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***The Contribution of Great Britain to the
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Declaration

We hereby declare that the thesis entitled, “*The Contribution of Great Britain to the European Union and the Aftermath*” is our own work and it contains no materials previously published or written by another person, nor materials used in support of an application for the award of another degree or qualification to this or another University or educational institution.

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Dedication

I would like to dedicate my work to my parents, the light of my life, whose words of encouragement and push for tenacity ring in my ears.

To my brothers and my sister with her husband, to my uncle Mustapha

Who have never left my side. They are very special for me.

A special thank is dedicated to my dear friends Rania and Asma for their constant support.

CHAIB DRAA Imen

First I would like to thank God for helping me to achieve this simple work.

*This work is dedicated to the memory of my dearest person. My Father, Belkacem
whose presence brought life to everything.*

*The person whose words of encouragement are still echoing in my memory...who
had always been proud of my continuous success... and would have been the
happiest person to see this work accomplished My Mother.*

*I dedicate this work also to My Sisters: Amal, Hafidha, Amina and Ahlam, as well
as, my nephews and my nieces Imane, Khadidja and Soumia*

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Thank you

Abstract

Through the history and the development of the European Union, Europe saw a lack of British Participation in any European convention until 1961 after refusing to sign the Treaties of Rome of 1957 for being one among the members of the European Economic Community. On 2 August 1961, The British conservative Prime Minister Harold Macmillan made official Britain's application for membership to the EEC. Its application was led by the Chief Negotiator Edward Heath. This application was vetoed by the French President de Gaulle. With de Gaulle's successor George Pompidou, Britain finally could join the Union in 1973. From this point Britain tried to prove to the other members that it really have a great capacity to be among the leaders through its great contribution that touched not only the economic side but also political and security domains. But again Labour and conservative both found themselves divided on the issue and they hold a referendum under labour on whether to continue Britain's membership or to Brexit.

Key words: European Union, great contribution, economic, political, security, Brexit.

List of Abbreviations

EU: European Union

USA: United States of America

USSR: Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

NATO: North Atlantic Treaty Organization

ECSC: European Coal and Steel Community

EEC: European Economic Community

EC: European Communities

EDC: European Defense Community

EAA: European Atomic Agency

CAP: Common Agricultural Policy

EFTA: European Free Trade Association

IGC: Intra-Governmental Conference

GDP: Gross Domestic Product

ESDP: European Security and Defense Policy

PSC: the Political and Security Committee

EUMS: EU Military Staff

HHG: Helsinki Headline Goal

ESS: European Security Strategy

CFSP: Common Foreign and Security Policy

CSDP: Common Security and Defense Policy

DRC: Democratic Republic of Congo

CFP: Common Fisheries Policy

FSJ: Freedom, Security and Justice

TEC: Treaty establishing European Community

TFEU: Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union

TEU: Treaty on European Union

CHFR: Charter of Fundamental Rights

CTA: Common Travel AREA

EBA: European Banking Authority

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General Introduction

General Introduction

General introduction

During the long history of achievements and events, Great Britain fought uncounted battles on continental soil in order to coverage all its need and then built up a history as a commanding force in European and later world affairs. But in the aftermath of the Second World War, Europe was distracted and split between the emergent dominant world powers the United States of America (USA) and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR).

By this incident, the idea of European integration was conceived to create unity, which would ultimately lay the foundations for what we now call the European Union. Along with the concept of revolution, which helps the European to unite, few other continents have such an ethnically diverse yet independent population and a long history of conflict. As what the frequent and bloody wars between neighbors spawned the idea of a united Europe, as it has been tried on numerous through such very means.

However, following the Second World War, a conclusive enlightenment as to attempt unification through peaceful political means evolved. Nevertheless, Great Britain remained stand as an empire (now assembled in a commonwealth) with which it conducted universal affairs that it was purely dependent upon. Along with a „particular“ relationship that existed between Great Britain and the world super power the USA which developed within the Second World War. This stimulated Great Britain to help the USA to be deeply involved in European affairs in order to combat the soviet threat from the east, the same case with the European Union, who wants to become a „third force“ in the world politics as a mechanism to prevent further war in Europe.

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Important and significant contributions to the world economy especially in technology and industry were made by Great Britain during and after World War II. By The commonwealth, an institution that related Britain with its former empire, and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), Britain started a new policy of accession which led finally to become one among the European Economic Community in 1973. During that period, Britain's contribution to the European Community doubled compared to the other member states. By this study we will shed light on the participation of the Great Britain to the European Union, which seeks to show how the European Union was established, and address the ways in which the European Union are represented by the Great Britain, as well as Demonstrate the decision of Great Britain whether to leave the Union or not.

This study is guided by a specific period of time which started from the aftermath of the Second World War till nowadays. Therefore, the period was initiated by the absent of the competition between European states, and the need for a system of cooperation which began to establish a set of international organizations, so that national governments could work together to resolve common problems on issues ranging from defense and security to improving trade in order to rebuild European nations, which Great Britain take here the lion's share in the contribution that Include various fields.

The contribution of Great Britain to the European Union has been the focus for many historical studies and examinations recently. In 2007, Alistair Jones worked on "*Britain and the European Union*". Through the study, the book attempts to explain the history and development of the European Union which saw a lack of British involvement until the 1970s but these absentees of participation in the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) and in the European Economic Community (EEC) did not mean that Britain failed to influence their

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development. Also, this book discusses the key role that Britain played in the future development of the European Union, the influence of the integrationist agenda, and the brokering deals of the European Union.

Another work in the British historiography devoted to the contribution of Great Britain to the European Union. The book of Blair, Brown and Beyond “*The Development of British Defense Policy*” can be singled out; it represents a kind of political will of the former Prime Minister Tony Blair’s system of view, his vision of Britain’s participation in the process of European construction can be briefly described as extreme democratic.

The book of *Great Deception: the Secret History of the European Union* by Christopher Booker and Richard North was also a basic for our work. This book tells for the first time the inside story of the most audacious political project of modern times: the plan to unite Europe under a single 'supranational' government. It also provides a study of British policy and attitudes towards the process of European integration associated with the European Union (EU), formerly European communities (EC). The book covers the period from the end of the WWII in 1945 down to the present day.

The previous works paved the way to our study which entitled *The Contribution of Great Britain to the European Union and the Aftermath*. It is a historical study that attempts basically to portray the contribution of Great Britain to the European Union as depicted in the previous works.

The contribution of Great Britain to the European Union, in which our thesis talks about, raises many important questions mainly about the British accession to the European

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Union and the aftermath. So, this paper tries to answer the following questions: What was the European Union established for? Why an empire like Britain accepted to be a member of the European Union? How did Britain contribute to the European Union? And what would a (Brexit) mean for the European Union and other states around the world?

This study intends to tackle the main reasons behind the contribution of Great Britain to the European Union.

The European Community was based on the economic and political union between the members of the European countries; so, the establishment of this Union started in the aftermath of the second World War in order to protect the economic cooperation, which means that the conflicts that rose between those countries were mainly replaced by an exchange of interests, which resulted on the European Economic Community (EEC), and then a European Union.

In order to serve the methodology of our work, this thesis will be based on descriptive and analytical methods as appropriate ones. The descriptive method in general and analytical one in particular is the prominent method, since we will analyze Great Britain as a case study or as an example to the European Union and address the ways in which it is represented by the European Union in order to show the its principles. Whereas the use of the descriptive method for explaining how Britain adopted a new policy of integration, and describes the intention of the European Union by Great Britain.

In this thesis we will try to give an answer to the previous questions, by dividing the work into three chapters. The first chapter contains detailed information about the aftermath of the Second World War in which Great Britain was no longer an empire and it

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began to search for new tools to increase its influence on the global stage, among which the European Community stands out.

The second chapter shows the correlation between national and supranational levels in the development of modern integration processes in Europe. It also shed the light on the main contributions of Britain in various fields including: politics, security, and economic especially during the rule of the labour government.

In the last chapter, the attention is paid on the position of Great Britain toward the recent economic crisis in the EU and its impact on both Member States in general and Great Britain particular. This chapter shows also division lines inside the coalition as well as a joint policy course, ending the chapter with the possibility of Brexit from the EU.

Chapter One

Great Britain after the Second World War and its Need for EU

1.1 Introduction

As we know that World War Two (1939-1945) was the greatest and most destructive war in history, the British prime minister Winston Churchill acknowledged the British people to shed light on the inspiration of courage, unity and sacrifice. The people of Africa and Asia increased their demands for independence especially after World War Two.

Many of the European countries were destroyed in the aftermath of the Second World War. So, Europe needs to rebuild itself, but this was not easy, because many of governments had used all their resources in fighting the war, which made them in a financial problems.

In this chapter we will shed light on the history of Britain during the aftermath of the Second World War, and how Europe started to look for a new method of integration establishing the so-called European coal and steel community and the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom). followed by the shift in that institutions to become known as the European Economic Community, ending the chapter by the new policy of Britain to access in the European Community.

1.2 The History of Britain after the Second World War

During The formulation of the new United Nations, Britain took an important leading role because of its greatest prestige. However Britain was totally damaged by the war and its losses was very expensive. In order to maintain its economy, Britain had to make important loans. In this case, Britain should involve on reconstruction but this reconstruction was going to be long, difficult and expensive, because of this damage Britain was not able to continue as a world power.

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From September 1940; London was bombed by the Germans and this attack continued into May 1941, in Britain people needed to be housed in emergency centers or in public places because many other cities suffered in Britain, so, hundreds of thousands of people become homeless.

The Second World War had a social impact on Britain and the British people. Winston Churchill¹ in this sense tried to create national unity to bring people together to fight against the Nazis. There was a desire for greater equality along with a sense of national unity. Propaganda was efficient to help developing national unity in Britain; for example the use of the radio. As a result of the Second World War, the role of women had totally changed, in which there were a huge increase in the employment of women.

Before Second World War, all the family had a dinner together, whereas in the post-war period, people became more separate from one another, but how people react to national and local structures, whether positively or negatively are determined by the British way of living and British identities which means that there are influenced individuals in their daily lives, for example: commercial organizations had great influence in music, clothes and fashion, so there are many different ways of life in Britain by the variety of cultural levels and this led to the diversity identities of society.

Several events and conflicts were experienced by England, Scotland and Wales. In 1707, England and Wales were united with Scotland to become „Great Britain“, and since 1801 the United Kingdom (England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland) was formed and have evolved slowly and the British state was pragmatically structured.

The Norman Conquest of 1066 had allowed or caused England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland to develop internally in many ways; in addition to this, there were wars and

¹Sir Winston Churchill was a prime minister of the United Kingdom, who rallied the British people during WWII, and led his country from the brink of defeat to victory.

disputes between them. As a result, religion and parliamentary democracy were limited by other countries and world markets for British goods were established through the creation of an empire and a commercial need. By the 19th century, Britain had become a dominant and crucial world power by increasing both the economic and military strength and power (Oakland 111).

This diversity had made problems which mean that Britain became a complex society. So, many questions are asked in order to operate more efficiently. These questions are related to debates including: how the country should be organized, formed reformed socially, politically and economically.

Britain has been forced to search for a new identity and direction that help this country to shape its identity in the right way; for that reason, it has moved from an empire and a common wealth to an economic and political commitment of a European continent that is, to be among the membership of the European Union (EU). The British isolation from Europe started to change as proved by increased co-operation between Britain and other European countries: for example the opening of a channel rail tunnel(1994)² between England and France.

1.2.1 Physical Features and Climate of Britain

Britain's physical features have conditioned the location and exploitation of industry, transport systems, agriculture, and energy supplies which influenced population's movements, military conquest and political union. The climate is temperate but with variations between coolness and mildness, so that Scotland and most areas of Wales and England are cool in summer and cold in winter compared with most of England.

²The Channel Tunnel is the longest undersea tunnel in the world. The section under the sea is 38km long. The three tunnels, each 50km long, were bored at an average 40m below the sea bed, and link Folkestone in Kent to Coquelles in Pas-de-Calais.

