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

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Dedication

To my parents for their unconditional support and love

To my sisters for their boundless love and sincere emotions

To my brothers for their continuous sense of understanding

To all the members of my family for their assistance and love

To all my friends who have believed in me and in my capacities

To every person who appreciate the value of knowledge

I dedicate this dissertation for you

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Abstract

The aim of this study is to explore the history of the relationships between the UK and the EU during the last decades. As a result, we will be able to fully understand the present Brexit issue and to describe it. The study takes the Brexit problem into account and works on discussing it from a different point of view. The main question that was investigated in this work was the nature of the past relationships between the two parts that led eventually to the EU referendum in 2016 and surprisingly to the Brexit and whether the UK is well out of the EU. In this regard, the dissertation is divided into two chapters. The first chapter works on presenting an overview about the EU and then it discusses the nature of the relationship between the UK and the EU since its beginnings in 1971 to 2016. It tries also to find points that are common between all the crises that happened. The Second chapter works on covering the Brexit issue including its causes, implications, and procedures. It works also on predicting the future of the relationship between the two sides. The study is intended to reach certain aims which are: providing an analysis of the UK's policy towards the EU and finding the common points that characterized the main crises, discussing the Brexit referendum and its implications.

Key words: Brexit, EU, Implications, Referendum, Relationships, UK

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Table2: Brexit Referendum Results

List of Abbreviations

- CAP:** The Common Agricultural Policy
- CETA:** The Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement
- EU:** The European Union
- ECB:** The European Central Bank
- ECSC:** The European Coal and Steel Community
- EEA:** The European Economic Area
- EEC:** The European Economic Community
- EERM:** The European Exchange Rate Mechanism
- EFTA:** The European Free Trade Association
- NATO:** The North Atlantic Treaty Organization
- MP:** Member of Parliament
- PM:** Prime Minister
- QMV:** Qualified Majority Voting
- SEA:** The Single European Act
- SNP:** The Scottish National Party
- TEU:** The Treaty on European Union
- UK:** The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
- UKIP:** The UK Independence Party
- WTO:** The World Trade Organisation

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Introduction

Background of the study

For decades, Great Britain was one of the leading powers in the world especially with the Veto right that it got in the Security Council. The UK had traditionally played an active role in the foreign policy of many regions around the world. The UK, also, managed to balance its international relations with Europe which was and will continue to be a special relationship.

Great Britain had always considered itself to be than a group of Isles that geographically belong to Western Europe. In fact, the UK believed that its position allows it to be more than just a regular European nation. Along with history, the UK had considered itself to be a bridge between Europe and the rest of the world especially with the power it got from its colonies.

The end of World War II marked the end of the era of colonial UK. In addition, this country lost most of its economic strength and international influence. The UK was obliged to look for ways which may help it in regaining its position. At the same, there was a new successful institution which was established by other European nations. The UK was not enthusiastic about this body and it worked on having solutions among which Europe is out. The impressing success of the European integration obliged the UK to re-evaluate its ties with Europe and to work for joining this body.

The whole experience of relations between the UK and Europe over the five past decades of the British membership was marked by a series of crisis due to the continuous conflict of interests. Problems such as the enlargement of the European Union and the new levels of integration were against the British agenda and complicated the relationships more and more.

The increase of international crisis and the attempts of more integration among the European nations set the floor to the rise of feelings of Eurosceptism

among many British leaders, politicians and citizens who believed that their country needs to be out of this institution.

The complexity of the relationship between The UK and the EU reached its peak In David Cameron mandate (2010-2016). In fact, David Cameron had called for a Referendum on the UK's continuous membership. The results of the referendum shocked the UK and the world with a popular vote in favour of existing from the European Union well-known as the Brexit.

1. Research Problem

Most of the studies that tried to discover the causes and results of the Brexit state that it is all about economy. The true causes leading to the Brexit are not all revealed completely and possible implications that might appear in the future are not indicated too.

2. Aims of the Study

The present study aims at investigating the long history of relationships between the UK and the EU in order to be able to understand the current Brexit issue. Moreover, other sides of this phenomenon will be discussed such as its causes, implications and path.

3. Research Questions

The study intends to answer the following questions:

1. What are the main crises that characterized the history of the relationships between the UK and the EU? What are the common points among these crises?
2. What led to the Brexit and how it will be applied? What are its main implications?

3. In what form will the relationships between the UK and the EU move on?

4. Hypotheses of the Study

1. Tracing the history of relationships between the UK and the EU by making a time line of events may come across an event or crisis that might be the real cause of the Brexit.
2. Investigating people's arguments about the Brexit issue can reveal the true causes of the Brexit and may help in predicting its implications.
3. Analyzing the path of the Brexit procedures and negotiations may help in guessing the future form of relationships between the UK and the EU.

5. Research Methodology

The method adopted to conduct this research is the historical method which works on commenting on accounts of past events. The study investigates the relationship between the UK and the EU and covers the Brexit process from different angles. In an attempt to collect and analyze data, we based on using the results of polls that were done by Ipsos MORI and Lord Ashcroft which are leading statistic companies in the UK. The uniqueness of these surveys is that the population are mainly British. In fact, the use of the second tool aimed at gathering fresher data from the actual sources as the British were the ones who voted for the Brexit.

6. Structure of the study

The study is divided into two chapters. The first and the second chapter are mainly theoretical in nature, but the second chapter includes a small practical part. Chapter one is

concerned with describing the relationship between the UK and the EU from its early beginning till 2016 EU referendum. The first chapter includes also a description of literature review about the history and development of the European Union. Chapter two deals with the current Brexit issue and it tries to cover it from different sides including the context in which it was issued and its causes according to "Leave Vote" camp. Chapter two includes also a description of the Brexit implications and procedures .We concluded with the guessing the future forms of relationships between the UK and the EU.

Chapter one:

The UK and the European Union relationships

CHAPTER ONE: THE UK AND THE EUROPEAN UNION RELATIONSHIPS

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1.2 .SECTION II :LITERATURE REVIEW

1.1 .SECTION I
THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK
OF THE STUDY

For decades, The UK was the world's leading power and managed to impose its ideologies and policies on the other nations. World War II marked the end of traditional powers and created a new world system in which the UK was a simple participant. In addition, Western European countries were on the winning side, but the war exhausted them at many levels especially at the economic side.

The need for co-operation and reconciliation between the European countries in order to overcome the results of the war led to the creation of the 'European Coal and Steel Community' which had a mission of reconstructing Europe. This union at its early beginning concentrated on the economic sector. Over the years, the institution developed and became a union involving all aspects of life including politics, economy, judiciary, etc under the name of the European Union (EU).

The British feelings of nationalism led them to refuse joining the aforementioned union because they thought that they could survive alone. Later, the huge success of the union made them change their opinion and think of joining it, but their attempts to do so were confronted by the French rejection for many times. The UK managed to join the Union only in the 1970's. The relationships between Britain and the EU witnessed several crises because the UK refused to be controlled by the Union. Moreover, the UK questioned the EU actions many times and refused to implement others.

1.1.1 History and Development of the European Union

The European Union passed through many stages until it reached its present position and way of functioning. The history of and developmental phases are explained in the coming section of this chapter.

1.1.1.1 The origins of the European Coal and Steel Community

Jones (2007) emphasized that the bad memories and disastrous results of the two World Wars with the rise of the communist regimes in Eastern Europe seemed to pose a threat to life and liberty in Western Europe. Consequently, Western Europe politicians started thinking of ways to the rebuild Europe. In fact, any such reconstruction of Europe required Franco-German reconciliation. Jean Monnet (1888-1979) who is a French politician thought of integrating the European resources of heavy industry and thus establishing the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) in April 1951 including Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and West Germany. The ECSC started functioning on August 1952. It also included adjusting tariff barriers, abolishing subsidies and fix prices.

Jones (2007) argued that the UK who had just nationalized its coal and steel industries was not willing then to 'surrender' its sovereignty to a supranational organization. Moreover, it considered itself to be a bridge that links the USA and Europe.

1.1.1.2 From ECSC to EEC

According to Jones (2007), the ECSC developed faster than what its founders had planned. The Benelux countries (Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg) thought of a full customs union, based on what already existed among them to include all six ECSC members with any others who wished to

join. In 1957, the Treaty of Rome was issued, and it was considered to be the starting point for the European Economic Community (EEC). The treaty established the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) whose ultimate purpose was to help the member of the EEC achieve self-sufficient in food production. So, huge investments were directed towards the agrarian sector. Some struggles among the members happened on the way of directing the EEC but it was settled by the 'Luxembourg Compromise' that gave each member state a veto over any decision if it was of vital national interest.

1.1.1.3 The First Enlargement

The huge success of the EEC made a lot of European countries think of joining it for better development of their economies and to bring prosperity to their populations. The first enlargement took place on 1 January 1973 when Denmark, Ireland and the United Kingdom joined the Union raising the number of member states to nine. The union changed its policies and started pumping money to poorer areas in order to help them recovering. In addition, The European Parliament increased its influence after its first direct elections in 1979 where voters of each member state elected their members (European Union, n.d.).

1.1.1.4 Enlargement to the South

Jones (2007) mentioned that after the first enlargement of the union which was towards northern countries, other two enlargements turned towards the southern part of the continent (Greece in 1981 and Portugal and Spain in 1986). In fact, the democratic elections which were held in the 1970s in those three countries formed a key step for becoming a member of the union. The economies of those countries were very weak and other members were forced to give aids to them.

