

HYPER DEMOCRACY AND DISCOMBOBULATION: THE UNITED KINGDOM BREXIT: IT'S IMPLICATION FOR CAPITALISM

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ABSTRACT: The paper is devoted to detail analysis of United Kingdom's pull out of European Union economy called Brexit; the aim is to look at the implication with an objective of preventing such political earthquake in further. By way of qualitative analysis of relevant secondary source predicated on the Marxian assumption of the political economy; the paper posits that the dynamic of the politics of international economic relation as it is manifest between European Union (EU) and United Kingdom (UK) has implication for capitalism. The paper argues that economic and political destiny of people should not be determined in such formulaic manner. However, political leaders who don't want sad outcomes of the rapture of referendum only have to provide good leadership or meet the people's expectation before referendums take place. The paper recommends that Britain in the final analysis is yet to come to terms with modern realities. Nigeria can also be caught between nostalgia and their future. Referendum and this should be a great lesson for Nigeria.

Key words: brexit, referendum, single market, capitalism

1.1. INTRODUCTION

The political earthquake of a geo-political entity that covers a large portion of the European continent called EU is about to invite people to attend its funeral service through an instrument, this paper calls Hyper Democracy and discombobulation. The EU is largely a product of numerous treaties and has undergone through expansion, growth and development that have taken it from 6 member state (Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxemburg and Netherland) to 28, as a majority of the states in Europe.

Outside the doctrine and principles of federalism, confederation or customs union, the original development of the EU was based on a super national foundation that is intended to make war unthinkable and materially impossible and reinforce democracy amongst its members as laid out by Robert Schuman and other leaders in the Schuman Declaration (1950) and the Europe declaration (1951). This principle was at the heart of the European Coals and Steel Community (ECSC 1951) the treaty of Paris (1951), and later the Treaty of Rome (1958). In essence it was the historical dialectics of 1958 that established the European Economic Community (EEC) and the European Atomic Energy Community (EAEC).

The paper empirically narrates that both the ECSC and EEC were later incorporated into EU while the EAEC maintains a distinct legal identity despite sharing members and institution. The event of World War II from 1939 to 1945 saw a human and economic catastrophe which hit Europe the most. It demonstrated the horrors of war, and also of extremism through the Holocaust and the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki is of material essence to us in this paper is drawing inspiration that once again, there was a desire particularly with the war giving the world nuclear weapons. However, the exception was the USSR, which became a super power after World War II and maintained the status for 45 years.

Britain has been a member of EU for 43 years, however, the event of June 23, 2016 through a referendum mark the turning point for Britain and EU. This day and event mark the beginning of the peripheralization of European unity and union. It is the point at which EU lost its capacity to manage its internal affairs. It is also the point at which Britain and British public showed that their mind has been driven in recent years by loud, perpetual carping about too much control from Brussels, and the need to project Britain first. Brussels is the headquarter of EU- a place where the mighty meet and take decision on political, economic and social or military issues concerning them and the rest of the world. However, the ultra-nationalists (UK) nursed fears about their great country becoming a colony within an EU empire. They chose this day June 23, 2016 through a referendum to tell the world that they are uncomfortable with the apparent globalization of British demographics turning Britain into a country of many racial colours with the influx of so many immigrants who are empowered by EU laws to be free citizens of a united Europe.

The idea of countries trading together is suggestive that such countries may not go to war. This being the doctrine of European Union often known as EU, it has since given to become a “single market” allowing goods and people to move around, basically as if the member states were one country. It has its own currency, the Euro (€), which is used by the 19 of member countries, its own Parliament and it now self-rules in a wide range of areas including on the environment, transport, consumer rights and even things such as mobile phone charges.

1.2. Conceptual Frame of Reference

For the sake of shared understanding and conceptual operationalization, it is germane to consider the basic concepts that constitute the thrust of the subject matter in this discourse. Highlighted in the following sub section are the operational meanings and nuances described to these concepts in the context of the paper.

1.2.1 Single Market

The single market is seen by it advocates as the EU’s biggest achievement and one of the main reason it was set up in the first place. Britain was a member of a free trade area in Europe before it joined in 1973 what was then known as the common market. In a free trade area, communities can trade with each other without paying tariffs but is not a single market because the member states do not have to merge their economy together.