The fishing industry is important to the national economy, which means that Britain is one of Europe's fishing nations and the power of fish in the North Sea's the Irish Sea and the Atlantic played a key role in the economy side. So, it can be said that the country is dependent upon wood imports. In Scotland, Wales and the English midlands the government encouraged tree planting programs and made a decision which based on permitting the sale of state woodlands to private owners in order to reduce public expenditure and to increase productivity in the level that wished to be high and powerful (Oakland 66).

1.2.2 Energy Resources

Britain is considered as one of the most powerful countries in the energy resources. First, we should shed light on the primary energy sources which are: oil 45 percent, gas 30 percent and coal 20 percent. The second energy source is electricity. The search for alternative forms of energy and the intention to improve the economy and the development of existing resources are crucial for Britain and its economy coal which is also an important natural energy source. However, there are disagreements to its use on pollution and cost grounds. So, electricity is provided by coal, gas and oil-fired power stations and a small amount of hydro-electricity.

With difficulties and struggles Britain viewed to search for a new identity and to establish different priorities, particularly in relation to Europe, because the effects of global economic competition, the two world wars, the emergence of cold war politics and the local economic and social problems pushed Britain to recognize its international decreasing status.

1.2.3 Foreign and Defense Policy

The labour government as an example had developed a foreign policy with an ethical dimension which based on human rights; this could push Britain's dealings with other countries particularly in terms of arms sales and national conflicts. So, the reality of the world position and conflict with domestic matters do not reflect Britain's foreign policy and self image, some areas might be directed or moved to domestic problems in Britain, because of the British military actions in both: the Gulf and Afghanistan wars.

Britain was the fourth largest economy and a global finance centre which means that Britain's foreign and defense policies still influenced by its traditional position as a major trading nation. Britain wanted to maintain global commercial connections, although it is committed to Europe. So, Britain was one of the European countries and biggest export and import markets, the principle that overseas objectives on a regional or global basis can be best attained by persuasion and co-operation with other nations (Oakland 73).

There was a specific relationship exists between the USA and Britain which means that Britain is a closest ally in recent years. On one hand Britain is focused to maintain the American military presence in Europe and NATO³, on the other hand, the USA viewed Britain as a „bridge“ to Europe but the reality or the intention of Britain is that to maintain an Atlantic connection with EU countries.

This allowed us to say that each country (USA or Britain) has its own vision to its interests; Britain sees the EU as a necessary framework for achieving many of its own foreign policy objectives, such as the peaceful resolution of conflict, the protection of

³The North Atlantic Treaty Organization was created in 1949 by the United States, Canada, and several Western European nations to provide collective security against the Soviet Union.

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human rights, and the arms control. The position of Britain in the EU like other countries or members; is ready to ignore the EU when it feels its own vital interests challenged.

The North Atlantic Treaty is one of Britain's major defense alliances, and the major justification for NATO was that it provided its members with greater security that no one could achieve it individually.

The political parties of Britain are in favor of retaining the NATO's link and the public had no desire to see them took Britain out of the alliance, Britain allows by the membership of NATO to operate militarily on the international stage.

The power of Britain grew during this time and this allowed us to say that Britain has the ability and capacity to operate militarily outside the NATO and European area and this capacity would become expensive and limited. The 1991 Gulf war along with the Afghanistan war of 2001 showed that Britain could work or was able to respond on the obstacles and challenges outside the NATO, the power of Britain began to practice by itself without any help (Oakland 94).

1.2.4 Empire and Commonwealth

The British Empire based on trading activities and colonization in North and South America, and began with an attempting of the internal domination of the British, Irish and Isles by the English with military conquest in Europe, quarter of the world's population embraced by the British imperial rule and possessions (Tompson 54).

The British Empire and the commonwealth became as British governments which granted independence to other colonies (India and Pakistan became independent in 1947 followed by African territories in the 1950's).

The development of the commonwealth grew into the Commonwealth of Nations which means that most of the colonies became independent especially the remained colonies, they have the capacity to choose between whether to break all connections with the colonial past or to remain and accept the Commonwealth as independent nations. Most of them take the decision to stay in the Commonwealth, this community united peoples of different religions, races, and nationalities, who share a history and a common problems or struggles colonialism in order to get independence (Tompson 56).

The relationship between Britain and the Commonwealth will be ended by the entry of Britain to the EU. In the contemporary world, the value of the commonwealth must be based on a concrete and realistic role which is different and ideal from other global organization, and should be characterized by something new and effective. Its functions should be also based on democratic concerns, anti-corruption and civil rights.

1.3 European Search for a Method of Integration

The aftermath of the Second World War divided the European continent into two main ideologies: the Eastern bloc dominated by the Soviet Union and the largely Democratic western nations.

There were fears over what direction a rebuilt Germany would take, hoping to link Germany into a pan-European democratic institution. Along with the memories of the two world wars fought across the European continent, in which nobody wanted to endure such devastation again. This made Europe feel that it is really in dire need for help, and that the only solution for the recovery of the European's prestige and sovereignty as well as the achievement of international peace and security was the proposal for a union of European states (Kaczorowska 86), which was brought firstly by the British prime minister Winston Churchill who announced the „declaration of union“ between Great

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Britain and France. He stated that "the two governments declare that France and Great Britain shall no longer be two nations, but one Franco-British union"(Lefort 33). But those plans were spoiled due to the Nazi invasion of France. The proposals did demonstrate, however, that Churchill was in favour of political union between European countries.

In an address for the unification of European state, French political economist Jean Monnet declared that:

there will be no peace in Europe if the states rebuild themselves on the basis of national sovereignty with its implications of prestige politics and economic protection (...) the countries of Europe are not strong enough individually to be able to guarantee prosperity and social development for their peoples. The states of Europe must therefore form a federation or a European entity that would make them into a common economic unit. (Lessambo 5)

Jean Monnet in his address felt that Europe must be no long divided and that the time had come to take an irreversible decision toward uniting the European countries. Monnet's proposal fitting the approbation of his team who coined the idea of uniting the European countries in which Robert Schuman⁴ and the west German chancellor Konrad Adenauer tried to give the proposal its political weight, and on May 1950, Monnet proposed the formation of a High Authority in order to control the production of steel and coal in both (France and West Germany) and would be opened up the membership of the European countries. This proposal was achieved under the name of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) which was joined by six member states including: France, West Germany, Italy, and the three Benelux countries⁵ (Lessambo 5-6).

⁴Robert Schuman was a French statesman and one of the founding fathers of the European Communities.

⁵The Benelux is a geopolitical and socioeconomic union of Belgium, Netherlands, and Luxembourg within the larger European Community.

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On 18 April 1951, the ECSC was formally established by the treaty of Paris, which considered as the “first step to a united Europe” (Duchène 157-199), this institution was seen as producing diplomatic and economic stability in Western Europe which give new birth to this continent.

The treaty emphasized on the super-national principle which was the foundation of the new democratic organization of Europe, along with the establishment of four main institutions including: the "High Authority" (what is now the European Commission) with super-national powers over the community which exercised most executive legislative and coordination responsibilities. The "Common Assembly" (what is now the European Parliament) which had very limited powers and was primarily symbolic. The "Court of Justice" which was charged with resolving conflicts between ECSC's member states. And the "Council of Ministers" which was pushed by the smaller states also to add an intergovernmental element and harmonize national policies with those of the authority (Startin 20).

The ECSC fostered peace and reconcile on the war-torn European continent, by bringing together two industries that had powered the economic drive of European nations up until then: Coal and Steel. This was particularly true across the French-German border where armies had clashed over the control of these key sectors blooming in Ruhr, Saar and Lorraine regions. The rationale of the ECSC'S founding fathers was to promote political integration by starting with gradual economic integration, on a step-by-step basis.

With the relative success of the ECSC came the aim of creating the European Defence Community (EDC). This was a far more ambitious plan to promote co-operation on defence matters while incorporating West Germany into Western European defences.

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A draft treaty was drawn up in 1952 but was never ratified. A key reason for the failure to ratify was French nervousness over (West) German.

After the success of the ECSC's institution, the six member states tried to create what we call the European Defense Community (EDC) (Alistair 12). The purpose was to establish a pan-European defense force as a substitution to Germany's proposed integration to NATO, as a means of defence against any Soviet aggression.

The draft treaty was drawn up on 27 May 1952, but the plan never went into effect which seemed that a single European Army would never be achieved and that the European integration would begin and end with Coal and Steel.

1.4 From ECSC to EEC

From the autumn of 1954, following the refusal of the European Defense Community (EDC) by the French parliament, the leaders of the Benelux set about inspiring a community plan that provided solutions to the economic integration's problems.

At the Messina Conference, which was presented by the foreign Ministers of the ECSC's states and headed by the Belgian foreign Minister Paul-Henri Spaak in the summer of 1955, The leaders expressed their wish in establishing a political union in Europe which should be reborn from scratch through a constitution. During that conference the discussions were mainly focused on abandoning sectoral integration and extending the integration to include all the economic sectors of the six member states (Startin 20).

The six ministers decided to adopt such progress towards the setting up of a European union by the creation of a common market, greater integration of national economies, the development of common social policies, and the need to work together in

developing some sort of common approach to atomic energy (Alistair 13). They therefore considered the last one as an essential to look into creating a common organization which would have the responsibility and the facilities for ensuring the peaceful development of nuclear energy.

The Messina Conference created the intergovernmental committee or the so-called Spaak Committee⁶, which worked until 21 April 1956, aiming to find some solutions about the choice between a general common market and partial sectoral integration that rose at the Messina Conference. It also identified ways of attaining the objectives set by the ministers. The solutions proposed in the Spaak Report constituted a specific action plan that the leaders of the six states recommended to their governments as a basis for the negotiation of future treaties.

Together with the Ohling Report, a report which was drafted by a group of experts of the international labor organization which led by Bertil Ohlin in 1956, the Spaak Report would provide the basis for the treaty of Rome; the founding document of the European Economic Community (EEC) and the European Atomic Agency (EAA) otherwise known as Euratom (Thody 23), which is considered as a precursor to the European Union (EU). The treaty was signed in Rome on 25 March 1957 by the leaders of the ECSC's states. It was subsequently approved by the countries' national parliaments and came into force on first January 1958.

During the formation of ECSC, Britain was invited to participate on, due to her historical position in the world. At this Conference, the British government had sent representatives in an observer capacity in order to examine the consequences of the ECSC's formation. One of them was the British labor politician Herbert Morrison who

⁶It was an Intergovernmental Committee set up by the Foreign Ministers of the six Member States of the ECSC as a result of the Messina Conference of 1955.

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had stated that if Britain joined the Common Market it would be “the end of Britain as independent European states...the end of a thousand years of history”⁷. The conclusion that those experts had examined was quite startling, especially when they realized thirty years after the event. They focused on the idea that if the EEC was looking like a success Britain might eventually have to join.

When the treaty of Rome established the Common Market in 1958, the agriculture of the six member states had strongly affected by states intervention, particularly with regard to what was produced, setting prices, marketing products and farm structures. Markus F. Hofreither in his book *Origins and Development of the Common Agricultural Policy* claims that: “a unified Europe without a unified agricultural market appeared to be impossible” (2). Thus, the treaty can be seen as the basic principle for the creation of a Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) among the six founding member states, in which its major aim was to make the EEC self-sufficient in food production.

However, a dispute over how the CAP should be funded soon rose between the member states. Some members, particularly France, refused to accept such a move because it wanted to maintain strong state intervention in agriculture, along with the alleged "weakness" of its agricultural provisions (Startin 25). A convention was set with the aim of resolving the situation, but it was broken up soon without reaching a solution.

The latent crisis between France and its partners in the European Economic Community reached boiling point, then the French boycott began to emerge strongly. For that reason the leaders of the member states tried to resolve the situation and provide such a compromise.

⁷<http://www.historylearningsite.co.uk/british-politics/the-treaty-of-rome/>. (Accessed on 20th March 2017).