1.1.1.5 A Europe without Frontiers

The fall of Berlin Wall on 9 November 1989 reunified both East and West Germany with the fall of communism in central and Eastern Europe made European countries thinking of more integration among them. In 1993, the Single European market was created in which goods, services, people and money would move freely across the EC. In 1995, three new members joined the EC: Austria, Finland and Sweden. In fact, the European countries started thinking of new fields' cooperation including defence, justice and home affairs issues (European Union, n.d.).

In 1999, 11 EU member States adopted the Euro as their new official currency and then formulating the Euro zone. The Union kept growing when Greece joined it in 2001 and then 10 new countries joined the EU in 2004, followed by Bulgaria and Romania in 2007 (European Union, n.d.).

1.1.1.6 The Financial Crisis and its Challenges

In September 2008, the EU economy suffered from harsh financial crises that affected poorer countries in the union severely while countries such as Germany and the UK were able to survive. Obliging the strong countries to help the weaker ones and the rise of Eurosceptics created some extremist movements which led to the British exit from the union. Nowadays, the wars that started in many countries in what is called the Arab Spring led to huge immigrants crises (European Union, n.d.).

1.1.2 The Relationship between the UK and the EU

The relationship between the UK and the EU witnessed lot of events, crises and conflicts. This will be explained in details in the coming section of the dissertation.

1.1.2.1 The UK Joining or Not 1951 to 1969

Jones (2007) emphasized that though the UK was not a decisive winner of World War II, nationalist feelings continued to increase. The British considered the ECSC to be

an alliance of losers and that joining it would undermine its social protection of British workers. When the Six member states of the Union invited the United Kingdom to join them in 1950, the government of the UK refused, arguing that British coal and steel industries had been nationalized and it was thus impossible to put it under international management.

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

Febre (2013) focused on the success of the EEC which made the British government think of creating the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) in 1960. The EFTA included Austria, Denmark, Finland, Norway, Portugal, Sweden and Britain and is aimed at competing the EEC in the field of economic cooperation. The EFTA tried to promote free trade of industrial goods, unlike the EEC which was interested in agrarian products. For the British, the EFTA was not that much success and brought no actual benefits. The booming success of the EEC made Britain and EFTA members applied to join it.

Under Harold Macmillan's Conservative Government, the UK applied to join the EEC in 1961. The negotiating team who was led by Chief Negotiator Edward Heath did not succeed in his mission. The British application was vetoed by President de Gaulle who was not enthusiastic for the UK joining the Union and felt that Britain was not yet ready to join the EEC. For the French, letting Britain join the union would eventually give the USA a reason to intervene in the European affairs. In 1956, Britain withdraws from collation with Israel and

France to invade Egypt as a result of US pressure. In fact, the UK was more loyal to the USA than Europe. Moreover, Britain resumed to the USA during its crisis rather than its neighboring European countries. As a result, this first application was vetoed in 1963 (Febre, 2013).

Febre (2013) noticed that in 1967, the Labour Government of Harold Wilson made a second application to join the EEC, but their application was vetoed by de Gaulle. In mid-1967, the British currency faced some problems. So De Gaulle claimed that letting Britain join the union will affect the other member states of the EEC.

1.1.2.2 The UK being a Member: 1970 – 1979

In the 1970s the time and conditions had changed. A conservative government came to power led by Edward Heath as a Prime Minister, and De Gaulle was no longer President of France. The new French president Georges Pompidou was more enthusiastic to enlargement to include the UK. In 1971, the UK made a third application. In the previous applications, the UK negotiated with each member state separately, but this time the negotiations were collective. The negotiating team consisted of Anthony Barber and Sir Alec Douglas-Home (Jones, 2007).

In the General Election of 1970, major political parties in the UK had committed themselves to negotiating terms, but there was a strong division between them after the agreement that the negotiating team had reached in June of 1971. The Labour party argued that the UK would delete thousand years of history if it joined the EEC it. Feelings of nationalism guided the members of the labour party (Jones, 2007).

Harold Wilson who was the head of the Labour party said in his speech to the parliament on July 17th, 1971:

The nation has the right to know why what was hardly mentioned in 1970 is impossible to live without in 1971, whatever the terms. Mr. Heath did not even offer that choice a year ago. He says it is the only choice now. It is not the only choice. By saying that it is he is selling Britain short in office, as he sold Britain short in Opposition. He is using the tactic to railroad the people of this country into making their decision in a mood of panic and hysteria, instead of with a level headed approach which such a decision requires. (Labour Party,2007p.10)

Febre (2003) stated that Edward Heath resumed to the Parliament for voting in which he reached an overwhelming majority of 356 votes for joining and 244 against. Heath convinced the public view that joining the EEC was much more about economics and nothing more. The UK joined the EEC officially in 1973, but this was the starting point for a period of uneasy the relationship across the Channel.

Febre (2003) clarified that though the UK had joined the EEC, the Labour party was still opposing membership in the EEC, and this issue was a crucial point during the general election campaign. The labour party won that election and Harold Wilson come back to his office of Prime Minister in February 1974. Harold Wilson announced that his government would renegotiate the terms of entry to get a better deal for the UK, which would be submitted to a referendum.

Miller (2015) argued that there were two main points which were discussed. One , the CAP which the UK refused to commit itself to its terms because it gets most of its agrarian needs from the members of the commonwealth countries .Two, the UK asked for reducing its contribution to the community budget. Wilson put the renegotiated terms of membership into referendum. Most parties were divided on the issue of whether to remain or not in the EEC. The "Yes" campaign was headed by Harold Wilson and the majority of

his Government. The ‘No’ camp was presented as the choice of extremists, and it also included seven of the 23 Cabinet members.

In June 1975, the referendum was held and resulted in 64.03% of voters agreeing on being part of the EEC. The referendum confirmed the public approval for the UK's membership in the EEC, but this renegotiation did not end up the problem of Britain's contribution to the budget of the EEC (Wikipedia, 2018).

Table1: Referendum Results

United Kingdom European Communities membership referendum, 1975		
National result		
Choice	Votes	%
Yes	17,378,581	67.23%
No	8,470,073	32.70%
Valid votes	25,848,654	99.78%
Invalid or blank votes	54,540	0.22%
Total votes	25,903,194	100.00%
Registered voters and turnout	40,086,677	64.67%

Source:https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Referendum_Act_1975#Referendum_result(lastaccess 10/03/2018)

In 1975, Margaret Thatcher was appointed as a leader for the conservative party and thus she was the first female in this office. Most of the people thought of her as a spear leader in the way towards a new leader, but she reinforced her position during the following years. England suffered during that period from hard economic and political crisis, with the Harold Wilson government nearly bankrupt, employment on the rise and conflicts with labour unions. In fact, those problems helped the Conservatives in returning to power in 1979 (Biography, n.d.).

1.1.2.3 Margaret Thatcher and the EEC: 1979 - 1990

Forster (2002) clarified that after winning the elections, the conservatives made history in May 1979 by appointing their party leader Margaret Thatcher as Britain's first female prime minister. Thatcher created a strong leadership and presented herself as a person who took tough emotional decisions on European affairs.

Gifford (2008) mentioned that Thatcher's administration viewed the EC in a way similar to that of the previous Labour government. She believed that the EC did not help the British economy to recover. She had strong nationalist feelings, so she worked on resisting the constraints imposed by the EC.

Forster (2002) stated that by 1979 the transitional period of the UK into the EC came to an end. So, Britain would have to pay all contributions. Thatcher understood that the amount of payment was disproportionate to the UK economy and reopened the issue in December 1979 during the Dublin Conference. During that time, she announced her famous phrase "I want my money back". This problem was resolved during the Fontainebleau meeting in 1984 when Britain received a refund on its contributions and an annual rebate

Febre (2003) stated that the main aim was to balance the costs and benefits from the EEC since most of the Community budget was spent on the CAP (at that time 80), which benefited the UK much less than other countries as the UK has a small farming sector. In fact, this issue also showed a kind of scepticism towards the European project. Moreover, Margaret Thatcher- the Iron Lady- is often referred to as being a Eurosceptic.

Thatcher thought of more European integration that will create the free-market economy and help the British economy mainly. She, also, formed the Single European Act (the SEA), which created the Single Market and

campaigned for a qualified majority voting (QMV) in the Council which worked on preventing any possible veto by one country (Single European Act, 1986).

Forster (2002) considered that the SEA policy helped the UK to move from scepticism and introduced the government's priority – to change the direction of the discussion towards the practical achievement of a free internal market. The Thatcher government was careful of the French attempts to strengthen the European Commission and the European Parliament to include areas not directly connected with trade, indirect taxation and social legislation. The Prime Minister felt that a common monetary policy would undermine British sovereignty. So, when the UK refused to participate in the complete liberalization of capital markets, other countries also did so. More negotiations and ratifications over the SEA were viewed as a British victory. In fact, the SEA Treaty was marked as the declining point of Euroscepticism in the British political field

Troitino (2013) believed that Margaret Thatcher was the British Prime Minister who created more political integration with Europe. She became known as a symbol of a possible development in the relationship between the EC and Britain. Her role in the reform of the Community was ambivalent, but worked well. However, the situation quickly changed. Further discussions about the future of the EC had been worrying the conservative government.

In the summer of 1988, the discussion over creating the Economic and Monetary Union and, in particular, the European Central Bank started. However, Thatcher opposed the creation of the European Central Bank because she thought that this will lead to creating a European government. She believed that the monetary union could be realised without having a single currency and without establishing a central bank (Troitino, 2013).

Forster (2002) mentioned that Margaret Thatcher, in her speech at the College of Europe in Bruges (Belgium) in September 1988, argued that “willing and active cooperation between independent sovereign states is the best way to build a successful European Community”. This speech united different groups of sceptics and started a new era of Conservative attitude towards the EC and, characterized by the move from an instrumental and pragmatic position on European integration to an ideological one.

