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LIFE AFTER BREXIT:
UNITED KINGDOM INDEPENDENCE PARTY IN POST-REFERENDUM

The article considers the situation that has developed in British politics after the United Kingdom European Union membership referendum in 2016. The major causes of the crisis of the United Kingdom Independence Party are presented. The estimated characteristic and ways of possible further party development are given.

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1. Introduction

The current political situation after the referendum held on June 23, 2016 is quite an important issue either for the European Union or for British politics in particular.

First of all, the short-term results of the referendum showed a sharp decline in support for right-wing conservative and right-wing radical political parties and movements within the UK, which gives an obvious signal to similar movements throughout Europe. A moment of triumph for the national-conservatives turned to their total defeat in the next election. Fulfillment of campaign promises by the «populist party» (as many researchers characterize it), unexpectedly for itself, led to an ideological crisis, because the «tough Euro-skepticism», on which the election program of the majority of national conservative parties was based, lost its relevance, and the plane of discussion of the issue moved from theoretical discourse to its practical implementation (this was reflected in the phenomenal result of the «Brexit» party in the next European elections Parliament in 2019).

Secondly, the practical experience of the mistakes made by the national conservatives during the formation, development and actions taken during the crisis of political movements can become a kind of «route map», according to which no other European nationalist parties will be guided in the future.

Therefore, an analysis of the causes of the crisis, its dynamics, the events that followed them, and the actions taken to overcome it, require special attention. And since the UK's key political player, who has consistently advocated for the withdrawal from the European Union, was the United Kingdom Independence Party, its political fate interests us most.

2. Research

The referendum on United Kingdom withdrawal from the European Union took place on June 23, 2016, at which the majority of voters (51.9%) voted to leave the EU ("EU referendum results", 2018). Exactly one day after, fulfilling his 2015 campaign promise, David Cameron officially resigned, declaring that it would be unacceptable for him to be a captain who will lead the country to its next goal and «the country requires fresh leadership to take it in this direction» ("David Cameron resigns as UK shocks the world by voting for Brexit", 2016). And if for conservatives this meant the beginning of a period of internal changes and transformations, then for the UKIP and Farage in particular, the referendum became the quintessence of more than 20 years long the entire political career, (Andreeva, 2019).

However, the joy of the victory did not last long: on July 4, Farage said: «During the referendum I said I wanted my country back … now I want my life back», after which he publicly announced his unconditional resignation (Mason, R., Booth, R., Gentleman, A., 2016). For Farage this meant quitting «on a high note», but for the party – entering a difficult period of a deep crisis, since each of the party's previously identified by us problems made itself appeared (Nesterov, 2018).

The launch of the process of withdrawal from the EU automatically suspended the powers of the deputies of the European Parliament until the elaboration of a conditional «road map», and, as a result, subsidies for the development of the party, which was one of the main revenue lines of the UKIP (Usherwood, 2016). Moreover, together with Farage, its main patrons began to turn away from the party, in particular, after a short skirmish with the party's Executive Committee, Arron Banks announced the termination of his support, against whom an investigation was launched into account of violations of declaration of origin of funds and campaigning «Leave.EU» (Hughes, 2016). Additional financial complications were also caused by unnecessarily high campaign costs.

Problems also arose within the UKIP, primarily related to the fact that from 2006 to 2016 it became pronounced authoritarian party. At first, no one dared either to take Farage's place, or even to declare such intentions, since many regarded that the Farage departure is only a temporary phenomenon, as it was in 2015. On one of the BBC radio broadcasts, party official representative Paul Oakden, answering the question whether there is a possibility of the «party leader returning to his rightful place», replied that it was «most likely not … however, I would not say that nothing is impossible». When asked who the leader of the party is now, he said that he definitely couldn't answer, and he needed to check the official data of the UK Electoral Commission ("UKIP leader Diane James standing down after 18 days", 2016). De jure, Farage continued to remain the head of the party, which continued to reassure many of his speedy return to the September internal party elections.

