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Title

# The UK and the European Union Relationships and the "Brexit" Implications

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#### **Dedication**

To my parents for their unconditional support and love

To my brothers and sisters for their boundless love and sincere emotions

To my fiance for his continuous sense of understanding, love and support

To my best friend Rym Grine who has believed in me and in my capacities

To every person who appreciate the value of knowledge

I dedicate this dissertation for you

Hanane Abdou

#### **Dedication**

Every challenging work needs self efforts as well as guidance of olders especially those who were very close to our heart.

My humble effort I dedicate to my sweet and loving

#### Father and mother,

Whose affection, love, encouragement and prays of day and night make me able to get such success and honor.

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#### **Abstract**

The aim of this study is to explore the relationships between the United Kingdom and the European Union during the last decades. As a result, we will be able to mainly understand and describe the recent "Brexit" issue. Our study deals with the "Brexit" problem and discusses it from a different point of view. The main question examined in this work was the complexity of the relationships between the two different parts which causes the EU referendum in 2016, exceptionally and surprisingly to the "Brexit" and either the UK is probably out of the EU. In this regard, the study is divided into three chapters; the first chapter is an overview about the European Union origins and development from its first enlargement till now, it deals also with the relationships between the UK and EU from its beginnings in 1973 to the recent time. The second chapter deals with method used in this study. The third chapter is a general coverage of the "Brexit" implications and procedures. It provides an overall analysis about the UK's policy toward the EU and defining the main characteristics of the different crisis, thus discussing the leaving referendum (Brexit) and its implications.

**Key words:** Brexit, European Union, Referendum, United Kingdom, implications

#### **List of Abbreviations**

**BREXIT:** Britain Exit

CCO: Chief Counting Officer

ECSC: European Coal and Steel Community

ECJ: European Court of Justice

**EEA:** The European Economic Area

**EEC:** The European Economic Community

ECB: European Central Bank

EFTA: European Free Trade Association

**EU:** European Union

**EURATOM:** European Atomic Energy Community

**EPP:** European People's Party

ISIS: Islamic State of Iraq and Syria

**MP:** Member of Parliament

PM: Prime Minister

QMV: Qualified Majority Voting

UNESCO: The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UNICEF: United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund

UK: United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

**UKIP:** United Kingdom Independence Party

WTO: The World Trade Organization

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### **General Introduction**

#### **Background of the Study**

Great Britain was one of the leading powers in the world; which had always played an active role in the foreign policy of many regions around the world. It had always considered itself a member of Isles that geographically belong to Western Europe and a bridge between Europe and the rest of the world especially with the power it got from its colonies.

The end of the World War II was the end of the era of colonial UK. Moreover, this powerful country lost its power especially the economic strength; as a result the UK was obliged to look for different ways to regain its position, at that time there was a new successful establishment created by other European nations. The UK took the decision to work for joining this body.

After the UK joined the European Union, during the whole experience of relationship between the two parts was marked by series of crisis due to many conflicts. Moreover this complexity reached the mandate of David Cameron (2010) till Theresa May (2016) which led to the leaving referendum ended with surprising results that shocked the EU and the rest of the world, This decision known as the "Brexit".

#### 1. Statement of the Problem

The well known reason and cause that led to the Brexit is Economy, while here the study goes through the history of the European Union, to find and analyze the different crises that face the relationships between the UK and the EU. Moreover it tries to look for the real causes that led to the Brexit which are not yet revealed, affecting the future unknown relations.

#### 2. Aim of the Study

We aim for exploring the history of relationships between the United Kingdom and European Union to find out the issues for Brexit, thus discussing its real causes and implication.

#### 3. Rational of the study

In this study which is from the beginning based on our desire and motivation to analyze the topic deeply, this topic is still today's topic and yet under discussion and this what mostly motivates us to work on it and investigate how it goes through the Brexit.

#### 4. Research questions

Our study tries to figure and answer the following questions:

- 1. What led to the Brexit? And how the EU and the rest of the world respond?
- 2. What is the possible future of UK's policy towards EU?

#### 5. Research methodology

The method used to manage this research is the qualitative descriptive method which is based on a set of resources, including articles, books, political statements, the UK political manifestos. This method works on describing the United Kingdom and the European Union membership, passing chronologically to cover the Brexit and its implications to predict the possible future relations and the UK's policy towards the EU.

#### 6. Structure of the Study

The study is divided into two chapters; the first chapter includes the historical background of the European Union origins and membership, also the relationships between the European Union and the United Kingdom from its beginning till the end of David Cameron mandate. It includes also a descriptive literature reviews about the history of EU. The second chapter deals with the Brexit issues and covers it from different points of view in which it is caused and what possible implications does it provide. We concluded with analyzing the path of Brexit and guessing the future relationships between the UK and the EU.

# Chapter One: The UK and the European Union Relationships

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#### Introduction

In the world, there are many organizations national and international ones. There are organizations which care about children's rights like UNICEF; there are also organizations which care about education, science and culture like UNESCO; and there are organizations which care about economy like the European Union.

The European Union is an international organization of 28 European countries that they are common in economic, social and security policies. This organization started originally in the Western Europe. It took a place in central and Eastern Europe in the early 21<sup>st</sup> century. Thus, the European Union passed through many stages until it reached its present position and way of functioning. The history of and developmental phases are explained in this chapter.

#### 1.1 The history and the development of the EU

The EU is an international organization, as the other organizations it has a huge history; it had problems between it and its member states. The most famous problem that faced the EU was the withdrawal of the UK. In this part we will see the history of the EU, and how was the relationship between UK and the EU.

#### 1.1.1 The History of the EU

The EU is set up to finish the bloody wars between neighbors, which had been created after WWII. In 1950, the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) start to unite European countries economically and politically in order to secure lasting peace (J.Gabel, 1993).

The ECSC's countries are Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands. The 1950s dominated by a cold war between east and west. Protests in Hungary against the Communist regime are put down by Soviet tanks in 1956. The Treaty of Rome creates the European Economic Community (EEC) or Common Market, which it helped the members to be directly elected (Ibid).

In 1960s, the EU countries stop charging custom duties. They also agree joint control over food production, so that everybody now has enough to eat, and soon there is even surplus agriculture produce. May 1968 becomes famous for student riots in Paris because they started a revolution in a suburb of Paris and soon joined by a general strike eventually involving some 10 million workers, Paris was engulfed in the worst rioting and the rest of France was at a standstill, as a result the French president Charles De Gaulle met secretly the commander of the French occupation forces Jacques Massu, to ensure Massu's support in the event that his troops were needed to retake Paris from the revolutionaries. There were many changes in society and behavior become associated with '68 generation'. All these make this period a good period in economy (Amato, 2019).

On 01 January 1973, Denmark, Ireland and the United Kingdom join the European Union. Then, in October 1973, the Arab-Israeli war results an energy crisis and economic problems in Europe. The last right-wing dictatorships in Europe come to an end with the overthrow of the Salazar regime in Portugal in 1974 and the death of General Franco of Spain in 1975. In 1979, the parliament increases its influence in EU affairs; and in the same year for the first time all citizens can elect their members directly. In the 1970s, the EU adopts laws to protect the environment, introducing the notion of the polluter pays for the first time (Pasquino, 2019).

In 1981, Greece becomes the 10th member of the EU; five years later, Spain and Portugal followed it. In 1986, the Single European Act is signed. This is a treaty which provides the basis for a vast six-year program aimed at sorting out the problems with the free flow of trade across EU borders and thus creates the 'Single Market'. On 09 November 1989, the Berlin Wall is pulled down and the border between East and West Germany is opened for the first time after 28 years. This leads to the reunification of Germany, when both East and West of Germany are united in October 1990 (Ibid).

The Europeans become closer neighbors after the fall of communism in central and Eastern Europe. In 1993, the Single Market is completed with 'four freedoms' of movement of goods, services, people and money. In the 1990s, there were two treaties which are the Maastricht Treaty on EU in 1993 and the Treaty of Amsterdam in 1999. People are concerned about how to protect the environment and how they interact to be secure.

In 1995, Austria, Finland and Sweden are the three new members in the EU. The Schengen agreements which help people to travel easily without checking their passports at the borders, led a small village in Luxembourg gives its name to these agreements. The EU helps millions of young people to study in other countries (Ibid).

The Euro became the currency of most of the EU countries (See Appendix A, page 58). The EU countries start fighting crime after the hijacked air lines are flown into buildings in New York and Washington. The east and west Europe are finally interconnected politically after the 10 new countries (the Czech Republic, Cyprus,

Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia) join the EU in 2004, followed by Bulgaria and Romania in 2007. A financial crisis hits the global economy in September 2008. The Treaty of Lisbon supplied the EU with new institutions and good working methods, which is approved by all EU countries in 2009 (Kimberly, 2019).

