



People's Democratic Republic of Algeria
Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research
Echahid Hamma Lakhdar University, Eloued
Faculty of Arts and Languages
Department of Arts and English Language



The Impact of the Brexit on the British and American Relations

Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for a Master Degree in Literature and Civilization

Submitted By:

Barr Mansoura
Bellabaci Ahlam
Gadi Houda

Supervised by:

Dr.NASBA Asma.

Board of Examiners:

Dr. Anad Ahmed	President	University of El-Oued
Dr. Nesba Asma	Supervisor	University of El-Oued
Mrs. Berra Yamina	Examiner	University of El-Oued

Academic Year: 2019/2020

Dedication

For our parents, living and dead, and beloved without their support, we will not have completed this long journey,

For our sisters and brothers who have been there when it felt gloomy,

For all supporters and people spend their time thinking of us,

We honorably dedicate this humble work.

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, we owe a deep praise to **ALLAH** who paves us the way to complete this humble work.

We forward a special thank for our supervisor “**Dr. NESBA Asma**” who did not preserve any effort to give us her time, help and guidance.

Also, we pass out gratitude to the head of the department “**Mr. SAHRAOUI Belgacem**” for his guidance.

Last but not least, we would like to deliver special thanks to our friends, **Afaf Kebbach, Halima Bellebsir** and **Meriam Zekkour** for their assistance.

Abstract

This study investigates the Anglo-American special relationship after the WWII, and sheds the light on the British withdrawal from EU as a potential influential reason on the relationship. The study attempts to explore UK-US, UK-EU and US-EU relations before and after Brexit in order to trace its impact on the UK-US Special Relationship. Thus, the study tries to answer the question of how the Brexit will affect the Anglo-American relationship. To better understand the topic and reach the answer of the research questions, the researchers have adopted the analytical descriptive method; in which collection of corpuses of articles and reports have been qualitatively analysed. In this respect, the dissertation is divided into three chapters. The first chapter is divided into two sections; in which the first deals with Anglo-American relation and the second with the UK-EU relation before Brexit in order to explore the nature of the relations before this withdrawal. The second chapter highlights the British leaving EU process, its conditions, reasons, and consequences on UK. The third and the last chapter is devoted to examine the implications of the Brexit on UK and US relations. The study concludes that United States lost a strong supporter in the European Union; United Kingdom. In addition, the research found that Brexit has put UK in an economic crisis which would make it to enhance and strengthen its economic relations with US to reinforce its own economy.

Keywords: Brexit, Economy, EU, Special Relationship, UK, US.

List of Abbreviations

AFSJ: Areas of Freedom, Security and Justice
AFD: Alternative Fuel Discount
CAP: Common Agriculture Policy
CM: Community Manager
CSI: Crime Scene Investigation
DC: Direct Current
EC: European Community
ECC: European Coal Steel Community
EEC : European Economic Community
EMU: European Monetary Union
FDI : European Union Foreign Direct Investment
FTA: Free Trade Agreement
GDP: Gross Domestic Product
GFA: Good Friday Agreement
IFI : International Financial Institutions
M5S : THE FIVE STARE
M5S: THE FIVE STARE Movement
MFN: Most –FAVORED- Nation
MPs: Members of Parliament
NATO : The North Atlantic Treaty Organization
OED : Oxford English Dictionary
TEU: Treaty ON European Union
W T O: World Trade Organization

Table of Contents

Dedication.....	I
Acknowledgements	II
Abstract	III
List of Abbreviations.....	IV
Table of Contents.....	V

General Introduction

1. Background of the Study	2
2. Significance of the Study.....	2
3. The Aim of the study	3
4. Research Questions	3
5. Research Hypotheses.....	3
6. Research Methodology	3
7. Structure of the Study	4

Chapter One : Special Relationship and European Union

Introduction.....	6
1.1 The Anglo American ‘Special Relationship’	6
1.2 UK Attitude towards “Anglo-American" Relationship	7
1.3 The Anglo-American Relation Post WWII	8
1.3.1 Political Relations	8
1.3.1.1 The Cold War 1945-1989	9
1.3.1.2 Post-Cold War.....	9
1.3.1.3 War on Terror	10
1.3.2 Economic Relationship	10
1.4 The Special Relations Between British and American Leaders	12
1.4.1 Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan (1981-1989).....	13
1.4.2 Tony Blair and George W. Bush (2001-2007).....	14
1.5 United Kingdom and its European Union Membership Obstacles.....	15
1.6 United Kingdom in European Economic Community.....	16
1.7 Labour Manifestos and British EEC Membership Renegotiation	17
1.7.1 1975 Referendum	17

1.7.2 Eurosceptics and British EC Membership	18
1.7.2.1 Margret Thatcher 1979-1990	18
1.7.2.2 Margaret Thatcher, Europe and the European Integration.....	18
1.8. United Kingdom ‘Opt-outs’ from European Union Treaties.....	19
1.8.1. Areas of UK ‘Opt-outs’	19
1.8.2 Schengen Agreement (1985).....	20
1.8.3 Economic and Monetary Union	20
1.8.4 Areas of Freedom, Security and Justice (AFSJ)	21
1.8.5 Charter of Fundamental Rights of European Union.....	22
Conclusion	22

Chapter Two: United Kingdom and Brexit

Introduction.....	24
2.1 Definition of Brexit.....	24
2.2 Treaty Basis for European Union withdrawal	25
2.3 The Withdrawal Procedures.....	26
2.3.1 Pre-Referendum (23 rd January 2013 – 22 nd June 2016)	26
2.3.2 The Referendum (23 rd June 2016 – 24 th June 2016)	28
2.3.3 Post Referendum (25 th June 2016 – 31 st December 2017).....	28
2.4 The Reasons of Britain's Vote for Brexit.....	30
2.4.1 Nationalism	30
2.4.2 Sovereignty.....	31
2.4.3 Immigration.....	32
2.4.4 Financial Savings for Hospitals, Healthcare and Education	32
2.4.5 Fear of Terrorism	33
2.4.6 Possible Free Trade Area and Better Economy	33
2.5 Brexit Consequences.....	34
2.5.1 Economic implication	34
2.5.2 Trade with the EU and the Manufacturing Industry	35
2.5.3 Financial Services and Insurance Sectors	35
Conclusion	36

Chapter Three: The Impact of Brexit on Anglo-American relationship

Introduction.....	39
3.1 The Brexit Impact on Anglo-American Political Relationship.....	39
3.1.1 The Impact of Brexit on European Cohesion.....	40
3.1.2 The Implication of Brexit on Global Role	43
3.2 The Brexit Impact on Anglo-American Economic Relationship.....	45
Conclusion	53

General Conclusion	39
---------------------------------	-----------

References	59
المُلخَص	72

General Introduction

1. Background of the Study

The term of the special relationship between the two countries Britain and America was formed during the second world and participated during the Cold war .UK and US worked side by side within NATO against the Soviet Union. Both are the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council. They founded the members of NATO and other multilateral institution. In the early of 1990, Britain was the first country that supported America in the first Gulf war. The work between America and Britain was continued in stabilization and peace-keeping operation in the Balkans and in the 2003 invasion of Iraq. In recent decades, American and British diplomats started to create positions in multilateral institutions or during times of crisis, as in the immediate aftermath of the 9/11 attacks on the United States. The UK is the sixth-largest economy in the world and the main financial center. The United States and the UK share an extensive and mutually beneficial trade and economic relationship, and each is the other's largest foreign investor. Great Britain continues as close partnership to the United States. At the same time, America respected the UK's decision to exit the European Union in order to accept a strong ally in the NATO and to protect their financials interests.

2. Significance of the Study

The current study is in a matter of interest for several aspects. First of all, it is happened for the first time in history that one of the European members, Britain, exits the

Union. Accordingly, Brexit impact is chosen to be studied as it is unique in the modern economic history. Brexit will have notable impacts on US and UK relationship which is our objective in the current research.

3. The Aim of the study

The main purpose of this study is to explore and show the impact of the Brexit on the relationship between UK and US.

4. Research Questions

The study under investigation aims at answering the following questions:

- 1- What is the impact of Brexit on Anglo-American relations?
- 2- How does Brexit affect the relations between Britain and The United States?

5. Research Hypotheses

The hypothesis of our research is formulated as follows:

- 1- The impact of Brexit on the Anglo-American relations may be profound on economy and politics.
- 2- The impact of Brexit may reduce the power of one side and increases another.

6. Research Methodology

The study under investigation is qualitative. It depends on the descriptive analytical method. This method was utilized as a tool to examine Brexit's impact on the Anglo-

American relationship through the description and analyzing the UK's decision to leave the European Union.

7. Structure of the Study

The current study consists of three chapters: two theoretical and a one practical. The first chapter is entitled "Special Relationship and European Union". It discusses two independent ideas. First, The UK and US special relationship regarded almost as an important historical relation, which to describe the strong relationship and deep cooperation between United Kingdom (UK) and United States (US) and a brief analysis about the shift in British political leaders' interest toward the US. Second, it has shed the light on the history of the UK in the EU; its founding and characteristics.

The second chapter is entitled "The History of Brexit". The purpose of this chapter is to examine the United Kingdom's (UK) decision to leave the European Union (EU) following the Brexit 's referendum in June 2016 and the different stages of the Brexit-negotiations.

The third chapter is the practical side of the dissertation. It is about investigating the impact of Brexit on Anglo-American relations. This impact will be studied according to the statements of economists, politicians and leader of the two countries.

Chapter One: Special Relationship and European Union

Introduction

As two countries share common language, history and values, the United Kingdom and the United States have had a close ‘Special Relationship’ since recognizing US as an independent country by the UK in 1785. When their relationship was ‘Special’ due to similar cultural factors; that the countries have in common, the strategic interests was powerful factor to strengthen the relationship and give it its unique continuation.

This chapter is devoted to discuss this ‘Special Relationship’ after the Second World War; which has been a large point of change in almost all aspects of life around the world. Since the end of WWII was followed by considerable political, economic and martial changes to the world and also by the emergence of new super powers, it was interesting period of time to discuss the ‘Special Relationship’ between UK and US.

Issues of the concept of ‘specialty’ of the Anglo-American relationship, the way UK consider US position on the UK foreign Affairs, the UK-US political and Economic relations and special relationships between British and American leaders will be discussed in this chapter. Moreover, the chapter traces the history of the relationship between the UK and the EU in order to highlight the main crisis, struggles and events that characterized these relationships.

1.1 The Anglo American ‘Special Relationship’

Special Relationship is unofficial term used to describe the strong relationship and deep cooperation between United Kingdom (UK) and United States (US). The term is a

reflection of the closeness of the Anglo-American relations that is referred to two categories which are ‘quality’ and ‘importance’ (Baylis, 1984).

According to Baylis, the uniqueness of the relationship cannot be ignored because of the similar nature of both countries. UK and US have a common language, similar customs, traditions and values as well as a shared history. Baylis informs that This sentimental attachment, for no doubt, helped to build a unique relationship between our two countries (1984).

Baylis argues that the quality of the relationship is not enough to define its uniqueness as much as the importance of the relations. For decades, UK and US were known as strong allies. They have similar strategic interests besides economic, political and military cooperation. Moreover, their positions as two leading members in many multinational institutions plays a significant role in ‘maintaining’ international stability (Donaldson, 2018; Mckercher, 2017).

The term Special Relationship was first used in public by the former British prime minister Winston Churchill in his famous speech; “Iron Curtain” on 5th March 1946 (Donaldson, 2018). It was coined to describe the strong relations between England and America which is based on ties of shared history, culture as well as language and strengthened by the political, economic and strategic cooperation.

1.2 UK Attitude towards “Anglo-American” Relationship

The principal reason behind the strength and continuity of the ‘Special Relationship’ between UK and US in the British political class is that this relation is based on ties of common language, history, values and shared strategic interests. The British political class was almost always supportive to the continuity of the ‘Special Relationship’. They consider

the US as close strategic ally and strong power that is helpful for achieving common interests. The continuing support for the US by the UK proved that UK needs US's political and military power and it cannot longer act independently. In this way, the Anglo-American relationship was not exactly a partnership between equal powers. Dean Acheson, former US Secretary of state, stated in 1962 that the UK had been weakened by losing its empire and could not play its political or military role separated from US. Therefore, the UK attitude towards the US was nearly always positive and this fact was shown by the constant support for the US in post war time and the priority of British government was given to The Anglo-American relationship rather than the Europe, especially during Thatcher and Blair's era (Gamble & Kearns, 2007)

1.3 The Anglo-American Relation Post WWII

As two close allies during the second world war, United Kingdom and United States continued to be close partners after the war. As Steve states, the two nations' politics during the second World War led to the Anglo-American dominance of post-war policies. This was obviously noticed through their cooperation in containing communism during the cold war, as well as their shared policies in the War on Terror. Thus, the WWII made Britain and United States closer partner (2020).

