

PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF ALGERIA
MINISTRY OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH
UNIVERSITY OF MOHAMED BOUDIAF - M'SILA

FACULTY OF LETTERS AND FOREIGN LANGUAGES
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

N° :.....



DOMAIN: FOREIGN LANGUAGES
STREAM: ENGLISH LANGUAGE
OPTION: LITERATURE & CIVILIZATION

**The Withdrawal of the United Kingdom from the
EU: the Ultimate Reasons**

**Thesis Submitted to the Department of English in Partial Fulfillment of
the Requirements for the Master Degree**

By: BAALI Fatima Zohra and LAMOURI Hafsa

Academic Year : 2016/2017

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Publically defended before the following jury:

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Academic Year : 2016/2017

Abstract

The European Union is a unique economic and political unity between twenty-eight European nations. The United Kingdom joined the European Union in 1973. After many years of membership she decided to withdraw from it. Her decision to quit this organization shocked the world especially the member states of this community and led them to have different attitudes towards this issue. This study aimed to investigate the main reasons behind the withdrawal of the United Kingdom from The European Union. To explore the topic, the method that was used is the descriptive method. The results show that the United Kingdom wants to protect her interests and borders even though at the expense of the European Union because what matters her is only to remain that powerful country and to keep her strong position in the world.

Résumé

L'Union européenne est une unité économique et politique unique entre vingt-huit nations européennes. Le Royaume-Uni a rejoint l'Union européenne en 1973. Après de nombreuses années d'adhésion, il a décidé de s'en retirer. Sa décision de quitter cette organisation a choqué le monde en particulier les États membres de cette communauté et les a amenés à avoir des attitudes différentes à l'égard de cette question. Cette étude visait à étudier les principales raisons du retrait du Royaume-Uni de l'Union européenne. Pour explorer le sujet, la méthode utilisée a été la méthode descriptive. Les résultats montrent que le Royaume-Uni veut protéger ses intérêts et ses frontières, même si aux dépens de l'Union européenne parce que ce qui importe seulement c'est resté un pays puissant et garder sa position forte dans le monde.

Declaration

We hereby solemnly declare that the work we are going to present in this thesis:

The Withdrawal of the United Kingdom from the European Union: the Ultimate Reasons, is our own and to the limits of our knowledge has never been submitted before to any other institution or university or degree and all sources that we have used and quoted from have been indicated by means of complete references. This work is to be carried out and completed at Mohamed Boudiaf University M'sila, Algeria.

BAALI Fatima Zohra

LAMOURI Hafsa

Acknowledgement

We thank Allah, the almighty, for everything.

*This thesis could never have been possible without the support of many
people.*

*We would like first to express our extreme gratitude to Mr. REFICE
Noureddine for the patience and meticulousness with which he supervised our
work throughout the whole research process.*

*We similarly thank the head of the department. Also we want to show our
deepest appreciations to those who have taught and trained us at M'sila
University, particularly Mr. BOUAZID Tayeb, Mr. GOUFFI Mohammed and
Mr. SENOUSSI Mohammed.*

*We would like to thank in advance the jury members for accepting to read and
examine this work.*

Dedication

This work is dedicated:

To the loving memory of my father “BAALI Lakhdar” and my Uncle “KHEIDRI Kheireddine“

To my mother, the scared piece of heaven, “KHEIDRI Hadia”, the gentle soul who taught me the meaning of love, and to be what I am today.

To my lovely brothers: “Hamza “and “Chemseddine”.

To all my extended family for their whole- hearted support and care especially my uncle “Mohamed “and my aunts “Hafsa,” “Fadila”, and “Houria”.

To my soul mate, and best friend, LAMOURI Hafsa, I love you sister.

BAALI Fatima Zohra

This work is dedicated:

To my parents, would have shown me what nobody else would ever have, and have provided me with their encouragement, love and understanding.

To my brothers Oussama ,Brahim, to the best sister ever Fatima.

To whom I own all my career and achievements during my study, for guiding, and raising the spirit love to learning.

To my best friends: Fatima Zohra, Saadia, Samir. Thank you for all the wonderful memories of growing up and for your continued support and encouragement. Love you guys.

LAMOURI Hafsa

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List of Abbreviations

CAP: Common Agriculture Policy.

CFR: Charter of Fundamental Rights.

ECSC: European Coal and Steel Community.

EDC: European Defence Community.

EEA: European Economic Area.

EEC: European Economic Community.

EPC: European Political Cooperation.

EU: European Union.

EURATOM: European Atomic Energy Community.

ISIL: Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant.

NHS: National Health Service.

QMV: Qualified Majority Voting.

SEA: Single European Act

TFEU: Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union.

UK: United Kingdom.

UKIP: UK Independence Party.

General Introduction

The European Union is a unique economic and political unity between twenty eight European countries. This organization was created to advance economic collaboration and to avoid future wars.

The United Kingdom made its first application to join the European Economic Community in 1961 by the Conservative government of Harold Macmillan; but its request was vetoed in 1963 by the French president Charles De Gaulle. In 1967, the UK submitted a second application under the leadership of the Labour Prime Minister, Harold Wilson; it was also blocked by De Gaulle. In 1973, the UK succeeded in joining the European Economic Community, after the French president De Gaulle had left office. The UK needed to enter this European organization because its economy started to decline. After becoming a member in the EU, the UK gained many benefits in different domains.

Suddenly, Britain decided to exit the EU in a national referendum after more than forty years of membership. The ballot of the 23rd June 2016 shocked numerous countries around the world which led them to look for the ultimate reasons behind Brexit.