After what the economic crisis left in Europe, the EU helps many countries in their difficulties and establishes the 'banking union'. The EU is awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 2012. In 2013, Croatia joins the EU and becomes the 28th member (Ibid).

#### 1.1.2 The EU member states

The EU as the other organizations in the world has member states. In 1951, the European countries started economic cooperation. Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands are the first countries participated in 1958. Then, in 1973, Denmark, Ireland and the United Kingdom joined the EU. Greece joined in 1981. After that, Spain and Portugal joined the organization in 1986. In 1995, another three countries joined the EU which are Austria, Finland and Sweden. Cyprus, Czechia, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia joined the EU in 2004. In 2007, two new countries joined the EU which are Bulgaria and Romania. Croatia is the last country which joined the EU in 2013 (Wike, 2019). Thus, the EU had 28 countries before the left of the United Kingdom in 31 January 2020. (For further information see Appendix B)

#### 1.1.3 The EU treaties

The EU is based on the rule of law, which mean that everything EU doing is founded on treaties that have been approved voluntarily and democratically by all EU member countries.

The treaty is a binding agreement between EU member countries. It sets the objectives of the EU, the rules for EU institutions, how they made the decisions and the relationship between the EU and its member countries. In addition to this, the Treaties helped the EU to be more efficient and transparent, to have new member countries and to introduce new areas of cooperation (like currency).

Thus, the EU member countries implement the legislation which adopt by the EU institutions that is under the treaties.

#### 1.1.3.1 Treaty of Lisbon

Signed on 13 December 2007 and entered into force on 01 December 2009. It purposes to make the EU more democratic, more efficient and better able to address global problems (like climate change, with one voice). It gives more power to the European Parliament, change voting procedures in the council, citizens' initiative, a permanent president of the European Council, a new High Representative for Foreign Affairs and new EU diplomatic services. The Lisbon treaty clarifies powers belong to the EU and belong to the EU member countries.

#### 1.1.3.2 Treaty of Amsterdam

Signed on 02 October 1997 and entered into force on 01 May 1999. Its purpose is to reform the EU institutions in preparation for the arrival of future member countries. It changes amendment, renumbering and consolidation of EU and EEC treaties, more transparent decision-making.

#### 1.1.3.3 The Maastricht Treaty

Signed on 07 February 1992 and entered into force on 01 November 1993. It aims to prepare for European Monetary Union and introduce elements of a political union. It changes establishment of the European Union and introducing the co-decision procedure, giving Parliament more say in decision-making .New forms of cooperation between EU governments.

#### 1.1.3.4 Brussels Treaty

Signed on 08 April 1965 and entered into force on 01 July 1967. It aims to streamline the European institutions. It creates a single Commission and a single Council to serve the three European Communities (EEC, EURATOM, and ECSC) Repealed by the Treaty of Amsterdam.

#### 1.1.3.5 Treaties of Rome (EEC and EURATOM Treaties)

They are signed on 25 March 1957 and entered into force on 01 January 1958. It aims to set up the European Economic Community (EEC) and the European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM). They extend European integration to include general economic cooperation.

#### 1.1.4. The Financial Crisis and its Challenges

The European debt crisis is the short hand term for Europe's struggle to pay the debts it has built up in recent decades. Greece, Ireland, Italy, Portugal and Spain have failed to generate enough economic growth to make their ability to pay back bond holders the guarantee it was intended to be. These five countries were seen in an immediate danger of a possible default at the peak of the crisis in 2010-2011, the crisis has hard consequences for the entire world. In October 2011, Sir Mervyn King the head of the bank of England said about it 'the most serious financial crisis at least since the 1930s, if not ever (Kenny, 2019).

Since the financial crisis of 2008-2009 in the US, the global economy saw a slow growth, and that crisis has showed the unsustainable fiscal policies of countries in Europe and around the world (Ibid).

One of the first countries to feel about the weak growth was Greece, because it failed to undertake fiscal reforms. When the growth slows so do the tax revenue and making high budget deficits unsustained (Ibid).

In late 2009, the new Prime Minister George Papandreou was forced to announce that previous governments had failed to reveal the size of the nation's entire economy, and the country could not hide the problem (Ibid).

Moreover, the investors responded to this problem by demanding higher yields on Greece's bonds, which raised the cost of the country's debt burden, which led to the necessity of the EU and European Central Bank intervention. The markets also began

driving up bond yields in the other heavily indebted countries in the region, anticipating problems like Greece's (Ibid).

The reason of rising bond yields is that if investors see higher risk associated with investing in a country bonds, they will require a higher return to compensate them for that risk. The demand for higher yields disposes to higher borrowing costs for the country in crisis, which leads to further fiscal stain, prompting investors to demand even higher yields (Ibid).

When the investors lost confidence causes the selling to affect that country and the other countries like it in weak finances, this affect referred to as 'contagion' (Ibid).

The European Union has taken an action which has been a series of bailouts for Europe's troubled economics, but it has moved slowly because of requires the consent of all nations in the union (Amadeo, 2019).

In spring 2010, the European Union and International Monetary pay 163 billion dollar to Greece, in mid-2011; it needed second bailout which is about 157 billion dollar. On 09 March 2012, Greece and its creditors agreed to reformulate their debt which set the stage for another round of bailout funds. In November 2010 and May 2011, Ireland and Portugal also received bailouts (Ibid).

The Eurozone member states created the European Financial Stability Facility (EFSF) to provide emergency lending to countries in financial difficulty (A.Hall, 2016).

Also, in August 2011, the European Central bank announced a plan to purchase government bonds if necessary in order to keep yields from spiraling to a level that countries could no longer afford. In December 2011, the ECB made the first round and put 639 billion dollar in credit available to the region's troubled banks at ultra-low rates, then, in February 2012, it followed with a second round. The name of this program was the Long Term Refinancing Operation "LTRO" (Ibid).

In 2012, the financial institutions had debt, causing them to hold on to their reserves rather than extend loans (Ibid).

Slower loan growth could have weighed on economic growth and made the crisis worse. The ECB sought to boost the banks' balance sheets to help forestall this potential

issue. Although the European policymakers' action helped stabilize the financial markets in short term, but they were postponing a true solution (Ibid).

The smaller countries are small enough to be rescued by the ECB; while largest countries are too big to be saved. In 2012, the ECB's president Mario Draghi announced that he will do everything to keep the Eurozone together. But his statement did not solve the problem; it made investors more comfortable buying bonds of the region's smaller nations (Ibid).

The European banks remain one the largest holders of region's government debt. The banks have to keep certain amount of assets on their balance sheets relative to the amount of debt they hold. If a country defaults on its debt, the value of its bonds will plunge. This could mean a fall in the number of assets on their balance sheet for the banks. Due to the global financial system, a bank has a reason to be failure; and if a bank fail, it can led to the failure of other banks 'the contagion' (Ibid).

We can take into consideration the US financial crisis, when small financial institutions fail; they led to the failure of Lehman Brothers and the government bailouts or forced takeovers of many others. Since the European governments are already struggling with their finances, they have to work hard to do not have the same crisis that hits the US (Ibid).

The possibility of a contagion, led the investors react to any bad news out of Europe by selling anything risky, and buy the government bonds of the largest, most financially sound countries (Ibid).

The European banks performed much worse than their global counterparts in the time of the crisis. The bond markets of the affected nations also performed poorly, the rise of the yields means that the prices are falling (W.Schoen, 2018).

When Draghi announced the ECB's commitment to preserving the Eurozone, markets rallied worldwide. Bond and equity markets in the region have since regained their footing, but they need to show their growth in order to continue (Ibid).

The political implications of the crisis were enormous. In the affected nations, the push toward austerity led to public protests in Greece and Spain and in the removal of the party in power in Italy and Portugal (Insana, 2015).

On the national level, the crisis led to tensions between the fiscally sound countries and the higher-debt countries (like Germany and Greece). Germany pushed the higher-debt countries like Greece to reform the budgets as a condition of providing aid. After the debate, Greece agreed to cut spending and raise taxes. The obstacle to address the crisis was Germany's unwillingness to agree to a region-wide solution, since it would have to foot a disproportionate percentage of the bill (Ibid).

The tension created the possibility that the European countries would abandon the euro if a country leave the euro i twill be independent; but it would be an event of unprecedented magnitude for the global economy and financial markets (Ibid).