1.3.1 Political Relations

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the British empire began to collapse. Thus, British foreign policy focused on balancing abroad relations; the United States was the core of those relations. According to Derek E. Mix, the UK and US' special relationship has been a cornerstone of British foreign policy. the UK gave big and long support to the United States, the thing that helped to add more 'credibility and weight' to

its policies. Furthermore, the Anglo-American partnership has been useful in looking for shared interests in “NATO”, “UN” and other ‘multilateral institution’ (2014).

1.3.1.1 The Cold War 1945-1989

After being two allies during the second World War, US and Soviet Union had conflict for about forty years due to the USSR politics after the war. The two powers never fought directly; and that what was called ‘The Cold War’. The Soviets had plans to spread communism over Eastern European and Middle East countries (‘The Cold War (1945–1989)’, 2016).

Many researchers consider the cold war as a factor to strengthen the Anglo-American relationship. What strengthened the relations between the two nations during the cold war was that they had shared concerns towards the Soviet Union intentions to extend Soviet powers and communism into Western European bloc. To fight the Soviet threat, UK and US cooperated to help European countries to overwhelm the Soviets by sending the aids. This cooperation led to the Truman Doctrine in 1947 followed by the Marshall Plan in 1948-51 (“The Cold War”, 2014)

1.3.1.2 Post-Cold War

After about four decades of cold war, Soviet Union started to withdraw its powers from Afghanistan and other European and Middle East countries. Lightbody states that the winner after the cold war is “democracy” against “totalitarianism” (1999). As a result, the democracy began to spread among the former Soviet camp.

The dissolution of the Soviet Union to separated democratic countries, for no doubt, gave the opportunity to the US to be the lone superpower in the world. However, the new situation; of having no common threat to be protected from, led Anglo-American alliance

to lose a major factor of encouraging the special relationship. In this way, the Anglo-American cooperation was facing a ‘political and normative’ gap (Oppermann,2012).

Tony Blair came and the situation was changed. The new elected British Prime Minister and his Labor Party had new foreign politics views. Their politics focused on utilizing British worldwide relationships and strengthening it. When focusing on strengthening the relations with the “historical alliances”, Blair put a very high priority on rebuilding a strong relationship with U.S (Oppermann,2012).

1.3.1.3 War on Terror

After the end of the ideological conflict between communism and democracy, U.S and its NATO allies; most strongly United Kingdom, determined ‘terrorism’ as the new world challenge and threat that should be fought. In September 2001, four airplanes attacked targets in the United States. These attacks started the American “War in Terror”. The U.S President George W. Bush called for a global war on terror aftermath the attacks. The Anglo-American relationship proved its strength in this war by the support that has been shown by Britain to America. In this context, Michael Dunne wrote: “No ally stands “shoulder to shoulder” more closely with President George W. Bush, Jr., and the American people than the government and people of British Prime Minister Tony Blair”. (2005, p.1)

1.3.2 Economic Relationship

The UK is considered the sixth-largest economy in the world and a major financial center. The US and the UK share an extensive and mutually beneficial trade and economic relationship, and each is the other’s largest foreign investor.

The US has no closer partner than the UK. Following the end of the American Revolution in 1783, the U K officially recognized American independence, in 1785 the two

countries established diplomatic relations. Other than a brief break in relations during the War of 1812, the US and the UK have remained durable partners and Allies. The partnership is the foundation of the mutual prosperity and security ('U.S. Relations With United Kingdom', 2020).

The strong relationship between the US and the UK reflects the common democratic ideals and values, which are reinforced through cooperation on political, security, and economic issues. Along with other European Allies, the US and the UK work closely together to combat terrorism, stop the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and work to solve regional issues, such as ending conflicts in the Middle East ('U.S. Relations With United Kingdom', 2020).

According to Ikenson, Lester, & Hannan, FTAs give free trade a bad name. However, despite their flaws, FTAs have helped reduce domestic impediments to trade, expand our economic freedoms, and lock in positive reforms. Over the years, FTAs have delivered freer trade (2018).

The US supports the peace process and devolved political institutions in Northern Ireland and encourages the implementation of the U.S.-brokered Belfast Agreement, also known as the Good Friday Agreement. Because it was reached on Good Friday, 10 April 1998. It was a peace agreement between the British and Irish governments, and most of the political parties in Northern Ireland, on how Northern Ireland should be governed. The talks leading to the Agreement addressed issues which had caused conflict during previous decades. The aim was establishing a new, devolved government for Northern Ireland in which unionists and nationalists would share power ("The Belfast Agreement", n.d.)

Also, The International Fund for Ireland (IFI), created in 1986, provides funding for projects to generate cross-community engagement and economic opportunity in Northern

Ireland and the border counties of Ireland. Since the IFI's establishment, the US and EU have contributed the majority of funds, with the US allocating more than \$540 million. ('U.S. Relations With United Kingdom', 2020).

The U.S.-UK bilateral investment relationship is the largest in the world. In 2012, U.S. foreign direct investment (FDI) in the UK was nearly \$598 billion. Total U.S. corporate assets in the UK exceeded \$5.1 trillion in 2012, representing almost one quarter of total U.S. corporate assets abroad. (Mix, 2015, p. 16)

UK corporate assets invested in the US stood at more than \$2.2trillionin2012, with UK FDI in the U1S at almost \$487 billion for that year. UK affiliates employed about 986,000 U.S. workers. and U.S. firms employed over 1.3 million people in the UK FDI the US and the UK are home to major world financial centers, and the U.S.-UK economic relationship was affected. (Mix, 2015, p. 16).

British banks suffered massive losses from their exposure to asset-based securities linked to the U.S. sub-prime mortgage market. Transatlantic FDI flows fell sharply from 2007 to 2009, but rebounded strongly afterwards. Tourism and trade are also important pillars of the economic relationship. "In 2012, U.S. residents made approximately 2.5 million trips to the UK and in 2013 there were 3.8 million British visitors to the US. In 2013, U.S. exports of goods to the UK were worth approximately\$47.4billion, and U.S. imports from the UK were worth approximately \$52.6 billion" (Mix,2015,p. 16).

1.4 The Special Relations Between British and American Leaders

The Anglo-American relationship is an unusual alliance in the history of the international relations between countries. For no doubt, the personal relationship between leaders have its own effect on these relations. In the period after the WWII, there were two

significant and remarkable close relationship between British and American leaders. The first was the well-known Thatcher and Reagan era, which took place in the 1980s. The second was between the Prime Minister Tony Blair and the American President George W. Bush; which started from January 2001 to June 2007.

1.4.1 Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan (1981-1989)

Despite the fact that the Anglo-American relationship is special due to ties of common language, historically shared enemies and similar political structure, the ideologies and philosophy that Margaret Thatcher (British Prime Minister from 1979 to 1990) and Ronald Reagan (American President from 1981 to 1989) have in common added extra specialty and closeness to the nations' relations ("The Extra Special Relationship", 2016, Para. 2).

According to the former First Lady Nancy Reagan, Reagan and Thatcher were political "soulmates" (Leger, 2013). Thus, the two leaders have similar political views. Moreover, their common commitment to the philosophy of free market issue and their shared views and efforts to win the Cold War with Soviet Union were significant factors to enhance their friendship. This close friendship between the leaders of both sides of the Atlantic facilitated achieving common international interests as two allies ("The Extra Special Relationship", 2016, Para. 3).

Furthermore, such a relationship was a considerable reason to avoid diplomatic crisis between UK and US. Keith Smith; a Desk Officer of UK, Ireland, Washington, D.C, 1981-1982, as a witness of Thatcher-Reagan period, informed in an interview that after the Falklands War, the American had a serious military conflict with the British and that Margaret Thatcher sent a tough note to Reagan, the note "was strong enough to have broken diplomatic relations between any other two countries... but it didn't have any effect

on our bilateral relations because of the close ties between Thatcher and Reagan” (“The Extra Special Relationship”, 2016, Para. 3).

After the end of WWII and with the weakness of USSR in 1980s, US became the first power in the world, Thus, US and UK were unequal allies in the level of global influence. Nevertheless, the friendship between Thatcher and Reagan; as they share similar economic and political views and ideologies as well as the same degree of thinking in global interests and objectives, enhanced the Anglo-American relations from special relationship to a special partnership. Lawrence P. Taylor, Economic Counsellor, London, 1985-1989, declared that the several shared points the co-leaders have in their personalities or in their mentalities improved bilateral relationship to a partnership and he said: “... in the Reagan-Thatcher period it was very much partnership” (“The Extra Special Relationship”, 2016, Para. 11).

1.4.2 Tony Blair and George W. Bush (2001-2007)

Another personal relationship between two leaders of UK and US that added more specialty to the Anglo-American relationship is Blair and Bush relationship. British Prime Minister Tony Blair (1997-2007) and American President George W. Bush (2001-2009) had special relationship in spite of their different foreign politics views and experiences. In fact, the American President had limited foreign policy experience and put great trust in his cabinet whereas Tony Blair was more experienced as a British Prime Minister since 1997. Blair’s experience and activity on international scale were considerable reasons for the two leaders’ strong relationship. Moreover, the events of 11 September, 2001 caused considerable changes in the two leaders’ doctrines and directions (Laidaw, 2011).

Immediately after the attacks of 9/11 Blair affirmed British solidarity with US and remarked that this terrorist issue should not concern only the Americans but also all the

free and democratic world. And after the attacks President Bush had speech to US Congress in which he said that there is no closer friend to US than the UK. Later the American President called for a War on Terror and this war led the Americans to invade Afghanistan in 2001 than Iraq in 2003. In Bush's War on Terror, Tony Blair was a leading alliance and gave great support to his friend George Bush. By this British support the Anglo-American relationship has been sustained and strengthened ("Special Relationship", 2020).

Although this big support of Blair to Bush and his war was highly criticised on the media and he has been described as Bush's poodle, Leon Hadar argued that the history of war on Iraq was difficult to be made without the efforts of the British Prime Minister Tony Blair as a leading partner in this war (2014).

1.5 United Kingdom and its European Union Membership Obstacles

United Kingdom was not a participant to Treaty of Paris (1951) or Treaty of Rome (1957) that led to the creation of the European Communities (EC) which were signed by Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and West Germany after the end of the Second World War (Wikipedia contributors, 2020). The UK Labour government did not support moving towards the creation of European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) in 1951. It argues that coal and steel industries of Britain was unable to be under multinational control because it had already been nationalized. Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, the Labour Party maintain this viewpoint because they were afraid this integration would undermine social protection of British workers (Fabre, 2013). In contrast with the Labour, the Conservative Party had intentions to take Britain into the EC.

In 1961, the British Conservative government which was led by the Prime Minister Macmillan started the idea of opening a negotiation for the membership of European

Economic Community (EEC). This was vetoed by the French President, Charles De Gaulle who argued that Britain economy is different from the Six's; the six countries that signed for the EC, that had the 'same nature'. Also, questioning the principle rules of the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) of the EEC by Britain was unacceptable for De Gaulle. Moreover, the French President was suspicious towards the American 'strong' support of UK in EEC. De Gaulle also regarded the strong Anglo-American relations as an obstacle because of the British membership. In this case, it would represent the American interests and views in this European Integration and this was another reason to refuse British proposal to join EEC (De Gaulle, 1963).

Under unwell economic circumstances of Britain and with the success of EEC, the Labour Prime Minister Wilson held a new proposal to join EEC in 1967. Again, it was refused by De Gaulle arguing that the problems of British currency would affect the other members of EEC (Fabre, 2013).

1.6 United Kingdom in European Economic Community

By the 1970s, the situation had changed. De Gaulle was no longer President of France and the Conservative won the election led by Edward Heath as Prime Minister. Consequently, it became possible for Britain to have better negotiation with the EEC. Although the Labour kept its suspicion towards joining EEC, Edward Heath succeeded in taking UK into the EEC in January 1973. He got the result after making hard negotiations with EEC leaders and uneasy fight with the Labour, as opposite Party, that kept skeptic towards British membership on Common Market due to their thought of this membership would decrease the authority of British Parliament and also it criticized the rules of the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) of the EEC (Miller, 2015).

1.7 Labour Manifestos and British EEC Membership Renegotiation

Being an official member in the Common Market (CM); or European Economic Community, did not stop the Labour's tries to make UK out of the CM or at least staying in on renegotiated terms. In its 1974, election manifestos, Labour promised to change UK in terms of entry by another negotiation and to give the British people the right to decide whether to leave EEC or remain on the novice terms. In this context, Harold Wilson; as a Prime Minister, declared through his Party's manifesto:

The Labour Government pledges that within twelve months of this election we will give the British people the final say, which will be binding on the Government - through the ballot box - on whether we accept the terms and stay in or reject the terms and come out. Labour is an internationalist party, and Britain is a European nation. But if the Common Market were to mean the creation of a new protectionist bloc, or if British membership threatened to impoverish our working people or to destroy the authority of Parliament, then Labour could not agree (1974, Para. 115).