In October 1990, Margaret Thatcher resigned and John Major was elected as the leader of the Conservative party in October 1990 and later on as a Prime Minister.

1.1.2.4 Eurosceptic Tories 1990- 1997

Gifford (2008) believed that Thatcher left a legacy of crisis in economic recession, growing electoral unpopularity for the Conservatives and the unease within a party over European integration .John Major's government tried to present the modern conservative attitude as a combination of Thatcher’s free trade radicalism and a belief in community”

Forster (2002) considered that John Major, like his predecessor thought of the European integration as placing Britain at the “heart of Europe”, and opposed the proposals of strengthening a centralized control over the economy by the EU. He worked on rebuilding relations and secure alliances with the European governments, which had been alienated by Mrs. Thatcher.

Smith (1992) stated that The UK made close relations with German political parties and also with parties in the European parliament. Major believed that close cooperation with Germany would stop French attempts to create a monetary union. Major's economic strategy was based on continued membership

of the European Exchange Rate Mechanism (EERM), which helped in decreasing the inflation rates in France and Ireland.

Major's government tried to solve the problem of unemployment within the EU by working on accelerating the economic growth in the conditions of free competition and the development of private enterprise. Moreover, the UK blocked all the attempts of the EC Commission to raise the budget of the organization. The EEC passed through a financial crisis in 1990 – 1994. The UK proposed reducing the spending on the CAP, to which almost half of the annual budget of the EEC was spent (Stivachtis, 2007).

1992 was marked by the Maastricht Treaty (also called the Treaty on European Union) (TEU) among the member states of the EEC which created a political union. The member states adopted a common foreign and security policy. The treaty established the European Union (EU). The treaty introduced the European Central Bank (ECB) and a common currency (the euro), However, The British Eurosceptics considered it a loss of sovereignty and national identity. As Thatcher in her speech: “We do not want the United States of Europe”. It was a shared opinion among both Conservative and labour politicians. As a result, the UK preferred to stay out of the monetary and financial union because of inflation and exchange rates which were very high according to London (Encyclopaedia Britannica, n.d.).

Gifford (2008) believed that the UK did not support the introduction of the Eurocurrency because of the financial crisis of that time. At a meeting in Brussels in October 1993 Great Britain did not succeed in slowing down the plans of establishing the single currency. The EU member - states decided on its introduction as well as defined the location of the European Monetary Institute (in Frankfurt). They even created a clear schedule for the transition to a single currency.

The mandate of John Major witnessed the growth of Euroscepticism among the political elites. The opposition against Major's government European policy increased and the UK's government seats in the EU were given to Eurosceptics. Major's position diminished under the increasing pressure and created a division among the members of the cabinet, ultimately destroying the credibility of the government and made his policy ineffective. In 1997, the Conservative party lost the general election and the Labour Party came to power with its leader Tony Blair (Gifford, 2008).

1.1.2.5 Pro-European Labour and Euroscepticism (1997-2010)

After their victory in the elections in 1997, the "New Labour" Party led by Tony Blair who was a pro-European and enthusiastic about the EU announced that a new chapter in the European foreign policy of Great Britain had just started. In fact, they tried to modify and change the British policy towards the EU which was formed by their previous conservative Eurosceptics. The "New Labour" aimed at more dynamic dialogue for the better development and expansion of European political cooperation. The government aimed at returning to Europe in which it is vital for them to play a leading role.

Daddow (2011) stated that it was vital for the UK to regain its position in the EU after its refusal to join the integration processes taking place in Europe. The UK became somehow a stranger because of its struggle with the other member states over the EMU, the Eurocurrency, etc which weakened its position in the EU. For Blair, the EU needs to focus on economic policy, immigration and environment, rather than trying to create united governmental bodies. Like Major, Blair thought of Europe on economic matters, but not as a threat to national sovereignty.

The UK's strategy towards the EU was pragmatic. As T. Blair noted in his speech in November 2001: "Ours will be a sovereignty rooted in being part not of a European super state, but of a proud nation, proud of its own identity and of its alliance in Europe."(The national archives, 2003).

From 1997 to 2001 the policy of the UK towards Europe was very active. T. Blair and his government worked on updating the Treaty on European Union (in Amsterdam and Nice). The British government was interested in developing the economic and financial integration. T. Blair insisted on making more reforms in the light of EU enlargement to the East (The Labour Party Manifesto, 2005).

Daddow (2011) stated that the question about the European security framework was fundamental for the British New Labour until September 2001. Blair considered that the EU helped in preventing wars and promoted an atmosphere of peace and prosperity. However, after September 2001, the Labour Party changed its policy and the free movement of people, goods and services because they saw them as a potential threat to national security. In fact, the EU was unable to act quickly and effectively. Moreover, Tony Blair sent big numbers of British troops to Afghanistan and to Iraq in 2003 to support the USA in its war against terrorism. This decision was largely unpopular in both Europe and at home.

The British policies towards Europe lost its dynamism due to the conflict of interest between the "new" Britain and the leading Franco-German government which considered the UK more loyal to the USA. During 2003, Blair lost his popularity and his government and decisions were severely criticized by the shadow government and the press. In the general election of 2005, Blair lost some of his parliamentary majority. So, Blair set down the government leaving the

place for Gordon Brown Who is known for his Eurosceptic attitude to be the next Prime Minister on June 2007 (Blumer, 2008).

Gifford (2008) emphasized that Brown was the minister who worked on preventing Blair from making the euro currency UK's national currency. When Brown became a Prime Minister his government voted for the European Constitution draft. In 2008, the Treaty of Lisbon which was a modified European Constitution was evaluated by the UK. The government managed to grantee a special position for the UK as well as the right of veto over any sensitive issue (in particular, the issues of initiatives related to the transformation of the EU into a federal super state , defence and foreign policy, changes in treaties defining the future of the European Union, taxation, borders). Brown gained some power over the EU, first threatening not to sign and later not to ratify the new EU basic treaty if the British demands are not met.

Like most countries of the world, The EU faced a financial crisis in 2007–2008. Although the crisis almost destroyed the economies of small countries in the EU such as Greece, stronger countries like the UK did not have serious costs. The EU member states were asked to give financial aids to those countries .However, the UK was not pleased to do so and again the Eurosceptics questioned the EU and its mechanisms (Wikipedia, 2018).

1.1.2.6 Coalitional Government and the Relationship with EU in the Time of Crisis and Brexit (2010-present)

Booth (2010) mentioned that the general election of 2010 made an end to the political era of "New Labour" Which could not survive in front of internal conflicts and criticism of its military choices in Iraq and Afghanistan. The

elections resulted in hung parliament that paved the way for the coalition of Conservatives and Liberal Democrats led by David Cameron and Nick Clegg.

Charter (2012) argued that the main problem between the members of the coalition concerning the EU was that the Liberal Democrats were pro-European, unlike the Conservatives, who were Eurosceptics. However, both parties agreed during their negotiations to have a balanced policy towards the EU. The Coalition program for the EU thought of a constructive engagement with the EU concerning issues that are related to the society and national sovereignty, but it should keep the UK playing a leading role in the EU.

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 2011, the Middle East witnessed revolutions against the ruling regimes and this led eventually to the withdrawal of their presidents. As a result, civil war started and huge number of refugee escaped towards the EU member states. Together with the financial debts crises, the refugees threatened the social and economic structure of the UK. The relationship between the UK and the EU reached its worst situation ever.

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 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.”

Euroscepticism achieved its peak after David Cameron's speech on October 2012 when he stated " People feel that the EU is heading in a direction that they never signed up to. They resent the interference in our national life by what they see as unnecessary rules and regulation " (The Independent, 2013, para125).

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(The Guardian,2013,para That is why I am in favour of a referendum . It will be an in-out referendum(The Independent, 2013, para137)

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(The Independent, 2013, para203)

In February 2013, Cameron expressed his hope 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 (The Guardian, 2013).

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 (The Economist ,2016).

1.1.3 Discussion

The main purpose of this chapter was to trace the history of the relationship between the UK and the EU in order to highlight the main crisis, struggles and events that characterized these relationships. This study revealed that there are two principle factors that were present in most of those events and controlled them which are economic and politics.

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

The second factor is related to the British sovereignty and feelings of nationalism. The British kept thinking of the old days in which they were the world's leading power and could not accept the EU new system in which they were simple member. They viewed all the attempts for complete European integration as a threat to their sovereignty and nationality. In addition, Eurosceptism was always present their relationship with the EU as they were thinking for better role in this Union. The British had seen the USA as better partner than the EU and this eventually led to diminishing its role.

Conclusion

The relationship between the United Kingdom and the European Union has been a rocky one along 50 years of ties. In fact, these relations had developed gradually from the refusal to join the Union then joining and finally withdrawing from it. However, the British view and attitudes towards it has always been strange. The British sometimes aimed at more collaboration and looked for having a leading role, but in other times they had a lot of doubt and scepticism.

For the political parties, it was not clear what side is with and which side is against the membership in the EU. To sum up, The British were very awkward in things related to the EU, so no clear arguments can be provided to justify their major crisis with the Union.

The UK's awkwardness has become more present in the last few years. British politicians used all their influence to slow down European integration. Recently, the UK is moving on breaking the relations with the EU .In fact, the British exit (Brexit) is going to be the subject matter of the coming chapter as lot of analysis is going to be conducted.

1.2 .SECTION II
LITTERATURE REVIEW

On June 23rd, 2016, The British voted in favour of ending their country's four decades of partnership with the European Union and to end the series of struggles which they previously had. With no clear causes, implications and ambiguous future relationships, nothing is clearly indicated and thus it is important to investigate this issue.

