

UNIVERSITY OF MOSTAGHANEM
FACULTY OF LETTERS AND LANGUAGES
ENGLISH DEPARTMENT

This Extended Research is submitted to the English Department as a partial fulfillment for the requirement of “the Master Degree” in British Civilization.

**THE FUTURE OF THE EUROPEAN UNION
AFTER BRITAIN EXIT (Brexit)**

Presented By:

TOUAIBIA Sara

Members of the jury:

Supervisor: Mrs. AISSAT Djamilia

Chairperson: Mrs. ABDELHADI Nadia

Examiner: Mrs. BELLAL Hanane



Academic Year: 2016 – 2017

UNIVERSITY OF MOSTAGHANEM

FACULTY OF LETTERS AND LANGUAGES

ENGLISH DEPARTMENT

This Extended Research is submitted to the English Department as a partial fulfillment for the requirement of “the Master Degree” in British Civilization.

THE FUTURE OF THE EUROPEAN UNION AFTER BRITAIN EXIT (Brexit)

Presented By:

TOUAIBIA Sara

Members of the jury:

Supervisor: Mrs. AISSAT Djamila

Chairperson: Mrs. ABDELHADI Nadia

Examiner: Mrs. BELLAL Hanane



Academic Year: 2016 – 2017

Abstract

The issue of the withdrawal of the United Kingdom from the European Union is one of the most important issues in the history of Britain in particular, and in Europe in general. The European Union received the news of the Brexit with all the sorrow and concern about its fate in the future, especially that Britain was considered as an important member within it. The Union shall provide facilities to enable each State or Member to act absolutely free, such as freedom of movement without obstacles and the freedom to market products. Since the British economy is more developed than other countries. So Britain did not see joining the Union as an advantage, which will bring UK out from darkness to light, on the contrary, it sees itself losing many of her relations with super powers such as America and China, which the Union's laws do not allow it to make a partnership with them. This factor and other factors made Britain choose another way. So this modest project includes the most important reasons and results, which was witnessed by Britain before and after the decision of the withdrawal. More importantly, this study examines the effect of exiting on the Union, and the future of the European Union threatened with disintegration, especially there are many countries demanding leaving the European integration.

Key words:

Withdrawal - United Kingdom- European Union- Brexit- Disintegration- European integration.

DEDICATION



- I dedicate this work to my beloved people who have meant and continue to mean so much to me.
- I also thank my father and my mother source of my happiness and success in life for their support and encouragement throughout our studies.
- To my grandfathers and grandmothers.
- To my brothers Abdenour, Abdelmadjid and Islam.
- To my sisters Amina and khadidja.
- To my dear friends Fatima, Asmaa and Imen.
- Thanks to anyone who has helped me in some way, here is the expression of my gratitude.

*Thank
you*



Acknowledgments

- My thanks go first and foremost to my supervisor Mrs. AISSAT Djamila who accompanied me and oriented me in the preparation of this work
- I would also like to thank all the teachers in our department.
- My thanks also to the Chairman of the jury and to all the reviewing members in doing me the honor of having accepted to examine this dissertation.
- Finally I thank all those who have contributed from near or far to the realization of this modest work.

*Thank
you*



List of Acronyms

EU	European Union
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
EEC	European Economic Community
EURATOM	European Atomic Energy Community
SEA	Single European Act
TEU	Treaty of the European Union
EMU	Economic and Monetary Union
ECB	European Central Bank
NCB	National Central Bank
EFSF	The European Financial Stability Facility

List of Tables

Table 01	The European Union members	P 4
Table 02	Referendum's results for Britain in 1975	P16
Table 03	Nation results about Britain leaving the Union	P18
Table 04	Referendum's results for Britain in 2016	P19

List of Charts

Chart 01	Results of referendum in 1975	P16
Chart 02	Nation results about Britain leaving the Union	P18
Chart 03	Results of referendum for Brexit 2016	P20
Chart 04	The number of immigrants into Britain	P21

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	I
Dedication.....	II
Acknowledgments	III
List of Acronyms.....	IV
List of Tables.....	V
List of Charts.....	VI
Table of Contents.....	VII
General Introduction.....	1
Chapter One: Historical Background of the European Union	3
Introduction.....	3
I. Definition of the European Union.....	3
II. Historical root.....	3
III. The main treaties of the Union.....	5
IV. Objectives of the European Union.....	8
A. The single market.....	8
1. Free movement of goods.....	8
2. Free movement of persons or workers.....	8
3. Free movement of services.....	9
4. Free movement of capital.....	9
B. The Economic and Monetary Union (EMU).....	10
1. The Euro-system and a single European currency.....	10
2. The European Financial Stability Facility (EFSF).....	10
3. The fiscal policies.....	10
C. Economic policy’s coordination between member states.....	10
D. Foreign and Security Policy.....	11
E. Schengen.....	11

