

### BREXIT IMPACT ON THE EU'S CLIMATE DIPLOMACY

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#### Abstract

European Union is a political and economic union of 27 member states. Britain is one of the leading members of the EU. The UK decided to leave the European Union. The EU struggled with the project that was being worked on called Climate Diplomacy. EU and its member states are part of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). The EU has built a significant and potentially a leading position in global governance on climate. Brexit is only one factor that could change the dynamics of its role. In this case, The EU has a negative impact as well as positive impacts due to Brexit. It turns out that the negative implications are more dominant than positive effects. European Union will lose the financial contribution made by the UK to the EU budget.

Keywords: European Union, UK, Brexit, Climate Diplomacy

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#### 1. Introduction

Climate diplomacy is one of the most persuasive examples of the EU working on the global level to strengthen collaboration. Both the EU and its member states are part of the UNFCCC or United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, the structure within which international climate negotiations take place, and, most importantly, the Conferences of the Parties (COPs) to UNFCCC. In these European networks and resources, the UK contributes many esteemed diplomats and experts. The UK is also playing an important role in influencing the EU's stance on the climate issue. It created the Green Growth Community, for example, which helped to guide the EU's approach to COP21.

The European Union has the goal to regulate climate change by stating that the EU is an important and potential role in leading global climate issues. Britain came to support action on global climate issues within the EU and international areas. "The EU has introduced greenhouse gas (GHG) emission reduction targets, including a 40 percent reduction by 2030 relative to 1990 levels, and has implemented some policies to achieve its objectives" (Dupont and Moore 2019) (Bocse 2019).

The United Kingdom has had a significant influence on strengthening EU policy in EU internal instruments. "Brexit comes at a time when urgent action on climate change is imperative, especially in terms of the rapidly closing window to limit global temperature rise to 1.5°C compared with pre-industrial times" (IPCC, 2018). In the period until 2020, participating countries will be determined by revised political decisions (NDCs).

If Britain were to leave the EU, it would be withdrawing itself from all such ways of collaboration, be it the diplomatic networks or the European services that shape the EU's climate diplomacy. Brexit undermined not only the global influence of the United Kingdom on international climate policy but also that of the EU, which needs to remain as ambitious as possible in this area to encourage other top emitters in the world to reduce their emissions. In this paper, we will explain and analyze how the impact of EU climate policy after the UK departs from EU membership.

#### 2. Literature Review

With the development of issues that have arisen over time, the European Union not only has the aim of resolving political and economic problems, it also acts as a regional organization that is believed to be able to solve climate problems that affect the state of the world. The whole world hopes that the European Union can provide solutions to these problems. Around the year 2000, the European Commission, the European Union's primary executive body, states that Europe's challenge in combating climate change is that Europe is required to develop environmentally-friendly policies.

It is not easy to talk about solving climate problems that are continually changing; climate change that is uncertain and difficult to predict can have an impact on the conditions of the international order. It can be said that the character possessed by climate change is the same as other environmental problems such as scientific uncertainty, intervention in the application of policies, and so forth.

The European Union has tried to play an important role since the 1980s to work on a large-scale system of trading greenhouse gas emissions. Following international agreements on the Kyoto Protocol, the EU has tried to find a way to keep the average temperature stable and not more than 28°C in pre-industrial levels. Many things are estimated to reduce the impact of climate change, such as environmental drought, global warming, rising sea levels, and floods. Efforts are being made to join as part of international policy efforts and use advanced technology, for example, carbon storage.

As for the reasons why the European Union needs to play an important role in regulating climate change, first, the European Union is a producer of greenhouse gas emission, which is quite significant from global emissions. Second, the European Union leads three specific things to help climate change occur by reaching the target within the allotted time. The EU is implementing a strategy using new policy instruments, namely trading in emissions and internal costs being shared equally; apply existing norms and principles by promoting. Last but not least, the EU also has an important role in the area of European national politics. "Over the past 50 years, many important aspects of national politics, policy, and administration have been permanently 'in Europe' by the EU, which was reshaped to conform to EU level norms" (Bocse 2019).