In the University of Tlemcen, there were two master theses that discussed the Brexit issue, but it discussed it from an angle that was different from our way.

The first dissertation was conducted by Mr. Abdallah NEGADI in 2017 and it was entitled "The European Union and the United Kingdom's Withdrawal (BREXIT)". The second dissertation was conducted by Ms. Ikram MOUSSAOUI and it was entitled "The United Kingdom Euroscepticism and The Brexit' Referendum 1973/2016".

In University of Barcelona, Ms. Paula Herrero Vico conducted a similar study entitled "BREXIT: A Challenging Process with Vital Implications for The United Kingdom and The European Union"

1- Abdallah NEGADI "The European Union and the United Kingdom's Withdrawal (BREXIT)"

Mr. Abdallah Negadi spent a great deal of his research on investigating the history and the developments of the European Union, and then he moved to narrating the history of the UK in the Union .In fact, Mr Negadi focused on regular events which were less important in relation to the topic of the study.In the other part of his study, Mr Negadi moved directly to the Brexit issue which he discussed without clearly clarifying its causes.

The dissertation of Mr Negadi missed an important component which is coherence and cohesion as we felt that he jumped from one element to another without clearly stating the relation between these elements. Moreover, no clear findings were presented.

2- Ikram MOUSSAOUI "The United Kingdom Euroscepticism and The Brexit' Referendum 1973/2016"

Ms. Ikram Moussaoui focused in her research on the concept of "Euroscepticism" and thus she did not give much importance to the event of the Brexit which was presented like any other event which was discussed in the study. In fact, most of the study was concerned with the pre-Brexit period, and almost nothing about post-Brexit period was mentioned.

3- Ms. Paula Herrero Vico "BREXIT: A Challenging Process with Vital Implications for The United Kingdom and The European Union"

Ms. Paula Herrero Vico gave in her study a quick background about the British attitudes towards the EU without clearly giving arguments to support her suggestions. Later on, the study moved directly to the Brexit issue which focused only about the event and not on its surrounding elements such as its causes. The last part of the study dealt with the implications of the Brexit on the EU and neglected completely its implications on the UK.

The present thesis investigates the long history of complicated relationships between the United Kingdom and the European Union. It tries also to find common points between the previous crises and Brexit in order to be able to fully understand and analyse this events .In addition, the causes, implications and procedures of the Brexit are revealed.

In fact, this side of research was marginalised and not given much importance. When it was discussed, the issue was handled up in theoretical way. In other words, facts were presented separately and without being logically linked to the previous series of events because the previous research focussed on describing the event rather than finding explanations to it.

Ms. Ikram MOUSSAOUI (2017) suggested that Brexit issue had happened as result to the ever-growing feelings of Euroscepticism and nothing else. To check the validity of this hypothesis we have to draw a time line of the events that occurred along history of relations between the UK and the EU.

No one can deny the importance of the aforementioned theses as long as they are among the pioneering studies. Moreover, with the event still on course, and with the lack of credible sources of data, lot of obstacles hindered their progress. Future researchers have to put in mind that the results gathered from such studies cannot be taken for granted as new events might prove the invalidity of those results

Most studies that dealt with this topic presented the issue from a theoretical point of view and thus certain misinformation was presented especially with no field studies done. Though the theoretical aspects of the issue are vital, it may be beneficial to build your results upon the findings of polls done by statistic companies that questioned British citizens. In fact, few the previous studies did not use this methodology, and there where the uniqueness of this study relies. Future investigation might come up with better methods that clearly cover all the realities.

**² Chapter two:
The Brexit and its
Implications**

2 CHAPTER TWO: THE BREXIT AND ITS IMPLICATIONS

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2.1 SECTION I
METHODS AND TOOLS

2.1.1 Research strategy

The purpose of this study is to investigate the long history of relationship between the United Kingdom and the European Union in order to be able to clearly understand the event of the Brexit. With the purpose of talking about and analysing pure historical event, the research will be conducted with the historical research method, which allows us to get the most relevant and appropriate results about the nature of the event.

2.1.2 Research method

In order to achieve the objectives that was expected out of this dissertation, a historical research was held. The main characteristic of this historical research is working on examining past events. Its basic advantage is that it an active method. In other words, this method do not passively restates past events, but it includes interpretation and analyses of these events in order to communicate them. Historical methods may also use comparisons with certain historical events in order to facilitate a deeper understanding of the different stages of development of any phenomenon (Buckley, 2016).

2.1.3 The tools used

The research used mainly statistic as a tool to carry out this study. In fact, we used the statistics that belong to Ipsos Mori and Lord Ashcroft due to some limitations which prevented us from carrying out our own study. Statistical analysis was used along the research to comment on the results of the statistic used.

The purpose of using statistical analysis was to clarify the results of statistics. Statistical analysis works mainly on processing those results in order to

summarize them in few simple sentences. It allows us to come up with rational explanations and conclusions even if it was difficult to isolate the problems under study (Weisburd & Britt 2013).

2.1.4 The Corpus

As a corpus for this research, we relied heavily on the polls that were done by the two leading Research Institutes in the UK which are Ipsos MORI and Lord Ashcroft.

For Ipsos MORI, it has been considered to be the second largest statistic organisation in the UK. It was established in 2005 when Ipsos UK and MORI, which were Britain's leading survey companies, merged. Moreover, it works on testing and investigating the attitudes of the British on many issues (Ipsos MORI, 2018).

For Lord Ashcroft Polls, it started its official work in 2010. With its owner Lord Michael Ashcroft who is a life peer in the British Parliament, the institute got high reputation as being neutral. Lord Ashcroft's organisation works mainly on political issues (Lord Ashcroft, 2018).

2.1.5 The Population

The population that was used by the aforementioned research institutes were mainly British citizens who had just voted in the election on June 23rd, 2016. The people that participated in these polls were those who voted in favour of leaving the EU. Lord Ashcroft institute surveyed 12,369 people while interviewed a 985 people. The population includes representatives of different areas, ages and sexes.

2.2 **Section II**
RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

The continuous struggles between the UK and the EU and the results of the general elections of 2015 paved the way for the Eurosceptics to implement their detachment program. The British exist (Brexit) was approved by the population of the UK in a referendum .In fact; the Brexit was a shock for most of the other European nations.

The referendum was not the end of the story as more discussions are to be held to decide the way in which this Brexit will be implemented .In fact , no one really knows what will happen in the coming months because the negotiations on Brexit is unclear and the supposed plan is not applied typically . Many politicians believe that Theresa May has limited her government and the country into the Brexit.

As the Brexit process rolls on, more politicians started wondering about the possible implications as some regions of the country are still against it. There have been about how Britain should be governed. Also, they questioned the expected benefits and the possibility of re joining the EU.

Nothing is actually completely clear about the Brexit and about the future relationship between the two sides as the process is still on.

2.2.1 The 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).

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.

Grice (2015) stated that the EU was a central issue at general elections of 2015 which showed that there are a lot of differences between the Conservatives and Labour on Britain's future in the EU. These elections witnessed the rise of the UK Independence Party (UKIP) which clearly supported the idea of Brexit. In fact, the UKIP won much of traditional Conservative supporters. So, David Cameron was convinced by an in/out referendum.

According to The Economist (2016), Cameron's promise for the referendum on the UK's exit of the EU by the end of 2017 was just in hope of defeating the UKIP and to marginalize the Eurosceptic wing of his party. However, the re-election of Cameron as PM was due to his promise of a referendum rather than what he had achieved as head of the country. On February 2016, David Cameron declared June 23rd as the date for a referendum. In fact, this announcement was the result of delayed negotiation of the conditions of Britain's membership at a summit in Brussels. Some of the government ministers declared their position either for the "remain" or "leave" campaigns. On early 2015, the Brexit from the European Union was thought as very remote, but by referendum day, it was highly supported by a lot of MPs, including justice secretary, Michael Gove, and London's mayor Boris Johnson. Moreover, most surveys clarified that the majority of British are in favour of leaving.

Labour and the Liberal Democrats strongly criticised Cameron's call for referendum arguing that the public should get such a vote only if Britain compensated certain new powers to the EU. The Green Party on the other side

introduced his ideas of the “Three Yesses” --Yes to a referendum, to major EU reform and to staying in a reformed Europe (Grice, 2015).

At the referendum time, there were two campaigns that dominated the political scene in the UK which were "Britain Stronger in Europe" and "Vote Leave". These campaigns formed lobby groups which gave certain arguments for the referendum (Foster, 2017).

Deloy (2016) clarified that the defenders of the Brexit “Vote Leave” were led by former Mayor of London Boris Johnson (2008-2016) and Nigel Farage (head of the UKIP). They put British sovereignty as a priority during the electoral campaign. They also primarily expressed their hostility to immigration. The other camp "Britain Stronger in Europe "was led by David Cameron, Jo Cox MP, Jeremy Corbyn, George Osborne and all living former Prime Ministers. They argued that the UK is not ready to fight terrorism alone. They also considered that they will lose certain economic benefits if they get out of the EU.

Foster (2017) stated that on 23 June 2016, the UK voted for leaving the EU after five decades of membership. To the question, they were asked (Should the UK remain a member of the European Union or leave the European Union? a majority of voters (51.9%) voted to “leave” while 48.1% voted to "remain" with a turnout of 72.2 %. Geographical differences were clearly noticeable in the results as England (53.4%), Wales (52.5%), voted in for Brexit while Scotland (62%) and Northern Ireland (55.8%) voted in their majority to “Remain”.

