



The Scottish Parliament
Pàrlamaid na h-Alba

CULTURE, TOURISM, EUROPE AND EXTERNAL AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

AGENDA

3rd Meeting, 2019 (Session 5)

Thursday 24 January 2019

The Committee will meet at 9.00 am in the Robert Burns Room (CR1).

1. **Article 50 Negotiations:** The Committee will take evidence from—
 - Professor Anton Muscatelli, Principal and Vice Chancellor, University of Glasgow;
 - Akash Paun, Senior Fellow, Institute for Government;
 - Dr Fabian Zuleeg, Chief Executive and Chief Economist, European Policy Centre.
2. **Correspondence:** The Committee will consider correspondence that has been received from Historic Environment Scotland.
3. **Census (Amendment) (Scotland) Bill (in private):** The Committee will consider a draft Stage 1 report.

Stephen Herbert
Clerk to the Culture, Tourism, Europe and External Affairs Committee
Room T3.40
The Scottish Parliament
Edinburgh
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Email: stephen.herbert@parliament.scot

The papers for this meeting are as follows—

Note by the Clerk

CTEEA/S5/19/3/1

PRIVATE PAPER

CTEEA/S5/19/3/2
(P)

Note by the Clerk

CTEEA/S5/19/3/3

PRIVATE PAPER

CTEEA/S5/19/3/4
(P)

Culture, Tourism, Europe and External Affairs Committee

3rd Meeting, 2019 (Session 5) Thursday 24 January 2019

Article 50 Withdrawal Negotiations

Note by the Clerk

Purpose

1. The Committee will take evidence, regarding the current position with regard to the Article 50 Withdrawal Negotiations, from:
 - Professor Anton Muscatelli, Principal and Vice Chancellor, University of Glasgow
 - Akash Paun, Senior Fellow, Institute of Government
 - Dr Fabian Zuleeg, Chief Executive and Chief Economist, European Policy Centre (via video-conference)
2. A written submission has been received from Dr Zuleeg and is provided at **Annexe A**. The written submission is based on a recent blog by Dr Zuleeg entitled '[The EU's 'no deal' strategic headache](#)'.
3. Details of the Committee's scrutiny of the Article 50 process can be accessed at—
<https://www.parliament.scot/parliamentarybusiness/CurrentCommittees/105355.aspx>

**Stephen Herbert
Clerk
CTEEA Committee
21 January 2019**

Written Submission from Dr Fabian Zuleeg

The [European Policy Centre](#) is a Brussels-based politically independent, generalist think tank spanning a wide range of policy areas, able to connect the dots between the different policy silos with cross-cutting analysis and timely events. The credibility of its analysis and output is underpinned by its multi-stakeholder approach, which depends on a balanced debate and exchange involving the different constituencies and interests in Brussels, and reflected in the EPC's broad-based membership.

The EU's 'no deal' strategic headache

After Prime Minister May's catastrophic defeat in Tuesday's (15th January) meaningful vote, the worst-case Brexit scenario, no deal, remains a real possibility. While most UK MPs have repeatedly expressed their determination to avoid a no-deal scenario, so far no alternative appears to command a majority in the House of Commons, risking a no deal by default on 29 March. While this is not the only possible outcome, prudent risk management demands increased contingency planning for such a scenario, on both sides of the Channel.

While the economic costs are clearly asymmetric, the impact on the EU and its member states is far from negligible, with significant losses especially for countries with close economic ties to the UK, such as Belgium and the Netherlands. Both sides want to mitigate the worst effects, hoping to ensure that, at the very least, planes will fly and critical supplies will continue to cross the Channel, although logistical chaos and legal uncertainties will become significant barriers. But contingency planning also needs to happen at the highest political level: it is high time the EU and its members coordinated and determined their strategic positions in case of a no-deal Brexit.

From unity to discord?

One of the most remarkable aspects of the Brexit process has been the unity displayed by the EU27, which has been essential to deliver the Union's desired outcomes. But unity is likely to fray in a no-deal scenario, to the detriment of the EU27. In the countries hit hardest by a disorderly Brexit, there will be strong domestic pressure to find quick-fix solutions, even if these go against common EU positions. Already in the run-up to a chaotic exit, diverging risks make some member states far more inclined to extend Article 50 than others.

If the UK reneges on its commitments made in the first phase of the negotiations (on EU citizens' rights, financial obligations and the Northern Ireland border), the potential of conflict between member states increases further. The appearance of the 'Brexit gap' already in the current EU multiannual financial framework would make discord between the EU27 a certainty.

A changing political geography

At the same time, the EU would be faced with some tricky questions created by a changing political geography, from Gibraltar to the Channel Islands, to Crown

dependencies in the rest of the world, as well as for the EU's relationship with countries such as Switzerland, Norway and Turkey.

