# The Greens | EFA in the European Parliament TOXIC TRADE

## AFTER THE EU REFERENDUM, WHAT NOW FOR TTIP, CETA AND UK TRADE DEALS?



"It is as important as ever to stop TTIP, and the EU-Canada deal CETA, for the sake of the environment, our health, our rights and democracy."

JEAN LAMBERT MEP

Green MEPs Jean Lambert, Keith Taylor and Molly Scott Cato are actively working to stop the toxic trade deals TTIP and CETA.



Jean Lambert MEP with Global Justice Now supporters at a Stop TTIP demonstration in Brussels. Photo @ Global Justice Now

### Greens have been at the forefront of campaigns to oppose TTIP - the proposed EU-US trade agreement, and CETA - the trade deal between the EU and Canada.

We are told that these deals will boost transatlantic trade by removing so-called 'trade barriers'. In reality, they would give ever more power to transnational corporations and weaken important protections for the environment, our health, our rights at work, and our rights as consumers.

Despite Green opposition to TTIP and CETA, we did not think they were good reasons for the UK to leave the European Union, and many anti-TTIP campaigners agreed. During the EU referendum campaign Greens warned that free-market Leave supporters would push ahead with equally, possibly more, damaging deals outside the EU.

So, where do these damaging deals stand following the UK's EU referendum vote? And what is the future for UK trade?

## THE FUTURE OF TTIP

Across Europe, campaigns to stop TTIP are having a big impact. 3.3 million Europeans signed the 'Stop TTIP' European Citizens' Initiative petition against the deal, 1 and resistance is continuing to grow in many countries - including the USA itself. The talks are seriously delayed and more national governments are voicing concerns.

TTIP's chances of success have been

further affected by the UK referendum vote. The UK is the destination for about 25% of US exports to the EU<sup>2</sup> and the UK is also the main entry point to the EU for US companies. A deal without the UK may therefore be less attractive to the US.

Yet, there are also signs that the referendum outcome has added new impetus to TTIP. The European Union will be eager to prove its effectiveness and relevance, and for TTIP supporters this means getting the deal done. Since the EU referendum vote, some EU negotiators have said they are willing to make more compromises to speed up the stalled talks. Some in the EU also want to press ahead as a way to show the EU can still operate without the UK.

Ironically the prominent Leave supporters now in charge of the UK negotiations on trade and on leaving the EU are likely to continue to champion the EU-US deal. The UK Government was one of TTIP's biggest advocates. The UK may even try to sign-up as an additional signatory if TTIP gets agreed and it is possible to do that.

What we can say with confidence is that the UK's EU referendum vote creates more uncertainty for the future of TTIP. This is an opportunity we must take advantage of to stop TTIP. Even outside the EU and outside TTIP, UK trade deals would still be heavily influenced by such a mega-deal which would become a model for other international trade partnerships.

The UK's MEPs remain full members of the European Parliament until EU exit negotiations are concluded and the UK formally leaves. As long as they are in office, UK Green MEPs will continue to vote against TTIP and work to stop it.

## THE FUTURE OF CETA

The proposed EU trade deal with Canada, known as CETA, is smaller than TTIP but just as concerning. Importantly, it is further advanced, so it will set a precedent. Any trade terms that get agreed with Canada will be even more difficult to stop in the US deal.

Opposition to CETA has been growing and this deal is also affected by the UK's referendum outcome.



Stop TTIP campaigners and MEPs in the European Parliament. Photo @ Global Justice Now

Trade between Canada and the UK far outstrips that between Canada and any other EU country<sup>3</sup>, although Canada's overall trade with the rest of the EU is greater than its trade with Britain. The agreement will be a lot less attractive for Canada if it excludes the UK, so all parties are expected to try to seal the deal before the UK leaves.

Just days after the UK referendum the European Commission announced plans to 'provisionally apply' CETA as soon as possible after Council and European Parliament agreement. This means that the vast majority of the deal would come into force before being voted on by the nearly 40 national and regional parliaments across the EU which are required to agree it, as it's a 'mixed' agreement. The UK

is one of only two EU member countries (with Malta) that do not have constitutions requiring them to put the deal to parliament, so the UK Government can agree it without doing that.

