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**The Brexit Dilemma:
Political and Economical Impacts**

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Dedication

Words are not enough to express my immense acknowledgments. I am sincerely grateful for my parents for their upbringing, sacrifice, education and support along the whole life especially my mother, to whom I owe a great debt of gratitude and respect.

I would like also to express my wholehearted thanks to all my family, brothers and sisters for their generous support they provided me throughout my entire life.

To all my friends and in particular my dearest partner Khawla, who have believed in me and in my capacities

To every person who appreciates the value of knowledge

I dedicate this dissertation for you

- **Yahia Aissa Ines**

Dedication

It is my pleasure to dedicate this modest work to my beloved parents, my strong pillars my source of inspiration, wisdom and understanding. I also dedicate this work to my sisters and brother for their constant support.

To all my friends Nerimane, Ayoub, Sara, Rima, Amani who have encouraged me all the way. To my special friend and partner Ines and her family for their care and love.

- **Belmiloud Khawla**

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Abstract

The present study aims for addressing political and economic implications of the Brexit, attempting to understand its stakes and full dimensions properly. The main problematic that was systematically approached in the current study was in which ways the Brexit will be affecting the EU and what led eventually to the EU referendum in 2016 and surprisingly to the Brexit and whether the UK will be out from the EU. In this regard, the dissertation is divided into two chapters. It works also on predicting the future of the relationship between the two sides. The current study is intended to reach certain aims which are: providing an analysis of the Brexit referendum and mainly its political and economic effects and discussing the UK's policy towards the EU and finding the common points that characterized the main crises.

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

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List of Abbreviations

CAP: The Common Agricultural Policy

CETA: The Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement

EU: The European Union

ECB: The European Central Bank

ECSC: The European Coal and Steel Community

EEA: The European Economic Area

EEC: The European Economic Community

EERM: The European Exchange Rate Mechanism

EFTA: The European Free Trade Association

NATO: The North Atlantic Treaty Organization

MP: Member of Parliament

PM: Prime Minister

QMV: Qualified Majority Voting

SEA: The Single European Act

SNP: The Scottish National Party

TEU: The Treaty on European Union

UK: The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

UKIP: The UK Independence Party

WTO: The World Trade Organisation

General Introduction

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

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

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

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

The increasing conflict of interests that exacerbates potential frictions within the international landscape, and the attempts of further integration among the European nations set the floor to the rise of feelings of Euroscepticism among many British leaders, politicians and citizens who believed that their country needs to be out of this institution.

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The complexity of the relationship between The UK and the EU reached its peak in David Cameron mandate (2010-2016). As matter of fact, David Cameron had called for a Referendum on the UK's continuous membership. The results of the referendum shocked the UK and the world with a popular vote in favour of exiting from the European Union known as the "Brexit". However, this Brexit has lead to more conflicts within the UK government especially concerning the 'How' to withdraw from the EU with less harm on its economy and politics. That's why different approaches were suggested to reduce potential negative effects.

1- Research Problem

Most of the well-established research that has focused on impacts of the Brexit tended to explain its main dimensionality exclusively on an economic perspective. However the factual causes that led truly to the Brexit are not sufficiently to provide us with a solid piece of evidence that would assist in the proper understanding of the real reasons behind leaving the EU, on top of that, the future probable implications might not be predicted accurately since they would affect not only the economy but all dimensions of the British society including, politics, health, trade...etc as well. Adding to all that Theresa May will have to face a crucial question of the compromise: Is there going to be a "Deal" or not and because solutions are not so clear the Brexit is also given the name of "Wicked Problem".

2- Objective of the Study

The present study aims at explaining the main consequences that might affect both the UK and the EU and their current issues and will try to show the possible implications on the short and long term. In this research we will point out at the five scenarios for the reform of the EU27, that provide a tool to assess a range of different Brexit outcomes, and understand the critical drivers and decision points that influence different results since extracting the UK from the European Union is an immense task consisting of not one but five key areas.

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3- Research Questions

The study intends to answer the following questions:

- 1- Why has United Kingdom taken this radical decision? What are its main implications?
- 2- In what form will the relationships between the UK and the EU move on?
- 3- What would be the consequences on the UK and the EU?

4- Literature review

The aim behind writing this part is to give an overview of the literature and various previous studies about The Political and Economical implications of the Brexit on both UK and EU we based our research on some Information from different books and articals.

In *‘How Britain will leave the EU’* Denis Macshane sets out the reasons why Britain will leave the European Union and emphasizes that Brexit may confirm a new period of nationalisms of the common Europe and the beginning of a new Europe.

Andrew Glencross analyses the renegotiation that preceded the vote in *“Why UK voted for Brexit”*, it also shed light on how the UK came to vote for Brexit or to explain where these tributaries originated and why they are now powerful.

Their analysis shows, the impact of the UK’s exit from the EU on the financial services companies and explains the scenario accompanied with a sensible transitional period that would be the most beneficial option for the financial institutions

The *“Implication of Brexit in the future of Europe”* concludes that if both EU and national leaders remain committed to European integration, the event of Brexit may very well mark another bout of centripetal activity, bringing the remaining EU Member States closer together.

General Introduction

In “*Brexit and Beyond*” The volume raises the question of where Europe’s future lies after Brexit and helps to rethink the future of the European project through debates taking place across the continent .

Our research will highlight the painful effects on UK in particular and the EU in general and what kind of compromise was taken into account for the Brexit.

5- Research Methodology

The method adopted to conduct this research is the exploratory method as it involves in-depth collecting data . It helps us to explore how decisions are made and provide us with detailed insight. The study investigates the results of the Brexit on both UK and EU and covers the Brexit process from different angles. In an attempt to collect and analyze data, we based on using the results of polls that were done by Ipsos MORI and Lord Ashcroft which are leading statistic companies in the UK. The uniqueness of these surveys is that the population are mainly British. In fact, the use of the second tool aimed at gathering fresher data from the actual sources as the British were the ones who voted for the Brexit.

6- Overview of Chapters

The study is divided into two parts, chapter one is concerned with describing the relationship between UK and EU from the early beginning till 2016 EU referendum. The first chapter includes also a description of literature review about the history of European Union and its development and the change that might overflow after the ‘divorce’. Chapter one also includes a definition of Brexit. Chapter two focuses on the consequences and effects on both UK and EU and the whole world. It also deals with the causes that led UK leave EU and the reasons behind it. We concluded it with some of the predictions for ‘after the Brexit’ the result of this issue.

Historical background

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

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

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

All these grievances led the British to vote for the exit from the EU. From that point has emerged the world "Brexit". The British referendum held on 23 June 2016 is considered as one of the most remarkable vote one that might have serious results for UK and the rest of the world for decades, if not generations. What will happen in the coming months with regards to

the negotiations is unclear Theresa May is stuck in a corner with her line “Brexit means Brexit”.