In the field of environment, most aspects of national policy are now made by the results of discussions with the European Union. The exit of the UK from the European Union has had a significant impact on the development of EU activities as a regional organization that has succeeded in integrating the interests of member states into one. There is a connection between Britain's exit from the European Union and particular climate policies in Europe. Since the 1990s, Britain has been a pioneer in environmental conservation both in the European Union and globally.

Britain has played an important role in ensuring climate action in the European Union. Before the UK finally officially leaves the European Union, they already have a target to achieve the goal of emission neutrality by 2050. Indirectly, the UK's political position has weakened in the international order to be able to maintain its influence in overcoming this climate problem

For quite some time, the EU has been eager to be a pioneer in curbing climate change and making governments friendly to the environment. The EU's target has been achieved with a certain level of leadership. Outside the broader international political, economic and social context, three main conditions seem important to the role of global leadership: (1) internal policies on a credible and ambitious climate; (2) consistent international participation through multilateral and bilateral climate diplomacy; and (3) the potential to build environmental awareness.

When Brexit becomes a new issue, it poses a challenge to the EU's strategic role in climate governance. "Britain's exit from EU internal policy is likely to lead to changes in (1) the legitimacy and commitment of EN's internal policy; (2) continuity and efficiency of climate diplomacy, and (3) potentially interesting followers" (Dupont and Moore 2019). The dynamics and progress in terms of policy and diplomacy tend to depend much on the complexity of climate governance relations between the United Kingdom and the European Union in the future.

### 3. Research Methods

In making this writing, the method that the writer determines to bring together this writing is a qualitative descriptive method. This approach is a lookup method that makes use of qualitative data and is described in a descriptive history. This type of qualitative descriptive lookup is often used to analyze social events, phenomena, or circumstances.

The information bought is secondary data, namely data or archives related to writing problems. The facts collection methods to do this writing, the writer makes use of a library research which is a series of activities related to the method of amassing library data, analyzing and taking notes, and processing the research material.

### 4. Results and Discussions

#### 4.1. EU and ETS

EU ETS (European Union Emission Trading System) is one of the critical policies of the European Union in reducing greenhouse gas effects. As it is known, the EU has an enthusiastic policy of tackling climate change. ETS has been one of the tools for the European Union in reducing greenhouse gas emissions. The EU has had targets to reduce greenhouse gas emissions by 20 percent in 2020 and 40 percent in 2030. EU ETS is a cap and trade system in the world's oldest carbon market and has been a pioneer for other countries in implementing mandatory carbon market systems.

Simply put, "EU ETS has a restriction (cap) mechanism for greenhouse gas emissions in the power generation, intra-EU aviation and energy-intensive industries such as steel, cement, oil refining, pulp/paper production." (Dupont and Moore 2019) Each year, the ETS policy will be reported by the designated party and continue to be deducted from its emissions annually. In 2018, restrictions on emissions in the EU amounted to 1.9 billion tons of greenhouse gases and were primarily carbon dioxide. From 2013 to 2020, the emission limits were reduced to 1.74 percent, and 2.2 percent per year after that. "Every ton of emissions that are under the limits of the overall set, the EU authorities will allocate direct emission allowances to the ETS sector" (Dupont and Moore 2019). Each allowance must be submitted for every ton of greenhouse gases emitted. These benefits can be traded between organizations at a price that has been determined by the carbon market. Most revenue from auctions is transferred to Member State governments.

The European Union has played a role in the development of global climate politics. Britain, while still a member of the European Union, has made an overall positive contribution to acting internally and internationally on climate change. However, what will happen is that the European Union will lose the financial contribution made by the UK to the EU budget by 14% of expenditure in 2015. There are plans for 25% of the EU budget after 2020 for climate projects. It will be 25% less after Britain leaves the EU. Annually the UK has provided around 1.5 billion euros in the form of Official Development Assistance (ODA) through the European Union with climate-oriented goals and gradually integrated into aid, especially for the energy and infrastructure sector. "The EU promises to spend in 2014-2020 more than 5.3 billion euros on climate change action as part of its development cooperation" (Scott, 2016). The European Union will be experiencing a significant decline in the overall development and the financial climate after Brexit.