1.2.2 Brexit

Brexit is an abbreviation of "British exit", which refers to the June 23, 2016 referendum by British voters to exit the European Union. The referendum roiled global markets, including currencies, causing the British pound to fall to its lowest level in decades. Prime Minister David Cameron, who supported the UK remaining in the EU announced he would step down in October.

1.3 Theoretical Framework: The Marxian Political Economy

The theory this work used is the Marxian political Economy, at its core, the Marxian political economy probes the organic character and dialectical relations among social phenomenon from the standpoint of econo-centricism ---what critics refer to as economic determinism (CF Momoh and Hundayin 1999; Uhembe, 2014, Okoli, 2014). This is in a conscious attempt to understand the society as well as it is relevant in understanding the politics of international economic relation (Uhembe, 2016), Ake, 1981 see it more from the working and dynamic historically, holistically, comprehensively and concretely.

The Marxian political economy is a critique of the established knowledge in social thinking and praxis. Influenced by the pioneer works of Karl Marx and Fredrich Engels, the communist manifesto (1848), the theoretical tradition is predicated on a number of principles and assumptions, prominent among which are;

- i. That the Primary and Paramount of economic/material conditions in determining the general complexion and direction of society.
- ii. That society and history are in constant dynamics and dialectics of transformation, occasioned and propelled by the interplay of forces inherent on the societal model of production,
- iii. That every social order pertinently reflects the existential imperative of its economic base;
- iv. That the realm of matters (existential conditions ordained by the societal system of production) is superior and precedential to the realm of spirit (ideas, consciousness, beliefs, values, knowledge);
- v. That the contradiction essence of matter is the reason for the dialectical dynamic of societal transformation change, (Ake; 1981; Ake, 1985; Uhembe, 2015., Okoli, 2007; Mclean and Macmillan, 2003).

Applicable to the argument is the subject matter of this paper, the uncomfotability of UK with the apparent globalization of British demographics, turning in base for the influx of so many immigrants who put pressure on the UK economy and by extension their very existence. The lake over of job by these migrants which is at the heart of economic determination, while the relation of production has remain queer and yet appears to be providing a ladder that will act as a tactic for socio economic empowerment and build power mallory, 2007, Uhembe (2014). The concept of “ladder” in (OLT) signifies untoward pattern of social mobility.

1.4 Member Countries of the EU (Year of Entry)

The European Union has 28 member countries:

Table 1.1

SN	Country	Year of Entry
1.	Austria	1995
2.	Belgium	1958
3.	Bulgaria	2007
4.	Croatia	2013
5.	Cyprus	2004
6.	Czech Republic	2004

7.	Denmark	1973
8.	Estonia	2004
9.	Finland	1995
10.	France	1958
11.	Germany	1958
12.	Greece	1981
13.	Hungary	2004
14.	Ireland	1973
15.	Italy	1958
16.	Latvia	2004
17.	Lithuania	2004
18.	Luxembourg	1958
19.	Malta	2004
20.	Netherlands	1958
21.	Poland	2004
22.	Portugal	1986
23.	Romania	2007
24.	Slovakia	2004
25.	Slovenia	2004
26.	Spain	1986
27.	Sweden	1995
28.	United Kingdom	1973

Source: Authors compilation

Table 1.1 is arranged alphabetically and does not necessarily respect the year of entry hence the year of entry goes with the name of the country and it's alphabetically location without regards to time of entry into membership of EU.

1.5. Historical Overview of Membership Referendum

No nation state has ever left the EU. But Greenland, one of Denmark's overseas territories, held a referendum in 1982, after gaining a greater degree of self-government and voted 52 to 48% to leave, which it dully did after a period of negation. Another dimension to this historical review is the faith like Northern Ireland and Scotland. Scotland's first minister Nicola Sturgeon said in the wake of the leave result that it is democratically unacceptable that Scotland faces being taken out of the EU when it voted to remain. Another implication is that a second independent referendum for the country is now highly likely. For Northern Ireland, the Deputy first Minister Martin McGuinness said the impact in Northern Ireland would be "very profound" and that the whole island of Ireland should now be able to vote on reunification. But Northern Ireland Secretary Theresa Villie, has ruled out the call from a border poll, saying the circumstance in which one would be called did not exist.

1.6. Political Implication for the Conservative Party in UK

The conservative party to which David Cameron the Prime Minister (PM) comes from has put in motion the need for a replacement of David Cameron who was for Remain but lost out through this referendum via a conservative party conference on October 2016. Nomination for a replacement leader will come from conservative members of the House of Commons, if one nomination is received; the new leader is declared elected. If two nominations are made, both names go forward for the members of the party across the UK to vote on by post.