The main applicants for the post of head of the party in the media were initially called a member of the British Parliament Douglas Carswell, as well as deputies of the European Parliament Stephen Wolfe and Diana James (Dunford, 2016). Carswell outlined

his position back in July: in response of Farage resignation he posted on Twitter only an unambiguously smiley face emoji, which caused serious discontent among his co-party members. Given the internal party conflict in 2015, the support of Vote Leave during the campaign for the referendum, as well as the general mood within the party towards him, Carswell recused himself, saying that he estimates his chances of winning «somewhere between nil and zero» ("Carswell asked about smiley face tweet after Farage's resignation", 2016). Stephen Wolfe, who initially agreed to run for the elections and even received financial support from Arron Banks, at the last moment also announces that he is not ready to take a position at this level.

Thus, of all the candidates only Diana James remained, who in September was elected head of the party, having entered the history of the UKIP as the chairman with the shortest term in office ("UKIP leader Diane James standing down after 18 days", 2016). 18 days was more than enough to understand the current, primarily financial, state of the party, and come to the conclusion that it was inevitable catastrophe. Along with this version, leaked to the media, it was officially announced that James could not take a seat due to his state of health, and also because of other unannounced «personal and professional reasons» (Fisher, 2016). Technically, Farage could not resign, and the party leader's position was vacant again. New internal party elections were scheduled for November of that year. The only real candidate for them was Paul Nuttall.

Many in the UKIP decided that Nuttall, as the Farage's former deputy, could also successfully continue to manage the party like his predecessor. However, another feature of the party appeared, which up to this point had been beneficial to it, namely, that the UKIP was *a niche party oriented outward*. The attempt by Farage to reorient the party to internal discourse did not bring significant results – the UKIP continued to be associated with eurosceptic voters, which was demonstrated by the 2017 local elections. Many expected a fall in ratings, but even its most prominent representatives were not ready for such a result: UKIP has lost all of its regional representation (Local elections results, 2017). Nuttall was never able to bring something new to the ideology of the party, while losing the main «ideological trump card» of the UKIP – «tough euroscepticism». Almost the majority of party's electorate voted for the Tories led by Theresa May, under whose leadership the Conservative Party has become even tougher than the UKIP on the issue of concessions under the terms of the UK withdrawal from the EU (Heath, 2017).

People began to leave the party, calls for dissolution began to sound more and more often, and Douglas Carswell, leaving the party as an independent deputy in Westminster, said: «UKIP, my old party, is finished. And I'm elated about it» (Carswell, 2017). He noted that despite the electoral defeat, PNSK still won, forcing first David Cameron, and then new Prime Minister Teresa May to launch the process of UK exit from the EU. This meant that the UKIP, being a single-issue party, achieved what it was striving for, which means it has completely fulfilled its mission, and its further existence does not make sense. The example of Douglas Carswell was followed by deputies of regional parliaments and local governments, one after the other moving to the Conservative Party. Realizing the stench of the situation, Paul Nuttall also decided to resign ("Paul Nuttall stands down as Ukip leader after disastrous election result", 2017).

The party came to a final decline after intra-party elections in 2017. Two candidates immediately announced their resignation from the party: John Rees-Evans and Anne-Mary Waters organized their own movements – the centrist «Democrats and Veterans Direct Democracy Party» and the right-wing «For Britain Movement». Henry Bolton, who won the election, immediately became a central figure in the media scandal: after a divorce from his wife, Bolton began dating model Jo Marney, who had previously been suspended from UKIP for racist remarks against the royal family. Speaking against the odious figure of Bolton, MPs Jonathan Arnott and Margot Parker left the party ("UKIP loses another MEP as

Jonathan Arnott quits party", 2017). The result of all these events was most eloquently summarized by the former members of the Council of the unitary unit Thurrok, announcing on January 28, 2018 that they are leaving the party and creating their own union, as they are tired of the «aggressive and bitter reality» of internal party politics ("Thurrock's 17 UKIP councilors all resign from party", 2018).

In spite of all the problems that arose, there were still people in the party who wanted to restore its former greatness. The main problem for further reforms was Henry Bolton, who did not want to resign voluntarily, despite the fact that the Party Executive Committee passed a vote of no confidence to its leader, and Bolton was the only one at the committee meeting who voted against this decision ("UKIP leader Henry Bolton hit by ruling body 'no confidence' vote", 2018).