1.1 History and Development of the European Union

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

1.1.1 The origins of the European Coal and Steel Community

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

The UK who had just nationalized its coal and steel industries was not willing then to ‘surrender’ its sovereignty to a supranational organization. Moreover, it considered itself to be a bridge that links the USA and Europe.(Jones11)

1.1.2 from ECSC to EEC

The ECSC developed faster than what its founders had planned. The Benelux countries (Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg) thought of a full customs union, based on what

already existed among them to include all six ECSC members with any others who wished to join. In 1957, the Treaty of Rome was issued, and it was considered to be the starting point for the European Economic Community (EEC). The treaty established the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) whose ultimate purpose was to help the member of the EEC achieve self-sufficient in food production. So, huge investments were directed towards the agrarian sector .Some struggles among the members happened on the way of directing the EEC but it was settled by the ‘Luxembourg Compromise’ that’ gave each member state a veto over any decision if it was of vital national interest. (Jones 13)

1.1.3 The First Enlargement

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

1.1. 4 Enlargement to the South

After the first enlargement of the union which was towards northern countries, other two enlargements turned towards the southern part of the continent (Greece in 1981 and Portugal and Spain in 1986). In fact, the democratic elections which were held in the 1970s in those three countries formed a key step for becoming a member of the union. The economies of those countries were very weak and other members were forced to give aids to them. (Jones17)

1.1.5 A Europe without Frontiers

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

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

1.1.6 The Financial Crisis and its Challenges

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

1.2.The Relationship between the UK and the EU

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

1. 2.1 The UK Joining or Not 1951 to 1969

Though the UK was not a decisive winner of World War II nationalist feelings continued to increase. The British considered the ECSC to be an alliance of losers and that joining it would undermine its social protection of British workers. When the Six member states of the Union invited the United Kingdom to join them in 1950, the government of the UK refused, arguing that British coal and steel industries had been nationalized and it was thus impossible to put it under international management. (Jones 12)

The UK lost its economic strength after the war, and its economic situation was less powerful especially when compared to the EEC member states. In 1957, the UK attended the Treaty of Rome as an observer. In fact, The UK welcomed the idea of the free-trade area without a customs union but it refused to join the EEC because it had a similar relationship with the Commonwealth countries. (Jones 13)

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

Britain and EFTA members applied to join it. (Fabre “*The UK and the EU: more than 40 years of relationships*”)

Under Harold Macmillan’s Conservative Government, the UK applied to join the EEC in 1961. The negotiating team who was led by Chief Negotiator Edward Heath did not succeed in his mission. The British application was vetoed by President de Gaulle who was not enthusiastic for the UK joining the Union and felt that Britain was not yet ready to join the EEC. For the French, letting Britain join the union would eventually give the USA a reason to intervene in the European affairs. In 1956, Britain withdraws from collation with Israel and France to invade Egypt as a result of US pressure. In fact, the UK was more loyal to the USA than Europe. Moreover, Britain resumed to the USA during its crisis rather than its neighboring European countries. As a result, this first application was vetoed in 1963.

In 1967, the Labour Government of Harold Wilson made a second application to join the EEC, but their application was vetoed by de Gaulle. In mid-1967, the British currency faced some problems .So De Gaulle claimed that letting Britain join the union will affect the other member states of the EEC . (Fabre “*The UK and the EU: more than 40 years of relationships*”)

1.2.2 The UK being a Member: 1970 – 1979

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

collective. The negotiating team consisted of Anthony Barber and Sir Alec Douglas-Home. (Jones 15)

In the General Election of 1970, major political parties in the UK had committed themselves to negotiating terms, but there was a strong division between them after the agreement that the negotiating team had reached in June of 1971. The Labour party argued that the UK would delete thousand years of history if it joined the EEC it. Feelings of nationalism guided the members of the labour party. (Jones 16)

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

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

Edward Heath resumed to the Parliament for voting in which he reached an overwhelming majority of 356 votes for joining and 244 against. Heath convinced the public view that joining the EEC was much more about economics and nothing more, he stated that: “*we will find there is a great cross-fertilisation of knowledge and information, not only in business but in every other sphere. And this will enable us to be more efficient and more competitive in gaining more markets not only in Europe but in the rest of the world.*” (Bissinger 12)

The UK joined the EEC officially in 1973, but this was the starting point for a period of uneasy the relationship across the Channel.

Though the UK had joined the EEC, the Labour party was still opposing membership in the EEC, and this issue was a crucial point during the general election campaign. The labour

party won that election and Harold Wilson come back to his office of Prime Minister in February 1974. Harold Wilson announced that his government would renegotiate the terms of entry to get a better deal for the UK, which would be submitted to a referendum. (Fabre “*The UK and the EU: more than 40 years of relationships*”)

There were two main points which were discussed. One , the CAP which the UK refused to commit itself to its terms because it gets most of its agrarian needs from the members of the commonwealth countries .Two, the UK asked for reducing its contribution to the community budget. Wilson put the renegotiated terms of membership into referendum. Most parties were divided on the issue of whether to remain or not in the EEC. The "Yes" campaign was headed by Harold Wilson and the majority of his Government. The ‘No’ camp was presented as the choice of extremists, and it also included seven of the 23 Cabinet members. (Miller 20)

In June 1975, the referendum was held and resulted in a win by 64.03% for agreeing on staying in the EEC. The referendum confirmed the public approval for the UK's membership in the EEC, but this renegotiation did not end up the problem of Britain's contribution to the budget of the EEC . (Walsh “*Britain’s 1975 Europe referendum*”)

Table1: Referendum Results

United Kingdom European Communities membership referendum, 1975		
National result		
Choice	Votes	%
Yes	17,378,581	67.23
No	8,470,073	32.70%
Valid votes	25,848,654	99.78%

Invalid or blank votes	54,540	0.22%
Total votes	25,903,194	100.00%
Registered voters and turnout	40,086,677	64.67%

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

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

1. 2.3 Margaret Thatcher and the EEC: 1979 - 1990

After winning the elections, the conservatives made history in May 1979 by appointing their party leader Margaret Thatcher as Britain's first female prime minister. Thatcher created a strong leadership and presented herself as a person who took tough emotional decisions on European affairs. (Forster 63)

Thatcher's administration viewed the EC in a way similar to that of the previous Labour government. She believed that the EC did not help the British economy to recover. She had strong nationalist feelings, so she worked on resisting the constraints imposed by the EC. (Gifford 98)

By 1979 the transitional period of the UK into the EC December 1979 came to an end. So, Britain would have to pay all contributions. Thatcher understood that the amount of payment was disproportionate to the UK economy and reopened the issue in December 1979 during the

Dublin Conference. During that time, she announced her famous phrase “I want my money back”. This problem was resolved during the Fontainebleau meeting in 1984 when Britain received a refund on its contributions and an annual rebate. (Forster 66)

The main aim was to balance the costs and benefits from the EEC since most of the Community budget was spent on the CAP (at that time 80), which benefited the UK much less than other countries as the UK has a small farming sector. In fact, this issue also showed a kind of skepticism towards the European project. Moreover, Margaret Thatcher- the Iron Lady- is often referred to as being a Eurosceptic. (Fabre “*The UK and the EU: more than 40 years of relationships*”)

Thatcher thought of more European integration that will create the free market economy and help the British economy mainly. She, also, formed the Single European Act (the SEA), which created the Single Market and campaigned for a qualified majority voting (QMV) in the Council which worked on preventing any possible veto by one country (The European Union “*Single European Act*”).

