aliancia Noveho Obcana / New Citizen's Alliance
ALDE	: Alliance of Liberals and Democrats For Europe
EFD	: European Conservatives and Reformists Group
EU	: European Union
EPP	: European People's Party
HZDS	: Hnutie za demokratické Slovensko / Movement for a Democratic Slovakia
KDH	: Kresťanskodemokratické hnutie / Christian Democratic Movement
Most-Hid	: Občianska strana / Most-Hid
NATO	: North Atlantic Treaty Organization
OECD	: Organization For Economic Co-Operation And Development
PES	: Party of European Socialists
PESCO	: Permanent Structured Cooperation
PM	: Prime Minister
SaS	: Sloboda a Solidarita / Freedom and Solidarity
S&D	: Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats
SDK	: Slovenská demokratická koalícia / Slovak Democratic Coalition
SDKU-DS	: Slovenská demokratická a kresťanská unie – Demokratická strana / The Slovak Democratic and Christian Union – Democratic Party
SDL	: Strana demokratickej ľavice / Party of the Democratic Left
Siet	: Slovenská konzervatívna strana / Slovak Conservative Party
Smer	: Sociálna demokracia / Direction
SMK	: Strana maďarskej koalície / Hungarian Coalition Party
SNS	: Slovenská národná strana / Slovak National Party
SOP	: Strana Občianskeho Porozumenia / Party of Civic Understanding

SS : Schutzstaffel
US/USA : United States of America
USSR : Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WWI : World War I
WWII : World War II
ZRS : Združenie robotníkov Slovenska / Association of Workers of Slovakia



INTRODUCTION

Research Question

In this thesis, as a main question it is examined that how do small states fill in the gap which Brexit might cause? Also, it has been supported by side questions about what kind of changes are waiting for the small member states after one of the major powers left the EU? And will the smaller states become more powerful in the absence of the United Kingdom, or will they enter a hegemonic process?

Hypothesis

It has been hypothesized that even though Brexit process has been triggered some Eurosceptic movements all over member states, most of them especially small members will keep their ties close with the EU. On the other hand, Eastern European countries will continue to need EU's support in any field to reach the developed Western European standards. The missions that the UK has assumed during its membership, will be divided between other member states as a new network.

The attitude of the EU towards a procedure that has not been implemented before, is whether it can be a new disregarded alternative for EU members especially the small states which is the majority is the main reason for this research.

Research Method and Procedures

Slovakia has been selected as the subject of this study since it has successfully completed a rapid integration process within the EU and is an important actor in regional policies. The fact that the Brexit process has not been completed yet appears to be the limitation of this study. However, these limitations do not affect the research question of the study.

As a method of this research, the qualitative data is used to form the basis of the research question with the deductive approach. These datas were collected and interpreted both descriptive occurrences and researches.

As part of this research, field study was done in Slovakia for 5 months. My observations and experiences in Bratislava have been effective profoundly during the writing period of this thesis.

Organization of Thesis

The thesis consists of four chapters. In the first chapter, the historical developments which are effective in the emergence of unity thought among European states were emphasized and the stages of the transformation of the anti-war opposition under the foundation of the European Union in the process of transformation to economic cooperation were mentioned. Following the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, domination in European geography was now handed over to kings and princes, not to the pope or the Emperor, so that modern state system was born. The Westphalian state system was the first example of a principle that was never seen either in Europe or elsewhere in the world. The bloody revolution in France in the 18th century as a result of the social, economic and political turmoil in it was influential in spreading the changes brought about by the Enlightenment process as well as the ideas of freedom and rights in the European continent. The world wars in 1914 and 1939 caused the 20th century to be engraved in terms of both humanity and history. After that, the nuclear arms race in the bipolar world order, which came with the Cold War, has brought wars to the mutual demolition dimension for nations.

The destruction of the war has encouraged European states to cooperate with each other and the foundations of the European Union have been laid. The fact that the EU has a supranational structure enables the member states to protect their sovereignty. Even though it is mentioned equally, small states do not have much opportunities to protect their own interests, especially in order to prevent the hegemony of the great states.

In the second chapter, the factors which are used as a criterion for the classification of small member states are explained within economic figures, population size, size of territory and military expenditures. While explaining the economic structure, the changes in GDP growth rates instead of GDP year-end data are used to assess the long-term performance of countries. Small states should assume some roles in the representation of the EU institutions, and these have been addressed at the end of the second chapter.

In the third chapter, while the leading factors to the UK's decision to leave the EU and the predictable effects on the future of the Union are discussed, it is examined that what the small states' perspectives are on the Brexit process and how they will be affected by this decision.

In the fourth and last chapter of the thesis, the activities of Slovakia, one of the smallest member states of the EU, after the Brexit referendum are analyzed. The Council Presidency of the EU that Slovakia took over after the Brexit decision was also the last presidential period in which 28-member states work together. The immigration policy implemented by the EU has led to the strengthening of far-right parties in Europe and the conduct of anti-EU propaganda. One of the issues discussed in this chapter is the extent to which the EU opposition in Slovakia is. Central and Eastern European countries' commitment to the free movement of workers and people and the continuity of the common market makes it difficult for Brexit to exist in these countries soon.



CHAPTER ONE

1. INTERNATIONAL ORDER, SOVEREIGN EGUITY, AND THE MAKING OF SMALL STATES

1.1. The Peace of Westphalia

The main reason for the formation of the international system was the necessity of any authority over the authorities. Among the units interacting with one another in a divided international system, international order has emerged, and it has been the product of the existence of the units independently. The international order has the dominance of the West as an undeniable reality. In addition to those who see this power of the West as endless and necessary, there are those who think that it is a subjugation that comes from the historical process.

The birth of the modern international order and also the end of the Thirty Years' Wars in Europe actualized by 1648 the Peace of Westphalia. With the Peace of Westphalia, all states in Europe considered their full sovereignty over the territories which regards respecting others' own sovereignty and territorial integrity. This determination has resulted in the strengthening of central governments.

With the end of the Thirty Years War, the foundation of the sovereign state was laid with the transfer of authority to princes and kings. It should be noted that the emergence of the sovereign states has been the result of the Peace of Westphalia rather than a purpose. Independent states did not aim to create an international system but to protect their sovereignty.³

In the order of the Westphalia, each of the sovereign states recognizes the existence of authorities over their territories and defines them as actors in the system. In contrast to those states that proclaim sovereignty or demand the recognition of their sovereignty by other states at the source of sovereignty debates, it is a conflict of interest in the acceptance of the sovereignty of these states by ambitious and expansionist states.⁴

³ Derek Croxton, The Peace of Westphalia of 1648 and the Origins of Sovereignty, *The International History Review*, 21:3, 1999, p.589

⁴ Croxton, *Ibid.*, p.570

In fact, the Westphalian system has created an infrastructure that allows small states to exist. The small states within their borders had the third type of freedom defined by Quentin Skinner. According to Skinner, small states know that they can perform limited actions within the framework of good intentions of larger states and act accordingly. In order to prevent the balance of international power against the disadvantage of small states, they can take the support of other states by using their right because they are the sovereign state.⁵ Small states that survive in this way use their equality due to nature in threatened situations, but they are aware that they exist for the continuity of the system.

In *Leviathan* (1651), Thomas Hobbes tries to understand the state based on human behaviors that are inherently equal; and according to him the absolute sovereign is state. In the case of nature, everyone can claim every right about everything, and this is associated with the situation of mistrust and war in the conflict of interests. The state was formed by giving up all this unlimited righteousness on everyone and transferring its powers to a single power.

As a basis for international law, sovereign states are equal because they have a state character, even if their capacities are different. Small states have the same rights and status as the great states with their sovereign equality. Also, they play an important role in the continuity of the system, although they are not thought to be as effective as the big states. For example; In 1715, the Savoy-Piedmont persuaded the great powers to cooperate, citing the security of the system against the threat posed by Austria.⁶

1.2. 1789 The French Revolution

France has been dominant in European politics over the centuries, and it has become more difficult to maintain its superiority by increasing the competitiveness of Britain. In addition to participating in high-cost wars, the Seven Years' War has further affected France's weakening financial position. The emergence of Britain as a European dominant colonial power was the result of the Paris Treaty, which ended the Seven Years' War, and France's great loss of land overseas.⁷

France's support for the independence of Britain's American colonies has triumphed, but this has increased the burden of the financial system and provided an environment for the crisis in 1789. As a result of the transformation of the economic turmoil into a bloody political revolution, 1789

5 Quentin Skinner, 'A Third Concept of Liberty', (Ed. F.M.L. Thompson), *Proceedings of the British Academy*, Vol:117, British Academy, New York, 2002, p. 247

6 Matthias Maass, *Small states: Survival and proliferation*, *International Politics*, Vol.51:6, Macmillan Publishers, 2014, p.715

7 Darius Von Güttner, **The French Revolution**, Nelson Cengage Learning, 1st Edition, Sydney, 2015, pp.14-16

ended up with the transition to the constitutional monarchy and the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen on 26 August 1789.⁸

In the 18th century, Europe began to bear the traces of a growing French culture in many areas such as art, economy and politics. The French Revolution, seen as the first of the modern revolutions, led to the spread of the concepts of sovereignty, equality and freedom, and the breakup of empires by accelerating the movements of nationalism.

1.3. The World War I

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Europe was guiding both a trade-based empowered economy and accelerating colonialism. The war between 1914-1918 turned into a world war by crossing the European continent in a short time due to this central position of Europe. In fact, the purpose of the use of the term “the world war” is to emphasize its importance rather than the breadth of the sphere of war. In the literatures of different countries, it is seen by the British and French historians that the First World War/ World War I was called “The Great War” until the Second World War broke out.⁹

The assassination of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria by a Serbian nationalist was the main reason to cause the war. The Austria-Hungarian Empire sent an ultimatum to the Serbs to prevent the unity of the territorial integrity but it was rejected by Serbs who relied on Russian support. Thereafter, the Austria-Hungarian Empire declared war on Serbia and in a short period of time, the European states had determined their sides.¹⁰

During the war, there have been countries that have recently joined, withdrawn or changed sides. Mainly, the Central Powers; Germany, Austria-Hungary, the Ottoman Empire and Bulgaria (joined 1915) and the Allied Powers; France, Russia, Great Britain, Italy (joined 1915), Japan and the United States (joined 1917) were the two main sides of the World War I.¹¹

The war has been the scene of the most terrifying consequences of world history and ended with the defeat of the Central Powers. Tragically, the entire world has witnessed the use of chemical weapons as well as high military technological massive weapons during the war for the first time.

8 Güttner, *Ibid*, p.17

9 Hew Strachan, *The First World War As A Global War*, **First World War Studies**, Routledge, 1:1, 2010, pp.5-6

10 Carlton J. H. Hayes and Margareta Faissler, **Modern Times: The French Revolution to The Present**, The Macmillan Company, London, 1963, p.364

11 Hayes and Faissler, *Ibid.*, p.373

Revolutionary, the WWI which led to changes in the social structures, allowed women to work in order to fill the place of the male population who died in the war and gain their social independence.¹²

Among the peace treaties which were signed between each of the countries that lost the war and the Allied Powers, Treaty of Versailles was the most destructive one. Undoubtedly, it was aimed to prevent Germany from being a threat for Europe in the future. In addition, this agreement has been the deal to sow the seeds of the WWII.

Eventually, the four great empires, Austria-Hungarian, the Ottoman, German and Russia collapsed and new states and nation-states were established in Europe such as Yugoslavia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Lithuania and Turkey. In 1917, Bolshevik Revolution took place in Russia at the instigation of their leader Lenin and the path to the Soviet Union, which would be the greatest advocate of communism was opened.¹³

In contrast, the main and only winner of the war was the US. The states that were severely wounded from the war left the center of financial and political power of the deteriorating international balance to the US despite the Soviet threat. On January 10, 1920 after WWI, with the presidency of US. President Woodrow Wilson, as an international organization, the League of Nations was established. The main aim of this organization was resolving international disputes which occurred after the Great War and also was a part of W. Wilson's Fourteen Points peace plan for all over Europe while keeping the U.S out of being member of this organization. The League of Nations has not been very effective in solving problems, and sometimes has had problems with some governments in recognizing its authority, while at the same time deciding on its own interests in the forefront.¹⁴

1.4. The 20th Century: The World War II

1.4.1. The Birth of Nazi Germany

Between 1933-1945, Europe was in a period of fear and destruction in the power of the National Socialist German Workers' Party. The main aims of the Nazi party were to overcome the devastating effects of the Treaty of Versailles, the supremacy of the German race and anti-Semitism. The bad course of the German economy, unemployment and debts have forced the people to support the Nazi party. In 1933 Adolf Hitler (Führer) was brought to the presidency of the National Socialist German

12 Fraser Cameron, *The Impact of the First World War and Its Implications for Europe Today*, Heinrich Böll Stiftung, 2014, p.4

13 Cameron, *Ibid.*, p.5

14 Hayes and Faissler, *op. cit.*, pp.376-377

Workers' Party, and the Nazi regime seized power. The Nazi era that Hitler called the Third Reich lasted until 1945.¹⁵

Unresolved issues from World War I have been the reason for the start of the World War II. Hitler's invasion on Poland in 1939 caused Britain and France to wage war against Germany and to begin the World War II. Among the estimated 45-60 million people killed were 6 million Jews murdered in Nazi concentration camps as part of Hitler's diabolical "Final Solution," now known as the Holocaust.¹⁶

The Nazis launched a holocaust that would remain a black spot in Germany's history for many years after the war. A total of 11 million Jews was planned to be killed in 31 countries and collecting camps were established in Germany and other regions of the Nazi occupation.¹⁷ The collecting camps in Poland were the places where the most horrific scenes lived as there were medical laboratories for terrible experiments on prisoners.

Winston Churchill was known as the savior of the British nation from fallen and kept the nation united as never before in history against German threat. France had been almost fallen and it was critical period for Britain and all Europe. After the fall of France, the Britain was remained as the last and only enemy of Germany in Europe. Hitler began to rain bombs on the civilians in London and other British cities in Britain to break the resistance of the country. Britain has faced tens of thousands of deaths across the country as a result of the operation called the Blitz¹⁸.

1.4.2. The Conflict in the Pasific: Japan and the USA

On September 27, 1940, Japan, Germany and Italy signed a trilateral alliance agreement¹⁹. And they formed the Axis powers, whose purpose was to rule the world.

Meanwhile, a massive Japanese-American conflict began in the North Pacific Ocean. The Japanese Naval and air forces launched bombing American warship and military targets for 90 minutes in Hawaii, Pearl Harbour in December 7, 1941. On December 8, President F. Roosevelt had

15 William H. McNeil, **Dünya Tarihi**, (Çev. Alaeddin Şenel), 6. baskı, İmge Kitabevi, Ankara, 2002 s. 780-781

16 History, World War II, <https://www.history.com/topics/world-war-ii/world-war-ii-history> [Access date: 22.07.2018]

17 United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Final Solution: Overview <https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/final-solution-overview> [Access date: 22.07.2018]

18 The Blitz, (September 1940–May 1941), nighttime bombing raids against London and other British cities by Nazi Germany during World War II. It is called the Blitz after the German word "blitzkrieg," meaning "lightning war." <https://www.britannica.com/event/the-Blitz> [Access date: 22.07.2018]

19 Tripartite Pact, agreement concluded by Germany, Italy, and Japan on September 27, 1940, one year after the start of World War II. It created a defense alliance between the countries and was largely intended to deter the United States from entering the conflict. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Tripartite-Pact> [Access date: 22.07.2018]

the speech which declared war on the Japanese Empire. The United States was officially part of the Second World War. After three days, Hitler had the declaration of war against the United States and pulled it into the conflict in Europe.²⁰

On the other side, Hitler's SS²¹ army was arranging unsuccessful attacks to Soviet lands. The progress of the Allies, which began with the victory of Rome in 1944, directed them to France. The issuance of Normandy led by Eisenhower resulted in victory and the war was in favor of the allies. In this way, the spread of the cancer was stopped. It was also the beginning of the withdrawal of the Germans. This withdrawal led to the questioning of the people closest to Hitler and the arrest of the gestapo. In 1945, the Allies entered Dresden; The Soviets also entered Berlin. The war lasted 5 years and 8 months, and hitler gestapos killed 6 million Jews.²²

On August 9th, the "fat man" with the plutonium buried Nazagaki from the b-29 Bockscar plane. The Japanese forces were surrendered in September 2, 1945. Thus, Second World War ended in the Pacific. While more than 50 countries are damaged and around 60 million people died.²³

1.4.3. The Cold War: Establishment of the International Organizations

After World War II, the United States and the Soviet Union were standing as superpowers with different ideologies. Even though, the USSR ended the German occupation in Eastern Europe, it did not withdraw from the occupied territories and established communist regimes here, then formed the Eastern Bloc as satellite states. The political borders of Europe have changed and small states like Ukraine, Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia have been under the auspices of Soviet Union.

At the end of the WWII, the decision for Germany was divided into four occupation zones at the Postdam Conference. After the peace treaties, Britain, France and the United States decided to merge these occupation territories. This situation has resulted in the taking of the USSR completely blockaded Berlin. Upon this, on May 23, 1949, Federal Republic of Germany (FDR or West Germany) was established. The USSR also established The German Democratic Republic (GDR) in its own occupation territories as called East Germany. While the developments in West Germany

20 Alan Taylor, World War II: Pearl Harbor <https://www.theatlantic.com/photo/2011/07/world-war-ii-pearl-harbor/100117/> [Access date: 22.07.2018]

21 The SS is the abbreviation for the *Schutzstaffel* which stands for *Protective Echelon*. It is formed in 1925 to serve as personal bodyguards of Adolf Hitler, the leader of the Nazi Party. Afterward, the army became the one of the most important institutions of the Nazi Regime. <https://www.history.com/topics/world-war-ii/ss> [Access date: 16.02.2018]

22 McNeil, op. cit., s.787

23 Atom Central, The Bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki <http://www.atomcentral.com/hiroshima-nagasaki.aspx> [Access date: 26.07.2018]

progressed rapidly, the East Germans was escaping to the West. To prevent this, GDR built the Berlin Wall in 1961 that surrounds West Berlin and isolates it from East Germany.²⁴

After the WWII, the states that had worn out from the war brought a gap in European and world politics. The USSR's expansionist policy has led the United States to play a more active role. With Marshall Plan, Western European countries received a huge financial aid from the US.²⁵ During the negotiations of the Marshall Plan, European countries came together on April 16, 1948 to form the "Organization for European Economic Cooperation," which became an Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development in 1960.²⁶

As a precaution against the threat of the USSR, NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) was founded on April 4, 1949. In this way, the balance has been achieved against the eastern block and solidarity has increased in the western block. The nuclear arms race, accelerating in the eastern and western blocs, gave rise to softening between the blocks. In other words, a war involving nuclear weapons would have irreversible consequences for both sides.²⁷

On May 5, 1949, there was established European Council in London by Britain, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Italy, Ireland, Denmark, Luxemburg, Norway and Sweden. It was decided that the Council would operate in areas such as human rights, health, education, culture, sport, youth, legal business association. The European states have sought a solution to avoid fighting again after two great world wars. At the same time, a declaration was issued by French Foreign Minister Shuman in order to prevent the spread of the USSR towards the West, while creating a European market by combining the associations both economically and politically. On 18 April 1951 the European Coal and Steel Union was established with the participation of France, Federal Germany, Belgium, Italy, Luxembourg and Holland. In 1957 the European Economic Community was established by the Treaty of Rome in order to orient towards broader economic unification. In 1965 these two communities united to form the European Community. The Community will be called the European Union in 1992.²⁸

24 Imperial War Museum, What Was the Berlin Wall and How did It Fall? <https://www.iwm.org.uk/history/what-was-the-berlin-wall-and-how-did-it-fall> [Access date: 26.07.2018]

25 Robert McMahon, **Cold War: A Very Short Introduction**, Oxford University Press, New York, 2003, p. 30

26 Encyclopaedia Britannica, Organisation for European Economic Co-operation <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Organisation-for-European-Economic-Co-operation> [Access date: 26.07.2018]

27 Hayes and Faissler, op.cit., pp.466-470

28 Hayes and Faissler, Ibid., pp.497-498

1.4.4. The Collapse of the USSR and the New World Order

The development of science and technology during the WWII was positive for the increase in the power of industry and production. There have been significant developments in the oil, electricity and automotive sectors. With the development of the world economy, investments and partnerships have come to light in search of new markets and in trade. The developments in industrialization and mechanization in agriculture have caused a rapid migration from the villages to the cities in the social life. This increase in the urban population brought with it ethnic and economic differences.²⁹

The growing economic, social, political and technological gap between Western and Eastern blocs has shaken the confidence of the peoples of the Soviet Union to communism and unity, which has accelerated the collapse. While the Soviet Union was struggling with economic and political crises, members of the CPSU were resigning from the party. Gorbachev's Glasnost and Perestroika reforms brought the end of Soviet ideology and the USSR that based on fear and oppression.³⁰

Nationalist movements have gained strength in all Soviet satellites in Eastern Europe and the socialist regimes in these countries were destroyed and these countries announced their independence against the USSR. The Baltic states were the first to declare their independence from the Soviet Union. This movement of the Baltic states showed that it was possible to leave the Soviet Union and became a model for others. The regime change that took place in the states that make up the Eastern Bloc led to the disintegration of the Eastern Bloc, while the Comecon and the Warsaw Pact were also scattered. While some of the states that won independence established the CIS, many countries, including the Eastern bloc, became members of NATO and the EU.³¹

With the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the reunification of East and West Germany, the period when the Soviet Union was a superpower was closed. On October 3, 1990, two Germany officially united. Gorbachev officially ended the Soviet Union and communism on 31 December 1991. Hereby, the fifteen new states were established with the disintegration of the USSR. These countries were Georgia, Estonia, Latvia, Ukraine, Belarus, Moldova, Azerbaijan, Kirghizistan, Uzbekistan, Lithuania, Tajikistan, Armenia, Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan, Russian Federation.³²

29 Norman Davies, **Avrupa Tarihi**, (Çev. Ed. Mehmet Ali Kılıçbay), İmge Kitabevi, Ankara, 2006, s.1189-1190

30 Asem Nauşabay Hekimoğlu, **Rusya'nın Dış Politikası I**, Vadi Yayınları, Ankara, 2007, s.55

31 DW Documentary, Moscow's empire - rise and fall (2/4) | DW Documentary <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fSqMpZ5qhz0> [Access date: 29.07.2018]

32 DW Documentary, Ibid.

Yugoslavia, which began to signal the instability in 1980, was dragged into crisis due to the desire for independence of different ethnicities and economic turmoil within the union.³³ Slovenia and Croatia became independent in June 1991 as well as Macedonia (1991), Bosnia and Herzegovina (1991), Montenegro (2006) and Kosovo (2008).³⁴

1.5. International Order and Small States

Small states adapt to changing conditions in order to maintain their existence as an actor of the international system and try to direct the threat elements they have been faced. In the 20th century, the small states had chosen to pursue neutrality and hoped to isolate themselves from wars and the danger of extinction. According to Efraim Karsh, neutrality should not be seen as a typical policy for small states. While the abandonment of the neutrality policy of the big states can change the outcome of the crisis, this will only create a vulnerable profile for the smaller states. Therefore, forming alliances may in some cases be more attractive as a policy option for small states.³⁵

After the Second World War, small nations, which were justified by Western nations to gain their independence, increased in number with decolonization. However, the conflicts in Central and Southern Europe showed that the end of the Cold War was too optimistic. The interaction of various nations in the region led to a chain of crisis. The disintegration of Yugoslavia paved the way for the European Union, which increased its effectiveness in the region, not to be limited to Western Europe.