The "Luxembourg Compromise" was considered as one of the decisions that have contributed to ending the dispute. Rodney Leach in his book *Europe: a Concise Encyclopedia of the European Union from Aachen to Zollverein* stated that under this compromise, any decision which affected a very important national interest would be deferred until an unanimously acceptable solution could be reached regardless of whether or not the treaty required only a majority (165). The Luxembourg Compromise did prevent the community's decision-making for almost twenty years until a veto by Britain was (over-ridden) in 1982 when, ironically, its interests were challenged by the French.

1.5 The British New Policy's Accession

Before the success that realized the EEC between their member states, Britain was no longer interested in being a member. The Dean of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences at Ben-Gurion University of the Negev David Newman stated that, it was inconceivable in the Britain of that time for the country to even consider giving up any of its island independence to "Continental Europe" which was still perceived as weaker both politically and economically⁸.

With the changing of geopolitical realities of the Post War Era and the final loss of Empire and dominions, in which most of Britain's former colonies, even if they were linked with the Commonwealth, became more and more independent. In addition, the Suez crisis, which showed the incredible reshaping of the role played by European nation states after the Second World War and the so-called translation imperii of our time, made the relationship between the USA and Britain more distant and. Moreover, the six-country' Common Market emerged as a powerful economic and political force in world affairs. As a result, Britain still did not want to be part of the EEC as it tried to create a

⁸<http://www.jpost.com/Opinion/Boderline-Views-Britain-and-the-EU-referendum-445753>. (Accessed on 26th March 2017).

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counter-organisation with European States that were not allowed or did not wish to join the European Community under the ratification of the Stockholm convention that was signed on 4 January 1960 by seven countries or the so-called "Outer Seven": Britain, Austria, Denmark, Switzerland, Norway, Portugal and Sweden. They had established their own Free Trade Association (EFTA).

Europe was then, literally, at "sixes and sevens" (Booker 112). Their major aim was to establish free trade as a means of achieving growth and prosperity amongst its member states and promoting closer economic cooperation between the western European countries.

Actually, the EFTA was created to compete with the EEC. They had quite the same goals, especially on the economic plan. Both of them wanted to organise an area with free trade of goods and services (there was nothing on the political plan). But the EFTA was not overly successful, at least, from a British perspective since trading with its member states, whose economies were smaller compared to that of Britain, could put Britain's trade in the marginal and therefore the breakdown of its economy (Alistair 14) despite the EFTA's performance from the outset was clearly inferior to that of the EEC. As a result when Britain saw that the members of the EEC were witnessing a spectacular economic growth, it understood the importance to join it. So, on 2 August 1961, the British conservative Prime Minister Harold Macmillan made official Britain's application for membership to the EEC. Its application led by the Chief Negotiator Edward Heath longed through 1962 and eventually failed with the French President De Gaulle vetoing the application on 29 January 1963 (Chalmers 13).

De Gaulle's refusal to allow Britain to enter the EEC was based on his dislike of the American government, and as far as De Gaulle was concerned to allow Britain in the

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EEC would be allowing a country that he came to view as America's „Torjan horse“ (McDowall 179). He was actually afraid from the idea that Britain would jeopardize the CAP before it was fully implemented and whenever Britain was in the CAP, this association might not survive. He continued:

If she enters the Community without being really subjected to the agricultural system of the Six, the system will thereby collapse, completely upsetting the equilibrium of the Common Market and removing for France one of the main reasons she can have for participating in it. (Booker 159)

On 29 September 1967, the commission of the European Communities issued a decision on the applications for Britain's succession which suggested the immediate opening of accession negotiations with the applicant countries.

However, France's partners in the Community confront a great opposition from De Gaulle who indicated to the economic difficulties experienced by Britain and claimed that a solution to the major problems must be found before any attempt to the Communities' access.

Aside from the economic arguments put forward to block the British accession, De Gaulle had other attention. In spite of the economic adherence made by his government the British labour party member Harold Wilson did not agree with the French opinion on a defence policy. He emphasized the need for the United States, interference in the European defence and neglected the formation of the European nuclear force. For De Gaulle, with the enlargement of Britain as a new member states in the European Community, France would not only be at risk of encountering big problems in protecting its economic interests, but that it would also be in peril of Losing its leadership to a more Atlantics policy.

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In the Autumn of 1967, the British government was forced to devalue the pound sterling, and of course De Gaulle did not hesitate to express his opinion, in which he believed that this decline was a proof to the member states that the British government was not ready to meet the conditions of the Common Market, claiming that he could not let such a weak currency enter the EEC and drag down the collective European economy (Alistair 15). Again, the French president vetoed Britain's second application.

However, the other EEC members were not enthusiastic about the British accession as well as not willing to accept the French unilateral decision. Hence, they tried to reach alternative solutions and maintain the prospect of accession for the applicant countries. But all the suggestions they made seems to be against France objection. It became increasingly secluded from its partners and even threatened to leave its place in case of Britain accede the community. This division in opinion between the member states on the issue of British accession affected in the performance within the community in which their major interest was to find solution to the British question in order to break the stagnation and pursue the development of the communities.

At a press conference which was held on the summer of 1969, De Gaulle was no longer president of France. Consequently, his successor George Pompidou, who then became the French president, suggested a meeting between the six member states in order to discuss further steps in European integration project.

Pompidou's policy differed from those of De Gaulle, in which he was not in principle against Great Britain's joining the EEC. Elected on a pro-European manifesto he was in favour of ending the shortage that had described the European Community because of the radical positions taken by the president De Gaulle on a number of European affairs.

Pompidou summarised the EEC's new priorities in a simple phrase: “completion, deepening, and enlargement”; the media called it “the spirit of the Hague” (Jones 234). In his opinion, the European integration process had to be completed first, then deepening could be pursued and, as a next step, enlargement could be discussed with the heads of the states. The event inspired great hopes in the public and in the hierarchy of the community.

The meeting was ended by the agreement of the six member states to begin negotiations with Britain, along with other states including: Denmark, Norway and Ireland. And by the new year of 1973 Britain, Denmark and Ireland had signed treaties that allowed them to become fully pledged members of the EEC, unlike Norway which eventually opted to remain outside (Startin 22), bringing the total number of member states to nine.

As a latecomer to the emerging Union, the terms of British membership in the EU were more favourable than those of the other major countries in particular France Germany and Italy. This refers to its high contribution to the Union that rose from its first accession.

1.6 Conclusion

After WWII in the late 1940's, the European Union was established in an effort to unite the countries of Europe and end the period of wars between neighboring countries. So, in 1950, the creation of the European coal and steel community expanded the cooperation.

The result of the Cold War and the divisions of the Eastern and Western Europe showed the need for European unification. So, the Treaty of Rome was signed in 1957 in

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order to allow the people and the products to move throughout Europe and to create the European Economic Community.

The European goal was to continue prosperity, freedom, communication and commerce for its citizens. Through the various treaties, the European Union was able to maintain this goal and make its function and cooperation from member states. Britain's accession in the European Union known by verities of contribution will be discussed in the next chapter.

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2.1 Introduction

Britain is a major global political, diplomatic and economic actor by virtue of its great historical empire, its membership of key global organisation, forward-leaning defence situation and the city of London's posture as a leading financial centre. With such a vast web of connections have come real and lasting debates about the most appropriate role for Britain in the world, especially since decolonisation after the Second World War and the transition to Europe as a forum in which Britain tried to exert international influence through its foreign policy.

In this chapter we will deal with Britain as a major contributor to the EU starting with its pivotal role in politics especially during the rule of the labour party. Then, we will discuss its contribution in a security and defence policy, and how it proved to the EU members that it was really such a great empire. The last element of this chapter deals with the main contribution of Britain to the EU member states.

2.2 The Political Contribution of Great Britain to the EU

Politics is far from being a popular area of activity; politicians ran below those modern partials estate agents, in some opinion polls. They are often held to be, among other failings: self-serving, venal, dishonest, power-obsessed people who are more likely to be a danger to society rather than its salvation. Politics, and its politicians, have changed over the years, both in its practices and the way it is regarded. Long before the democratic era, it is fair to say, politicians were mostly people who had seized control by force and exercised it in their own interests. Power was often used merely to reflect the will and the glory of the chief conqueror and the changing of his whims (Norton3).

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Britain in this sense represents the voice of Europe that is intelligent, engaged and forward- looking. Therefore, the often-quoted concept of "three circles", formulated by the leader of His Majesty's Opposition Winston Churchill, in his speech to the conservative party conference in 1948, best describes this sense of exceptionality in which Britain's international position is unique due to the fact that it is: “the only country which has a great part to play in every one of three great circles among the free nations and democracies”¹ inside each of which Britain plays an influential role in the Empire and Commonwealth, the political, military and cultural links with the United States, and finally continental Europe, which it predestined to mentor and lead (see Figure 1)².

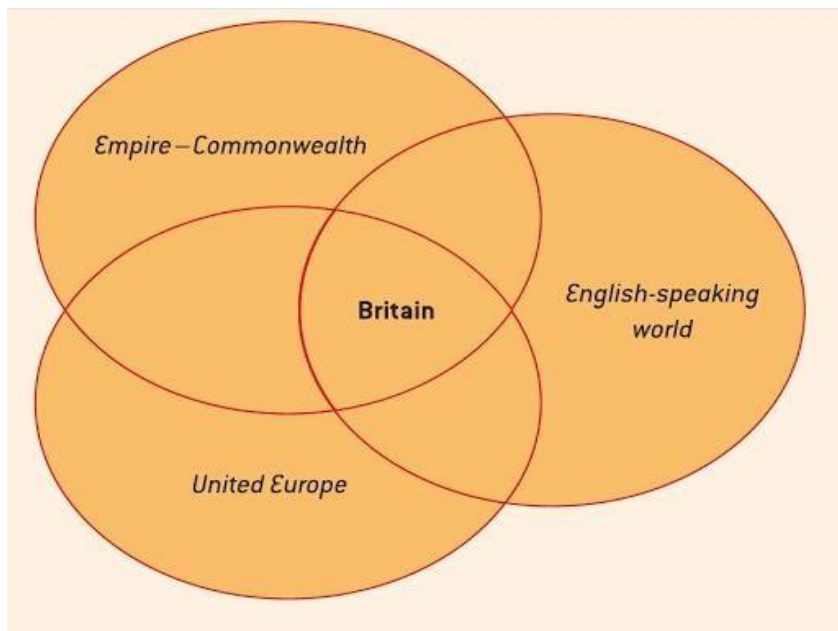


Figure 1: Churchill's Three Circles.

¹. Winston S. Churchill, „Conservative Mass Meeting: a speech at Llandudno, 9 October 1948“, Europe Unite :speeches, London : Cassell, p. 416-418

² See Norton, Philip in his Book “Politics UK”. p 27

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Churchill's view that, among all the countries in the world, Britain was uniquely placed to play an active universal role by virtue of its worldwide diplomatic entanglements. Its European connections would provide a prop to, rather than the end of the nation's outward-looking foreign policy agenda (Norton27-28).

2.2.1 Updating the three circles model: Blair's "bridge"

Britain's accession to the European Union was known by verities of contributions especially in the political side under the rule of the new labour project, which was about modernisation and change. It was about making a break from the policies of its own recent past (conservative party), notably its 1983 manifesto of withdrawal from the European communities, state intervention in the economy and nuclear disarmament. Tony Blair, Gordon Brown and others were the key figures in drawing up the agenda for New Labour, and were aimed to pursue a constructive European policy which departed from that of John Major's outgoing government and establishing some kind of British "Leadership" within the EU.

Tony Blair, who was in many ways based on traditional Churchillian tenets in which he reshaped Churchill's three circles model to take account of the geostrategic context of the British policy toward the European Union at the turn of the twenty - first century. yet it was the new labour that, after coming to power in 1997, formulated what was probably the most self - contained alternative vision of Britain's position in the world and a new model of policy, often referred to in a much simplified way as an "ethical foreign policy"³

³Robin Cook, the newly appointed Foreign Secretary, talked only of an "ethical dimension of foreign policy" in his vision statement on 12 May 1997.

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Blair arrived strong and with a modernising agenda that seemed to put Europe at the heart of Britain as much as the other way round. He was the first prime minister from the post-war generation; his memories were not of defending Britain against evil Germans and feckless French. New Labour was built on respect for German social policy and French economic success. He spoke French well and had already established some good relationships on the continent, not ably with Helmut Kohl⁴. A positive approach to Europe was part of his party's platform.