Table 2: Referendum Results

National result % of valid		
Votes	Votes cast	
51.9%	17,410,742	Leave
48.1%	16,141,241	Remain
3.8%	1,269,501	Winning margin for 'Leave'
33,551,983	Total valid votes	
25,359	Rejected papers	
33,577,342	Total votes cast	

Proportion of the vote across the UK		
	Leave (%)	Remain (%)
England	53.4%	46.6%
Wales	52.5%	47.5%
Scotland	38.0%	62.0%
Northern Ireland	44.2%	55.8%

Source: <http://researchbriefings.parliament.uk/ResearchBriefing/Summary/CBP-7639>(retrived 21/ 3/ 2018)

Uberoi (2016) stated that Votes for Leave and Remain were not equally distributed across the UK. Leave got the highest votes in England and Wales, while Remain got the highest votes in Scotland and Northern Ireland. Urban areas recorded higher votes for Remain while rural areas gave high vote shares for Leave. The highest vote share for Leave (76%) was recorded in Boston (Lincolnshire). The highest vote share for Remain (96%) was recorded in Gibraltar.

Deloy (2016) mentioned that David Cameron resigned from his office shortly after the referendum, and he declared “I think the country needs a new leader to undertake negotiations with the European Union”. The Conservative Party appointed Theresa May as a new leader during the party congress in October 2016. May was appointed as a Prime Minister and was the one responsible for the Brexit negotiations which are still running to the present day. In fact, nothing is clear as the negotiations look very hard.

2.2.2 Factors Leading to the Brexit

In a morning shock to the world, the British decided to withdraw all relationships with the EU with a percentage of 52%. This was the most significant event in Europe since the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. Topics such as economy and immigration were key points in "Vote Leave" camp which they intended to put in the mind of people when going to the referendum. "The Shock" as most of the British newspapers described was against the Poll that was made by Ipsos MORI (the Britain's largest survey companies) with voters just after voting. In fact, the poll resulted in 56 % in favour of remain (Riley, 2016).

According to the Polls done by Ipsos MORI, Lord Ashcroft's polling team, there were about five core causes of the Brexit

2.2.2.1 Sovereignty and International Influence

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 (Lord Ashcroft, 2016).

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 (Gulfonline, 2016).

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)

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 allow the UK to act more freely, and The UK can have seats in international organizations such world trade organization which it could not join previously due to its commitments with the EU.

The Sunday Telegraph (2016) stressed on having such International influence by stating "On balance, however, we believe the Leave campaign has articulated an ambitious vision for Britain as an independent nation, once again free to make its own decisions. Remain, by contrast, has resorted to grim pessimism."(para2&3)

2.2.2.2 Immigration

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

According to the Economist (2016), 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.

2.2.2.3 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 (Gulf online, 2016).

2.2.2.4 Fear of Terrorism

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.

Burke (2016) believed that the increase of terroristic attacks in some European countries such as Charlie Hebdo attack in France on 2015 and the bad memories of July 2005 in which bombs were disrupted in London's public transport system made the British think that the Brexit will stop such threats. 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

2.2.2.5 Possible Free Trade Area and Better Economy

Ipsos MORI poll (2016) revealed that 32% of the leave voters believe trade and economical 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 economical relationships with the EU without being committed to the Union's laws . The UK can also enter more successful partnership with the world's leading economic countries such as the USA and China. In addition, the UK would carry on its efforts to have a multi-continental free trade area (Gulf online, 2016).

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 23 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).

2.2.3 The Path of the Brexit

Hunt & Wheeler (2018) considered that though the UK voted for leaving the EU in the historic referendum of June 2016, the story did not end as long as a new chapter of procedure and negotiation has just started. The UK needed to pass through the Article 50 which is a plan for any country that will potentially exit the EU. The Article 50 was issued as part of the Treaty of Lisbon on 2009, and it was approved by all EU member states. In fact, they left the Article 50 unclear because they have never imagined that any country would leave the Union. As a result, the path of the Brexit was and will continue to be vague.

As aforementioned, The EU has never experienced the withdrawal of any member state, and even the Treaty of Lisbon did not provide much detail on what steps to be followed. Article 50 stated that if any state decided to leave the Union,

a period of two years for the leave agreement is to be conducted; starting from the moment Article 50 is triggered. If the two-year period an end with no final deal was taken, the state aiming for withdrawal will be obliged to carry on its membership in the EU. The period of negotiations might be extended only with the approval of all the other member states (Welsh Confed, 2017).

The article 50 mentioned also that member wishing to exit must apply all the EU laws and treaties during the period of negotiations. Once that member withdraws the EU, its representing member within the EU will not have the right to attend to any internal EU debates or decisions. In addition, the EU laws will no more be applied in the leaving country unless it was approved to carry on using them until they decide to modify these laws or establish other ones. In case the exiting country wishes to re-join the EU, it may apply for membership as a new candidate, the day after leaving (The Lisbon Treaty, 2009).

The negotiations are expected to be hard due to a long history of a rocky relationship between the UK and the EU. A core point to be discussed was the position of millions of UK citizens living in the EU and EU citizens living in the UK. UK's national security and military collaboration with the EU also needed to be reconsidered. The withdrawal final arrangement has to be approved by the majority in the European Parliament (Asthana, Mason & Bowcott, 2017).

After the EU referendum, the British government took nine months to prepare itself for leaving. In fact, they were waiting for an Act of the Parliament that allows them to start the procedure of leaving. This act was approved by the UK Supreme Court only January 24th, 2017. The Brexit process started officially when the Prime Minister Theresa May and its government triggered the Article 50 leaving procedure on March 29th, 2017 (Asthana et al, 2017) .

On April 29th, 2017, the EU27 leaders adopted guidelines for Brexit negotiations and they also clarified the EU's positions and principles towards it. The Article 50 was activated and published by the European Commission by May 2017. On May 22th, 2017, the European Commission authorised the opening of Brexit negotiations with the UK. Michel Barnier was appointed by the commission as Chief Negotiator to conduct negotiations with Britain. Barnier believed that the real deadline needs to be as early as October 2018, because any arrangement will need for European Parliament approval before the European Council could accept them (The European Council , n.d.) .

According to the Guardian (2017) Theresa May was appointed as a leader of the conservatives and thus as a Prime minister due to David Cameron's resigning on 2015,. In other words, May was not selected by the citizen as her predecessor. In order to strengthen the position of its government before the first round of the Brexit negotiations, May called for a general election on June 9th, 2017. May' could not realize her wishes because her party lost 21 seats and thus their parliamentary majority.

On June 19th, 2017, Michel Barnier, the EU Chief Negotiator, and David Davis, Secretary of State for Exiting the European Union launched the first round of negotiations between the EU and the UK. Six Other rounds followed this first round, and it discussed mainly three issues which are citizens' rights, Northern Ireland borders and the financial settlement and obligations (The European Council , n.d.) .

On February9th, 2018, the seventh round of Brexit negotiations took place and this round was the first one of the second phase of Brexit negotiations. The negotiators focused on three other issues which are the transitional period,

Ireland, especially on solutions to avoid a hard border and the governance of the withdrawal agreement (The European Council , n.d.).

On February 28, 2018, the European Commission published the draft of the Withdrawal Agreement between the EU and the UK .The draft consisted of six parts and an additional protocol on Northern Ireland. In fact, the draft will now be sent to the European Parliament for discussion, and then it will be transmitted to the UK for negotiation (The European Council, n.d.).

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.).

For the present date May 26th, 2018, the planned date for the Brexit is March 29th, 2019 unless the EU and the UK were not able to reach an agreement.

2.2.4 The Implications of the Brexit

It was previously stated that matters related to politics such as sovereignty, immigration, security, and others related to economy such as the economic interdependence were the main causes of the Brexit from the EU. So, this part of the study takes a closer look on the EU's referendum direct implications and possible future ones on those areas.

2.2.4.1 The Political Implications

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

2.2.4.1.1 The Political Implications within the UK

Cutts (2016) stated that the consequences of the Leave Vote were immediate as the PM David Cameron, who had just secured the position of Conservatives by leading them to a majority in the general election of 2015, resigned the day after the referendum. The position in the opposition that was led by Jeremy Corbyn the head of Labour party was no better. Corbyn was accused of being a supporter to continued EU membership. As a result, Corbyn lost the trust in his leadership and then two-thirds of his Shadow Cabinet resigned.

The leave Vote was not supported by all the parts of the country. In fact, regions such as Scotland and Northern Ireland were in favour of remaining in the EU. Those members in the UK will not get any grants from the EU. So, they were wondering if the UK government compensates their lost money because the nationwide decision to Leave. Moreover, some voices in those areas called for certain extreme reactions (Cutts, 2016).

Cutts (2016) described the reaction in Scotland to be to the extreme as 62.0% of the Scots voted for a continued membership in the EU. The First Minister of Scotland, Nicola Sturgeon, empowered by the Scottish National Party (SNP) suggested having a new Independence Referendum in Scotland which will allow the Scots to explore all the options available for Scotland such as remaining part of the European.

In Northern Ireland, 55.8% of the population voted for a continued membership in the EU. The situation was very special for Northern Ireland because it is the only part of the UK that shares land borders with EU member states. Moreover, its trade, border and internal political structures were all affected. As a result, the Nationalists in Northern Ireland started calling for a 'border poll' on uniting with the Republic of Ireland in order to carry on their membership in the EU (Cutts, 2016).

2.2.4.1.2 The Political Implications in the European Political Scene

The Brexit has not just affected the political scene in the UK, but it has started to have direct implications on politics on the EU. In fact, the UK did not only makeup 12% of the EU's population, but it played an important role in the EU's institutions especially by providing a kind of ideological balance and rationalism in dealing with sensitive issues. Moreover, the Brexit will also allow the European countries to look for more cooperation at the level of European defense. The UK which is a member of North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) has always hindered any attempt at creating a united European military body (Patel & Reh, n.d.).