As a result of the willingness of small states to become members of international organizations and organizations, European integration is expanding and encouraging economic cooperation and sustainable development model among states. The European Union is far beyond being effective enough to be the present-day alternative to the great powers of the bipolar system during the Cold War, but it is likely to create a third axis in its region. Small states' policy of neutrality in the face of threats has been moved to another jurisdiction with the presence of the EU.

Small states take responsibility for self-determination and turn to alliances, particularly security-related challenges, and establishing a coherent political framework will prevent them from being targeted or dragged along in the course of the crisis. Small states, aware of their fragile structures, become consumers rather than producers of security by raising the living standards of

33 **The Collapse of Yugoslavia: Background and Summary**, No.14, Department of the Parliamentary Library, Australia, 1995, pp.1-2

34 J. Cushman Laurent and Amb. Thomas Melady, *The Seven States of the Former Yugoslavia: An Evaluation* https://www.iwp.edu/news_publications/detail/the-seven-states-of-the-former-yugoslavia-an-evaluation [Access date: 29.07.2018]

35 Efraim Karsh, *Neutrality and Small States*, Routledge Revivals, London, 1988, pp.4-5

people rather than melting their economies against the high costs of wars.³⁶ Recent changes in the international system have created pressure on small states to counterbalance the economic or population-based security gap with large states by establishing regional or larger alliances.

Small states should follow and advocate the functioning of international institutions within the legal framework. Since the major powers (such as the United States and Britain) prefer policies on bilateral relations³⁷, it is likely that small states will turn into actors negotiating on a lower level, as they offer attractive co-operation to their respective states in organizations. In addition to the similar characteristics, the social base is different, which leads to differentiation in motivation and foreign policy strategies. Typical small-state behavior cannot be adopted and these states create a rapid and flexible movement around various policies.³⁸ The differences in the security strategies developed by Scandinavian countries during the Cold War and the post-war period can be cited as examples.³⁹ The development of these strategies does not create a completely risk-free situation but aims to ensure the survival of small states in the system.

With the annexation of Crimea by Russia, security concerns of small states have come to light and they have started to reassess their strategies to combat these threatening border changes on the European continent.⁴⁰ Being close to the great powers makes small states a springboard against threats. Therefore, strategic use of resources at critical points of geographic location is vital for small states.⁴¹ As a result of the rapid progress of communication and technology, decision-making mechanisms remain in the public eye at every step. In this way, the influence of the masses has the opportunity to evaluate the weak policies of the strong within the framework of their own strategies.

The rise of non-Western powers in the international system and the regional network of cooperation around them will be useful in reviewing policies in terms of compliance with the requirements of the new system.⁴² It is the result of a revolutionary development for small states to have a platform to express themselves and to have the same rights with other members and to protect nations and borders in the transparency of international organizations and international law.

³⁶ Army Vandebosch, *The Small States in International Politics and Organization*, *The Journal of Politics*, 1964, p.301

³⁷ Matthew Crandall, <https://www.tlu.ee/en/yti/news/matthew-crandall-what-does-changing-world-order-mean-small-states> [Access date: 24.06.2019]

³⁸ Victor Gigueux, *Explaining the diversity of small states' foreign policies through role theory*, *Third World Thematics: A TWQ Journal*, Routledge, 2016, p.27

³⁹ Clive Archer, *Nordic States and Security*, (Ed. Clive Archer, Alyson J.K. Bailes and Anders Wivel) *Small States and International Security: Europe and Beyond*, Routledge, 2014, p.95

⁴⁰ Živilė Marija Vaicekauskaitė, *Security Strategies of Small States in a Changing World*, *Journal on Baltic Security*, 3:2, 2017

⁴¹ İdris Demir, *National Securities of Small States in the International System*, *KMU İİBF Dergisi*, 14, 2008, pp.11-12

⁴² Crandall, op.cit.

CHAPTER TWO

2. EUROPEAN UNION AND SMALL STATES

While there is no universal definition of what a small state is, it is not clear which criterions are distinguishing small states from great states. According to Neumann and Gstöhl “small states are defined by what they are not”. But this definition categorized micro states and middle powers as small states, which is not a correct definition. We can not say that the strength of a country depends on the size of the country because not every geographically small state is weak, not every big state is strong. Small states have gained momentum, especially in the early twentieth century. They have developed their own methods to reach their aims because the missions of great and small powers are diverse in international affairs. The definition of small states in the 19th and 20th centuries as non-great powers is still widely used today.⁴³

The two main approaches for identifying small states are quantitative and qualitative criterions which determine their suitability. In many studies, quantitative criterion such as the physical size of the country and the population are primary criterions to define the smallness of a state. These are often combined with other quantitative measures, economic and military factors.⁴⁴

The qualitative criterions are based on states behaviours and their relations with other states while using the observation as a tool for definition. Although small states do not have a specific behavior, it can be identified by qualitative criterions. According to this, small states;⁴⁵

- support international government organizations
- advocate the rule of international law
- have limited impact in international relations
- stay away from conflicts and have narrow field of activity because of their military weakness
- generally, have limited and close environmental policies

43 Iver B. Neumann and Sieglinde Gstöhl, “Lilliputians in Gulliver’s World? Small States in International Relations”, **Centre For Small States Studies**, Institute of International Affairs, Univeristy of Iceland, 2004:1, pp.3-4.

44 Matthias Maass, “The Elusive Definition of Small States”, **International Relations**, 46:1, Palgrave Macmillan, 2009, p.74

45 Graham Evans and Jeffrey Newnham, **The Penguin Dictionary of International Relations**, Penguin Books, 1998, pp.500-501

- have not developed technical capacities
- are weak at access to financial resources

Beside of these criteria, according to Commonwealth Advisory Group report; openness, enclaveness, resilience, weakness and dependence are the factors for efficiency of small states in international relations. Thus, vulnerability becomes the main definition for small states.⁴⁶

The arguments that qualitative criteria are used mostly meet with the fact that the small states are ignored by the larger ones and those states care only for the ones that they see as their equivalent in the international affairs. Small states are defined as weak states because their power elements are limited, and this vulnerability causes them to see diplomacy and law as a partial guarantee.⁴⁷

Many studies argue that quantitative measures can be used to determine whether a state is small or not. Especially, the population size has been seen the most effective and trustworthy criterion to define the small states. The critical point is here to determine the limit for the population. The numbers that are used in this process are based on arbitrariness. For instance, David Vital has set a flexible limit such as 10-15 million while has redoubled numbers for non-developed countries.⁴⁸

2.1. Europe and the European Union

The idea of forming a union in Europe is based on much earlier than its foundation. The countries where the Holy Roman Empire is founded are the founding nations of the European Union. The Holy Roman Empire was supposed to create a thoughtful Christian unity while Napoleon was seeking for an occupation-based unity. On the other hand, Hitler was working for a Europe led by Germany. The idea of bringing different nations together in different ways has failed all the way until the terrible destruction of the Second World War has given up on Europe.⁴⁹

Europeans have experienced the back-breaking and probable destructive effects of the two world wars in Europe. The traumatic images of the wars on the peoples are still going on, and for the vast majority of modern Europe, war is not seen as a tool or policy that can bring solutions. The existence of the European Union is the product of the environment created by the First and Second

46 A Future for Small States: Overcoming Vulnerability, Commonwealth Secretariat, 1997, p. XI

47 David Vital, *The Survival of Small States: Studies in Small Power/ Great Power Conflict*, Oxford University Press, London, 1971, p.9

48 David Vital, *The Inequality of States: A Study of the Small Power in International Relations*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1967, p.8

49 Desmond Dinan, **Europe Recast: A History of European Union**, 2nd Edition, Lynne Rienner Publishers, USA, 2014, p.1

World Wars. Germany is not being a threat to Europe and keeping its power under control was made possible by the establishment of the EU.⁵⁰

Table 1: List of EU Treaties

Treaty	Signed	Entered into Force
European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) European Economic Community (EEC)	1951 1957	1952 1958
European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM) Single European Act	1957 1986	1958 1987
Treaty on the European Union (Maastricht Treaty) Treaty of Amsterdam	1992 1997	1993 1999
Treaty of Nice Lisbon Treaty	2001 2007	2003 2009

Source: Andreas Staab, *The European Union Explained*, Third Edition, Indiana University Press, Indiana, 2013, p.9

In 1952, France, Italy, West Germany, Belgium, Luxembourg, the Netherlands which were called the first six have established the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) by Treaty of Paris to develop economic and commercial relations in Europe post-World War II. This plan has emerged as a Common Market project by Jean Monnet and Robert Shuman. Later, the founder countries established European Economic Commission (EEC) and The European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom) by Treaty of Rome in 1957. With the unification of these three structures, European Community (EC) was emerged in 1967.⁵¹ In 1960, when Britain was excluded from the Treaty of Rome, it created the European Free Trade Association (EFTA), a somewhat more flexible structure. Seven countries of EFTA (Britain, Austria, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Portugal, Sweden and Switzerland) were not able to catch up with the development of the European Community and were gradually pushed out of the market.⁵²

The first expansion in 1973 included Denmark, Ireland and the United Kingdom. Then the Community expanded to the Mediterranean and accepted memberships of Greece in 1981, Portugal and Spain in 1986. On February 17, 1986, the Single European Act was signed in Luxembourg and completed in 1992 with establishment of European Union. This Act has made radical changes in

⁵⁰ Cameron, op.cit., pp.1-2

⁵¹ European Union, EU Treaties, https://europa.eu/european-union/law/treaties_en [Access date: 29.03.2019]

⁵² Andreas Staab, *The European Union Explained*, Third Edition, Indiana University Press, Indiana, 2013, p.32

the Treaty of Rome and cooperated with politics. However, the ground for the creation of a Common and Single Market in Europe has been prepared. The veto power of the states has been abolished in certain areas and it has been aimed to avoid the delays with the system of qualified votes. Institutional change has also been the creation of a Council of Europe without decision-making power. Parliament's powers have been increased and it has been decided that the legislative process will be carried out with the Council.⁵³

The Maastricht Treaty, also known as the Treaty that establishing the European Union was approved by twelve countries and opened up the way for a single currency “the Euro” in Europe in 1993. The Treaty also established the European Central Bank (ECB) and the European System of Central Banks. European citizenship has been created so that citizens of the member states can travel within the Union without carrying a passport. The euro was accepted as the official currency of 11 countries by the year 1999. It was described as a step towards closer co-operation among Europeans.⁵⁴

In 1995, the former members of the EFTA Austria, Finland and Sweden became a member of the European Union. In 2004, ten more countries; Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia, Hungary, Slovenia, Slovakia, Poland, Cyprus and Malta became the members of the EU. The legislation regulated by the initial number of members needed to be renewed with the increase in the number of members, but the Constitutional Treaty drafted in 2004 was rejected by France and the Netherlands. With the participation of Bulgaria and Romania in 2007, the number of EU members increased to 27. The rejected Constitutional Treaty was amended and renewed in the decision-making mechanisms of the Union and ratified as the Lisbon Treaty in 2009. The last country which joined to EU is Croatia in 2013.⁵⁵

2.2. Small States in the European Union

When researchers evaluate countries on a scale-by-case basis, they are based on the size of the population, the size of the land, and economic development.⁵⁶ Some authors use QMV (Qualified Majority Voting), the voting method used by the Council of Europe, as a criteria for defining small states.⁵⁷ European Union decisions are taken by consensus rather than voting method. There are many

53 European Commission, **The European Union Explained- How the European Union Works**, Publications Office of the European Union, Luxembourg, 2012, pp.3-4

54 European Union, loc.cit.

55 European Commission, **Enlargement of the European Union**, Publications Office of the European Union, Luxembourg, 2015, pp.2-3

56 Jean Micallef Grimaud, **Small States and EU Governance: Malta in EU Decision-Making Processes**, Palgrave Macmillan, 2018, p.15

57 Diana Panke, **Small States in the European Union: Coping with Structural Disadvantages**, Routledge, New York, 2016, p.15

assumptions about whether one country is big or small and classifications may vary according to the person.⁵⁸

Absolute or relative ownership of power sources have been formed the other definition of small state. When population size, military spending or economic indicators are met in a qualified manner, power can be effectively used in the classification of states. Otherwise, while the country with a population of 6 million is a great power, it will be problematic in every respect to define the country with a population of 5 million 500 thousand as small power. In other words, the difficulties faced by a small state that has a small share in the EU economy will not be the same for another state in this category.⁵⁹

Another definition of what a small state is, belongs to Robert Keohane and is stated as follows “a state whose leaders consider that it can never, acting alone or in a small group, make a significant impact on the system”.⁶⁰ But this definition is incomplete because small states can differ in their interests towards the EU.

Small states have relative size in their relations. This can be defined as weaker or stronger than the act of the opposite. Foreseeable, the great powers can make changes in the political process with their decisions and they can influence it to a great extent. For example, the turmoil created by the withdrawal of France or Germany from the EU or from any structure will be much larger. On the other hand, the difficulties that Croatia will face after changing its attitude in EU policies will only bring about the implications that interest it will be different from those of great powers.

As Panke stated in the Finland example, the country is considered a large country due to its large territory and is defined as a small country with its economy, population and financial performance.⁶¹ The state that a country builds within its borders is the great state if it is able to bear itself. With this thought, it is difficult for other states to influence it and it is in a direct dominant position.

According to the definition of Neumann and Gstöhl, if the population size of the Netherlands (16 million inhabitants) is regarded as a criterion, the countries are accepted as small states except Germany, Russia, Turkey, France, the UK, Italy, Ukraine, Spain, Poland and Romania. However, Grimaud found this categorization incomplete because of the generalization of all remaining states

58 Grimaud, op.cit., p.16

59 Baldur Thorhallsson & Anders Wivel, “Small States in the European Union: What Do We Know and What Would We Like to Know?”, **Cambridge Review of International Affairs**, 2006, p.654

60 Robert O. Keohane, Lilliputians’ Dilemmas: Small States in International Politics, **International Organization**, Vol.23, No.2 (Spring 1969), University of Wisconsin Press, p. 296

61 Panke, loc.cit.

as small states despite their differences. The classification of European states according to population size by Grimaud, Turkey and Russia are not among the large states due to the membership criteria.⁶²

The first work on the small states of the 20th century belongs to Annette Baker Fox under the title of “The Power of Small States” (1959). In her work, she discussed how small and powerless states stood up against the oppression of the great states during the World War II. It was emphasized that the important thing for the international relations in the 1970s was the actual size of the country and it was argued that the size of a country affects the development and strength of the country directly. In small state economies, production costs are rising due to inadequacy of resources, trade volume is shrinking and orientation to import is increasing. This weakens them by making them dependent on big states, which are the owners of big markets.⁶³

Handel has presented a different perspective on this issue. According to him, a country can be economically strong, even though it is weaker in military terms than in the case of OPEC countries.⁶⁴ The EU is made up of large and small states, but small states which constitutes a majority of the EU influences and exploits the decision-making mechanism. On the contrary, researches have mostly focused on larger states and the roles and methods of the interaction of small countries have not been much emphasized.

62 Grimaud, loc.cit., p.16

63 Grimaud, Ibid., pp.18-21

64 Michael I. Handel, **Weak States in the International System**, Frank Cass, 1981, p. 218.

2.3. Smallness Figures and Scales for EU Members

2.3.1. Population Size

Table 2: Population of the EU Member States in 2017

Country	2017	%	Country	2017	%	Country	2017	%
EU(28)	511,521,685 ^{bep}	100	Finland	5,503,297	1.07	Malta	460,297 ^e	0.08
EU(19)	340,719,423 ^{bep}	66.6	France	66,989,083	13.0	Netherl.	17,081,507	3.33
Austria	8,772,865	1.71	Germany	82,521,653	16.7	Poland	37,972,964	7.42
Belgium	11,351,727	2.21	Greece	10,768,193	2.10	Portugal	10,309,573	2.01
Bulgaria	7,101,859	1.38	Hungary	9,797,561	1.91	Romania	19,644,350 ^e	3.84
Croatia	4,154,213	0.81	Ireland	4,784,383	0.93	Sweden	9,995,153	1.95
Cyprus	854,802	0.16	Italy	60,589,445	11.8	Slovakia	5,435,343	1.06
Czech R.	10,578,820	2.06	Latvia	1,950,116	0.38	Slovenia	2,065,895	0.40
Denmar.	5,748,769	1.12	Lithuania	2,847,904	0.55	Spain	46,527,039	9.09
Estonia	1,315,634	0.25	Luxemb.	590,667 ^b	0.11	United K.	65,808,573	12.8

b=break in time series e=estimated p=provisional

Source: <https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/tgm/table.do?tab=table&plugin=1&language=en&pcode=tps00001>

The table above shows the population of EU members in 2017 and their percentage in the EU. The country with the lowest population and percentage among the member countries is Malta; the highest belongs to Germany. Population size is one of the important factors affecting the capacity and capabilities of the members within the organization and Germany, France, United Kingdom and Italy constitute more than half of the EU population. At the same time, the population of the euro zone is more than half of the total population. The European Union has a population profile that is migrating rather than emigration and has a low level of migration from the member states as well as an aging population. Partially reflecting the qualified population to the labor force raises country profiles within the Union. But due to the demographic elements do not change rapidly and overly in the short term, this makes countries more consistent while analyzing probabilities.

2.3.2. Size of Territory

Table 3: Size of Territories of the EU Member States

Country	Km ²	%	Country	Km ²	%	Country	Km ²	%
EU(28)	4,464,163.1	100	France	633,186.6	14.1	Netherl.	41,540.0	0.93
Austria	83,879.0	1.87	Germany	357,340.0	8.00	Poland	312,679.0	7.00
Belgium	30,528.0	0.68	Greece	132,049.0	2.95	Portugal	92,225.0	2.06
Bulgaria	111,002.0	2.48	Hungary	93,024.0	2.08	Romania	238,390.7	5.34
Croatia	56,594	1.26	Ireland	69,797.0	1.56	Sweden	438,574.0	9.82
Cyprus	9,251.0	0.20	Italy	302,073.0	6.76	Slovakia	49,035.0	1.09
Czech R.	78,867.0	1.76	Latvia	64,573.0	1.44	Slovenia	20,273.0	0.45
Denmark	42,921.0	0.96	Lithuania	65,300.0	1.46	Spain	505,970.0	11.3
Estonia	45,227.0	1.01	Luxemb.	2,586.0	0.05	UK	248,527.8	5.56
Finland	338,435.0	7.58	Malta	316.0	0.007*			

Source: [http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/submitViewTableAction.do\(3.10.2018\)](http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/submitViewTableAction.do(3.10.2018))

Among the EU members, the country with the smallest surface area is Malta and the largest is France.

2.3.3. GDP For Per Capita

The GDP per capita adopted as indicators of the appreciation or loss of the economic parameters of the countries also gives an overview about the level of education and the level of living standards of the member countries.

Table 4: GDP's For Per Capita of the EU Member States

Country	2016	2017	Country	2016	2017	Country	2016	2017
EU(28)	29.200	30.000	Finland	39.300	40.600	Malta	22.300	23.800
EU(19)	31.800	32.800	France	33.300	34.200	Netherl.	41.600	43.000
Austria	40.800	42.100	Germany	38.400	39.600	Poland	11.100	12.100
Belgium	37.400	38.500	Greece	16.200	16.600	Portugal	18.100	18.900
Bulgaria	6.800	7.100	Hungary	11.600	12.700	Romania	8.700	9.600
Croatia	11.200	11.800	Ireland	57.500	61.200	Sweden	46.600	47.200
Cyprus	21.700	22.800	Italy	27.900	28.500	Slovakia	15.000	15.600
Czech R.	16.700	18.100	Latvia	12.800	13.900	Slovenia	19.500	20.800
Denmark	48.400	50.100	Lithuania	13.500	14.900	Spain	24.100	25.100
Estonia	16.500	18.000	Luxemb.	90.700	92.800	UK	36.600	35.300

Source:<https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/tgm/table.do?tab=table&init=1&language=en&pcode=tec00001&plugin=0&tableSelection=1> Currency= Euro

Considering the 2017 outputs among EU members, we see that the country has the highest GDP per capita is Luxembourg. The second highest country is Ireland, which has the highest growth rate also in 2017. It is noteworthy that the member states with the lowest figures do not use euro as their national currency unlike the highest countries. Bulgaria, Romania and Croatia are some of the countries with the lowest GDP per capita among EU members. In terms of ranking, we see that Nordic countries are among the top ten countries and are above the EU average. In general, it is clear that the founding members of the EU and Western Europe's GDP per capita captures a much better standard than the rest of the EU. According to the results of the previous year, the only member who experienced a decline is the United Kingdom.