The concept of the “ethical foreign policy” according to the researchers Nicholas Wheeler and Tim Dunne contained two major issues: one of them was that Britain has to play an active role in the international community, follow its rules, and co-operate with its institutions. By overemphasising the importance of this new concept on Britain's policy making, Wheeler and Dunne do not overestimate the „marked shift“ in policy action terms, they rather, focused on the foreign relationship between Britain and the rest of Europe (meaning the EU).

The idea of British policy toward the EU which brought by Blair come to centre on the idea that Britain could act as a „bridge“ between European Union and the United State, and plays a pivotal role in its relation with the member states and assumes responsibility for global problem solving. In this term Blair stated that “we are the bridge between the US and Europe. Let us use it, when Britain and America work together on the international scene, there is we can't achieve”⁵.

⁴Helmut Kohl served as Chancellor of Germany from 1982 to 1998, during which time he oversaw the reunification of East and West Germany.

⁵<http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20070701080624/http://www.pm.gov.uk/output/Page1070.asp>. (Accessed on 2nd Apr 2017).

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He continues: “we are stronger in Europe if strong with the US. Stronger together. Influential with both. And a bridge between the two”⁶. In this statement, Blair tried to convince the British people and a global audience that Britain was uniquely well placed to act as a bridge between the two nations, his speeches had noticeably positive messages on Europe, in which Britain's global influence was not only dependent on influence in the US but rather on EU.

Tony Blair's speeches also to the 1995 and 1997 party conferences had contained noticeably positive messages on Europe. A speech at Chatham House in April 1995 spelt out his argument that Britain's global influence was dependent on influence in the EU. He also emphasised the need to strengthen a 'people's Europe'.

The development of Labour's Business Agenda for Europe, released in May 1996, placed emphasis on the development of the single European market and indicated that the pro-European policy was not confined to traditional social-democratic concerns.

Indeed, the EU was regarded as an important element in a strategy to deliver wide-ranging policy renewal in not only Britain but UK also. Therefore, the positive European policy was not prioritised as an objective in its own right, but rather, was seen as a complete to a broad range of specific policy areas.

The manifesto of 1997 was known by two major commitments for an incoming labour government; the first one was to make a referendum on participation in the single currency. However, the second one was to drive a reform in the EU. It also included

⁶<http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20070701080624/http://www.pm.gov.uk/output/Page1070.asp>(Accessed on 3rd Apr 2017).

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much more details about proposed action points, those points made some similarities in the policy goals of the conservative government of John Major. In short, the labour government Blair was pro-European, and European policy was so important to the comprehensive New Labour party.

2.2.2 Britain's Approach to Reconstruct Europe

The first term of New Labour provided much more opportunities in order to put the manifesto into practice-the Inter-Governmental Conference (IGC) was one of them which had been underway for over a year. Blair had established in this sense an active group to prepare party policy for the probability of taking over the negotiations from the previous government.

The next major initiative came with the parliamentary declaration of the Chancellor Gordon Brown, on October 1997, of the government's policy on the Euro. His policy on announcement came out with three issues: the first one, when Brown declared: “In principle, a successful single currency within a single European market would be of benefit to Europe and to Britain”⁷. Then, he claimed that there were no constitutional grounds for not joining. Finally, according to Brown the decision would rest on the outcome of five economic tests:

- 1- Whether there can be possible convergence between Britain and the single currency's economies.
- 2- Whether there is enough flexibility to cope with any economic alteration.

⁷See the prime minister's full speech to the London Business School <https://www.theguardian.com/business/1999/jul/27/emu.theeuro2> (Accessed on 9th Apr 2017).

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3- The impact on investment.

4- The effect on our financial services manufactory.

5- And whether it is good for employment.

Together with the present of undertake to hold a referendum on the EU member, the announcement provided the basis for the policy of the government, in which the Key determinant of policy was to be on the smart political strategy and economic test of Britain.

During the year of 1998, the British government took over the presidency of the European Union. The British office started with a new strategy in which, it gives the incumbent government the mission of chairing all the meeting of the council of Ministers and their subordinate committees along with any summit meetings (the European council), working on the behalf of the EU in many external relations' issues, in inter-institutional relations, and managing the political agenda of the EU. These strategies can be considered as an opportunity for the labour government to showcase its constructive European policy and bring the EU a bit closer to the domestic public, inaugurate the enlargement process and the requisite internal EU policy reforms, and strengthen the EU's efforts to combat crime and enhance environmental protection.

The solid progress was also registered on external affairs cooperation, an area where the British government relied on more pragmatic process to participate in contrast to the closing strategy pursued by the previews government (the conservative one). On the environmental side, the British government also supervise progress within the EU on

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performing the Kyoto agreement⁸ on controlling greenhouse gases. Hence, the major important distinctive contribution of the British government came in the context of security and economic reform and competitiveness.

Tony Blair himself with the Foreign Secretary Robin Cook tried to think through a British Strategy on European policy. Two areas were quickly emerged as primacy. One of them was recognized in a think-tank report on British leadership in Europe, in which the defence and security policy was a key area where Britain could play a pivotal role. The second issue was that modern focus should be placed on binary relations. These features of reforms were introduced to boost the strategic capacity on European Defence policy and European policy-making.

2.3 The Defence and Security Contributions of Britain to the EU

During a period of less than half a century, after the end of Second World War in 1945, Britain deprived itself from an empire, spanning nearly a quarter of the world's landmass and population. It pull from far-flung military bases dispersed across the globe and involved in innumerable reviews of its security undertaking in the futile hope of decreasing disbursement, while throughout much of this period residual heavily involved in military operations in different trouble-spots around the world.

Although its economy grew more slowly than most of its major competitors, it persists to spend a huge share of its GDP (Gross Domestic Product) on security and defense than any of its European NATO allies. Its determined search for an "independent" nuclear obstructive that it had neither the pecuniary nor infrastructural

⁸The Kyoto Protocol is an international agreement linked to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, which commits its Parties by setting internationally binding emission reduction targets

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resources to tolerate, added to the nation's frame on the global stage, but only at the expense of forcing it to accept a status of nearly total reliance on the United States, feeling the chill wind of proportional economic slump and hesitating political marginalization, it promoted the idea of a European free trade (self 1). Following the failure of this institution, and driven by the success of the EEC and by the changing relationships between Great Britain and the EU member states, Britain decided finally to join the European community and to contribute in many domains especially in security and defense policy.

2.3.1 The Europeanization of British Defense

In both defense and European policy, Britain has had different experiences to its continental neighbors, due to its geographical and historical background. As an island that is situated in a Pacific Ocean, Britain could base its defense and foreign policy, to a large extent, on a "philosophy of choice", as opposed to its continental neighbors, which had to base it on a "philosophy of necessity" (Brown 40). Great Britain has traditionally seen itself as different from its neighbors' countries in which its situation was succinctly summarized.

In 1984, at a Conservative Mass Meeting at Landudno, Winston Churchill stated that:

We are the only country which has a great part in every one of them. We stand, in fact, at the very point of junction, and here in this island at the centre of the seaways and perhaps of the airways also, we have the opportunity of joining them all together (416).

This position continued in the post-world era, with Great Britain as a world leader to a three-way division of defense and security preference. While European countries

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continued to be the most important matter, in which it had to unite their powers with Great Britain's imperial role to contend the USA forces.

During the period that followed the accession of Britain to the EU (1974-1975), the defense review clarified the four „pillars“ upon which defense policy was founded, each with a European component: an independent element of strategic and theatre nuclear forces committed to the alliance, the direct defense of Britain homeland; a major land and air contribution on the European main land, and a major maritime effort in the Eastern Atlantic and Channel (Brown 40).

Those pillars gave an explanation to the scope, in which the British defense policy become no longer independent and that Britain have to think on the other European union countries' interest.

2.3.2 Peace dividend

At the end of the Cold War, Britain, along with the rest of Western Europe, rushed to realize the so-called “peace dividend” despite the doubt about the evolution of the new strategic environment.

Before the end of the Cold War, Britain had been almost completely focused on defending western European countries against Soviet Armed Forces. This policy of defense had burdened the wealth of British state, along with the decline of military capability in most of European countries who involved in the policy of defense. The Helsinki goals⁹ will do nothing to heading this collapse. National defense budgets over the past twenty five years have been reducing in real terms. Even if the stream of

⁹Helsinki's goal is to develop new areas and in-fill housing on the existing and future rail transport routes in order to optimize community structures, which will help to mitigate climate change.

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aspirations to grasp military spending levels were to be accomplished, the collapse in capabilities would continue.

Military equipment and personnel costs rise faster than those of domestic inflation, and therefore fewer people and weapons systems can be afforded each year. There is no prospect of significant uplifts in the budgets of defense in Europe, despite the acknowledged need for a range of expensive enabling capabilities for post- cold war operations. Palliative measures now on trial are unlikely to have a major impact (Alexander 29). So, the only option for European nations is to maintain peace inside and outside the continent as a means of recover the military losses during the post Cold War.

With the decline of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw pact¹⁰ of 1989, a Soviet overrun of Western Europe no longer seemed likely. So Britain, along with the rest of Western Europe, rushed to fulfill the so-called “peace dividend”, despite the doubt about the evolution of the new strategic environment. The perception of a reduced threat led to calls for cuts in defense spending and a shift towards a capability-based, rather than threat -based, policy (Brown41).

Both of the British conservative governments Margaret Thatcher and John Major calls for reducing in the defense budget, through the reductions in the size of the armed forces which may improve a country,,s economic growth achievement toward the EU.

There was acknowledgement of a need to shift towards more expeditionary capabilities to “contribute to promoting the British wider security interests through the

¹⁰Warsaw Pact is a mutual defense organization that put the Soviets in command of the armed forces of the member states.

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maintenance of international peace and stability”(Brown 41), but concrete alteration was limited.

The concept of “peace dividend” had already protected, despite the problems of ethnic divisions in the front of elevating nationalism which epitomized by the calamity of Yugoslavia, demonstrating clearly that the „wind of peace“ had not really come to all parts of Europe.

The desire of Britain with the other of the EU members achieves the notion that raised the necessity for crisis management which catalyst greater European effort in coordinating security and defense arrangements.

During 1991, the British conservative Prime Minister John Major claimed that a “European security and defense identity was needed”¹¹. He insisted that it should be within the NATO since this institution has the strategic and political capacity to deliberate, decide and carry through such a policy in addition to its large experiences.

Britain, under the conservative governments, wanted to ensure a strong NATO and to preserve the “special relationship” with the US (Brown 41) believing that the security and defense of the EU would benefit from such a policy. However, the accession of the labour Prime Minister Tony Blair to the office in 1997 had a considerable influence on this balancing act and principally changed British defense policy in relation to the EU.

2.3.3 Tony Blair's New Labour Defence policy

Years after the Cold War, the West European integration project is now being bestowed with a common European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP).

¹¹Mr. Major’s Speech to Conservative Central Council, 23rd March 1991 (Accessed on 2nd Apr 2017)

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The Maastricht treaty¹² had made unprecedented but demonstrably mysterious indication to a common defence policy for the union, but it was really with the 1997 Amsterdam Treaty's¹³ adoption as EU acquis of the so-called Petersburg tasks¹⁴. Hence, It can be said that the union between the members finally become a military actor, which then came by the spectacular shift of policy by the labour Prime Minister Tony Blair Who signalled the possibility of watershed in the Tone of Britain's interaction with the EU (Treacher 95).