1.7.1 1975 Referendum

On Thursday June 5th, 1975, after almost two years of membership in the Common Market, British voters were asked to take their decision on whether to continue British membership in EC or no. The voters were invited to vote 'yes' or 'no' to the question "Do you think UK should stay in the European Economic Community?" (Zaidi et al., 2017, p. 15).

This referendum was the first national referendum held in UK with 64.5% turnout. It was 17 million British citizens voted 'yes' while only 8 million voted 'no' (Meyer, 2005). Thus, the majority of British voters preferred to continue British membership in this European community, and the warning of the 'anti-EC' campaign was not very convincing for the citizens. Moreover, the renegotiation on membership in EC held by Harold Wilson;

which was mainly linked with CAP and British contribution to the European budget, was not successful and obtained some minor decrease on the budget and the problem was still there (Chochia, Kerikmäe, & Troitiño, 2019).

1.7.2 Eurosceptics and British EC Membership

The acceptance of the EC membership by British citizens did not stop the British ‘euro-skeptics’ or the ‘anti-EC’ campaign from having fears from British membership in this European integration. The opposing campaign insisted that the UK’s contribution to the EC’s budget are very high in comparison with the benefits. They also questioned the credibility of the EC decisions that were taken behind closed doors by non-British officials (Mix, 2014).

1.7.2.1 Margret Thatcher 1979-1990

In 1979, Conservative won the election and Margret Thatcher came to office as a Prime Minister, which was the first time in British history for a woman to hold this position . The unordinary Margret Thatcher was well known for her nationalist approach, strong behavior and viewpoints for which she was called the ‘Iron Lady’(Chochia, Kerikmäe, & Troitiño, 2019).

1.7.2.2 Margaret Thatcher, Europe and the European Integration

According to Margaret Thatcher, Europe was much more than EU later. She separated both concepts. While EEC was an economic organization, Europe was wider concept. In her speech in Bruges , Thatcher made it clear that Europe is history, religion, culture, language and politics that linked the European countries and unify the European peoples whether they support or not the European Integration (Thatcher, 1988). This idea

was manipulated by Thatcher to protect her politics towards the EU from the attacks of Integration supporters (Chochia, Kerikmäe, & Troitiño, 2019).

In 1975, Margaret Thatcher was elected as the leader of her Party. At that time, Labour made referendum to ask Britons to take their decision whether to remain in EC or to leave it and 67% of voters preferred to remain. Thatcher supported the membership of UK in EC. Despite of her supporting, Thatcher had opposition on the British contribution in EC budget. She, as many Eurosceptics, thought that Britain was paying to the EC much more than was gaining which was not acceptable. As Prime Minister of the country, Margaret Thatcher had the desire to change the situation. After passing years of hard struggling, she obtained the reform and reduced the budget. Finally, an agreement was made and all members of EC paid British reduction. As a result, EU would not lose the money sent back to UK (Chochia, Kerikmäe, & Troitiño, 2019).

1.8. United Kingdom ‘Opt-outs’ from European Union Treaties

UK ‘opt-outs’ refers to a number of exceptions the United Kingdom has negotiated from EU laws since its entering in 1973. Thus, UK is not obliged to allow those negotiated terms and those exceptions are called the ‘Opt-outs’ (“UK opt-outs from EU legislation”,2016). Alder-Nissen (2014) claims that some member countries of EU opted out certain laws due to their uncertainty of the benefits of EU membership in those areas. She also claims that the reason behind obtaining ‘opt-outs’ or ‘exemptions’ is that those states’ desire to protect their national sovereignty, identity and parliament authority.

1.8.1. Areas of UK ‘Opt-outs’

To safeguard national sovereignty and identity, Britain had to negotiate particular EU treaties and oppose some EU laws. Those negotiations and opposition led UK to ‘opt-out’ from several EU legislations throughout certain protocols.

1.8.2 Schengen Agreement (1985)

Schengen agreement is a treaty that led to the creation of Europe’s Schengen Area; area with no frontier, in which the member countries of EU became one territory. This treaty offered the free movements of goods and services. It has been signed on June 14th, 1985 in Luxemburg by only five member countries of the union; France, Luxemburg, Germany, Belgium and Netherland (“The Schengen Agreement”,2019).UK did not sign this treaty. Therefore, British lands is not part of the Schengen border-free area and the passport should be checked when entering UK by other European citizens (“UK opt-outs from EU legislation”, 2016).

1.8.3 Economic and Monetary Union

On February 7th, 1992, twelve member states of EC; including United Kingdom, have signed the treaty of Maastricht in Netherlands. The treaty came into force on November 1st, 1993. It is the treaty that officially established European Union and moved towards deeper European integration. In addition, it began the process of Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) which paved the way for the creation of a single European currency, Euro. Moreover, this treaty led to European citizenship; in which European citizens are allowed to move freely between member states. Furthermore, establishing a common foreign and security policy and closer cooperation between police and judiciary were new areas of cooperation between EC members that were discussed by Maastricht treaty (James, 2015).

Although United Kingdom had signed Maastricht treaty, it obtained an ‘opt-out’ from certain parts of the treaty. Accordingly, the treaty of Maastricht included protocols of the UK giving it opt-outs from those protocols gave UK the right to refuse to join the ‘euro’; the single currency, and that UK was not binding with EU rules of Economic and monetary Union (“UK opt-outs from EU legislation”, 2016).

1.8.4 Areas of Freedom, Security and Justice (AFSJ)

The treaty of Maastricht produced major reforms related to deeper cooperation in issues concerning the European citizenship as well as foreign and security policies. Those crucial issues had been left unresolved due to their effect on security of each member state and their relation with the law of each member state which were certainly different from each other and required more intergovernmental cooperation (“Treaty of Amsterdam”, 1999).

Therefore, the treaty of Amsterdam; which came into force on 1st May, 1999, was made. The 1999 treaty officially created the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice (AFSJ) of European Union. AFSJ includes policy and judicial cooperation in criminal and civil matters, border controls, interior justice and home affairs ministries of member states (Guild, Carrera, & Eggenshwiler, 2010).

Despite the fact that UK has signed the treaty of Amsterdam, it stayed away from the Article three of the treaty; which is basically the AFSJ. The British government obtained this ‘opt-out’ to ensure the national sovereignty and security as well as the control over its borders.

1.8.5 Charter of Fundamental Rights of European Union

On December 13th, 2007, the treaty of Lisbon was signed by 27 member states of European Union, including the UK. The treaty formally took effect on December 1st, 2009. Lisbon treaty modified the two past treaties of European Union; the treaty of Rome (1957) and of Maastricht (1992). Although the treaty of Lisbon was made on existing treaties, it contained new laws to improve ‘cohesion and streamline’ actions within the EU (Kenton, 2020). Moreover, the treaty created the bill of right and Charter of Fundamental Rights of the Union (“Treaty of Lisbon”, 2020).

The fear that the Charter would break its Labour law led UK to obtain an exemption. The UK secured an explaining protocol, Protocol 30, which explains that the Charter does not have the right to interfere in the British law or apply the European Court of Justice’s rules over it (“UK opt-outs from EU legislation”, 2016).

Conclusion

This theoretical chapter generally tried to shed the light on, first, the history of Anglo-American relationship aftermath the Second World War. It is opened by defining the term ‘Special Relationship’ and the factor that led to that specialty. Then it gave a short explanation on the way UK consider US’ position on UK’s foreign policy which was positive and supportive to this relation in general. After that, the chapter discussed the political and economic relations between UK and US as two main elements in international relations between countries. As a last point in this chapter, the personal relationships between Thatcher and Reagan as well as Blair and Bush, as British and American leaders, were exposed as extra factor that helped to strengthened the Anglo-American Relationships. This chapter is an introductory to this research which discusses the Anglo-American Relations and the way the ‘Brexit’ issue affects it. Secondly, it

highlighted the relationship between UK and EU. It explored the obstacles of UK joining the EU before 1973, the year of joining the European Integration, then the negotiation after joining it. Those negotiations were made by euro-skeptic parties and politicians such as the former Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. Consequently, those negotiations led to the UK 'opt-outs' from EU legislations that led later to the Brexit.

Chapter Two: United Kingdom and Brexit

Introduction

For centuries, United Kingdom was a great empire that managed the world with its power and philosophy. Nevertheless, the dissolution of the British empire and the end of the Second World War, as a period of creating new global system and powers, situated the UK as a simple participant within the exhausted Western European countries. The weak situation of Western Europe after the end of WWII led the European countries to the idea of creating the European Integration.

The main purpose of this chapter is to trace the Brexit issue from different sides including its causes, procedures and implications so as to find out whether the Brexit was a good and well-studied decision or not.

2.1 Definition of Brexit

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). "Brexit" has been added to the Oxford English Dictionary (OED), noting the "impressive" speed with which it became widely used. Lexicographers said the word filled an empty space in the language, but is now used globally to describe the phenomenon - appearing in many foreign language newspapers. Grexit - to define "the (potential) withdrawal of Greece from the Eurozone monetary union" - was added as well. In his speech in 2013, David Cameron announced his intention to call for a referendum on the continued membership in the EU if his government wins the 2015 general election.

2.2 Treaty Basis for European Union withdrawal

The Treaty base for EU withdrawal is Article 50 of the Treaty on European Union (TEU). This is considered the only legal way to leave the EU, although some have suggested there are other ways

1. Article 50 Treaty on European Union

The Treaty of Lisbon, which came into force in December 2009, provided for the first time a specific legal Treaty base for leaving the EU. This is set out in Article 50 of the Treaty on European Union (TEU): “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. A qualified majority shall be defined in accordance with Article 238(3)(b) of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union.

5. If a State which has withdrawn from the Union asks to rejoin, its request shall be subject to the procedure referred to in Article 49.

Although on the face of it Article 50 TEU is a provision explicitly providing a way of leaving the EU, it is by no means comprehensive. As Adam Łazowski put it: “on closer inspection it raises more questions than it answers. The wording of the provision is cryptic and the regulation of withdrawal from the European Union incremental”. (Miller, Lang& Caird, 2017)

2.3 The Withdrawal Procedures

The withdrawal procedure means the process that followed by the UK members of parliament when they decide to exit from the EU, and it has three phases as follows:

2.3.1 Pre-Referendum (23rd January 2013 – 22nd June 2016)

The first public mention of a potential Brexit made by a person of political position occurred on the 23rd of January 2013, when in a speech at Bloomberg David Cameron declared his support for an in-out EU referendum for the British public at some point in the future. However, not until the UK General Election in 2015 did the reality of a UK-EU referendum re-emerge, when the conservative party pledged to hold such a referendum in their manifesto - released 14th of April 2015. (George & Lavallin, 2018, p.9)

Cameron's government had believed that the EU must not have any additional powers. Moreover, David Cameron thought that most of EU social legislation was not adequate to the UK, and he promised to prevent any further legislation that may harm

the UK. The government proposed to hold a referendum in the country on any issue of more transfer of powers from the UK to the EU. As a result, at any problems in the relations with the EU, the UK is secured with referendums (Labour Party, 2010).

In 2012, when discussing the budget of the EU, the UK insisted on freezing the EU spending. However, the European Commission insisted on increasing the expenditure by almost 5%. In this case, the British contribution in 2014-2020 would be around 10 billion pounds sterling. David Cameron stated: “I have not put in place tough settlements in Britain in order to go to Brussels and sign up to big increases in European spending” (2013, para137).

He stated also:

Simply asking the British people to carry on accepting a European settlement over which they have had little choice is a path to ensuring that when the question is finally put – and at some stage it will have to be – it is much more likely that the British people will reject the EU That is why I am in favour of a referendum . It will be an in- out referendum (2013, para. 137).

David Cameron attempts to investigate his people’s reaction and their views about the Brexit. At the end of his speech, Mr Cameron said

Over the coming weeks, months and years, I will not rest until this debate is won. For the future of my country. For the success of the European Union. And for the prosperity of our peoples for generations to come (2013, para. 203)

Cameron expressed his hope in February 2013, that the EU, as the Union can regain trust of the British, if it will conduct reforms that would give the UK more powers than the current ones but no actual steps from the part of the EU were taken. After the general elections of 2015, things got more seriously in the way of the British exit (Brexit) from the EU (George & Lavallin, 2018, p.9).

Later that year, following the Conservative Party victory in the General Election, David Cameron initiated what would become the first step in a negotiation process, setting out his plans for an In-Out Referendum at the European Council meeting on the 26th June 2016. However, it wasn't until February 22nd, 2016 that David Cameron announced the EU Referendum date – 23rd June 2016. Several Euro-sceptic groups emerged in the buildup to the referendum.