#### 1.2 The Relationship between UK and the EU

The United Kingdom had a huge history, and its relationship with the EU passed on different stages.

#### 1.2.1 The UK joined the EU

The UK lost its economic strength after the war, and its economic situation was less powerful especially when compared to the EEC member states. In 1957, the UK attended the Treaty of Rome as an observer. In fact, The UK welcomed the idea of the free-trade area without a customs union but it refused to join the EEC because it had a similar relationship with the Commonwealth countries (Jones, 2007).

The UK applied to join the EU, the first and the second application in 1963 and in 1967 were vetoed by the President of France 'Charles de Gaulle'; After De Gaulle had gave up from presidency, in 1971 the UK made a third application. In the previous applications, the UK negotiated with each member state separately, but this time the negotiations were collective. The negotiating team consisted of Anthony Barber and Sir Alec Douglas-Home (Jones, 2007)

Febre (2003) stated that Edward Heath resumed to the Parliament for voting in which he reached an overwhelming majority of 356 votes for joining and 244 against.

Heath convinced the public view that joining the EEC was much more about economics and nothing more. The UK joined the EEC officially in 1973, but this was the starting point for a period of uneasy the relationship across the Channel.

Since 1977, both pro- and anti-European views have had majority support at different times, with some dramatic swings between the two camps. In 1975, the UK made a veto to stay or to leave the European Communities, 2/3 voted to stay in EEC. In 1980, the UK made another vote, it was the first year for Margaret Thatcher as a Prime Minister, the result of the vote of leaving or staying as an EEC member country was 65% for leaving 26% for staying. Even the results were with leaving the UK stayed as a member of the EU, but it never used the euro as a currency and did not abide the Schengen agreements (Giles, 2017).

In 2016, the UK made the third and last vote for staying as a EU member or leave it, the results were 52% said leave it and 48% said stay as a member. After the vote, the Prime Minister David Cameron retired (he was supported staying in the EU), the new Prime Minister was Theresa May. Although she supported staying in the EU, she promised to negotiate the Brexit. The UK formally left the EU on 31 January 2020 (Knox, 2020).

#### 1.2.2 Euroscepticism in Britain

Euroscepticism (EU-scepticism) means criticism of the EU and European integration. It ranges from those who oppose some EU institutions and policies and seek reform, to those who oppose EU membership outright and see the EU as unreformable, which means from the soft- Euroscepticism to the hard one (Helm,2016).

The British Euroscepticism means how the UK has struggled to come to terms with continental Europe's political ambitions. After WWII, Winston Churchill said in 1946: 'to recreate the European family, or as much of it as we can, and to provide it with a structure under which it can dwell in peace, in safety and in freedom. We must build a kind of United States of Europe'. But when he said that he did not mention the UK, 'France and Germany must take the lead together'. British governments, Labour and Conservative sequential stood back as those two nations led to form the European Coal

and Steel Community in 1951 and after six years the European Economic Community. In the same year, the UK sent an observer to the signing of the Treaty of Rome (Grant, 2008).

The Tory Prime Minister Harold Machillan led the UK to apply for the membership in 1961. He believed that continued exclusion would be harmful. Labour had the more prominent Eurosceptic, like Hugh Gaitskell who said after a year about joining to the federal Europe would be 'the end of Britain as an independent European state, the end of a thousand years of history'. The French President Charles de Gaulle vetoed Macmillan's application to join the EU, because he was feared that the UK would torpedo the grande project (Ibid).

Until 1973, Edward Heath's Tory government took Britain in, with Labour hugely split (Gifford, 2015).

In 1974, Labour PM Harold Wilson that after renegotiation of Britain's membership terms he will put the issue of membership to the people. They made a vote and most of the Tory press wanted to stay, they won vote (67% to stay in the EU). Roy Jenkins the Pro- Europe Home Secretary said: 'it puts the uncertainty behind us. It commits Britain to Europe; it commits us to playing an active, constructive and enthusiastic role in it'. The anti-EEC industry secretary Benn said: 'when the British people speak, everyone including members of Parliament, should tremble before their decision and that's certainly the spirit with which I accept the result of the referendum' (Baker, 2015).

Margaret Thatcher in 1975 which is before four years of becoming prime minister had campaigned to stay in the EEC; and in 1986, she signed the Single European Act. But she came to the despair of the European project. Her Bruges speech of 1988 became a template for a new generation of Tory sceptic. It did not help the country to exit, but it limited Europe's ambitions (Ibid).

Thatcher said: 'to try to suppress nationhood and concentrate power at the center of the European conglomerate would be highly damaging and would jeopardize the

objectives we seek to achieve". They had believed that the original vision of a trading area had been supplanted by Franco-German ambitions for political and economic union. As the center of gravity shifted in both main parties, the Labour with Neil Kinnock embraced a social Europe, albeit with resistance from unions and the left. Thatcher's increasingly strident scepticism put her at odds with key members of her cabinet, including Michael Heseltine, and hastened her downfall (Ibid).

The ousting of Thatcher, then the UK's traumatic experience inside the European Exchange Rate Mechanism and exit from it in 1992; later on the Maastricht Treaty which create the EU and made an economic union, ensured that Europe dogged John Major's premiership. In 1993, he described Eurosceptic members of his cabinet as 'bastards''. His government was crippled by the majority of workings. In 1994, when Tony Blair started working as Labour Leader the Tory war raged, who promised to lead a British government committed to the EU and if the conditions were right he will join the euro (Ibid).

Gordon Brown was also a strong pro-European, but he did not like joining the euro. Towards the end of the first term of Labour, Brown and Ed Balls insisted on strict tests being met. The Tories under William Hague the anti-EU leader made little progress, and less with Iain Duncan Smith. But as more the European treaties which brought ever deeper integration, Tory Eurosceptics started talk about the EU exit. When David Cameron put himself as perspective Tory leader in 2005, he promised lead the party out of the centre-right federalist grouping the European People's Party "EPP" (Waechter, 2016).

The Prime Minister said that he wanted his party to be far of Europe. He was having honored his EPP pledge, but his Eurosceptics wanted more. Even he went to Brussels to exit the EU but it did not work. They wanted a referendum on whether to stay or to leave. In 2013, he gave them a referendum, and he said that he would try to renegotiate a better settlement for the British people before the vote which is before the end of 2017.

Now, the renegotiation concludes and his Eurosceptics say that the UK has to leave the EU. So, he waited the vote which is on 23 June 2016. If he gets "YES" he could have settled the Europe question for a generation. But if he gets "NO" he will be the prime minister who lost the final battle to the Eurosceptics and Took Britain out of the EU (Helm, 2016). But, unfortunately, he lost the battle and the UK exit the EU on 31 January 2020.

#### 1.3 The Literature Review

On the 23rd of June 2016, the United Kingdom voted to leave the European Union and to give an end to the forty three years of membership especially to cut the line of the ambiguous struggles they were facing due to many conflict during the whole period of partnership. Therefore, it is important to investigate this issue.

There was a master thesis that investigated this issue, but it discussed it from a different angle. It was entitled "The European Union and the United Kingdom's Withdrawal (BREXIT)". Also, there was another study discussed the same subject entitled "BREXIT: A Challenging Process with Vital Implications for The United Kingdom and The European Union"

The first research investigated the history and the development of the European Union, chronologically narrating the history of relations between the UK in the Union .In fact; he focused on detailed events which were less important than the discussed topic. He moved directly to the Brexit issue without clarifying its cause. And he proceeded without relating the elements with no clear findings.

Otherwise, the other researcher presented in her study a brief background about the British attitudes towards the EU without clearly giving arguments to support her suggestions. Then, the study moved directly to the path of Brexit which studied only regular events without stating its real causes. The last part of the study dealt with the implications of the Brexit on the EU and neglected its implications on the UK.

The study goes through history to investigate the complicated relationships between the United Kingdom and the European Union, we, order to come out with a full analysis the events. In addition to this, causes and implications of Brexit are revealed.

Both of the two aforementioned theses are important as long as they are one of the prevailing topics. Moreover, future researchers have to bear in mind that the gathered results cannot be taken for granted as long as events are still in course, everything might be completely changed.

The majority of researchers studied the issue from a theoretical point of view. Though the theoretical aspects of the issue are essential, but it may be beneficial to build results upon the findings of polls done by statistic companies that questioned British citizen in order to give exact and clear information. Each research is different and unique with its methodology and style, thus future researchers may come up with new clear methods to cover the issue from each side.

#### 1.4. Discussion

The main purpose of this chapter was to trace the history of the relationship between the UK and the EU in order to highlight the main events that characterized this relationship. This study revealed that there are two main factors that were present in the most of the events and controlled them which are economics (the financial crisis) and politic (the Euroscepticism).