In the event that three or more MPs are nominated for leader, a ballot of the conservative MPs is held. Briefly these are the current implications the UK Brexit has put pressure on the political system.

1.7. Implication for Capitalism

What is mind bugling following the event of 23rd June, 2016 called Brexit is that capitalism had argued that its system reward hardwork and work done should be the only bases for which ones material condition can be accommodated. The world believe this doctrine but when migrants from other parts of the world migrated into Europe and were given weavers in the reward of their material condition, the claims of capitalism went for accuracy, the paper found out that this claims were laden with illogic. Hypothetically therefore this research work raises this question: is capitalism changing it goal post in the middle of its very own match? Could this also be the new laws and argument of EU which UK considered offensive?

The doctrinary error, if an error it must be call is suggestive that it has some implication for the survival of capitalism. The paper found these contradictions capable of a threat to EU and by extension capitalism are its compradors

1.8. The Legal Instrument for Separation

For the UK to leave the EU, it has to invoke an agreement called Article 50 of the Lisbon Treaty. This article provides that the President or PM of UK or any leaving country needs to decide when to invoke this article, when that is done it will move the formal legal process of withdrawing from the EU, and giving the UK two years to negotiate its withdrawal.

This article has only been in force since late 2009 and it hasn't been tasted yet, so no one really knows how the Brexit process will work. However, the implication of this situation is that EU law still stands in the UK until it ceases being a member and that process could take some time. The UK will continue to abide by EU treaties and laws, but not take part in decision making, as it negotiate a withdrawal agreement and the terms of its relationship with non 27 nation bloc. However, at the exact time of this Draft paper (29/06/2016 10:25am Nigerian Time) Mr Cameron was reported by the Television Media as being absent at breakfast table of the 1st meeting of 27 nation instead of 28. Other legal related issues which are not very clear are what happen to UK citizens working in the EU, will UK citizens need a visa to travel to the EU. While there could be limitations on British nationals, ability to live and work on EU countries, it seems unlikely they would want to deter tourist. There are many countries outside the EEA that British citizens can visit for up to 90 days without needing a visa and it is possible that such arrangement could be negotiated with European countries.

1.9. Findings and Discussions

The European single market which was completed in 1992, allows the free movement of goods, services if it was a single country. It is possible to set up a business or take a job anywhere within it. The idea was to boost trade, create jobs and lower prices. But it requires common law making it to ensure that products are made to the same technical standard and imposes other rules to ensure "level playing field" critics say it generates too many petty regulations and rob members of control over their own affairs. Mass migration from poorer to richer countries has also raised questions about the free movement rules. UK stands high amongst countries that are faced with immigration problem particularly in the doctrines of assimilation as oppose to association as in other part of the world. This paper finds the argument alien because in the colonial era British believed in the doctrine and principle of association but overtime EU appear to have violated this doctrine and the immigrants are been assimilated into Britain and made to be treated as citizens under the canopy of EU laws and controls.

The UK independence party, which won the last European election and received nearly four million votes that represented 13 % of those cast in May's general election, wanted and campaigned for Britain exist from the EU. The findings of this research work showed clearly that about half of the conservative MPs including five cabinet Ministers and several Labour MPs were also in favour of leaving. Their arguments were very clear. They argued that Britain was being held back by the EU, which they said imposed too many rules on businesses and charged billions of pounds a year in membership fee for little in return. They also said that Britain shall take back full control of it border and reduce the number of persons coming to UK to live and work. The cost of maintenance of calaieturner for migrants who normally go through it from Spain to UK was creating high financial burden on UK economy. There was very little they could do in handling the situation with the presence of EU rules and regulations

One of the main principles and doctrine of EU membership is "free movement" which means you don't need to get a visa to go and live in another EU country. The leave campaign also objected to the idea of 'ever closer union' and what they see as move towards the creation of United States of Europe. These arguments traded the streets of UK and made the home coming on 23rd June 2016 through a referendum. Some social scientists have argued that the British exit theory (Brexit) is more about the rise of xenophobia, bigotry and isolationism. These scholars may not be far from the truth hence most of their claims went for accuracy and are laden with logic. Britain has always looked backward and in – out in the course of its membership of the EU, oscillating between its commitment to a greater Europe and the need to preserve British identity and sovereignty.