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

Treaty was marked as the declining point of Euroscepticism in the British political field. (Forster 72)

Margaret Thatcher was the British Prime Minister who created more political integration with Europe. She became known as a symbol of a possible development in the relationship between the EC and Britain. Her role in the reform of the Community was ambivalent, but worked well. However, the situation quickly changed. Further discussions about the future of the EC had been worrying the conservative government. (Troitino 134)

In the summer of 1988, the discussion over creating the Economic and Monetary Union and, in particular, the European Central Bank started. However, Thatcher opposed the creation of the European Central Bank because she thought that this will lead to creating a European government. She believed that the monetary union could be realized without having a single currency and without establishing a central bank (Troitino 145).

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

In October 1990, Margaret Thatcher resigned and John Major was elected as the leader of the Conservative party in October 1990 and later on as a Prime Minister. (Forster 86).

1.2.4 Eurosceptic Tories 1990- 1997

Thatcher left a legacy of crisis in economic recession, growing electoral unpopularity for the Conservatives and the unease within a party over European integration.

John Major's government tried to present the modern conservative attitude as a combination of Thatcher's free trade radicalism and a belief in community. (Gifford 106)

John Major, like his predecessor thought of the European integration as placing Britain at the "heart of Europe", and opposed the proposals of strengthening a centralized control over the economy by the EU. He worked on rebuilding relations and secure alliances with the European governments, which had been alienated by Mrs. Thatcher.(Forster 83)

The UK made close relations with German political parties and also with parties in the European parliament. Major believed that close cooperation with Germany would stop French attempts to create a monetary union. Major's economic strategy was based on continued membership of the European Exchange Rate Mechanism (EERM), which helped in decreasing the inflation rates in France and Ireland.

Major's government tried to solve the problem of unemployment within the EU by working on accelerating the economic growth in the conditions of free competition and the development of private enterprise. Moreover, the UK blocked all the attempts of the EC Commission to raise the budget of the organization. (Smith "*Britain in the New Europe. Foreign Affairs*")

The EEC passed through a financial crisis in 1990 – 1994. The UK proposed reducing the spending on the CAP, to which almost half of the annual budget of the EEC was spent. (Stivachtis 112).

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

The UK did not support the introduction of the Eurocurrency because of the financial crisis of that time. At a meeting in Brussels in October 1993 Great Britain did not succeed in slowing down the plans of establishing the single currency. The EU member - states decided on its introduction as well as defined the location of the European Monetary Institute (in Frankfurt). They even created a clear schedule for the transition to a single currency. (Gifford 117)

The mandate of John Major witnessed the growth of Euroscepticism among the political elites. The opposition against Major's government European policy increased and the UK's government seats in the EU were given to Eurosceptics. Major's position diminished under the increasing pressure and created a division among the members of the cabinet, ultimately destroying the credibility of the government and made his policy ineffective. In 1997, the Conservative party lost the general election and the Labour Party came to power with its leader Tony Blair. (130)

1. 2.5 Pro-European Labour and Euroscepticism (1997-2010)

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

It was vital for the UK to regain its position in the EU after its refusal to join the integration processes taking place in Europe. The UK became somehow a stranger because of its struggle with the other member states over the EMU, the Eurocurrency, etc. which weakened its position in the EU. For Blair, the EU needs to focus on economic policy, immigration and environment, rather than trying to create united governmental bodies. Like Major, Blair thought of Europe on economic matters, but not as a threat to national sovereignty. (Daddow 7)

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

From 1997 to 2001 the policy of the UK towards Europe was very active. T. Blair and his government worked on updating the Treaty on European Union (in Amsterdam and Nice). The British government was interested in developing the economic and financial integration.

T. Blair insisted on making more reforms in the light of EU enlargement to the East (The Labour Party Manifesto 83)

The question about the European security framework was fundamental for the British New Labour until September 2001. Blair considered that the EU helped in preventing wars and promoted an atmosphere of peace and prosperity. However, after September 2001, the Labour Party changed its policy and the free movement of people, goods and services because they saw them as a potential threat to national security. In fact, the EU was unable to act quickly and effectively. Moreover, Tony Blair sent big numbers of British troops to Afghanistan and to Iraq in 2003 to support the USA in its war against terrorism. This decision was largely unpopular in both Europe and at home. (Daddow 14)

The British policies towards Europe lost its dynamism due to the conflict of interest between the "new" Britain and the leading Franco-German government which considered the UK more loyal to the USA. During 2003, Blair lost his popularity and his government and decisions were severely criticized by the shadow government and the press. In the general election of 2005, Blair lost some of his parliamentary majority. So, Blair set down the government leaving the place for Gordon Brown Who is known for his Eurosceptic attitude to be the next Prime Minister on June 2007.

Brown was the minister who worked on preventing Blair from making the euro currency UK's national currency. When Brown became a Prime Minister his government voted for the European Constitution draft. In 2008, the Treaty of Lisbon which was a modified European Constitution was evaluated by the UK. The government managed to grantee a special position for the UK as well as the right of veto over any sensitive issue (in particular, the issues of initiatives related to the transformation of the EU into a federal super state , defense and

foreign policy, changes in treaties defining the future of the European Union, taxation, borders). Brown gained some power over the EU, first threatening not to sign and later not to ratify the new EU basic treaty if the British demands are not met. (Gifford 145)

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

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

The general election of 2010 made an end to the political era of "New Labour" Which could not survive in front of internal conflicts and criticism of its military choices in Iraq and Afghanistan. The elections resulted in hung parliament that paved the way for the coalition of Conservatives and Liberal Democrats led by David Cameron and Nick Clegg. (Booth “*Turkey is no model for Britain's post-Brexit trade policy*”)

The main problem between the members of the coalition concerning the EU was that the Liberal Democrats were pro-European, unlike the Conservatives, who were Eurosceptics. However, both parties agreed during their negotiations to have a balanced policy towards the EU. The Coalition program for the EU thought of a constructive engagement with the EU concerning issues that are related to the society and national sovereignty, but it should keep the UK playing a leading role in the EU. (Charter 9)

Cameron's government had believed that the EU must not have any additional powers. Moreover, David Cameron thought that most of EU social legislation was not adequate to the UK, and he promised to prevent any further legislation that may harm the UK. The government proposed to hold a referendum in the country on any issue of more transfer of powers from the UK to the EU. As a result, at any problems in the relations with the EU, the UK is secured with referendums (Labour Party "*The Coalition: Our Programme for Government*").