The first factor which is economy was dominant and changed the path of events lot of times. The UK complained that being a member in the EU did bring any economic benefit to it. In fact, it was enforced to increase its contributions to the budget of the union in order to help the other member states in facing continuous economic crises . Moreover, the UK was against the economic policies of the EU which focused on funding the agrarian sector because the UK was an industrial country with small interests in agriculture as long as it was getting most of its food supplies from the commonwealth countries.

The second factor is related to the British sovereignty and feelings of nationalism. They viewed all the attempts for complete European integration as a threat to their sovereignty and nationality. In addition, Eurosceptism was always present their relationship with the EU as they were thinking for better role in this Union. The British had seen the USA as better partner than the EU and this eventually led to diminishing its role.

#### **Conclusion**

The relationship between the United Kingdom and the European Union has been a rocky one along 50 years of ties. In fact, these relations had developed gradually from the refusal to join the Union then joining and finally withdrawing from it.

However, the British view and attitudes towards it has always been strange. The British sometimes aimed at more collaboration and looked for having a leading role, but in other times they had a lot of doubt and scepticism. For the political parties, it was not clear what side is with and which side is against the membership in the EU.

To sum up, The British were very awkward in things related to the EU, so no clear arguments can be provided to justify their major crisis with the Union. The UK's awkwardness has become more present in the last few years. British politicians used all their influence to slow down European integration. Recently, the UK is moving on breaking the relations with the EU. In fact, the British exit (Brexit) is going to be the subject matter of the coming chapter as lot of analysis is going to be conducted.

# Chapter Two: Brexit:An Overview

**Research Method and Data Collection** 

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#### Introduction

This chapter highlights the over all process of Brexit ,the referendum results and the world's response .Moreover ,it sheds light on Article 50 and it discusses the main factors leading to Brexit such as : Sovereignty ,immigration ,trade and fear of terrorism .

This chapter provide explanation of the research method used in this dissertion.

#### 2.1 Research Method and Data Collection

#### 2.1.1 Research Method

The purpose of this study is to assess the impact of Brexit in Uk and Europe .Also, to give a general backgound about the relationship between the United Kingdom and the European Union in order to be able to clearly understand the event of the Brexit.

In order to achieve the objectives that was expected out of this dissertation, a historical approach was opted. Historical approach relies mainly on facts from the past to explain the present and probable future development.

The research method of this study is also qualitative methods. The qualitative approach focuses on analyzing the historical data, investigations, scholarly and academic articles, newspaper reports, journals, books together with the recent news regarding the topic.

#### 2.1.2 Data Collection

To enrich this study and to present varied historians' responses to the Brexit debate which is troubling issue for people living in both UK and even EU, a set of resources, including articles, books, political statements, the UK political manifestos are used in this dissertation.

#### 2.2Brexit, The overall process

The term BREXIT which was coined in 2012 by Peter Wilding is used in the UK and the worldwide especially in the social media. BREXIT is a portmanteau word that is a mixture of British exit, which means 'Britain exiting from the EU'. In fact, this term was inspired from the possible Greek exit from the euro known as the Grexit (Greek exit) which can be traced to 2010 (Fontaine, 2017).

#### 2.2.1 Myths and Misconceptions

There are many myths and misconceptions about the Brexit process and what it will involve. During the referendum campaign, near hysterical fears were voiced that somehow the UK would be plunged into a situation where we would be cut off from trading with the EU or even severely hampered in trading with the wider world (Lawyers for Britain, 2016).

The leaflet distributed in May 2016, at a cost of £9.5m to taxpayers, set out the views of the pro-Remain Government machine and claimed that voting to leave the EU would "create years of uncertainty" which "could result in 10 years or more of uncertainty as the UK unpicks our relationship with the EU and renegotiates new arrangements with the EU and over 50 countries around the world." These alarmist claims do not stand up to critical scrutiny for reasons which shall carefully be explained (Ibid).

#### 2.2.2 The reality

According to the website of "Lawyers for Britain", the Brexit process is legally straightforward. The UK, in common with all other EU Member States, has an unqualified right to give notice of withdrawal from the European Union, and did so on 29 March 2017. Under Article 50 of the Treaty on European Union, the giving of notice by a Member State is followed by a 2-year period during which an agreement on arrangements for withdrawal and for a continuing future relationship can be negotiated between the withdrawing State and the EU.

A common misconception is that the European Union is able to delay the United Kingdom departure by dragging out the negotiating process. This is not correct; The Treaty is clear that at the end of the 2-year period it ceases to be bound by the European Treaties, and therefore cease to be liable for budget contributions and all other obligations of membership, whether or not the details of exit and of our continuing future relationship have been agreed. If, as seems fairly likely, a so-called "transition" or "implementation" period is formally agreed between the UK and the EU, then most EU Treaty obligations would continue to apply to and within the UK until the end of that period, which is currently projected to last until 31 December 2020. (Ibid)

#### 2.2.3 The referendum and the world's response

The United Kingdom and the European Union membership referendum was first announced by then-Prime Minister David Cameron on 23 January 2013 (David Cameron's EU speech ,2013), and took place in the United Kingdom and Gibraltar on 23 June 2016. (Results: UK votes to leave the EU, 2016). In fact, the withdrawal of any member state is a sensitive topic, but it certainly would rock the EU if its third largest member state decided to leave.

#### 2.2.3.1 The referendum results

the final result of the referendum for the United Kingdom and Gibraltar was declared at Manchester Town Hall at 07:20 BST on Friday 24 June 2016, after all the 382 voting areas and the twelve UK regions had declared their results, by the then "Chief Counting Officer" (CCO) for the referendum, Jenny Watson. In a UK-wide referendum, the position of "Chief Counting Officer" (CCO) is held by the chair of the Electoral Commission (EU referendum: Brexit win amid Manchester's strong Remain vote, 2016).

The "Leave" won referendum with 51.9% of the ballot, or 17.4 million votes; "Remain" received 48.1%, or 16.1 million (Ashcroft Lord Polls, 2016).

The figures below show the total number of votes cast, and the national share of the vote, for Leave and Remain.

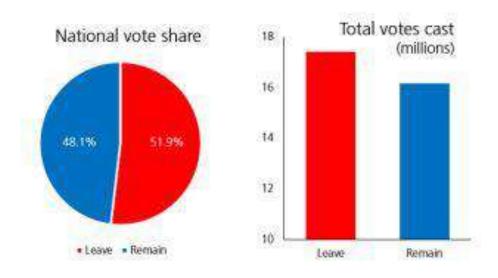


Figure1: National results

**Source:**http://researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/CBP-7639/CBP-7639.pdf

Turnout was 72.2%. The results were tallied on a U.K.-wide basis, but the overall figures conceal stark regional differences: 53.4% of English voters supported Brexit, compared to just 38% of Scottish voters. Because England accounts for the vast majority of the U.K.'s population, support there swayed the result in Brexit's favor. If the vote had been conducted only in Wales (where "Leave" also won), Scotland and Northern Ireland, Brexit would have received less than 45% of the vote (Kenton, W, 2020).

Thus, votes for Leave and Remain were not evenly distributed across the UK. Leave won the highest share of the vote in England and Wales, while Remain won the highest share of the vote in Scotland and Northern Ireland. Within England, London

was the only region where Remain won a majority. (House of Commons Library, 2016)

Table1: Proportion of the vote across the UK

	Leave (%)	Remain (%)
England	53.4%	46.6%
Wales	54.4%	47.5%
Scotland	38.0%	62.0%
Northern Ireland	44.2%	55.8%

**Source:**http://researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/CBP-7639/CBP-7639.pdf

#### 2.2.3.2 The World's Response

The world has reacted to news the UK has voted to leave the European Union in a variety of different ways, with some wishing Britain a tongue-in-cheek "good luck" and others saying "welcome to the outside". We mention some of the main statements below.

At first, it's no surprise that a sense of disaster dominated the French media's reaction to news that the UK had voted for a Brexit, with many underlying the "winds of panic" and the "start of a real cataclysm" in the markets. (Brexit: global reaction to Britain's vote to leave the EU, 2016).