According to Chrisafis (2016), the Brexit gave huge rise to Euroscepticism in the whole continent, but the worst scenario ever would be a possible

referendum similar to the Brexit one held in another EU member state. Extremist parties and groups such as The National Front (FN) Party in France and the Dutch Party for Freedom (PVV) had made it clear that they will do their possible to have their own referendums on the same issue.

The most fearing implication of the Brexit was the uncertainty which will spread in both the UK and the EU. For the UK, the prolonged period of the Brexit negotiations gave rise to uncertainty in the Brexit issue itself, and it may even destroy confidence in the political leadership in the UK. In addition, the Brexit divided the nation as it was not approved by all parts and groups of the country. For the EU, this uncertainty has already started to affect its populations and decision makers. Some EU states started questioning the European project and any attempts of more integration (Wikipedia, 2018).

2.2.4.2 The Economic Implications

Belam (2018) 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 23 June 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 %.

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 .In other words; the British economy is a service-based one with. 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).

2.2.4.2.1 Trade with the EU and the Manufacturing Industry

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 (Woodford, n.d.).

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 any other external country. In fact, these factors will lead to eventually to decline of the trade and business (Woodford, n.d.).

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.).

2.2.4.2.2 Financial Services and Insurance Sectors

Booth& Howarth, et al (2015) clarified that 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.

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 (Booth &Howarth, et al, 2015).

2.2.4.2.3 Foreign Investment

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. 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. Moreover, some companies may even end –up their business in Britain and they may move it to another country (Woodford, n.d.).

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 pays 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 (Woodford , n.d.).

2.2.5 The UK's Post Brexit Relationships with the EU

Demertzis & Sapir (2017) stated that the UK is expected to withdraw its membership in the EU by March 2019. However, there will be a transitional period of two-year after that date. In other words, the UK would stay a member in the EU single market and customs union, but it will not have any voting rights. The UK will also continue to pay its contributions to the EU budget. By March 2021, the new agreements between the EU and the UK will be applied. Almost everyone expects that relationships between the EU and the UK to decline due to current negotiations crisis.

The UK's post Brexit relationships with the EU should ideally aim for special trade and political arrangements that look for the UK's best interests. Liam Fox, the UK secretary of state for international trade, has already declared that the UK is looking for trade relationships with the EU that would be “virtually identical” to the present one as an EU member (Demertzis & Sapir, 2017).

The UK has a variety of choices concerning the possible ways for managing its trading relationships and collaboration with the EU such as European Economic Area, European Free Trade Association, Customs union, Free Trade Agreement or World Trade Organization (Allen ,2017) .

2.2.5.1 European Economic Area Membership

Wright & Waterfield (2017) believed that if the UK joins the European Economic Area (EEA), it will be a subject to the terms of this agreement with the EU. A good example of this model of relationships is Norway which is neither a member of the single market nor the customs union. Norway acts in accordance with the EU rules, and it pays contributions to the EU budget. Its citizens have access to the EU countries that are full members.

Most politicians in the UK are very enthusiastic about this model because it is the best option of status quo. In fact, the UK will manage to keep its sovereignty as decision-taker as long as the EU has very limited role. For the EU, it considers Britain's membership in the EEA as problematic due to its large economy and high feelings of nationalism (Wright & Waterfield, 2017).

2.2.5.2 The European Free Trade Association Membership

Allen (2017) mentioned that another option for the UK is the European Free Trade Association (EFTA). Switzerland's membership in the EFTA is a good example. Switzerland has a special trade agreement that is closely related to the EU's single market. Though the EU's four freedoms are protected by EFTA, there are certain areas that are not covered such as the CAP, the Customs Union, and the Monetary Union, etc.

In the Brexit trade negotiations, UK will be The UK has always declared that it will leave both the customs union and the single market, but at the same time it would prefer to have tariff-free entrance to the single market. In fact, such demands are not possible because the British standards for goods are different than the European ones. The EU's requirements will create certain additional financial burdens on the UK as the British goods would be made in accordance with European Standards (Allen, 2017).

2.2.5.3 Canada Free Trade Agreement

According to Allen (2017), the EU and Canada signed the Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA) which will cut 98% of tariffs on October 2016,. It will also preserve the EU's marketing standards for goods. In addition, the CETA will widely open the Canadian market to the European one.

A basic principle of the CETA is the mutual recognition of each other's qualifications in certain fields such as law.

Many observers believe that the UK is going to adopt the CETA as a model relationship with the EU because it is the best choice for its future trade plans. Though the CETA will grantee the British Sovereignty, it is very limited in comparison to current trading relationship between the UK and EU .If the UK adopts the CETA, it will be back to the same old problem of marketing standards such as protecting the agrarian sectors and the right to regulate even the market rules and competition policy (Allen, 2017).

2.2.5.4 Customs Union

In his weekly article Booth (2016) stated that some British politicians were wondering whether the UK should leave the EU's customs union or not after the Brexit or not. Turkey was presented as possible model for Britain because Turkey had a customs union without being a member in the EU that the advantage of this model is the ability of having trade deals with countries outside and inside the EU.

A customs union is an agreement in which certain countries remove tariff barriers on each other's goods. The problem of such model is that Turkey has no freedom to develop trade policy with other countries outside the EU. Moreover, Turkey is obliged to follow the EU's agreements with non-European countries, but with no actual benefit as those countries continue applying tariffs on Turkey's exports (Booth, 2016).

2.2.5.5 World Trade Organization

The World Trade Organisation (WTO) is an international organization that works on regulating trade relationships and rules between all the nations that do not have free trade agreements. The UK can build trading relationships with the EU on the basis of WTO rules. So if the UK lowers its tariff for one nation, it will be obliged to do the same with all other WTO members. However, when dealing with a collective body of united countries such as the EU, one can set higher tariffs against members outside the group (Allen, 2017).

Joining the WTO will be the last option for the UK in case all the negotiations failed and no final deal can be agreed on. In such case, the UK will be obliged to pay the common external EU tariff which will severely harm the British economy. In fact, this tariff will make the British goods more expensive and thus less competitive within Europe (Allen, 2017).

In summary, all the aforementioned models of future relationships have advantages and disadvantages. Models such as Customs union, EEA and EFTA will make the UK a subject of European control as it will be obliged to cope with the EU's marketing standards. The CETA will not suit the British case because it was designed for countries that are far from Europe. The WTO which will be the last option will have tremendous costs for the UK to pay. So, as the Brexit negotiations are still course UK/EU agreement. Britain has to look for a satisfactory model of future relationships with the EU that best meets its interests (Booth, 2016).

2.2.6 Discussion

The main purpose of this chapter was to investigate the Brexit issue from different sides including its causes, procedures and implications in order to find

out whether the Brexit was a good and well studied decision or no. This part of the study revealed that the Brexit issue was taken in rash with no attention to what might happen if it will be implemented.

No one of both the British and European politicians thought that the EU referendum in the UK would result in the British withdrawal. In fact, the shock was bigger in the EU member state because they have never thought of time in which a state leaves their Union.

The biggest problem related to this issue is that no one was ready for such decision due to many things. One, no clear laws that indicate how leaving should take place are found and all that exists is short ambiguous article. Two, the long history of rocky relationships between the UK and the EU made the Brexit negotiations very difficult as no side was ready to compensate. Three, the British did not account for the possible implications for the Brexit which resulted in huge economic loses and threatened the national unity.

If the UK does not manage to emerge from the Brexit negotiations with a good deal, it would lead itself to great loses. The UK may find itself in an international isolation, and it will not have the same leading role that it managed to have for centuries. In addition, it must look for better alternatives for the EU to keep its status.

Conclusion

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

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.

General Conclusion

Tracing the history and development of the European Union and then investigating the long history of relationship between the United Kingdom and the European Union had certainly revealed lot of secrets about these rocky relations. Knowing the British attitudes towards the Union may allow us to understand why the British voted in favour of leaving the European Union (Brexit).

We believe that the UK had never believed in the project of European Union and it always had lot of reservations about the Union's policies. However, the lost of the British status after World War II and the presentation of the Union as a successive institution were the reasons that led the UK to join. The UK could not coup with the new world order and with its duties towards the Union. The relationship between the UK and the EU passed through lot of crises and struggles. The UK had always criticized the Union's policies because it believed that the Union's decisions were in favour of smaller countries.

There were two issues which were the reason of most of these crises. One, the UK refused any attempt of more integration that worked on turning Europe to one state due to the British feelings of nationalism and fears to the British sovereignty. Two, the Union worked on helping smaller countries and thus it asked the UK to pay high contributions to the budget of the Union. So, the UK found itself giving high contributions in comparison with its benefits from the Union.

According to The Economist (2016), the crises between the UK and the EU reached a turning point in 2016 when the British Prime Minister David Cameron called for a referendum on his countries continued membership within

the EU. Inviting the population for a referendum was just a tool in the general election of 2015, but with the rise of extremist parties and Euroscepticism Cameron was obliged to realise his promises.

The leaver's camp used too powerful arguments such matters of sovereignty, migration, fear of terrorism, etc to convince the British. In fact, this camp was successful as the British voted in favour of the Brexit. David Cameron resigned just after the referendum letting his successor Theresa May confront the chaos that came after.

By looking at the implications and the path of the Brexit, we discovered that neither the UK nor the EU were ready for such case. On The UK side, the nation was divided and some regions felt uncertain about their future within the UK. In addition, the British economy was not prepared to survive out of the EU. For the EU, no clear legal procedures for leaving were found and this actually complicated the negotiations which are expected to be so long. If the UK and the EU do not compensate for one another on some controversial issues, the situation will get worse.