"The UK has become the first country in the world to establish a carbon trading scheme in 2002 as well as being one of the first countries for EU ETS" (Scott 2014). The EU trading scheme provides an advantage for many official companies and brokers in the UK, so London has become the world's carbon trading hub. "The UK also leads and adopts a legally binding greenhouse gas emission reduction target for the year 2050 under the Climate Change Act" (Cary and Metternich 2013). The UK also establishes the Climate Change Committee as an independent body advising governments on carbon budgets.

### 4.2. EU-UK Green Diplomacy

In 2005, the UK government boycotted non-condensing boilers that are considered polluting the air. The product rejection policy turned out to be more advanced than European products in general. The seriousness of the UK in addressing climate change is also aligned with its domestic policies. Since the year 1994, the UK has become the first in Europe to introduce supplier obligations policy for energy saving. This supplier's obligation has resulted in a free subsidy or isolation given to millions of homes.

The UK has mostly thrust the EU ETS policy to achieve European Union ambitions in climate change. Through EU policy on climate change and ETS, it has benefited the European Union's community through environmentally friendly work and creates low-carbon economic growth and can save money and maintain energy security. Thee bolstered expanding the 2020 GHG focus from 20 to 30 percent (contrasted with 1990 levels) following the 2009 atmosphere arrangements in Copenhagen. It likewise proposed a contingent 50 percent EU GHG focus for 2030 in anticipation of the 2015 Paris Conference. It joined other part states to help expansion in the 2030 objective over 40 percent after the selection of the 2015 Paris Agreement.

# 4.3. UK Climate Action Leadership

After the first International Climate Conference hosted by the World Meteorological Organization in 1979, the United Kingdom has demonstrated its determination to take action on climate change both at home and in its foreign policy. UK Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher was among the first high-profile politicians to put climate change on the global political map in the 1970s, making it part of an international policy strategy that had traditionally centered primarily on stability and war issues. Thatcher's address at the 1989 UN General Assembly is still cited today, and UK policies at home continue to serve as models for other nations, such as:

- "The Royal Commission on Environmental Pollution reporting on climate change";
- "The UK's 2008 Climate Change Act groundbreaking legislation, which placed greenhouse gas reduction targets at 80% of 1990 levels by 2050";
- "The Committee on Climate Change an independent statutory body of experts providing advice to government on how to meet carbon reduction targets. The Chinese counterpart, the National China Expert Committee on Climate Change, was then formed and the two maintain a close partnership";
- "UK tax policy, introducing the Climate Change Levy in 2001 an energy tax delivered to non-domestic users originally including several climate action related exemptions. The UK's carbon price floor is above all EU member countries except for Finland and Sweden at \$28/tCO eq";
- "The UK government special representative on climate change: John Ashton (2006-2012) and then Professor Sir David King (2013-2017). These pioneering appointments have driven progressive policies on climate change, with other nations following in appointing similar positions. The UN appointed three special envoys on climate change in 2007 to progress international negotiations";
- "The UK Treasury's Stern Review, which presented the costs and benefits of action on climate change and is arguably the most important review to date on the economics of climate change";
- "The Green Investment Bank (formed in 2012) the first investment bank entirely dedicated to greening the economy";
- "The Global Commission on the Economy and the climate (led by the UK with Colombia, Ethiopia, Indonesia, Norway, South Korea, and Sweden). The Commission's New Climate Economy report provides an investment and growth narrative for tackling climate change";
- "The UK becoming the first western nation to join the Asian Infrastructure and Investment Bank, despite strong objection from the US. This membership allows the UK to influence this new and emerging economic superpower. Italy, Germany, and France soon followed in gaining membership"; and

• "The UK's Department for International Development (DFID), which continues to support climate change activities through its aid program and the UK's International Climate Fund – a £9.67 billion commitment over the ten years to 2021 to support climate action throughout the world."