Clarke et al. identify Vote Leave, Leave EU and Grassroots Out as the main progenitors of the Brexit Campaign. In addition, they describe how these groups worked to mobilize public anxiety on a number of issues, namely immigration, sovereignty and the perceived economic cost of EU membership (2016).

The official campaign for remaining in the EU was backed by the Prime Minister David Cameron, as well as a multitude of trade unions, businesses and economists. Their campaign emphasized the heavy economic costs associated with leaving the EU, with George Osborne, Chancellor of the Exchequer claiming that Brexit may cause a £30 billion 'black hole' in the UK economy. (Clarke et al, 2017)

2.3.2 The Referendum (23rd June 2016 – 24th June 2016)

In 2016, Cameron's government concluded all its negotiations over the reforms the UK were looking for but with no actual results. The prime minister called for a referendum over the continuous membership in the EU or to leave it. In June 2016, The British shocked Europe with the results of referendum which was in favour of leaving the union with 51.9%. A new government led by Theresa May was formed and committed to negotiate the terms of the Brexit ("Explaining the Brexit vote", 2016).

2.3.3 Post Referendum (25th June 2016 – 31st December 2017)

As it was mentioned in “The Lisbon Treaty.” Article 50, Following a short leadership struggle, Theresa May was appointed as the new Prime Minister and leader of the Conservative Party. One of her first actions as Prime Minister was to appoint David Davis as Secretary of State for Exiting the European Union. The first major step towards exiting the EU following the referendum was to trigger Article 50 of the Lisbon Treaty. Moreover, Theresa May announced in "Speech to the conservative party conference" that the United Kingdom's intent to leave the Union (2016).

On October 2nd, 2016, in her party conference speech, Theresa May confirmed Article 50 would be triggered before the end of 2017, as well as announcing the ‘Great Repeal Bill’. As it was mentioned in 'Breakthrough' deal in Brexit talks" in 8 December 2017 that Theresa May called an early General Election on the 18th April 2017; this was then approved by the parliament the next day on the 19th of April by a vote of 522 to 13. The election was held on the 8th June 2017, however resulted in a hung parliament.

The conservatives won the most seats, and on the 9th of June, Theresa May announced she would form a government, with the conditional support of the Democratic Unionist Party. Prosser (2018) recognized that this election outcome had resulted in a substantial shift in party support, benefitting the two major parties - Conservative and Labour. Despite this, it was a poor result for the Conservative Party and Theresa May, who had looked to strengthen their position in the House of Commons going into the Brexit Negotiations. The first round of Brexit Negotiations was held on the 19th of June 2017, with negotiations reaching its first ‘breakthrough’ in December, allowing the progress negotiations to their second stage.

On Negotiations that took place from 13 to 19 March 2018, the EU and UK negotiators agreed on the legal parts of the Withdrawal Agreement. On the part related to

borders between Northern Ireland and Ireland more talks are needed to be done. Later on March 23rd, 2018, the European Council adopted guidelines for a post-Brexit relationship with the UK. The European Council clarified that it wishes for the closest possible partnership with the UK. However, the EU leaders stated that UK's current positions will hinder such a future partnership"(The European Council, n.d.).

2.4 The Reasons of Britain's Vote for Brexit

In the referendum of 2016, 51.9% of British voters voted to leave the European Union. There were about six core causes of the Brexit; in which they are going to be explored below.

2.4.1 Nationalism

The United Kingdom has always had a special relationship with the continent of Europe. This manifest itself both in the UK's relation to the European Union but also in regard as to how the UK and its population perceive themselves in this relation.

Gulf online (2016) clarified that the British strongly believed that the influence and the role of their country within the EU's institutions were very limited. "Vote Leave" campaign believed that the Brexit allows the UK to act more freely, and The UK can have seats in international organizations such as world trade organization which it could not join previously due to its commitments with the EU. Furthermore, they were able to draw on the national identity of the people and their feeling of belonging.

CSI Admin (2018) argues that the British population already had a low sense of European identity (p. 1). In other words, they did not feel like they belonged to this European community of which they were members. However, this did not apply to the entire UK but mainly to the populations of England and Wales. The reasoning behind this might stem from an increase in English and Welsh nationalism rather than British.

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."(para. 2 & 3).

2.4.2 Sovereignty

On the day of the referendum, Lord Ashcroft's polling team found that 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". In other words, they were talking about the British sovereignty (Ashcroft, 2016).

One of the main reasons for the focus on sovereignty stems from a dissatisfaction about how Brussels handles UK affairs and the extent to which they decide what can and cannot happen in the United Kingdom. "*Britain should be ruled by Britain*" and not by the non-elected bureaucrats in Brussels (Lowry, 2016, p. 1; Fishwick, 2016, p. 4).

The British believed that the Brexit will give more power to the British laws and that there will be no control of the EU law on them. So, healthcare, security and employment laws can be put under control again. British voters also expected that the UK's parliament will be given more authorities to apply the laws which are in favour of the British, but it is indeed against the European laws (Mesbahi, 2018).

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 that "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).

2.4.3 Immigration

In some ways, it can be said that immigration was the emotional argument in the Brexit campaign as opposed to that of economy or sovereignty, even though they are connected. It is an issue that has been present in British politics since the financial-crisis of 2008 and maybe even prior to that (Kristensen, 2019, p. 40).

Lord Ashcroft's (2016) 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 .

According to the "Economist" (2016), migration to the UK achieved 268,000 in 2014, up from 201,000 in 2013 which costs more than 3.67 billion of pounds. 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.

2.4.4 Financial Savings for Hospitals, Healthcare and Education

Ipsos MORI poll (2016) revealed that 37% of the leave voters believed that the Brexit will help the British government in gaining additional financial savings to promote spending on hospitals, healthcare and education.

Making such financial savings is closely related to getting rid of immigrants. "Vote Leave" camp distributed thousands of flyers over the streets of

the UK. They expected to save up 350 million pounds weekly which can build a new hospital. Moreover, the same amount of money equals half of the education budget in the UK. They even suggested investing that money in scientific researches or new industries (Mesbahi, 2018).

2.4.5 Fear of Terrorism

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. They believed that the Brexit will make more control over the borders and this will eventually hinder any terrorists from entering the UK. Dominic Raab who was one of the leave camp leaders considered that leaving the EU will prevent any future terroristic attacks (Burke, 2016).

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

2.4.6 Possible Free Trade Area and Better Economy

Ipsos MORI poll (2016) revealed that 32% of the leave voters believe trade and economic circumstances within the EU Common Market and Euro zone were not fair 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.

The leave campaign saw that the Brexit will allow the UK to have more developed economic 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 (Mesbahi, 2018).

Former Mayor of London Boris Johnson argued on May 4th, 2016 in Bristol that the promises of prosperity that were made by Remain campaign were not bound by any time limits. He also said, "I'm telling you that if we vote on June 23rd and take back control of our country, our economy and our democracy then we can prosper and thrive and flourish as never before." (Perring, 2016, Para. 3).

2.5 Brexit Consequences

Leaving the European Union caused the United Kingdom many implications. Those implications are mainly discussed below.

2.5.1 Economic implication

Economic specialist stated that there were some immediate implications for the EU referendum. The pound lost its value to the Euro because it was not expected that the British will vote for leaving. The pound was worth €1.30 on June 23rd but it decreases to €1.19 on July 2016. In addition, the pound reached the lowest level to the dollar since 1980s. The pound was worth \$1.50 on 23 June it but achieved \$1.30 with a loss of about 13 %.(Belam , 2018).

The EU's referendum result did not end up the story of partnership as the UK is still an EU member state. For the present moment, almost nothing has changed for both the UK and the EU because the Brexit negotiations are still in course and no final arrangement has been agreed on.

The service sector makes up almost 80% of the UK's economy . The predictions on how a Brexit would affect economic growth consider that there will be many sectors which will be affected. In fact, these sectors employ most of the UK's

labour force and generate 53.2% of UK total exports (Belam, 2018).

2.5.2 Trade with the EU and the Manufacturing Industry

Woodford stated that after the complete Brexit process, it is expected that there would be an impact on the trade sector. The UK is more economically dependent on the EU as 12.6% of the UK's income is related to exports to the EU. In addition, the EU is the best market for about 44% while the UK's membership in the EU allows it enters to 53 markets outside the union which makes about 60% of its total exports.

Moreover, he added that the Brexit worst scenario for the UK will be the one in which it fails to negotiate a free trade agreement. In such case, all trading process with the EU will be encountered with some additional costs of any other external country. In fact, these factors will lead to eventually the decline of the trade and business.

The manufacturing industry of the UK heavily relies on exports from the EU. In fact; it relies on a chain of partners from the EU as suppliers for raw materials that will be finally manufactured in the UK. If the UK and the EU do not agree on a fair deal about tariffs on goods which may exceed 10%, the British manufacturing industry will be more expensive and thus less competitive than its European competitors (Woodford , n.d.).

2.5.3 Financial Services and Insurance Sectors

The financial services and insurance sector employ about 3.6% of the UK's employees. The financial services represent 9.6% of the British total exports to the EU while the insurance sector represents a 4.3% of the British total exports to the EU. (Booth& Howarth, et al ,2015)

Booth &Howarth, et al (2015) mentioned that the Brexit will certainly affect the “financial passport” that allows banks and insurers to work on financial services in the EU .In fact, the UK financial institutions will never have that financial passport and this will eventually lead to the collapse of these sectors.

Foreign Investment

Many observers believe that such foreign direct investment would decrease after the Brexit because the UK will not be able to provide with the preceding advantages. The EU is an important source of foreign investment for the UK as 46% of the UK's foreign direct investments are mainly European ones. In the last decade, European investments have decreased and investment from non-European Union countries has been welcomed. In fact, investors from in non- European Union countries used the UK as a bridge to the EU because they can access the Eurozone and benefit from the zero-tariff through the UK. Moreover, some companies may even end –up their business in Britain and they may move it to another country (Woodford, n.d.).

Woodford added that though all the negative implications of the Brexit, We expect that it would have some economic benefits. The British government will not be obliged to pay contribution to the E U’s budget; it would save 10 billion pounds every year by the Brexit time which will help in promoting the economic growth. In addition, the UK might save another amount of money when it restricts immigration.

Conclusion

This chapter was devoted to shed light on the relationship between UK and EU and the issue of Brexit or British exit from EU. The chapter began with defining the term of Brexit and the events that happened before and after the referendum of the withdrawal in

2016, in which 52% of British voters voted to leave the EU. Moreover, the section showed the reasons behind this withdrawal, which were mainly saving the British sovereignty and national identity. After that, it showed the consequences of this withdrawal on UK. The result of the Brexit was mainly seen on the economic field such as the trade, industry, insurance sector and foreign investment. As the course of events related to this Brexit issue is still happening, no one can really predict what might happen. For the UK, it has to compensate a part of its sovereignty and its feelings of nationalism to get the best possible deal. For the EU, they have to work on preparing laws that clarify the leaving procedures for any future nation that wishes to do like the UK. Moreover, the EU needs to work on improving its conditions and agreements to strengthen the ties between its member states and enhance the trust in the Union, so no other member will try to follow the British Brexit.

Chapter Three: The Impact of Brexit on Anglo-American relationship

Introduction

For centuries, the Anglo-American relationship has been described as one of the most interesting and complicated relationship. Both countries are bounded by a shared history starting with the American Revolution and ending up being allies. Through time, Britain and US have built a strong relationship based on the shared roots and consolidated these roots during World War II to become later a special relationship.

In the early 21st century, both countries affirmed that this special relationship is one the most crucial relationship for both countries' foreign policy. This was confirmed by the strong aligned political affairs, the shared peacekeeping missions, and the cooperation in different areas such as academics and economics. This latter was proved by sharing one of the largest foreign direct investment partnerships in the world.

This chapter is devoted to highlight the economic and political consequences of the Brexit on the Anglo-American relationship. It aims at discussing how large is the Brexit economic and political impact likely to be on British and US partnership as one of the most special relationships in the world. All this is to be able to see the point of view of both countries in terms of trade affairs and policy.

3.1 The Brexit Impact on Anglo-American Political Relationship

A lot of studies have been written about the economic implication of Brexit. Nevertheless, its political impact is equally important. The following will explore the political impact of Brexit on the UK-US relationship.

3.1.1 The Impact of Brexit on European Cohesion

This study tries to discuss the influence of Brexit on European cohesion through investigating the nature of different relationships either intercontinental or continental. In other words, this study attempts to identify, first, the nature of relationship between European Cohesion and the US i.e. the Anglo-American relationship, in addition to its importance to US itself. After that, it moves to the influence of British leaving on the Eurosceptic parties around Europe and their impact on the EU cohesion.