Greens welcomed the decision to make the deal more democratic by giving national parliaments a say. But we do not agree with the 'provisional application' which puts unfair pressure on national and regional bodies to agree to the deal.

CETA also has to pass through the European Parliament, and is subject to a vote of all MEPs in its plenary session. We now have a big job to do to stop CETA. Greens are committed to vote against it at EU level and to try to stop it coming into force. We must also campaign to get others to oppose CETA too!



Green Members of the European Parliament from across Europe working together to stop damaging trade deals. *Photo* © *Greens/EFA* 

- 2 Office of National Statistics, UK Perspectives 2016: Trade with the EU and beyond. http://visual.ons.gov.uk/uk-perspectives-2016-trade-with-the-eu-and-beyond/
- 3 Global Justice Now. http://www.globaljustice.org.uk/blog/2016/jul/15/brexit-and-direction-our-trade-campaigning
- 4 European Commission. http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release\_IP-16-2371\_en.htm

## THE THREATS FROM TOXIC NEW UK TRADE DEALS **TRADE DEALS**

Animal welfare - TTIP and similar deals are likely to weaken regulations that protect animals. For example, it would become harder to ban cages for hens or reduce antibiotic use in the farming sector. In the US animal-testing is legal for cosmetics.

Climate change - TTIP and CETA seek to boost the transatlantic trade in fossil fuels. notably fracked gas from the US and tar sands from Canada. This is a big step in the wrong direction and would undermine climate action and the commitments made by the UK, EU and US as part of the Paris Agreement.

Food safety - Leaked documents suggest that key European protections will be sacrificed as part of TTIP. US regulations are far less strict. In the EU, a substance has to be proven safe before it can be used; in the US a substance can be used until proven unsafe.

ISDS - The 'investor-state dispute settlement' mechanism potentially allows foreign corporations to sue governments in a special private procedure over changes in legislation that threaten their profits. The European Commission has proposed a reformed dispute settlement mechanism, but it does not fix the fundamental problems.

NHS and public services - The inclusion of public services in trade deals threatens national and local authorities' freedom to decide the commissioning, organisation, funding and provision of public services.

Standards - Regulation and standards affect everyone. They ensure our food is safe, that there are rights for workers, social and health standards, and that the environment is protected. The EU and US approach these issues in fundamentally different ways. TTIP will attempt to align many sectoral standards and alter regulation to suit multinational companies, which critics think will involve a race to the lowest common denominator for regulations and standards.

The desire to 'prove' that the UK can prosper outside the EU risks pressuring the **Government into hastily signing disastrous** variants of TTIP and CETA. There is a real danger that the UK will try to stay competitive by reducing standards and protections in ways that are as bad as, or even worse than, CETA and TTIP.

Campaigners have described the potential that outside the European Union the UK will make trade deals which are like 'TTIP on steroids'.5 We know the current UK Government is not opposed to ISDS and wants to slash what it considers to be 'red tape'.

"As the UK moves towards leaving the EU, we must continue to build the international anti-TTIP movement, and to build opposition to any new unjust trade deals proposed by the UK Government. We must continue to push for trade justice in all trade agreements. Now more than ever."

JEAN LAMBERT MEP



'TTIP kills climate progress' demo by Global Justice Now at the Paris climate talks. Photo © Global Justice Now

The UK is currently party to EU trade deals with many other countries. As a non-EU country, the UK would need to either negotiate a new bilateral trade deal with each of these countries, or seek to retain a trade relationship under the EU trade deal, as part of the UK's new negotiated relationship with the EU. The future trade deals the UK government is able to make will depend in large part on the arrangements it is able to negotiate with the EU. The level of UK access to, and integration with, the EU's single market will be the biggest factor determining the nature of the deals the UK can pursue with non-EU countries.6 The UK cannot negotiate bilateral trade deals with individual EU Member States.