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

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

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

He stated also

Simply asking the British people to carry on accepting a European settlement over which they have had little choice is a path to ensuring that when the question is finally put – and at some stage it will have to be – it is much more likely that the British people will reject the EU (The Guardian, 2013, para That is why I am in favour of a referendum . It will be an in out referendum (The Independent, para137)

At the end of his speech, Mr. Cameron clearly declared that:

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

In February 2013, Cameron expressed his hope that the EU, as the Union can regain trust of the British, if it will conduct reforms that would give the UK more powers than the current ones but no actual steps from the part of the EU were taken. After the general elections of 2015, things got more seriously in the way of the British exit (Brexit) from the EU. (The Guardian “UK election 2017: full results”)

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

1.3 The Brexit

The term BREXIT which was coined in 2012 by Peter Wilding to explain the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland’s withdrawal from the European Union and it

is used in the UK and the worldwide especially in the social media. BREXIT is a portmanteau word that is a mixture of British + exit, which means 'Britain exiting from the EU'. In fact, this term was inspired from the possible Greek exit from the euro known as the Grexit (Greek exit) which can be traced to 2010. (Fontaine "*The early semantics of the neologism Brexit*")

This will mean the end of Britain in Europe. It may also be the first step in the end of Europe, in the sense where the EU states decided to take part in sovereign power to achieve what any other European nation could create on its own. Brexit tries to find and discuss all the different branches including *political*, economic and most of all the press, cultural identity historical that are to be in one strong convergence that will facilitate the exit of Britain from Europe. (Macshane 10)

1.4 Roots of the Brexit

In January 2013, Prime Minister David Cameron, under pressure from members of his own party (The Conservatives), and the increasingly vociferous UK Independent Party (UKIP), announced his intention to call for a referendum on the continued membership in the EU if his government wins the 2015 general election. And thus the Brexit Battle began.

Cameron's promise for the referendum on the UK's exit of the EU by the end of 2017 was just in hope of defeating the UKIP and to marginalize the Eurosceptic wing of his party. However, the re-election of Cameron as PM was due to his promise of a referendum rather than what he had achieved as head of the country. On February 2016, David Cameron declared June 23rd as the date for a referendum. In fact, this announcement was the result of delayed negotiation of the conditions of Britain's membership at a summit in Brussels. (The Economist "*A background guide to "Brexit" from the European*")

The referendum results showed how far the public opinion was out of step with the government's argument for its membership to EU. David Cameron was confident to win the

referendum just on stating it on pragmatic, bean-counting evaluation. However his speculation resulted to a great miscalculation. His bet was among the principle blunders of British Prime Ministers and that shocked both Europe and the North Atlantic. (Glencross 12)

David Cameron resigned from his office shortly after the referendum, and he declared “I think the country needs a new leader to undertake negotiations with the European Union”. The Conservative Party appointed Theresa May as a new leader during the party congress in October 2016. May was appointed as a Prime Minister and was the one responsible for the Brexit negotiations which are still running to the present day. In fact, nothing is clear as the negotiations look very hard. (Deloy 3)

1.5 Reasons behind Brexit

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

According to the Polls done by Ipsos MORI, Lord Ashcroft's polling team, there were about five core causes of the Brexit. (Riley 2)

1.5.1 Sovereignty and International Influence

On the day of the referendum, Lord Ashcroft's polling team found that 49% of leave voters said the biggest single reason for wanting to leave the EU was “the principle that decisions

about the UK should be taken in the UK". In other words, they were talking about the British sovereignty. (Lord Ashcroft "*How the United Kingdom voted on Thursday... and why*")

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

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

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

The British strongly believed that the influence and the role of their country within the EU's institutions were very limited. "Vote Leave" campaign believed that the Brexit allow the UK to act more freely, and The UK can have seats in international organizations such world trade organization which it could not join previously due to its commitments with the EU.

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

1.5.2 Immigration

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

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

1.5.3 Financial Savings for Hospitals, Healthcare and Education

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

Making such financial savings is closely related to getting rid of immigrants. " Vote Leave" camp distributed thousands of flyers over the streets of the UK. They expected to save up 350 million pounds weekly which can build a new hospital. Moreover, the same amount of money equals half of the education budget in the UK. They even suggested investing that money in scientific researches or new industries. (Ipsos MORI poll “*Concern about immigration rises as EU vote approaches*”)

1.5.4 Fear of Terrorism

About 37% of those who linked the Brexit to immigration issues believe that immigrants especially the Muslim ones are terrorists. In fact, this can be linked to the rise of terroristic organizations such as ISIS. (Ipsos MORI poll “*Concern about immigration rises as EU vote approaches*”)

The increase of terroristic attacks in some European countries such as Charlie Hebdo attack in France on 2015 and the bad memories of July 2005 in which bombs were disrupted in London's public transport system made the British think that the Brexit will stop such threats. They believed that the Brexit will make more control over the borders and this will eventually hinder any terrorists from entering the UK. Dominic Raab who was one of the leave camp leaders considered that leaving the EU will prevent any future terroristic attacks. (Burke para 7)

1.5.2 Possible Free Trade Area and Better Economy

32% of the leave voters believe trade and economic circumstances within the EU Common Market and Euro zone were not fair enough for the UK. Moreover, 27% of the other leave voters thought that UK's economy was not doing well due to the restrictions from the EU.

The leave campaign saw that the Brexit will allow the UK to have more developed economical relationships with the EU without being committed to the Union's laws. The UK can also enter more successful partnership with the world's leading economic countries such as the USA and China. In addition, the UK would carry on its efforts to have a multi-continental free trade area (Ipsos MORI poll "*Concern about immigration rises as EU vote approaches*")

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

Discussion

This chapter has been selected for two main reasons one was to trace the history of the relationship between the UK and the EU in order to highlight the main crisis, struggles and events that characterized these relationships. This study revealed that there are two principle factors that were present in most of those events and controlled them which are economy and politics.

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

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

The second purpose of this chapter was to explain what is Brexit and to show how Britain came with the decision of the withdraw from the European Union and its main reasons.

Conclusion

The relationship between the United Kingdom and the European Union has been a rocky one along 50 years of ties. In fact, these relations had developed gradually from the refusal to join the Union then joining and finally withdrawing from it. However, the British view and attitudes towards it has always been strange. The British sometimes aimed at more collaboration and looked for having a leading role, but in other times they had a lot of doubt and skepticism. For the political parties, it was not clear what side is with and which side is against the membership in the EU. To sum up, The British were very awkward in things related to the EU, so no clear arguments can be provided to justify their major crisis with the Union.

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

Introduction

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

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

As the Brexit process rolls on, more politicians started wondering about the possible implications as some regions of the country are still against it. There have been about how Britain should be governed. Also, they questioned the expected benefits and the possibility of re-joining the EU. Nothing is actually completely clear about the Brexit and about the future relationship between the two sides as the process is still on.