Moreover, the independent website Media-part used a brilliant oxymoron, describing the decision as a "welcome catastrophe" and arguing that Brexit offers a unique opportunity for reform of the long-criticized EU. The result highlighted how

the political class in France remains much divided over Europe. On one hand the Eurosceptics, led by the Front National's Marine le Pen, have saluted the UK's "clear lesson in democracy" and called for a similar referendum in France. On the other side, those politicians on the left who are in power, such as French foreign minister Jean-Marc Ayrault, want Europe to "react and find the confidence of its people". (Ibid)

Therefore, the President François Hollande, after a cabinet meeting and talks with European Commission President Donald Tusk and his German counterpart Angela Market, said the decision was "severely testing the European Union". However, he added that it is "A painful choice and it is deeply regrettable both for the UK and Europe. But this choice is theirs and we must respect it, accepting all the consequences. The British vote is a tough test for Europe." (Ibid)

Thus, Angela Merkel, Chancellor of Germany expressed her regret stating "We take note of the British people's decision with regret. There is no doubt that this is a blow to Europe and to the European unification process." And, she said that because of its history, Germany has "a particular interest and a particular responsibility" to make European unity a success. (Brexit: World reaction as UK votes to leave EU, 2016). Unlike Marine Le Pen, leader of the far-right Front National in France who wanted to have the same referendum in France and in the countries of the EU, she stated "Victory for freedom! The British people have given to Europeans and to all the people of the world a shining lesson in democracy.

However, one consequence of Britain's vote to leave the European Union will be damage to the US-UK "special relationship" that has been a pillar of Britain's political, economic, and military strategy since 1945 (Lucas, S, 2016). Although, the US's Ex-president, Barack Obama, made clear in March, 2016 that the UK would be at the "back of the queue" for trade deals if Brexit triumphed. Former high-level officials – used as channels for the views of those who now hold their positions – spoke of the negative effects not only on Britain's economic future but on

relationships within diplomatic, military, and intelligence partnerships. (Ibid) Therefore, He stated that,

The people of the United Kingdom have spoken, and we respect their decision. The special relationship between the United States and the United Kingdom is enduring, and the United Kingdom's membership in NATO remains a vital cornerstone of US foreign, security, and economic policy. (Brexit: World reaction as UK votes to leave EU, 2016)

The reaction to the Leave victory in Russia, which was alleged to be in favor of Brexit, centered on the likely impact on its relations with the EU and the possible economic fallout. Thus, other Russian politicians have been less reserved in their reaction, with the nationalist-minded among them predicting that Brexit is only a start of the EU dissolution. (Brexit: global reaction to Britain's vote to leave the EU, 2016) .But, this does not mean that the Russian president Vladimir Putin had not reacted to the Brexit. Therefore he stated,

As we can see, even this did not bring the right result for those who did it, and moreover after the vote no-one has the right to make statements about some position of Russia. This is nothing more than a demonstration of the low level of political culture.(Brexit: World reaction as UK votes to leave EU)

Meanwhile, moderate politicians were more cautious in their reaction. Konstantin Kosachev, an influential chairman of the Federation Council's (the upper chamber) committee for international affairs, said he hoped that Brexit would spur reforms to make the EU less politicized, more flexible and open to cooperation with international partners, including Russia (Ibid). He also expressed concerns over possible economic fallout:

We have interest in the EU as a stable inter-generational project, because it's still one of our biggest trade partners. 49% of Russia's foreign trade is with the EU, and even under the sanctions regime

it's still significant. Any shock in such an important trade partner will impact our relations in a negative way.

As all the countries over the world reacted to the Brexit, Lars Rasmussen, the prime minister of Denmark expressed his sadness and said that the result was "Very sad for Denmark but it will be respected." However, he added that Brexit would not change the fact that Denmark remains an EU member and depends on the Union. (BBC News, 2016) And he stated "We can do some things better alone, but we are stronger together". (Ibid)

#### 2.2.4 Article 50

This Article is sometimes (incorrectly) referred to as Article 50 of the Treaty of Lisbon. In fact, the Lisbon Treaty amended the Treaty on European Union (the Maastricht Treaty) and one of the amendments it made was to insert this new Article 50 into it. Article 50 of the Treaty on European Union says:

- "1. Any Member State may decide to withdraw from the Union in accordance with its own constitutional requirements."
- "2. A Member State which decides to withdraw shall notify the European Council of its intention. In the light of the guidelines provided by the European Council, the Union shall negotiate and conclude an agreement with that State, setting out the arrangements for its withdrawal, taking account of the framework for its future relationship with the Union. That agreement shall be negotiated in accordance with Article 218(3) of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union. It shall be concluded on behalf of the Union by the Council, acting by a qualified majority, after obtaining the consent of the European Parliament."
  - "3.The Treaties shall cease to apply to the State in question from the date of entry into force of the withdrawal agreement or, failing that, two years after the notification referred to in paragraph 2, unless the European Council, in agreement with the Member State concerned, unanimously decides to extend this period."

(For further information, see Appendix C, page 60)

This dispels some myths about the exit process. Any Member State has a clear and unqualified legal right to withdraw from the EU if it chooses to do so. Moreover, 'Article 50' lays down a procedure for the negotiation of transitional arrangements and also envisages an agreement governing the future relationship between the EU and the departing Member State.

This procedure does not guarantee that the terms offered will necessarily be acceptable. But the fundamental point is that even if an agreement cannot be reached, the UK will cease to be subject to the EU treaties and will become a free and independent State at the end of the 2 year period which began the day the UK gave its formal notice under Article 50(2). UK invocation of Article 50(2) occurred on 29 March 2017 meaning the UK will cease to subject to EU treaties on 29 March 2019 - at 11pm, to be precise- (Lawyers for Britain, 2016).

It is possible under Article 50(3) (quoted above) for the 2-year period to be extended, although only by the mutual consent of both the UK itself and the remaining EU. It might be sensible for the UK either to ask for or agree to any such extension after giving notice and starting the timetable. International negotiations are often only concluded just before a deadline and because of the pressure of that deadline (Ibid)

By contemplating an extension of the deadline, the UK would become vulnerable to filibustering by endlessly dragged-out negotiations. During an extension, the UK would have to continue paying into the EU budget and be subject to the restrictions on its freedom of action imposed by EU laws. The whole point of Brexit is to escape those restraints (Ibid).

Regrettably, it seems that the UK government is intent on achieving many of the damaging consequences an extension of the Article 50 period by asking for a "transition" period under which the UK would still be liable to make payments into the EU budget as if it were still a Member State, and still be liable to comply with EU laws and be subject to the jurisdiction of the ECJ. The difference between that and

the extension of membership under Article 50 is that the UK will no longer have any vote on the EU laws which affect the UK or any representatives in the EU institutions. This "transition" period would last (assuming it becomes formally agreed as part of a Withdrawal Treaty) until 31 December 2020 (ibid).

#### 2.2.5 Brexit Timeline

From the moment David Cameron promised a referendum, through tense negotiations, many resignations, and a controversial prorogation, the whole period from 23 January 2013 when Prime Minister David Cameron promises an in-out referendum on EU membership if the Conservatives win the 2015 general election till present. The table below is a collection of the key moments in the process of the United Kingdom's exit from the European Union:

**Table 2: Key moments of Brexit** 

June 23 2016	The UK votes to leave the EU by 52% to 48% in a shock result.
July 13 2016	David Cameron leaves Downing street and Theresa May takes over as PM.
March 29 2017	Theresa, M triggers Article 50 and fires the Brexit starting gun.
April 18 2017	Mrs. May announces a snap general election to be held on June

	the 8 <sup>th</sup> .
June 8 <sup>th</sup> 2017	The election gamble backfires and Mrs. May losses her majority.
November 14 2018	Cabinet agree to a draft Brexit withdrawal agreement.
January 2019	In 15 <sup>th</sup> , MPs reject overwhelming the plans in historic common vote.
	In 16 <sup>th</sup> , Mrs. May survives a vote of no confident brought by Jeremy Corbyn.
March 20 2019	Mrs. May writes to the EU to request an extension to Article 50.
	In 23 <sup>rd</sup> , The UK votes to the European election/ Niggle Farge's Brexit party come out on top during the European elections.
May 2019	In the 24 <sup>th</sup> , Mrs. May announces she is standing down as Tory Party leader.

July 23 2019	Boris Johnson is elected leader of Tory party and becomes prime minister.
	In 20 <sup>th</sup> , Mr. Johnson is rebuffed by Brussels after requesting major changes to the deal.
August 2019	In 28 <sup>th</sup> , he requests the prorogation of parliament by the queen.
	In 4 <sup>th</sup> , MPs including 21 rebel Tories notes for a bill aiming to stop a non-deal Brexit/ Mr. Boris suspends the Tory whips from the rebels but falls to trigger an early general election.
September 2019	In 24 <sup>th</sup> , Supreme court rules that parliament's suspension was unlawful.
October 10 2019	Boris Johnson announces the UK has "a great deal" with the EU.
December 13 2019	Mr. Boris wines a 80 seat majority in general election.