On one hand, the intercontinental relationships of Europe are exposed to be influenced by the Brexit, especially the Anglo-American relationship. As it is mentioned in the first chapter, the UK and US relations depends on the shared strategic interests. The collaboration between United States and Europe is considered as one of the most significant collaboration for both sides since it brought development and peace for them. Furthermore, their combined efforts in fields such as economics, politics and security strengthen their powers. Thus, as the two countries' policies go together, their relationship will be strong and stable. According to Ries et al (2017)

cooperation and coordination between US and Europe have proved a potent force for spreading prosperity and freedom throughout the world. The United States and the EU combined constitute greater than half the world's economy. Their diplomats, other government officials and militaries have vast experience dealing with global problems" (p. 75).

Since US benefited from cooperation with Europe, the stability of the region become important. Wherefore, since the end of WWII, US worked to help maintaining stability and security in Europe as an exhausted region because of the war. Moreover, US have encouraged the European integration as this unification would reinforce European stability.

Yet, as an anti-immigration politician, The American President, Donald Trump, supported the British decision to leave the European Union as a step to save national identity (Levin, 2020). Despite the fact that the American President has supported the UK leaving from EU as it is mentioned in The Guardian's article, written by Sam Levin in 2020, in which he informed that "Donald Trump, the presumptive Republican nominee for president, has come out in support of Brexit, saying the UK would be "better off" outside of the European Union and lamenting the consequences of migration in the continent" (Para. 1), the American foreign policy would be affected by this withdrawal. The British decision does not help the American foreign policy and its security maintaining process in the world; since European cohesion is important for US to achieve its interests and maintain strong allies as a leading power. As a result, the Anglo-American relation would be negatively affected by Brexit.

On the other hand, there are the European relationships on the continental level which influence in turn the intercontinental ones such as the relationship between Brexit and Euroscepticism in Europe. The Brexit is an idea made by the British Eurosceptic politicians who were suspicious towards the EU and that Britain would be stronger, take back its globality and maintain its national identity by being out of this union that limited the British influence in the world and made it a simple part of greater bloc. This view was not only obtained by the British politicians and parties; like the UKIP, but also by other European parties such as the Five Star Movement (M5S) party in Italy (Poli & Valentiner, 2004), the Alternative for Germany (AFD) party in Germany (Arzheimer, 2015) and the Spanish Eurosceptic party; the Podemos (Gago, 2017). Those Eurosceptic parties are generally nationalist and anti-immigration parties and the British exit process would encourage them, as Amadeo states:

The Brexit vote has strengthened anti-immigration parties throughout Europe. If these parties gain enough ground in France and Germany, they could force an anti-EU vote. If either of those countries left, the EU would lose its most robust economies and would dissolve (2020, Para. 25).

Amadeo's statement indicates that the British vote to leave the European Union reinforced the Eurosceptic parties in Europe. Also, it demonstrates that the strength of those parties would weaken the EU. Likewise, the British Eurosceptic party UKIP and the other Eurosceptic parties will lead their countries to leave the EU if they have large population. This predictable leaving is a negative potential result of the Brexit on the European cohesion.

Another relationship that will be influenced by Brexit, on continental level, is that of Northern Ireland the Republic of Ireland. Most immediately, and identified as a risk by both Theresa May and Donald Tusk, withdrawal of the UK from the EU may lead to re-imposition of a hard international border between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland, undermining the success of the Good Friday Agreement that resolved the decades-long and violent 'Troubles' of Northern Ireland (Ries et al, 2017).

In 1998, the Good Friday Agreement was achieved in Northern Ireland, finishing a long-armed struggle and bringing peace to the region. The borders between Northern and Southern Ireland created that conflict between the two sides. However, as UK became a member in EU, the borders became almost invisible due to the EU roles and US foreign policy efforts. Consequently, the peace process succeeded in Northern Ireland (Doyle, 2020).

Now, the Brexit issue reopens that conflict as the UK will be out of the EU and the borders will be returned. Before 22 years, the peace process in Northern Ireland "was the achievement, among others, of US foreign policy" (Ries et al, 2017, p. 77). Thus, the Brexit, in this point, destroys one of the US foreign policy' achievements which was at the same time one of the Anglo-American relation's political achievements.

3.1.2 The Implication of Brexit on Global Role

During the Cold War, America played a leading role in strengthening the European security against the Soviet threat. After its end, US and EU enhanced and renewed their security cooperation strategy by negotiating the ‘New Transatlantic Agenda’ (NTA) as progress in US and EU relations (Rees, 2017). In this Transatlantic relation, Britain played an essential role in maintaining the stability of the relation and approaching the American and EU’s views and interests as a significant participant in EU and close partner to US at the same time. In a speech that was delivered in Germany, Obama stated:

We have no closer partner around the globe on a whole host of critical issues. I would note that one of the great values of having the United Kingdom in the European Union is its leadership and strength on a whole host of global challenges. And so we very much are looking forward to the United Kingdom staying a part of the European Union because of – we think its influence is positive not just for Europe but also for the world (Obama, 2015, Para. 5).

The speech of the former American President, Barak Obama (2009-2017), emphasized the British leading role in international security issues. Also, Obama declared that the British membership in EU is very helpful and important not only for EU, but also for the whole world. Therefore, the former American President emphasized on the British global role in security issues as an EU strong member.

Moreover, as closest partner to US that commonly shared US’ views, UK played an essential role in EU for US as it presented the American views in the European bloc. As the American Professor, Stephanie Hofmann, stated: “The British government played an important role in managing these relations. It acted as a broker, negotiating across both

organizations to help reach solutions” (2018, Para. 2). Professor Hofmann confirmed the UK role on both EU and NATO as an intermediary integrator in security and defense issues.

One of the examples of the transatlantic British role in approaching EU and US security policies is the role of Britain in Iranian nuclear deal. This negotiation was made to stop the Iranian process of developing its nuclear program that would allow it to create atomic bombs (Elena, 2008). After 2003, three EU member countries; France, Germany and United Kingdom, had negotiations with Iran in its nuclear program. The UK was the strongest part among its European partners; France and Germany, since it did not have long trading and investment links with Tehran. Therefore, the UK was a leading negotiator in this deal. Putting into consideration the rapprochement of the UK-US security policy views, the UK in such concerns represents the American voice. Although this negotiation did not work well, one cannot deny the smooth catalyzing role of UK amongst the Atlantic (Rees, 2017).

Relating this British transatlantic role to the Brexit, the American Professor Hofmann announced: “Since triggering Brexit, the British government has all but abandoned its efforts to broker relations between the E.U. and NATO. This leaves coordination between the two more vulnerable to hostage-takers like Turkey” (2018, Para. 3). Professor Hofmann thinks that the Brexit would break the British transatlantic role with EU, NATO and US as an interlocutor in such issues.

Above all, the US would miss the British role in international security cooperation after Brexit. According to Rees, the Brexit will reduce the UK’s interlocutor role across the Atlantic. Moreover, Britain will be occupied with the process of leaving the EU and making successful negotiations with the union. This new political UK’s situation is making a ‘wider fear’ to US that UK will no longer be able to play its usual role in international affairs (2017).

No doubt, UK will give more attention on renewing its economic and diplomatic relations with other countries around the world as a way to reinforce its situation in the globe following Brexit and its economic and political implications.

According to the American view, the Brexit would distract Britain to focus more about its internal affairs. This distraction would lead Britain to be, somehow, far away from the international mission. As a leading and closest partner to US, Britain support to the American decisions about the global issues and concerns would be decreased due to its negotiations with EU to finish its membership successfully.

However, the American view is not constant about the Brexit and its implication on UK and its global role. As it is mentioned earlier, the American President, Donald Trump, was optimistic concerning the British withdrawal from EU. Trump has supported the Brexit as he believes in nationalism and great nations. In addition, he thought that leaving EU would give UK big chance to renew its relations and reinforce its economy (Levin, 2020). By contrary, the former American President; Barak Obama (2009-2017), has supported the British membership in EU. According to Obama, UK's membership in EU gives it an opportunity to be more influential in the global issues.

Consequently, the two Presidents' views to the British withdrawal certainly represents that the American politicians' opinion; about Brexit, is not constant yet, as the Brexit is new event and not completed yet. Therefore, those different views do not deny the fact that the US interests will be negatively affected by British withdrawal from EU. Overly, the Anglo-American relation will be negatively influenced by the Brexit as it is a relation that depends on shared interests in the first place.

3.2 The Brexit Impact on Anglo-American Economic Relationship

In this part from our study we are going to discuss how large is the Brexit economic impact likely to be. It is essential to know that economic considerations are one of the fundamental elements that the member of parliaments bearing in their minds when they come to investigate and vote on the governments EU withdrawal agreement. Certainly Brexit will lead to a significant change in the UK's relationship with other European countries and could reopen the opportunity to negotiate trade deals directly with non EU countries.

The Britain prime minister Theresa May, told the world, "Brexit means Brexit, and we will make a success of it." (Ries et al, 2017) . This success, suggested the May PMs, would depends partly on a FTA with the US (Shayerah & Akhtar, 2017) . The later President Barack Obama, himself does not encourage of Brexit, cast doubts on the prospect, stating that the UK would find itself at the "back of the queue" for a trade deal (Asthana & Mason, 2016).

However, Obama was on the way out, and he substituted by Donald Trump, who was pro-Brexit and is pro-FTA. Indeed, Trump administration reportedly has a "great appetite" for a "quick and substantial" post-Brexit trade deal with the UK (House of Commons International Trade Committee, 2019). This pleases the current U.K. prime minister, Boris Johnson, who claimed in August 2019 that he is "gung-ho" over the prospect ("After Brexit, A U.S. Trade Deal", 2019) .

The US and the UK will most likely continue to trade with each other under World Trade Organization (WTO) Most Favoured Nation (MFN) status, which push around "fair" and "equal" trade, but thanks to the applying of tariffs, not free trade (Kenton, 2019) .

Theresa May said that her government will publish its assessment of the likely economic impact of the proposed Brexit deal with the EU, as set out in the political declaration on the future framework. An amendment added to the Finance Bill by a cross-party group of MPs requires the government to publish not only their assessment

of the fiscal and economic implications of the proposed deal and of no deal, but also to show the economic outlook if the UK were to remain in the EU (Tetlow & Stojanovic, 2018, p. 2). It is noticed here that Theresa May intended to end the EU-UK relationship which is a relation extending back to 1973 in order to achieve their sovereignty, nationality and free trade.

Concerning trade, during the transition period the UK “continues to follow all E.U. rules and remain a member of the E.U. single market and customs union.” (Akhtar & Shayerah, n.d). The UK and EU will try out to reach agreement about an FTA, “with the aim of concluding an agreement” before the transition period ends. Should it end without an FTA or other trade agreement, resembling “many aspects of a no-deal Brexit,” then U.K.-E.U. trade and economic relations would be governed by WTO-MFN rules (Akhtar & Shayerah, n.d).

Moreover, Stratfor said that Whether or not the two sides can agree on a (“comprehensive trade deal” , 2020) like an FTA, relies largely on how far, if at all, the UK determines to splay from E.U. standards and regulations, which are “precautionary” or “hazard-based,” centralized, and demand certification by an confirmed government agency, making them among the highest and most regorous in the world. (Busch, et al, 2018).

Hessler announced that Brexit supporters had urged the fact that Brexit would get “rid of the shackles” , thereby giving Britain freedom to parley trade deals with the rest of the world, but if Britain wants to sustain a close economic relationship with the EU, its main trading partner (Fidler & Norman, 2019)

Then, French President Emmanuel Macron said, it will purely have to accept the EU’s “climate, environmental, economic or social regulations.”(Tidey, 2019)

A German MP agreed, stating that if the U K wants “broad access” to the EU, it will have to “adopt E.U. rules” despite “no longer having a say in them.” (Moens & Burchard,

2019). In fact, officials in Brussels, interested that Britain could turn into a serious rival if it distort widely from E.U. rules after Brexit, have pressed that any inclusive trade deal “will have to be based on the preservation of a ‘level playing field’ in terms of E.U. laws and standards” (Saeed, 2020).

Thus, the UK faces a ‘Sophie’s choice’ either it maintains its contemporary E.U backed criterion and regulations and that way its business with its main trading partner, or it changes its criterion and regulations, accepts a WTO-MFN relationship with the EU, and transforms itself into what Leave campaign supporters called the “Singapore of the Atlantic,” an “open, internationally competitive island nation based on free trade in goods and services and the free flow of capital and investment.” (Ries, et al, 2017). In short, Britain falls in the second choice under the enticing of the US, which seems fascinating and powerful political and economic confederate can stand on it when they leave the EU.

The Trump administration is seemingly falling all over itself to have a trade deal with the UK. Vice President Mike Pence told Prime Minister Boris Johnson that “the minute the U.K is out [of the E.U.], America is in” (Wiseman, n.d) .we can understand from this statement that is immediately after the British divorce with the EU the US will announce their new trade deal and establish a golden relationship. And Trump’s national security adviser stated that after Brexit the UK “would be at the ‘front of the trade queue’ for a deal.” (Fuchs, 2019) . Which means that U.S would support it enthusiastically. And he rejected the suggestion, made by President Barack Obama in 2016, that Britain would join the “back of the queue” for a new trade deal.