Two months after Blair coming into the office, he declared to a senior official:

The Germans lost the war and have got over it. The French were humiliated by the war and have got over it. The British won the war and have never got over it. My generation do not have the same hang - ups about Europe as older generations. My job is to establish a lasting relationship and to lead Britain in Europe. (Self38)

Under Tony Blair, the long standing taboo of associating the EU with defence policy was broken. In December 1998 the French and British governments signed an agreement at St Malo, which paved the political path for EU governments to launch the European Security and Defence policy (ESDP) at the cologne European council Summit in June 1999 the St Malo Declaration called for the EU to:

Have the capacity for autonomous action, backed up by credible military forces, the means to decide to use them, and readiness to do, in order to respond to international crises ... be given appropriate structures and a capacity for analysis of situations, sources of intelligence, and a capacity for relevant strategic

¹²The Maastricht Treaty (formally, the Treaty on European Union or TEU) undertaken to integrate Europe was signed on 7 February 1992 by the members of the European Community in Maastricht, Netherlands

¹³The Amsterdam treaty was signed on the 2nd of October 1997 and came into force on the 1st of May 1999. Its main changes were focused on the Treaty on European Union, created by the Maastricht Treaty in 1992.

¹⁴Petersburg tasks were set out in the Petersburg Declaration adopted at the Ministerial Council of the Western European Union (WEU) in June 1992.

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planning¹⁵.

While at the time of Saint Malo the focus was on military crisis management, the argument has since applied to both the military and the civilian dimensions of ESDP. In other words, the union must be given the „capacity to decide“ in this policy domain. This signalled a major shift in the UK's position on the EU's involvement in defence policy. While not abandoning NATO or the US, Blair's desire to be “at the heart of Europe” which led to one of the most significant shifts in the US's defence policy in recent times- a turn towards the EU (Brown39).

This is alteration represented what Blair was trying to convince the British partners of his commitment to improving the crisis management capacities available to the EU or the so- called “Europeanising the British defence policy” (Brown 45). Likewise, to be a head in (ESDP) Britain has to take such a compromise, the need for unanimity between her partners in decision making while her value in the policy of security and defence has limited the British integration on the national interests. Therefore, Britain as a leader in the EU member states take the final decisions in this policy area, which based on the consensus rule. Hence, Britain played a major role in shaping the development of ESDP in three pivotal areas: institutions, capabilities, and operations.

2.3.3.1 Institutions

The British Prime Minister Tony Blair was one among the leader who promoted for the formation of the institutions necessary to manage the ESDP effectively. This can be seen in the regulations of the (CFSP) in the treaty of Amsterdam which came into force

¹⁵Franco - British Summit of 1998.

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on May 1999. This institution will give European foreign policy a power as well as assigning it with strategic planning and early-warning unit, which is tasked with recognizing CFSP-relevant international developments at an early stage, aiming to alterate the interactive feature of European foreign policy.

Within the CFSP, the political and security committee (PSC) was established at the treaty of Nice. It is answerable for acting with all CFSP aspects, controlling international events (analysis function) and managing the public Affairs and External Relations Council, with recommendations for the best strategy of establishing a good policy, which based on this analysis. The PSC is also a forum for dialogue on CSDP matters between the EU member states.

On 22 May 2000, in its efforts to strengthen the Common Foreign and Security Policy, the council sets up a committee for public aspects of crisis management. It reflects the transformed face of security by dealing with the development of strategies for public crisis management and for public capabilities, designed planning documents for the coming missions, and prepared a recommendations to the political and security committee. It passes on its motions to the PSC. In this way, a bind is established to the EU pillar, which also contains a prospect for public crisis management. Therefore, the structures, which established in 2000, the EU Military Committee and the EU Military Staff (EUMS) were also an intergovernmental with decision making, based on consensus.

The institutions that Britain and the other member state established were all about expounding the authenticity and the distinctive institutional structure of the EU right across the broad, and it is also about comprehending clearly just, where this authenticity

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which hardly makes things easier, comes from in order to understand well the integration process.

2.3.3.2 Capabilities

For Britain, capabilities, particularly for expeditionary crisis management operations have been the essential stimulus for its support of ESDP. During the Yugoslavian wars the European military defect was more flagrant. However, the establishment of the ESDP under the strategic thinking of Britain improve the military weight capabilities of the member states, since the EU capability has always been provided by the British “to complement NATO, rather than compete with it”¹⁶(6).

In December 1999, the British political officials, Emyr Jones, Parry and Richard Hatfield, established the Helsinki Headline Goal (HHG). Under this plan, the EU pledged itself to be able to deploy speedily and then sustain forces competent of the entire range of Petersburg tasks, including the most demanding, in operations up to legion level up to 15 brigades or 50 - 60,000 troops, which would be deployable in 60 days and sustainable for at least a year.

Britain was also interested in establishing the associated requirement and force catalogues for EU military capabilities. Moreover, as part of her push for developing the military capabilities, Britain was at the forefront of the adherences to the HHG at the first Capability Commitment Conference in 2000. According to the statistics of the Defence's Ministry in 2003, Britain was considered as the second largest contributor, behind Germany, committing 12,500 troops plus 72 aircraft and 18 naval vessels. Despite the

¹⁶Ministry of Defence of 2003.

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agreed commitments exceeding the HHG, it was clear that a significant number of capability shortfalls remained and deserted, Britain was beneficial in managing for a 'future headline goal'.

2.3.3.3 Operations

Britain's ability to shape ESDP can also be seen in the evolution of structured cooperation, which appeared during the European conventions. Therefore, the British supports of the framework within which ESDP operates showed in the Petersburg tasks were first introduced the TEU under the Amsterdam treaty as a new competence to the EU, allowing the EU to act. These tasks do not require a frank UN mandate. They include “humanitarian and rescue tasks, peace keeping tasks and tasks of combat forces in crisis management, including peacemaking”¹⁷.

In addition, the 2003 European Security Strategy (ESS), which provides the conceptual framework for the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), including what become later the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP). The ESS is consider as an overall document, which analyses and introduce for the first time the EU's security environment, determining the main security challenges and following the political implications for the EU.

In 2006, the percentage of Britain's troops deployed through ESDP or NATO stood at 19 per cent, while, in her neighbour France, it was just 5 per cent. With the British military severely overstretched by commitments in Afghanistan and elsewhere, more subjective are already on deployment more frequency than they should be. Nevertheless Britain

¹⁷https://eas.europa.eu/topics/common-security-and-defence-policy-csdp/5388/shaping-of-a-common-security-and-defence-policy_en. (Accessed on 29th Apr 2017).

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remains to contribute when it can, such as in 2003, providing engineers for the EU's first autonomous military mission, operation Artemis, in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)(Brown 52). Officials also make it apparent that the key to the British contribution is having a clear and achievable security objective, rather than merely making a political statement.

By feigning joint leadership of ESDP, Britain has significantly shaped its improvement to better suit British objectives. Most of the ESDP's main proposals have been formed by British policy makers, and the British aim for ESDP has been comparatively consistent throughout the rule of labour party in the office (Brown 55). Despite the civil war of Yohuslavia, there were divisions inside Europe over NATO's operation as a complement to the EU. Moreover, the Prime Minister was changed.

What is clear is that Britain has been the main centre in ejecting the taboo of an EU security and defence policy and, in doing so, has supported the longer term prospect that Britain will not just be „with Europe“, but „of Europe“.

2.4 The Economic Contributions of Great Britain to the EU

In spite of being absent from the initial programme for European economic integration, Britain was not incurious to European affairs. Therefore, the accession of Britain to the EU indicate that it took more pragmatic attitude towards the economic integration in Europe, but it also created a distinction between Britain and the six member states about the main contributor. The British conservative Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in a speech at the college of Europe in Bruges may consider as a best example. Thatcher had argue that Britain prefer an intergovernmental co-operation instead of

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concentrating all the power at a centre of Europe, and Therefore, the union should be a „finally of nations“ rather than a „European super-state“.

She stated also that Britain had its way of contributing to European Union. Supporting the establishment of EFTA and NATO were the two ways in which Britain could contribute to promoting economic development and stabilising security environment in the center of Europe.

2.4.1 The Common Agricultural policy (CAP)

During the treaty of Rome, which was held on 1957, the agriculture of the six member states had strongly affected by states intervention, particularly with regard to what was produced, setting prices, marketing products and farm structures. Thus, the treaty can be seen as the basis principle for the creation of what is call Common Agricultural policy (CAP) among the six members, in which its major aim was to make the union self-sufficient in food production. However, a dispute over how the CAP should be funded soon rose between the member states, which led to its cancellation (Downing 6).

By the year of 1975s and exactly after the British accession in the EU, the idea of re-establishing the CAP soon comes into effect. Therefore, the British position with regard to the CAP differed substantially to the rest of the EU members. Denmark as a country that access with Britain in the EU, wanted to benefit from the CAP more than to give it. Britain, on the contrary, may not gain the financially benefit because the financial contribution to the community budget would exceed any potential advantages from the CAP. In addition, the British act in the CAP would fundamentally adjust the whole

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structure of the British market for agricultural products.

The institution of the CAP represents almost 40% of the EU budget. This means that there is a great deal of interest in the referendum debate about how the EU budget benefits the British government for the contribution that it makes(Downing 10).

The EU members did not contribute to a single EU programmes as the case of the CAP; they rather contributed to the EU budget in general. Hence, any evaluations of Britain's contribution and receipt in terms of CAP alone could be wide approximations based on the commensurate share of contribution. Therefore, Britain contributed in the field of agriculture in approximate 20% of her total income to the EU budget.

2.4.2 The Common Fisheries Policy

The North Sea was once of the richest fishing grounds in the world, producing 5% of total world fish landings. In the year of 1972, and exactly during the accession of Great Britain to the European Economic Community, the EU member states adopted a policy that prevent disputes over who should be allowed to fish where, in which they wanted to extend their economic zones from 12 to 200 nautical miles (22, 5 km to 370,4 km), in line with other international changes. From their coast, meaning only that specific country's fleets could fish in that area.

This policy called the common fisher policy (CFP) which consider as an EU policy designed to make EU fishing grounds a common resource by giving access to fishing waters and determines how many fish a national fleet can catch (Begg7).

The CFP was launched by the EU member states to provide a common market in fish. All

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subsequent members of the EU, including Britain, have accepted the CFP principle of equal access to fishing grounds¹⁸

The CFP was considered as a set of rules for managing European fishing fleets and for concerning fish stocks. Designed to manage a common resource, it gives all European fishing fleets equal access to EU waters and fishing grounds and allows anglers to compete fairly.

Britain's negotiating position for this policy was weak because of her lateness accession, and as a result a cynical price for joining was extracted in the form of giving all the other EEC countries access to Britain's rich fish stocks in our territorial waters. The CFP has crippled Britain's fishing industry and resulted in thousands of jobs being destroyed.

In 1970, there were 21,443 fishing not only in Britain but all the UK. By 2009 that figure had dropped to 12,222 a decrease of 43, 05% (Curran25). Which meant that most of Britain's interest earns goes directly to the union because as Britain has a relative large fishing zone compared to many of its continental European neighbours, EU fishermen benefit more from access to UK waters.

The Marine and Fishing Authority confirmed that they had not carried out any studies of the CFP on Britain economy; and they stated that “we cannot identify UK waters: they are now identified as being part of EC waters” (Curran 26). Therefore, Britain could be self - sufficient in non - exotic fish stocks but is forced to import fish to satisfy demand which has been steadily rising over the years. Hence, the tax payers Alliance report the price of fish puts the total cost, including lost catch and additional food costs at an

¹⁸https://ec.europa.eu/fisheries/cfp_en (Accessed on 4th March 2017).

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estimated \$4.5 billion per annum (26).

2.4.3 Trade and Jobs: the EU budget

One of the most uniformity contentious aspects of the European Union is its budget. This is a puzzle, not least because the budget accounts for barely 2 percentage points of aggregate public expenditure by all levels of government. The issues that cause friction turn on fractions of a percentage point of the GDP of member states and would probably generate far less acrimony if they arose inside a country. Disputes centre on the size of the budget, the net contributions or receipts of different member states, the composition of spending and the manner in which the budget is funded. During the 1980s, there was intense conflict between the EU institutions over who should have the final say on the budget (Laffan108).

The British net contributions to the EU budget since 1973 are viewed in real terms in the chart. Gross and net contributions and public sector receipts from the budget are shown in the (see Figure 2). The EU also spends money in Britain, by providing funding for various programmes in which the richer member states are net contributors to the EU budget they contribute more to the budget than they receive from it as the case of Britain while the poorer states are generally net recipients, they receive more from the EU budget than they pay in.