### 4.4. UK Role in EU Climate Diplomacy

Various countries and world organizations believe in climate governance to be held by the European Union, the exit of the UK from the EU has an influence on the policies that have been in place so far and also presents new challenges for the EU. The EU sees this as having an impact, such as increasing the legitimacy of EU internal policies towards all policies, facilitating interactions with the climate diplomacy media, and having the potential to gain new interest. Brexit is expected not to harm the various climate governance policies that have been and will run. However, good relations are needed between the EU and the UK to maintain the stability of each other's strategies.

At present, the European Union has become one of the integrated international organizations, different in the 1990s, where the EU has not yet become an actor of significant significance in the global world. The EU relies heavily on member countries that are boldly advancing to fill the gaps and negotiations on international climate.

The UK was represented by the Minister of the Environment, Michael Howard, playing an important role in ensuring the UNFCCC agreement was reached. Not only that, but the UK also made particular efforts to participate in signing the Kyoto Protocol to reduce GHG emissions by 8% between 2008-2012. At that moment, Britain, which seems to be one step ahead, directly shows that there is no EU clarity in determining this climate policy.

In the 2010s, the two most prominent players were the United States and China in terms of the percentage of GHG emissions worldwide that reached 40 percent. "Although these current 'climate geopolitics' did not stop the EU from acting on climate change, they gave a pause for reflection and adaptation. Moving on from Copenhagen, we see the creation of a well-oiled EU negotiation machine" (Andrew, et al. 2010). The negotiating practices approved by the European Union are compelling. The European Union combines the efforts made at the negotiating table with negotiations and bilateral capacity building to build coalitions with other parties, both before and after making collective agreements.

The European Union has always been part of the global climate discussion in 2019. Since the 1990s, the European Union has still been involved in supporting the UNFCCC to take climate goals and take credible policy steps. The EU's policy has been explained in leading international negotiations, both because of its ability to negotiate brokers (capacity building due to the fact of a disappointing performance at some point in the 2009 Copenhagen negotiations), as well as in setting an example by making its policies. In shaping the role of the European Union in global climate governance, the part of the UK is needed.

In addition to its role in internal climate policy, the UK is also supported in an ambitious global climate agreement and has become a significant voice in developing EU diplomacy. UK history in the evolution of the European Union's global role does not always go smoothly. Still, the UK influence's general trajectory has consistently been to a strong and leading position. The European Union has participated in a 'high ambition coalition' aimed at adopting the Paris Agreement, which ensures that global temperature rises remain below ° 2 ° Celsius. Britain does not seem to participate in internal negotiations on the EU climate and energy framework in 2030. However, an important role in helping to expedite the EU negotiation process at the international level and promote attitudes towards EU climate change still held by the UK. Brexit is due to the extensive global diplomatic network of the UK and its experience as a

member of the UN Security Council cooperative, which continues to make Britain a country to be reckoned with by the EU.

The European Union is using the UK when it wants to increase its external diplomatic efforts with the capabilities of Britain. Two reasons show the ability of Britain to increase EU climate action. First, Britain is believed to be the center of EU development correctly to negotiate in the international sphere. Secondly, the United Kingdom has succeeded in playing an important role in the development of the ETS (Emissions Trading System). For example, the UK gave a critique of ETS laws in the 1990s.

In EU internal policy-making, the direct consequence received from Brexit is that it is free from future EU-UK partnerships, which is in the balance of interests. The United Kingdom can no longer play a role in the decision making of EU institutions. Within the court, the British government acts as a single entity, the implications of Brexit could be more pronounced than in the Senate, where political divisions in authority and issues of communication with the government have contributed to the unity of United Kingdom authority.

In short to medium term, the absence of the United Kingdom government from the court that will undermine cooperation for the greater ETS costs, the size of the coalition struggling with this reform (like-minded groups), and eliminating the United Kingdom as the most radical choice forum. In global climate governance, the role of the European Union in the future will not develop in space. Brexit is one of the factors whose dynamics can be changed. The relations of other countries with the European Union in global climate governance have an important role. As the global background changes, the EU without the UK may simply find its identity as a declining global player where its position depends more on the role of countries that produce other significant emissions than its relationship with the UK.