No deal and the potential of border controls would be unacceptable to large parts of the population in Northern Ireland, putting into question the constitutional status quo. The potential unification of the island would be back on the agenda. This could also draw the EU27 into conflict if the pressures result in a re-eruption of violence.

No deal would also make a second independence referendum in Scotland almost certain. Current opinion polls indicate that a chaotic exit might well be enough to lead to a separation of Scotland from the rest of the UK, which would almost certainly be followed by an EU membership application; there is little thinking in the EU on how to react to such a scenario.

The UK as a third country

After no deal, the EU27 would be faced with a competitor posing far more fundamental challenges than a UK still closely tied to EU rules, especially in case of an acrimonious divorce. There might well be competition and conflict, including for contested resources and markets in areas such as fishing and energy. The level playing field provisions included in the Withdrawal Agreement would not come into force, opening the possibility of the UK to adopt far more mercantilist economic policies, potentially based on lower standards. In global trade relations, the UK could pursue trade deals by undercutting the EU, driven by a necessity to quickly establish new economic relationships.

Europe in the world

The EU's global role would also change. Current cooperation on issues such as climate change, development or combatting tax havens could not be taken for granted. This would be a particular challenge in the field of internal and external security where UK capacities remain substantial for the EU27, including within the NATO context.

The EU would also have to deal with a situation where a major power within Europe would seek separate strategic relationships with key countries around the world, including the US, Russia and China. This opens the door to divide-and-conquer tactics and might lead to divergent positions on crucial issues such as the global multilateral trade system, sanctions or openness to investment in strategic sectors.

Together we are strong

The tribulations resulting from a no-deal scenario must not result in the EU sacrificing its principles to ensure an orderly Brexit. It is in the economic and political interest of the Union to remain united on its red lines, which also limits what can be offered to the UK at this point; caving into cherry-picking demands of the UK would, in the end, pose an existential threat to the EU itself.

This implies that the EU27 need to discuss and provide answers to the hard strategic questions a no-deal Brexit poses, redefining not only the EU's relationship with the UK but also with other neighbours and the rest of the world. Most crucially, the EU member states need to agree a common strategic 'negotiation position' for the event of no deal.

If the worst-case scenario cannot be averted, it is best for the EU27 to be fully prepared for all eventualities: unity has proven to be the best recipe.

Culture, Tourism, Europe and External Affairs Committee

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Correspondence

Background

1. In November 2018, the Convener was contacted by an individual who visited a historic property. Following their visit, the individual in question did some further investigation into the property and found that it had been originally built by a family with a long and extensive history of trading in slaves and plantation ownership. While the family's ties to the property are well known, the properties links to the slave trade appear not to have been clearly reflected either at the property itself or online.
2. In December the Convener wrote to Historic Environment Scotland (HES) asking what steps the HES had taken to ensure that historical sites in Scotland and their links to slavery are well documented and readily available to the general public. On 10 January 2019, Lorna Ewan, Head of Visitor Experience, Content & Learning at HES replied to the Convener (**Annexe A**) providing details of the research being undertaken by HES to examine how the profits from slavery impacted on the historic built environment of Scotland and to identify ways to acknowledge that impact.

Decision

3. The Committee is invited to note the correspondence from HES to the Convener.

**Mark Johnson
Assistant Clerk
CTEEA Committee
21 January 2019**

ANNEXE A



HISTORIC
ENVIRONMENT
SCOTLAND

ÀRAINNEACHD
EACHDRAIDHEIL
ALBA

Joan McAlpine MSP, Convener,
Culture, Tourism, Europe and External Affairs Committee
By email
europa@parliament.scot

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Learning
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10 January 2019

Dear Ms. McAlpine,

Legacy of Scotland's role in slavery

Thank you for your letter to Alex Paterson, dated 5th December which has been passed on to me, as Head of Visitor Experience, Content & Learning as it directly links to my remit.

Historic Environment Scotland (HES) is very conscious of the need for increased clarity in this area and you may be interested to know that we will be undertaking a research programme looking into how the profits from slavery impacted on the historic built environment of Scotland and to identify ways to acknowledge that impact. Initial meetings have been held but the planning stage for this co-ordinated programme of research will begin fully in early 2019.

We anticipate that this research will focus not only on the Properties in Care estate but also on the wider historic built environment i.e. Scotland's towns, cities, country estates, industrial sites. We are already in contact with relevant academics and other national and cultural heritage bodies with the aim of taking forward an ambitious research project. Given the scope of this work we expect it to take place over a number of years.

I hope you find this information useful,

Yours Sincerely,

p.p. *Sarah Blackwell*

LORNA EWAN

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