It is common that the United Kingdom has always had a distinct position in the European Union, but little is known about the reasons that led her to leave the European Union. Our main objective of this work is to investigate the real reasons behind the withdrawal of the United Kingdom from the European Union. In addition to that we want to provide more information about the European Union and how this organization works and to give a general overview about Britain's membership of the EU, and the benefits that it has got as being a member in this community. As well as to show

the attitudes of some member states towards Britain's withdrawal from the EU.

Thus, this study will examine the following questions:

- 1- What is the EU, why was it created, and how does it work?
- 2- When and why did the United Kingdom join the EU?
- 3- Did the United Kingdom benefit from being a member of EU?
- 4- What are the causes that led United Kingdom to withdraw from the EU?
- 5- How did other European members react to the vote for Brexit?

To explore the topic, the method to be applied in this research is the descriptive approach, because discussing a modern historical event "Brexit" and what exists may help to uncover new facts and meanings.

This research draws upon interpreting primary and secondary sources including books, articles, dissertations, speeches, and a careful use of websites.

The work is divided into two main parts; the first chapter is devoted to the European Union. It gives a general overview about the foundation of the European Union, its functions and institutions. The chapter also highlights the history of the British membership and the benefits that it has gained from its membership.

The second chapter speaks about the British decision of withdrawal. It focuses on the ultimate reasons that led the United Kingdom to withdraw from the European Union.

Chapter One:

The European Union and the United Kingdom
Membership

Introduction

The European Union is an international organization that includes a group of twenty-eight European nations which work under a unique economic, political, and social block. Although Britain avoided EU membership in the latter half of the 1950's, she decided to join this organization in the early 1960's as a way to eschew its economic decline. Thus this chapter is devoted to discuss the European Union as a universal association, starting from its creation, arriving at Britain's membership, and the benefits that it has got as being a member.

1. The Origins of the European Union:

1.1. The Creation of the European Coal and Steel Community:

After world war two, numerous western European countries desired to pursue closer political, social, and economic collaboration to realize economic development, with the intention of avoiding the fears and devastation of the Second World War from occurring again, and to improve agreement between France and Germany. This idea was affirmed by the French foreign minister, Robert Schuman, in the declaration of the 9th May 1950 in which he suggested the foundation of a shared market for coal and steel between these European countries. So, he declared that:

Europe will not be made all at once, or according to a single plan. It will be built through concrete achievement which first creates a de facto solidarity. The coming together of the nations of Europe requires the elimination of the age-old opposition of France and Germany. Any action taken must in the first place concern these two countries (qtd.in Joannin1).

Eventually, in 1951 through signing the Treaty of Paris by six European nations (Belgium, France, Italy, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, and West Germany)

the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) was founded and took effect in 1952. It replaced coal and steel sections of the six states under a structure of a combined administration.

Peace was a crucial political impulse for creating this new community. Actually, it did serve both political and economic fields through establishing a free trade zone for various economic and military resources, such as coal, steel, and coke. This notion was confirmed by Schuman who stated that:

The pooling of coal and steel production should immediately provide for the setting up of common foundations for economic development as a first step in the federation of Europe, and will change the destinies of those regions which have long been devoted to the manufacture of munitions of war, of which they have been the most constant victims (qtd.in Joannin 1).

Many supranational institutions have been founded by the Treaty of Paris in order to manage the European Coal and Steel Community. These are a High authority to administrate, a Council of Ministers to legislate, a Common assembly to formulate policy, and Court of Justice to put into words the treaty and to solve linked disagreements.

1.2. The Foundation of the European Economic Community:

After signing the Treaty of Paris which created the European Coal and Steel Community a draft treaty was arranged for a European Defense Community to unify the armed forces of the European Coal and Steel Community regions but it was rebuffed by the French national assembly.

In 1955 the six members of the ECSC coincided at Messina (Italy) to unite their economy and to agree on unifying their powers in the domains of the peaceful usage of

the Atomic Energy.

In the latter half of 1956 negotiations took place to establish the new communities: European Economic Community and European Atomic Energy Community. Two new treaties were signed on March 25, 1957 in Rome and approved at the end of that year by the national parliaments of the six member states. On January 1st 1958 the two treaties entered into effect the European Economic Community became the base for the future growth of the ECSC. Pinder and Usherwood explained the foundation of the European Economic Community through stating that “*confidence in the community as a framework for peaceful relations among the member states had grown; and there was a powerful political impulse to ‘relaunch’ its development.*”(13).

The institutions of the new community were parallel to those of the ECSC, but with less managerial effectiveness called Commission rather than High Authority. It made a collective market with internal free trade and joint external tariff policies, such as the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) and wide range in economic cooperation.

1.3. The First Enlargement:

From the 1970's to the 1980's the European Economic Community extended its range and added Britain, Denmark, and Ireland in 1973, pursued by Greece in 1981, Portugal, and Spain in 1986. Pinder and Usherwood claimed that “*all three had been ruled by authoritarian regimes and saw the community as a support of their democracies as well as for economic modernization*” (22). The saying underlines that the three countries had benefited economically and politically from their membership in the EEC.

The European Political Cooperation (EPC), is intergovernmental foreign policy collaboration, was introduced in the 1970s because of the tensions that had grown

from the Community's trade policy to have a common foreign and development policies. The European Regional Development Fund was established in 1975 in order to supply supplementary resources to Europe's impoverished regions to strengthen economic cohesion through correcting imbalances between the European areas. In 1979 many European nations agree on linking their currencies in an attempt to balance close exchange rate, resulting in the foundation of the European Monetary System.

2. The Formation of the European Union:

The European Economic Community did not enlarge its scope only, it also became more integrated. There were stepping stones toward the formation of the European Union. These were The Single European Act (SEA), the Single Market, and the Treaty of the European Union (TEU).