2.3.4. EU Budgets for Members

Table 5: Use of the EU Budget by Member States in 2016

Country	Spn.	Contr.	Country	Spn.	Contr.	Country	Spn.	Contr.
Austria	1,939.94	2,762.60	Germany	10,082.25	23,273.63	Poland	10,637.81	3,553.29
Belgium	7,333.05	3,610.97	Greece	5,849.90	1,509.16	Portugal	3,384.35	1,587.42
Bulgaria	2,345.41	381.84	Hungary	4,546.11	924.32	Romania	7,359.91	1,374.14
Croatia	921.37	390.79	Ireland	2,037.69	1,674.72	Sweden	1,711.94	3,312.45
Cyprus	185.08	151.92	Italy	11,592.06	13,939.49	Slovakia	2,662.76	646.43
Czech R.	4,690.03	1,361.27	Latvia	734.10	218.17	Slovenia	544.88	339.52
Denmark	1,431.25	2,202.72	Lithuania	1,477.41	319.22	Spain	11,592.90	9,563.65
Estonia	673.71	182.83	Luxemb.	1,787.65	311.38	UK	7,051.55	12,759.60
Finland	1,530.76	1,828.65	Malta	207.54	80.55			
France	11,274.99	19,476.02	Netherl.	2,289.01	4,343.41			

Eu Spendings: M€ Country Contribution: M€ Data: 2016

Source: http://www.europarl.europa.eu/external/html/budgetataglance/default_en.html

The European Union determines the budget under which each year headed the multiannual financial framework. The Commission, the Council and the Parliament shall have a decision in the determination and approval of this budget. The EU budget for 2017 is determined as € 157.86 billion in commitments and € 134.49 billion in payments. € 1.1 billion is reserved for unforeseen expenditures. The amount of commitment for 2018 is € 160.1 billion, slightly above the previous year. The figure for the payments is € 144.7 billion.⁶⁵

When we look at the distribution of the EU budget, we see that the country with the highest spending is Spain. It is followed by Italy, France and Poland. In contrast, Germany is the most contributing member. The fact that France and Italy are in this category makes them the countries that receive the highest amount of feedback. Austria and Italy as well as Nordic and Western European countries are among the countries where their contribution to the budget is more than they received.

⁶⁵ European Council, EU Budget For 2018, <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/policies/eu-annual-budget/2018/> [Access date: 04.10.2018]

2.3.5. Military Expenditure

Table 6: The Numbers of Military Expenditures of the EU Member States

Country	Million €	% of t.	Country	Million €	% of t.	Country	Million €	% of t.
EU(28)	199,390.7	2.9	France	40,661.0	3.2	Netherl.	8,253.0	2.7
Austria	2,173.0	1.2	Germany	32,607.0	2.3	Poland	6,808.0	3.9
Belgium	3,462.7	1.5	Greece	3,706.0	4.3	Portugal	1,752.3	2.1
Bulgaria	524.3	3.1	Hungary	807.0	1.5	Romania	1,518.6	2.6
Croatia	567.9	2.6	Ireland	851.6	1.1	Sweden	5,488.9	2.4
Cyprus	275.2	3.9	Italy	21,551.0	2.6	Slovakia	803.2	2.4
Czech R.	1,279.9	1.8	Latvia	410.6	4.4	Slovenia	361.4	2.0
Denmark	3,151.4	2.1	Lithuania	602.8	4.6	Spain	10,904.0	2.3
Estonia	510.8	6.0	Luxembourg	221.8	1.0	UK	47,254.4	4.8
Finland	2,822.0	2.3	Malta	60.8	1.6			

Source: [http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/submitViewTableAction.do\(3.10.2018\)](http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/submitViewTableAction.do(3.10.2018))

This table shows how much the EU members' defense spending budgets in 2016 and the percentage of total expenditures. Estonia ranked first in the highest spending rates, followed by the Baltic countries, the United Kingdom and Greece. In addition, members with the lowest defense expenditure rates are Luxembourg, Ireland and Austria.

In this study, initially, the countries with the population size of 10 million and less have been determined based on Table 2. For these countries, a candidate status can be designated to be a small state until the last criterion has been applied.

Table 7: Small States in the EU by Smallness Criteria

Population Size ≤ 10 Million	% of total EU Population	Size of Territory ≤ 3 km ²	GDP For Per Capita/ under the average of EU (30.000)	Contribution to EU Budget/ Less (-) or More (+) than the Spending	Military Expenditures ≤ 1 Million €
Austria	1<1.71<2	1.87	42.100	+	2,173.0
Bulgaria	1<1.38<2	2.48	7.100	-	524.3
Croatia	0<0.81<1	1.26	11.800	-	567.9
Cyprus	0<0.16<1	0.20	22.800	-	275.2
Denmark	1<1.12<2	0.96	50.100	+	3,151.4
Estonia	0<0.25<1	1.01	18.000	-	510.8
Finland	1<1.07<2	7.58	40.600	+	2,822.0
Hungary	1<1.91<2	2.08	12.700	-	807.0
Ireland	0<0.93<1	1.56	61.200	-	851.6
Latvia	0<0.38<1	1.44	13.900	-	410.6
Lithuania	0<0.55<1	1.46	14.900	-	602.8
Luxembourg	0<0.11<1	0.05	92.800	-	221.8
Malta	0<0.08<1	0.007	23.800	-	60.8
Sweden	1<1.95<2	9.82	47.200	+	5,488.9
Slovakia	1<1.06<2	1.09	15.600	-	803.2
Slovenia	0<0.40<1	0.45	20.800	-	361.4

According to this table, it can be seen that the candidate states such as Austria, Denmark, Finland and Sweden have numbers over the limits to define them as small state. Therefore, these countries are excluded from the small state's category. For this study, small states which will be addressed are determined as Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Estonia, Hungary, Ireland, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Slovakia and Slovenia.

2.4. Small States in EU Constitutions

2.4.1. The European Commission

The European Commission operates in accordance with the principle of general interest as set out in Article 17 of the Lisbon Treaty. This organization, based in Brussels, has an independent functioning and is responsible for the implementation of agreements, while overseeing the interests of the EU. The Commission is seen as a platform by small states in which they can be heard in international agreements. The Council appoints one Commissioner with the approval of the Parliament for each Member State, based on the functioning of the Commission. Likewise, a comprehensive analysis of each state depends on the hardware power and sometimes it is not enough. In this case, the member states rely on the expertise of the Commissioners and the institution has a great importance for the small states because they reduce the risk of being under the dominance of the great states, especially the Franco-German.⁶⁶

Before the Lisbon Treaty, the Commission President was selected by the member states and submitted to the Parliament for approval. With the entry into force of the Treaty, the authority in the provisions of the election of the Commission President has been effected by the Parliament. Thus, the Council's candidates are elected by the Parliament itself.⁶⁷

While the shortcomings in the Commission for large states may be completed in other EU institutions, there is a disadvantage for small states. The Commission provides expertise and resources to ensure that small states remain in the game, and therefore it is very important for countries to have a Commissioner. The Commission envisaged the creation of a representative without the small and large distinction between member states with the Nice Treaty.⁶⁸ In 2014, the implementation of the reduction of the number of Commission members posed a threat to small states. However, in 2009, this change was not put into practice as a result of Ireland's two referendums.⁶⁹

For small states, the Commission presidency has the following importance: If one of the major states is elected as the Commission President - which is already advantageous in this regard - the

66 Simone Bunse, Paul Magnette and Kalypso Nicolaidis, The Importance Of The Commission Within The Eu's Institutional Balance, Is the Commission the Small Member States' Best Friend?, **Swedish Institute for European Policy Studies**, 2005, pp.12-13

67 Caroline Howard Grøn and Anders Wivel, Maximizing Influence in the European Union after the Lisbon Treaty: From Small State Policy to Smart State Strategy, **Journal of European Integration**, 2011, p. 326

68 Bunse et al., op.cit., pp.13-14

69 Professor Klaus-Dieter Borchardt, **The ABC of European Union Law**, Publications Office, 2010, p. 62

commission will weaken the small states.⁷⁰ Because the country which is the Commission President may be more effective and more listened in other institutions. Small countries that want to pursue a successful policy have to be more active. In general, the tendency is to consult on large state issues QMV applied, because only a qualified majority will be reached with the participation of several large states. Therefore, there are very few coalitions of small members. *Gulliver Syndrome* which is fearful for small states to be dominated by large states, makes it almost impossible for the Commission to ignore major states at the decision-making stage.⁷¹

2.4.2. The European Parliament

In the European Parliament, member states are represented according to their country size and in this respect, the perspectives of the small states differ to the Commission and the Parliament. With the changing provisions of the Lisbon Treaty, the powers of the Parliament were strengthened.

The European Parliament is the only body that its members elected directly by the people of the member states. The institution where over 500 million people are represented has 751 MEPs – including the President, 25 Committees, 8 political groups and 44 delegations. The task of the Parliament is to make legislation, to ensure that the institutions are working correctly, to choose the Commission President and to determine the budget. It shares power in the budget and legislation with the Council.⁷²

The current long-term budget plan of the Parliament covers the years 2014-2020 under the name of multiannual financial framework. Another feature of the European Parliament is the protection of human rights and freedoms, democracy and freedom in the member states and in international agreements.⁷³

According to the Lisbon Treaty, the minimum number of members in the Parliament is determined as limit 6 and the maximum number of members is 96.⁷⁴ As of 2017, the majority of the members in the European Parliament belongs to EPP (Europeans People Party) with 189 MEPs and S&D (Socialists and Democrats) with 217 members. The minimum number of MEPs belongs to

70 Grøn and Wivel, op.cit., p.526

71 Bunse et al., op.cit., p.36

72 European Parliament, *The European Parliament: The Citizen's Voice In The Eu, A Short Guide To The European Parliament*, Publications Office of the European Union, Luxembourg, 2016, p.3

73 EP, Ibid., p.1

74 Borchardt, op.cit., p.45

Estonia, Cyprus, Luxembourg and Malta and is 6. The maximum number is Germany with 96 upper limits, followed by France (74), Italy (73) and the United Kingdom (73).⁷⁵

The Parliament remains less active alongside the Commission's function while providing a more favorable environment for the small states than the Council. Partly, small states can establish transitional coalitions and, if they are strongly organized, they can be quite effective, as well as large states may weaken when divided into more than one group.⁷⁶

2.4.3. Council of The European Union

The creation of the Council of the European Union was the result of the pressure of the small states as a counterweight to the threat of the great states, especially the Franco-German hegemony.⁷⁷ The Council is the institution with the most changes in the last years in terms of small states. The political institutionalization of Europe has opened the way for some small states to be active.

From the point of view of the small states towards the European Council, we can see that the system advocates maintaining a method for their disadvantage. Germany, the UK, France, Italy, Spain and Poland, which account for 70 percent of the EU population as major states. In a supportive way, the QMV is a method for the benefit of large states, instead of small states, which causes the coalition established by the bigger states to earn a higher percentage. Veto power is being used by the larger states, and small states have limited access to that power. The application of the QMV to a wider range of policy areas is causing power of the small states to be shaken.⁷⁸

The qualified majority voting method has a widespread use of 80% during the EU legislative period.⁷⁹ As the area of application of this method grows, the influence of small states is increasingly restricted, and it is easier for large states to form a coalition because a blocked minority without large states is unthinkable.⁸⁰ The unanimity method, which is one of the traditional methods, is a balanced way for the states without distinction between small and large. Another method is the simple majority, which is more decisive for smaller states while the QMV method provides more advantages for larger states than others. According to the renewal of the QMV method in 2014, 65% of the EU population should be represented and 55% of the member states need to be approved.⁸¹ While the

75 EP, op.cit., p.15

76 Bunse et al., op.cit., p.15

77 Bunse et al., op.cit., p.12

78 Thorhallsson and Wivel, op.cit., pp.660-661

79 European Council, Qualified majority <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/council-eu/voting-system/qualified-majority/> [Access date: 12.10.2018]

80 Thorhallsson and Wivel, loc.cit.

81 Gron and Wivel, op.cit., p.527

QMV replaces other voting methods, laws and policies were avoided without the permission of the Council of Ministers.⁸²

Small states are not as eager as the big states to use their veto power. Germany, the United Kingdom and Italy are the ones who vote the most for "no". The other members are those who vote against the majority, such as Sweden and Denmark, and those who do not have the enough capacity to vote "against" like Luxembourg, Finland, Austria and Ireland.⁸³

Throughout the six-month period, the rotation of the presidency among the countries is a good opportunity to express their national interests better and to increase their dignity in the face of larger masses. During Finland's presidency, it had a more effective membership by highlighting the interests of the EU as well as its national interests.⁸⁴ In addition, the scope of the agenda of Belgium's Presidency in 2001 has changed by 9/11 attacks towards to fight against to terrorism.⁸⁵

The area in which small states are effective is usually mediation because they do not expect their interests to be fully realized in the face of large states.⁸⁶ However, large countries like France do not refrain from putting forward their own interests and do so by ignoring the views of small countries. The small states think that it is a function to increase their influence and power during the presidency of the great states. Unfortunately, the great states favor to extend the time of presidency period in order to confirm this concern of the small states. For instance, during the various presidential periods, some of the policies carried out by the presidents focused on the resolution of national worries, while the rest were within the framework of EU neutrality policies. Denmark, Sweden and Finland have proven themselves to be good European states in their application of international rules and in their criticism and warning of those who do not comply with the rules.⁸⁷

The enlargement of the EU facilitates the integration of a growing number of smaller states with similar interests. This leads to the balancing of informal treaties and negotiations by the big states and to keep the supremacy of being the dominant. Although this enlargement creates new

82 Thorhallsson and Wivel, loc.cit.

83 Mikko Mattila, Contested decisions: Empirical analysis of voting in the European Union Council of Ministers, **European Journal of Political Research**, 2004, p.37

84 Rikard Bengtsson, Ole Elgström and Jonas Tallberg, Silencer or Amplifier? The European Union Presidency and the Nordic Countries, **Scandinavian Political Studies**, 2004, p.326

85 Hendrik Voss and Emilie Bailleul, The Belgian Presidency and the post-Nice process after Laeken, **Center for European Integration Studies**, 2002, p.9

86 Bo Bjurulf, How did Sweden Manage the European Union?, **Center for European Integration Studies**, 2001, p.8.

87 Bengtsson et al., op.cit., p.315,316,328

political areas for small states, EU members have to wait more than 12 years for their next presidency.⁸⁸

The Lisbon Treaty stipulates that the consecutive period countries carry out the presidency of the Council with a triple structure under the name of "Trio". Trio has been created to provide a smoother transition between presidential periods, as well as to strengthen the communication of countries with each other and to ensure that the common objectives are longer-term.⁸⁹ The current Trio consists of Estonia, Bulgaria and Austria which is going to transfer the presidency to the first member of the new trio at the end of 2018, respectively. The next trio is Romania (January-June 2019), Finland (July-December 2019) and Croatia (January-June 2020).⁹⁰

The chairmanship of the Presidency also enables the small states to be recognized in the international environment and attract attention by the institutions within the organization. For example, the Commission, which is known as the protector of small states, does not draw much attention unless they are in the presidential seat. The Secretariat of the Council is helping the small states more effectively than the Commission during the presidency, since it provides both the source and the information flow.⁹¹ It should be noted that the vote of the country in the presidential seat is usually based on the majority.⁹²

2.5. Being a Small State in the EU

The European Union has created an environment in which the small states are subject to relative evaluations. Thanks to the unity of countries, different countries create different balance of power in their dialogues. Any member can draw relatively stronger or weaker profiles. In this way, states do not take root in a stereotyped small or fragile state category.

Mutual dialogues allow the voices of small states to be heard by the great states. Although all members are subject to the same rules, the capacities of the countries affect the decisions taken by the Union. Although security policies are mostly shaped by the big states, they are in fact a good source for the EU by developing small states' economies. Here, the small states can be more detailed

88 Thorhallsson and Wivel, *op.cit.*, p.663

89 Eu2017.ee, Trio Programme <https://www.eu2017.ee/trio-programme> [Access date: 12.10.2018]

90 European Council, Council rotating presidencies: decision on revised order <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2016/07/26/council-rotating-presidencies-revised-order/> [Access date: 12.10.2018]

91 Bunse et al., *op.cit.*, pp.41-42

92 Mattila, *op.cit.*, p.34

in the regulations than the big states with a wider and more active agenda and are both a reminder for the big states and the example of the functioning of the practices.

States have focused on internal and external relations within the Union, freeing themselves from international monophobia and individual threats. The EU supports the states participating in the enlargement wave with various policies and funds, and the enlargement of the base indicates a declining progress in the long term.

Small states, on the one hand, want to stand out in the EU and expand their spheres of influence, but in doing so they do not want the national shells to be diluted with different pressures. While the European Union is trying to make its own security building more perfect, member states have to be engaged in issues beyond their own territory, accompanied by the protection provided to them.⁹³

As is known, small states support regional cooperation and organization for their own security and development. It would not be wrong to say that the small states in the Union are under double repression. On the one hand, large states may decide to leave the union by declining any pressure on decision-making mechanisms, while they play a role in the changes to the disadvantage of small states.

According to Börzel, moderately industrialized states are more fortunate to implement regulations in European policies. Because members who have not yet completed their industrial development want to keep the level low despite the strict practices of the developed states.⁹⁴

The United Kingdom sought to make the existence of the small states' independence possible when the balance of power began to shake. The UK's accession to the EU was to ensure that Germany would not be strengthened and re-emerged as a threat in Europe.⁹⁵ The UK has a large share in the representation of the EU's non- eurozone member states. In the case of Brexit, while those members are losing power, the members of the euro area can take advantage in the European Parliament.

One of the biggest contributors to the funds provided for EU enlargement is the UK. Extra contributions to fill the financial deficit that will occur in its absence are rejected, in particular, by small states. Aside from the homogenization plans of Germany and France, which bear the political

93 Davide Denti, The Influence of Small States in the European Union, <http://www.denti.it/papers/Davide%20Denti%20The%20influence%20of%20small%20states%20in%20the%20EU.pdf>, 2007, p.3 [Access date: 18.04.2019]

94 Tanja A. Börzel, Pace-setting, Foot-dragging and Fence-sitting: member state responses to Europeanization, *JMSC*, 2002, Vol.40:2, p.194

95 Philip Towle, Small States, Britain and the EU by Philip Towle, 2018, <https://briefingsforbrexit.com/small-states-britain-and-the-eu-by-philip-towle/> [Access date: 18.04.2019]

character of the EU, Central European states are in favor of a flexible organization on economic focus. In addition to being a financial center among these ideals, UK is actually a bridge with the structure of sovereignty against the complete submission.



CHAPTER THREE

3. BREXIT AND THE SMALL STATES IN THE EU

Based on Article 50 of the Treaty of Lisbon, the United Kingdom held a referendum in 23 June 2016 to decide to Leave or Remain in the European Union. Voting results showed that with the 72.21% participation, the public preferred Brexit with 51.9% Leave in response to the 48.1% Remain vote. A referendum for the UK was not new, since in 1975, it was held for the first time in order to stay at the Common Market.⁹⁶ The reason behind the "Remain" result in the 1975 referendum was that the economies of the member countries of the period were better compared to the UK. Although EU membership did not have a slowing effect on the economy of the UK, it did not cause any growth and prosperity to be expected while becoming a member.⁹⁷

According to the data from results of 2016 referendum the majority of Northern Ireland and Scotland voted for "Remain" while Wales and England had voted to "Leave". Some of the Remain advocates have asked the Parliament to reject the outcome of a non-legally binding referendum, while others have proposed a second referendum. As the results show, the Leavers were more motivated than the Remainers.⁹⁸ Most of the "Leave" supporters were the workers affected by the 2008 crisis and they were united under the motto "take back control".⁹⁹ Theresa May, who came from Cameron's withdrawal from the Prime Ministry after the referendum, said that "Brexit means Brexit" when Remainers told her to take the Brexit negotiations slow down.¹⁰⁰

Article 50 which is prepared by former Italian Prime Minister Giuliano Amato was added to the Lisbon Treaty after the UK's complaints about the fact that there was no open door for leaving the EU for member states. Amato stated that Article 50 was prepared for any member of the group who was left to meet difficulties and lose the economic race.¹⁰¹

Brexit's underlying factors did not appear suddenly. In more than a decade, people's perceptions to the EU were shaped by migration following the 2004 enlargement, the National Health System

96 Harold D. Clarke, Matthew Goodwin and Paul Whiteley, **Brexit: Why Britain Voted to Leave the European Union**, Cambridge University Press, UK, 2017, p.4

97 Clarke et al., *Ibid.*, p.188, 190

98 Clarke et al., *Ibid.*, p.151, 210

99 Ian Dunt, **Brexit: What the Hell Happens Now?**, Canbury Press, 2016, p.22

100 Clarke et al., *op.cit.*, p.211

101 Dunt, *op.cit.*, p.29

(NHS), and economic concerns. The 2014 European Parliament elections and the 2015 UK general elections also prepared the situation. The EU tends to make as little concessions as possible to consent to unlimited access to the single market of the UK by other Member States in order to prevent them from tracking and following the process initiated by the United Kingdom. If the EU wants to intimidate other member states with heavy costs to the UK in order not to lose them, it is likely that the UK will face the “Hard Brexit” process.¹⁰²

There are various assumptions and suggestions on how Brexit process works or how it can be finalized. Even if the UK leaves the EU, it will continue to be a member of the European Courts of Human Rights.¹⁰³ While the United Kingdom will adhere to some but not all EU laws,¹⁰⁴ members of the British Parliament have started to be excluded from the meetings after voting and are denied access to detailed information about the EU.¹⁰⁵

In the European elections in 2019, if the United Kingdom leaves, no country will suffer from a seat loss in European Parliament and the number of seats will be adjusted. As a result, the total number of seats, which is 751, will be reduced to 705. Members who will win a seat in addition to their current number are Denmark(13+1), Estonia(6+1),Croatia(11+1),Austria(18+1),Poland(51+1), Romania(32+1), Slovakia(13+1), Finland(13+1), Sweden(20+1). While Ireland (11) will have 2 additional seats, Spain (54) and France (74) will have 5 additional seats at most, Italy (73) and the Netherlands (26) will get 3 seats.¹⁰⁶