The movement against Bolton was led by one of the party's oldest members, who participated in the process of founding it, Gerard Batten: on January 22, 2018, he made a demarche by resigning the UKIP representative for Brexit from his post in protest against the manner in which Bolton was led by the party. He publicly urged him to resign due to general dissatisfaction with a significant part of the party members, a drop in the level of supporters and constant media coverage of Bolton's personal life, which also affected the reputation of UKIP. As a result, at an extraordinary meeting of the party in February, Bolton was officially removed from his post and deprived of membership in the party, and Gerard Batten was temporarily appointed to his place by the Executive Committee until the next intra-party elections ("Henry Bolton refuses to quit as Ukip leader and vows to 'drain the swamp' after two thirds of his top team resign", 2018).

Batten inherited a rather difficult legacy that threatened to lead the UKIP to its final collapse even before the April elections. The lack of finance was the party's first key problem, since it could not only raise money for a centralized election campaign, but also pay off existing debts, primarily to the state. During his temporary term of office, Batten was able to return UKIP financial viability by contacting party members to collect additional membership fees, which allowed not only to pay outstanding bills, but also to collect almost 300 thousand pounds for the upcoming intra-party elections (Kentish, 2018). In addition, for the first time since 2016, UKIP not only stopped losing its supporters, but was also able to attract more than 900 new members.

All this allowed Batten to create the image of an effective manager within the party and give hope for her peculiar renaissance. However, this confidence played a cruel joke for the party: by the beginning of the internal party elections, only Batten had voted. The lack of debate and even the kind of election process allowed both the media and political opponents to argue that inside the party with democratic principles, it's all over. In this regard, Batten had to urgently enlist the personal public support of all the Lords, donors, members of the European Parliament and the London and Wales assemblies from the UKIP. However, this was not enough and Batten had to take a serious step - he officially announced that if in a year under his leadership the party did not achieve significant success, he would leave the post of the head of UKIP ("UKIP confirms Gerard Batten as new leader", 2018). This spurred Batten not only to act more quickly and more firmly in making decisions, but also to seek support where UKIP had not even tried to find it before.

Indeed, the first six months of Batten's leadership were the most successful time for the party since 2016. For the first time since the referendum, public opinion polls began to show growing support among voters along with an increase in the number of its members. In just one July 2018, more than 15% (3200 people) of its supporters joined the party in January of that year, led by Bolton ("Ukip membership surges 15% in a month", 2018). As political analyst M. Goodwin notes, hastening to announce the party's full return to the political life of Britain, not only the successful leadership of UKIP Batten contributed to this, but also the growing dissatisfaction of the population with the

conservative government, which many began to blame for the inept leadership of the state and reluctance, and moments and complete sabotage, the process of UK exit from the EU (Goodwin, 2018). However, the way Batten managed to achieve this result subsequently became the main reason for the UKIP for its final crisis.

Euroscepticism has not disappeared from the political agenda of the party, but since the issue of uncontrolled migration has been present in the party's program since the leadership of Farage, and the increase in the number of refugees from the Middle East countries only increased the discontent of the local population over the increased social, economic and cultural pressure, Batten makes it possible for the nationalists to join the UKIP, led by extreme right-wing activist and anti-Islamist Tommy Robinson.

On the one hand, this allowed UKIP to attract new forces to the party and enlist the support of voters from electoral groups, which it had not previously considered as the main ones in conducting political campaigns. On the other hand, Batten was criticized on all sides by both the media accusing UKIP of fascism and racism, and by former party members, in particular Nigel Farage, who said that Batten marginalized the party in the eyes of ordinary voters (Maidment, 2018). Against this background, its prominent representatives, such as the chairman of the party in the Wales assembly Caroline Jones, the former party leader Paul Nuttall, member of the London assembly Peter Whittle, leave the party. The most severe blow for the UKIP was the withdrawal from the party of Farage, which until that moment still had its members. However, the total number of the UKIP members continued to grow steadily, which encouraged other party members who believed that such a radical renewal of both the ideological basis and its composition was simply necessary ("Ukip gains 500 new members since allowing prominent far-right activists to join party", 2018).

The second half of his own allotment as leader of the UKIP led Batten to the realization of the incorrectness of his chosen course. The failure of the launched «Brexit Betrayal» company in London showed that despite the party's ratings growth, only a small number of people openly support nationalistic and anti-Islamic ideas (Walker, 2018). In addition, the government announced that the UK was pushing the framework for signing an agreement with the EU until October 2019, which meant that the British parties would participate in the European Parliament elections in May. The UKIP did not have time to prepare successfully and approached them with heavy losses: out of 24 deputies elected in 2014, only four remained in the party. If the first ten, who left the party during the events of 2016-2017, became simply independent deputies, then those who left the UKIP in 2018 joined the newly formed Euro-skeptic party «Brexit», in terms of political program and rhetoric similar to the UKIP model of 2014. This party was founded and led by none other than Nigel Farage himself. For the UKIP, this meant a death sentence (Walker, 2019).