January 2020	In 9 <sup>th</sup> , MPs pass withdrawal agreement through commons.	
	In 22 <sup>nd</sup> , Mr. Boris's withdrawal agreement clears house of Lords.	
January 31 2020	Britain finally leaves the European Union and they both enter an 11 months Transition period.	

**Source:** https://www.breakingnews.ie/world/brexit-timeline-from-2013-referendum-promise-to-2020-exit-979167.html

#### 2.3 Factors leading to the Brexit

In a morning shock to the world, the British decided to withdraw all relationships with the EU with a percentage of 52%. This was the most significant event in Europe since the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 .Moreover, topics such as economy and immigration were key points in "Vote Leave" camp which they intended to put in the mind of people when going to the referendum. "The Shock" as most of the British newspapers described was against the poll that was made by Ipsos MORI (the Britain's largest survey companies) with voters just after voting. (Riley, 2016).

#### 2.3.1 Sovereignty and International influence

According to Lord Ashcroft (2016), about 49% of leave voters said the biggest single reason for wanting to leave the EU was "the principle that decisions about the UK should be taken in the UK".

On June 19th, 2016,"The Sun" which is the most popular newspaper in the UK invited the British to vote for "Vote Leave", stating

They have progressively tied us up in millions of new regulations. Brussels has bogged down our small businesses with red tape and milks Britain for billions each year as a membership fee, preventing our natural spirit of enterprise. Its courts over-rule ours, and our elected Government. Unless we vote Leave this Thursday, all of this will get much worse. (para1)

The Sunday Telegraph (2016) stressed on having such International influence by stating "On balance, however, we believe the Leave campaign has articulated an ambitious vision for Britain as an independent nation, once again free to make its own decisions. Remain, by contrast, has resorted to grim pessimism." (Para2/3)

YouGov, (2016) asked Leave and Remain voters to say which reason from a list of eight was the most important when deciding how to vote in the referendum. The most frequently selected reason among Leave voters ticked by 45% was, "to strike a better balance between Britain's right to act independently, and the appropriate level of co-operation with other countries"

#### 2.3.2 Immigration

Lord Ashcroft's poll team discovered that 33% of leave voters believe that leaving will offer the best chance for the UK to regain control over immigration and its own borders (Lord Ashcroft, 2016).

According to the Economist (2016), immigration to the UK achieved 268,000 in 2014, up from 201,000 in 2013 which costs more than 3.67 billion of bounds. As a result, foreign-born reached more than 200% between 2001 and 2014. These immigrants caused additional burdens on the British economy and they have changed the social and cultural structure of the country. In fact, high numbers of migrants did not bother British, but it was the high rates of change that did.

According to the Centre for Economic Performance, the number of immigrants from other European Union countries living in the UK tripled from 0.9 million to 3.3

million in 2015 and EU net immigration to the UK was 172,000, only just below the figure of 191,000 for non-EU Immigrants.

#### 2.3.3 Fear of Terrorism

About 37% of those who linked the Brexit to immigration issues believe that immigrants especially Muslims are terrorists. In fact, this can be linked to the rise of terroristic organizations such as ISIS (Ipsos MORI poll, 2016).

According to Slack (2016), shortly before the EU referendum in the UK in May 2016, the EU advocate general stated that the court was considering whether the European Court of Justice should adopt powers to rule on all cases of extradition of terrorists, a move described by analysts as 'European Union power grab' and rejected by most member States (International relations, 2016)

The plan played into the hands of Brexit campaigners who used it to campaign against UK remaining in the EU with the former shadow home secretary David Davis stating 'The argument that Europe is somehow improving our security is falling apart in the Government's hands' (Ibid). Thus, exit of the UK from the EU will make it easier for the country to deport foreign nationals.

Burke (2016) believed that the increase of terroristic attacks in some European countries such as Charlie Hebdo attack in France on 2015 and the bad memories of July 2005 in which bombs were disrupted in London's public transport system made the British think that the Brexit will stop such threats. Therefore, they believed that the Brexit will provide more control over the borders and eventually will hinder any terrorists from entering the UK.

#### 2.3.4 Free Trade Area and Better Economy

As it is known, there were some advocates of Brexit who saw leaving the EU as an economic opportunity for Britain. Therefore, the leave campaign saw that the Brexit will allow the UK to have more developed economical relationships with the EU without being committed to the Union's laws. The UK can also enter more successful partnership with the world's leading economic countries such as the USA and China. In addition, the UK would carry on its efforts to have a multi-continental free trade area (Gulf online, 2016).

According to Ipsos MORI poll (2016) 32% of the leave voters believe trade and economical circumstances within the EU Common Market and Euro zone were not fair 36 enough for the UK. Moreover, 27% of the other leave voters thought that UK's economy was not doing well due to the restrictions from the EU.

On May, 2016 Boris Johnson said, "I'm telling you that if we vote on June 23 and take back control of our country, our economy and our democracy then we can prosper and thrive and flourish as never before." (Boris: Britain can 'prosper, thrive and flourish' outside EU, 2016).

The followers of Boris Johnson and "Economists for Brexit" see leaving the EU as an opportunity to carve out a new more internationalist and more market oriented Britain. Moreover, the societal and economic changes since the industrial revolution have left many with a sense of losing control, whether because of industry crumbling around them, rapid societal changes, or the growth of government (Bateman, V 2016).

#### Conclusion

In a nutshell, this chapter has provided an over view about this recent troubling issue the Brexit focusing on article 50 and the main factors leading to Brexit.

## Chapter Three: The Brexit and Its Implications Results and Discussions

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#### Introduction

The struggles between the United Kingdom and the European Union and the results of the general elections of 2015 paved the way for the Euro skeptics to implement their detachment program. The British exist (Brexit) was approved by the population of the UK in the referendum. In fact; the Brexit was a shock for most of the other European nations and the rest of the world. But, the referendum was not the end of the process, as more discussions are to be held to decide the way in which this Brexit will be implemented.

Furthermore, no one really knows what will happen in the coming months since the negotiations and the Brexit process goes on. As a result, more politicians questioned about how Britain should be governed and what the expected benefits are. Also they started wondering about the possible implications and consequential results. Yet, nothing is actually clear about the post Brexit and the future relationship between the two sides as the process is still on especially with the Transition Period (January 2020/ December 2020)

#### 3.1 The Brexit Implications

It was previously stated that issues related to politics such as sovereignty, immigration, and economic interdependence were the main causes of the Brexit. Therefore, our study takes a closer look at the EU's referendum direct implications and possible future ones in those areas.

#### 3.1.1 Political Implications

Bruton (2017) emphasized that over history, the UK has been holding the balance between conflicting powers in Europe. In fact, it used its military strength and its overseas colonies to exercise that role. Before the Brexit referendum, the UK continued to have the same role even at the time of the EU, and it could be considered as an expression of that traditional English approach. Though the UK did not approve all aspects of EU policies as it has found them too complex, it could influence some of those policies when it was necessary. With such important role and diplomacy, it

would be naive to think that the Brexit will not leave any implications in both the British and European political scene.

#### 3.1.1.1 Political Impact of Brexit within the United Kingdom

#### a. The early parliamentary election

Following the publication of the results of the Brexit referendum, on June 24, 2016 Prime Minister David Cameron had decided to resign from his post. Respecting the will of the British people for their decision and thanking all those who supported him for eleven years as the head of the UK government, he said that after the decision of British people to take a different path, the country needed a new leadership ("Brexit: David Cameron's resignation statement in full", 2016). Conservative MP Theresa May, on July 13, 2016, was invited by her Majesty, Queen Elizabeth II, to form the government after Cameron's resignation ("Queen Elizabeth II appoints Theresa May as her 13th Prime Minister", 2016).

Theresa May belonged to the group of conservative MPs who supported David Cameron and remaining in the EU, and also asserted that Brexit is a very serious and hard challenge for anyone who becomes the head of the conservative leadership if David Cameron would resign ("Theresa May wants you to stay in the EU. Has she blown her chances of ever being Tory leader?", 2016).

On April 18, 2017, she announced her plans about the organization of "early" parliamentary general elections, in which case she surprised the British people because in September 2016 she claimed that the upcoming parliamentary elections in Great Britain would be held in 2020 (Rashica, V, 2018).

The reason of this decision by Prime Minister May was to strengthen her influence on the Brexit negotiations because with their beginning in June 2017, she asserted that Labor Party, Scottish National Party and Liberal Democrat Party would try to hinder and destabilize the process in Parliament. Taking a new five-year

mandate May saw it as a very favorable time because it would serve to negotiate free trade agreements that pose the toughest challenge for the future of Britain after Brexit ("General election 2017: Why did Theresa May call an election?" 2017).