At the same time, diplomatic resources owned by the EU are likely to decrease after the Brexit. "Some research claims this concerning the overall resources and diplomatic reach of the EU, while some focus more specifically on climate diplomacy" (Hepburn & Teytelboym, 2017). They called attention to that "Britain is not only a supporter of ambitious climate targets based on carbon pricing, but it has also mobilized Foreign and Commonwealth Offices to make this case internationally." That is because Britain has an extraordinarily enormous and considerable strategic help (14% of ambassadors in the EU). Brexit has just made harm EU atmosphere activity since the choice that won't be eradicated. There a portion of the negative effect of Brexit on EU's Climate Policy:

# • Piracy of the European Union Agenda

The Brexit phenomenon influences EU climate agendas that have been set. For example, "in 2017, Brexit has diverted attention from changes in the European Council" (Wurzel and Liefferink 2019). The absence of support from the UK to increase the global carbon reduction target of 2050 will hurt the EU business.

## • Capturing human and administrative resources

The EU's internal and external policies have always involved Britain in it. The exit of the UK indirectly forced the EU to create and maintain every system to keep going well. The EU must have a new set of primary and secondary laws. All EU laws related to climate policy must be amended to take into account the resource and energy targets for the EU, which now has 27<sup>th</sup> member countries. The European Union cannot break up relations with the UK but must continue to work together to keep carrying out commitments under the Kigali Agreement.

# • The UK Release is currently still a Member

During the negotiation process, British representatives often indicated that they were not interested in engaging in EU policy-making and environmental processes or did not discuss the exchange process with the EU process, which ratified the Paris Agreement. After the referendum, changes in the British government contributed to political instability, which resulted in a delay in approving the Paris Agreement.

### • Uncertainty

Brexit has generated a lot of funds for investment in clean energy and trade in green goods and services on both sides. Brexit readiness issued by the EU has been approved and will be published a new policy for both parties. The extension granted to the UK was designed with assistance and credit auctions under EU ETS, with a severe impact on its function.

# 4.5. Europe's Energy and Climate Transition (Case Study)

It will not halt Europe's energy and climate transformation, but it will make progress in a more complicated sector (Gaventa 2017). The EU Energy Union is an integration project: across boundaries, across industries, and connecting environment and energy issues. On the other hand, it seeks to decouple the United Kingdom from the EU and, inevitably, to break the ties that have already been achieved in this vitally important area. The EU needs a plan now underway to ensure that the energy transition continues to progress.

The first and most significant danger is a distraction. It is a black hole that steals national energy and diplomatic capital. Following Trump's decision to withdraw from the Paris Agreement, the EU faces a big check of its climate leadership. The task is not only to keep the Paris Agreement intact but also to slowly increase climate commitments until they meet the goal of keeping global warming well below two degrees. Failure would take strong diplomatic capability.

Yet this is under threat: The United Kingdom is one-sixth of all diplomatic staff in EU countries, with more than 150 foreign ministers working on climate change until recently. On the other hand, the European External Action Service has long been understaffed in the field of climate diplomacy. The EU and the UK will also coordinate and improve their negotiating strategies to accelerate climate policy globally. Otherwise, the target of limiting climate change to two degrees would become impossible, regardless of how difficult and painful it is.

The second challenge to the EU is that of the independence of the United Kingdom, which aims to disrupt European economies by lowering economic, renewable energy, and environmental regulations. A group of British right-wing media and decision-makers (including lately-controversially appointed Secretary of the Environment for Theresa May) are calling for a "bonfire of EU red tape." The rules they object to are not red tape but green: goals for clean energies, requirements for toasters and hairdryers, and safety for birds and habitats. This reform policy would not only hinder commerce between the United Kingdom and the EU-27, but it would also encourage losers and laggards and make current EU laws more challenging to implement.