2.1. Single European Act:

The Single European Act (SEA) is considered as the launch pad for the Single Market which omitted the notion of internal borders inside the European Continent. This Act was a crucial step in the integration process of the Community members. The SEA was signed in 1986, and entered into force on the 1st July 1987, while the Single Market came into effect in 1993. The Single Market guaranteed the movement of the four freedoms: freedom of goods, people, capital, and services. The SEA brought many changes to the relative powers of the Community's institutions for example; it gave the parliament more power to discuss new laws, and to veto the approval of new member state. It did also extend the Qualified Majority Voting to the fulfillment of the Single Market program. Thus, the SEA was regarded as the starting point of the formation of the EU and the Introduction of the single currency.

2.2. The Maastricht Treaty:

The collapse of the Soviet bloc, followed by the unification of Germany in 1989, changed the political construction of Europe. The rulers of the community members determined to strengthen and unite their collaboration through signing a new treaty in which they declared that *“this treaty marks a new stage in the process of creating an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe, in which decisions are taken as closely as possible to citizen.”* (The Treaty on the European Union 7)

Signed on February 7, 1992, at Maastricht, The Danish rejected the treaty in a public referendum because they were worried about their nation’s sovereignty. This treaty established the European Union and it came into force in 1993. It guaranteed citizenship to all members of the community with the right to vote in the elections in any state that forms a part of the EU. It brought European Monetary Union (EMU) into existence which is a program that aimed to introduce a common currency to unify the economy of the European Union member states .It led also to the creation of a single stable currency, “The Euro”.

The Treaty gave the union certain powers, which were classified into three pillars. The first pillar was the EU Community pillar that was created on the basis of supranationalism and intergovernmentalism. Two new pillars were added alongside with the Community’s pillar one was dedicated for Common Foreign and Security Policy while the other was devoted for cooperation in Justice and Home affairs.

To sum up, The Maastricht Treaty can be considered as a milestone in the process of development and European integration.

3. The Second Enlargement and Post Maastricht Treaty Reforms:

3.1. The Second Enlargement:

Switzerland had applied for EU membership in the early 1990's, but it withdrew its application, pursuing the referendum decision on the European Economic Area. Norway tried twice to join the EU, but its citizens refused membership in each occasion. On January, 1995 Sweden, Austria, and Finland joined the EU, while Iceland, Norway, and Switzerland, remained outside the organization.

3.2. Post Maastricht Treaty Reforms:

The Maastricht treaty was followed by two new Treaties which were introduced to review the existing policies and institutions; the first was the Amsterdam Treaty and the second was the Nice Treaty.

3.2.1. The Amsterdam Treaty:

The Maastricht Treaty did not meet the expected results for the EU governments. Thus, the member states decided to come up with a new treaty which is called the Amsterdam Treaty, to make the Union more effective and democratic This was affirmed by the article six of the Treaty by which the rulers declared that *“The union is founded on the principles of liberty, Democracy, respect, for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and the rule of law, principles which are common to the Member States.”* (Treaty of Amsterdam 8).

Signed in 1997 and entered into effect on the 1st May 1999. It enhanced the living standards and employment conditions; passed laws against sexism. In addition to that, the Treaty changed the issues of justice and home affairs from the supervision of the European Council to The Commission. The role of the Common Foreign and Security Policy was expanded by this agreement through creating a High Representative to take overall responsibility for EU affairs.

3.2.2. The Treaty of Nice:

On December 11th 2000, The European Union held a meeting at Nice and approved a new Treaty, which is called the Treaty of Nice. It was signed on February 26th 2001. It aimed to make new changes in the institutes of the European Union to forward the process of European integration.

On June 2001 the treaty was rejected by substantial majorities in an Irish referendum, but in October 2002 the result was reversed when the Irish approved the agreement in another referendum, which enabled the Treaty to enter into force on February 1st 2003.

The Treaty brought many changes concerning the decision making of the EU:

- * It transferred the way of election through giving the EU Parliament the power to elect its Commission president.
- * It extended Qualified Majority Voting and limited the number of seats in the EU Parliament.
- * It gave the largest states more voting powers in the European Council.

4. The Formation of the European Union Constitution:

The European Constitution had passed through many stages before it became an official document of the EU.

4.1. The Laeken Declaration:

After a year from holding the Intergovernmental Conference in Nice in December 2000 which initiated a discussion on the future of the EU, the issues raised in the Nice Treaty regarding reform of the institutes were redrafted. Accordingly, key issues were displayed to be discussed by the Declaration at a convention on the future of Europe, whose preliminary meeting was held in Brussels on February 2002: it divided the competences between the Union and its members; it simplified the legislative instruments of the Union, it maintained inter institutional balance, improved the decision executive, and constitutionalized the treaties.

4.2. The Constitutional Treaty:

In autumn 2004, the Constitutional Treaty was signed by the EU leaders. Eighteen of the member states ratified the Treaty but it was stopped pursuing the negative response of the French and Irish referenda in 2005. It was a unique version that substituted all the preceding treaties. Under this Treaty the European Union was given a single legal personality beneath domestic and international laws. Although particular proceedings were preserved in the areas of foreign policy, security and defense, the Treaty integrated the three pillars.

4.3. The Treaty of Lisbon:

On the 13th December 2007, the Prime Ministers and the Foreign Ministers ratified and signed the Treaty of Lisbon, which was known as the Reform Treaty. The Treaty substituted the suggested EU Constitution that was rebuffed by the French and the Dutch on 29th May and the 1st June 2005. It rectified the Treaty of Rome, and renamed it the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU). It did also amend the Treaty on European Union (also known as the Maastricht Treaty). The Lisbon Treaty came into effect on the 1st December 2010.