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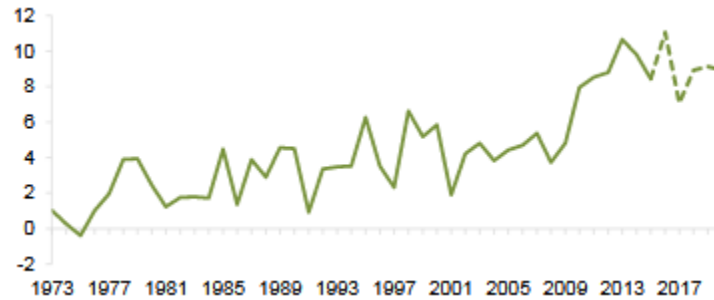


Figure 2: British annual net contribution to EU Budget¹⁹

The contributions to the EU budget were divided into three main sources: one of them was to collect customs tariffs and levies on behalf of the EU. 20% of the tariffs collected are kept by member states to cover the cost of collection. The second one was to contribute a percentage of its adjusted, or harmonised, VAT-base. While the third one was to contribute a percentage of Gross National Income (GNI) (Begg 4).

As one of the largest economies in the EU, it is not surprising that Britain is one of the countries asked to pay most towards the EU budget, and the cost of this to the British tax-payer is manifestly one of the contentious issues around British membership of the EU. Therefore, Britain's contribution to the EU budget was higher than the EU member states' contribution. As well as, the union also spends money in Britain by the contribution that can be measured in a number of different ways, one possible measure is the hypothetical gross contribution based on requiring each member state to pay in proportion to its prosperity, as measured by gross national income. However, because of the British rebate and the various other corrections what might be called the actual contributions differ from these ex-ante gross contributions. To duplicate, the money that

¹⁹In brief: UK-EU economic relations

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national treasuries are obliged to send to Brussels every month is derived from these post-correction actual contributions (Begg 6).

Britain was call for other additional contributions to the EU budget because of her largest profits that Britain earns. But this time the EU was met with resistance from the British government. The British prime minister, who was informed of the payment that demand on 23 October, claimed that “downright anger about ... the completely unjustified and sudden production of the bill”, and acknowledged the press conference that was held at the European council meeting on 24 October that “I’m not paying that bill on 1 December, if people think i’m going to they’ve got another thinking”²⁰. This statement was addressed especially to the EU member states in order to reduce the budget of Britain toward them, in which Britain considered it as a burden more than a responsibility.

Add to this the critical of the demand by chancellor. Arriving at ECOFIN on 7 November who stated that “the demand that Britain pays \$1.7 billion on 1 December is unacceptable”²¹. The call for Britain to pay such great amount of money into the EU budget by the end of the month was because Britain's economy is doing better relative to other European economies.

2.5 Conclusion

Britain's participation in a single European market remains at the heart of Britain's relationship with the European Union, whether or not Britain remains an EU member

²⁰Oral evidence taken before the European Security committee on 4 November 2014.<http://tvnewsroom.consilium.europa.eu/event/european-council-october-2014-day-2/national-united-kingdom-part-141> .(Accessed on 13th Apr 2017).

²¹<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2825044/Brussels-1-7billion-bill-pushing-Britain-exit-door-Cameron-warned-EU-leaders-ate-reindeer-dinner.html> . (Accessed on 14th Apr 2017).

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state. Generally speaking, Britain's membership of the EU has been synonymous with its great contribution in a 'Common' and now 'Single' Market.

Nevertheless, Britain still has to accomplish its undertaking to the founding institutionalised framework of the union. As Blair announced in this statement, even without the participation of Britain, the system of union may still go forward, and then Britain will run the risk of being marginalised. The case of Britain also explained that an institutionalised framework would more or less have a 'lock-in' effect upon actors; the EU members may be not completely committed to investigating their promises, and the result would cost them more to leave it. Therefore, Britain might decrease its participation in the union if she failed to realise her national interests.

Chapter Three

The Impact of the Early Exit of Great

Britain on EU

3.1 Introduction

When the British people decided in a referendum to leave the European Union automatically many things had been changed, after that Britain could help the Euro zone, making progress and finding solutions which mean that Britain had an ability to make a point about an effective and greater transparency and accountability in EU institutions. However, based on the decision of Brexit, Britain could lose its influence on the EU.

In this chapter, we will discuss the different issues concerning Brexit. First, we will going to explore the reasons behind the British leaving from the European Union. Then, we will deal with the impact of Brexit on Great Britain shedding the light on the Treaty of Lisbon and trade relations as well as the different domains that touched Britain economically, socially and politically. In addition, we will deal with the economic, political and social impact of the Brexit on the EU members. Finally, it is also important to focus on the future of the EU after the British withdrawal.

3.2 Reasons behind the British secession from the European Union

A majority of British citizens voted for Britain to leave the European Union, in a referendum held in June 2016, the Prime Minister David Cameron ¹, led the campaign to stay in the EU resigned. So, the Brexit created a new relationship between Britain and the EU which means that the relationship between them decreased, and the conflict stretches back a century.

¹ David Cameron is best known for being a revolutionary leader of Britain's conservative party, and was elected prime minister in 2010; he announced his resignation in 2016 after the United Kingdom voted to leave the European Union.

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In order to search for the real reasons that led Britain to leave the EU, we should shed light on the history or the position of Britain in the EU because there are many events happened. Through this chapter, we are going to tackle the real reasons which led Britain to leave the EU. So according to the Treaty of Paris which was signed in 1957 by France, West Germany, Belgium, Italy, Luxemburg and the Netherlands the EEC was established because of the bad damages of WWII. Moreover, it was better for the nations to go to war with each other; that's why the EEC was the latest of many attempts to foster economic cooperation between European nations.

During 1973, Britain had finally joined the club after several attempts which were always vetoed by the French president Charles De Gaulle, who did not want the English language to replace the French one as the dominant language of the community.

In 1975, 67 percent of the British voted (yes) after the nation made a referendum of whether the people think that the EU should stay in the European Community (common market) or not.

In 1984, the conflicts between the EEC and Britain exploded, especially when the Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher stated to reduce the British payments to the EEC budget, unfortunately at that time Britain was the third-poorest nation in the community which means that due to its relative lack of farms, it payed more into the budget than the other nations did (Swales 15).

The Maastricht treaty which was held in Brussels in 1993 had a crucial affect on the European Union. The EU was planned to complete the Europeans' nations

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politically and economically, containing a united foreign policy, common citizenship rights and a single currency and the euro.

In 2007, the EU members had already finished the negotiation after the decline of the EU's constitution. David Cameron became the first British Prime Minister to veto an EU treaty in 2011. In 2013 he summarized the challenges and difficulties that faced Europe, and if his conservative party won a majority in the next election, he will renegotiate membership in the EU. After Cameron won the re-election in May 2015 he started to work in the renegotiating of Britain and the EU members including changes in emigrant, welfare payments and financial safeguards².

In 2016, he declared the results of those negotiations which were set on 23 June. England and Wales voted in favor of Brexit, whereas, Northern Ireland voted to remain in the EU, but Scotland calls for another referendum on the Scottish independence.

In October 2016, the Prime Minister Theresa May³ had an office following David Cameron's resignation, in which she declared her intention to invoke the 50 article of the treaty on the EU, officially giving notice of the British intention to leave the EU the order was signed by Theresa on March 29th, 2017.

Millions of British people are entered to vote on a referendum over whether they will remain in the European Union or exit. So, the majority of the British people have voted to leave the European Union; the 28 member countries accept the idea of opening their borders to other European Union members, share a common market and

²<https://www.Bustle.com/articles/168688-why-does-britain:want-to-leave-the-eu-understanding-the-brex-it-beef>.(Accessed on 21st Apr 2017).

³ Theresa May is Britain's first female prime minister since Margaret Thatcher , she is considered one of the most powerful conservative women and was the longest serving home secretaries in British history.

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abide by various social and political policies. This is totally different from the euro zone which created a common currency for 19 of the 28 member countries; so the pound sterling briefly tanked. The British people want to be out from the EU there are three main issues that pushed them to vote for leaving the EU: economics immigration and identity (Swales 22).

The economics issue was that Britain gets distributed again to the various other member states after the money that Britain send it to Brussels. The point of view concerning this problem divided between those in favor of Brexit and their arguments and those against Brexit which means they remain campaign. Actually those in favor of Brexit agree with Americans who complain about national funding which goes to programs like the national endowment for the arts. Whereas, the remain campaign argues that leaving the EU (and its common market, in which Britain can sell goods to all the EU states under favorable terms) would cause severe damage to the economy and possibly the world economy.

The immigration controversy stated on any citizen of an EU member state can move or travel and work in Britain, without needing a work visa, this idea accepted by most of economists and argued that this is good for the economy, in contrast right wingers disagree and complain that non British citizens are coming in and using rare public resources like the National Health Service and Welfare, the British people do not generally see themselves as European, and the question of British identity within the EU is a complicated and difficult one⁴

⁴<http://campaignforanindependentbritain.org.uk/the-economy/>. (Accessed on 21st Apr 2017).

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By the Brexit⁵, Britain would take control back over its law, this idea was argued by the leavers, but the remainders do not have a good answer for the more abstract question over what it means to be British.

Europe was not able to be best organized by intentional design, from the common fisheries policy to the common currency, being part of the EU means trying to do things which determined by a Brussels elite, the more separated or detached from public accountability the Euro system has become not proficient, by harnessing and balancing opposing forces, Britain's refusal to be restored to being in the EU is not anything to do with flags. That's why; the more successful societies are those that permitted more not centralized decision making.

The political imperative of European integration is determined by the British fishing policy, the real goal is to create on EU fishing fleet an EU waters under its permit system controlled from Brussels. The British economist Bernard Connolly agreed with the idea to start touching upon the preparations for the EU currency because of the European commission was unelected and the membership of the European Union is undemocratic. It had the power to issue regulations in the subject of immigration. Britain had given away control of immigration and retained the power only to control non-EU immigration. Consequently, commonwealth citizens with struggled to obtain visas⁶.

Many of British people used arguments for leaving the EU , which would result in an immediate cost saving , as the country no longer contribute to the EU

⁵Brexit is an abbreviation for « British exit », referring to the British decision in June23, 2016 referendum to leave the European Union.

⁶<http://www.the-week.co.uk/brexit-0>.(Accessed on 21st Apr 2017).

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budget the difficult thing is that whether the financial advantages of EU membership such as free trade and inward investment is very hard to be determined.

The European trade based on no tariffs which were imposed on imports and exports between member states, means that the EU is a single market. This idea was proved by more than 50 percent of European exports, so the EU countries trade dealt with the EU and other world powers. Britain, in this case, benefited from this relation in order to create the world's biggest and largest free trade area. The EU is conferring with the US and this will extremely helpful to British business. So, by leaving the EU it is possible for Britain to lose some of that negotiating power. However, it is in a good position which means that by leaving the EU it would be free to establish its own trade agreements. Pro-exit campaigners argued that to re-establish free trade, it would be in the interests of other European countries, but their opposites argued that the EU would want to make and build life hard for Britain, France also denied about leaving Britain which means that there would be bad consequences for Britain if it decided to leave the EU.⁷

In sovereignty, few disagree that the EU membership involves giving up some control over their own affairs, so for braxier sovereignty was seen as a simple and good win. The EU institutions have gained power from the British parliament, in which the EU was consider as an attempt to show the interests of big business and replace it by the democratic power of the people with a permanent administration. The British government would still be prepared by membership of NATO, the world trade organization and various treaties and agreements with other nations which mean that the British sovereignty will be absolute out of the EU.

⁷<https://www.Bustle.com/articles/168688-why-does-britain:want-to-leave-the-eu-understanding-the-brexite-beef>. (Accessed on 22nd Apr 2017).

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Under the EU's law, Britain cannot stop anyone from another member state coming to live and work in the country. This law may shed light on the benefit of the Britons from an equivalent right to live and work anywhere else in the EU, which led to a huge increase in immigration into Britain, especially from eastern and southern part.