One of the recommendations for the UK is that it can benefit from the single market without being an EU member like Norway does. The United Kingdom may opt for EFTA membership instead of EU membership as EU membership is not required to benefit from the Custom Union or single market. The UK is trying to end the freedom of movement, at best, to replace the free movement with a work permit which is mostly closer to freedom of labour. In addition, Brexit supporters are in favor of high income and qualified workers. However, the other members of the EU agree not to compromise the four freedoms to access the single market - "free movement of goods, capital, services and labor". With the words of François Hollande said “*There cannot be freedom of*

102 Clarke et al., op.cit., pp.202-209

103 Bill Stonehem, Brexit: The Global Economic Effect, 2017, art.7

104 Stonehem, Ibid., art.47

105 Dunt, op.cit., p.56

106 European Parliament (01.02.2018), EU elections: how many MEPs will each country get in 2019? <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/en/headlines/eu-affairs/20180126STO94114/eu-elections-how-many-meps-will-each-country-get-in-2019> [Access date: 05.11.2018]

movement of goods, free movement of capital, free movement of services if there isn't a free movement of people."¹⁰⁷

3.1. Brexit and Immigration

One of the main issues of the referendum was the immigration, which was a major influence on the vote of the people. The limitation of migration was seen by the British as one of the benefits of leaving the EU and the "Leave" campaign's parties have also advocated the public's concern besides of arguing that the British sovereignty has been weakened against EU.¹⁰⁸

The United Kingdom knows that staying as an EU member means accepting free movement of labour, and even though it may impose restrictions on non-EU migrations, it wants to apply to EU members as well. The EU's position on the free movement of labor is quite certain and its acceptance of this in the UK's Brexit negotiations will affect its future growth. As a result of the general elections in 2010 and the Great Recession in 2008, emigration has declined as the migration has increased, and this shows that migration to the UK for EU members is more important than non-members. The UK's annual migration rate in 2015 is more than 600,000, which is twice as much as emigration.¹⁰⁹ EU citizens constitute around 5% of the population of the United Kingdom.¹¹⁰ It is not surprising, therefore, that the main issue of the referendum is the struggle against immigration. Obviously, the definition of qualified workers in the UK's migration constraints will affect the citizens of Eastern European countries rather than the larger countries.¹¹¹

The first member to decide to leave the EU is the United Kingdom. Considering the arguments about migration, this situation brings the following question. Is the problem of immigration a major problem only in the eyes of the UK, or does the rest of Europe agree with it? As a result of the research conducted on the preferences of the European Social Survey in the migration structure of 18 member countries in 2014, Europe was not much different from the attitude of the United Kingdom. According to the survey, people living in these countries are more willing to accept immigrants even if they are poor as long as they are from their own ethnic groups and come from Europe. In 2015, Angela Merkel's statement that Germany opened its doors to immigrants from outside Europe caused the right-wing parties in Europe to rise and the Schengen Agreement was shaken. The highest percentage of EU members who oppose low quality immigrants from different ethnic groups from outside Europe that belong to Hungary and Czech Republic which is well above

107 Dunt, op.cit., p.20,21,58,59,63

108 Clarke et al., op.cit., pp.204-208

109 Clarke et al., Ibid., p.191

110 Stonehem, op.cit., art.11

111 Dunt, op.cit., p.52

the average. In contrast to the expectations, the United Kingdom generally does not even have the first five countries.¹¹² Italy and Greece, whose locations are on the network of migrants, cannot find sufficient support from EU members. In the summer of 2018, the Italian government did not approve the evacuation of immigrants when the immigration ship with the destination to the UK arrived in the port of Italy.

Another crackdown in 2018 erupted following a statement by Viktor Orban, who was the Prime Minister of Hungary that he would not allow his country to return to a home of immigration. As Orban said: “...*Hungary will protect its borders, stop illegal migration, and defend its rights. If necessary, we will stand up against you, too....*” He was also supported by Nigel Farage, the UK Independence Party (UKIP) leader in the European Parliament, and unofficially invited to join the Brexit club.¹¹³

Following the Brexit period, restraint practices will be applied to subsequent migrants, excluding the EU citizens already established in the UK. Citizens from other EU countries will not be rejected unless they constitute a threat to public health, public security and public policy. Another issue that is not involved in this process is that the circulation between the United Kingdom and Ireland will continue.¹¹⁴

3.2. Brexit and the British Economy

The Brexit process will require the EU to reorganize its commercial agreements with many countries. In some policies such as Common Fisheries Policy, the decisions about access to fishing sites will be left to the UK. The United Kingdom withdrew 8.8 billion euros in return for an investment of 5.4 billion euros in the 2007-2013 period under the Research and Development fund.¹¹⁵ With Brexit, the UK will be able to evaluate the economic contributions it has made to the EU in different areas within the country. The UK has a commercial relationship with many large and small EU members. Even though the volume of imports varies, each have particular importance.

If it is withdrawn from the single market, the United Kingdom will begin to seek trade partners and partnerships according to the WTO procedure such as China, the USA and Japan. The Irish economy is largely dependent on the UK, and therefore a partner with the least damage from the Brexit process will be good for it. On the other hand, Germany, which has close relations with the

112 Clarke et al., op.cit., pp.223-225

113“ Hungary will not be a country of migrants”- Viktor Orban's scathing address to European Parliament, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-8UwmppsWPUA&t=702s> [Access date: 22.09.2018]

114 Stonehem, op.cit., art.10, art.26, art.25.

115 Stonehem, Ibid., art.30, art.31

United Kingdom, will avoid a hard attitude. In fact, the EU imports from the UK are considerably lower than the UK imports from the EU. In addition, the United Kingdom has certain partners such as Germany and the Netherlands which have the largest share in the imports of the UK economy. In the event of a commercial dispute, both sides will be affected, but the EU will suffer more. The United Kingdom is also a strong element in the military field for the European Union, such that without the British military forces, there will remain a much weaker European defense. The Baltic countries and other countries that once hosted the battlefield see the UK's active military power as a commitment to the Russian threat.¹¹⁶

There are three alternatives to the United Kingdom's international relations, which are deemed to have no change. First of all, as mentioned earlier, the United Kingdom can participate in the EEA by taking the Norwegian model as an example. In second alternative, the UK should agree to contribute to the EU budget while accepting the free movement of labour if it doesn't want to be one of the members of the EU and access to the single market without any restriction. In this regard, Switzerland and Canada can be taken as examples for agreements with the EU. The last is that the United Kingdom participates in the WTO, which has low taxes and strives to remove trade barriers. Whichever of these three options the United Kingdom would choose, its economic map would change and, in the view of George Osborne, if Brexit had occurred, a family in the UK would lose £ 4,300 per year by 2030. However, this economic decline is seen as a price to be paid by the British electorate to recapture control of sovereignty.¹¹⁷

The developer influence of the EU on governance was felt more in 10 countries that joined in 2004. These countries were Malta, Cyprus, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia, the Czech Republic and Hungary. Another feature of these countries was that they were new democracies compared to previous members. After communism, these states were engaged in sustaining their economies for EU membership, so that these were examples of the EU's contribution to the improvement of the efficiency of governments and the development of the rule of law and regulation quality. On the other hand, this situation caused the quality of regulation to deteriorate in the United Kingdom. At this point, it is seen that there is a decline in the EU, not in a way that is sufficient to have any major changes for all members. The problematic functioning of power and authority is not effective in developing political power and fighting corruption, except for the 2004 enlargement.¹¹⁸

116 Dunt, *op.cit.*, p.156, 120,121,122.

117 Clarke et al., *op.cit.*, p.176,177,215

118 Clarke et al., *Ibid.*, pp.200-202

3.3. Brexit as a Side-Maker: Perception of Member States

One of the main issues of the Brexit process, the fight against migration has led to the strengthening of rightist parties in other EU members after the referendum in the UK. France's Marine Le Pen's "Front National" party, the German "Alternative für Deutschland", Austria's Norbert Hofer's "Freedom Party", Denmark's Kristian Thulesen Dahl's "Danish People's Party" and Italy's Luigi Di Maio's "Five Star The Movement" party is aiming for a similar referendum process by leading the anti-EU movements that are being structured in the governments of the EU members and they are on the way to be the potential rings of the Brexit chain. According to Simon Hix, Denmark, Austria, Sweden and the Czech Republic are the member states where Euroscepticism is widespread and constitutes the riskiest for the integrity of the EU.¹¹⁹

For some members, Brexit is an opportunity to become a new location for London-based sectors of the EU. London is the most powerful financial center in the EU with the capability of its experts and economic management experience. In this case, Luxembourg is eager to cooperate in sharing this position while Paris has its own campaign to be the next.¹²⁰ On the other hand, the Danish government is seeking the opportunity to attract banks to its center in order to create a Scandinavian financial center. The European Medicines Agency, another London-based company, is now based in Amsterdam.¹²¹ Shipping Minister Panagiotis Kouroumbis's statement reveals that Greece is also negotiating for new centers of maritime and transport companies in the EU.¹²² Malta is trying to maintain the advantage of English as the official language for the EU's multinational companies and to direct them to the Mediterranean.¹²³ One of the central changes after the Brexit is the transfer of the headquarters of the anti-piracy Atalanta patrols to the port of Rota in Spain. Also, in the Brexit process of the status of Gibraltar, it will be more likely to be decided in the interests of Spain.¹²⁴ In addition, the center of the Maritime Security Center Horn of Africa has also moved from London to the port of Brest, France.¹²⁵

119 Oliver Patel and Alan Renwick, *Brexit: The Consequences for Other EU Member States*, The Constitution Unit Briefing Paper, University College London, p.3

120 Tim Durrant, Alex Stojanovic and Lewis Lloyd, *Negotiating Brexit: The Views of the EU27*, Institute For Government, 2018, p.16

121 Wivel and Thorhallsson, *op.cit.*, pp.11-12]

122 Paul Tugwell and Sotiris Nikas (31.05.2017), *Greece Seeks to Lure U.K.-Based Shipowners, Brokers on Brexit* <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2017-05-30/greece-seeks-to-lure-u-k-based-shipowners-brokers-on-brexit> [Access date: 27.10.2018]

123 Antoine Saliba Haig (24.06.2016), *Effects of Brexit on UK Expats in EU Malta – BBC: Rights for Maltese citizens set to endure, Opportunities for Malta as an EU Financial Centre* <https://www.ccmalta.com/news/effects-of-brexit-on-uk-expats-in-malta?lang=hu-HU> [Access date: 25.10.2018]

124 Durrant et al., *op.cit.*, p.12

125 Times Now News (30.07.2018), *European Union moving anti-piracy headquarters to Spain after Brexit*, <https://www.timesnownews.com/international/article/european-union-moving-anti-piracy-headquarters-to-spain-after-brexit/262068> [Access date: 25.10.2018]

The UK's membership of the EU was an incentive to prevent the oppression of small member states under a possible German-French hegemony. With the Brexit, the gap at one end of the scale is worrisome for the member states. In addition to its contribution to the liberalization of trade in the European continent and the market volume required for small states, the United Kingdom served as an effective roof in the defense of the EU for small member states. Small states, which have close relations with the United Kingdom and want their citizens not to be detained in the UK for the right to live and work, have more to lose.¹²⁶ The United Kingdom has a deep-rooted prestige throughout Europe. Thousands of students from member countries apply to British educational institutions and the British influence on both culture and sports cannot be denied.¹²⁷

Small states with close ties to the United Kingdom favor soft Brexit. According to the survey conducted by Lord Ashcroft, which includes 27 members of the EU, 60% of the people want the United Kingdom to stay in the EU and 10% ask for separation. According to the survey results, EU members are divided into 6 categories. The "*Friends & Family*" group consisting of Estonia, Lithuania, Malta, Portugal, Poland and Ireland is the common view that the benefits of UK and EU membership are undeniable. In addition, they are a good supporter of UK demands. Another category, "*Willing to Negotiate*", includes Belgium, Denmark, France, Italy, Sweden and the Netherlands. As the name implies, they are conciliatory for unity and most of them are natural allies with the United Kingdom, and generally think differently about the free movement with the EU. Cyprus, Latvia, Slovakia, Hungary, the Czech Republic "*Ready for Reform*" group approaches to the free movement more moderately. They also agree with the UK on renewal within the EU. Austria, Finland, Slovenia and Greece are negative against the EU and the UK. These countries in the category of "*Not in the Mood*" do not support further strengthening of the EU from national parliaments. The best part of becoming an EU member for Bulgaria, Romania and Croatia - the new EU members - is the opportunity to work and travel, and they do not work hard for the interests of the United Kingdom. That's why they are in the category of "*It's Personal*". Germany, Spain and Luxembourg are uncompromising with the demands of the UK. They argue that the EU really has many benefits and the necessity of free movement. They are in the category of "*Take it or Leave it*" because the continuity of the integrity of the EU is more important for them.¹²⁸

The countries that will be most affected by a hard Brexit are Ireland, Malta, Cyprus, Denmark, Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, the Netherlands and Sweden because most of these countries have closer economical and political relations with the UK and it means that they have more to lose than other

126 Wivel and Thorhallsson (2018), op.cit., pp.3-6

127 Durrant et al., op.cit., p.7

128 Lord Ashcroft, **You should hear what they say about you**, Lord Ashcroft KCMG PC, 2016, p.37.

members.¹²⁹ In particular, it will not be wrong to say that Ireland will in any case be on the side of the United Kingdom. For EU members, Ireland is one of the most important issues to be addressed in the EU-UK negotiations.

For Atlanticist and the Baltic countries, the UK is the most important natural ally in the EU. The further development of military and defense programs with Brexit shows that these countries will benefit from good defense. With the UK's decision to leave, the EU's defense wall has been further refined and in addition to the aggressive attitude of Russia, the questioning of US commitment to NATO led the member states to further strengthen their defense. As a result of this, the PESCO (Permanent Structured Cooperation), which was established in 2017 for the joint development of defense and making it available in EU military operations, consists of 25 members, not including Malta and Denmark.¹³⁰ France, Germany and the UK intelligence agencies have jointly called for the continuation of cooperation after the Brexit in February 2018. The United Kingdom has guaranteed that it will not suspend security cooperation for commercial privileges.¹³¹

EU members will be affected in any way from Brexit, but Central and Eastern European countries will be more affected. We see in the profiles of Lithuania, Latvia and Croatia that a significant portion of the economies of these countries are the contributions of their citizens living and working in the UK.¹³² In addition, the Visegrad Four countries will also seek to develop a number of relations to ensure the continuity of their citizens in the UK and while doing this, they need to assure their share in the next EU budget.¹³³ The number of British citizens in Malta and the high number of Maltese citizens in the EU will also affect Malta.¹³⁴

After Brexit, almost all EU members do not want their ties with Britain to be harmed, but they will follow different paths to sustain this situation. A. Wivel and B. Thorhallsson divided the strategies of small states into three categories: hedging, hiding and seeking shelter. The attitudes of small states towards Brexit stated that they would be in the form of seeking shelter in addition to hiding. In this way they try not to draw attention to their small and fragile structures and continue on their way in a comfortable international environment. Ireland, the Netherlands and Denmark are the countries with a close and strong tie with the United Kingdom which are favored by soft-Brexit. So much so that the interaction of these states is different from the other small states because they can

129 Wivel and Thorhallsson (2018), *op.cit.*, p.7

130 Durrant et al., *op.cit.*, p.9

131 Durrant et al., *Ibid.*, pp.19-20

132 Karen Gilchrist (01.03.2017), Ireland, Cyprus, Malta and Luxembourg to be hardest hit by Brexit: KPMG report <https://www.cnbc.com/2017/03/01/ireland-cyprus-malta-and-luxembourg-to-be-hardest-hit-by-brexit-kpmg-report.html> [Access date: 26.10.2018]

133 Durrant et al., *op.cit.*, p.4

134 Haig, *loc.cit.*

bring themselves to the forefront when they consider it necessary, in addition to hiding and seeking shelter.¹³⁵

Although the northern allies of the United Kingdom would like to maintain their ties, these countries will have to comply with the policies of Germany and France, even if they are repressive for the unity of the Union. In many governments in these countries, anti-EU views are strengthening, and it is necessary to show that this is not a solution.¹³⁶ On the other hand, these anti-EU governments will try to show that leaving the EU is not the end of the world while allowing the UK to obtain a special agreement. When the trust statistics of the members of the European Union are considered in 2017, the highest rate of trust belongs to Lithuania and the lowest trust rate belongs to Greece. Germany is on the positive side even with a low rate, while France is below 0 with Britain, Italy, Spain and Austria. Migration from the Middle East and Africa leaves EU members and European peoples in a difficult position. Greece and Hungary were the most affected by the migratory series. Germany and France stated that the rule of law and the respect for the fundamental values of the EU would be taken into account in the migration management.¹³⁷

Due to the fact that the UK can no longer contribute to the EU budget, some cracks are expected in the 2021-2027 budget planning. Because the EU will undertake to make more contributions from the Member States or to receive less from the budget. The 27 member states are not keen to fill the gap that Britain has created in the budget, especially Austria, Denmark, the Netherlands and Sweden are not willing to increase their contribution to the budget. Poland, on the other hand, is the most beneficiary member country of the EU budget and is in favor of the UK's continued contribution to the EU budget, given its economic relations with the United Kingdom.¹³⁸ For each member state outside Slovenia, the UK is one of the largest markets. The highest share of exports in GDP belongs to Luxembourg, Malta, Ireland, Cyprus, the Netherlands and Belgium.¹³⁹

Arrangements in the fields of agriculture and fisheries are also issues to be decided in the Brexit process. The draft European Council directives require full access to UK waters in addition to the recommendation for non-tariff trade in agriculture and fishing.¹⁴⁰ Currently, EU fleets are able to access the waters of the United Kingdom, while the United Kingdom is determined to leave the Common Fisheries Policy. French President Macron rejected the decline in the standards of his own

135 Wivel and Thorhallsson (2018), *op.cit.*, pp.14-15

136 Durrant et al., *loc.cit.*

137 Durrant et al., *Ibid.*, pp.8-12

138 Durrant et al., *Ibid.*, p.2

139 Durrant et al., *Ibid.*, pp.11-14

140 European Council (23.03.2018), European Council (Art. 50) guidelines on the framework for the future EU-UK relationship, 23 March 2018 <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2018/03/23/european-council-art-50-guidelines-on-the-framework-for-the-future-eu-uk-relationship-23-march-2018/> [Access date: 21.10.2018]

country, in response to the concerns of members that the standards of agriculture would be reduced by the United Kingdom.¹⁴¹

In Brexit negotiations, limitless access to the single market and limitation of freedom of movement are the main issues. The right to the EU members' citizens to live and work in the UK shall remain reserved, otherwise the UK shall not be granted the privileges required.

3.4. Brexit Agendas of Small States

3.4.1. Bulgaria

Bulgaria has experienced significant developments since the EU membership until this time, but the increase in interaction with neighbors and other EU members is directly linked to the increase in income. Bulgaria receives 10 billion euros from the EU in the framework of 2014-2020 aid, and after 2020 the cutback of EU aid is concerned that it can not sustain even the current growth rates.¹⁴²

The main source of growth that began in the following years was the high number of developments in exports and private consumption. This increase in exports continues to grow with the inclusion of EU funds. But the economic stability required for the return of diminishing foreign investments is also one of the conditions for the eurozone.¹⁴³ The Bulgarian currency Lev partially broke the insecurity of foreign investments after being pegged to the euro, but the elements needed for stabilization are the size of international reserves and current account surpluses. Bulgaria, in this case, is constrained to deal with external instabilities.¹⁴⁴

Bulgaria will not be much affected economically by Brexit due to the low trade capacity with the UK. The priorities after the Brexit decision for Bulgaria are the visa-free travel and especially the protection of the rights of Bulgarian citizens in the UK.¹⁴⁵

141 Durrant et al., op.cit., p.15

142 Kerin Hope (11.01.2018), Bulgaria's economic growth masks need to refresh governance, <https://www.ft.com/content/20600014-d6ce-11e7-ae3e-563c04c5339a> [Access date: 13.09.2018]

143 Vladimir Subev (13.03.2018), Brussels removes Bulgaria from excessive macroeconomic imbalances categories, high growth of GDP expected <http://bnr.bg/en/post/100944213/brussels-removes-bulgaria-from-excessive-macroeconomic-imbalances-categories-high-growth-of-gdp-expected> [Access date: 13.09.2018]

144 Atradius (10.10.2017), CEE Country Report Bulgaria 2017 <https://atradius.com.tr/reports/country-report-cee-bulgaria-2017.html#> [Access date: 13.09.2018]

145 The Whitehouse Consultancy, "Bulgaria", <https://www.whitehouseconsulting.co.uk/project-brexite/country/bulgaria/> [Access date: 27.02.2019]

On the other hand, in parallel with anti-EU attitudes, pro-Russian voices has rising in the country. The EU's refugee policies and sanctions against Russia are not supported by the new Bulgarian government.¹⁴⁶

The Bulgarian Prime Minister Boiko Borisov said that the UK's decision to leave is a bad day for Europe.¹⁴⁷ Also, he said that "From now on the EU must show that it can do without Britain [...] and we have to start thinking about Europe without them. Any negotiations about a special status should not be held because they will break the union apart. When the EU is weaker, you see how the markets react [...] the pound is falling. Hence, there will be consequences for everyone."¹⁴⁸

3.4.2. Croatia

Croatia as the latest country to join the EU, has allowed the EU's membership area to stretch into the Balkans. Having an ally such as the UK is very important for Croatia to enjoy their membership rights fully. Even though British citizens benefit from their rights to travel to EU countries especially to Mediterranean as a booster for tourism, unfortunately for the time being, citizens of Croatia are not able to fully enjoy their right to free movement in the UK.¹⁴⁹ This is one of the reasons that Croatia wants to keep the UK as a part of free movement.