F. The Dublin Regulation.....	12
G. EU budget.....	12
V. Membership conditions.....	12
VI. The reasons behind Britain’s access to the Union.....	13
Conclusion.....	13
Chapter Two: The withdrawal of Britain from the European Union.....	15
Introduction.....	15
I. Brexit definition.....	15
II. Reasons behind Britain leaving the Union	19
III. The procedure that is taken by Britain to leave the Union	21
IV. Beneficiary and non- beneficiary countries from Britain exit.....	23
A. Beneficiary countries.....	23
B. Non- beneficiary countries.....	24
Conclusion.....	26
Chapter Three: The future of the European Union without Britain.....	27
Introduction.....	27
I. The impact of Brexit on the European Union.....	27
A. Economic impact.....	28
B. Social impact.....	28
C. Political impact.....	28
D. Trade impact.....	29
II. The virtues that Britain will gain after leaving the European Union.....	29
III. The European Union is threatened with disintegration.....	30
V. The measures Britain will take after leaving the union.....	33
A. Immigration will be cut.....	33
B. The fate of Europeans residing in Britain.....	34
C. Britain and the new alternative.....	34
D. The axe that Britain will focus on in the next phase.....	33
VI. British-European Relations: A history of doubt and mistrust in the future.....	35
VII. European Union: Adopting new system in order to preserve the Countries which intend the withdrawal.....	37
Conclusion.....	37
General Conclusion.....	38
Appendix.....	39
Works Cited	40

CHAPTER ONE

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE EU



Introduction

By the nineteenth century the European continent was the theatre of conflicts. That period brought millions of dead and lots of destruction. However, Europe had a lot of bloody wars. So, the European leaders came to the conclusion that only economic and political integration the most likely solution can secure the peace between their countries.

This chapter deals with the emergence of the Union and the main interests between the member states in order to promote peaceful relations between them. It also gives a broad overview of the main stages undergone by the Union.

I. Definition of the European Union

The European Union (EU) is an international association consists twenty eight (28) European countries, it established in 1993 after the ratification of the Maastricht Treaty by members of the European Community. They have delivered peace, stability and prosperity. They are related to each other by political and economic partnership.

II. Historical root

The history of the European Union (EU) has been marked in the aftermath of the Second World War. The idea of integration was proposed by the French Foreign Minister Robert SCHUMAN in a speech on 9th May 1950s. SCHUMAN's idea was about integrating the coal and steel industries of Western Europe. Thus, this idea took place in 1951s and 1958s respectively when the six founder states (Belgium, France, West German, Italy, Luxemborg, and Netherland) formed European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), and they also created a common market between them to share goods and services.

In 1973s the United Kingdom, Ireland and Denmark joined the European Economic Community (ECC). By 1981s Greece became member in the Union. Around 1986s Portugal and Spain acceded to membership of the European Economic Community. In addition Austria, Finland, Sweden, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania,

Malta, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia, Bulgaria and Romania were further enlargement in 1995s, 2004s and 2007s. Finally, on 1st July 2013 Croatia joined the European Union (McIver 3).

The founders or the fathers of Europe had a common desire for the pacification of Europe via the reconciliation of European nations ‘never again war’, the Declaration of 9th May 1950:

The contribution which an organized and living Europe can bring to civilization is indispensable to the maintenance of peaceful relations. In taking upon herself for more than 20 years the role of champion of a united Europe, France has always had as her essential aim the service of peace. A united Europe was not achieved and we had war. (Schuman1)

Member	Flag	Year of joining
Belgium		1952
France		
Italy		
Luxembourg		
Netherlands		
West Germany		
Denmark		1973
Ireland		
United Kingdom		
Greece		1981
Portugal		1986
Spain		
Austria		1995
Finland		
Sweden		

Cyprus		2004	
Czech Republic			
Estonia			
Hungary			
Latvia			
Lithuania			
Malta			
Poland			
Slovakia			
Slovenia			
Bulgaria			2007
Romania			
Croatia			2013

Table1: European Union Members

III. The main treaties of the Union

The European Union is based on the rule of law, this means that every action taken by the Union is founded on treaties .The treaties sets out objectives and rules for European Union institution, how decisions are made and the relationship between the Union and its members. They make the EU more efficient and transparent, to introduce new areas of cooperation. Those treaties are:

April 1951: The treaty of Paris established the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC). It was signed on 18th April 1951 and came on force on July 1952. The treaty expired on 23th July at the end of the 50 year validity period (EU treaties).

The pooling of coal and steel production should immediately provide for the setting up of common foundations for economic development as a first step in the federation of Europe, and will change the destinies of those regions which have long been devoted to the manufacture of munitions of war, of which they have been the most constant victims (Schuman 2).