This push for reform is not reflected through the world, and so far, the United Kingdom has kept its environment promises in place. On its part, the European Union has taken the hard position that "environmental waste" must be stopped. The priority now is to make commitments to high environmental and climate standards directly part of the future trade agreement between the United Kingdom and the EU.

Third, the UK's departure from the EU will likely entail dynamic disarray in the UK from the EU's energy goals and policies. Unless the United Kingdom is no longer involved in the EU's carbon goals, other EU members will have to raise their commitment to reach the agreed target of at least 40% cuts in greenhouse gas emissions by 2030. Exiting the UK from the EU Carbon Trading System will mean that the system has to undergo yet another dynamic overhaul. The same applies to EU objectives and rules on interconnection, renewable energy, and efficiency. These improvements should be seen as an incentive to increase the speed of Europe's energy transformation rather than slow it down.

The fourth threat to the EU's energy transformation is the fragmentation of energy prices and supply chains. 5% of the cross-border energy transfers across the EU head to the

United Kingdom. The United Kingdom, as a net energy importer, would bear the brunt of any market turmoil triggered by a chaotic Rapkay, but EU-27 businesses are also vulnerable, particularly in low-carbon sectors. The UK is leading the EU in offshore wind deployment, for example, but most of the manufacturers and components that enable wind farms to be installed originate in the EU-27 rather than the UK.

Avoiding a slowdown in investment in renewable energy is vital. Investors do not like the political danger, and the breeze instability cloud can spread to EU-27 markets as well as the United Kingdom. Just before the UK vote, EU spending in renewable energy was still well below its 2010 high, and the European Investment Bank forecasts a funding deficit of  $\in$  100 billion a year to reach the 2030 energy and environment targets (Kolster and Smith 2017). Filling this investment gap is becoming more and more complicated: the breeze will leave a  $\in$  the European Investment Bank will lose 10 billion annual shortfalls in the EU budget and a significant shareholder.

#### 5. Conclusions and Recommendations

The European Union's position on climate governance is the result of decades of learning, capacity building, domestic policy improvement, and climate diplomacy. Britain is a major actor, both in the application of the internal climate and the European Union's global function in climate change. Brexit results in an EU energy / CO2 tax block but is recommended for ETS. This is a call for a climate policy approach, and the UK is a significant player in the promotion, adoption, and implementation of European Union international climate negotiations.

Despite the negative impacts discussed in this paper, there may also be positive implications for Brexit to overcome the European Union problem. IN the EU, there are also some areas where it acts more like an obstacle. Still, the UK can reach a path for Germany that has succeeded in pushing for a more advanced EU renewable energy and binding national targets for EU Members. Besides, Brexit can contribute to improving EU relations as an active and ambitious source of public policy, for example, in debates with energy efficiency, and can provide to EU institutions, such as the European Commission, consolidating the relationship between relations within to the Member States.

The EU has become a positive producer of energy efficiency for its citizens, including British citizens. Although the UK is putting significant pressure on the EU to reduce emissions of the greenhouse movement, it is allocating an increase in renewable energy in the EU GDP. The EU Expenditure Strategy can be implemented on Energy Efficiency Spending by 32.5% and increasing renewable energy in gross consumption by 32% by 2030. If Britain changes the setbacks in energy efficiency and other policies after leaving the EU space, many in Europe might start giving the EU more credit for their policies. Likewise, the institutions of the European Union and the European Union will grow if Brexit becomes an unsuccessful political and policy trial for Britain.

Britain is not only a supporter of ambitious climate targets based on carbon pricing, but it has also mobilized Foreign and Commonwealth Offices to make this case internationally. That is because Britain has an extensive overall diplomatic service (14% of diplomats in the EU). European Union will lose the financial contribution made by the UK to the EU budget, covering 14% of expenditure in 2015. There are plans for 25% of the post-2020 EU budget for climate projects and policies (internal and external). Brexit will be 25% of the smaller budget after Britain leaves the EU.

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