At the end, as the process of the Brexit rolls on, no one can expect how it will end. There might be certain events that will change everything completely.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Abstract in Arabic

المخلص

تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى استقصاء تاريخ العلاقات التي ربطت المملكة المتحدة والاتحاد الأوروبي منذ عقود خلت وذلك بغرض فهم وإعطاء رؤية واضحة تخص قضية بركست الحالية. كما تقوم أيضا هذه الدراسة بمناقشة حدث بركست الحالية وذلك نظرا لكونها قضية الجوهريّة في وقتنا هذا. هذا البحث يقوم بدراسة طبيعة العلاقات السابقة بين الجانبين التي انتهت بانفصال بريطانيا عن الاتحاد في استفتاء عام 2016 حيث اعتبر انشقاق بريطانيا عن الاتحاد الأوروبي حدثا صادما حينها . وفي هذا الصدد تناول البحث فصلين: الفصل الأول يتضمن لمحة عامة عن الاتحاد الأوروبي من حيث طبيعة العلاقة التي تربطه بالمملكة المتحدة منذ انضمام بريطانيا عام 1971 إلى غاية عام 2016، كما يسعى للكشف عن المحاور المشتركة للالتزامات التي وقعت بينهما. أما مسعى الفصل الثاني فكان التطرق لقضية بركست بما في ذلك أسبابها وتداعياتها والإجراءات المتخذة. كما تسعى الدراسة أيضا لقراءة تكهنات العلاقات المستقبلية بين الطرفين. إضافة لذلك تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى لتحقيق بعض المساعي المحددة وهي : تحليل السياسة البريطانية تجاه الاتحاد الأوروبي وإيجاد النقاط المشتركة التي ميزت هذه الالتزامات الجوهريّة وكذلك مناقشة استفتاء بركست والآثار المترتبة عنه.

الكلمات المفتاحية: المملكة المتحدة- علاقات- بروكسيت - استفتاء - تداعيات.

Appendix B: Abstract in French

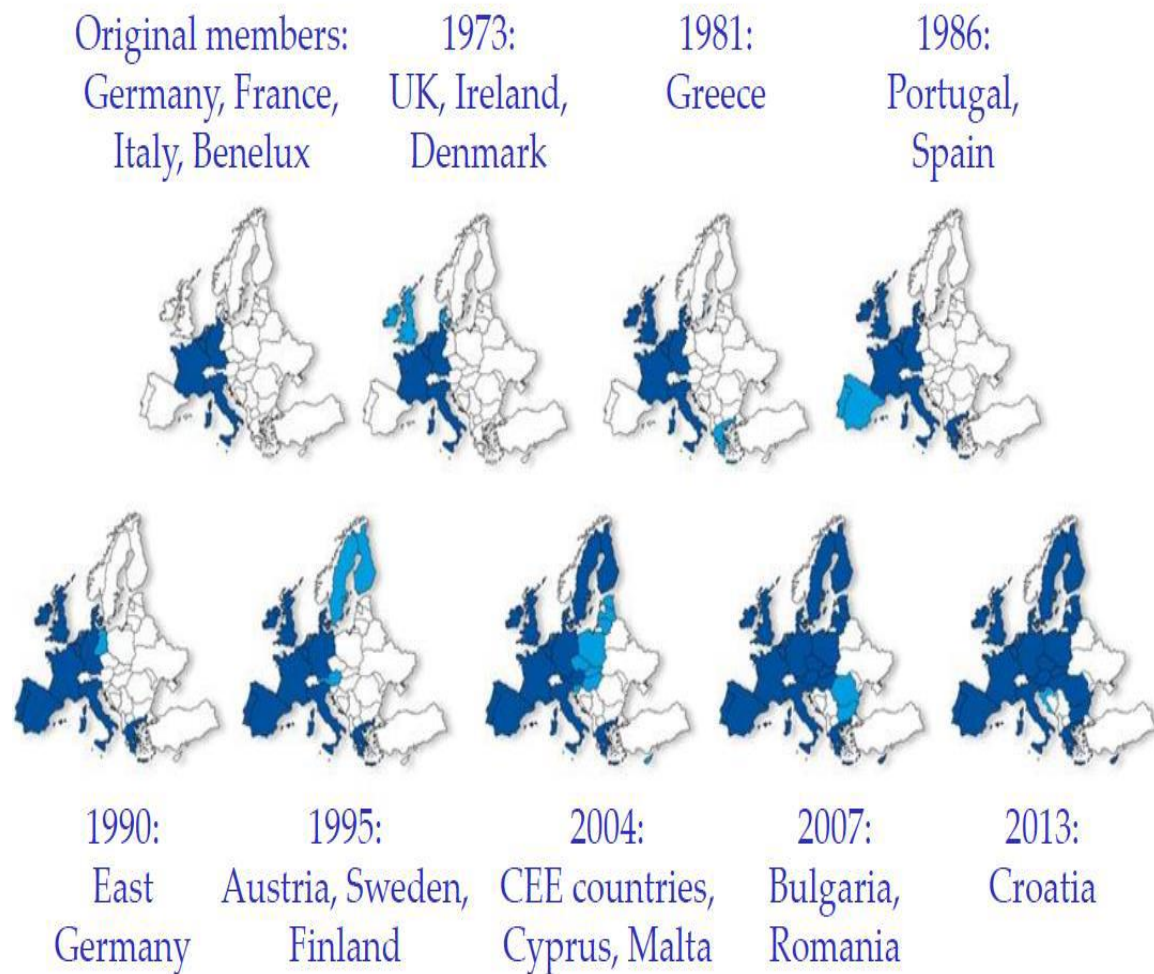
Résumé

L'objectif de cette étude est d'explorer l'histoire des relations entre le Royaume-Uni et l'UE au cours des dernières décennies. Par conséquent, nous serons en mesure de bien comprendre le présent numéro de Brexit et de le décrire. L'étude prend en compte le problème du Brexit et s'efforce de le discuter d'un point de vue différent. La principale question qui a été étudiée dans ce travail était la nature des relations antérieures entre les deux parties qui ont finalement conduit au référendum européen de 2016 et, ce qui est surprenant, au Brexit et si le Royaume-Uni est bien en dehors de l'UE. A cet égard, la thèse est divisée en deux chapitres. Le premier chapitre présente une vue d'ensemble de l'UE, puis traite la nature des relations entre le Royaume-Uni et l'UE depuis ses débuts en 1971 jusqu'en 2016. Il essaie aussi de trouver des points communs entre toutes les crises qui se sont produites. Le deuxième chapitre traite la question du Brexit, y compris ses causes, ses implications et ses procédures. Il vise également prédire l'avenir des relations entre les deux parties. L'étude vise à atteindre certains objectifs tels que : fournir une analyse de la politique britannique à l'égard de l'UE et trouver les points communs qui ont caractérisé les principales crises, discuter le référendum du Brexit ainsi que ses implications.

Mots clés : Royaume-Uni, UE, Relations, Brexit, Référendum, Implications

Appendix C: Stages of European Integration

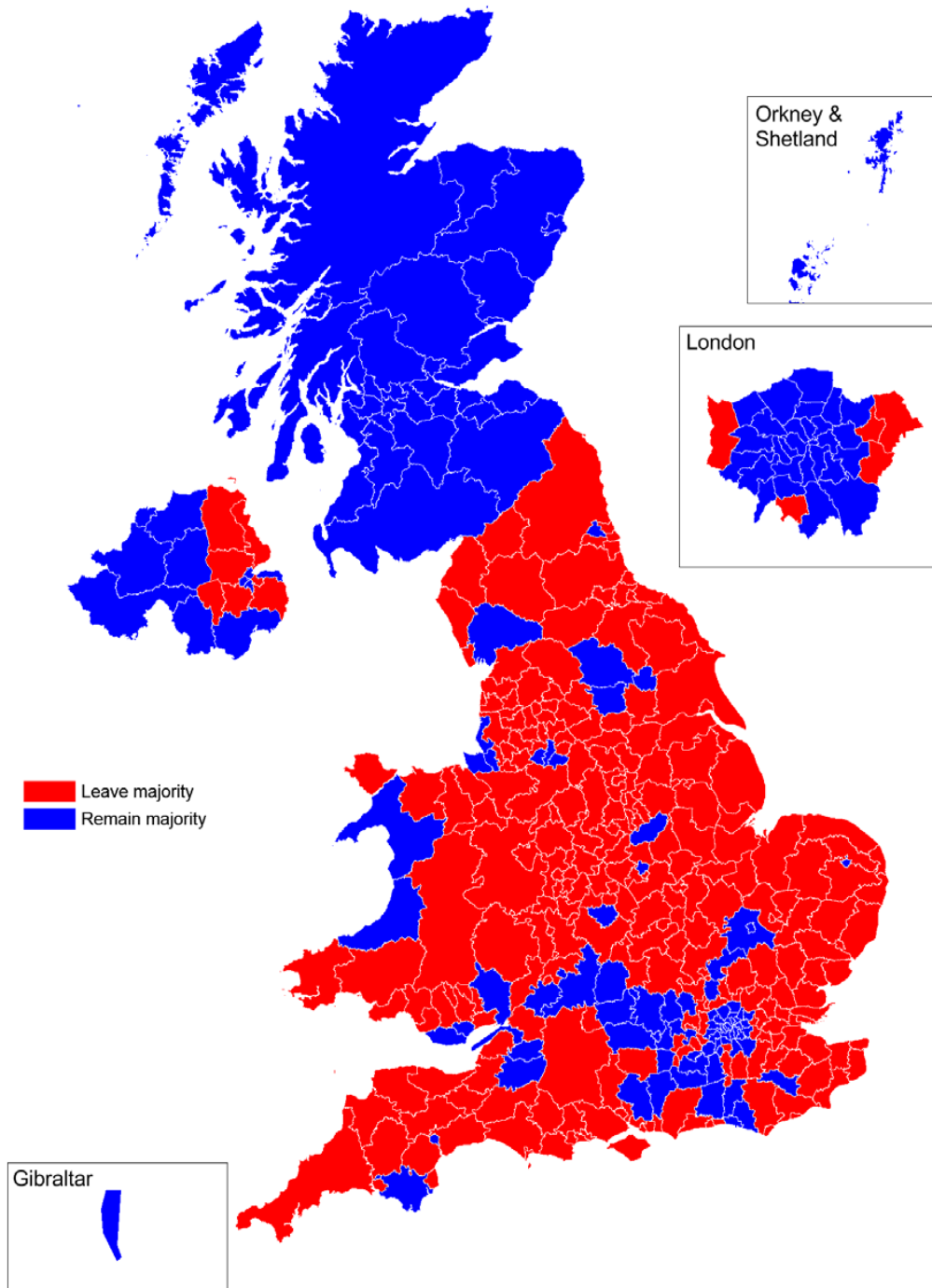
“Widening” integration



Source: : <http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement> (last access 25/05/2018)