March 1957: The Treaty of Rome was signed on 25th 1957, and it came into force on 1st January 1958, that gave birth to the European Economic Community (EEC) and European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM). This historic agreement was made by Christian Pineau” a gentlemanly politician, Socialist And Foreign Minister” from France, Joseph Luns” Secretary General of NATO” from the Netherlands, Paul Henri Spaak” Belgian statesman and Socialist leader “from Belgium, Joseph Bech “politician” from Luxemburg, Antonio Segni” politician and the 34th Prime Minister of Italy” from Italy and Konrad Adenauer” Chancellor” from the Federal Republic of Germany. The treaty ratified by the national parliament (Goldberg).

February 1986: The Single European Act (SEA) was signed on 1st July 1987 in Luxemburg and The Hague. It considered as the first modification of the treaties of Paris (1951) and Rome (1957) (EU treaties).

February 1992: The Treaty of Maastricht also known as The Treaty of the European Union (TEU) .It was signed on 7th February 1992, entered into force on 1st November 1993. The Maastricht Treaty considered as the fundamental or significant stage of the founding of the single currency and the creating of the European Union, which consisted of three pillars:

a- The European Communities consists three main communities are the European Community, the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) and EURATOM.

b- Common Foreign and Security Policy permitting Member States to take decisions and joint tasks in the field of foreign policy.

c- Inciting high level of protection for all the EU citizens, by joint action of police and judicial cooperation in Criminal Matters.

The treaty of Maastricht established the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) as a political compromise between France and Germany. The Maastricht Treaty represents a key stage in European construction. By establishing the European Union, by creating an economic and monetary union and by extending European integration to new areas, the Community has acquired a political dimension (Treaty of Maastricht³).

October 1997: The treaty of Amsterdam was signed on 2nd October 1997 by the Foreign Ministers of the Union (15 member countries). It came into force on 1st May 1999. The treaty was ratified by the Member States in order to modify a certain regulations of the Maastricht treaty. It intended to expand the EU and to include Eastern European countries (Lycouris)

February 2001: The treaty of Nice was signed on 26th February 2001 by European Leaders and entered into force on 1st February 2003. The treaty of Nice reformed the institutional structure of the European Union (CICILUS).

October 2004: The constitutional treaty or the European constitution. The treaty signed on 29th October 2004 by representatives of the 25 member states of the European Union in Rome. It was ratified later by 18 member states. The treaty establishing a constitution for Europe, and contained many of the changes but was formulated as amendments to the existing treaties.

December 2007: The treaty of Lisbon was signed by the European Union member's states on 13th December 2007, and came into force on 1st December 2009. This historic agreement designed in order to make the EU more democratic, more transparent and efficient On the one hand, and to address a global problem on the other hand. Lisbon treaty introduced important agreement which is article 50. This historic agreement was signed by the heads of EU

member states. It facilitates the procedure of the withdrawal from the Union for any member state (Ray 1).

IV. Objectives of the European Union

The European Union was created in order to achieve a great desire and other important goals are:

The aim of the European Economic Community (EEC) was to establish a common market based on the four freedoms of movement (goods, persons, capital and services).

A. The single market

Is the most important part of the whole project of the European Union .It was signed on 18th February 1986, was aimed to breaking down all barriers or obstacles to trading across the 500 million people by achieving and ensuring the four fundamental freedoms.

1. Free movement of goods

Is one of the most ambitious or important element of the common market, which is about free trade within all member states without any obstacles. The members abolished existing customs duties between each other. Discriminatory taxation also is prohibited by the Union, which means that member states cannot impose high taxes on products coming from another country in the same territory, just forced only taxes on products coming from the third country (i.e. Countries outside the EU). “Quantitative restrictions on imports and all measures having equivalent effect shall be prohibited between Member States” (Article 34 TFEU).

Thus, collected customs duties are paid into the Community budget, and not into the budget of the collecting country for administrative costs.

2. Free movement of persons or workers

It is a fundamental principle of the Maastricht treaty, It deals with all works shall be secured within the Union. The members abolished any discrimination based on nationality between workers of the member states, and to move freely within the territory of Member

States for the purpose of (seeking) employment. “Prohibition of discrimination on grounds of nationality” Art. 18 TFEU. Moreover, it allows citizens to look for a job in another EU country, to work there without needing a work permit, to reside there for that purpose and to stay there even after employment has finished.

3. Free movement of services

It is another essential element in the European single market. It has many advantages for all members of the Union, it facilitates to all member states to establish a company in another EU country without any obstacles.

Right of establishment - Article 49 (ex Article 43 TEC)

“Within the framework of the provisions set out below, restrictions on the freedom of establishment of nationals of a Member State in the territory of another Member State shall be prohibited. Such prohibition shall also apply to restrictions on the setting-up of agencies, branches or subsidiaries by nationals of any Member State established in the territory of any Member State. Freedom of establishment shall include the right to take up and pursue activities as self-employed persons and to set up and manage undertakings, in particular companies or firms within the meaning of the second paragraph of Article 54, under the conditions laid down for its own nationals by the law of the country where such establishment is effected, subject to the provisions of the Chapter relating to capital.”