This obstacle has led many Croatian citizens to go to Ireland instead of the United Kingdom. As of 1 July 2018, Croatia workers have obtained their rights to work freely in the UK and thereof the free movement of workers will be under the debate at the meetings.¹⁵⁰

As the impact of the Brexit that London-based investors on the search for a new route is seen as an opportunity for Croatia to come to the forefront. The EU funds has to be used more efficiently to support those investments in Croatia.¹⁵¹ Prime Minister Andrej Plenkovic stated that Croatia is the country that is expected to be the least affected by Brexit as it is the latest member of the EU.¹⁵²

146 EUROPP, European views on the UK's renegotiation: Italy, Poland, Bulgaria and Malta, <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/europpblog/2015/09/30/european-views-on-the-uks-renegotiation-italy-poland-bulgaria-and-malta/> [Access date: 27.02.2019]

147 BNT News, Bulgarian Political Reactions to the Brexit Vote, <https://www.bnt.bg/en/a/bulgarian-political-reactions-to-the-brexit-vote> [Access date: 27.02.2019]

148 UK's Brexit Vote Marks 'Bad Day for Europe', Bulgarian PM Borisov Says <https://www.novinite.com/articles/175109/UK%E2%80%99s+Brexit+Vote+Marks+%E2%80%98Bad+Day+for+Europe%E2%80%99%C2+Bulgarian+PM+Borisov+Says> [Access date: 16.05.2019]

149 Durrant et al., op.cit., p.17

150 The Whitehouse Consultancy, "Croatia" <https://www.whitehouseconsulting.co.uk/project-brexit/country/croatia/> [Access date: 27.02.2019]

151 European Commission, European Economic Forecast Summer (Interim), p.18

152 Government of the Republic of Croatia, PM Plenkovic says Croatia to be least affected by Brexit, <https://vlada.gov.hr/news/pm-plenkovic-says-croatia-to-be-least-affected-by-brexit/20386> [Access date: 27.02.2019]

As the Prime Minister Andrej Plenkovic stated on 29 March 2017 *“In any case, I maintain that the referendum was a huge mistake. Britons allowed manipulators, those who speak untruths, like Nigel Farage and the likes, to contaminate public space and convince most Britons that it is better to leave than to stay, and they had a very good status and many benefits. It was a big mistake and it will negatively affect Britain the most.”*¹⁵³

Plenkovic expressed the importance of the UK in the European Union and also noted that Brexit should be a deterrent situation for other countries. As Croatia is prone to regional conflicts, it oversees the continuation of UK support for EU security policies. *“The Union without Great Britain, a permanent UN Security Council member, a nuclear power, a champion of free trade, a key country globally, is not the same anymore.”* Plenkovic said.¹⁵⁴

3.4.3. Cyprus

Cyprus reached the highest economic growth rate of the last nine years with 3.9% in 2017.¹⁵⁵ The risks facing that the Cyprus economy is the post-Brexit political and economic uncertainty in the UK and it has a direct impact on the pound's depreciation against the euro and the declining share of services in the Cyprus economy. Cyprus, due to the Brexit process, has the risk of adversely affecting trade and market economies.¹⁵⁶

Cypriot Government has statement as *“[The leaders discussed] the need to achieve a smooth transition to the new status quo.”*¹⁵⁷

As Foreign Minister of Cyprus, Ioannis Kasoulides stated that *“It is not in the interest of Cyprus for the UK to leave the EU for many reasons, mainly financial but other ones as well.”*¹⁵⁸ At his speech to RK UK, Kasoulides specified that *“They are not going to be good and we will lose out. And for the UK, they will lose out to all 27 member states.”*¹⁵⁹

According to Euripides L. Evriviades, High Commissioner for the Republic of Cyprus to the UK *“Our position is clear: the UK should remain in the EU. We need a strong UK in a stronger EU*

153 Government of the Republic of Croatia..., op.cit.

154 The Whitehouse Consultancy, loc.cit.

155 Eurostat (n.d.) <https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/national-accounts/statistics-illustrated> [Access date: 07.09.2018]

156 Cyprus Profile (26.01.2017), Cyprus' GDP Growth at 3.1% in 2017 <http://www.cyprusprofile.com/en/articles/view/cyprus-gdp-growth-at-3.1-in-2017> [Access date: 09.09.2018]

157 The Whitehouse Consultancy, “Cyprus” <https://www.whitehouseconsulting.co.uk/project-brexit/country/cyprus/> [Access date: 28.02.2019]

158 No plan for handling a Brexit <https://cyprus-mail.com/2016/04/24/no-plan-for-handling-a-brexit/> [16.05.2019]

159 Charlotte Davis, 'EU will lose out but YOU will lose out MORE!' Cypriot Minister SLAMS Brexit Britain, <https://www.express.co.uk/news/uk/876468/Brexit-News-Theresa-May-European-Union-UK-Countries-Brexit-Latest-EU-News> [Access date: 28.02.2019]

to address collectively the multitudes of challenges facing us. In a globalised world, we are joined at the hip. And we are all in the same strategic boat."¹⁶⁰

Evriviades stated that the EU has been an effective factor in maintaining peace in the continent for years and that historical ties are strong but its impact is not unlimited.¹⁶¹

3.4.4. Estonia

For Estonia, the UK is an ally with a great importance especially at trade and security. The Estonian Government wants the UK to remain in the EU and NATO as a strong partner to defence the Baltics against the Russian threats. "The UK will be an important partner for Estonia and an ally in both the economic and security spheres in the future as well. This is affirmed, among other things, by the fact that a NATO multinational battalion under their leadership will be stationed in Estonia soon."¹⁶² Estonian Prime Minister Jüri Ratas said as the first expression after Brexit referendum on 14 July 2016

He also stated that "A close relationship between the UK and the EU is a matter of common interest. The United Kingdom is and will remain an important European country in both political and economic terms and an essential partner in the field of security. However, there are no benefits without responsibilities – access to the internal market is linked to full acceptance of the four fundamental freedoms."¹⁶³

President Kersti Kaljulaid emphasized that the EU should be more engaged after Brexit and said that "The presence of our allies in the Baltic countries and Poland is essential to guarantee our security, and the UK has contributed significantly to that. The defence forces of Estonia and the UK cooperate very closely and actively in this area."¹⁶⁴

3.4.5. Hungary

Hungary, which is an important receiver of EU funds, will feel the reductions in the post-Brexit funds in the Hungarian economy. And it expects to continue its trade relations with the United

160 EUROPP, High Commissioner for the Republic of Cyprus to the UK: "A Brexit would not be in the interests of the Commonwealth", <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/europpblog/2016/06/07/cyprus-a-brexit-would-not-be-in-the-interests-of-the-commonwealth/> [Access date: 28.02.2019]

161 EUROPP, op.cit.

162 Aili Sarapik, Rõivas: Close relationship between Estonia, UK will continue <https://news.err.ee/118555/roivas-close-relationship-between-estonia-uk-will-continue> [Access date: 28.02.2019]

163 The Whitehouse Consultancy, "Estonia" <https://www.whitehouseconsulting.co.uk/project-brexit/country/estonia/> [Access date: 28.02.2019]

164 The Whitehouse Consultancy, Ibid.

Kingdom without any disruption. Besides the economical concerns, one of the priorities of the Hungarian Government is to guarantee the protection of the rights of Hungarian citizens living in the UK. On the other side, there has been some reluctance between Hungary and the EU. Hungary has made it clear that it is uncomfortable with the EU's refugee policies and the abolition of the sanctions imposed on Russia by the EU has to be unblocked.¹⁶⁵

The Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orban commentated the referendum results as a British protest to the *“uncertainty, paralysis ... of slowly being unable to feel at home in Europe”* while *“taking control of their destiny.”*¹⁶⁶

He also stated that *“There will be the constant danger in the future in the European Union, a kind of temptation following the British that getting out of the European Union... could result in a better position for you than staying in the European Union.”*¹⁶⁷

According to Orban, Britain should not be punished for the Brexit decision.¹⁶⁸ *“Hungary definitely would not like to see any revenge on the British. We are a democratic country and we accept that democratically another country’s population decided to leave.”*¹⁶⁹

3.4.6. Ireland

Ireland and the United Kingdom have many common elements that have caused Ireland to have a large share in the impact of Brexit. These are common borders and language, having an island economy, Common Travel Area, same customer portfolio, common-law basis of legal systems, joint commercial contracts, UK-only exporters and importers and using the UK as a landbridge.¹⁷⁰

Ireland is the most dependent country on the UK. In 2016, the expectation of the Irish central bank was lower than the previous year due to the Brexit vote of the United Kingdom, and Ireland's economy closed at 5.0%¹⁷¹ of the year. With Brexit, the Irish GDP is expected to fall by about 3-7% in 2030. With the increase in trade costs, similar decreases will be experienced in export rate.

165 The Whitehouse Consultancy, “Hungary”<https://www.whitehouseconsulting.co.uk/project-brexite/country/hungary/> [Access date: 28.02.2019]

166 Fraser Moore, The EU is DISORDERLY and is DESPERATE for reform after Brexit, Hungary Prime Minister says <https://www.express.co.uk/news/world/683612/viktor-orban-eu-desperate-reform-brexite> [Access date: 28.02.2019]

167 The Whitehouse Consultancy, loc.cit.

168 Jacopo Barigazzi, Viktor Orban: Don’t punish the UK because of Brexit <https://www.politico.eu/article/viktor-orban-dont-punish-the-uk-because-of-brexite/> [Access date: 28.02.2019]

169 Joey Millar, ‘Let Theresa get on with it!’ Hungarian PM tells EU to STOP MOANING and ACCEPT Brexit, <https://www.express.co.uk/news/world/723918/viktor-orban-theresa-may-hungary-uk-brexite-eu-european-union-stop-moaning> [Access date:28.02.2019]

170 Copenhagen Economics, Ireland & The Impacts of Brexit: Strategic Implications For Ireland Arising From Changing EU-UK Trading Relations, February 2018, p.14

171 Eurostat, loc.cit.

Especially agricultural foods, electrical machinery, pharmaceutical chemicals and air transport are among the most affected sectors.¹⁷²

The Government of Ireland has made it clear that it will stand by the European Union in the Brexit process, despite its long-standing relations with the United Kingdom. One of the priorities in the Brexit negotiations is that the border between the Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland remains as open and unrestricted as possible. While Northern Ireland voted to leave a 44.2 percent rate in the referendum on June 23rd, the majority preferred to stay in the EU. That's why the Republic of Ireland supports the opening of the way for membership in the negotiations if Northern Ireland wants to join the EU democratically.¹⁷³

Britain's decision to leave the EU led citizens who did not want to lose their freedom of visa-free travel among the EU member states to have different passports. Among these, the Irish passport is one of the most demanded. British citizens living or working in other countries are in a hurry to pass the citizenship of host countries.

As Leo Varadkar, Prime Minister of Ireland stated *“What we're not going to do is to design a border for the Brexiteers because they're the ones who want a border. It's up to them to say what it is, say how it would work and first of all convince their own people, their own voters that this is actually a good idea.”*¹⁷⁴

He also explained Brexit effects on European citizens as *“...where you see people who are from other European countries, who are settled there, all of sudden starting to feel that this country they lived in for 20 or 30 years doesn't feel like home any more.”*¹⁷⁵

Charlie Flanagan, the Irish Foreign Minister said that *“I don't see any positives in the withdrawal from the EU of the UK, for the EU or for the UK.”*¹⁷⁶ He also put into words the same view with Varadkar about the borders *“Saying there will be no physical infrastructure [at the Ireland-U.K. border] is a very strong statement. The way I believe you can best achieve that is for the United*

172 Copenhagen Economics, op.cit., p.13

173 Clarke et al., op.cit., pp.150-151

174 Rory Cashin, Varadkar: 'We won't help design Brexit border for you, we don't want a border', <https://www.joe.ie/news/varadkar-brexit-design-596586> [Access date: 28.02.2018]

175 Paddy Mckenna, Leo Varadkar: Europeans no longer feel at home in Brexit Britain, <https://www.joe.ie/news/leo-varadkar-europeans-no-longer-at-home-in-brexit-britain-646922> [Access date: 28.02.2019]

176 The Whitehouse Consultancy, “Ireland” <https://www.whitehouseconsulting.co.uk/project-brexit/country/ireland/> [Access date: 28.02.2019]

Kingdom, including Northern Ireland, to stay in some form of the customs union and some form of single market with the European Union.”¹⁷⁷

3.4.7. Latvia

The Latvian economy is seen by the European Commission as an economy that continues to grow strongly and regularly. Among the reasons for this growth in 2017 were improvements in external activities, stronger support from EU funds and an increase in wages.¹⁷⁸ On the other hand, Latvia, which has a large share of EU funds, will feel the absence of the United Kingdom in any decline that may occur after Brexit, like other member states. In the short term, the Latvian economy will not be shaken from Brexit in the short term but is in favor of an agreement with the UK, which will have the least impact on its commercial relations.

Considering the consequences of Brexit for the citizens of both countries, negotiations will be in place for the protection of the rights of 80,000 Latvian citizens in the United Kingdom. Like the most of the member states, Latvia advocates the need for close relations with the United Kingdom in both trade, security and defense. Especially, for the Russian threat that the Baltics are facing makes a necessity for the existence of a strong partner in NATO.¹⁷⁹

Former Latvian Prime Minister Māris Kučinskis: *“Every member state is looking to build the best possible trading relationship with the UK and I think that the whole union will also benefit from a strong trading relationship with the UK,”*¹⁸⁰ -3 February 2017

*“We see an opportunity for our companies and organizations to use Brexit for the creation of new synergies – we offer Latvia as a convenient place for opening businesses, education institutions and representations of financial services in EU territory.”*¹⁸¹ -21 February 2017

177 The Whitehouse Consultancy, Ibid.

178 Ministry of Economics (02.01.2018), Evaluation of the growth of Latvian economy in 2017 and forecasts for 2018, <https://www.em.gov.lv/en/news/18508-evaluation-of-the-growth-of-latvian-economy-in-2017-and-forecasts-for-2018> [Access date: 08.09.2018]

179 The Whitehouse Consultancy, “Latvia” <https://www.whitehouseconsulting.co.uk/project-brexit/country/latvia/> [Access date: 28.02.2019]

180 The Whitehouse Consultancy, Ibid.

181 The Whitehouse Consultancy, Ibid.

3.4.8. Lithuania

Lithuania became the 19th and last EU Member State, which adopted the euro, leaving the national currency "litas" as of 1 January 2015. One of the three Baltic States, Lithuania ranked 16th out of 190 countries by the World Bank's "Doing Business Report" in 2018.¹⁸²

Lithuania is one of the big receivers of the EU's funds and the EU's increase in the absorption of investment funds in 2014-2020 is also the most important reason for its growth. Although the change in EU structural funds led to a collapse in the public secession in 2016, growth in both public and private sector investments was achieved in 2017. Authorities' views are that the recession in EU funds has partially slowed the development of the Lithuanian economy because of job contraction.¹⁸³

The UK is Lithuania's 7th largest export market and the most important migration country where has hosted already more than 200.000 Lithuanians. Grybauskaitė, who met with Theresa May after the Brexit referendum, has prioritized the guarantee of the protection of the interests of the Lithuanian citizens in the UK.¹⁸⁴

Emphasizing the continuity of its close relations with Britain, Lithuania supports the existence of a strong defense partner against the Russian threat, which is the common concern of all the Baltic countries.

The Lithuanian President Dalia Grybauskaitė has expressed her country's concerns after Brexit referendum on 15 December 2016. *"10 years? I hope it will be a lot less. I understand how difficult it will be for her to negotiate because, of course, she [Theresa May] will be negotiating practically against 27. [...] But having in mind that Britain is important from an economic and security point of view. I don't expect it [the negotiations] will be rivals, it will be... partners talking about British and EU relations for future."*¹⁸⁵

The Prime Minister, Saulius Skvernelis spoke about Lithuanian citizens statue in the UK on 21 February 2017. "We do care about their rights, social guarantees, including healthcare, it is important

182

EuroChallenge(n.d.),Lithuania(<https://static1.squarespace.com/static/596f6564ff7c506a1a1e01a9/t/5a28031041920205107d5ecb/1512571665360/Lithuania+2017.pdf>) [Access date: 10.09.2018]

183 Lietuvos Bankas (30.01.2018), <https://www.lb.lt/en/news/d-imbrasas-after-last-year-s-remarkable-performance-this-year-s-projections-are-more-temperate> [Access date: 10.09.2018]

184 The Whitehouse Consultancy, "Lithuania" <https://www.whitehouseconsulting.co.uk/project-brexit/country/lithuania/> [Access date: 28.02.2019]

185 The Whitehouse Consultancy, Ibid.

for us to maintain the opportunity for Lithuanians to study in UK. [...]after separation, main things should remain as they are now.”¹⁸⁶

3.4.9. Luxembourg

Luxembourg is one of the richest countries with the highest standard of living due to its low taxes and strong financial structure. It has the status and strong financial sector, and therefore serves as the financial brain of Europe and the headquarters of the European Investment Bank.¹⁸⁷

Luxembourg, one of the founders of the European Union, prioritized the preservation of the unity of the European Union in the Brexit process and afterwards. Besides, due to Brexit, London-based companies will head towards Luxembourg that's one of the largest funding centers in Europe, to stay and enjoy their rights in unity. In addition to this, Luxembourg is preparing to bring its infrastructure to the service of the larger masses, while improving the area of English for new employees. This financial flow will be directed in a way that does not force Luxembourg's limited facilities.¹⁸⁸

Xavier Bettel, the Prime Minister of Luxembourg spoke about the damaging effects of Brexit and expressed that “*we have to know that there will be no winners after the Brexit. Both sides will be losing.*”¹⁸⁹

Bettel, who criticizes Britain's views on the process of leaving the EU, said that “*Before, they were in and they had many opt-outs; now they want to be out with many opt-ins.*”¹⁹⁰ In addition, he made clear that leaving the EU would not create a new status of membership: “*We are not going to make a status of ‘a little bit member’ or ‘not completely’, ‘pending divorced’, ‘nearly divorced’. There are European values which cannot be separated. No cherry-picking. What would interim mean?*”

186 The Whitehouse Consultancy, Ibid.

187 Euro Challenge, Luxembourg, 2017, <https://static1.squarespace.com/static/596f6564ff7c506a1a1e01a9/t/5a28033553450ab58fdaf6b1/1512571702069/Luxembourg+2017.pdf> [Access date: 22.09.2018]

188 Stephanie Bodoni, London's Loss Is Luxembourg's Gain as Funds Face Brexit Flux, <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2018-12-21/london-s-loss-is-luxembourg-s-gain-as-funds-face-brex-it-flux> [Access date: 02.03.2019]

189 Darren Hunt, 'Hypocrisy' Fury after Luxembourg PM lectures UK on free trade behind 'protectionist zone' <https://www.express.co.uk/news/uk/929031/Brexit-news-UK-EU-Theresa-May-Luxembourg-PM-Donald-Tusk-European-Union> [Access date: 02.03.2019]

190 Harry Cooper, Luxembourg PM: EU countries should shut borders to teach lesson <https://www.politico.eu/article/luxembourg-pm-xavier-bettel-eu-countries-should-shut-schengen-borders-to-teach-lesson/> [Access date: 02.03.2019]

That we are going make a hybrid status now? Either you're a member or you're not a member of the European Union ... There is no in-between status, there is no hybrid status between the two."¹⁹¹

Xavier Bettel, talked about the EU's benefits for member states citizens *"The European Union provides added value to European citizens, in countless instances improving their daily lives. [...] It is therefore not a coincidence that so many UK citizens living in my country have been applying for Luxembourg citizenship since the Brexit referendum. Many others are apparently doing the same in other member states."*¹⁹²

3.4.10. Malta

Malta has a long-standing and close history with the United Kingdom. Malta is also a member of the Commonwealth¹⁹³ community such as Cyprus and citizens of these countries are allowed to vote in elections in the UK. Brexit's decision means that Malta will lose its strongest partner but there are positive aspects for Malta. For instance, the use of English in a wide area has made Malta the focal point for investors.¹⁹⁴

After the referendum, according to Maltese Finance Minister Edward Scicluna, the UK is going to be the first one who will start to suffer.

As Joseph Muscat, the Prime Minister of Malta stated that on 21 July 2017 *"I'm starting to believe that Brexit won't actually happen. I see encouraging signs that the tide is turning ... The referendum was democratic, but has resulted in a situation in which everyone loses. Doubt is creeping in. It would be good if a political leader in the U.K. would stand who's courageous enough to seize this momentum and say: let's submit the final Brexit deal again to the people."*¹⁹⁵

He also clarified that there's no bluffing by the EU members on his speech to BBC *"The aim of that negotiation is to get the best possible deal for Britain, for British companies to access and work with and within the single market and for European businesses to have the same access here. [...] I know that there is absolutely no bluffing from the European side, at least in the council*

191 Agence France-Presse, Luxembourg PM says UK can't 'have cake and eat it' with Brexit <https://www.thenational.ae/world/luxembourg-pm-says-uk-can-t-have-cake-and-eat-it-with-brexit-1.184169> [Access date: 02.03.2019]

192 Jon Stone, Brexit: British voters took benefits of EU citizenship for granted, Luxembourg prime minister says <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/brexit-eu-citizenship-referendum-xavier-bettel-luxembourg-a8375376.html> [Access date: 02.03.2019]

193 The community was founded in 1900s with 54 independent states that were part of the British Empire and members work together on global issues. <http://thecommonwealth.org/about-us> [Access date: 01.03.2019]

194 The Whitehouse Consultancy, "Malta" <https://www.whitehouseconsulting.co.uk/project-brexit/country/malta/> [Access date: 28.02.2019]

195 The Whitehouse Consultancy, Ibid.

meetings I have attended, in saying 'we will start in this position and then we will soften up'. [...] We are all going to lose something but... there will not be a situation when the UK has a better deal than it has today."¹⁹⁶

3.4.11. Slovakia

Slovakia associates the United Kingdom with a strong alliance in order to protect the borders of Eastern Europe against Russian threats. The country's priority for Brexit is to support the continuity of the union and to show the other member countries that Brexit has no charm.¹⁹⁷

Slovakia is another member state that is concerned about the security of its citizens' rights in the UK. Slovakia takes measures to maintain and protect the Slovak identity not only for its citizens abroad, but also for its social environment in the country. Therefore, they oppose to the refugee policies of the EU, particularly the countries in the Visegrad Group and do not want more refugee in their countries.