What is very evident from our research work in this paper is that the British Public mind has been driven in recent years by loud perpetual carping about too much control from Brussels, and the need to project Britain first. An anatomy of our discussion in this paper shows that the proponent of the stay or remain group were PM David Cameron. Part of the efforts put together by him was that he sought an agreement with other European Union member leaders to change the terms of Britain's membership. In his argument the deal would give Britain "special" status and help sort out some of the things British people said they didn't like about the EU, things like high levels of immigration. However, critical observers said that the deal would amount to

delaying the civil days. Six members of the PM's Cabinet also backed staying. The conservative party pledged to be neutral in the campaign.

The United States of America President Barack Obama also wanted Britain to remain in the EU, as did other EU nations such as France and Germany. Barack Obama was however very diplomatic when the out of June 23rd, 2016 favoured a walk away. He said, 'I respect the opinion of British people'

The argument of getting a boost from membership of EU, selling things to other countries easier, the flow of immigrants, most of whom are young and keen to work, fuels economic growth and help pay for public services could not stand the triumph of right wing populism.

Hyper democracy remains relevant in our analysis in this paper. Democracy is by far the most popular form of government in the world today. There is hardly any leader who does not wish to be seen as a democrat or regime that does not seek to be described as democratic. However, referendumism which is rooted in mass organisation participation can be dangerous. Enemu (1999) argues that "the collapse of the Soviet union and the communist regime of eastern Europe all of which were based on Marxist ideology have greatly undermined the argument of Marxist democracy as feasible alternative to liberal democracy". However, advocates of the foremost liberal democratic model often draw from the element of direct democracy and the argument of the Marxian Tradition. The Marxist tradition argues that democracy may not produce rational outcomes in so far as it awards triumph on the basis of percentage. Very central to Marx is that social science cannot be subjected to yes or no as the only determinate because the dynamic of social relation in production is by far more than product or outcome. In Brexit, the difference was just 4%, 52- 48% but the rule of the game is that majority carries the day and as in most cases, the winner takes it all. Democracy in that fashion is a play field of emotions not fact. It is the same scenario that made Bernie Sanders so popular in the recent Presidential nomination process in the United States; and also led to the emergence of Donald Trump as the presumptive Republican Presidential candidate. Political leader who don't want sad outcome only have to provide good leadership and meet the people's expectations.

1.10. Hypothetical Questions

Should the economic and political destiny of a people be determined in such formulaic manner? Has Brexit left the UK in a more divided shape than it was before the referendum; How sweet is the taste of change can UK survive on a single market economy; What is the faith of European Union, will more members pull out; How germane is the fear by UK becoming a colony within a EU empire What is the state of rise of xenophobia, bigotry and isolationism; Is capitalism under threat by its political gladiators?

1.11. EU and UK Brexit: Implication for Nigeria

Nigeria has a lot of lesson from Brexit. Nigeria has remained one nation state that dominates in fear amongst its leaders and followers. These fears have promoted corruption, bad governance and misrule. To juxtapose this assertion, Nigeria failed to get independence in the London conference of 1958 because the Northern leaders could not trust the east and the south. They took ambush in the fact that they were not prepared until 1960.

Few years after independence, (about 6 years) the military took over on account of the same fear and corruption successful, military coup, were all based on the same fear and corruption. Lack of continuity in polity adaptation and implementation was also based on fear and complain. Over the years, the country returned to democracy renewing the same fear corruption and bad governance.

Nigeria was amalgamated into a single political community in 1914 for economic, not political reason. The essence essentially was to enable the British government balance their books of account. For administrative convenience in the same direction and purpose, regional autonomy was reinforced with the division of the country into three regions. The impact of this development was that very strong ethno-regional character was introduced into Nigeria politics. Osaghae, E.A. (2002).

The situation created grounds for Nigeria elites who sought to exploit it for their political ends. Looking at the disunited and disarticulated manner of the amalgamation, at every point with when the political classes felt their interest were at stake, they have not hesitated to play the trump card of secession. Okhaide, I. P. (2012)

The regional background that saw the emergence of virtually all Nigeria parties from such associational regional development explains a lot.