The Treaty of Lisbon had four impacts:

- It gave the European Parliament and National Parliaments more power to clarify their roles to increase democracy through giving the citizens more opportunities to make their voices heard.
- It introduced the Charter of Fundamental Rights (CFR) into European Law, which ensured more rights for the citizens of all EU members.
- It strengthened Europe's position in the world.
- It expanded voting roles and facilitated working methods to make EU members more effective.

5. The European Union Institutions:

To run the European Union there are four main institutes which work together: the European Parliament, the Council of the European Union, the European Commission, the Court of justice.

5.1. The European Parliament:

It represents the citizens of the member states as it acts as the voice of more than five hundred million Europeans. It includes Seven hundred fifty one MEPs from twenty-eight European countries whose members are elected every five years. The European parliament had gradually been strengthened with each change of the EU treaties. Today, it has competency in three scopes:

A. Legislative Competency:

This body has to the following missions:

- It passes the new laws, and shares the power with the Council of the European Union.
- It decides on international treaties.
- It decides on the integration of new members.
- It revises the work program of the Commission and requiring it to propose legislation.

B. Supervisory Powers:

This body fulfills the following:

- Observing elections.
- Debating monetary policy with the European Central Bank.
- Electing the president of the commission and accepting the commission as a body, if two –thirds of the parliament vote in favour of censure, the commission is then obliged to resign.

C. Budgetary Powers:

These powers have the following functions:

- Having the last word in spending the EU's long term budget.
- Founding the EU budget, in collaboration with the council.

5.2. The Council of the European Union:

It is the main responsible for decision making and the crisis solving body. When the Treaty of Lisbon entered into effect on the 1st December 2009, it has become an official institution .It includes government ministers from each EU state. These members meet to discuss, amend, adopt laws, and coordinate policies at the weekly meeting. The Council of European has many functions:

- It negotiates and arranges EU laws, in collaboration with the European parliament, depending on propositions from the European Commission.
- It regulates the policies of the EU member states.
- It evolves the foreign and security policy of the EU, depending on the guidelines of the European Council.
- It stamps treaties between and other nations or international communities.
- It ranges the yearly EU, in collaboration with the European Parliament.

5.3. The European Commission:

The Commission is the executive branch of the EU. It is independent of the national government. Its main purpose is to represent the interests of the European Union as whole. The Commission also plays the role of making sure that everyone is adhered by the EU laws and treaties. It consists of twenty- seven delegates each with responsibility to present his policy area.

Many Commission members have political positions and most of them are government ministers who are obliged to act according to the Union interests not favouring their country's government. The vice presidents of the Commission who are members in the Council and the Commission camps are the High representatives of the Foreign Affairs and Security Policy.

This body has the following roles:

- It proposes legislation to the Council and Parliament.
- It manages and implements the European Union budget and policies.
- It enforces European Union laws.

5.4. The Court of Justice:

The Court of Justice (ECJ) is the judicial institution of the European Union. Its work is to make sure that the EU legislation is interpreted and stratified in the same manner in all EU nations. It has the power to solve disagreement between the Union's states and EU institutes. It is composed of twenty-eight senior judges from each member state. It is also supported by eight "Advocates General" who study and give their opinions about cases before the judicial session. The Court of Justice has two bodies which are:

A. The Court of Justice: this body deals with the requests of the judges from the national courts of the EU members.

B. The General Court: this body judges individual cases which are related to trade, trademarks, agriculture, and state assistances.

6. British Membership in the European Union:

6.1. Historical Background

The notion of having an important position on the global stage is the main interest of every country, as in this way it can form its identity and identify its ties with other nations. The history of the British Empire has affected the British political elite's thinking about the country's status in Europe.

Between the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th centuries, the British started to found overseas colonies. Subsequently, Britain extended its empire to include settlements one every part in the world. At the beginning of the 20th century, the British Empire witnessed quick decline, and all its colonies got their independence. Soon after, the Commonwealth was set up.

Over three centuries; the British history was full of achievements which led its people and its Politian to see themselves superior to other European nations. Thus in the 1950's, they refused to the idea of being guided by EU institutions because they thought their impact on the world could be decreased. In the 1960's, UK needed to join the EU and when it applied for membership, it was welcomed by many European member states while it was rejected by France.

6.2. Britain as a Member in the European Union:

In the 1950's, Britain faced a constant economic decline while the other six members of the EEC enjoyed economic prosperity. This led Britain to rethink about its application to join the Community.

In 1961, British conservative government, under the leadership of Harold Macmillan, applied to enter the EEC. On January 1963, the French president, Charles

De Gaulle vetoed this application. He frightened that if they permitted British membership, it would enable the United States to intervene in the European affairs. For him, Britain's join might result in an Atlantic community instead of a European one; controlled by the United States.

In 1967, the labor government, led by Harold Wilson, made a second application. It was also vetoed by de Gaulle. In the mid 1967, the value of the British pound had been decreased. For that, he claimed that he could not allow a country with a weak currency to accede the EEC and threaten the economy of the community. He concluded that "*The common market is incompatible with the economy, as it now stands, of Britain*" (qdt.in Owen, par.2). In addition to that, Britain rejected to supply Vietnam with troops because it was engaged in a war with the United States. For that, De Gaulle still thinks that Britain had strong relationship with the United States.

In 1971, Britain requested a third application and the newly elected French president, Georges Pompidou, accepted British membership in a welcoming way by removing the veto. After two years (1973), Britain became an official member in the EU.

Britain's application for EU membership faced many obstacles, but the British politicians didn't give up till they gained an official seat in the European Union organization. Thus, the EU offered UK many benefits which could be summarized in the following points.