The British Prime Minister David Cameron claimed that "Britain should reduce immigration as new arrivals will take a low rate of child benefit"(Beddoes 9). The decision of being out from the EU and the effect of leaving the EU on British jobs depends on the factors above: trade, investment and immigration.

By leaving the EU, Britain will have an opportunity to re-establish itself as a truly independent nation with strong connections to the rest of the world. But remainders fear that the results of Brexit in the country will give up its influence in Europe. The Brexit would bring some advantages, for example Britain would get back control over fishing rights around its costs, but Britain would find itself irritating outsider with limited access to the single market. This means that Britain lose its influence as a leader in the members.

3.2.1 The treaty of Lisbon

By the end of 2001, the Lisbon Treaty started as a constitutional project. It was later followed up by the European convention which drafted the treaty, establishing a constitution for Europe. The Lisbon Treaty is a result of the negative outcomes of two referenda on the constitutional treaty in May and June 2005. The European council decided to have two years of reflection. This treaty was signed on December 13th2007 at the European council of Lisbon and had been ratified by all member states.

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The Lisbon Treaty tried to change the way of the Union in which the union exercises its existing powers and some shared powers by creating a new institution which set up and modify the decision making processes for increased efficiency and transparency.

The Lisbon Treaty contained no article which clarifies the powers of the union.

However, it distinguished three types of competences:

First, exclusive competence: According to which, the union can legislate and member states only implement. Second, shared competence: According to which, the member states can legislate and adopt legally binding measures if the Union has not done. Third, supporting competence: According to which, the European Union adopts measures to support or complement member states policies⁸

This treaty made the union with full personality. In other words, it gave the EU the ability to sign international treaties in the areas of its attributed powers. Moreover the treaty was based on completing three aspects of the area of freedom, security and justice (FSJ). It also expresses the three fundamental principles of democratic equality representative democracy and participatory democracy.

When the treaty of Lisbon was amended and signed in Lisbon, Portugal, by the prime ministers and foreign ministers of the 27 European Union member states on 13 December 2007, the name of the treaty of Lisbon changed to the Reform Treaty. The treaty used most of the content of the proposed European Union constitution, which was rejected in the French and Dutch referendums on 29 May and June 2005. This led to the establishment of the European Community (TEC). Consequently, the treaty

⁸See the Treaty of Lisbon.

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amended the EU and it was renamed to the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU).

The British possibility of leaving the EU has grown. In fact, the British Prime Minister David Cameron refused to sign the European Union's Fiscal Stability Treaty in December 2011, because he asked for safeguards for the city of London. However the other member states rejected his demands. His government published that Britain intended to avoid many areas of European justice and home affairs co-operation in October 2012. In January 2013, Cameron offered the British public a referendum on membership.

There are many Brexit models which show how the Brexit practiced or used in the most appropriate way. The models indicate that Brexit will only happen if the majority voted to leave the European Union in a referendum.

This treaty put an end to a period of political and institutional crisis in the EU. It also established a constitution for Europe (constitutional treaty) which represents the background to the Lisbon treaty.

The role of member states parliaments in the legislative processes of European Union institutions expanded by the Treaty of Lisbon which had the great role in responding to new applications for membership. In addition to this, the Lisbon Treaty created two different ways for amendments of the European Union treaties: First, an ordinary revision procedure which involves convening, an intergovernmental conference. Second, a simplified revision procedure which deals with EU's internal policy and actions. The treaty provides for the casserole clause which permitted the European council to decide to move from unanimous voting to qualified majority

voting. The parliament and its increase in power and the European council were the biggest winners from Lisbon⁹.

3.3 The Brexit Impact on Great Britain

Since the WWII, the British exit from the European Union is the most important economic demerger between major economies. Hence, Britain and the EU will be changed and transformed by what is about to reveal.

After the WWII, free trade zone was preferred by the country rather than a customs Union. This would enable Britain to have flexibility in controlling its special relations with its colonies and the US country in addition to work without establishing common institutions. When Britain joined the European community in 1973, the country has been at its top power especially economically.

The election results for the British House of Commons in 2015 was crucial for deciding whether the country would remain in the European Union or not. The Prime Minister David Cameron made a referendum on the Brexit in 2017 to decide whether the country would be in or out the Union. Any discussions about the Brexit are crucial for the future of the EU since any problem with one member state can affect the other members. Still, these members may react to the Brexist since their decisions are also important for the development of the Union (Renwick 3).

In a historic referendum on Thursday June 23, the British people voted for a British exit from the EU. The pound fell to its lowest level since 1985 and David Cameron resigned from his position. These events happened after the declaration of the result. The new Prime Minister Theresa declared that Britain had left the Union in

⁹The Treaty of Lisbon.

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order to get back the control over immigration and to end the supremacy of EU's laws.

3.3.1 The Economical Impact

The percentage of Britain exports going to European Union as well as 15 other countries was only 35 percent. However it had risen to 42 percent in 1973. Also the percentage of the United Kingdom's imports from 15 nations of the EU was raised by 13 percentage points between 1962 and 1973 from around 30 to almost 43 percent. The trade relations between Britain and other European Union states were going deeply between 1973 and 1990. During this period of time, both the British export and import rates rose to about 60 percent. More than 50 percent of its exports were to the EU and more than 50 percent of its imports came from other European Union nations. That is to say, the British trade was geared toward the European Union (Irwin 33).

Non European markets became more crucial for British exporters. However, this was not the real reason for Britain to leave the European Union. In fact, Britain was the preferred location for investment from the other leading markets; so, it was considered as a home to a larger stock of the EU and the US Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) than any other European Union economy.

The Prime Minister David Cameron started the debate about the economics of Britain's membership in the EU. Many British politicians and commentators accepted the idea of free trade but there was a debate on whether Britain should establish priorities trade with Europe or with the rest of the world. In 2012, British trade with the rest of the world passed its trade with the EU as the union's economy remained depressed. However, global trade has grown much faster than global production by the end of WWII.

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Since the 1950's, the emergence of East Asia as a major manufacturing , first Japan then South Korea and South –East Asia , and then China brought hundreds of millions of consumers and workers into global market. In the final three months of 2016, the British economy grew. According to the Official for National Statistics (ONS); Gross Domestic Product (GDP) increased by 0, 7percent up from 0, 6 percent. After the Brexit voted, the pound fell dramatically. This fall helped exporters. But it had made foreign holidays more expensive for the British tourists. The pound has increased import costs for manufacturers. Moreover, big companies profits converted back into the weaker pound; they would be calculated in dollars and would automatically rise because big companies profits are often thought in this way.

After the referendum, the bank of England took steps to push the pressure of the economy. It was more right to keep rates on faithful way, because raising them could affect the growth. In addition, banks from other EU countries would face a difficult choice: if Britain left the union, many banks from elsewhere in the EU would make London their centre of European operations (Irwin 8).

3.3.2 The Social Impact

When dealing with the Brexit impact on British society, it is important to shed light on immigration, jobs, wages, constructionetc.

Over the last five years the problem of unemployment had been falling steadily as a result, Britain may be covered again from the global financial crisis which saw that two million jobs lost. In recent months, wages have been growing faster than inflation; compared with the same period a year earlier , regular pay increased by 2,3 in construction due to a weaker pound. Furthermore, house building has slowed to a

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six month low at costs have raised; in addition to this , output in the construction industry has risen which led by civil engineering (Sampson 9).

Immigration has been cited as having an impact on the Brexit debate; however those who advocate the Brexit believe that the nation can reduce taxes for its citizens and reduce the burden of immigration by breaking free.

Since the 1960's the British population has grown continually. There were approximately 52 million residents in 1960. However, the population had grown to around 56 million when the country joined the European Union in 1973.

3.3.3 The Political Impact

A government crisis was one of the most important consequence of Thursday's vote for Britain to leave the European Union.

In Western Europe, the far- right parties will be capable of attracting enough support to shape and form political debate. This means that the far right will not be able to come to be powerful in any European Union country; however, it will be able to influence the government actions. As it has been mentioned, one of the largest and most important members of the EU would be loosen it in the event of Brexit. In the short and long terms this would have a significant impact on the EU's political system. After voting for Britain to leave the European Union, Germany and France would push for deeper Euro zone integration.

3.4 The Brexit Impact on the EU members

The impact of Brexit is not restricted only to the EU; however, it also touched the other states around the world. The most noticeable loss would be Britain's economics approach. The EU countries fear the influence of British Euro on their own

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domestic debate. They is also frustrated with London for not facing the issue at home. Moreover, the British limiting immigration is seen as a direct attack on the fundamental right of the free movement of people and labor in the single market.

NATO is nothing without Britain. Europe is incapable of defending itself without Britain and the USA. Britain could upset complex and bad relations with the European Union between the North and the South, the East and the West. Small and large members have often used Britain to balance the other countries because Franco-German relations are often considered as the motor of European integration. The outcome of the Brexit could be a more confused as it divided and weakened the EU. The position of Germany could be strengthened enhancing German support for integration. It powered and strengthened the EU institutions and the Euro zone. The loss of the British economy with its strong support for free trade could lead to protectionist European Union (Sampson2).

Britain with France have been important to many of the European Union's efforts to work together on foreign security and defense policies. It should be taken into consideration that the European Union's international relations are varied and widespread. So, in order to develop a working relationship for managing common problems, both Britain and the European Union will be compelled by geography economics, law and demographic links. Britain may attempt to use its new position based on more intergovernmental arrangements focusing on trading links. It will move from decision maker to decision shaper.

The Brexit will be the biggest test for the EU and its members. In all international trade negotiations, the EU members have a common trade policy which is represented by the Union. After Brexit, Britain become an independent player , free

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to seek its own trade deals with the rest of the world which means that this freedom could be used by Britain to look for new trade deals with other countries such as China, India and the United States since Britain have good relation with the United States. This would allow Britain to shape new relations, new ideas and new co operations.

A major new free trade agreement is negotiating by the EU with the United States. The main economic benefit of leaving the EU would be a lower net contribution to the EU budget. After the Brexit, all the Union countries lose income. In fact, Britain would obtain better trade with non –European Union countries. In addition, Britain would not benefit from the future of the EU trade since it is no more a member state. Briefly, membership of the EU has reduced trade costs between Britain and the rest of Europe. Moreover, reductions in trade barriers have increased trade between Britain and the EU (Beddoes 32).

3.4.1 The Economical Impact

The EU budget and Germany will have to pay out more once Britain leaves the Union. In addition, the politico- economic consequences of the referendum are still uncertain and depend on the outcome of the removal negotiations between the EU and Britain.

As the British economy continues, it will cause unemployment and investment will fall out. Theresa May was in favor of keeping as much of the British economy inside the EU as possible in order to be a form of enhanced association agreement with the EU where both the mobility of people (the EU main concern) and the mobility of capital and goods (the British main concern) are allowed. However, the EU migrants should be able to keep the right of residency in Britain, in regulations for

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the British business in the remaining 27 member states. This will be resulted by any limitation of the free mobility for EU citizens especially when there is an understanding or sympathy for the current Tory government sharing the key players of the EU mainly Germany, France and Italy (Springford10).

At the end of the two –year negotiation period, Britain will remain as a subject to EU laws which will be the opposite for the brexiteers. There might be some direct economic impact. Value losses have been experienced by CEE currencies as investors changed toward dollar and Euro dominated assets. The European economic area will be contained Britain as the Hungarians exports to Britain (3,2percent in 2014) and the polish ones (6, 6 percent in 2014) which remained unaffected.

The EU budget has been damaged badly. It will not be easy for Britain to stop paying as the EU budget framework is a highly complex legal construction. Even with the Brexit negotiation, London will be careful in this issue decision to stop paying. In 2018 Britain’s reputation in the eyes of its creditors will be damaged. For the years 2020-2026 the new budget negotiations will be more difficult. This means that the EU should find new sources of revenues, and search for solutions to expand the direct sources of revenues of its budget, mainly sugar and custom duties (Springford 2).