Moreover, The U.S. commerce secretary proclaimed that there should be FTA between us once the U.K. is exit from the EU. We’re large trading partners with each other and our economies are in many ways more similar to each other than either of us is to most of Europe. So there’s all the norm in the world for the U.S. and the U.K. to be not only good trading partners, but FTA partners. (Blake, 2018) .

Also, Trump himself tweeted that “Britain and the US will now be free to strike a massive new Trade Deal after BREXIT. This deal has the potential to be far bigger and more lucrative than any deal that could be made with the EU.” (Tidey, 2019). He has also said that the deal could be done “very quickly” (Balls, et al ,n.d). and that it could at least “quadruple bilateral trade” (Singh, 2019). As a result, to the US temptations to the UK it reacted positively and had announced their agreement about the possibility of a trade deal with the US.

On Aljazeera channel, it had announced that Johnson promised to “roll out the red carpet” for American businesses as part of his project to activate the UK “the best place in the world to start, run and build a business,” Gant added while his cabinet agreed to prefer the US as a “tier one” country in trade negotiations. Such zealous responses surely stem from the fact that the US is the UK second largest trading partner (after the EU), accounting for £118 billion in exports (20 percent) and £72 billion in imports (11 percent) in 2018 (“Boris Johnson Post-Brexit Plan”, 2019) .

However, Borshoff claimed that such responses also inverted the generally held belief that the UK is “desperate” because it “has nothing else”. In addition the British government advanced the chance of an FTA with the US as one of the benefits of leaving the EU and being liberated from its bonds. Failure to deliver such a deal would likely be seen as a significant political relapse. (Balls, et al). Moreover, the U.K. government is in serious need of “something positive to point to” after such a tricky Brexit procedure, and a trade deal with the US fits the bill (Keith, 2019) .Yet, such desires appear misplaced, as they stem from the dubious beliefs that a deal with the US is not only possible but would be good for the UK.

The main reasons behind the failure of the Anglo-American beliefs about the new trade. Firstly, the UK will be demanded by the US to “remove itself” from the EU’s “regulatory

sphere” and “align with the U.S.’s regulatory model,” which is founded on the “sound-science” approach, and leans on self-certification (“UK-US Trade Relations”).

The Office of the U.S. Trade Representative, debated that the UK’s “onerous” and needless health and safety regulations go on costs and detrimentally impact the ability of U.S. exporters to reallocate product to the U.K. market (Uwe, 2019)

Reasonably , they have openly showed their willingness that the UK makes its market more hospitable to American companies by wrecking altogether or seriously restful its regulations on recognizing, food safety, use of genetically-modified organisms, chemicals, pharmaceuticals, and privacy protection in the digital arena, all of which remain certain American goods out of Britain and deform markets to the detriment of the US. (Smith, 2019).

Secondly, the current relationship between the two countries is noticed that becomes hopelessly unbalanced and weaker than it has been in decades .Thus, any trade negotiations “would be shaped by the power imbalance between them,” which stems from both size and experience (Balls, et al.)

The U.K. economy may be the world’s fifth largest, with a gross domestic product (GDP) of \$2.8 trillion in 2018 (Akhtar & Archick) but that is only one-fifth the size of the U.S. economy (Balls, et al) ,The US is also economically “much more important” for the UK than vice versa. For example, the US “accounts for around 15 percent of U.K. exports,” while the UK“ accounts for just over 3 percent of U.S. exports,” amounting to only 0.7 percent of U.S. GDP (Akhtar & Archick , n.d) .

Thus Britain is a relatively small trading partner, (Balls, et al ,n.d) and the macroeconomic benefits of doing a trade deal with the British would also be “small” for the US (Ries et al. 2017) . Simply, the US does not have much to gain from a trade deal with the UK unless it can

use its size and power to threatening the British into making valuable prerogatives (Paduano, 2019).

According to the White House views Brexit “as an opportunity to renegotiate the relationship in its favour a chance to boost American jobs and economic growth.” (Smith, 2019) . Clearly, the “Anglosphere” and the “special relationship” will not alter the “hard-nosed reality of trade negotiations,” and British officials who might be depending on such sentimentalities “are in for a rude awakening.”(Balls, et al.) In this context, Boris Johnson is at least a realist, telling Vice President Pence, that he know that his guys are pretty tough negotiators. So they’re going to work very hard to make sure that free trade deal is one that works for all sides. (Wiseman, 2019).

Thirdly, although president Trump's promising suggestion through his statement “the greatest alliance the world has ever known,” his real concern in an FTA with the UK “remains unclear.” (Rachman, 2019). Moreover, his statement “America first” doctrine has demonstrated itself both in raised pressure for market access, prepared to increase U.S. exports, and in a “Buy America” philosophy that does not rasp well for U.K. exports (Fuchs, 2019) .

Smith assumed that Trump is not looking for a “genuine partnership” but for a “vulnerable country” that he can perversion. Other analysts have suggested that Trump wants Britain to be more of a “suppliant” or “vassal.” (Rachman, 2019).

Then,the recent USA and EU trade managed under WTO-MFN rules, “which includes the imposition of tariffs,” (“UK-US Trade Relations,”) But at this point, 50 percent of U.K. exports to the US meet with zero tariffs, (“Busch, et al.,) while the vast majority of the remainder face tariffs that are “quite low, about 3 %,” chemicals and agriculture being exceptions. ,” (“UK-US Trade Relations,”) . Certainly, tariffs have not deteriorated trade

between the two nations, which has reportedly been “brisk.” (Wiseman, p. 2019). Because such “open and strong” bilateral trade relations already exist, noted one U.S. trade negotiator, “it is unclear how much more there is realistically to gain.” (Balls, et al.).

In addition, the UK might have little more to gain financially from an Anglo-American FTA than the US. In fact, the U.K. Treasury estimates that such a deal would only increase U.K. GDP by .2 percent in the long term (Uwe, n.d) . If this is true, an FTA simply might not be worth it for either side.

Furthermore, The UK is highly taking into account a revenue tax on digital services, “in line with the French model,” as a way to “modernize antiquated international tax codes to account for the modern, digital economy.” Such plans, say U.S. trade negotiators, would be a “deal breaker” and must be “scrapped.” (Islam, 2019).

After that, The EU and the UK have a “highly developed system of regulation” for “geographical indications,” intellectual property rights protections for food and drink, such as Cornish pasties or Scotch whisky, and they endeavour to save them on the international market through FTAs. The US, on the other hand, “does not grant rights on a geographical basis” but instead uses the “trademark system,” which conserve “particular firms.” (“UK-US Trade Relations,” p. 31).

As a result, we can say that both of the UK and the US are well-established in their current systems, making any allowance unexpected. Finally, The UK is a “services-dominated economy, with services contributing approximately 80% of U.K. GDP and 44% of U.K. exports.” In 2015, the UK exported £16 billion in financial services to the US. for that , the UK considers an complete function for the financial services sector in any Anglo-American FTA, and it wants the FTA to seizing up barriers to U.S. financial services, which it demands “impede” trade, by rolling back financial legislation that the US passed in response

to the 2008-2009 global economic crisis. However, U.S. officials have completely “no desire” to “change elements” of American financial regulations and have “refused to entertain talks about financial services.” (Balls, et al.). It can be assumed that all of those factors can be considered as obstacles in the way of Anglo-American FTA because Brexit was a unique situation that put the UK in a difficult position.

Conclusion

Among history, the special nature of the Anglo-American relationship in addition to the join of Britain to the European Union had provided it with the authority and power among the other European nations. However, as soon as Britain has gained this authority, it decided to abandon its membership in the EU. Such crucial decision in one of the most important nations all over the world may lead to certain consequences either on the global level or the continental one. At first and as any other radical change, the Brexit impact on the economic and political affairs seemed to be negative. Britain appeared to lose some of its political influence on the global level which influences in turn on the US political power. In addition, this withdrawal has put UK in an economic crisis which in turn influences the stability of the nation as one of the most powerful nations in the world. However, the point of view of many leaders, either in UK or in US, seemed to be promising. Many have stated that this break may strengthen Britain, in the long-term, and let it gain its own powerful position in Europe and the world away from the EU.

General Conclusion

The current study presents a historical phenomenon which is Brexit. In fact, Brexit has a huge impact on the UK and US relationship. The UK–US relationship has been strengthened by ties of shared history, language, and values, as well as economic, political, and strategic interest. The research aimed at investigating to what extent Brexit affects the British and American relationships. The significance of this frame work provided new insights into the topic of Brexit. It was assessed that there was a lack of research in this specific area. The present research undertook the descriptive analytical method in order to examine how the UK's exit from the European Union affects the UK's and US relations .

The current study is divided into three chapters . The first theoretical chapter which is entitled “Special Relationship and European Union “ discussed the "Special Relationship' between UK and US after the Second World War . It is the unique diplomatic and security partnership formed by the two countries and characterizes by the unparalleled close Anglo-American relations during the Second World War and in the time there after. Besides, The UK is important to the US because of the firm friendship and alliance that exist between the two countries, because the UK is located in a strategically important position for defending US interests in Europe. After the Second World War , both countries had shared concerns towards the Soviet Union intentions to extend Soviet powers and communism into Western European bloc. The US and British relationship is based up on economics because the United Kingdom is a member of the European Union and a major international trading power, and the United Kingdom is one of the largest markets for U.S. The special relationship is characterized by two phases . The first was the well-known Thatcher and Reagan era, which took place in the 1980s. the second was between the Prime Minister Tony Blair and the American President George W. Bush; which started from January to June 2001.

Furthermore, the chapter shed the light on the history of the UK in the EU. The European union is set by six countries in 1957. The members are West Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, Luxembourg and the Netherlands. The EEC would later become the EU. Britain finally joins the EEC, having been rejected twice previously by the then French President, Charles de Gaulle in 1973. The new labour government holds a referendum on whether to stay in the European communities and the result is to remain .

The second chapter overviewed “ The history of Brexit” . It went through its definition and establishment. In 2013 ,David Cameron promises a referendum if the Conservatives win the election .After two years, they won the election . In June 23th 2016 , the citizens of the United Kingdom voted to exit the EU . Following a referendum Britons vote 52 percent to 48 percent in favor of leaving the EU. In July 13th , 2016 ,Theresa May became a Prime minister after winning the conservative leadership election . She sets out her Brexit strategy proposing that Britain will leave Europe's single market and control EU immigration .The general election was held on the 19th of June 2017 . Mrs. May lost her majority in parliament .The formal negotiations on withdrawal begin between the UK and US on 26 June 2017.

The Third chapter is about investigating the impact of Brexit on the Anglo- American relations. After WWII, US worked to help Europe get back its strength after the collapse of the war. Moreover, US was one of the supporters of the European Integration to maintain strong ally against the international challenges. Thus, the Anglo-American special relationship was a cornerstone in US-EU relations. As a strong and influential EU member, UK was an important member that maintained the union strength and cohesion. This influential membership was broken by the Brexit issue. This is one implication of Brexit on US interests, and on the Anglo-American relationship as well.

The second potential political implication of Brexit on US interests is that the Brexit will limit the British transatlantic role. As a special and close partner to US, UK was representing the American voice in EU. In other words, the UK was a broker that maintained the stability of US-EU relations and approached their views to achieve the common interests and face global challenges. However, the Brexit issue limited this transatlantic role. After being out of the union Britain will not be able to play this mediating role. Therefore, the Anglo-American relation will be weakened as the US interests will be disadvantaged by this withdrawal.

After WWII, US worked to help Europe get back its strength after the collapse of the war. Moreover, US was one of the supporters of the European Integration to maintain strongly against the international challenges. Thus, the Anglo-American special relationship was a cornerstone in US-EU relations. As a strong and influential EU member, UK was an important member that maintained the union strength and cohesion. This influential membership was broken by the Brexit issue. This is one implication of Brexit on US interests, and on the Anglo-American relationship as well. The second potential political implication of Brexit on US interests is that the Brexit will limit the British transatlantic role. As a special and close partner to US, UK was representing the American voice in EU. In other words, the UK was a broker that maintained the stability of US-EU relations and approached their views to achieve the common interests and face global challenges. However, the Brexit issue limited this transatlantic role. After being out of the union Britain will not be able to play this mediating role. Therefore, the Anglo-American relation will be weakened as the US interests will be disadvantaged by this withdrawal.

The prime minister Theresa May intended to end the EU-UK relationship which is a relation extended back for more than four decades so as to achieve the Britain's sovereignty

and nationalism so we can say that their choice influenced by tow stimuluses one intrinsic which is their desire to exit from the EU and the second choice under the enticing of the US which seems fascinating and powerful political and economic confederate can stand on it when they leave the EU.