A. The Freedom of Movement and Work:

Freedom of movement and work are among the advantages that UK citizens got from being a member in the EU .The British have the opportunity to live and stay in any EU country as they have a valid passport. Thorough health insurance and sufficient money are the unique demands that enable them to book in the host state.

They can also privilege from a UK retirement salary, even if they live in another country.

B. The Maintenance of Thousands of Jobs:

. A large number of industrialists argue that the UK recently capitalizes from being a member in the EU's single market. Free trade agreements between the United Kingdom and the European Union preserve hundreds of British jobs.

C. Fighting Crime:

Under the European Arrest Warrant, the United Kingdom can bring and extradite wanted criminals with other European countries. Also, UK jurisdiction powers collaborate with other EU members in fighting organized crimes.

D. The Impact on the Global Stage:

UK's membership in the EU gave it a universal impact that it would not gain alone, because the EU is engaged in many international affairs such as: the world trade.

E. Investment and Exports:

The UK sells more than fifty percent of its exports to the EU, and seventy four per cent of the British merchants work in other European market.

Conclusion

The European Union is one of the most important and influential associations in the world that aims at creating economic, social, and political collaboration between the twenty-eight European countries. Britain's economic decline in the 1950's led her to apply for membership in the 1960's. Its presence in the EU gave her many advantages on different sides.

Chapter Two:

**The Ultimate Reasons behind the Withdrawal
of the UK from the EU**

Introduction:

On the 23rd of June, 2016, the British were required to decide whether to remain and continue their membership in the European Union or withdraw from it. In 1957, the European Economic Community (EEC) was established by six European nations; but the UK was not one of the founding countries of this organization. Although the UK's application for the EEC membership was vetoed twice by the French president, Charles De Gaulle, It joined in 1973. Two years later, the British labour government decided to leave the EEC, but the Britons refused this notion in a referendum. The history of Brexit traces its beginning to 1975. After forty three years of membership, the British people voted in favour of leaving the EU for many reasons. Many EU members did not support the idea of Brexit. For that, they wanted the UK to stay in the EU.

1. The History of Brexit:

1.1. Britain's 1975 EEC Referendum:

On October 1974, the Labour Party, in the general election, passed manifestos promising that they would renegotiate UK's membership of the European Economic Community. Eventually, the Labour Party won the elections, under the leadership of Harold Wilson, and started negotiating the withdrawal of the United Kingdom from the EU, and put it to the British citizens to vote on the issue.

On January 1975, the Labour government declared the referendum campaign and this issue was discussed in Parliament in March 1975. Later on, The European Referendum Bill was introduced and received the Royal Approval on the 8th May 1975. On the 5th June 1975, the referendum was finally held and it was in favour of remaining, as sixty seven per cent of the public voted to stay in the European Economic Community.

1.2. The UK's EU Rebate:

In 1979, Margret Thatcher became the Prime Minister of Britain. Tensions between the UK and the EEC had grown. In 1980, she revolted against the budgetary system through stating that *"I want my money back"* (qtd. BBC NEWS, par 8) arguing that Britain was paying much money to the EEC and receiving too little. For that, she submitted a rebate request to the European Council. Though the governments of the member states held many meetings to discuss the Community's affairs, Thatcher's demand was ignored. She urged on debating it and threatened that her country would leave the EEC if the issue was not resolved. She faced a four-year conflict and finally ended in Thatcher's victory as she gained an annual rebate.

1.3. The Rise of Euro Scepticism:

In 1992, the Maastricht Treaty established the European Union which became more political rather than an economical organization. This Treaty created a single shared currency, the Euro, to be used across various European countries. Many member states accepted to replace their local currency with the Euro to become a part from what is known as the Euro zone. In the UK, the Euro sceptic Conservative MPS considered the Maastricht Treaty as real threat, so they challenged their leader, John Major, through voting against the implementation of the Treaty in the British law. They claimed that the Treaty created more integration within EU members through the establishment of the three pillars.

The UK witnessed the rise of Euro scepticism which is the criticism of UK's membership of the EU. This was proved by the formation of two new parties. The first one was the UK's Independence Party. This party was established in September 1993 by members from the Anti Federalist group at the London School of Economics. It aimed

at opposing the Conservative government which approved the Treaty of Maastricht. The second one was the Referendum Party which was created in November 1994 by the multi-millionaire James Goldsmith. This party desired to call for public referendum on the UK's membership of the EU. Both parties won seats in the parliament in 1997. Their aim was to take the UK out of the EU.

1.4. Britain and the Lisbon Treaty:

In 2004, Tony Blair was the first European Prime Minister that declared a referendum on the proposed European Constitution. In 2005, the main British political parties promised in their general election manifestos to hold a referendum on whether to approve the suggested EU Constitution. Their plan for a referendum was postponed when France and the Netherlands rejected that European constitution.

In 2007, the European Commission replaced the proposed EU constitution by a new treaty which came to be known as the Lisbon Treaty. In Britain, the labour government saw that a referendum is not needed claiming that the document came into being only to reform the existing treaties. The Conservative leader David Cameron promised the Britons that he would not approve any treaty arising from the Lisbon process without holding a referendum; when he would take the position of Prime Minister.

In 2008, the leader of the Liberal Democrats, Nick Clegg, objected strongly the vow of the Conservative Party in holding a referendum on the issues arising from the Treaty of Lisbon. As a response to that, Clegg called the other parties to hold a referendum on UK's membership of the EU by stating that " *today I am inviting the Labour and Conservative parties to join with me in calling for the referendum that will settle Britain's European future, once and for all: an in-out referendum*". (qtd. in BBC NEWS,par.13). He urged them to give importance to Britain's position inside the EU.