4. Free movement of capital

Is one of the key element in the EU common market, it was enshrined by the Maastricht treaty and came into force on this historic agreement in 1994. The decision refers to that all restrictions on capital movement and payment not only within the EU, but also between EU countries and countries outside the EU (across borders) were prohibited.

B. The Economic and Monetary Union (EMU)

Is an important stage, were founded by the European Council in Maastricht on December 1991, and were enriched later in the treaty on European Union. This important decision (formation of EMU) brings many benefits and objectives are:

1. The Euro-system and a single European currency

Is the essential element in the establishment of the Monetary Union in the euro area . It was lunched on June 1999.EU had adopted the EURO as an official currency, The Euro-system consists of the European Central Bank (ECB) and the national central bank (NCB) of the 19 member states that are part of the Eurozone. The role of Euro-system is price and financial stability, promoting trade and raising rate's productivity around member states.

2. The European Financial Stability Facility (EFSF)

It was created by the 27 EU member states in June 2010.The EFSF aimed at preserving financial stability in Europe by providing financial assistance to the euro area countries in economic difficulty such as Ireland, Portugal and Greece, this assistance was financed by the European Financial Stability Facility.

3. The fiscal policies

Is one of the most significant discipline in a Monetary Union. It has important role on economic growth of all EU members which is made of sovereign states that retain responsibilities for their policies.

C. Economic policy's coordination between member states

The coordination policies for Europe laid down in Lisbon strategy for growth and jobs in March 2000 and relaunch in 2005.It have been formed by competition law, internal market, customs union and trade policy. The Economic Reform Agenda removes all barriers to industrial competition and increase market flexibility (Hodson).

F. The Dublin Regulation

Dublin is one of the most important law of the EU, was originated by the Dublin Convention on June 1990 in Dublin, Ireland and came into force on 1 September 1997. It was signed by the first twelve members (Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain and the United Kingdom).

The Dublin Regulation determines that any European Union member state is responsible to examine an application for asylum seeking international protection, and provides for the transfer of an asylum seeker to that Member State (The Dublin Regulation :the Asylum in Europe).

G. EU budget

The budget of the European Union aims to give the EU the means to carry through its policies and is the most important financial instrument of the EU. It is based on contributions from the Member States and has been established and has been implemented in euro since 1999. The outline budgetary mechanisms of the present European Union were defined by the Treaty of Paris 1951 and the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union in 1957.

V. Membership conditions

To become a member in the European Union is a complex procedure. The European Union made set of conditions that facilitate to all members join the Union. The criteria made by European Council in Copenhagen on June 1993, the processes of accession divided into four main steps or stages are:

- Should respect all standards and rules of the European Union.
- All member states and EU institutions should give acceptance to the country which wants to join the Union.
- Country which wants to join the Union should have consent of their citizens by the referendum.

- Must respect the Democratic values of the Union and human rights.

EU commission puts fundamental rules or conditions for any country wants to be a member, in order to achieve peace and social justice for its people and in the global community.

VI. The reasons behind Britain's access to the Union

After the Second World War Britain found itself floundering in several economic problems. While the European Economic Community provided an economic engine that could revive the British economy, this factor led Britain to rethink about its geopolitical location away from the empire and into a realistic location in the heart of Europe, which made it achieved its desire by joining the Union.

By the early of 1970s, Britain became essential member within the Union, because it wanted to avoid economic decline and crisis from 1945 to 1972, and aimed to develop all sectors, but it was relatively stable from 1973 to 2010, and it wanted also to show its great power and dominance over other countries.

In 1973s, the majority of British politicians believed that the referendum of Britain to be a member in European Economic Community will shape the future relationship of their country with its large trade partner, and Britain will be beneficiary from its accession to the union. For example Higher trade benefits UK consumers through lower prices and access to better goods and services. At the same time, the UK's workers and businesses benefit from new export opportunities that lead to higher sales and profits and allow the UK to specialize in industries in which it has a comparative advantage. Through these channels, increased trade raises output, incomes and living standards in the UK.

Conclusion

The idea of integration (The European Union) came not only to achieve peace between all members especially between France and Germany. But also it came in order to promote political, economic and social objectives on the one hand and on the other hand to investigate

great desire which is prosperity and development to become one power in the world against enemies. Normally all these objectives are benefits for all twenty eight European members, but in fact many members want to withdrawal from the Union especially United Kingdom. The question is why Britain decided to withdrawal from the Union despite of the advantages of the Union?

CHAPTER THREE
THE FUTURE OF THE EUROPEAN UNION
WITHOUT BRITAIN



Introduction

Many researchers said that the United Kingdom is the main pillar of the establishment of the European Union, where its strong economy and its position globally give Member State great privileges. Thus, its strategy leads to the development of the Union, and the strengthening of relations between EU countries. While the withdrawal of Britain from the Union is important step in the Britain history, will certainly affect the two parties, but what would like to reach in this chapter extent of the impact of this divorce on the Union and each member within the Union. It also portrays the relationship between Britain and the European Union in future.