#### b. The risk of dissolution

Dissolution is one of the results of Brexit risks that affect the United Kingdom, a union that was created more than 300 years ago. Based on the results of the referendum, Scotland and Northern Ireland voted against leaving the EU, and the most dissatisfaction with Brexit were in Scotland. The results of the June 23 referendum highlighted a hypothesis that perhaps the UK might be dissolved in the future and that maybe in five years there will no longer be a United Kingdom. Scotland will be independent and part of EU (Rashica, 2018).

Meanwhile, if Scotland organizes another independence referendum, the Scots anger caused by Brexit can be expressed through votes and detaching Scotland from the UK. The fear of the dissolution of UK is also increased by the EU's promise to Northern Ireland after Brexit (Ibid).

On September 18, 2014, Scotland had organized a referendum on its independence from the United Kingdom, but the results were 55.30% with 44.70% in favor of continuing to be part of the UK ("Scotland votes No", 2014).

#### 3.1.1.2 Political Impact of Brexit within the European Union

The Brexit has not just affected the political scene in the UK, as the EU's third most populous state with over 12% of the Union's population; the UK was an influential player in the European Parliament and the Council of the European Union. Its absence will impact the ideological balance within the EU institutions (Oliver Patel & Reh).

In Europe, there is a rising tide of discontent with the growing power of the EU and a desire in some political circles to weaken, or even dissolve, the organization so that more of the power returns to the states. The Brexit debate raised many of these

issues and is an interesting instance of the idea of supranationalism being challenged. (McGlinchey, 2017,pp.73-74).

On the immigration front there is much to be done. The refugee crisis of the past year has clearly demonstrated that the EU needs to move towards a centralized border control and asylum mechanism. Although such momentous moves are unlikely in the foreseeable future, the need for common action will only increase as migration pressure from Africa is added to the current movements from the wider Middle East, creating an ever-bigger challenge. At the same time, a Brexit would reduce the EU's ability to tackle cross-border organized crime and transnational terrorism, unless new coordination and cooperation mechanisms can be established with the UK (Blockmans, S & Emerson, M, 2016).

Therefore, foreign and security policy would perhaps be the least-fraught areas. It is undeniable that Brexit would seriously threaten the EU's global standing and soft power status, its ability to play a greater role on global security issues. On the other hand, EU decision-making without the historically 'unruly' UK would become simpler and lead to a more truly Common Foreign and Security Policy (Ibid).

#### 3.1.2 Economic Implications

The UK is a service-based economy with the service sector making up almost 80% of its economy (Belam, 2018). Although, the UK has a net trade deficit with the EU, it had a net trade surplus in services of 10.3 billion pounds in 2013. The EU is one of its biggest partners with 36% of total UK service exports going to the EU (European movement international, 2016).

However, the finance minister of Russia, Anton Siluanov said that Brexit was likely to be less significant for Russia's economy than shocks it has experienced over the past two years. Aleksei Kudrin, an ex-finance minister and influential adviser to President Vladimir Putin, tweeted that there won't be an economic catastrophe, but both the EU and UK would be weaker economically in the long run. (**Titov, 2016**)

Brexit campaigners have so far argued that the EU's trade surplus with the UK is its trump card in negotiations. However, according to European movement international this ignores the fact that, whereas UK exports to the EU are 44% of total UK exports, on average the other 27 Member States only export 7% of their total exports to the EU.

Moreover, many more international trade treaties already regulate and help reduce barriers to trade in goods, yet very few, if any cover, nontariff barriers to trade in services. The EU's access to goods will thus not be as heavily affected as the UK's access to services on an already much smaller share of the EU's overall trade (Ibid).

#### 3.2 The UK and the EU's post Brexit

The UK left the EU on 31 January 2020 and has now entered an 11-month transition period. This time-limited period was agreed as part of the Withdrawal Agreement and is currently planned to last until 31 December 2020. Until then, it will be business as usual for citizens, consumers, businesses, investors, students and researchers, for instance, in both the EU and the United Kingdom. Moreover, The EU and the United Kingdom will use these months to negotiate a new and fair partnership for the future, based on the Political Declaration agreed between the EU and the United Kingdom in October 2019. (European commission, n.d)

#### 3.2.1 The Transition Period

During the Transition Period, the United Kingdom is no longer a Member State of the European Union or of the European Atomic Energy Community. As a third country, it will no longer participate in the EU's decision-making processes. It will also no longer be represented in the EU institutions (such as the European Parliament and the EU Council of Ministers), EU agencies, offices or other EU bodies (Ibid).

The Court of Justice of the European Union continues to have jurisdiction over the United Kingdom during the transition period. This also applies to the interpretation and implementation of the Withdrawal Agreement. Also, The United Kingdom continues to apply the EU's Justice and Home Affairs policies, including the European Arrest Warrant.

Moreover, it is bound to the Common Fisheries Policy of the EU and the terms of relevant international agreements (Ibid).

Also, security co-operation will continue during the transition period and the UK must implement the EU's sanctions regimes and support EU statements and positions in third countries and international organizations. Meanwhile, the UK will continue to have access to EU mechanisms (like Europol) and databases; but some EU countries like Germany cannot extradite their citizens under the European Arrest Warrant to non-member states and therefore will not be able to extradite them to the UK (Ibid).

Though, f the transition period is extended first, The UK would not participate as a Member State in the next Multiannual Financial Framework 2021-2027, or long-term EU budget, as of 2021. However, an extended transition period will require a financial contribution from the United Kingdom to the EU budget, because the United Kingdom would continue to participate fully in the Single Market with all its benefits. Second, the exact amount of this financial contribution would have to be decided by the Joint Committee established for the governance of the Withdrawal Agreement. From that date onwards, it will also only be able to participate in EU Programmes as a third country (Ibid).

#### 3.2.2 Different plausible relationships to the Single Market

The UK could decide to have a Norwegian/EEA-style relationship, a Swiss-style bilateral trade agreement, a Canada-style bilateral trade agreement a WTO-style managed relationship or a uniquely negotiated relationship with the Single Market. Under the first two models the UK would have to pay for Single Market access and

accept almost all EU regulation without having a voice at the table. The WTO style relationship, absent of significant domestic reforms, is the "worst case scenario" and would bring substantial economic costs. Overall, no free trade deal with the EU will offset the loss of access to the Single Market and EU customs union. If the UK decided to have an EEA-type relationship where it pays for full access to the Single Market, most EU regulation would continue to apply to the UK, including the five pieces of EU derived legislation considered to be the most "costly" (European Movement International, 2016).

Therefore, the only plausible model for a relationship where the UK could gain substantial access to the Single Market without requiring freedom of movement is the bilateral EU-Canada Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA). However, according to the UK Treasury, such an agreement would result in a 6.2% smaller UK GDP in 2031, a £4,300 decrease in household income and an annual £36 billion "black hole" in tax receipts, equivalent to a little more than one third of the NHS budget (HM. Government, 2016).

#### 3.3 Discussion

This chapter was provided to assess the Brexit process and to investigate it from different sides including its real causes and implications. Thus, we have tried to study the main causes of Brexit according to Polls done by statistics companies that questioned British citizen in order to give exact and clear information.

Meanwhile, after long research we found that the causes were; Sovereignty, Immigration, fear of terrorism and the most important is Economy. Thus, the problem related to this issue is that neither the United Kingdom nor the European Union was ready for such a decision which they both were predicting that it would be a well taken decision. Moreover, they did not account for the possible implications for the Brexit which causes a huge economic loses.

As it is known, there were no clear laws that indicate how the leaving should take place and all that exists is a short article (Article 50 from the Lisbon Treaty). After

long relationship between the UK and the EU, they entered series of negotiations, these negotiations was vague and difficult as no side was ready to compensate. After all, the withdrawal was accepted and they come out with a Transition period to settle the matter.

#### **Conclusion**

After settling the matters and come out with an 11 months Transition period, this period is based upon several rules and timeline limited period and it can be extended once, by up to one to two years. The EU and United Kingdom must take the decision before 1 July 2020.

The British exit from the European Union was a decision by many British; it was taken against the will of the authorities and a big portion of the population. Most experts in political affairs believe that this decision needs to be either re-evaluated or to work on getting better deal that will not let the UK suffer from any kind of isolation.

Moreover, if the UK does not manage to emerge from the transition period with a good decision, it would lead itself to great loses. The UK may find itself in an international isolation, and it will lose its power again. In addition, it must look for better alternatives for the EU to keep its status.