In 2008, the UK government approved the Treaty of Lisbon which met a strong objection by Tory MP Bill Cash and businessman Stuart Wheeler claimed that the ratification was illegal without holding a referendum. So, they asked The High Court for a judicial review on the decision made, but their demand was rejected.

In 2009, the Conservative leader David Cameron acknowledged that his commitment to hold a referendum on the Lisbon Treaty cannot be fulfilled because all EU members approved the Treaty. He promised that there would be no future changes of power without the agreement of people he said that "*we will make sure that this never, ever happens again. Never should it be possible for the British government to transfer power without the consent of the British people*". (qtd.in Outhwaite 12).

1.5. Countdown for Brexit:

In 2009, the UK's Independence Party as a '*Hard*' Euro skeptic party (Taggart and Szczerbiak 247-8) pledged to withdraw the UK from the EU and set it as the essential issue of its agenda. The party won sixteen percent of the vote in the elections to the European Parliament, winning the Labour Party into second place.

In April 2010, the Liberal Democrat leader Nick Clegg gave a troth to hold a national vote on Britain's EU membership if there would be other changes in the EU's treaty orders. In May 2010, the parliament witnessed the elections of more Euro sceptic Conservative MPs.

On February 2011, the Conservative MP, Peter Bone, wanted to hold a referendum on UK's membership of the EU through modifying government enactment suggesting that a referendum must be held if the EU treaties are modified. A new Euro sceptic political cross- party known as People's Pledge came into being in March 2011. This party sought a referendum on the UK's membership of the EU. It aimed to gather much number of voters to sign a commitment to support the MPs who are in favour of Brexit.

On the 8th September 2011, 100.000 people urged a vote on the UK's membership of the EU through signing a petition. Subsequently many Conservative MPs met on the 12th September 2011 to make a discussion about the UK's relationship with the other European nations during the Euro zone fiscal crisis.

Afterwards on the 17th October 2011 the Backbench business committee scheduled a discussion on the 24th October 2011 on the proposed idea which was represented by the MP David Nuttall to hold a national vote on the UK's membership of the EU. The suggestion was rejected on division in the Commons.

On the 22nd January 2013, the Conservative leader David Cameron delivered an address on the EU. He said that he would renegotiate the UK's relationship with the EU before demanding people's opinion. Then he would give the Britons the responsibility for the decision –making either to remain in the EU or to withdraw from it in 2017. His speech came as response to a public opinion poll which showed the rise of the UK's Independence Party supporters.

In July 2013, the Conservative member, James Wharton, introduced a bill to enshrine the position of his party into law to make an in/ out referenda before the end of 2017. The bill was passed by the House of Commons, but it was blocked by the House of Lords because the majority of its members voted against it. The Liberal Democrats and the Labour Party had also opposed the plan of Wharton since they considered it as damage to the business of the British people.

In January 2014, the Prime Minister, David Cameron, had promised that his Party would renegotiate the conditions of the UK's membership of the EU through the use of another private member's bill if his party won the elections of 2015. In March, the Labour leader Ed Miliband declared that his government would hold an in/ out referendum on the UK's membership of the EU. On the 26th of October 2014, the

Conservative member Neil Bob introduced another private member's bill to hold an in /out referendum on Britain's membership of the EU. This bill surpassed its first obstacle in the parliament without any objection. After two days, the bill collapsed because the Liberal Democrats had blocked it.

In 2015 general elections the Conservative Party won majority seats in the House of Commons. As result, they decided to commit their promise in holding a referendum on the UK's membership of the EU by the end of 2017.

On the 27th of May 2015, the speech of the queen included the European Union Reform Bill. The bill was finally approved in the parliament and became a law after it was rejected two times by the House of Lords. Simultaneously while the bill was passed under the parliamentary proceedings, the Prime Minister David Cameron was looking for other EU member's assent for the reforms he needed to achieve before the referendum can happen.

On the 17th -18th December 2015 the Prime Minister David Cameron introduced the UK's requests to be renegotiated with the EU leaders at a summit. His aim was to convince the EU leaders to approve his plan to limit the migrants' privileges, to permit Britain to be out of the EU's desire to make a closer union, to decrease bureaucracy and to guarantee that nations that don't adopt the Euro are not damaged.

On the 3rd February 2016, David Cameron advocated his plan in the House of Commons, and he urged that more power would be returned back to the British Parliament. On the 18th -19th February 2016, the Twenty-seven EU leaders concurred to sing Cameron's package of reform. On the 20th February 2016, the Prime Minister David Cameron declared that the date of the UK's in/out referendum would be on the 23 June 2016.

On 23rd June 2016, the Britons went to the polling station to answer the question: “Should the United Kingdom remain a member of the European Union or leave the European Union?”

2. The Ultimate Reasons behind Brexit:

The 23rd June 2016 referendum was a turning point for the history of the United Kingdom and the European Union. At that day the British public went to the polling stations to decide the fate of Britain’s membership of the EU. The outcome of the vote was in favour of Brexit. The Britons decided to withdraw from the EU for many reasons.

2.1. Immigration:

Immigration was one of the main reasons that led most of the Britons to vote for Brexit in June’s referendum. In the last years, the UK witnessed a rise in the number of immigrants coming to it because at that time the country was in need of employees from any place. Between 2008 and 2014, the salary of the British workers decreased because of immigrants that have also benefited from public services at the expense of the British people. All these causes led to the growth of anti-immigrant feeling in the hearts of the Britons .At the beginning, the UK government could do nothing towards this; because it was a member of the EU and approved the Treaty of Rome which included the free movement of people. So, the rate of immigrants coming from EU member states to the UK was very high and this notion was illustrated by David Cameron who claimed that “*the number from inside the European Union have risen*”. (qtd. in BBC NEWS). In addition, the UK decided to withdraw from the EU to get back control of its borders for that the leader of the UKIP ,Nigel Farage, declared that “*all we have said in this referendum campaign is we want to take back control of our lives, take back control of*

our borders and put in place a responsible immigration policy.”(qtd.in REUTERS ,par. 21).