2.1 The Path of the Brexit

Though the UK voted for leaving the EU in the historic referendum of June 2016, the story did not end as long as a new chapter of procedure and negotiation has just started. The UK needed to pass through the Article 50 which is a plan for any country that will potentially exit the EU. The Article 50 was issued as part of the Treaty of Lisbon on 2009, and it was approved by all EU member states. In fact, they left the Article 50 unclear because they have never imagined that any country would leave the Union. As a result, the path of the Brexit was and will continue to be vague. (Hunt & Wheeler 2)

As aforementioned, The EU has never experienced the withdrawal of any member state, and even the Treaty of Lisbon did not provide much detail on what steps to be followed. Article 50 stated that if any state decided to leave the Union, a period of two years for the leave agreement is to be conducted; starting from the moment Article 50 is triggered. If the two-year period comes to an end with no final deal was taken, the state aiming for withdrawal will be obliged to carry on its membership in the EU. The period of negotiations might be extended only with the approval of all the other member states. (see appendix C)

The article 50 mentioned also that member wishing to exit must apply all the EU laws and treaties during the period of negotiations. Once that member withdraws the EU, its representing members within the EU will not have the right to attend to any internal EU debates or decisions. In addition, the EU laws will no more be applied on the leaving country unless it was approved to carry on using them until they decide to modify these laws or establish other ones. In case the exiting country wishes to re-join the EU, it may apply for membership as a new candidate, the day after leaving (The Lisbon Treaty 67).

The negotiations are expected to be hard due to a long history of a rocky relationship between the UK and the EU. A core point to be discussed was the position of millions of UK citizens living in the EU and EU citizens living in the UK. UK's national security and military collaboration with the EU also needed to be reconsidered. The withdrawal final arrangement has to be approved by the majority in the European Parliament (Asthana et al para 1 & 2).

After the EU referendum, the British government took nine months to prepare itself for leaving. In fact, they were waiting for an Act of the Parliament that allows them to start the procedure of leaving. This act was approved by the UK Supreme Court only January 24th,

2017. The Brexit process started officially when the Prime Minister Theresa May and its government triggered the Article 50 leaving procedure on March 29th, 2017. (para 8)

On April 29th, 2017, the EU27 leaders adopted guidelines for Brexit negotiations and they also clarified the EU's positions and principles towards it. The Article 50 was activated and published by the European Commission by May 2017. On May 22th, 2017, the European Commission authorised the opening of Brexit negotiations with the UK. Michel Barnier was appointed by the commission as Chief Negotiator to conduct negotiations with Britain. Barnier believed that the real deadline needs to be as early as October 2018, because any arrangement will need for European Parliament approval before the European Council could accept them (The European Council 3) .

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

On June 19th, 2017, Michel Barnier, the EU Chief Negotiator, and David Davis, Secretary of State for Exiting the European Union launched the first round of negotiations between the EU and the UK. Six Other rounds followed this first round, and it discussed mainly three issues which are citizens' rights, Northern Ireland borders and the financial settlement and obligations (The European Council 2) .

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

other issues which are the transitional period, Ireland, especially on solutions to avoid a hard border and the governance of the withdrawal agreement (The European Council 3).

On February 28, 2018, the European Commission published the draft of the Withdrawal Agreement between the EU and the UK. The draft consisted of six parts and an additional protocol on Northern Ireland. In fact, the draft will now be sent to the European Parliament for discussion, and then it will be transmitted to the UK for negotiation (The European Council 3).

On Negotiations that took place from 13 to 19 March 2018, the EU and UK negotiators agreed on the legal parts of the Withdrawal Agreement. On the part related to borders between Northern Ireland and Ireland more talks are needed to be done. Later on March 23rd, 2018, the European Council adopted guidelines for a post-Brexit relationship with the UK. The European Council clarified that it wishes for the closest possible partnership with the UK. However, the EU leaders stated that UK's current positions will hinder such a future partnership" (The European Council 2).

On 12 March, 2019 the Members of the Parliament rejected the Prime Minister's deal, Theresa May was obliged to request a delay of Brexit from the other EU leaders. They rescheduled it to 22 May, if MPs approved her deal in a new vote.

The UK's departure date had originally been set for 29 March. As it was not approved, the UK missed that deadline and faced leaving on 12 April instead. But the Prime Minister has now returned to the EU to grant herself another extension which the EU had approved. (Barnes "*What happens now?*")

For the present date, Theresa May has been granted a delay to the Brexit date, no one really knows when the UK will finally leave the EU, or even if, it will leave it. The other 27

leaders came to a decision that to avoid a no-deal exit Britain should remain a member as far as October 31st.(Blitz et al “*Brexit Timeline: Key dates in the UK’s divorce from the EU*”)

The latest deadline is 31 October. However, if Theresa May by means can offer a better deal to the Parliament, The UK has the possibility to withdraw before the date mentioned.

If the government and the Labour do not come to an agreement, Theresa May declared that she will put a number of options to MPs to work out what to do next.(Barnes “*What happens now?*”)

2.2 The Brexit Project: its pros and cons

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

Some of the government ministers declared their position either for the “remain” or “leave” campaigns. On early 2015, the Brexit from the European Union was thought as very remote, but by referendum day, it was highly supported by a lot of MPs, including justice secretary, Michael Gove, and London's mayor Boris Johnson. Moreover, most surveys clarified that the majority of British are in favour of leaving. (The Economist “*A background guide to “Brexit” from the EU*”)

Labour and the Liberal Democrats strongly criticised Cameron’s call for referendum arguing that the public should get such a vote only if Britain compensated certain new powers to the EU. The Green Party on the other side introduced his ideas of the “Three Yesses” --Yes

to a referendum, to major EU reform and to staying in a reformed Europe. (Grice “*General Election 2015*”)

At the referendum time, there were two campaigns that dominated the political scene in the UK which were "Britain Stronger in Europe" and "Vote Leave". These campaigns formed lobby groups which gave certain arguments for the referendum (Foster 37).

The defenders of the Brexit “Vote Leave” were led by former Mayor of London Boris Johnson (2008-2016) and Nigel Farage (head of the UKIP). They put British sovereignty as a priority during the electoral campaign. They also primarily expressed their hostility to immigration. The other camp "Britain Stronger in Europe" was led by David Cameron, Jo Cox MP, Jeremy Corbyn, George Osborne and all living former Prime Ministers. They argued that the UK is not ready to fight terrorism alone. They also considered that they will lose certain economic benefits if they get out of the EU. (Deloy 2)

On 23 June 2016, the UK voted for leaving the EU after five decades of membership. To the question, they were asked (Should the UK remain a member of the European Union or leave the European Union? a majority of voters (51.9%) voted to “leave” while 48.1% voted to "remain" with a turnout of 72.2 %. Geographical differences were clearly noticeable in the results as England (53.4%), Wales (52.5%), voted in for Brexit while Scotland (62%) and Northern Ireland (55.8%) voted in their majority to “Remain”. (Foster39)

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

(Lincolnshire). The highest vote share for Remain (96%) was recorded in Gibraltar. (Uberoi 14, 22)

Referendum Results

A total of 33,577,342 people voted in the referendum, a turnout of 72.2%. The Leave vote won by a 3.8 percentage point margin.