### **General Conclusion**

This study entitled "The UK and European Union Relationship and the 'Brexit' Implications" was divided into three chapters which mostly tackled important aspects about related issues.

Going through the history and development of the European Union gives us an encyclopedia about its beginnings till the different changes it had faced; also it reveals secrets about the EU's strong relationships with EU's member states, focusing on the United Kingdom. Assessing the British attitudes may allow us to understand why the British voted in favor of leaving the European Union.

Thought, the lost of the British powerful position after the World War II and the presentation of the Union as a successive establishment were the main reasons that led the UK to join. The new world system and order creates and makes struggles during the relationships between the UK and EU. Never the less, the UK had never liked the union's policy, finding itself giving more than what it benefit which were in favor of the smaller countries.

The British were already convinced with such matters of Sovereignty, migration and terrorism, so the majority voted to leave the Union and this decision was defined as the "Brexit". Therefore, the crisis between the UK and EU reached a turning point when David Cameroon called for a "Leave "referendum in 2016. And due to some reasons Cameroon was obliged to keep his promises to the British.

We believe that neither the UK nor the EU was ready for such a decision, and any wrong move will create problems. As a result, the Union faced many changes during this period of process, and the United Kingdom in consequence. Therefore, this decision affects many aspects especially Economy. As a result, both of the Union and United Kingdom entered series of negotiations to end up with an 11 months period as the Transition Period from January 2020 to December 2020, and by the end of this period.

As long as the process of the Transition period, nothing is clear about their relations, there might be such events that change everything completely.

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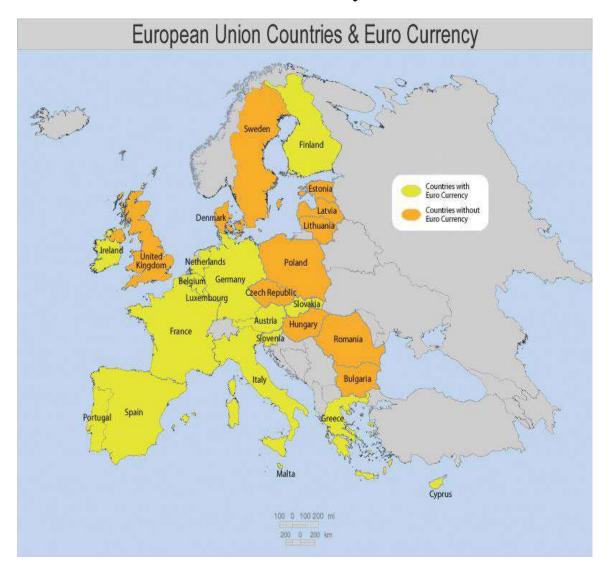
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## Appendices

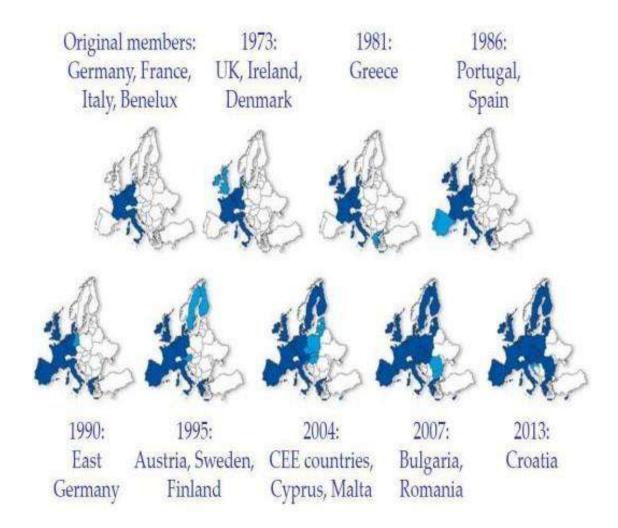
## **Appendix A: The European Union countries and the Euro Currency**



**Source:**https://www.google.com/url?sa=i&source=imgres&cd=&cad=rja&uact=8&ved=2ah UKEwib5\_HQr6rpAhVK8OAKHfy4A-

EQjhx6BAgBEAI&url=https%3A%2F%2Fpages.uoregon.edu%2Feuro410%2Fmap02.html&psig=AOvVaw3y2tIAxtOFCOLGK5tMyLzT&ust=1589236929551647

#### Appendix B: "Widening" integration



**Source:** https://ec.europa.eu/neighbourhood-enlargement/ (last access 10/05/2020)

#### **Appendix C: Article 50 from the Lisbon Treaty**

#### Article 50

- 1. Any Member State may decide to withdraw from the Union in accordance with its own constitutional requirements.
- 2. A Member State which decides to withdraw shall notify the European Council of its intention. In the light of the guidelines provided by the European Council, the Union shall negotiate and conclude an agreement with that State, setting out the arrangements for its withdrawal, taking account of the framework for its future relationship with the Union. That agreement shall be negotiated in accordance with Article 218(3) of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union. It shall be concluded on behalf of the Union by the Council, acting by a qualified majority, after obtaining the consent of the European Parliament.
- 3. The Treaties shall cease to apply to the State in question from the date of entry into force of the withdrawal agreement or, failing that, two years after the notification referred to in paragraph 2, unless the European Council, in agreement with the Member State concerned, unanimously decides to extend this period.
- 4. For the purposes of paragraphs 2 and 3, the member of the European Council or of the Council representing the withdrawing Member State shall not participate in the discussions of the European Council or Council or in decisions concerning it.

**Source:** https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A12012M050 (Last access 07/05/2020)

#### ملخص

تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى استقصاء العلاقات التي ربطت بين المملكة المتحدة والاتحاد الأوروبي على مدى العقود الماضية. نتيجة لذلك ، سنتمكن و بشكل أساسي على فهم ووصف مشكلة "بريكسيت". تعالج دراستنا مشكلة خروج بريطانيا من الاتحاد الأوروبي وتناقشها من وجهة نظر مختلفة. بالإضافة إلى ذلك فهي تركز بشكل عام على العلاقات بين الجانبين التي انتهت باستفتاء عام ٢٠١٦ ، و الذي اعتبر و بشكل استثنائي و مثير للدهشة انشقاق لبريطانيا من الاتحاد الأوروبي

في هذا الصدد تناول البحث ثلاث فصول; الفصل الأول عبارة عن لمحة عامة الاتحاد الأوروبي منذ توسعه الأول حتى الآن، كما يتناول أيضا العلاقة التي تربط المملكة المتحدة والاتحاد الأوروبي منذ بداياته في عام ١٩٧٣ إلى حد ألان. الفصل الثاني تناول المنهج الدي سنتبعه في الدراسة أما الفصل الثالث فهو تغطية عامة لمسألة خروج بريطانيا من الاتحاد الأوروبي ، بما في ذلك أسبابه وآثاره وإجراءاته. بما في ذلك، تقدم هذه الدراسة تحليلاً شاملاً حول سياسة المملكة المتحدة تجاه الاتحاد الأوروبي وتحدد الخصائص الرئيسية للأزمات المختلفة، وبالتالي مناقشة استفتاء الخروج وآثاره

الكلمات الرئيسية: بريكسيت ، الاتحاد الأوروبي ، استفتاء ، المملكة المتحدة ، الآثار المترتبة

#### Résumé

L'objectif de cette étude est d'explorer les relations entre le Royaume-Uni et l'Union Européenne au cours des dernières décennies. En conséquence, nous pourrons principalement comprendre et décrire le récent problème du «Brexit». Notre étude traite le problème du «Brexit» et en discute d'un point de vue différent. La principale question examinée dans ce travail était la complexité des relations entre les deux parties différentes qui provoquent le référendum sur l'UE en 2016, exceptionnellement et de manière surprenante pour le «Brexit» et soit le Royaume-Uni est probablement hors de l'UE. À cet égard, la recherche a couvert trois chapitres; le premier chapitre est un aperçu de l'Union européenne depuis son premier élargissement jusqu'à présent, et il traite également des relations entre le Royaume-Uni et l'Union européenne depuis sa création en 1973 jusqu'à nos jours. Le deuxième chapitre traite l'approche que nous suivrons dans l'étude, tandis que le troisième est une couverture générale de la question de la sortie de la Grande-Bretagne de l'Union européenne, y compris ses causes, ses implications et ses procédures. Il fournit une analyse globale de la politique du Royaume-Uni envers l'UE et définit les principales caractéristiques des différentes crises, discutant ainsi du référendum de sortie (Brexit) et de ses implications.

Mots clés: Brexit, Union Européenne, référendum, Royaume-Uni, implications