2.2. Turkey’s Application:

Turkey’s application to join the EU was a key arm that the Euro sceptics used in their campaigns to convince the British people to vote in favour of Brexit. They were able to influence the citizens and created fear about the consequences of Turkey’s membership of the EU. This was through claiming that the EU stability would be at risk if Turkey joins the European Union. The UKIP argued that the UK’s territories would be unlocked to Turkey’s increasing number of population and refugees if it remains a part of the EU. This can be well demonstrated by the UKIP leader Nigel Farage’ speech in which he said: *“A vote to remain is a vote for Turkey, a vote to remain is a vote for massively increased immigration into Britain.”* (Farage).

The former Shadow Home Secretary David Davis warned that Turkey’s membership of the EU would enable the terrorist organization, the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL), to expand its scope and Turkey can be a way to enter easily into Europe since it shares borders with Syria and Iraq. So he concluded that Turkey’s application of the EU would threaten the country’s security through stating that *“this demonstrates only too clearly why our membership of the EU, far from improving our security, actually puts it as greater risk”* (qtd. in Hall.par.12).

2.3. Sovereignty under Threat:

In the last years, powers of the twenty-eight individual member nations were shifted to the EU’s central office in Brussels through many EU treaties. There were a lot of subjects that the EU had been granted authority such as agriculture, competition policy, and patent law. In Britain, the intellectual politicians claimed that the EU’s treaties would control and threaten their sovereignty.

Sovereignty was one of the main reasons that the leave campaign used to call for Brexit. This notion was expressed by intellectual Conservatives like London Mayor Boris Johnson who wrote an article for the Telegraph Magazine in which he focused on the growth of the unelected EU's bureaucrat's power he claimed that

The more the EU does, the less room there is for national decision-making.

Sometimes these EU rules sound simply ludicrous, like the rule that you can't recycle a teabag, or that children under eight cannot blow up balloons, or the limits on the power of vacuum cleaners. (Johnson, par.8)

In this view, the EU is undemocratic organization and it is not expected to justify its decisions to the people.

The justice secretary Michael Gove complained that *“our membership of the European Union prevents us being able to change huge swathes of law and stops us being able to choose who makes critical decisions which affect all our lives”* (Gove,par.8). In other words, for the British people being a member of the EU and under EU legislation meant their national Parliament was not the decision –maker.

2.4. Costs of Membership:

Each year the United Kingdom pays its membership fee to the European Union. Therefore, the UK is considered as one of the largest net contributors to the EU's budget, but she doesn't pay the whole fee because the Prime minister of the UK ,Margret Thatcher, made a deal with the EU in the 1980's .For that, The UK gains a rebate which means a yearly decrease in the contributions.

All the twenty-eight European states give a share in the budget .However; wealthy countries pay more to the EU's budget than they get from its funding program while the poorer states receive much money from the budget than they pay.

The UK earns little money back from the EU. The EU spends that budget on agriculture, technological research, and poorer areas. The issue of high payment to the EU was one of the ultimate causes that led the British public to vote in favour of Brexit because they wanted their government to spend this money on their country rather than giving it to the EU to spend it on other countries and this was well illustrated by the MP Chris Grayling when he said *“We send the EU £350 million a week. Let’s fund our NHS instead. Vote leave.”*(qtd. in The Independent,par.4).

2.5. Free Trade Deals:

Free trade was another main cause that made the British call for a referendum. Britain’s membership of the EU prevented her to make trade deals with huge markets such as the United States, China, and India who are growing faster than the European Union. As a member of the European Union Britain was restricted to follow the Community’s free trade regulations and the EU was the responsible for Britain’s trade policy.

Exaggerated regulations had coasted the British Economy too much. The Euro skeptic group claimed that leaving the EU was the best solution to save the British business. Freedom to agree on new trading deals was an important reason that made the British vote in favour for leaving the EU this can be well demonstrated by Boris Johnson’s speech in which he quoted Canada as a model to be followed since it has free trade agreements with many countries he said *“I think we can strike a deal as the Canadians have done based on trade.”*(qtd. in Mason, par.5). In addition to that avoiding the European Union imposed trade rules and tariffs boosted the Britons to rethink about their membership of the EU as the economist Roger Bootle pointed out *“if we were to leave the EU, then we would have the ability to stop levying the EU’ external tariff on the imports we buy from the rest of the world”* (Bootle, par. 15).

3. The European Attitudes toward Brexit:

The vote of the British Public to withdraw from the European Union sent shockwaves across the world especially in Europe. The attitudes of the German and the French political leaders were especially worthy of attention. In both countries there was a divergence in the views; some Politicians favoured Brexit while others opposed it and wanted the UK to remain a part of the EU.

In Germany, the officials reacted publicly to the passing of UK's Brexit referendum. Chancellor Angela Merkel expressed a deep regret about the results of the vote, and she cautioned the remaining twenty-seven EU nations from not taking quick decisions which would divide Europe. For that she said "*willing and able to not draw quick and simple conclusions 'from the referendum...which would only further divide Europe.*"(qtd.in Millman,par.4).

Manfred Weber a Bavarian member of the European parliament expressed his anger in a press conference in which he said "*leaving means leaving*"(qtd. in BBC NEWS,par.1) this was a reaction to the notion that Britain could take months before the it implements Article Fifty of the Lisbon Treaty which would make the separation procedures official. Meanwhile, the Center-left Social Democratic Party claimed that Brexeters "*failed clearly to point out*"(qtd .in Mayer, par.11) the reasons for Brexit including immigration were unjustified, this party considered the causes given by the British Euro skeptic were unsatisfying.