National result

	% of valid	
	Votes Cast	Votes
Leave	17,410,742	51.9%
Remain	16,141,241	48.1%
Winning margin for 'Leave'	1,269,501	3.8%

Total valid votes	33,551,983
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Rejected papers	25,359
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Total votes cast	33,577,342
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Proportion of the vote across the UK

	Leave %	Remain %
England	53.4%	46.6%
Wales	52.5%	47.5%
Scotland	38.0%	62.0%
Northern Ireland	44.2%	55.8%

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

2.3 Brexit Implications

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

2.3.1 The Political Implications

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

would be naive to think that the Brexit will not leave any implications in both the British and European political scene.(Bruton“*Brexit and terrorism*”)

The Political Implications within the UK

The consequences of the Leave Vote were immediate as the PM David Cameron, who had just secured the position of Conservatives by leading them to a majority in the general election of 2015, resigned the day after the referendum. The position in the opposition that was led by Jeremy Corbyn the head of Labour party was no better. Corbyn was accused of being a supporter to continued EU membership.

As a result, Corbyn lost the trust in his leadership and then two-thirds of his Shadow Cabinet resigned. The leave Vote was not supported by all the parts of the country. In fact, regions such as Scotland and Northern Ireland were in favour of remaining in the EU. Those members in the UK will not get any grants from the EU. So, they were wondering if the UK government compensates their lost money because the nationwide decision to Leave. Moreover, some voices in those areas called for certain extreme reactions. (Cutts “*Brexit! The Result and Its Implications?*”)

The reaction in Scotland to be to the extreme as 62% of the Scots voted for a continued membership in the EU. The First Minister of Scotland, Nicola Sturgeon, empowered by the Scottish National Party (SNP) suggested having a new Independence Referendum in Scotland which will allow the Scots to explore all the options available for Scotland such as remaining part of the European.

In Northern Ireland, 55.8% of the population voted for a continued membership in the EU. The situation was very special for Northern Ireland because it is the only part of the UK that

shares land borders with EU member states. Moreover, its trade, border and internal political structures were all affected. As a result, the Nationalists in Northern Ireland started calling for a ‘border poll’ on uniting with the Republic of Ireland in order to carry on their membership in the EU. (Cutts “*Brexit! The Result and Its Implications?*”)

The Political Implications in the European Political Scene

The Brexit has not just affected the political scene in the UK, but it has started to have direct implications on politics on the EU. In fact, the UK did not only makeup 12% of the EU's population, but it played an important role in the EU's institutions especially by providing a kind of ideological balance and rationalism in dealing with sensitive issues.

Moreover, the Brexit will also allow the European countries to look for more cooperation at the level of European defence. The UK which is a member of North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) has always hindered any attempt at creating a united European military body. (Patel & Reh “*Brexit: the Consequences for the EU’s Political System*”)

The Brexit gave huge rise to Euroscepticism in the whole continent, but the worst scenario ever would be a possible referendum similar to the Brexit one held in another EU member state. Extremist parties and groups such as The National Front (FN) Party in France and the Dutch Party for Freedom (PVV) had made it clear that they will do their possible to have their own referendums on the same issue. The most fearing implication of the Brexit was the uncertainty which will spread in both the UK and the EU.

For the UK, the prolonged period of the Brexit negotiations gave rise to uncertainty in the Brexit issue itself, and it may even destroy confidence in the political leadership in the UK. In addition, the Brexit divided the nation as it was not approved by all parts and groups of the

country. For the EU, this uncertainty has already started to affect its populations and decision makers. Some EU states started questioning the European project and any attempts of more integration (Henley “*Un big mess*”).

2.3.2 The Economic Implications

Though the Brexit has been delayed and might eventually be cancelled, UK’s economy has already been damaged.

According to the bank of England the Economy has decreased to 2% than it would have been if UK stayed in the bloc. The economic output lost since the referendum is worth in 2019 about £800 million (\$1 billion) per week, or £4.7 million (\$6 million) per hour. (Kottasová “*Brexit is costing the UK economy \$1 billion*”)

The value of the pound continues to weather uncertainty and volatility. The pound lost its value to the Euro because it was not expected that the British will vote for leaving. The pound was worth €1.30 on 23 June, now it is caught between \$1.29 and \$1.34 since mid-February 2019, with insignificant gains and losses against the dollar and the euro as the Brexit drama continued to develop without any of a concession. In addition, the pound reached the lowest level to the dollar since 1980s.

The EU's referendum result did not end up the story of partnership as the UK is still an EU member state. For the present moment, almost nothing has changed for both the UK and the EU because the Brexit negotiations are still in course and no final arrangement has been agreed on. The service sector makes up almost 80% of the UK's economy .In other words; the British economy is a service-based one with. The predictions on how a Brexit would affect economic growth consider that there will be many sectors which will be affected. In fact,

these sectors employ most of the UK's labour force and generate 53.2% of UK total exports.(Belam “*One month on, what has been the impact of the Brexit vote so far?*”).

Trade with the EU and the Manufacturing Industry

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

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

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

Financial Services and Insurance Sectors

The financial services and insurance sector employ about 3.6% of the UK's employees. The financial services represent 9.6% of the British total exports to the EU while the insurance sector represents a 4.3% of the British total exports to the EU.

The Brexit will certainly affect the “financial passport” that allows banks and insurers to work on financial services in the EU .In fact, the UK financial institutions will never have that financial passport and this will eventually lead to the collapse of these sectors (Booth &Howarth, et al“*Turkey is no model for Britain's post-Brexit trade policy*”).

Foreign Investment

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

Though all the negative implications of the Brexit, some economic benefits is expected. The British government will not be obliged to pay contribution to the EU’s budget; it would save 10 billion pounds every year by the Brexit time which will help in promoting the economic growth. In addition, the UK might save another amount of money when it restricts immigration (Woodford“*The economic impact of ‘Brexit’*”)

2.4 Economic and Political Scenarios

On March 29th the UK was originally due to leave the European Union. But Brexit day has been delayed – among protests by Leavers – with UK still in the EU, because no agreement

has been made. Neither the government nor the parliament knows when the UK will leave, if it ever will. None of this is certain at the moment, but now the UK has just over six months to decide what it wants to do.

2.4.1 Political scenarios

1. No deal

If MPs fail to make an agreement and there are no additional extensions a No-deal Brexit will be the defect result. A no-deal Brexit will take place on 1 June, If Parliament can't reach an agreement deal soon, and the UK will not participate in the European elections on 23 May then.

The future deadline will be on 31 October, if the elections really come about then. MPs will have no choice but to support a no-deal Brexit- however the larger number voted against that option.

2. Leave the EU on the PM's deal

Even though, Theresa May's deal has been repeatedly rejected it is not yet excluded. In fact, if no compromise is accepted by the Labour leader and in case of no majority of MP's for an option it remains a possibility.

However with the longer Brexit delay, the negotiated deal might come back at a later date to permit an early withdrawal. Besides if the negotiations with the EU on any other substitute plan face difficulties both sides could decide to come back to the one deal that has been fully worked out.

3. Major renegotiation

An entire new Brexit deal could be arranged by the government, maybe in conformity with MPs' votes. Yet it wouldn't be a question of making small additions to the political declaration.

As an alternative, there could be an entire renegotiation that would last longer and maybe would involve to rewrite the exit agreement for a longer time. In case of EU refusal to re-enter negotiations the government would have to select one of the other options.