In the 2019 European Parliament elections, the party lost all its seats, while Brexit received 29 seats, which was yet another Farage record in his political career ("European Election", 2019). At the regional elections in the same year, against the background of a twofold drop in the ratings of conservatives, UKIP not only failed to increase its representation, but also lost about 80% of the seats. In keeping with his campaign promise, Batten officially resigns (Nesterov, 2018).

3. Results and discussion

Summing up, it is worth noting that the recent European Parliament elections clearly demonstrate the following: for all time of its existence, UKIP for British politics has not become anything more than a *niche party of eurosceptics who want to achieve only one goal – Britain's withdrawal from the EU*. Having achieved this result, many party members, including its leader, deputies of the European Parliament and the only representative in

Westminster, simply did not see the point in its continued existence. The rivalry between the Jerad Batten's UKIP and Nigel Farage's «Brexit» can be compared to the 1994 election, when James Goldsmith's «Referendum Party» stood as Alan Sked's main opponent, which also signals that the *UKIP continues to be a single-issue party*. Created just three months before the election, the «Brexit», in fact, duplicating the UKIP's agenda, did not offer something completely new, but the figure of Farage as the major creator of «Brexit», against the background of the inaction of the conservatives, became the main argument for voters to make a decision, that speaks in favor of the statement that the *UKIP was a party of one person*. It can be assumed that «Brexit», as Nigel Farage's personal project, will face the same fate as the UKIP after Britain leaves the EU, or it will cease to exist in a more peaceful way.

However, it is worth noting that for the role that UKIP played for British politics, nothing more was required from it. The presence of a set of features so specific to the party and their preservation over decades have become key factors in its success. Beginning in 1991, it was the UKIP that consistently promoted the ideas of euroscepticism, which initially were not very popular among the wide electorate, but with the increasing popularity in society, everyone knew which particular party consistently opposed the EU. It was the UKIP that became the «litmus test» in British politics, signaling to conservatives and labors about a shift in political trends and moods of voters on the issue of state participation in European integration. It was the UKIP that changed the usual political landscape, demonstrating that even a small movement, which most recently was just an interest club for conservative eurosceptics, could violate the age-old hegemony of the primordial parties, and makes these colossi change their program with an unprecedented speed. And, finally, it was the UKIP and Nigel Farage that became associated among the citizens of Great Britain with the most important political event for their state at the beginning of the XXI century.

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"RECOLLECTIONS" BY DMYTRO PAVLYCHKO: AUTHOR'S VISION OF UKRAINIAN HISTORY OF THE 20th CENTURY

The article explores D.Pavlychko's "Recollections" (2015) as a hybrid, synthetic generic form featuring the author's personal memories and experiences as a means to create a holistic, panoramic vision of Ukraine's tragic history from the 1940-ies to present. Historical figures of the century, be it writers, politicians or civic leaders, as well as numerous references to crucial moments of Ukrainian history shape out a dynamic and eventful landscape of contemporary cultural and political life shaped out with Pavlychko's well-known creative artistry. Specific attention is paid to the author's own concept of Ukrainian history as presented through his interpretations of its most controversial, polemical and yet unexplored pages. The narrative structure of "Recollections" is examined within the context of the auhtor's self-presentation strategy aimed at creating a harmonized, concentrated and integral narrative voice striving to disengage from subjective interpretation in favor of more balanced analytical approach. A sample of modern memoirs, Pavlychko's "Recollections" arise at the joint of fact and fiction, documentary and artistic vision, opinion-based writing and historical analysis, thus contributing to the modern interest in non-fiction, specifically, in the contradictory history of the XX century as represented through the lives of its most prominent representatives. The seemingly fragmented structure of Pavlychko's "Recollections" encourage the readers to apply an active reception strategy to reconstruct an integral and detailed panorama of Ukraine's tragic history throughout the XX century.

Keywords
memoirs, recollections, aspect, diaries, letters, interpretation, canon, genre and stylistic specificity