Poland, Hungary and non-Euro countries will lose influence in the EU and become structural minorities as the seat of the European banking authority was determined to be in London in order to be tasked to carry out stress test for the European banks. As a result, the financial impact of non-Euro countries was strengthened in 2011 and the bad result of Brexit is that the financial and economic role of remaining non-Euro member states will be marginal in the EU and other EU

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institutions will leave Britain. After the Brexit referendum, the EU has to be deeper through the expansion of the Euro zone.

Germany will be the major winner of the Brexit, mainly politically. The results of the referendum of the UK to leave the EU will strengthen the largest member states, in particular Germany with its more than 80 million inhabitants. Moreover Germany enjoys the highest credit rating and at the same time it has the strongest economy of the EU. France and Italy cannot balance Germany's quasi-hegemony position, that's why Germany will become more influential while the British economy will be the main losers which will pest the weak currency as well as the US Dollar and the Euro (Renwick 3).

By the end of 2016, the economic growth is likely to slow down and have negative impact on private consumption. In addition, the bank of England will be pressured and expected to reduce the interest rates possibly to zero by the end of 2016. For example, within 10, days the royal bank of Scotland lost 30 percent of its value which raise the chances for Frankfurt to replace London as the financial center of Europe (Irwin 33).

Due to political stability and the high credit rating of Germany, Germany is predicted a transfer of around 10.000 jobs in the banking sector from London to Frankfurt. In addition to this, in Dublin or Luxemburg, some banks might move on it where the tax system is easier to financial services that it is in Germany.

3.4.2 The Political Impact

The Tory plan faced with assurgent debt and a period of resulting from Britain's exit from the EU. The government is set to take borrowing to levels and the

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Tory government is trying to keep promises made in the past and at the same time to address the looming realities of the future.

Philip Hammond the former foreign secretary, promised to work on a new phase of fiscal policy when he succeeded George Osborne, David Cameron's chancellor, a year that would be different from the austerity agenda of his predecessors.

Hammond thought that corporation tax would be cut to 17 percent by 2020 and promised to design investment fund for areas like transport and infrastructure. He refused the decision to leave the EU since it will make it more important than ever to address the weaknesses present in the British economy. That is why Hammond expressed that Britain is faster and growing in economy. Since the historic vote sterling has fallen around 15 percent. From the beginning of the Brexit, there are many efforts from the government which has the supporting of the public to guide Britain's economy into calmer waters. In order to lead the country to an economic recovery, growth and record decrease unemployment levels. Osborne forced Britain into an era of austerity that was brutal. Consequently, it can be said that Brexit had great and deep impact on the British society.

3.4.3 The Social Impact

The main issue in the British debates is not the Euro but also the immigration. For this reason, Britain was a major advocate of eastward EU management in the second half of the 1990's. Since the EU was enlarged the east, from the west to east the eastward enlargement gave a boost to capital mobility and labor mobility from east to west. In Britain, the share of foreign born employees is higher and the isolationist campaigns failed to point out that the EU migrants have remained a

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minority in the last 20 years when a comparison was made to non-EU immigrants and Britain. So, it is better that the first big waves of emigration from Poland, Romania and other countries should have added these waves of emigration.

The reality is that poles and others are very active economically. They have higher employment rates than the British workforce. Moreover, the British budget was participated by them because they are considered as net contributors to the British budget.

The British Prime Minister David Cameron requires (in his February deal), a great sacrifice from people coming from central European countries. These countries agree about this compromise because they are grateful for the earlier British position supporting EU enlargement. Being active in Europe, Britain was appreciated by all due to its geopolitical importance but they refused to accept the idea that it suffers from immigration from Eastern Europe (Springford 3).

The British workers receive better training before and during their employment. The EU itself is working to regulations mobility rules by preparing and organizing a document on fair mobility. The quality of mobility will be improved by fostering the cooperation of public employment services.

EU labour should not be used as a trigger for Brexit; rather, it is about what needs to change in the EU in order to function better. The EU has to be comfortable and function well for all bigger as well as smaller member states. Britain provides the framework within which, along with other countries, it can search for and bring the right answers to the growing migration crises because the EU give other Europeans the freedom and opportunities to work in the UK but it also gives the same freedom to move to British workers, pensioners companies and investors which are the most

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areas that threatened by Brexit employment, social policy, regional employment and education especially higher education and research.

3.5 The future of the European Union

The future of the country's relationship with its largest trade partner will be shaped by the outcome of Britain's referendum on membership of the European Union.

The future of the European Union with Brexit cannot be judged by its success or its failure because Brexit would not necessarily mean that Britain would make zero contribution to the European Union budget. For example, Norway's financial contribution to the European Union is 83 which means that Norway as EEA member make substantial payments to the European Union. The most countries trading the most with Britain are countries that lost mostly such as Russia and Turkey (Lindsell99).

This means that countries outside the European Union gain as trade is set towards them and away from the European Union. Brexit will increase Germany's political and economic supremacy in the European Union and will damage the European Union's cohesion as well as its international reputation. The liberal political and economic order will be determined by Brexit. Furthermore, the European Union and their allies and friends stand plans for more co-operations in areas such as defense and domestic security will be presented by the French and Germans.

Trade between Britain and the European Union would be lower when Britain leaving the European Union because of the higher tariff and non-tariff barriers to trade. In addition, a lower net contribution to the European Union budget would be

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the main economic benefit of leaving the European Union which means that Britain would benefit less from future market integration within the European Union. The reality is that all European Union countries lose income after Brexit. By leaving the EU, Britain would not automatically benefit from future EU trade; it would also lose its power as its economy makes up only 18 of the European Union's single market.

The benefit of Brexit is viewed through more pragmatism in politics and better protection of own borders. However, along with its advantages, the Brexit has some negative effects on Britain: Common Travel Area (CTA) between the UK and Ireland cut up by European external border growing global insignificance and forced to recognize all international trade relations. Still, the disadvantages of a Brexit are different for the EU. It led to economic and political loss of significance which means smaller union as well as the decrease of intra-European trade caused by economic losses. Moreover, European Banking Authority (EBA) has to be relocated and damage to the European integration project (Lindsell 6).

Germany also will be influenced by the Brexit. Thus, due to the decrease trade with Britain, the economy losses and Germany will be asked to pay more because already the largest net contributor and transfer- union becomes a real risk.

3.6 Conclusion

The Brexit is a decision making by the British people to give their opinions about leaving or remaining in the EU. Britain has two years to negotiate its withdrawal but no one really knows how the Brexit process will work. Philip Hammond wanted Britain in the EU and he suggested that it could take up six years for this country to complete exit negotiations. So, Brexit will bring more disadvantages than advantages to all parties.

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Considerable concessions of the EU cannot be expected free trade without contributions and without free movement of persons which means Brexit supporters will not achieve what they want and damage the city of London. Frankfurt (besides Dublin, Paris and Luxemburg) could benefit , because the main goal of the EU is to foster economic co-operation and to avoid going to war with countries and based on the idea that countries which trade together are more likely and to become a single market. This allows goods and people to move around as if the member states were one country. It has its own currency, the Euro, and its own parliament but all of these will be changed after the British people voted in a referendum to leave the EU.

General Conclusion

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The proposal of the European Union existed from an ancient time. However, with the end of the WWII this idea comes into effect with the British Prime Minister Winston Churchill in a speech held in Zurich in 1946. Then it was strengthened with the proposal to establish the ECSC by the French Minister Robert Schuman on May 1946, what is now regarded as the European Union.

This Union is considered as a community of European States, respectively an international and intergovernmental organization, formed by the Fundamental Treaties, which is currently comprised of six member states including: France, Germany, Italy, Belgium Luxembourg and the Netherlands, with the aim of free movement of goods within the free market. One of the major characteristics of the Union is that it is based on the written constitution or the so called „EU treaties“, which appear also with the primary sources of the EU’s law and the secondary sources of this institution. Therefore, the primary sources include: the treaty of Paris the treaty of Rome, Euratom, the Single European Act, the Maastricht Treaty, the Amsterdam Treaty, the Treaty of Nice and the Treaty of Lisbon. While the Secondary sources consist of orders, directives, decisions, recommendations and opinions.

Before 1973, Britain has never been terribly popular member of the European Union because of Charles De Gaulle’s vetoing against the British. However, thanks to Pompidou that Britain joined the EU. As a latecomer to the emerging Union, the British membership in the EU was more important than those of the other major countries because of its high contribution to the Union that rose from its first accession.

General Conclusion

Britain's participation in a single European market remains at the heart of Britain's relationship with the European Union, whether or not Britain remains an EU member state. Generally speaking, Britain's membership of the EU has been synonymous with its great contribution in a 'Common' and now 'Single' Market which touched different domains especially politically, economically and security fields.

In the political side, the labour party under Tony Blair participated more than the conservative one, following the path of Churchill in updating the three circles model, they also tried to reconstruct Europe by using the single common currency Euro. They tried to think through a British Strategy on European policy in which its defence and security policy was a key area where Britain could play a pivotal role.

In both defense and security policy, Britain has had different experiences to its continental neighbors, due to its geographical and historical background. The concept of “peace dividen” was also one among the contribution of Britain to the EU in which the British wider security interests was promoted through the maintenance of international peace and stability. The agreement of St Malo paved also the political path for EU governments to launch the European Security and Defence policy (ESDP).

In the economic side, the Common Agricultural Policy that Britain re-established made the union self-sufficient in food production in which the institution of the CAP represents almost 40% of the EU budget. In addition, Britain was one of the countries that asked to pay most towards the EU budget, and the cost of this to the British tax- payer is manifestly one of the contentious issues around British membership of the EU.

General Conclusion

Britain participated in the EU continues until 2016, when Britain sends money to Brussel. From this point Britain's leaving the EU become more official and its participation in the EU started to decline. This led eventually to the Brexit in 2017.

The results of leaving the European Union were not simply a rejection of the European Union but also of a politics based on calculated self-interest or reasoned idealism. Therefore, Britain without EU's restrictions was free to conduct independent trade negotiations with large export markets such as the US and China which provided access to new markets for British goods. It will gain also full control of its borders and will be able to control the workers and migrants in and out of its country which serving as a form of protection for its local labor market.

The Brexit impact was not restricted only to Britain; however, it influenced also the whole European Union economically, politically and also socially. Brexit might require Germany to assume a position of even greater leadership and authority. Some analysts have also noted that without Britain Germany would be expected to contribute more to European defense and security. Britain's withdrawal from the Union may encourage the other member states to secede from the EU as well. However, it may also lead to strengthen the EU. The future of the European Union with Brexit cannot be judged by its success or its failure, because Brexit would not necessarily mean that Britain would make zero contribution to the European Union.

In the end, this dissertation was limited in length and content as a Master study. However, if one would be given the opportunity in the future to study the contribution of Great Britain to the European Union and the Aftermath again at larger scale, s/he would cover the other possible areas of Britain's Contribution to the EU in different domains such as: in Cultural and Social side.

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ملخص

خلال تاريخ تطور الاتحاد الأوروبي شهدت أوروبا عدم انضمام بريطانيا للمجموعة الاقتصادية الأوروبية حتى عام 1961 بعد رفضها لتوقيع معاهدة روما عام 1957 حتى تكون عضوا في المجموعة الاقتصادية الأوروبية .

في 2 اوت عام 1961 , قام هارولد ماكلان رئيس وزراء بريطانيا بالمطالبة بالانضمام إلى السوق الأوروبية المشتركة بزعامة ادوارد هاث الا ان الرئيس الفرنسي ديغول استعمل حق النقض ورفض انضمام بريطانيا الى المجموعة . لكن بعد خروج ديغول و التحاق جورج بومبيدو بالسلطة استطاعت بريطانيا الانضمام رسميا .

من هذه النقطة حاولت بريطانيا جاهدة ان تيرهن للجميع انها قادرة ان تكون ضمن قادة الاتحاد و ذلك من خلال المساهمة الفعالة التي لم تمس الجانب الاقتصادي فحسب بل السياسي و الأمني ايضا . لكن كان هناك انقسام بين حزب العمال و المحافظين و أصروا بعدها على خوض استفتاء حول استمرارية عضوية بريطانيا في المجموعة الاقتصادية الأوروبية .