Former Slovakian Prime Minister Robert Fico *"What would you say if you were in their position? Even if it is the fifth-biggest economy in the world — I understand their financial importance — this will still be very painful for the UK. They are bluffing. If you were in their position you would say the same. 'It will all be fine, it will be fantastic, you will see'."*¹⁹⁸ -18 September 2016

He also criticized the UK's unascertained negotiation plans, *"We cannot accept that the United Kingdom would want to make only the freedom of the free movement of goods valid," "We can respect either the full package or nothing."*¹⁹⁹ -5 October 2018

3.4.12. Slovenia

Since Slovenia has a small and open economy, it will be more affected from the post-Brexit period than the others. Therefore, Slovenian government doesn't consider a hard-Brexit between the EU and the UK as an option. Slovenia's Institute for Macroeconomic Analysis and Development (IMAD) stated that Brexit highlighted the necessity of eliminating the fragility in the Slovenian economy. *"As pointed out for several years, it is necessary to carry out structural and fiscal reforms*

196 BBC, EU leaders 'not bluffing' over Brexit terms, warns Malta's PM, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-38100561> [Access date: 01.03.2019]

197 The Whitehouse Consultancy, Slovakia <https://www.whitehouseconsulting.co.uk/project-brexit/country/slovakia/> [Access date: 02.03.2019]

198 The Whitehouse Consultancy, <https://www.whitehouseconsulting.co.uk/project-brexit/country/slovenia/> [Access date: 02.03.2019]

199 The Whitehouse Consultancy, Ibid.

that will strengthen the resilience of the Slovenian economy to the uncertainties posed by the international environment and enable the economic policy response to such shocks."²⁰⁰

In addition, Slovenia is one of the great receivers of the EU funds and Brexit effects on the EU budget will be crucial for the country. So, the UK that pays its financial bills while leaving the EU is a priority in the negotiations for Slovenia.²⁰¹ *"I think that the process will definitely take more time than we expected at the start of the negotiations. [...] What is important now is that the three basic issues are solved in reasonable time."*²⁰² said Former prime minister Miro Cerar to the Guardian on 20 August 2017.

Brexit will cause negative perceptions of the UK's image in the societies of member states, and reluctance to give concessions to the UK in the negotiations. Slovenia will see the disadvantage of being a small state because it does not have enough voice in the dilution of relations between the EU and the UK. The EU is seen as a representative of regional stability for Slovenia. Therefore, if Brexit starts to damage the credibility of the EU, it will be perceived by the authorities in the region as a sign of weakness. In order to prevent this, the effective resolution of political conflicts without widespread adoption is a priority for the Slovenian government.²⁰³

Slovenia sees itself as one of the best choices in the advantages that Brexit has competed for in many Central and Eastern European countries. EU membership has been very effective on the rise of Slovenian economy. The fact that it is less costly than Western European centers for foreign investors makes Slovenia one of the favorite destinations. And also Slovenia has the biggest Cargo port, the Port of Koper, in the Adriatic and it is capable of being the distribution center of international companies.²⁰⁴

CEO of British-Slovenian Chamber of Commerce Barbara Uranjek indicated Slovenia as an attractive centre for new British investments *"Slovenia is an ideal location for British businesses and investors who are searching for highly educated labour and excellent knowledge of the English language particularly in sectors related to innovation and high-technology, such as the*

200 Maja Dragovič, Brexit Fears <http://www.sloveniatimes.com/brexit-fears> [Access date: 02.03. 2019]

201 The Whitehouse Consultancy, Slovenia, <https://www.whitehouseconsulting.co.uk/project-brexit/country/slovenia/> [Access date: 02.03.2019]

202 Daniel Boffey, Heather Stewart and Owen Bowcott, Brexit: UK hopes of autumn trade talks 'will be dashed', says Slovenian PM <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2017/aug/20/uk-hopes-of-eu-trade-talks-this-autumn-will-be-dashed-says-slovenian-pm> [Access date: 02.03.2019]

203 Marko Lovec, Preparations for a Brexit: Views from Denmark, Italy, the Netherlands, Slovenia and Spain <https://www.cer.eu/in-the-press/preparations-brexit-views-denmark-italy-netherlands-slovenia-and-spain> [Access date: 02.03.2019]

204 Vanja Tekavec, Slovenia could become a hub for British companies after Brexit <https://www.slo-mag.si/8862377?cctest&> [Access date: 02.03.2019]

pharmaceutical and automotive industries, sustainable construction, green technologies, HI-tech, and information technology."²⁰⁵

3.5. The Impacts of Brexit on Small States

3.5.1. Migration

The UK is an important migration destination for both EU member states and non-EU countries. People who lives in the UK to study, work etc. plays an active role in the development of the economy in their own country. Any restriction on immigration, which is particularly important for Baltic countries and Central European countries, will affect the social and economic functioning of these countries.

Theresa May has pledged to bring a new system to prevent the low-profile migration flow from the EU member countries to the UK. According to the statements, new e-gate visas will be offered for visitors and tourists from countries with a positive profile.²⁰⁶ PM Theresa May said:

"Two years ago, the British public voted to leave the European Union and take back control of our borders. When we leave we will bring in a new immigration system that ends freedom of movement once and for all. For the first time in decades, it will be this country that controls and chooses who we want to come here."²⁰⁷

Candidates who are successful in high-profile jobs will also be able to bring their families if they are allowed by their employers. Those who are considering staying in the UK for a long time will have to prove to the Kingdom that they provide the necessary service. In addition, the most controversial matter is that qualified immigrants who want to obtain a five-year visa must have at least £30,000 income.²⁰⁸

The plans and systems designed by the UK for the post-Brexit period are aimed at preventing the unqualified and low skilled migrants from entering the country. People coming from low-risk countries without a job offer under the name of *transition measure* will be able to search for work for 1 year. After 1 year, the *cooling off period* will start and these people will leave the UK and wait 12 months for the next application. At least, the processes planned to be implemented by 2025 are

205 Vanja Tekavec, Ibid.

206 Tom Mctague, Theresa May unveils new UK immigration system, <https://www.politico.eu/article/theresa-may-unveils-new-uk-immigration-system/> [Access date: 15.04.2019]

207 Mctague, Ibid.

208 BBC, Immigration: White Paper sets out post-Brexit rules for migrants, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-46613900> [Access date: 15.04.2019]

expected to be this way. When the details of the application of the new immigration system are considered, a low fee will be charged against the applications made and they will not be able to benefit from public funds and cannot move to another migration plan.²⁰⁹

3.5.2. Social Policy and Integration

In the area of social policy, the EU has seen both forward and preventive effects of the UK. Also, the developments in this field include the ideas that the UK is trying to integrate into the EU. When the UK became a member of the EEC in 1973, a legal framework of social policy was already established. New members, who were not yet effective in the decisions taken, should transfer European social policies to their national law. It was necessary to support the development of the Common Market in this contentious area from the beginning. Diversified social policy practices with new EU members made it difficult to harmonize social protection systems and was constantly rejected by the UK. With the membership of the UK, social policy initiatives following a low period of time have led to the recognition of a wider policy need due to the integration that has been suppressed due to inflation in the member states. It is also said that the UK was a pioneer in the racial equality legislation in the 1990s.²¹⁰

The UK, which is seen as a restrictive and retarding member of European social policy, acts with a demand for detailed examination of policies and protection of social sovereignty by the public. Despite the UK's stance, the European Commission raised the decisions in the field of social policy in the absence of the United Kingdom and the unanimous vote. The fact that Britain, Ireland and Denmark did not want to join the Schengen region could not prevent the involvement of other states. The UK's decision to leave the EU may be a driving force for faster and more comprehensive steps in the development of social policies. Although the UK is known as an obstacle to European social policy, a strong negotiating member for the EU institutions will be lost.²¹¹

Small states have made various arrangements and restrictions in their internal policies in order to benefit from the integration process. Together with EU integration, the security concerns of the small states have created a balance in which the French-German coalition is the military center. The UK questioned the rationale of this coalition in the integration process and did not support a deep integration process.²¹² In this way, the UK has assumed a protective role for small states; the small states thus saw the UK as a balancing element against the great powers.

209 BBC, Ibid.

210 European Parliament, The Impact of the UK's Withdrawal on EU Integration, 2018, Brussels, pp.15-16

211 European Parliament, Ibid., pp.17-18

212 Wivel and Thorhallsson, op.cit., pp.4-6

While the UK was focusing on its own national interests, on the other hand, it could damage the sheltering benefits provided by the EU from the point of view of the small states, as it interfered with the EU institutions. In the long term, the balance of power within the EU may change in the German-French coalition to a potential German leadership. Then, in their relations with the UK, the small states will have to review their responsibilities outside and inside the union.²¹³

The EU came to the forefront as a free trade zone for most people in the UK rather than with a political identity. As a result of the British elites' inability to produce effective solutions to the challenges faced by European integration, they only supported integration in the UK's interests. As a family member leaving the union, the UK will serve as an example for anti-EU views in member states. Although it will continue to co-operate with the EU on specific issues, the union will no longer be exposed to uncertainties from the UK while expanding its integration process.²¹⁴

3.5.3. Economy

Together with Brexit, the balance between the eurozone and non-eurozone members will deteriorate and the group will turn to favor the group using the euro. Therefore, the EU members using their national currency will reconsider joining the euro zone. In this case, London and Pound in euro zone policies will no longer be able to use the effect of being a big state. In a union without the EU, the big members of the EU will direct their resources and policies to security and defense in order to strengthen the protection they provide for small states and not to have any troubles.

The positive or negative effects of the economic consequences of the UK's departure from the EU will be felt in the long term. The parties benefiting from trade and free circulation within the Union will prefer different ways of cooperation with the restrictions imposed with Brexit. Of course, this cooperation should be at a level that does not cast a shadow on the positions within the union. For example, Northern countries and the Baltic countries, which have a natural ally with the United Kingdom, want to remain within sight of the United Kingdom in the field of security and defense, as well as their economic relations.

The increase in the amount of contributions to the EU budget is another concern that can be addressed by small states. The UK's contribution to the budget is, of course, a source of motivation and finance for the countries that joined the union with the 2004 enlargement and the countries in the

213 Oliver Patel and Christine Reh, *Brexit: The Consequences for the EU's Political System*, UCL Constitution Unit Briefing Paper, London, 2016, pp.3-4

214 European Parliament, *op.cit.*, pp.34

integration process. In this case, the smaller states would not afford to be more inclined in policies favoring the big states in order not to interrupt the support they receive from the budget.

Increasing standards by the United Kingdom on migration and freedom of movement may feed the opposing sentiments of EU societies in the UK. It is possible to take steps towards strengthening the links within the union if these societies put pressure on governments. As a result of restrictions, those who do not qualify for work in the United Kingdom will return to their countries of origin, leading to an increase in the unemployment rate. In addition, British citizens who do not want to lose their freedom of movement within the EU, will also choose the way to obtain the citizenship of the EU member state. Recognizing concessions in the Brexit negotiations to the United Kingdom would be to acknowledge that the Union would be economically weak without Britain, which would be a major loss of prestige. For this reason, the United Kingdom is required to leave the table as far as possible in favor of the EU.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. AS A SMALL STATE SLOVAKIA AND BREXIT

4.1. Slovakia as an Independent State in Europe

Slovakia is one of the oldest Slavic nations in Europe, but also was part of the Samo Kingdom (623(!)-658(!)), where the Slavs experienced their first independency. The Slavic nations tried to protect their lands from the French invansion until the death of King Samo. With the advent of Hungarians on the Danube plain in the 9th and 10th centuries, the Hungarians began to spread in the lands of the Slavic peoples and a large part of Slovakia's territory was dealt with by the Hungarians.²¹⁵ These occupations in the early period of history created a mass of ice that was almost impossible to melt even after centuries between the two nations.

The spirit of nationalism echoed by the French revolution in Europe has led to the rebirth of the Slovak nation. The Slovaks, who could not legitimize their national self-rule under the rule of the Austrian Empire, had acted to adopt Slovak language as well as their culture and history along with the French revolution. Ľudovít Štúr strived for the dissemination of cultural, educational ideals by publishing *Slovenské národné noviny*, the first Slovak newspaper as the leader of the nationalism movement in Slovakia in the 19th century and as a precedent for the rebirth of the Slovaks. Hungarians, who were affected by the 1848 revolutions in Europe, wanted to leave the Austrian Empire and establish a Hungarian state in which their language and education systems were adopted. This was unacceptable to the Slovaks, another nation living under the Empire. The Slovaks who refused to obey the Hungarians demanded to use their national figures, to establish their own army and state structures, and to demand freedom of the press.²¹⁶

When the Hungarian government rejected Slovak demands, the Slovak National Council was established in Vienna in 1848. In 1863 a group of Slovak elites, who benefited from instability in Hungary, founded *Matica Slovenska* in Martin as a cultural and educational association. After that, the association and several gymnasiums were abolished on the grounds of the Nationality Law adopted by the Hungarian Diet. Thus, the Slovaks, who lost the opportunity to study in their own

215 Lubomir Rehak and Victor Kirillov, *Slovakia as a New Factor in European Politics*, International Relations, 1995, p.48

216 Lubomir Rehak and Victor Kirillov, *Ibid.*

language, entered a Hungarian assimilation process called Magyarization. As a way out of Hungary's oppressive and homogeneous policies, the Slovaks turned to the Czech territories, which they saw as closer to them and to cooperate culturally, thus creating a compromise environment for the establishment of a united state.²¹⁷

World War I was the turning point in the formation of the Czechoslovak state. Representatives of the Slovak League and the Czech National Association in the United States signed a program that would allow the two nations to unite in a federal structure. After the end of the war Tomas Garrigue Masaryk became the first president of the established Czechoslovak state. This new state was the single parliamentary unitary state in which the Slovaks did not have political autonomy and Prague's supremacy denied that Slovaks have separate identity.²¹⁸

In the chaos of World War II, Hitler had opened a way for rebirth as the Slovak Republic by giving Slovaks the opportunity to establish their own state under the auspices of the Third Reich. The Republic of Slovakia, led by Msgr.Jozef Tiso, became one of the political and military allies of the Nazis and a member of the anti-Comintern Pact and the Tripartite Pact. The Czechoslovak government and communists in Moscow did not recognize this Nazi partition and came together for the reunification of Czechoslovakia. The national uprisings, which began in 1944 under the leadership of the Slovak Democratic Party and the Communist Party of Slovakia, showed that most of the Slovak people favored of a state united with the Czechs. As a result of this alliance with Moscow, the Kosice government program was signed in 1945 and the reconstruction of Czechoslovakia was made possible.²¹⁹

In the parliamentary elections in May 1946, although the Slovak Democratic Party won more votes in the Slovak territory, the Communist Party did not change the head of government, Gustav Husak, with 38% of the vote. The support of the Communists to the Czechs was a blow to the Slovaks' quest for an equal rights-managed federation. In January 1968, Alexander Dubcek, of Slovak origin, was elected the first secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and announced his plan to reorganize socialism that Czechoslovakia had embraced and stressed the need to take steps for a society in which the Slovaks and Czechs had equal rights. In practice, power served the interests of the Czechs and was in the same character as the Soviet federal. While the high authorities

217 Stanislav J. Kirschbaum, Slovakia: The end to a confused sense of direction?, International Journal, Autumn 1999, p.584

218 Ana Maria Schiopu, The end of the Great War brought about the proclamation of the Czechoslovak Republic <https://europecentenary.eu/the-end-of-the-great-war-brought-about-the-proclamation-of-the-czechoslovak-republic/> [Access date: 14.04.2019]

219 The Košice Government Programme, <https://icv.vlada.cz/en/media-centrum/tema/the-kosice-government-programme-70409/tmplid-676/> [Access date: 14.05.2019]

were ruled by the Czechs, each official had to have a Slovak deputy with limited powers, and so the Slovaks became known as "*a nation of deputy ministers*".²²⁰

The Slovaks have never abandoned the process of creating a leader, rulemaker and equal rights in their independent states. So, in 1989, the collapse of communism caused the Slovaks to gain their independence as a nation. In this process, it was understood by the parties that it would not be possible to have equal rights in the federation. The Slovaks' national leadership was led by Vladimir Meciar, the leader of the Democratic Slovakia Movement.

The Slovak Constitution was adopted in accordance with the federal legislation while Czechoslovakia was still in existence, and for the first time in history, the Slovaks were able to build an independent state policy. The Slovak Constitution that is adopted in September 1992 contains provisions that included the qualifications of an independent state, as well as the requirement to enter into force on 1 January 1993. Slovakia declared its independence from Czechoslovakia²²¹ on 1 January 1993. The process towards independence has been quite soft and stable. The contractual separation between the two countries is known as "The Velvet Divorce"²²². In addition to the creation of a new state structure, it was necessary to establish a foreign policy in which the integrity of the country was represented and emphasized. It has aimed to integrate with European structures and international organizations and agreements in accordance with the interests and priorities of the foreign policy of the Slovak Republic. The Slovak people supported the interaction with the West, while at the same time it had to be approved by Europe that there was no sympathy for Russia. Slovakia, which has a critical importance in Europe because of its geopolitical position, should also prove that it is fully appropriate for common values.

As a result of the process of transition from communism to democracy, this separation based on peace and agreement was relatively easy for both sides. While the Czech Republic and Slovakia continued as two separate countries, Slovakia was lacking in the economic and political context compared to the Czech Republic. While the Czechs gave more weight to the economy, Slovakia tried to complete its political shortcomings in the transition process.

220 Lubomir Rehak and Victor Kirillov, loc.cit., pp.51-52

221 "Czechoslovakia" as a country name is started to use since its formation in 1918. With the separation in 1993, it took the name of "The Czech Republic". Afterwards, the Czech governments wanted a short and easy name for their country such as France (The French Republic). The name of Czechia, which was proposed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was approved in 2016. While "the Czech Republic" is still retained as official name, "Czechia" is mostly used at international marketing by companies and sport teams to promote the Czech products easier. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-36048186> [Access date: 16.02.2019]

222 Jorine Boink, Slovakia and the European Union: A single-country study of Slovakia's position in the EU, **European Policy Studies**, University of Amsterdam, Amsterdam, 2010, p.41.

The European Union accession process has been the leading factor in the transformation in Slovakia. Furthermore, Czechoslovakia's 1945 United Nations membership was invalidated after the separation, Slovakia and the Czech Republic were accepted as separate members on 19 January 1993. On 4 October 1993, Slovak Republic signed a European Association Agreement. Afterwards, Slovakia became a member of NATO on 29 March 2004 and EU on 1 May 2004 with a referendum and is a member of Schengen area since 21 December 2007. Slovakia has applied for EU membership to become a part of the political, economic and social change and transformation in Europe with which it has been linked to historical ties. The constitutional package, which included 85 amendments by the parliament in 2001, involved a revision process, including public administration, the judicial system, and the separation of powers principle.²²³ Furthermore, approval of EU's "*Racial Equality Directive (2000/43/EC) and Employment Equality Directive (2000/78/EC)*" by Slovakia as one of the countries which joined the EU on 1 May 2004 provided a major benefit in the EU process.²²⁴

Slovakia, which became a member during the period when the EU enlargement reached its most comprehensive point, after five years from its membership stopped using its own currency "Slovak Koruna" and became a member of eurozone on 1 January 2009. Slovakia is also the only country in the Visegrad Group that is a member of the eurozone. Additionally, the neighbouring countries of Slovakia except Ukraine are the member states of the EU.

Slovakia which is located in Central Europe, serves as a bridge between Eastern European countries and the rest of the continent and the EU. Although it is a small country, there are differences in life style and perspective between regions. The capital, Bratislava, is the region where the differences with the rest of the country are most pronounced because of its proximity to the neighboring countries. Because it is the most developed city in the country, it has a multicultural nature. The people of Bratislava are closer to the Western European tradition and have a distinct atmosphere from the traditional structure of Slovakia.

Hungarian and Roman minorities living in Slovakia before the Velvet Divorce are still living in these lands. The existence of minorities does not include the validity of another language in addition to the official language of Slovak which is similar to Czech language. Although Slovaks have an old history, they are not sufficiently recognized on international platforms. In addition, the confusion of perception created by the similarities of Austria and Australia causes Slovakia to share

223 Anneli Albi, **EU Enlargement and the Constitutions of Central and Eastern Europe**, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2005, pp.67-69

224 Mark Bell, Isabelle Chopin, Fiona Palmer, **Developing Anti-Discrimination Law in Europe: The 25 EU Member States compared**, European Commission, 2007, p. 10

the same fate with Slovenia. Kosice, the second largest city in Slovakia, became the European Capital of Culture in 2013 and was an important title for Slovakia.²²⁵ In 2005, Slovakia started to use the phrase "Little big country" with a large-scale campaign launched by the Slovak Tourist Board in order to increase the effectiveness of both domestic and international tourism.²²⁶

4.2. Political Challenges in Slovakia Before and During EU Accession

Undoubtedly, Slovakia has been a strict supporter of both economic and political integrations in order to reach European democracies. Slovak political parties were very keen to join international organizations, and their efforts to improve themselves by accessing the EU's extensions strengthened their international credibility.