From our analysis we can assume that the UK feel that their attempts was unsuccessful and their failure in the new trade deal let them feel disappointed also the US does not have much to gain from a trade deal.

References

1. Adler-Nissen, R. (2014). *Opting Out of the European Union: Diplomacy, Sovereignty and European Integration*. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107337916>
2. Akhtar, & Shayerah, I. (n.d.). U.S.-UK Free Trade Agreement: Prospects and Issues for ... Retrieved August 6, 2020, from <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R44817.pdf>
3. Al Jazeera. (2019, September 24). Boris Johnson post-Brexit plan: Woo US businesses? Retrieved September 01, 2020, from <https://www.aljazeera.com/ajimpact/boris-johnson-post-brexit-plan-woe-businesses-190923215931898.html>
4. Amadeo, K. (2020, March 14). Brexit Consequences for the U.K., the EU, and the United States. Retrieved 22 August 2020, from <https://www.thebalance.com/brexit-consequences-4062999>
5. Arzheimer, K. (2020, January 17). The AfD: A Right-Wing Populist Eurosceptic Party? Retrieved 28 August 2020, from <https://www.kai-arzheimer.com/afd-right-wing-populist-eurosceptic-germany/>
6. Association, American Psychological. (2009). *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association, 6th Edition* (6th ed.). Washington DC , US: American Psychological Association.
7. Asthana, A., & Mason, R. (2016, April 22). Barack Obama: Brexit would put UK 'back of the queue' for trade talks. Retrieved August 10 2020, from <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/apr/22/barack-obama-brexit-uk-back-of-queue-for-trade-talks>

8. Balls, Ed, et al. "On the Rebound: Prospects for a US-UK Free Trade Agreement."
Harvard Kennedy School Mossavar-Rahmani Center for Business and Government
Working Paper Series, no. 89. May 2018.
https://www.hks.harvard.edu/sites/default/files/centers/mrcbg/files/USUK%20FTA%20822%20MS_update.pdf.
9. Baylis, J. (1984). *Anglo-American defence relations, 1939-1984: The special relationship* (2nd ed.). London, Great Britain: Macmillan. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-349-17579-6>
10. Belam, M. (2016, July 22). One month on, what has been the impact of the Brexit vote so far? Retrieved august 06, 2020, from
<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jul/22/one-month-on-what-is-the-impact-of-the-brexit-vote-so-far>
11. Blake, D. (2020). How Bright Are the Prospects for UK Trade and Prosperity Post-Brexit? Retrieved august 7, 2020, from
[https://openaccess.city.ac.uk/id/eprint/23937/8/How Bright Are the Prospects for UK Trade and Prosperity Post-Brexit JSGME.pdf](https://openaccess.city.ac.uk/id/eprint/23937/8/How%20Bright%20Are%20the%20Prospects%20for%20UK%20Trade%20and%20Prosperity%20Post-Brexit%20JSGME.pdf)
12. Booth, S. (2016, October 06). Turkey is no model for Britain's post-Brexit trade policy. Retrieved July 29, 2020, from
<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/10/06/turkey-is-no-model-for-britains-post-brexit-trade-policy/>
13. Brexit: 'Breakthrough' deal paves way for future trade talks. (2017, December 08).
Retrieved July 30, 2020, from <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-42277040>
14. Britain's immigration paradox. (2016, July 8). Retrieved August 09, 2020, from
<https://www.economist.com/britain/2016/07/08/britains-immigration-paradox>

15. Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs. (2020, February 06). U.S. Relations With United Kingdom - United States Department of State. Retrieved August 27, 2020, from <https://www.state.gov/u-s-relations-with-united-kingdom/>
16. Burke, J. (2016, March 24). Brexit and terrorism: EU immigration is not the main danger. Retrieved August 28, 2020, from <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/mar/24/post-brexit-immigration-controls-stop-uk-isis-attacks>
17. Busch, & Marc. (n.d.). The Future of US-UK Trade: What case for a bilateral trade agreement? " UK Trade Policy Observatory. Retrieved August 29, 2020, from <https://blogs.sussex.ac.uk/uktpo/publications/the-future-of-us-uk-trade/>
18. Case Study: The 2010 UK Coalition Government. (n.d.). Retrieved July 30, 2020, from <https://www.britpolitics.co.uk/case-study-the-2010-uk-coalition-government/>
19. Chochia, A., Kerikmäe, T., & Troitiño, R. D. (Eds.). (2019). *Brexit: History, Reasoning and Perspectives* (Softcover reprint of the original 1st ed. 2018 ed.). Cham, Switzerland: Springer.
20. Clarke, H., Goodwin, M., & Whiteley, P. (2017, April 06). Why Britain Voted for Brexit: An Individual-Level Analysis of the 2016 Referendum Vote. Retrieved September 01, 2020, from <https://academic.oup.com/pa/article/70/3/439/3109029>
21. The Cold War (1945–1989). (2016). Retrieved 22 May 2020, from https://www.cvce.eu/content/publication/2011/11/21/6dfe06ed-4790-48a4-8968-855e90593185/publishable_en.pdf
22. DeGaulle, C. (1963, January 14). French President Charles DeGaulle's Veto on British Membership of the EEC. Retrieved 15 August 2020, from https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/125401/1168_DeGaulleVeto.pdf
23. Derek E, M. (2014, May 5). The United States and Europe: Current Issues. Retrieved August 16, 2020, from <https://www.hSDL.org/?view>

24. Derek E, M. (n.d.). The United Kingdom: Background, Brexit, and Relations with ...
Retrieved September 1, 2020, from <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL33105.pdf>
25. Derek E., M. (2015, March 30). The United States and Europe: Current Issues.
Retrieved August 20, 2020, from
<https://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc501562/>
26. Donaldson, A. (2018). *A special relationship? Exploring the future of UK–US cultural ties*. London, United Kingdom: The British Council.
27. Doyle, J. (2020, April 9). 22 Years after the Good Friday Agreement: Brexit, Covid-19 and New Governments. Retrieved 29 August 2020, from
<http://dcubrexitinstitute.eu/2020/04/22-years-after-the-good-friday-agreement-brexit-covid-19-and-new-governments/>
28. Dunne, M. (2005). The Suez Crisis and the Politics of the Anglo-American Special Relationship. Retrieved 22 June 2020, from
<http://www.mariapalasinska.com/sanpietro/eng/anno1/n5/problemi/dunneeng5.pdf>
The Cold War: How Did It Start? How Did It End? (2014). Retrieved 22 May 2020, from <https://sharemylesson.com/teaching-resource/cold-war-how-did-it-start-how-did-it-end-274101>
29. The economic impact of 'Brexit'. (2018, May 25). Retrieved August 29, 2020, from
<https://woodfordfunds.com/economic-impact-brexit-report/>
30. European Council Council of the European Union. (2020, July 20). Brexit. Retrieved August 12, 2020, from <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/policies/eu-uk-after-referendum/>
31. The European, U. (2009). The Lisbon Treaty. Retrieved August 18, 2020, from
<http://www.lisbon-treaty.org/wcm/the-lisbon-treaty/treaty-on-european-union-and-comments/title-1-common-provisions/4-article-3.html>

32. Explaining the Brexit vote. (2016). Retrieved August 21, 2020, from <https://www.economist.com/britain/2016/07/14/explaining-the-brexit-vote>
33. The Extra Special Relationship: Thatcher, Reagan, and the 1980s. (2016, July 26). Retrieved 18 August 2020, from <https://adst.org/2016/07/extra-special-relationship-thatcher-reagan-1980s/>
34. Fabre, C. (2013, May 26). THE UK AND THE EU: MORE THAN 40 YEARS OF RELATIONSHIPS UNFOLDED. Retrieved 10 August 2020, from <https://www.thenewfederalist.eu/The-UK-and-the-EU-more-than-40-years-of-relationships-unfolded,05776?lang=fr>
35. Fidler, S., & Norman, L. (2019, December 13). After Brexit, Britain Has to Redefine Ties With EU. Retrieved August 29, 2020, from <https://www.wsj.com/articles/british-vote-is-likely-to-bring-brexit-but-not-end-brexit-divisions-11576192787>
36. Fontaine, L. (2017, March 02). The early semantics of the neologism BREXIT: A lexicogrammatical approach. Retrieved July 30, 2020, from <http://orca.cf.ac.uk/98760/>
37. Fuchs, M. (2019, August 20). Donald Trump's UK trade promises are hot air – his aim is Brexit chaos | Michael H Fuchs. Retrieved August 26, 2020, from <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/aug/20/donald-trump-uk-trade-brexit-chaos-boris-johnson-us-eu>
38. Gago, L. (2017, July 10). Is Podemos a Eurosceptic party? Retrieved 28 August 2020, from <http://www.euvisions.eu/archive/is-podemos-a-eurosceptic-party/>
39. Gemma, T., & Alex, S. (2018, November). Please Enable Cookies. Retrieved August 25, 2020, from <https://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/publications/understanding-economic-impact-brexit>

40. Gamble, A., & Kearns, I. (2007, May 21). Recasting the Special Relationship. Retrieved 21 July 2020, from https://www.ippr.org/files/uploadedFiles/articles/2007/recasting_special_relationship.pdf?noredirect=1
41. George E Lavallin, M. (2018). The Impact of Brexit Related Events on European and US Exchange Rates. Retrieved July 28, 2020, from <https://digitalcommons.georgiasouthern.edu/honors-theses/350/>
42. Guild, E., Carrera, S., & Eggenshwiler, A. (2010). THE AREA OF FREEDOM, SECURITY AND JUSTICE TEN YEARS ON SUCCESSES AND FUTURE CHALLENGES UNDER THE STOCKHOLM PROGRAMME. Retrieved 14 August 2020, from http://aei.pitt.edu/32646/1/69._The_Area_of_Freedom,_Security_and_Justice_ten_years_on.pdf
43. Hadar, L. (2014, November 21). JFK's Special Relationship. Retrieved 22 August 2020, from <https://www.theamericanconservative.com/articles/jfks-special-relationship/>
44. Hofmann, S. (2018, October 18). Brexit will weigh heavily on European security. Here's why. Retrieved 21 August 2020, from https://www.washingtonpost.com/gdpr-consent/?next_url=https%3a%2f%2fwww.washingtonpost.com%2fnews%2fmonkey-cage%2fwp%2f2018%2f10%2f18%2fbrexit-will-weigh-heavily-on-european-security-heres-why%2f
45. House of Commons International Trade Committee. (2018, May 1). UK-US Trade Relations. Retrieved July 29, 2020, from <https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201719/cmselect/cmintrade/481/481.pdf>

46. Ikenson, D., Lester, S., & Hannan, D. (Eds.). (2018). The Ideal U.S.-U.K. Free Trade Agreement A Free Trader's Perspective. Retrieved from <https://www.cato.org/sites/cato.org/files/pubs/wtpapers/ideal-us-uk-free-trade-agreement-update.pdf>
47. Ipsos, M. (2016). Concern about immigration rises as EU vote approaches. Retrieved August 17, 2020, from <https://www.ipsos.com/ipsos-mori/en-uk/concern-about-immigration-rises-eu-vote-approaches>
48. Islam, F. (2019, November 27). The big election trade-off - what have we learned? Retrieved August 15, 2020, from <http://www.bbc.com/news/business-50581017>
49. James, W. (2015). Treaty of Maastricht. Retrieved 11 August 2020, from <https://civitas.org.uk/content/files/TR.3.Treaty-of-Maastricht.pdf>
50. Johnson, K. (2019, August 09). Capitol Hill Could Imperil Any New U.S.-U.K. Trade Deal. Retrieved September 02, 2020, from <https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/08/09/capitol-hill-could-imperil-any-new-u-s-uk-trade-deal-brexiteer-backstop/>
51. Jones, S. (2020, February 23). Learn About the US and Great Britain Relationship After World War II. Retrieved 7 June 2020, from <https://www.thoughtco.com/us-and-great-britain-the-special-relationship-3310124>
52. Kenton, W. (2020, April 10). Lisbon Treaty. Retrieved 15 August 2020, from <https://www.investopedia.com/terms/l/lisbon-treaty.asp#:~:text=The%20Lisbon%20Treaty%2C%20also%20known,process%20for%20enacting%20new%20policies.>
53. Kenton, W. (2020, January 29). Learn About the Most-Favored-Nation Clause. Retrieved July 29, 2020, from <https://www.investopedia.com/terms/m/mostfavorednation.asp>