I. The impact of Brexit on the European Union

A wave of shocks lit European countries that could not absorb the vote of British voters in favor of their country's exit from the European Union, which making the EU countries unable to withstand the major shock.

Many economists say Britain's separation from the EU will cause problems for the rest of Europe. The Washington-based think tank, the Peterson Institute for International Economic Studies, believes Britain's exit would be a stumbling block in EU economic growth. Also in an article entitled "We will lose if we are divided: voting for exit from the EU will weaken Europe". The International Monetary Fund, the US Federal Reserve and the Bank of England have warned that Britain's exit will have repercussions for the global economy. Brexit will weaken those forces in the EU that favour greater integration.

A. Economic impact

The result of the referendum of Britain's exit from the Union made a strong shock in the European financial markets, and stock exchanges .That led to slowing the wheel of the

economy and an increase in economic crises as London, Paris and Frankfurt posted sharp declines, also Japan's Nikkei index posted its biggest loss since 2011.

What are really worrying is the dollar will rise, and some of the poor countries of Europe that were supported by Britain by paying an annual amount of it incomes (50% of British exports go to European countries) will be experiencing economic crises. All the massive reports from the International Monetary Fund, the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, the World Bank, the British government and the Bank of England, which have been unanimous in warning of large losses as a result of Britain's departure. Moreover, the collapse or a sharp deterioration in the euro exchange rate to the level of 108.5, and could penetrate the 105 level later. Then the disintegration of the European market, and the weakening of Europe's power worldwide.

B. Social impact

One of the most important achievements of the European Union is the establishment of the principle of freedom of movement among the countries of the Union. Today, 1.2 million British live in other European Union countries, while 3 million who have not British nationality live in Britain. Thanks to the rules of the European Union, they were able to move through the English Channel freely without obstacles. So, Britain Exit from the Union Will make travel to Britain difficult, and Britain will put new restrictions on residents in Britain, Especially those coming from economically poorer countries such as Poland and Lithuania. At a minimum, this means that people traveling to and from Britain will be concerned about passport and residence rules. It may mean that some immigrants in Britain may lose their right to continue to live and work in the UK and be deported.

C. Political impact

When Britain leaves the Union The political implications will be greater than the economic implications. The European Union will lose a military force of significant influence

in European security; also the exit of Britain will call for a reconsideration of the decision-making mechanisms within EU institutions. Its exit would result in the loss of 29 votes in the European Council of Ministers, as well as 73 seats in the European Parliament (8.5 percent of the proportional weight of the vote) Which will inevitably lead to a change in the balance of power in favor of the major powers that have greater representation in EU institutions in the European decision-making process (Germany, France and Italy). Strategically, Britain's exit will increase pressure on the German-French axis to increase their military spending, with the aim of containing the impact of British absence on European defense and security policy. For Europeans, they fear the rise of political populism, which could develop such hostility among peoples towards other peoples .

D. Trade impact

Free movement and trading allows to EU businesses to create jobs inside Britain. While, the accession to Britain Market is very important step to exchange products, and gain more incomes. So, in case of UK leaving the EU all this benefits will be affected, and small businesses might suffer losses. In addition to the increase in taxes on goods, this is detrimental to trade.

II. The virtues that Britain will gain after leaving the European Union

Britain chose the exit from the Union, with 51,9% of the participants in the referendum. A result considered by supporters of the exit as a victory for them, and they demanded to make 23rd June the day for the independence of Britain. As what Johnson said at a rally at Olympic Park in London: "After we free ourselves from EU restrictions, we will be able to provide hundreds of thousands of new jobs across the UK. So what will Britain gain in return for its exit from the Union?"

The supporters of the exit tried to give a good impression that Britain would not lose anything because of its divorce from the European Union, by contrast it would win economically, financially and security.

-In terms of economy, Britain will get rid of EC monitoring, and by removing all the heavy instructions and obligations which imposed by European Union on Member States.

-In the financial sector, Britain will benefit of the financial share it provided to the European Union annually, and Britain also will benefit from the amount of money it would had lost when receiving migrants on its territory.

-In the trade sector, The EU trade surplus with Britain is currently 100 billion euro, But Britain has a 20 billion euro surplus in services sector exports thanks to the financial sector.

-In the energy sector, Britain's exit could raise the cost of investment in the sector and delay new projects.

-In the aviation sector, there is currently an open space policy between Britain and the EU, which means freedom of business for airlines from both sides; of course the situation will be different after the exit, which may mean higher prices for consumers.

All these virtues were taken into account by the British people who are against the idea of staying as a member within the EU. And thus will benefit Britain. Many will inevitably see Britain's benefit from this divorce, and they will also be asked to leave the union, and finally the Union would be threatened with disintegration.