The European Union – as the world's largest market, representing 17% of world trade in goods and services, and as the largest trading partner of about 80 countries - has considerable power to insist on higher standards, stronger environmental protections, and stricter workers' rights. 7

Even though the EU is far from perfect and greater protections are needed, as Greens have always made clear, it is ahead of most of the rest of the world when it comes to environmental and social legislation. This is why TTIP and CETA are so problematic; because they could undo hard-won progressive standards.

If the UK does not maintain a close relationship with the EU, it is unlikely our government

- TTIP is a very bad excuse to vote for Brexit, by Nick Dearden in the Guardian. http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/apr/25/ttip-vote-brexit-barack-obama-leave-eu-trade-deal
- 6/7 House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee: Implications of the referendum on EU membership for the UK's role in the world. http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201516/cmselect/cmfaff/545/545.pdf



Green MEPs campaigned for the UK to Remain in the EU.

would have the power, or the inclination, to insist on the highest reciprocal standards in trade deals. It is more likely that the UK would enter a 'race-to-the-bottom' in which we turn a blind eye to abuses and bad practice in other countries, and weaken our own workers and environmental protections and product standards in order to secure cheap trade.

Should the UK fail to come to a mutually satisfactory agreement with other EU governments, then the probable alternative is that it would revert to being an individual member of the World Trade Organisation (WTO).8 WTO rules are notoriously undemocratic and are used by multinational corporations to subordinate environmental, labour and human rights to profit.

This is why Greens will be advocating for the UK's relationship with the rest of Europe to continue to be a close one, whether inside or outside the EU. The most cited example of a close relationship with the EU is membership of the European Economic Area (EEA) along the lines of a 'Norway model'. We will be pushing for the UK to continue to meet EU environmental standards and objectives and keep in place EU social rights and protections, as well as other progressive EU-derived legislation, such as the cap on bankers' bonuses and animal welfare standards.

## THE GREEN VISION FOR **POSITIVE TRADE**

Whether the UK is making agreements as part of the EU or on its own, Greens will continue to fight for trade justice in all trade agreements. This is now more important than ever.

Greens will continue to fight against TTIP and CETA – and against harmful provisions in all trade deals.

We believe trade between nations is important, but that trade needs to be truly sustainable, fair and suitable for the challenges we face in the 21st century. Trade should not simply be seen as an end in itself but a way to promote high standards, at home and internationally, and in particular to guarantee sound social, environmental, and workplace standards.

We believe that all stakeholders, including local government, NGOs, civil society and social partners should be engaged in consultation on any new trade agreement.

After the EU referendum vote - we must work for trade and other policies that transform people's lives for the better.

## **MORE INFO** TAKE ACTION

#### TTIP: What lies beneath

ttip2016.eu/what-you-can-do.html Campaign to Stop TTIP and CETA from the Green Group in the European Parliament.

**Stop TTIP: European Initiative Against** TTIP and CETA stop-ttip.org

#### **UK Trade Policy Observatory**

www.sussex.ac.uk/bmec/research/uktpo

#### **DO THE CETA CHECK AT stop-ttip.org**

Write to your other Members of the European Parliament – find out what they think about the EU-Canada trade deal, make sure they know the issues, and tell them your concerns.

#### GET INVOLVED IN THESE TRADE JUSTICE **CAMPAIGNS:**

#### **Global Justice Now**

www.globaljustice.org.uk/campaigns/trade

War on Want www.waronwant.org/ttip

#### Friends of the Earth

www.foeeurope.org/EU-US-trade-deal

#### TAKE PART IN EUROPE-WIDE CALLS TO **ACTION AGAINST CETA AND TTIP!**



Jean speaking against CETA in London.

8 UK Trade Policy Observatory: The World Trade Organisation: A Safety Net for a post-Brexit UK Trade Policy? https://www.sussex.ac.uk/webteam/gateway/file.php?name=briefing-paper-1.pdf&site=18

#### JEAN LAMBERT GREEN MEP FOR LONDON