After the 1994 elections of the Slovak Republic, a coalition government was formed, consisting of different ideologies and where consensus was not possible on many issues. The coalition government consisted of the following parties:²²⁷

HZDS (Movement for a Democratic Slovakia / Hnutie za demokratické Slovensko) %35

SNS (Slovak National Party / Slovenská národná strana) %5,4

ZRS (Association of Workers of Slovakia / Združenie robotníkov Slovenska) %7,3

In addition to being a radical left-wing extremist with no political planning, the ZRS was reluctant to enter NATO and the European Communities. SNS had a very similar attitude with ZRS. It had a negative view of Slovakia's entry into NATO and was skeptical of the credibility of international organizations. The SNS, based on a policy based on ethnic nationalism, showed its opposition to all non-Slovak issues and was against minorities. Vladimir Meciar, who is the head of both the HZDS and the government, said that the support of the people is in favor of the European structure and signed the EU accession treaty on 4 October 1993, which was approved by the Slovak National Council a few months later.²²⁸

The uncertainty and disagreement in the internal policies of Slovakia has been inevitable to reflect the foreign policies. The EU representatives expressed that they were concerned about the

225 Boink, op.cit., p.49, 53

226 OECD, Tourism in OECD Countries 2008: Trends and Policies, OECD Publishing, 2008, p.196.

227 Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic, <http://volby.statistics.sk/nrsr/nrsr1994/slov/volby21.htm> [Access date: 15.04.2019]

228 Dušan Leška, The Europeanisation of Slovak Political Parties, Slovak Journal of Political Sciences, Vol.15:1, 2015, p.38

democracy in the Slovak government in October and November 1995 and criticized the coalition government's intolerance of human rights violations, minority rights and dissenting views. However, these criticisms did not prevent Prime Minister Meciar from applying to the EU Summit in Cannes on 27 June 1995.²²⁹

In order to become a member of the EU, Slovakia had to meet the Copenhagen Criteria, but this had not yet happened. As stated by the European Commission, Slovakia was not making progress due to unstable and inadequate democracy. For this reason Slovakia was not invited to the European Council's accession negotiations in Luxembourg in December 1997 and was removed from the first enlargement group. Of course, this situation was met with displeasure by Slovak voters and revealed the failure of the coalition government in foreign policy. This strengthened the hand of the coalition of opposition parties, which emphasized EU support, and divided Slovak domestic politics. Slovak politics in the 1990s were divided into two groups as "proMeciar / Meciarism" and "anti-Meciar" and parties as anti-European and pro-European. The main factor in the distinction of the parties that is European integration, has helped Slovakia's transition to parliamentary democracy and the reconstruction of democracy.²³⁰

As Prime Minister Meciar and his party, HZDS, pursued non-democratic policies, Slovakia remained behind the neighbors in the integration process and had fear of exclusion in Europe. The referendum on the inclusion of Slovakia in the European Union in 2003 led to a higher turnout compared to the neighboring countries, resulting in a 92.46% "yes" vote. With the concern of being alone in the international environment, Slovakia has been firmly attached to EU integration. For this reason, with the end of the defective Meciar policies, national institutions started to be adapted to EU conditions.²³¹ The result-oriented economic and social reforms in the period of the Dzurinda government were successful and Slovakia performed better than its neighbors for the eurozone.

The focus of all opposition parties in the Slovak politics prior to the 1998 elections was development of democracy and to get the support of the people to take positive and strong steps for EU membership. EU conditions and effective campaigns of the opposition were reflected in the election results as the defeat of the current coalition. With the support of the European parties to the opposition, Meciar was prevented from establishing an authoritarian regime.²³² As a result of the

229 Leška, *Ibid.*, p.39

230 Leška, *Ibid.*

231 Milan Nič, Marek Slobodník, and Michal Šimečka, *Slovakia in the EU: An Unexpected Success Story?*, DGAPAnalyse, No:6, 2014, pp.4-5

232 Leška, *loc.cit.*, p.40

1998 elections, the new coalition government was formed by Prime Minister Mikuláš Dzurinda and the following liberal democratic parties:²³³

SDK (Slovak Democratic Coalition / Slovenská demokratická koalícia) 26.3%

KDH (Christian Democratic Movement / Kresťanskodemokratické hnutie) (*Coalition with SDK*)

SMK (Hungarian Coalition Party / Strana maďarskej koalície) 9.1%

SDL' (Party of the Democratic Left / Strana demokratickej ľavice) 14.7%

SOP (Party of Civic Understanding / Strana Občianskeho Porozumenia) 8.0 %

The new coalition government has adopted economic and political regulations to comply with the Copenhagen Criteria. The government paid close attention to close relations with EU institutions and allowed Slovakia to be invited to the European Commission's next negotiating group. In 1999, with the decision of the Council of EU in Helsinki, Slovakia (with Lithuania, Latvia, Malta, Bulgaria and Romania) started the negotiations at the Accession Conference in 2000. Slovakia has pledged to implement EU legislation and establish its administrative capacity in two years.²³⁴

In the 2002 elections, SDL' (%1.4) and SNS (%3.3) could not enter parliament by staying below the 5% threshold. As a result of the elections, the new right-wing coalition was formed with following parties but here they co-opted the ANO to ensure a majority in parliament:²³⁵

SDKU (Slovak Christian and Democratic Union / Slovenská demokratická a kresťanská únia)

KDH (Christian Democratic Movement / Kresťanskodemokratické hnutie)

SMK (Hungarian Coalition Party / Strana maďarskej koalície)

ANO (New Citizen's Alliance / Aliancia Noveho Obcana)

The coalition government completed the membership requirements for the EU and prevented the delay in membership of Slovakia. In 2004, SDL, SDA, SDA and Smer merged to take the name

233 Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic, <http://volby.statistics.sk/nrsr/nrsr1998/eng/results/tab2.jsp.htm> [Access date: 15.04.2019]

234 Leška, loc.cit., p.41

235 Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic, <http://volby.statistics.sk/nrsr/nrsr2002/webdata/engl/tab/tab3.htm> [Access date:15.04.2019]

Smer-SD. As the strongest left-wing party, Smer supported the policies towards the EU and criticized the SDKU for failing to create the appropriate conditions for Slovakia.²³⁶

The 2006 elections, which were the first elections made after becoming a member of the EU, were the lowest in the history of Slovakia with 54.7%. People who are not satisfied with the management of the SDKU preferred Smer in the election. As a result of the elections, the HZDS and the KDH entered the parliament but suffered a large loss of votes.²³⁷ SMK and SNS, on the other hand, increased their votes. SNS, who could not enter parliament in previous elections, took part in the coalition government with 11.7% of the vote. ANO and KSS were not able to enter parliament. The parties to the coalition government were:²³⁸

Smer (Direction / sociálna demokracia) %29.1

SNS (Slovak National Party / Slovenská národná strana) %11.7

HZDS (Movement for a Democratic Slovakia / Hnutie za demokratické Slovensko) %8.8

The main party of the coalition was Smer and the Prime Minister was Robert Fico. After the elections, some of the members who left the SMK and formed the MostHid party, which would enter parliament in the 2010 elections. The elections that was held in 2010 carried the traces of a turbulent period in the internal politics of Slovakia. Although Smer-SD received the most votes in the elections, it could not form a coalition government. For this reason, the task of forming a coalition was given to the leader of the SDKU-DS, Iveta Radičová.²³⁹ The members of the large rightwing coalition were:²⁴⁰

SDKU-DS (The Slovak Democratic and Christian Union – Democratic Party / Slovenská demokratická a kresťanská unie – Demokratická strana)

KDH (Christian Democratic Movement / Kresťanskodemokratické hnutie)

SaS (Freedom and Solidarity / Sloboda a Solidarita)

236 Leška, loc.cit., p.47

237 Vladimír Pčolinský and Antónia Štensová, Slovak Parliamentary Elections 2006, Central European Political Studies Review, Vol. 9:2-3, 2007, pp.111-112

238 Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic , <http://volby.statistics.sk/nrsr/nrsr2006/angl/obvod/results/tab3.jsp.htm> [Access date: 15.04.2019]

239 BBC, Slovakia's left-wing PM seeks to form new government, <https://www.bbc.com/news/10304535> [Access date: 15.04.2019]

240 Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic, <http://volby.statistics.sk/nrsr/nrsr2010/sr/tab3.jsp@lang=en.htm> [Access date: 15.04.2019]

Most-Hid (Most-Hid / občianska strana)

In this coalition, the neoliberal ideology adopted by SaS was in contradiction with the government. The party also rejected and criticized EU financial aid projects. Following the draft law on the creation of the European Financial Stability Fund and the European Stability Mechanism, which was sent by the government to the parliament, the government was called for resignation and the early elections were held on the grounds that it did not give confidence to the parliament.²⁴¹

In the early elections of 2012, OL'aNO (the Common People and Independent Personalities Party), an anti-EU party, entered the parliament. With the end of failed policies and unstable coordination of the right-wing coalition government, the Left Party Smer took the 44.44% of the vote and formed the first government without a coalition.²⁴² In contrast to the previous election, the SNS failed to enter parliament by staying below the threshold in the 2012 elections. The votes of the previous right-wing coalition parties have dropped dramatically.

As a result of the parliamentary elections held in 2016, Smer was the party with the highest votes despite the loss of votes compared to the 2012 elections while keeping Robert Fico as Prime Minister. Smer, who could not reach enough votes to form the government this time, formed a coalition with following parties:²⁴³

Smer (Direction / sociálna demokracia) %28,28

SNS (Slovak National Party / Slovenská národná strana) %8,64

Most-Hid (Most-Hid / občianska strana) %6,50

Siet (Slovak Conservative Party / Slovenská konzervatívna strana) %5,60

The 2016 elections attract attention in terms of the diversity of parties entering and leaving the parliament. The two major parties of the once-right coalition government, the KDH and the SDKU, were not able to win seats in parliament, but the SNS's vote did not only bring the SNS back into game, but also made a coalition party. Although SaS was not included in the 2016 coalition, it received the majority of votes cast from abroad. When the results of the 2016 elections are evaluated in general, it is seen that the EU and anti-European parties such as OL'ANO-NOVA (Ordinary

241 Leška, loc.cit., pp.42-43

242 Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic, <http://volby.statistics.sk/nrsr/nrsr2012/sr/tab3.jsp@lang=en.htm> [Access date: 15.04.2019]

243 Statistical Office of the Slovak Republic, <http://volby.statistics.sk/nrsr/nrsr2016/en/data02.html> [Access date: 15.04.2019]

People / Obyčajní ľudia) and Kotleba-L'S (The People's Party – Our Slovakia / Ľudová strana Naše Slovensko) have begun to support by public and take part in the parliament.

Slovakia has been participating in the elections in the European Parliament since 2004. So far, Slovakia has experienced three European Parliament elections and is preparing for the next elections in May 2019. The EP elections on June 13, 2004, immediately following the EU accession, were improper for Slovakia without any experience. In the elections with 16.97% turnout, the parties of Slovakia and the number of their parliamentarians were as follows:²⁴⁴

EPP (European People's Party): SDKU-DS (3), KDH (3), SMK (2)

PES* (Party of European Socialists): Smer-SD (3)

Other: L'S-HZDS** (3)

* After the Nice Treaty, the PES and the Italian Democratic Party joined together and continued as S&D in the later EP elections.

** In contrast to other national parties, L'S-HZDS could not succeed in becoming a member of any political group in EP.

In the next European Parliament elections in 2009, Slovakia had an opportunity to prepare the electoral programs in advance by making closer contacts with Europe. In accordance with the Treaty of Nice, the number of parliamentarians who were 14 in the previous election fell to 13. In the 2009 parliament elections where the participation rate was 19.64%, the seats won by the Slovak parties are as follows:²⁴⁵

EPP: SDKU-DS (2), KDH (2), SMK (2)

ALDE (Alliance of Liberals and Democrats For Europe): L'S-HZDS (1)

S&D (Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats): Smer-SD (5)

EFD (European Conservatives and Reformists Group): SNS (1)

244 Martin Plešivčák, First Two Elections to the European Parliament in Slovakia: Turnout and Results in Regional Perspective, *European Electoral Studies*, Vol.10:1, 2015, p.21

245 Plešivčák, *Ibid.*

24 May 2014 European Parliament elections are evaluated in a number of important points for both Slovakia and Europe. In the elections, voter turnout was recorded as the lowest in history of Slovakia with 13.05%, while the number of parties reached the highest. With this rate, Slovakia was the country with the lowest participation among EU member states. The debt crisis in the country and the support of the eurosceptic view by some masses are seen as the reasons for low participation.²⁴⁶ In total, the distribution of 13 deputies to groups within the European Parliament was as follows:²⁴⁷

S&D: Smer-SD (4)

EPP: KDH (3), SDKU (1), Most-Hid (1), SMK-MPK (1)

ECR: NOVA (1), OL'ANO (1), Sas (1)

In addition to the unwillingness of Slovak voters to participate in the election results, it is seen that almost 21% of the voters prefer the parties that follow the anti-EU policy. The low number of voters led to a decline in the number of deputies in both Smer-SD and other Slovak parties that won seats in the previous EP elections.

According to Radovan Geist, one of the reasons for low turnout is that the deputies who are elected to the European Parliament do not reflect their functionality to the public during their tenure and do not inform the public about the course. The Slovak people have become increasingly uninterested in EU elections as a result of a greater focus on Slovakia's national issues. The EU and its benefits are well-known to the Slovak government and its citizens, but they lack the opportunity to pursue effective policy monitoring in EU institutions.²⁴⁸ Foreign policy effectiveness, which cannot be managed successfully, causes the public to abandon dealing with the sensitivity to development and to adopt eurosceptic ideas.

4.3. Slovak Presidency of the Council of the EU

Slovakia took over the Presidency of the Council from the Netherlands on 1 July 2016 until December. This presidency is the first time that Slovakia has been running since it became a member, and the last time that 28 members came together to create a comprehensive working framework for

246 Oľga Gyárfášová and Karen Henderson, Slovakia and the turnout conundrum: Why don't Slovaks vote in European Parliament elections?, PADEMIA: Parliamentary Democracy in Europe, 2016, pp.1-2

247 European Parliament, Slovakia, <https://election-results.eu/national-results/slovakia/2014-2019/outgoing-parliament/> [Access date: 15.04.2019]

248 Radovan Geist, Why the European election turnout in Slovakia was so low <https://www.euractiv.com/section/eu-elections-2014/opinion/why-the-european-election-turnout-in-slovakia-was-so-low/> [Access date: 15.04.2019]

the EU. Contrary to what is believed to be the United Kingdom's decision on EU membership, Slovakia and the Council did not allow Brexit to influence the course of the agenda.²⁴⁹

On 16 September 2016, the future of the EU after the Brexit was discussed at the informal summit in Bratislava. Slovakia's Prime Minister, Robert Fico, who hosted the summit, argued that the EU would continue to operate strongly and prevent possible new referendums. The summit was held without the participation of British Prime Minister Theresa May.²⁵⁰

As a result of the Bratislava summit, the member countries decided to follow a special route in the areas of security, economic development and migration.²⁵¹

The priorities of the Slovak Presidency of the Council of the EU focused on²⁵²:

1. An economically stronger EU
2. The modernization of the internal market
3. Sustainable migration and asylum policies
4. A globally-engaged Europe.

The attempted coup in Turkey, terrorist attacks in Nice and Berlin has provided the necessary environment to operate within the framework of the presidential agenda that Slovakia has made. Because of Slovakia did not have to deal with crisis management, as experienced by some of the previous Presidencies, it has generally directed to issues that the member states will express in common.²⁵³

The budget of Slovak Presidency was planned to be 70 million € including the preparation process. These expenditures mainly cover the education and costs of the Presidency institutions and the staff to be assigned to them.²⁵⁴ This amount was considered sufficient²⁵⁵ for the presidential expenses of a new and small Central European member.

During the Presidency of the Council, Slovakia has not taken new steps on migration and asylum. This issue, in particular, creates a fearsome agenda in Slovakia's internal politics. Slovakia

249 Vladimír Bilčík, *The Slovak EU Council Presidency: In Defence of Post-Brexit EU*, JCMS, p.2

250 Haberler (16.09.2016), *Brexit'in Ardından AB'nin Geleceği Bratislava'da Masaya Yatırılıyor* <https://www.haberler.com/brexit-in-ardindan-ab-nin-gelecegi-bratislava-da-8779598-haberi/> [Access date: 12.11.2018]

251 Bilčík, *op.cit.*, p.4

252 Weber Shandwick, *Slovak Presidency of the Council of the EU: July-December 2016*, 2016, p.2

253 Bilčík, *loc.cit.*

254 Sk16.eu, *Budget* <http://sk16.eu/files/mirror6/www.eu2016.sk/en/about-the-presidency/budget.html> [Access date: 12.11.2018]

255 Bilčík, *op.cit.*, p.2

faced high demand for residence permits in the period 2001-2004, and decreased the asylum claims after 2005. In addition, the number of illegal migrants from Moldova, Pakistan, Ukraine, Bangladesh and Russia has also increased.²⁵⁶ With the regulations in 2007, the transition to Slovakia citizenship was made difficult and the dominance of the Slovak language was highlighted. In fact, those who went to the Immigration Office to apply a residence permit unless they didn't know Slovakian or bring a person who knew Slovakian were subject to degrading behavior and their applications were never started to process.

The Migrants' Office in Bratislava, which was relocated in 2018, began to serve better conditions. Police officers accept English as the language of communication and it is unlikely that you will face any disrespect and uncomfortable treatment if you do not know Slovakian. Complaints over the rigid stance and the inadequacy of the Office of Migration provided arrangements with EU support for individuals seeking asylum or for individuals who had to stay longer in the country for any reason.

Immigrants see Slovakia as a transit country to reach Western Europe. The common characteristics of these asylum seekers is that they come from Southeast and Eastern Europe in the hope of a better economic future. Slovakia has signed both international and bilateral agreements on migrants and refugees. Those who enter the country legally are trying to work illegally or to enter into neighboring countries after their visa is expired. Those who come to the country illegally request asylum in other countries because it is difficult and long to approve asylum claims in Slovakia.²⁵⁷

Slovakia's Foreign Minister Miroslav Lajcak didn't opposed that Slovakia has not been in a comprehensive co-operation with the EU on the refugee crisis, while explaining the presidency program.²⁵⁸ In addition, Slovakia and other Visegrad countries opposed quotas for the resettlement of refugees from Italy and Greece in 2015, and the overthrow of anti-Islamic movements in the country has made clear that there is no place for more refugees in Slovakia.²⁵⁹ The closest mosque is located in Hainburg, Austria, for the worship of Muslims who live in Bratislava. In this way, it is aimed not to make any arrangement in favor of Islam within the borders of Slovakia in the future.

Slovakia has advocated the transparency of intergovernmental agreements on energy security and a more effective EU in the region. Slovakia, which is supportive of EU enlargement, has

256 Boink, op.cit., p.268

257 Andrea Subhan, **Migration and Asylum in Central and Eastern Europe**, European Parliament, 1998, pp.57-61

258 Deutsch Welle, AB'nin yeni dönem başkanı Slovakya <https://www.dw.com/tr/abnin-yeni-d%C3%B6nem-ba%C5%9Fkan%C4%B1-slovakya/a-19370841> [Access date: 14.11.2018]

259 Emily Tamkin, Once Again, Slovakia Makes Life Harder for Muslims <https://foreignpolicy.com/2016/12/02/once-again-slovakia-makes-life-harder-for-muslims/> [Access date: 14.11.2018]

evaluated Bosnia and Herzegovina's application. At the same time it has initiated visa liberalization agreements with Ukraine and Georgia. Turkey is the country that is experiencing the most intense of migration flows and has maintained its economic and political cooperation with the EU on this issue. Slovakia during the Presidency of the Council have adopted a positive attitude towards the continuation of Turkey's EU candidacy status and support the process.²⁶⁰

When we look at the policy titles that Slovakia did not vote in favor of the Council of the European Union between 2010-2018, we see that it does not hesitate to take part on different sides in the fields of economy and energy. The countries that vote on the same side with Slovakia are usually the Czech Republic and Hungary. Although not sufficient to change the outcome, Slovakia uses rejection or abstaining votes independently of the clusters. Slovakia that has a vice president in charge of the Energy Union at the European Commission, may be considered as a guarantee for diversity in Slovakia's vote during this five-year period, particularly during Maros Sefcovic's term in office. The early adoption of the integration process as a member of the eurozone from the members of Eastern Europe has influenced the larger states to offer closer cooperation to Slovakia.

4.4. Slovakia and Brexit

Slovakia is a new and small member state in the EU which greatly benefits from EU institutions and projects in its relations with the United Kingdom, and is aware that the UK is one of the strongest partners in aid funds, budget allocation, security and defense, free movement and common market areas. Slovakia is taking steps aimed at ensuring continuity in cultural and commercial organizations and communities in bilateral relations.

In this sense, the British, Czech & Slovak Association (BCSA) was established in the last period of Czechoslovakia and they are engaged in activities to strengthen the cultural and social relations of these three nations. It is a charity of the British, Czech and Slovak Union, initiated by Alexander Dubcek in 1990. BCSA's aim is to strengthen the artistic, scientific and historical awareness of the countries in the Union. Various activities are organized within the organization since its establishment. The events organized at the Czech and Slovak embassies in London include book reviews, recitals and cinema screenings. There is also a publication called "British Czech and Slovak Review" which is published by BCSA on a bi-monthly. Also, it has a "School Support Fund", which started in 2004, has a charity fund for the development of English learning, as well as assistance to Czech and schools affected by the flood disaster in 2002.²⁶¹

260 Bilcik, op.cit., p.7

261 BCSA, <https://www.bcsa.co.uk/about-us/> [Access date: 18.04.2019]

BRITCHAM (The British Chamber of Commerce in the Slovak Republic – BCCSR) is another institution established before Slovakia's EU membership as a support and guide in Slovakia and British trade relations. BCCSR which was found in Bratislava in 1998 is a non-profit organization based on the establishment and development of trade relations between the UK and the Slovak Republic. For the members of the organization, both foreign and domestic marketing opportunities and developer solutions are offered. British investments in Slovakia are supported and include companies of various sizes. In this way, it is an encouraging factor in the growth of British-Slovak trade.²⁶²

With the Brexit process, any restriction in the relations between Slovakia and the UK is of concern. The direction of the EU's big states, especially the policies of Germany and France, will play a decisive role in the distance of Slovakia's relations with Britain. Slovakia wants to strengthen its relations with the members that it can take as an example within the EU because of being a new democracy and occasionally having turbulent periods in its internal politics. Slovakia is an open and flexible economy that has created a reliable profile within the Union in times of economic crisis. Like many small member states, Slovakia supports the financial advantages of the integration process to the end, but it does not look positive to the restraint of sovereignty.

Hungary and the United Kingdom have given the most prominent reactions in the EU's immigration policies, but even Slovakia has some similar views, it remains somewhat more moderate. The fear of being left out of the Union in early period of independence outweighs the thought of populism. It is very important for Slovakia to observe its policies with its neighbors, both Visegrad Group and the EU.