III. The European Union is threatened with disintegration

The European Union was the third force after America and the Soviet Union before entering China as an influential economic player. It was founded in order to ensure Europe's

security, and to keep the Union away from conflicts and wars. Despite all privileges of the European Union, but over the years, many problems emerged within the Union, which prompted many countries demanding exit from it, such as Britain and other member states. So many researchers said that Britain's exit from the EU would open the way for other countries to exit the EU are:

France: In the elections of the French House of Representatives in 2014 and for the first time in the history of France and even Europe, the party "National Front" swept the result of the elections by 25% of the votes and got 32% of seats in Parliament, It is also known that this party is strongly hostile to the idea of the European Union and against the principles of the single currency and internal migration since the European Union officially declared in 1993, and its current leader, "Marin Lupine" and the daughter of the founder of the party, which comes from the far right is seeking a strong candidate to win the post of President of France April 2017 elections. By the way, "Marilyn Lopez" called for a Frexit campaign similar to the Brexit campaign, which was the fuel of the separation front in the UK referendum, and declared after the announcement of the outcome of the referendum (what we thought was impossible yesterday, is now a reality).

France is not only the candidate to repeat the experience of "United Kingdom", "Netherlands" too.

Netherlands: According to Gert Wilders, founder and leader of the Dutch Freedom Party, which came in third place with 14 percent in the Dutch parliament's 2014 voting and second in terms of seats in parliament, he said: "We want to regain control of our country and our borders. , And our money, and therefore must be separated from the European Union".

"Geert Wilders," a representative of the extreme right, the owner of the famous statements and anti-Muslims in his country and likeness of the Koran is like a book "struggle" of Hitler, and by the way his party strongly candidate to win the election in March 2017, and then get

the prime minister and leadership of the country. So, the party is demanding the secession of his country from the Union if he came to power.

Sweden: Sweden rejects the single currency (EURO), and many instructions that make it restrictive. The presence of the extreme right in Sweden supports the idea of his country's withdrawal from the European Union. So, The Swedes like other people, try to make their own decisions away from the intervention of the Union and its members.

Denmark: Denmark also against the idea of handing over all powers to the European Union. In last December, the Danes held a referendum on whether they wanted to keep their powers under the running of the union, and the majority voted against it.

Hungary: The Hungarian president” Victor Uruban” does not know a loyal friend of the union. The man has acquired a reputation contrary to that, and is called “The dictator” by the president of the European Commission. These disputes and differences between the two presidents made the relationship between Hungary and the Union worse. Britain's departure from the EU is a great incentive for the Hungarians to take the same experience as Britain, so Uruban is planning a referendum in Hungary about whether his people prefer to stay or get out of the union; that could lead to consequences that would harm the EU's cohesion.

Last but not least, every country in the Union has an essential role in the cohesion of members, while the exit of any member from the EU of it will inevitably destabilize the Union and its members. So, what will happen to the Union if a group of important countries like France demanding exit. All these countries suffer from the rise of extremist parties and populist voice, which promises prosperity and security, but without considering the results of the exit

IV. The measures Britain will take after leaving the union**A. Immigration will be cut**

There are many reasons that led the British people to demand the exit from the European Union, the most important of which is the influx of immigrants from all over Europe, which has negatively affected the British society that found itself strange in its homeland. The opportunities for work go to immigrants, as well as social positions and influence. Even the British government seemed to lose its sovereignty gradually.

Most legal and illegal immigrants migrate from their countries to Britain in search of a better standard of living. For example, some Africans are migrating from Africa to France illegally, and settle in the city of “Cali” border with Britain temporarily. Thus, those living in the camp, mostly from the Middle East, Afghanistan and Africa, hope to cross the Channel to Britain, In order to obtain a low wage job, the unemployment rate increased. So, Britain will stop the freedom of immigration without a visa (Schengen) from any European country within the Union, it will legislate strict laws against immigration, and then the EU will inevitably be harmed.

B. The fate of Europeans residing in Britain

If the Prime Minister Theresa May confirmed during negotiations with the European Union that the issue of reducing immigration to Britain was a red line. So, freedom of movement of people would also be at the heart of those negotiations.

The Financial Times focused on the Brexit issue. Its main headline: "Growing Requests for Residency for Europeans Reveals Secret Program to facilitate Granting Europeans living in Britain accommodation". This journal said that the government has secretly tried to use an electronic program, which could contribute to granting more effective European residency, especially because of the government's announcement that it would impose restrictions on the entry of foreigners including Europeans into the country. Since this

category of more than 3 million people has a vague fate if Britain leaves the EU and they will be exposed to the loss of their right to health care, retirement, and housing if they do not have the right to reside in Britain .So, The new system will help the government identify the real number of Europeans living in Britain, and it will also protect the right of everyone inside the country.