4. Another referendum

The 2016 referendum was legally non-valid and consultative, still MPs want to call for a valid referendum in which the outcome will automatically have consequences, similar to the 2011 referendum on shifting the voting system for the UK general elections. Another probability is to retain another referendum. Which might have similar conditions as the 2016 referendum.

The most discussed option would be for a "confirmatory vote" on any agreed deal, where the public could choose either to accept the deal of stay in the EU.. Some others claim that any other referendum should have the option of a withdrawal from the EU without a deal.

In any case, a referendum can't take place automatically. A law called the Political Parties, Elections and Referendums Act 2000 sets out the rules for referendums.

So that a referendum can happen a new piece of legislation is needed which would state rules like who would be permitted to vote. And because it is up to the Electoral Commission to advise on the referendum question it shouldn't be hastened.

Any way the referendum could not take place at once even after the legislation has been passed as the minimum time for all the steps to happen will be about 22 weeks

5. Call a general election

The better way that the Prime minister could make is to call for early general elections. She is capable of more than to hold elections. But under the terms of the Fixed Term Parliament Act, she may request a vote for an early election from the Members of the Parliament as in 2017.

A Two-thirds of all MP's is needed to support the move and the prime minister would choose the date for the elections that could 25 working days later or even after. (Barnes *"Brexit: What happens now?"*)

2.4.2 Economic scenarios

In current Time, the main five possible scenarios are:

- 1) "No deal Brexit," Where the UK came back to trading with the EU on WTO terms
- 2) A Canada-style free-trade agreement for Great Britain, with Northern Ireland remaining in the Single Market;
- 3) A "customs Union plus" compromised based on the "backstop" in the exit arrangement
- 4) An enhanced Customs Union arrangement with close regulatory alignment in goods;

5)) a Norway-style agreement in which the UK stays in the Single Market and European Union Area. With the present opposition for any Brexit deal in the UK House of Commons, there is a possibility that the Article 50 process could be extended and an alternative referendum detained. This latter may involve an option to remain in the EU. In December The European Court of Justice decided that the UK is able to put an end to the Brexit by abrogating Article 50. (Nice 9)

2.5 Northern Ireland and Brexit

The vote to remain a member in the European Union was by 10 percent for Northern Ireland. This latter was the third strongest in the country. The “remain” post was supported by both Sinn Féin and the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP) the two major nationalist parties, along with the Ulster Unionist Party (UUP) and the moderate pro-union Alliance Party, on the other hand, the largest unionist party the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) was for the Brexit. The outcome was a very large majority of Irish nationalists who voted to remain in the EU, while Ulster unionists voted to leave.

The UK and the EU have been struggling for what concerns negotiations about the terms of the exit and post relationship, since March 2017. The decision to withdraw from the EU will have impacts on all features of life in the United Kingdom, from the testing of drugs to the negotiation of international trade deals. It will not only raise difficulties for trade and mobility on both the local level and inter-state level but also serious concerns for the future ‘peace process’ in the future stability of Northern Ireland. The peace process was the basis of The 1998 Good Friday Agreement which managed to stop to thirty years of armed conflict. It was signed in the context of EU membership and the increasing degree of openness and cooperation with the rest of the island of Ireland that the EU framework provided.

The suggested divorce of the UK with the EU leads to several conditions for the Northern Ireland, this one will diminish the ability for the political system to keep peace and establish an economic development. The outcome of the referendum shows that the internal political divisions in Northern Ireland are being strengthened by the changed relationship of the UK to the EU. (Doyle and Connolly 139)

But more importantly this will raise the status of the Irish border to that of a customs border. The matter of the location of the border between the EU and the UK is the only and main problem that may cause difficulties not only for the development of Northern Ireland's economy but also for the future political stability. This latter played a relatively minor role in the 2016 Brexit referendum. So it has become a necessity to make a 'hard' border, as the exit of the UK from the single market would make the EU ask for a hard customs border with the UK government's focal point on regulating migration, will demand a hard border, too. That will not only affect the economy negatively but will also menace the existence of the Good Friday Agreement and aggravate existing political conflicts.

The question of the location of the future border with the UK and the EU was the main concern for unionists throughout the referendum campaign and the disagreement on the location on 'border' can increase the internal political crisis and weaken The Good Friday Agreement. These pressures on the delicate policy of Northern Ireland, as an effect of Brexit will certainly aggravate the political divisions and lessen its capacity to keep a power-sharing executive. (140)

However, recently the 'hard' border question has become such a top concern on which Britain's exit from the EU depends that Lawmakers British Prime Minister Theresa May's Conservative Party have menaced to spoil any deal over the so-called backstop. Backstop is

the mechanism by which Britain is obliged to tolerate the bloc's customs rules till the two parties come to an arrangement on their post relationship, implying that it leads the UK to the EU for an imprecise period of time. The backstop stipulates that Northern Ireland will remain in the EU customs union and in "full alignment" with the single market, a last resort to keep an open border on the island of Ireland - whatever happens in the Brexit negotiations. Basically this removes the need for checks and controls at the Irish land border.

For unionists, it was obviously a threat, since the measures would tie up Northern Ireland more closely to European rules than they would with the rest of the United Kingdom, which would eventually conduct to the unification with the south. The prime minister insists that if all goes as planned it will never be used. That is because if the backstop took effect, Northern Ireland alone would align with the EU single market in some areas meaning new regulatory barriers between GB and NI-Labour has described this as a "de facto Irish sea border". (McCormack "*Sir John Major*")

Additionally Brexit will mess up Northern Ireland's high levels of integration with the economy of the Republic of Ireland, as well as the Northern Ireland economy's reliance on EU markets. In the decade up to 2014, exports to the EU have remained at approximately 60 per cent of all Northern Ireland's exports, while for the UK as a whole this EU/non-EU export balance has stabilized too approximately.

Currently Northern Ireland depends more on the EU as an export market than the UK as a whole as a result the region is more exposed to the withdrawal of the UK, from the EU in one hand and from the single market in another. (Doyle and Connolly 146)

Meaning that the future of Northern Ireland is tightly related to the EU because of its export market thus, it will be affected by the withdraw more than Britain. This is meant to

preserve both communal relations between Northern Ireland's nationalist and unionist communities and the extensive economic ties the country shares with the republic of Ireland.

The Northern Ireland peace process face a major menace which is the Brexit, as it disturbs the process of all-island cooperation and integration, that fortifies the 1998 Good Friday Agreement. A 'hard' Irish land border would not only be a great sign of the peace process crisis but it would also mean the disturbance of the economy. The disruption to normal mobility on the island of Ireland, as well as cross-border trade and the routine commuting of individuals, a hard EU external land border would be gravely ruined. Whatever the longer-term implications, instant crisis for the peace process would be the result of the Brexit. If the negotiations follow a 'hard' land border, the peace process basis will be totally undermined and that will make hard to see it survive in its actual form. (158)

2.6 The Future relationships of UK with EU

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

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

The UK has a variety of choices concerning the possible ways for managing its trading relationships and collaboration with the EU such as European Economic Area, European Free Trade Association, Customs union, Free Trade Agreement or World Trade Organization. (Allen “*What Are the Possible Future EU-UK Trade Agreements?*”)

2.6.1 European Economic Area Membership

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

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

2.6.2 The European Free Trade Association Membership

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

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

2.6.3 Canada Free Trade Agreement

The EU and Canada signed the Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA) which will cut 98% of tariffs on October 2016,. It will also preserve the EU's marketing standards for goods. In addition, the CETA will widely open the Canadian market to the European one. A basic principle of the CETA is the mutual recognition of each other's qualifications in certain fields such as law.