On 16 September 2016, European leaders came together in Bratislava to discuss how to improve the security of the EU's internal and external borders and to make the necessary arrangements. As the UK does not already have a plan for Brexit, it needs to be dealt with so that the EU does not interfere with reform plans. After the Bratislava summit, Slovakia's Prime Minister Robert Fico said Brexit would be difficult for the UK. Slovakia has requested the United Kingdom to guarantee that Slovak or other Eastern European citizens in the country will be treated equally with the British.²⁶³ During the negotiations between the UK and the EU in December 2017, it was

262 BCCSR, <https://britcham.sk/bccsr/> [Access date: 18.04.2019]

263 Matt Payton, Europe will make Brexit 'very painful' for the UK, claims Slovakia's Prime Minister <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/europe-make-brexite-very-painful-for-the-uk-eu-slovakias-prime-minister-robert-fico-a7315766.html> [Access date: 13.11.2018]

agreed that there would be no change in the rights of EU citizens in the UK and the UK citizens in the EU after the Brexit.²⁶⁴

Slovakia, which currently holds 13 seats in the European Parliament, will have an additional seat in the 2019 elections as a result of Brexit.²⁶⁵ The distribution of Slovakia's seats in the European Parliament by parties after the results of the 2014 European elections is as follows: European People's Party (6), Socialists & Democrats (4), European Conservatives and Reformists (2), Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe (1).²⁶⁶

For election of next European Commission president in 2019, some EU leaders committed to the implementation of the "Spitzenkandidat" process and also be permanent for the future elections. The "Spitzenkandidat" which means "top or lead candidate" in German is a system that gives the Presidency of the European Commission to the party which has the most seats in Parliament. This procedure is not written in the EU Treaties and was implemented in 2014 for the first time in the appointment of EEP's top candidate, Jean Claude Juncker.²⁶⁷

Slovak Maroš Šefčovič, who is the vice-president for the Energy Union at the European Commission headed by Jean Claude Juncker since 2014, announced that he would become a candidate of the Social Democratic party for the 2019 European Parliament elections. When the Spitzenkandidat system is implemented, Šefčovič will be the next candidate for the European Commission as his party's top candidate.²⁶⁸

Inevitably, Great Britain's decision to withdraw from the EU strengthened anti-EU propaganda also in Slovakia. Particularly, the dimension that social media has come from is creating an environment for the anti-EU activities to be carried out in various publications with the label "Slovexit".

By Marian Kotleba, the leader of the People's Party Our Slovakia (Ľudová strana Naše Slovensko)²⁶⁹ which is a far-right party in the Slovak parliament, the EU had been depicted as a

264 The Slovak Spectator, Slovaks in the UK do not have to fear Brexit <https://spectator.sme.sk/c/20739060/slovaks-in-the-uk-do-not-have-to-fear-brex.html> [Access date: 13.11.2018]

265 European Parliament, EU elections: how many MEPs will each country get in 2019? <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/en/headlines/eu-affairs/20180126STO94114/eu-elections-how-many-meps-will-each-country-get-in-2019> [Access date: 13.11.2018]

266 European Parliament, Results of the 2014 European Elections: Seats by Member State <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/elections2014-results/en/seats-member-state-absolut.html> [Access date: 13.11.2018]

267 David M. Herszenhorn and Maïa de La Baume, Commission's Spitzenkandidat process at risk <https://www.politico.eu/article/spitzenkandidat-jean-claude-juncker-race-with-no-rules-eu-leaders-brace-for-clash-over-2019-elections/> [Access date: 13.11.2018]

268 Esther King, Maroš Šefčovič to run for Commission top job <https://www.politico.eu/article/maros-sefcovic-commission-social-democrats-to-run-for-commission-top-job/> [Access date: 13.11.2018]

269 Kotleba-Ľudová strana Naše Slovensko, <http://www.naseslovensko.net/en/about-us/> [Access date: 13.11.2018]

Titanic that is sinking and Slovakia needs to leave as soon as possible.²⁷⁰ Although it is a newly-formed party, it currently represents reasonable percentage in the Slovak parliament since 2016.²⁷¹

As stated in Article 95(1) of the Constitution of the Republic of Slovakia:²⁷²

“A referendum shall be declared by the President of the Slovak Republic upon a petition submitted by at least 350,000 citizens, or upon a resolution of the National Council of the Slovak Republic within thirty days after acceptance of the petition of citizens or the resolution of the National Council of the Slovak Republic had been received.”

In other words, there must be at least 350,000 petitions in Slovakia to hold a referendum to leave the EU. For this purpose, there is also a petition that you can address to the Presidency of the Slovak Republic as well as the representative Slovexit survey on an unofficial website that is called “*slovexit.sk*”. Two questions are asked in the questionnaire and you are expected to answer *yes* or *no*. The first of these questions’ is “Do you agree that the Slovak Republic will remain a member of the EU?” and the second is “Do you agree that legally binding acts of the European Communities and the European Union should prevail over the laws of the Slovak Republic?”.²⁷³ The absence of any restriction to participate in the survey is quite problematic in terms of the objectivity and accuracy of the survey results. As the justification of the referendum request, it is argued in the petition that Slovak citizens are not sufficiently informed about how the process will develop or end when it becomes a member of the EU and that they have the right to think again.²⁷⁴

Overall, it is seen that the people who support the separation of Slovakia from the EU are in the minority. Immigrants, Islam and the slow economic recovery are the common concerns of the people who make up this minority. Predominantly, Central and Eastern European countries' willingness to maintain a common market and the free movement of people and workers, and the large share of aid funds from EU in the country's economies are also valid and necessary reasons for staying in the EU also for Slovakia. The deeper the EU integration for Slovakia, the longer the continuity in the development of the country. After joining of the eurozone in 2009, Slovakia has

270 Samaa, Slovak far-right party petitions for ‘Slovexit’ <https://www.samaa.tv/global/2016/06/slovak-far-right-party-petitions-for-slovexit/> [Access date: 13.11.2018]

271 The Guardian, Slovakia election: far right wins first seats, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/mar/06/slovakia-election-far-right-wins-seats-peoples-party-marian-kotleba> [Access date: 13.11.2018]

272 International Labour Organization, Constitution of the Slovak Republic http://www.ilo.org/dyn/natlex/natlex4.detail?p_lang=en&p_isn=31740 [Access date: 14.11.2018]

273 SLOVEXIT, <http://slovexit.sk/2016/07/10/peticia-slovexit/> [Access date: 16.11.2018]

274 SLOVEXIT, Peticia občanov Slovenskej republiky za vyhlásenie referenda adresovaná prezidentovi SR <http://slovexit.sk/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/Peticia.pdf> [Access date: 16.11.2018]

shown that its alignment in the integration process continues and follows a stable policy that glorifies and protects EU values.

While the Brexit process is underway, Slovakia had to deal with some major issues in the country. On 21 February 2018, Slovak investigative journalist Jan Kuciak and fiancée Martina Kusnirova were found dead in their home in Bratislava. Kuciak was investigating the fact that Italian organized crime had relations with Slovakia's top executives on corruption. According to Kuciak's claims, businessmen who were members of the Italian mafia 'Ndrangheta were using the EU funds for their own benefit in the eastern region of Slovakia and benefiting from the cooperation with the Fico government.²⁷⁵

The public wanted to clarify the murder and to prove that the government was committed to democratic values. The Slovak people organized commemorations and marches in various parts of the country for the young couple. The protests with the tag #ALLFORJAN were a call for freedom of press and democracy for the Fico government, and it was inevitable that this terrible murder would be on the agenda of both the EU and the world public.

Prime Minister Fico reported that the person who brought any information with the murder would be given a prize of 1 million euros.²⁷⁶ As a result of pressure from the Slovak people, Fico was forced to resign three weeks after the murder. Although he resigned from his office, he wanted to continue to be active in the politics of the country. On 22 March 2018, the title of Prime Minister was transferred to Peter Pellegrini by President Andrej Kiska.²⁷⁷ Although Robert Fico, who spent 10 years as prime minister, resigned from his post, he is still one of the strongest political profiles in the country.

The new PM Pellegrini stated that he respects the freedom of the press and that his government is going to support pro-European and pro-NATO policy. Although the Slovak people wanted an early election, the government continues with the tripartite coalition. Pellegrini emphasized the importance

275 Andrew Hosken, The mafia murders that brought down Slovakia's government, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-44873067> [Access date: 20.04.2019]

276 Jan Kuciak murder: Slovak PM offers €1m reward in appeal <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-43220275> [Access date: 20.04.2019]

277 Christian Davies, Slovakia's PM resigns amid scandal over murder of journalist <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/mar/15/slovakias-prime-minister-robert-fico-resigns-journalist-murder> [Access date: 20.04.2019]

and pioneering of its country for pro-European policies and supported the views of French president Emmanuel Macron for the future of the EU.²⁷⁸

Pellegrini's statement on increasing the contribution rates of member states to close the gap that Brexit will create in the EU budget has indicated that the contribution rates to be made by other states should be considered, but in any case, Slovakia is ready to contribute more.²⁷⁹ Another policy area where the discussions are intense is the quotas for the distribution of migrants. Commenting on this issue, the Slovakian Minister of European Affairs Ivan Korcok argued that it was not right to give mandatory migrant quota to the member states. Korcok expressed that the immigrants do not come to stay in Slovakia and shortly after they arrived, they use Slovakia as a transit country and try to find a way to move to countries such as Germany, France and the UK. In addition, Korcok argued that they were not anti-solidarity but it must be seen that the system of immigrants was not working properly.²⁸⁰

In March 2019, the Slovak people went to the polls for the presidential election. Zuzana Caputova, a lawyer from the Progressive Slovakia / Progresivne Slovensko party, founded around liberal and pro-European ideology, won the presidential election in two rounds against Maros Sefcovic, a member of the left-wing Smer-SD, and vice-president of the European Commission.²⁸¹ In the first round of the election, Caputova received 40.57% of the vote, while his opponent Sefcovic received 18.66%. Zuzana Caputova won more than 1 million votes in the second round and became the fifth president and first female president of Slovakia with 58.40%.²⁸²

The recent growing populist rhetoric of Smer-SD, the corruption scandals and the murder of journalist Jan Kuciak led to the resignation of Robert Fico and the fall of his government. Caputova considered the presidential election as a struggle between good and evil. The campaign was carried out with the slogan "Postavme sa zlu, spolu to dokazeme" which means "stand up against evil, together we can do it".²⁸³ As President Andrej Kiska stated earlier "*The EU is not the problem, The*

278 Pellegrini to MEPs: My government is pro-European and committed to NATO, <https://spectator.sme.sk/c/22073045/pellegrini-to-meps-my-government-is-pro-european-and-committed-to-nato.html> [Access date: 20.04.2019]

279 Bloomberg Politics, Slovakia Is Prepared to Contribute More to EU Budget, Says Premier <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jUYZ7stP3Oo> [Access date: 21.04.2019]

280 FRANCE 24 English, Slovakia's Europe minister on Bratislava's place in the EU and migrant quotas <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7uhVhI0u5pY&list=LL66jZxFD6FUnzss8PnPIN6w&index=8&t=0s> [Access date: 21.04.2019]

281 Environmental activist elected as Slovakia's first female president <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/zuzana-caputova-elected-slovakias-first-female-president/> [Access date: 25.04.2019]

282 The Election of the President of The Slovak Republic 2019 <http://volby.statistics.sk/prez/prez2019/en/index.html> [Access date: 25.04.2019]

283 Rob Cameron, Caputova: Slovakia's president-elect offering alternative to populism <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-47865365> [Access date: 25.04.2019]

EU is the solution."²⁸⁴ and he supported Caputova during the election, stressed that Slovakia was in a period of moral crisis and that a president like Zuzana Caputova was needed.²⁸⁵

The people of Slovakia have shaped their choices around pro-European views as a result of the Smer and Fico government delivering the country to the crisis. As Prime Minister Pellegrini and President Caputova have clearly stated, Slovakia will remain committed to common values in its relations with the EU in the future.

Slovakia strives to restore stability in its internal affairs and to present a democratic policy agenda to the public while at the same time trying to maximize the benefits of being a member of the EU. It has been criticized for its non-compliance with the democratic conditions in its accession process to the EU and will not want to be exposed to the same criticism as the years after it began to form a strong profile within the EU. On the other hand, these high-level changes that have been made to prevent the country's profile from being smudged are also evidence that the government should take immediate steps to avoid the fear of the loss of sovereignty that the Slovak people share as the basis for their anti-European views.

As previously mentioned, the Slovak people do not think much of EU issues because they think they are not very effective in EU institutions and they just want to make sure that there is a better course than the current situation. During the Brexit process, Slovakia announced that it would pursue a policy compatible with the EU and said that it would be in the interest of Slovakia to reach any agreement in negotiations with the UK. With losing one of the biggest partners of the defense, the EU and its members will carry their partnerships with the United States more to their agendas in the face of the threatening and addictive policies of Russia.

While stressing that leaving the EU is not a solution, Slovakia emphasizes that member states need to have closer ties in their mutual relations and continue to work for the interests of the Union. While acting within the framework of the common ideas shared by the EU in general, Slovakia will be advocates of pro-European view in its negotiations with the UK in order not to adversely affect public opinion and will continue to take steps to protect EU values.

284 Macron to Slovaks: Use every opportunity to take part in the European dialogue <https://spectator.sme.sk/c/20947457/macron-to-slovaks-use-every-opportunity-to-take-part-in-the-european-dialogue.html> [Access date: 25.04.2019]

285 Anti-graft activist Caputova elected Slovakia's first female president <https://www.france24.com/en/20190331-anti-graft-activist-caputova-elected-slovakia-first-female-president> [Access date: 25.04.2019]

CONCLUSION

The devastating effect of the advancements in war technology has revealed the destruction of nuclear weapons by the death of fifty million people. At the end of the war, the Nuremberg Court was set up to look at the crimes against war crimes and humanity. Germany's defeat has left its place in the ideological divide in the eastern and western blocs led by the USA and the USSR. The international military and political tension of the Cold War ended with the dissolution of the USSR. The colonies, which declared their independence as a result of the war, caused a great increase in the number of nation states in the world. The European Coal and Steel Community, one of the international organizations and organizations involved in the international system of the period, was established for the purpose of economic union among European states and later gained a political identity.

The community which continues its activities under the name of the European Union diversifies its working areas and broadens its boundaries. European states wishing to become members of the Union must meet certain criteria and apply the necessary regulations to their internal and external policies. In this platform, where small and large states come together, the members have the opportunity to be represented and participate in the decision-making mechanisms in the EU institutions. Here, the distinction between small and large state is gaining importance. Small states come together under the roof of the EU because they have limited resources and budgets, have less developed institutional structures, and need regional cooperation. Small states can have relatively strong or weak characteristics in their relations within the Union. Although the regulations cover all members, it is essential that the interests of the major states are not restricted.

Small states that moving away from fatalism have to maintain a balance between observing their national interests and advancing on behalf of the Union in an environment where necessary resources are provided to improve themselves. In this study, population criterion was taken as the first criterion, and after the inclusion of other criterion, the small states in the EU were determined as Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia, Cyprus, Malta, Slovakia, Slovenia, Hungary, Luxembourg, Bulgaria, Croatia, Ireland.

Small states in the EU are benefiting from the economic, social and military contributions provided by the big states and want to continue to improve in order to maintain stability in their

internal and external policies. With the Brexit referendum in the UK in 2016, the small states within the Union have carried various policies to their agendas and expressed their views around common concerns. Amongst these members, there are hard and soft Brexit supporters and it is known that Brexit will create some inevitable losses for both the EU and the UK. Here, both sides wanted to show how wrong the decision they had made against them by obtaining the highest benefit for itself. The United Kingdom, which does not want to be involved in the free movement of workers and peoples, is struggling to maintain its membership in the common market. However, the exclusion of any of the fundamental principles by all EU members is not accepted.

The Baltics and Central European countries support the existence of a strong EU member, such as Britain, in order not to be overshadowed by Russia due to their strategic position. For these countries, members with large economies in EU membership have been encouraging. On the contrary, the negative attitude of the UK towards immigration policies was supported by Hungary. With the rise of the rightist parties in the member states, the unity and solidarity of the EU is emphasized by the governments and the message that the separation from the EU will have devastating consequences is given to the public. In the race to attract the UK-based investments to their countries which has been seen as one of the positive results of Brexit, member states increase their cooperation with each other. In order to reduce their costs, companies are moving towards Central and Eastern European countries, which requires countries to organize their resources to develop their own equipment. The most effective use of EU investments will support the relative size of small states at this point.

Another issue on the agenda of the EU with Brexit is to fill the gap that would occur in the budget after the UK left the EU. As it is known, Britain is one of the countries that contributed the most to the EU budget and has an important place in the economies of small states. While most governments are concerned that their EU funds will decrease, they do not want to contribute more. The calls for solidarity and co-operation to prevent economic planning, while the member states need to act moderately for common benefit, on the other hand, raise the question of the thinning of the sovereignty walls of the small states. While small states see Britain as a balancing act against German-French dominance, they will now need a new policy in order to ensure that their voices are not lost in EU politics. They can create limited alliances among themselves, but they can continue their membership by appearing in limited policies under the protection of large states.

Member States expressed their concerns about the UK's demands on restrictions on free movement of people and they need to ensure that their citizens' rights won't be exploited. Thousands of EU citizens living, studying and living in the UK are helping to develop their countries economically and socially. A negative agreement in Brexit will seriously affect these people and will

harm Britain's image. British citizens, on the other hand, are applying to obtain EU citizenship, particularly Irish citizenship, in order not to lose the benefits of EU membership.

Slovakia, whose agenda is analyzed after the Brexit referendum, has the common concerns of most small members. Striving to be a winner in the struggle for independence throughout history, Slovakia has been exposed to assimilation policies of its current neighbor, and has built its current minority and immigration policies on a rigid basis. Having close relations with the Czechs due to their historical and cultural affinity, the Slovaks formed a unified state after the First World War by taking the name Czechoslovakia. As a result of the lack of independence movements during the Second World War, Czechoslovakia continued to exist. With the dissolution of the USSR in 1989, Slovakia began to develop new domestic and foreign policy as a country that gained independence in 1993. In order to catch up with Western European states and become a party to international treaties, Slovakia had to shape its institutions and policies according to certain standards in order to become a member of European organizations.

The most effective element in the transition of Slovakia from communism to democracy was the membership of the European Union. Slovakia, which became a member of both NATO and the EU in 2004, is in the center of Europe as one of the oldest nations of Europe. The wrong and unstable management of different ideologies in the first elections after the independence played an important role in shaping Slovakia's current EU view. Vladimir Meciar's anti-democratic administration was rejected in Slovakia's EU application, as it was not in accordance with the Copenhagen Criteria. The fear of failure in the Slovak people has led to the division of domestic politics. This division, on the other hand, has been the driving force in the development of parliamentary democracy. The fear of being pushed out of the evolving order in Europe and a weaker policy management than its neighbors led to great support for EU integration by Slovak people.

Meciar's unstable and repressive regime ended with the coalition government of Mikulas Dzurinda in 1998, which paved the way for EU membership for Slovakia. The new government and almost all political parties gathered around a single objective and tried to meet the conditions for EU membership. It was invited by the European Commission to the next negotiating group due to the progress made by Slovakia. Slovakia, which was an EU member in 2004, did not experience the feared delay and was not postponed to the enlargement group in 2007. Slovakia, which underwent a fast and reliable integration process after EU membership, soon became a member of the Schengen Area in 2007 and eurozone in 2009.

Slovakia, which proved to be an important partner with its open and flexible economy and its capacity in the energy sector, began to think once again in the period of crisis when signing the

common policies with the EU. Slovakia does not tolerate political restrictions despite defense, security, economic assistance and social policy arrangements in cooperation with the EU. The fact that the EU is partly considered an economic project prevents member states from accepting any interference with their sovereignty. As a small EU member, it is thought that Slovakia is not very influential in politics, which leads the Slovak people to participate in European Parliament elections at low rates.

The inability of Roma minorities to adapt to social policies within the country and the high inequality between different ethnic groups and indigenous populations influenced by new immigration policies affect Slovakia's domestic policies and lead to a more rigid outlook on refugees. The government's occasional criticism of the EU's immigration policies and similar responses from neighboring states have led to a certain view of regional migrant groups. The majority of Slovak people are rural, as urbanization is concentrated in a number of cities and regions. Failure to distribute industrialization regularly prevents restructuring and affects employment negatively. In addition, the unemployed minorities reveal the need for more investment for the Slovak economy.

The Brexit referendum in the UK in 2016 brought the Art. 50 to the agenda of EU members for the first time. The decision to leave one of the strongest members of the EU has led to an increase in the rightist views in the member states. On the other hand, as the Slovak government emphasizes, EU members should not take the Brexit decision as an example and should now have closer cooperation and solidarity. Slovakia, which took over the Presidency of the Council of the European Union in 2016, managed a more flexible agenda than the presidencies, which faced larger crises. Slovakia, which hesitated to take important steps, especially in migration and asylum policies, prioritized Brexit as little as possible in the EU agenda and prevented the functioning of the EU. The priorities of Slovakia's presidency policies have been a stronger EU economy, the modernization of the internal market, a stable migrant and asylum policy and a global European policy.

The withdrawal of Britain's support for EU policies raises concerns about the security of borders for Slovakia, the reduction of EU funds, an increase in the contribution to budget, and the protection of the rights of Slovak citizens in the UK. Slovakia, which has seen its interests in the EU more dominant in its relations with Britain, will be reluctant to make a major move to continue EU assistance. The governments of the member states do not want to make more contributions to the budget deficit created by the UK, but the Prime Minister of Slovakia, Pellegrini, said that his country is ready to help with the proportions to be determined.

The increasing chaos in Slovakia's recent domestic politics has been reflected in the presidential election results and Zuzana Caputova, a pro-European liberal-minded candidate, has been elected as

the first female president of Slovakia. Slovakia, which has acted against the traumatic consequences of corruption allegations, must eliminate the possibility of a new critique of the implementation of democracy after many years. Slovakia should pursue a stable policy if it wants to attract EU and London-based investments, taking advantage of the gap created by Brexit.



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CURRICULUM VITAE

Sedanur YILDIZ was born in Trabzon in 13.05.1993. She completed her high school education in Trabzon Anatolian High School. She entered the Department of International Relations of Karadeniz Technical University with first place in 2011. She completed her third year of undergraduate education at Mykolo Romerio University in Vilnius/Lithuania in 2013-2014. She graduated from the Department of International Relations in 2015. In 2016, she started to study for her master's degree at Karadeniz Technical University, Institute of Social Sciences, Department of International Relations. She completed the 2017-2018 spring semester in Slovakia-Comenius University in Bratislava. Sedanur YILDIZ knows fluent English, beginner level German, Lithuanian and Korean.