Although the leader, Frauke Petry, of the Alternative Fur Deutschland (Alternative for Germany, or AFD) welcomed Brexit, Jorg Meuthen the spokesman of the party regretted the withdrawal of the UK from the EU through saying "*The British have democratically decided to leave the EU. This vote must be respected, even if it is*

regrettable from a German perspective.”(qtd.in Mayer,par.16).To summarize, the majority of the German political leaders seem to be unhappy about the British exit.

Despite the historical conflicts between France and Britain, France did not appreciate the results of the UK’s referendum because they considered Britain’s withdrawal as loss to the EU. However, the French political figures had different attitudes towards Brexit.

François Hollande the French President did not want the UK to leave the EU for that he said *“This is a painful choice and it is deeply regrettable both for the UK and Europe.”*(qtd. in BBC NEWS). Marine le Pen, the leader of France’s far right National Front, and a potential candidate for the Presidential Election of 2017, was one of the Politicians to glorify the British decision to quit the EU through saying in her annual speech at Front National rally in Brachey *“They have decided to become masters of themselves again and to leave the European Union.”*(qtd. in Friedman,par4).

The President of the Anglo-French Chamber of Commerce in Paris, Olivier Campenon, acknowledged that Brexit was damage for Europe, pushing the EU and the UK *“into the unknown.”*(qtd. in Randall, par 7). In addition to that, many members of the mainstream right wing opposition and the French Socialist government did not support Britain withdrawal from EU, for that they wanted her to stay in the EU. To sum up, the French political views towards the British decision to leave the EU differed from one politician to another.

Conclusion:

The debate over Britain’s membership of the EU started in 1975 when the labour party asked the British to vote on whether to remain or withdraw from the EU.

However, the British public wanted to stay in the Community for that they gave a positive response in the ballot. After decades of membership, the Britons changed their minds and voted in favour of Brexit on the 23rd June 2016 for various causes. This event had shaken the world and led the European countries to express their views in different ways.

General Conclusion

The idea of creating a European organization for maintaining and restoring economy and peace found its first expression almost after the end World War II. It was necessary to establish such a community to strengthen the ties between the European nations and give them the opportunity to collaborate together and build an ever closer union, based on the principles of sovereign equality, democracy, peace, and economic stability. Therefore the European Union was a new association to be found, with more powers in terms of economy and politics.

The European Union was established on the anticipation of protecting future generation from the horrors of wars, and founding economic stability. The United Kingdom's economy started to collapse; for that reason she applied for membership, but it was vetoed twice by the French president, Charles De Gaulle, in 1963 and 1967. After De Gaulle had left office, Britain was approved to join this community in 1973. The United Kingdom got various advantages from her membership of the European Union.

On the 23rd June 2016, the British government hold a referendum on UK's membership of the EU. The Britons gave a positive response, for many reasons, which took UK out of the EU. The event of Brexit had shaken the world and rose up multiple attitudes in Europe.

The research aimed to investigate the ultimate Reasons behind the withdrawal of the United Kingdom from the European Union.

Through our research, we found out that the real causes that led the United Kingdom to exit the European Union were mainly political and economical ones. Britain fears to lose its sovereignty because the EU interferes too much in her internal

affairs and its parliament was not always the decision maker. Open borders with the other European countries raised the number of immigrants coming to the UK and this issue made the Britons angry and gave a yes response to close their territories. Turkey's application was also a main reason that created a debate in the European Union; the UK scares from a possible terrorist attacks since Turkey has borders with Iraq and Syria which are considered as the homelands for the terrorist organization ISIL. Meanwhile, the costs of membership led the United Kingdom to rethink about the billions of money that it gives to the EU each year in return of a few budget. In addition, The British public wanted to get rid from the restrictions put by the European Union in terms of free trade and to have new commercial relations with non European countries.

Glossary

Article 50: Article 50 of the Lisbon Treaty gives any EU member the right to quit unilaterally, and outlines the procedure for doing so. It gives the leading country two years to years to negotiate an exit deal.

Brexit: 2012: blend of British (or Britain) and exit, probably on the pattern of Grexit (coined earlier in the same year). This means the withdrawal of the United Kingdom from the European Union.

Common Agriculture Policy (CAP): a system in the EU for establishing common prices for most agriculture products within the EU, a single fund for price supports, and levies on imports.

European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM): established in 1957 alongside with the European Economic Community to promote cooperation in the field of atomic energy; undertakes research and development for civilian purposes.

European Defence Community (EDC): A bold attempt in the early 1950's to integrate the armed forces of the European Coal and Steel Community, shelved by the French National Assembly.

European Economic Area (EEA): it is an area of free trade and free movement of peoples comprising the member states of the European Union, in addition to Norway, Iceland, and Liechtenstein.

Euro zone: The area covered by the Euro, the Union's single currency.

Euro zone Crisis: Also known as Euro zone debt crisis or Euro zone sovereign debt crisis, the term indicates the financial woes caused due to overspending by some European countries.

Intergovernmentalism: involving two or more governments or levels of government.

National Health Service (NHS): is the publicly funded national healthcare system in the United Kingdom. The organization, funded primarily by taxation, provides free or low-cost healthcare to all legal residents of the U.K.

Qualified Majority Voting (QMV): a voting system, used by the EU Council of Ministers, enabling certain resolutions to be passed without unanimity.

Schengen Area: is defined by the Schengen agreement- an accord between twenty-six countries in Europe that have abolished passport controls at their “internal borders”.

Supranationalism: outside or beyond the authority of one national government, as a project or policy that is planned and controlled by group of nations.

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