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

2.6.4 Customs Union

Some British politicians were wondering whether the UK should leave the EU's customs union or not after the Brexit or not. Turkey was presented as possible model for Britain because Turkey had a customs union without being a member in the EU that the advantage of this model is the ability of having trade deals with countries outside and inside the EU. A customs union is an agreement in which certain countries remove tariff barriers on each other's goods. The problem of such model is that Turkey has no freedom to develop trade policy with other countries outside the EU.

Moreover, Turkey is obliged to follow the EU's agreements with non-European countries, but with no actual benefit as those countries continue applying tariffs on Turkey's exports. (Booth "*Turkey is no model for Britain's post-Brexit trade policy*")

2.6.5 World Trade Organization

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

Joining the WTO will be the last option for the UK in case all the negotiations failed and no final deal can be agreed on. In such case, the UK will be obliged to pay the common external EU tariff which will severely harm the British economy. In fact, this tariff will make

the British goods more expensive and thus less competitive within Europe.(Allen “*What Are the Possible Future EU-UK Trade Agreements?*”)

In summary, all the aforementioned models of future relationships have advantages and disadvantages. Models such as Customs union, EEA and EFTA will make the UK a subject of European control as it will be obliged to cope with the EU's marketing standards. The CETA will not suit the British case because it was designed for countries that are far from Europe.

The WTO which will be the last option will have tremendous costs for the UK to pay. So, as the Brexit negotiations are still course UK/EU agreement. Britain has to look for a satisfactory model of future relationships with the EU that best meets its interests.(Booth“*Turkey is no model for Britain's post-Brexit trade policy*”)

Discussion

The main purpose of this chapter was to investigate the Brexit issue from different sides including its causes, procedures and especially its effects in order to find out whether the Brexit was a good and well-studied decision or not. This part of the study revealed that the Brexit issue was taken in rush with no attention to what might happen if it is to be implemented.

Neither British nor European politicians thought that the EU referendum in the UK would result in the British withdrawal. In fact, the shock was big in the EU member state because they have never thought of time in which a state leaves their Union.

The biggest problem related to this issue is that no one was ready for such decision due to many things. First, no clear laws that indicate how leaving should take place are found and all that exists is short ambiguous article. Second, the long history of rocky relationships between

the UK and the EU made the Brexit negotiations very difficult as no side was ready to compensate. Last, the British did not account for the possible effects for the Brexit which resulted in huge economic losses and threatened the national unity.

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

Conclusion

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

As the course of events related to this Brexit issue happens, no one can really predict what might happen. For the UK, it has to compensate a part of its sovereignty and its feelings of nationalism to get the best possible deal. For the EU, they have to work on preparing laws that clarify the leaving procedures for any future nation that wishes to do like the UK. Moreover, the EU needs to work on improving its conditions and agreements to strengthen the ties between its member states and enhance the trust in the Union, so no other member will try to follow the British Brexit.

General Conclusion

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

UK had never believed in the project of European Union and it always had lot of reservations about the Union's policies. However, the loss of the British status after World War II and the presentation of the Union as a successive institution were the reasons that led the UK to join. The UK could not cope with the new world order and with its duties towards the Union.

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

The crises between the UK and the EU reached a turning point in 2016 when the British Prime Minister David Cameron called for a referendum on his country whether to continue being a member within the EU. Inviting the population for a referendum was just a tool in the general election of 2015, but with the rise of extremist parties and Euroscepticism Cameron was obliged to fulfil his promises.

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

General Conclusion

All these grievances led to the Brexit which in its turn may have lots of negative effects on the UK since no real agreement was taken into account. For one thing other problems were revealed especially concerning the future with Northern Ireland which rejected the whole Brexit and is now threatened to come back to the “Black years”. More issues had appeared and conflicts rose within the government.

By looking at the implications and the path of the Brexit, we discovered that neither the UK nor the EU were ready for such case. On The UK side, the nation was divided and some regions felt uncertain about their future within the UK. In addition, the British economy was not prepared to survive out of the EU.

For the EU, no clear legal procedures for leaving were found and this actually complicated the negotiations which are expected to be so long. If the UK and the EU do not compensate for one another on some controversial issues, the situation will get worse.

At the end, as the process of the Brexit rolls on, no one can expect how it will end. There might be certain events that will change everything completely, as for example the resignation of The prime minister Theresa May in case she fails to renegotiate the Brexit.

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الملخص

تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى استقصاء لأثار السياسية و الاقتصادية للبركست وذلك بغرض فهم وإعطاء رؤية واضحة تخص قضية بركست الحالية. كما تقوم أيضا هذه الدراسة بمناقشة حدث بركست الحالي وذلك نظرا لكونه قضية جوهرية في وقتنا هذا. السؤال الرئيسي لهذا البحث هو كيف يؤثر البركست أو سيؤثر على الجانبين الذي انتهت بانفصال بريطانيا عن الاتحاد في حيث اعتبر خروج بريطانيا عن الاتحاد الأوروبي حدثا صادما حينها مما أدى إلى استفتاء عام 2016. وفي هذا الصدد تناول البحث فصلين: يتضمن الفصل الأول لمحة عامة عن الاتحاد الأوروبي من حيث طبيعة العلاقة التي تربطه بالمملكة المتحدة منذ انضمام بريطانيا عام 1971 إلى غاية عام 2019 كما يسعى للكشف عن النقاط المشتركة للازمات التي وقعت بينهما. أما مسعى الفصل الثاني فكان التطرق لقضية بركست بما في ذلك الآثار المترتبة, أسبابها وتداعياتها والإجراءات المتخذة. كما تسعى الدراسة أيضا لقراءة تكهنات العلاقات المستقبلية بين الطرفين. إضافة لذلك تهدف هذه الدراسة لتحقيق بعض المساعي المسطرة وهي: تحليل الآثار السياسية و الاقتصادية و السياسة البريطانية تجاه الاتحاد الأوروبي وإيجاد النقاط المشتركة التي ميزت هذه الأزمات الجوهرية وكذلك مناقشة الاستفتاء .

– الكلمات المفتاحية: المملكة المتحدة- علاقات- بركست - استفتاء

Appendix A: Treaty of Lisbon Article 50

Article 50

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

A qualified majority shall be defined in accordance with Article 238(3)(b) of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union.
5. If a State which has withdrawn from the Union asks to rejoin, its request shall be subject to the procedure referred to in Article 49.

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