1. Action Group (AG) in the west evolved from Yoruba cultural association – Egbe Omooduduwa led by Chief Obafemi Awolowo.
2. The Northern People Congress (NPC) emerging from the Northern cultural association, Jamiyyar Mutanen, Drewa, led by Tafawa Balewa.
3. The National Congress of Nigeria Citizens (NCNC) which started as a national party but later narrowed its social base to cultural association, called the Igbo State Union from all the above, locates the character of Nigerian federalism.

From this point onward, you can recall that Sardauna of Sokoto, he it was, who first referred to Nigeria as a 'mistake of 1914' way back in the early 1950's. Closely followed was a statement credited to chief Obafemi Awolowo that Nigerian was a mere geographical expression and then the later event by Zik brother to secession.

The mutual suspicion has always been the fear to date of domination of one zone over the other, that replacing European domination with Southern domination. By 1950s witness the Ibadan constitutional conference to review the Richards constitution, a representational ratio of 45 for the North, 33 for the west, 33 for the east. Northern politicians felt threatened by this arrangement and the then Emir of Zaria articulated their position clearly – the North have 50% of the seats or secede from the country. In May 1953, when the Northern politicians lost out in the political equation for opposing the AG motion for self-government in 1956, the Northern House of Assembly and the Northern House of Chiefs met and passed an Eight resolution that amounted to a call for confederation and separation.

With these developments of self rather than the Nigerian State, in 1954, it was the turn of AG to demand that a secession clause be inserted in the Constitution that was at the Lagos Constitutional conference. The move was opposed by the other two regions, the NPC and NCNC. The 1964, census and election crisis, where tree and cows in the North were accessed to have been counted to increase the figure of North, Michael Okpara, premier of the Eastern Region, directly threatened in December 1964 that the east would secede. It was at this level that Okpara went ahead to establish a committee under his attorney general to work out the modalities for a declaration of secession by Eastern Nigeria. This however did not happen until three years later by Ojukwu on a final note in 1967 to 1970 with loss of over One Million lives.

On 23rd February 1966, Isaac Boro decided that he was not ready to live in a Nigeria that was ruled by Igbo just the same way the Igbo's felt that the country was dominated by Hausa. NPC declared the secession of the Niger Delta People Republic. The domination of the Eastern minorities by Isaac Boro started way back in his days a student activist at the University of Nigeria, Nsukka.

The Niger Delta Republic lasted for only 12 days and it took the police round up his ragtag arms of 159 volunteers. He and his colleagues were charged for treason in March and condemned to death in June 1966. When the civil war broke up in 1967, Boro Isaac was eventually released when he joined the Federal side and was killed in battle in 1968, fighting for the liberation of Rivers State from the Igbo, on the platform of the Federal Government of Nigeria.

By 1993 came another problem of June 12th and its annulment. The Nigeria problem modified into what may appear as new formation but very original in their content – geographical groupings North-West, North east, Middle Belt, South West, East Central and Southern minority, these were called the six geographical zones. Even at these regrouping out of the three original regions where the North had contested 50%, the same political equation played out with the original North with 3 zones while the east and west increased only one leaving the North with 2 additional zones to make up three out of the six geographical zones. The formation of this arrangement in Law was dropped in the transition from the 1995 to 1999 constitution.

Several conferences were held to address these fears and corruption practices that produce these bad governance to no avail have being made in most quarter for a referendum. We have adjusted the constitution many times in a manner that suggests we are moving goal post in the middle a match. Uhembe, (2015)

With UK, EU Brexit we have seen plays card like "Biafrefixit". Another lesson is that Brexit vote in UK was not about disintegration. But today, Scotland is insisting on its independence right to be part of the EU. Could the above narration of the Nigeria situation result to a referendum that could lead to a breakup?

Conclusion and Recommendation

The call for a referendum on this subject matter has now given the Brexitters, who just want the country to be left alone by outsider, the opportunity they have always wanted. PM Cameron apparently underestimated the resolve just the way Nigeria leaders have always underestimated Nigerian masses. The leave EU activist campaigned more vigorously and destroyed every possible means including blackmail and sentiments. They had the vibrant support of many political leaders including former London mayor Boris Johnson, Michael Gove and functioning UKIP leader, Nigel Farage and the event of an intense campaign that divided the mainstreaming of xenophobia and bigotry. Labour MP Jo Cox who was murdered by an irate eurosceptic for her symbol of how a straightforward for or against political debate turned into hate campaign and a national referendum became an act of terror. Nigeria stands a good chance to learn her lesson about the kind of leaders it produces and bad governance.

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