54. Kristin, A. (2020, January 13). Brexit: Status and Outlook - crsreports.congress.gov.
Retrieved July 29, 2020, from <https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/R/R45944>
55. Laidlaw, J. (2011, July 26). Bush and Blair: the impact of a special relationship on national interests. Retrieved 21 August 2020, from <https://www.e-ir.info/2011/07/26/bush-and-blair-the-impact-of-a-special-relationship-on-national-interests/>
56. Leger, D. L. (2013, April 8). Thatcher, Reagan relationship altered history. Retrieved 18 August 2020, from <https://eu.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2013/04/08/thatcher-reagan-political-soulmates/2063671/>
57. Levin, S. (2020, February 3). Donald Trump backs Brexit, saying UK would be ‘better off’ without EU. Retrieved 25 August 2020, from <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/may/05/donald-trump-brexit-uk-leaving-european-union>
58. Lightbody, B. (1999). *The Cold War*. Abingdon, United Kingdom: Routledge.
Retrieved August 17, 2020, from <https://www.routledge.com/The-Cold-War/Lightbody/p/book/9780415195263>
59. Lisbon Treaty. (n.d.). Retrieved August 22, 2020, from <http://www.lisbon-treaty.org/>
60. Lord, A. (2016). How the United Kingdom voted on Thursday... and why. Retrieved August 23, 2020, from <https://lordashcroftpolls.com/2016/06/how-the-united-kingdom-voted-and-why/>
61. Margaret Thatcher. (2020, February 28). Retrieved July 28, 2020, from <https://www.biography.com/people/margaret-thatcher-9504796>
62. McKercher, B. J. C. (2017). *Britain, America, and the Special Relationship since 1941 (Seminar Studies)* (1st ed.). New York, United States: Routledge.
63. Mesbahi, A. (2018). The UK and the European Union Relationships and the Recent “Brexit” Implications. Retrieved 30 July 2020, from <http://dspace.univ->

eloued.dz/bitstream/123456789/828/1/The%20UK%20and%20the%20European%20
Union%20Relationships%20and%20the%20Recent%20%27%27Brexit%27%27%20I
mplications.pdf

64. Meyer, J.-H. (2016, July 8). The 1975 referendum on Britain's continued membership in the EEC. Retrieved 10 August 2020, from https://www.cvce.eu/content/publication/2005/10/19/eb67b6cf-33ef-4f79-9510-b6fab56d2509/publishable_en.pdf
65. Miller, V. (2015, July 13). The 1974-75 UK Renegotiation of EEC Membership and Referendum. Retrieved 15 August 2020, from <http://researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/CBP-7253/CBP-7253.pdf>
66. Mix, D. E. (2014). *The United and U.S.- UK Relations* [Kindle]. Retrieved from <https://crsreports.congress.gov/>
67. Moens, B., & Burchard, H. (2019, December 24). EU countries gear up for post-Brexit trade battle. Retrieved August 26, 2020, from <https://www.politico.eu/article/eu-countries-gear-up-for-post-brexit-trade-battle/>
68. Northern Ireland, O. (1998, April 10). The Belfast Agreement. Retrieved August 22, 2020, from <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/the-belfast-agreement>
69. Oppermann, K. (Ed.). (2012). *British Foreign and Security Policy*. Great Britain, Great Britain: Wißner- Verlag, Augsburg 2012.
70. The Oxford English dictionary now offers a definition of what Brexit means. (n.d.). Retrieved August 28, 2020, from <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/brexit-definition-oxford-english-dictionary-add-new-words-2016-a7476271.html>
71. Paduano, S. (2019, May 02). Brexit Is Killing the Special Relationship. Retrieved July 30, 2020, from <https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/05/02/brexit-is-killing-the-special-relationship/>

72. Page, T. (2019, August 28). Opinion | After Brexit, a U.S. Trade Deal. Retrieved July 30, 2020, from <http://www.wsj.com/articles/after-brexit-a-u-s-trade-deal-11567033654>
73. Poli & Valentiner, E. M. (2014). cairn.info. Retrieved 28 August 2020, from <https://www.cairn.info/revue-l-europe-en-formation-2014-3-page-66.htm#>
74. Prime Minister's Office, 10 Downing Street. (2015, June 8). G7: Statement by David Cameron and Barack Obama. Retrieved 29 August 2020, from <https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/g7-statement-by-david-cameron-and-barack-obama>
75. Rachman, G. (2019, July 12). US-UK relations: Strains in the 'greatest alliance' . Retrieved August 23, 2020, from <https://www.ft.com/content/887e27f2-a486-11e9-974c-ad1c6ab5efd1>
76. Read David Cameron's full referendum announcement. (2013). Retrieved August 22, 2020, from <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/david-cameron-s-eu-referendum-date-announcement-full-text-speech-a6886191.html>
77. Rees, W. (2017). America, Brexit and the security of Europe. British Journal of Politics and International Relations, 19(3), <https://doi.org/10.1177/1369148117711400>
78. Ries, & Charles, P. (2017). After Brexit: Alternate forms of Brexit and their ... Retrieved August 24, 2020, from https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/research_reports/RR2200/RR2200/RAND_RR2200.pdf
79. Ries, C. P., Hafner, M., Smith, T. D., Burwell, F. G., Egel, D., Han, E., ... Shatz, H. J. (2017). After Brexit: Alternate forms of Brexit and their implication for the United Kingdom, the European Union and the United States. Retrieved 25 August 2020, from https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/research_reports/RR2200/RR2200/RAND_RR2200.pdf

80. Saeed, S. (2020, January 16). UK airline rescue looms over EU trade talks. Retrieved July 30, 2020, from <http://www.politico.eu/article/flybe-boris-johnson-tax-payment/>
81. The Schengen Agreement - History and the Definition. (2019, October 1). Retrieved 15 August 2020, from <https://www.schengenvisainfo.com/schengen-agreement>
82. Simon, B. (2008, March 5). 1 New Labour and the European Union 1997- 2007. Retrieved August 30, 2020, from https://www.swp-berlin.org/fileadmin/contents/products/arbeitspapiere/bulmer_KS.pdf
83. Singh, R. (2019, October 17). Friends Without Benefits: The "Special Relationship" After Brexit. Retrieved August 30, 2020, from <https://www.the-american-interest.com/2019/09/13/friends-without-benefits-the-special-relationship-after-brexite/>
84. Smith, A. (2019, June 05). This is what the U.S. wants from the U.K. before it will sign a trade deal. Retrieved September 01, 2020, from <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/world/what-u-s-wants-u-k-it-will-sign-trade-n1013081>
85. Staff. (2015, October 06). Theresa May's speech to the Conservative Party Conference – in full. Retrieved August 23, 2020, from <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/theresa-may-s-speech-to-the-conservative-party-conference-in-full-a6681901.html>
86. Stratfor. (2020, January 08). U.K.: Comprehensive EU-U.K. Trade Deal by End of 2020 'Impossible,' von der Leyen Says. Retrieved August 30, 2020, from <https://worldview.stratfor.com/situation-report/uk-comprehensive-eu-uk-trade-deal-end-2020-impossible-von-der-leyen-says>
87. Thatcher, M. (1988, September 20). Speech to the College of Europe ('The Bruges Speech') | Margaret Thatcher Foundation. Retrieved 16 August 2020, from <https://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/107332>

88. Telegraph, T. (2016, June 18). We must vote Leave to create a Britain fit for the future . Retrieved September 01, 2020, from <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/opinion/2016/06/18/we-must-vote-leave-to-create-a-britain-fit-for-the-future/>
89. Tidey, Alice. “Europe Reacts: Time Frame for Post-Brexit Trade Deal ‘Is Challenging’, Says EU Chief.” Euronews. 13 December 2019. <https://www.euronews.com/2019/12/13/europe-reacts-put-brexit-deal-to-vote-as-soon-as-possible-says-eu>.
90. Treaty of Amsterdam: what has changed in Europe. (1999). Retrieved 14 August 2020, from <http://aei.pitt.edu/15098/1/MOVE-TREATYOFAMSTERDAM-1999.pdf>
91. THE TREATY OF LISBON. (2020). Retrieved 18 August 2020, from https://www.europarl.europa.eu/ftu/pdf/en/FTU_1.1.5.pdf
92. UK IN CHANGING EUROPE. (2016, April 7). How many EU citizens live in the UK? Retrieved August 23, 2020, from <https://ukandeu.ac.uk/fact-figures/how-many-eu-citizens-live-in-the-uk/>
93. UK opt-outs from EU legislation. (2016, May 10). Retrieved 14 August 2020, from <https://politick.co.uk/uk-opt-outs-from-eu-legislation/>
94. U.S. Relations With United Kingdom. (2020, February 6). Retrieved 16 June 2020, from <https://www.state.gov/u-s-relations-with-united-kingdom/>
95. Uwe, H. (2019, June 4). UK hopes trade deal with US could soften Brexit blow: DW: 04.06.2019. Retrieved September 02, 2020, from <https://www.dw.com/en/uk-hopes-trade-deal-with-us-could-soften-brexit-blow/a-49049225>
96. Vaughne, M., Arabella, L., & Simson-Caird. (2020). Brexit: How does the Article 50 process work? Retrieved July 28, 2020, from <https://researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/CBP-7551/CBP-7551.pdf>

97. A vote for Brexit is all it takes to set Britain free. (2016, July 04). Retrieved September 01, 2020, from <http://www.thesun.co.uk/news/1306294/a-vote-for-brexit-is-all-it-takes-to-set-britain-free/>
98. Wikipedia contributors. (2020, August 24). Treaty of Lisbon. Retrieved 15 August 2020, from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Treaty_of_Lisbon#Signing
99. Wikipedia contributors. (2020b, September 5). Treaty of Rome. Retrieved 20 August 2020, from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Treaty_of_Rome
100. Wilson, H. (2001). October 1974 Labour Party Manifesto - LABOURMANIFESTO.COM. Retrieved 22 August 2020, from <http://labourmanifesto.com/1974/Oct/1974-oct-labour-manifesto.shtml>
101. Wintour, P. (2020, June 8). UK diplomats fear end of special relationship if Trump re-elected. Retrieved 25 August 2020, from <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2020/jun/08/uk-diplomats-fear-end-of-special-relationship-if-trump-re-elected>
102. Wiseman, P. (2019, September 07). AP Analysis: US-UK trade deal won't be so easy post-Brexit. Retrieved September 07, 2020, from <https://apnews.com/9b342ad68417411db3e4ae2b4fa7af4f>
103. Zaidi, S. H. A., Wang, X.-Y., Ahmed, S., Rehman, S. U. R., Sajid, M., Foroozanfar, M. H., & Ali, M. A. (2017). Brexit: A review of impact on future of United Kingdom outside the European Union. *Brexit: A Review of Impact on Future of United Kingdom Outside the European Union*, 1(1 (May – June 2017) PP 14-33), 14–33. Retrieved from <http://www.ijournalmrm.com>

الملخص

يتطرق هذا البحث الى دراسة تاريخ العلاقة البريطانية الأمريكية في فترة ما بعد الحرب العالمية الثانية. حيث يحاول الباحثون تسليط الضوء على تأثير ظاهرة "البريكسيت" او خروج بريطانيا من الاتحاد الأوروبي على هذه العلاقة. فكان لزاما ان يتطرق هذا البحث الى دراسة العلاقات التالية: بريطانيا وأمريكا ثم بريطانيا و الاتحاد الأوروبي وصولا الى العلاقة ما بين أمريكا و الاتحاد الأوروبي قبل و بعد البريكسيت, و ذلك بدوره يساهم في استخلاص تأثير البريكسيت على العلاقة الخاصة ما بين بريطانيا و أمريكا. وقد اعتمد الباحثون في هذا العمل على المنهج الوصفي التحليلي حيث عمد الى تحليل بعض النصوص و المقالات العلمية تحليلا نوعيا. و في هذا السياق قد قسمت هذه الدراسة الى ثلاثة مباحث, فالأول يتضمن دراسة العلاقاتين: بريطانيا و أمريكا ثم بريطانيا و الاتحاد الأوروبي. بينما يحاول المبحث الثاني دراسة ظاهرة البريكسيت و دوافع حدوثها وصولا الى نتائجها على بريطانيا , وينتهي المبحث الثالث الى دراسة نتائج تأثير البريكسيت على العلاقة ما بين بريطانيا و أمريكا من الناحيتين السياسية و الاقتصادية. و قد خلصت الدراسة الى ان خروج بريطانيا من الاتحاد الأوروبي يضعفها سياسيا و يُفقد أمريكا حليفا قويا في الاتحاد الأوروبي' الا و هو بريطانيا. أيضا فقد وجد الباحثون أن البريكسيت يضر بالاقتصاد البريطاني من حيث الديون التي عليها دفعها للاتحاد الأوروبي و هذا مما يدعو بريطانيا بالضرورة الى تقوية علاقاتها الاقتصادية بأمريكا.

الكلمات المفتاحية: بريكسيت, العلاقة الخاصة, الولايات المتحدة البريطانية, الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية, الاتحاد الأوروبي