C. Britain and the new alternative

Since it is impossible for the United Kingdom economically and politically to accept the joining any European membership again. In that case, Britain will make every effort to ensure Britain's economic suffering after it leaving the European Union, and it will face all the crises. By making partnerships between its old colonies such as India and other countries like United States of America that Britain could not work with them, when they belonged to the Union. Britain will work to make up for its long-term losses. For the EU, it will suffer economically and politically after losing its greatest power.

D. The axe that Britain will focus on in the next phase

The Bank of England will be able to take advantage of Sterling's resilience, especially as it retreated against major currencies in the context of boosting export competitiveness, and easing the trade deficit. While the independence of monetary policy will ensure the maintenance of low interest rates and the promotion of quantitative easing programs. The Kingdom will seek better terms in negotiations and partnerships with the world's fastest growing economies without having to enter the EU bureaucracy, as was the case in the three years trade agreement between Switzerland and China. It is useful to say that Britain will seek to highlight the positive aspects of economic activity after its departure from the Union and its agreements with the outside world.

V. **British-European Relations: A history of doubt and mistrust in the future**

The European Union said it could hold preliminary talks on its "future relationship" with Britain but after "adequate progress" had been made in the Brexit negotiations, according to the negotiations. The document, to be presented by European Council President Donald Tusk at the Malta meeting, includes the 27 member states of the European Union were ready during these preliminary talks to take "interim measures", to reduce ambiguity at a stage after Britain's exit from the Union. This draft includes sets of principals are:

- Preserving Britain as an important partner in the future.
- Maintaining the principle of the single market and Britain cannot participate in it.
- Do not make any changes about the Four Freedoms.
- The EU cannot give the same rights and benefits to non-member as the European member states.
- The United Kingdom and European Union must agree on their future relationship, but these discussions can only take place when there is sufficient clarity on the process of the UK's withdrawal from the Union.
- These negotiations cannot affect Gibraltar without an agreement between the United Kingdom and Spain.

Despite all those principles make by the European Union on the future relationship with Britain, but it can be said that the Union has lost its credibility, and there are many countries demanding the exit. Regardless of Britain, which left its place empty, it is through what the researchers and politicians talked about it, The EU will lose all partnerships with many countries over the world.

VI. European Union: Adopting new system in order to preserve the Countries which intend the withdrawal

In the past, the European Union had represented a single power against any political or economic crisis. But after Britain leaves it, has become fragile and vulnerable to disintegration and the exit of other countries. For this reason, the researchers believe that the Union should reconsider its laws, especially the Freedom of Movement Act, which allows to people who have different nationalities to move from one country to another one without obstacles.

- Border control: Strengthening border control in the euro area by preventing legal and illegal immigration and allowing freedom of movement and mobility only for member countries of the Union, as well as persons from other countries who have certificates and competencies and they seeks for job. In order to reduce unemployment, to avoid social problems and, most importantly is fighting terrorism. For example the EU countries, including Sweden, are working to create an information network for all EU visitors, and another network to register the names and photographs of all persons or visitors. The Swedish Immigration Service said it would start taking fingerprints for all visitors from Sweden, from the European Union and Switzerland countries, and linking it to a common European system called “The information visa system” to cooperate with other countries in preventing terrorism, crimes and illegal immigration.

- Single Market: is one of the most important principles of the Union, Which allows for free trade and commercial exchanges in a unified European market. Therefore, the Union should strengthen customs control of products and increase the taxes on manufactured products from other countries that are not member in the European Union. In order to protect the European market from all crises and products from imitation and counterfeiting.

-Single currency: As we have already learned, Britain did not adopt the single currency (EURO) as the other members. So, the single currency is the essential currency, all members are obliged to deal with it in the European Union. Therefore, The Union must leave choice for each member to choose the currency that best suits him, not to make members restricted but in order to give those more opportunities to develop their economy and increase cohesion among members.

All these changes are small for Europe, but they are greater for the European Union to ensure cohesion among all its members and keep them away from disintegration. More importantly, the stability of Europe economically, politically and socially.

Conclusion

Britain's divorce from the European Union is a two sided coin. The first face includes the positive aspects of Britain from this historic action. The second one was described by researchers as a painful slap to the Union and its members. Because Britain has a great and important place within it, and its exit has greatly affected the credibility of the Union. The best proof of that is other members such as France are asking to leave the European integration (European Union).

CHAPTER TWO
THE WITHDRAWAL OF BRITAIN FROM
THE EUROPEAN UNION



Introduction

Every country in the European Union has its own ideology about its role, and position in the world especially in Europe, including Britain. She still feels itself somewhat superior to the other European countries. So, when Britain entered the Union, most of her population saw that the power of Britain was narrowed by the EU instructions or laws, and it lost world-wide influence.

Thus, this chapter portrays the main reasons that led Britain to withdrawal from the Union, and the procedures that have taken by Britain to facilitate withdrawal from the Union (Brexit), then the impacts of the withdrawal on the European Union.