Appendix D: Leave and remain regions

Majority leave/majority remain, by counting area



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Source: <http://researchbriefings.parliament.uk/ResearchBriefing/Summary/CBP-7639>
(last access 25/05/2018)

Appendix E: Treaty of Lisbon Article 50

Article 50

1. Any Member State may decide to withdraw from the Union in accordance with its own constitutional requirements.

2. A Member State which decides to withdraw shall notify the European Council of its intention. In the light of the guidelines provided by the European Council, the Union shall negotiate and conclude an agreement with that State, setting out the arrangements for its withdrawal, taking account of the framework for its future relationship with the Union. That agreement shall be negotiated in accordance with Article 218(3) of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union. It shall be concluded on behalf of the Union by the Council, acting by a qualified majority, after obtaining the consent of the European Parliament.

3. The Treaties shall cease to apply to the State in question from the date of entry into force of the withdrawal agreement or, failing that, two years after the notification referred to in paragraph 2, unless the European Council, in agreement with the Member State concerned, unanimously decides to extend this period.

4. For the purposes of paragraphs 2 and 3, the member of the European Council or of the Council representing the withdrawing Member State shall not participate in the discussions of the European Council or Council or in decisions concerning it.

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.

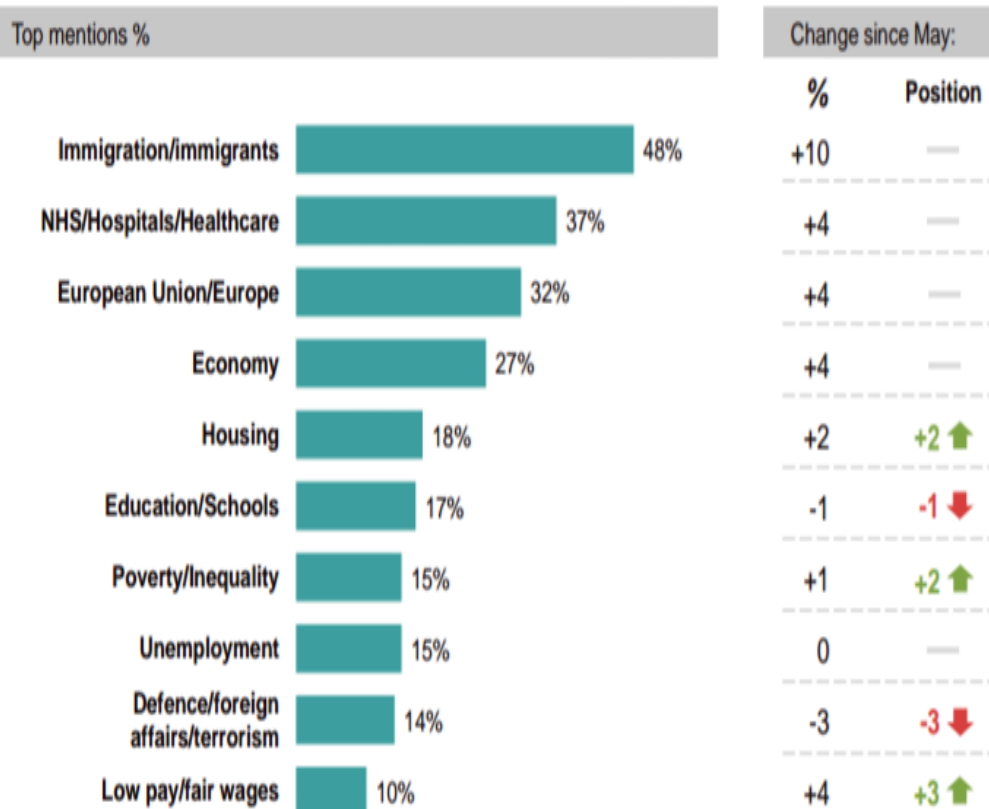
Source: <http://www.lisbon-treaty.org/wcm/the-lisbon-treaty/treaty-on-european-union-and-comments/title-6-final-provisions/137-article-50.html> (last access 25/05/2018)

Appendix F: Results of Ipsos MORI survey

Issues Facing Britain: June

What do you see as the most/other important issues facing Britain today?

2



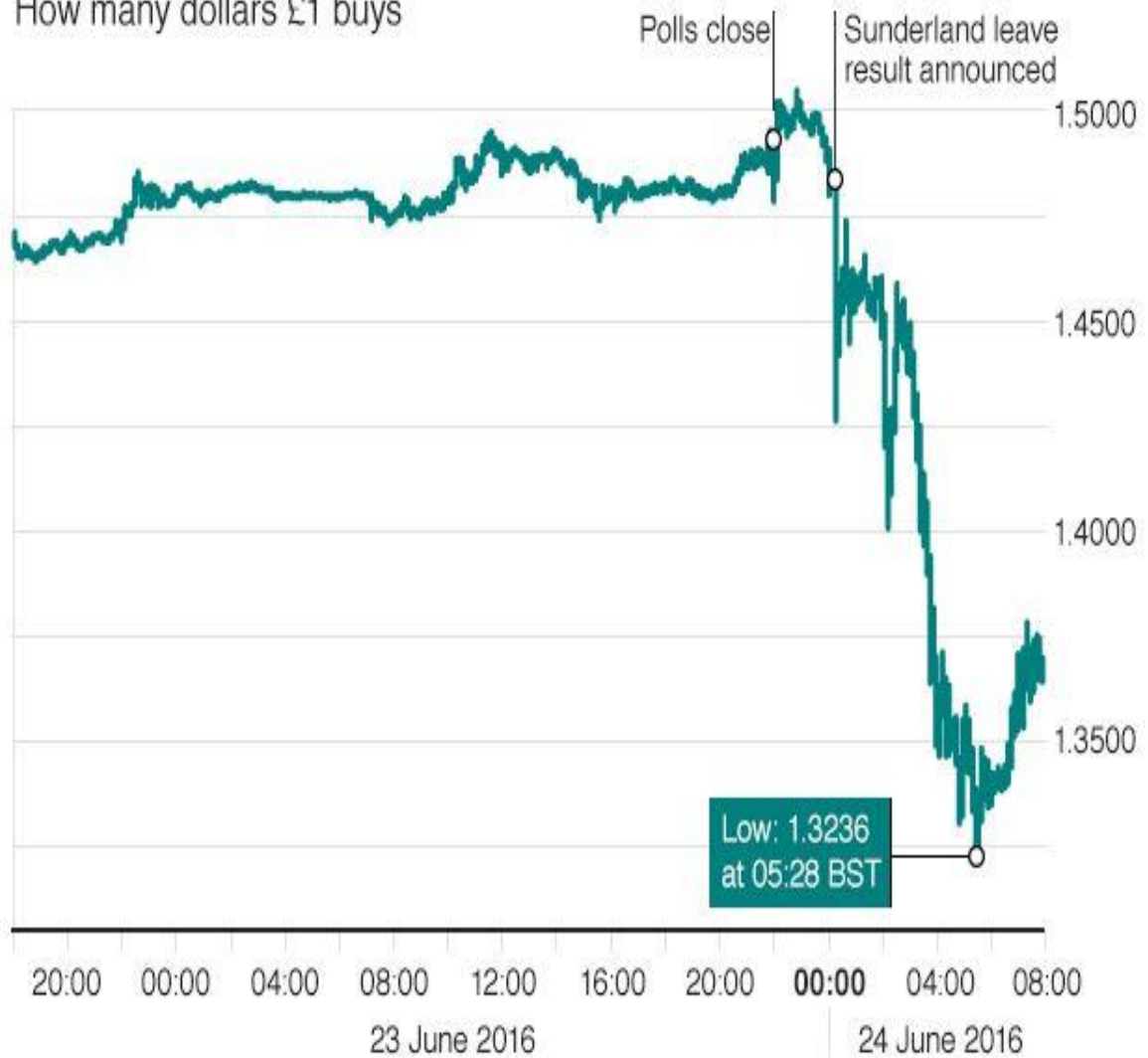
Source:

<https://www.ipsos.com/sites/default/files/migrations/enuk/files/Assets/Docs/Polls/issues-index-june-2016-charts.pdf> (last access 25/05/2018)

Appendix F: Pound plunges after Leave vote

Sterling value plummeted as results came in

How many dollars £1 buys



Source: Bloomberg

BBC

Source: <http://www.bbc.com/news/business-36611512> (last access 25/05/2018)