I. Brexit definition

Brexit is a combination between two words **Britain** and **Exit**. This term has become used as a shorthand way of saying the United Kingdom leaving the Union.

The withdrawal of United Kingdom from the Union has been the aim of some political parties such as labour party, groups and individuals in Britain since 1975. Therefore, Britain held the first referendum in 1975, which was known as the Common Market or EEC membership referendum. On 5th June 1975, the electorates were asked to vote yes or no on the following Question: “Do you think the UK should stay in the European Community (Common Market)?” .This means whether the United Kingdom should remain in the EEC. The majority of political parties such as conservative party and mainstream press supported and argued continuing membership of the EEC by 67,09% votes . By contrast there were significant splits within the ruling Labour party who favored and preferred Britain exit from the European Economic Community (EEC) by 32,70% votes. The members of the Labour party, led by Harold Wilson believed that their country will face many problems; the most important ones were being the deterioration of the economy and the social situation, if they remained under the control of EEC. Where they saw the economic situation of Britain will

prosper in the case of its exit from the European Economic Community at that time. The table below gives more details about the referendum .

<u>Answer</u>	<u>Voice</u>	<u>Rate %</u>
Yes	17 378 581	67,09 %
No	8 470 073	32,70 %
Nothing	54 540	0,21 %
Total (Participation: 64, 5 %)	25 903 194	100%

Source: Eurostat.

Table 02: Referendum's results for Britain in 1975

The chart below also shows the big percentage of voters who were for the idea of staying in the European Community, and the small percentage voting against staying in the membership, finally the small percentage represents those who did not vote on the decision to leave or stay.

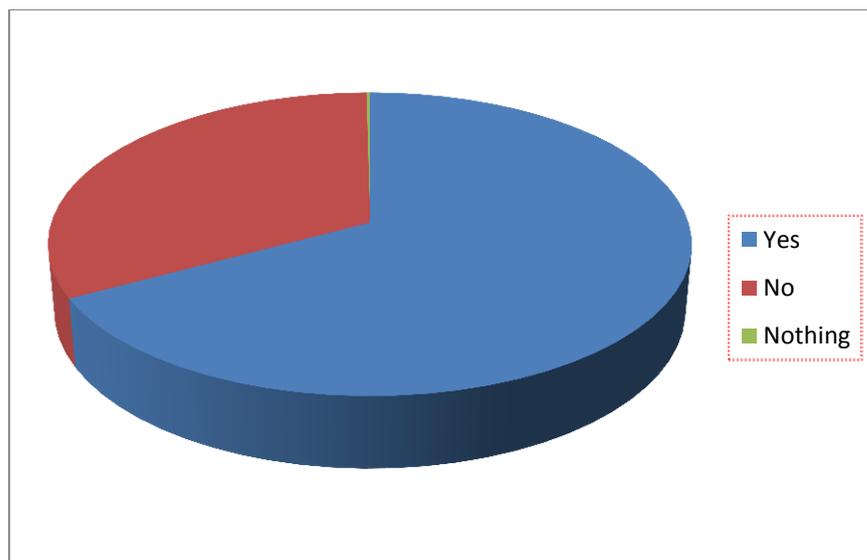


Chart 01: Results of referendum in 1975

On 23rd June 2016 Britain held the second referendum. At that historic day British people took the final decision about separation of Britain from the Union. Thus, the majority of British population and parties as Labour, conservative, and Liberal Democrats party wanted Britain leaving the Union, by contrast the rest voted against the withdrawal from the Union.

England voted for Britain leaving the Union by 53, 4% to 46, 6%; Wales also voted for Brexit by 52, 5% to 47, 5%. Scotland and Northern Ireland both are voting against Britain leaving the Union. Scotland remains by 62% to 38%; while 55, 8% in Northern Ireland voted remain and 44, 2% leave. The final result was that the British chose to leave the European Union by 51, 9% to 48, 1%.

British Prime Minister David Cameron did not want a referendum on exit from the European Union at all. But in 2014, Cameron faced strong populist pressure on immigration and Britain's membership in the European Union. To calm opponents in his party and stop the rise of the extreme right UK independence party, Cameron promised to hold a referendum on leaving the EU, if the Conservative Party wins the 2015 election. The Conservative party won the majority in parliament and David was not in favor of the idea of leaving the union, which prompted Prime him to announce his resignation; pointing out that the process of exit from the Union will be led by another prime minister "Theresa MAY".

Answer	Nation	Yes	No
	Wales	52,5%	47,5%
	Northern Ireland	44,2%	55,8%
	Scotland	38%	62%
	England	53,4%	46,6%

Source: Centre for European Reform calculations.

Table03: Nation results about Britain leaving the Union

The chart below shows the variation of results from one state to another in one country, this makes the referendum difficult, because the result is very close between supporters and opponents.

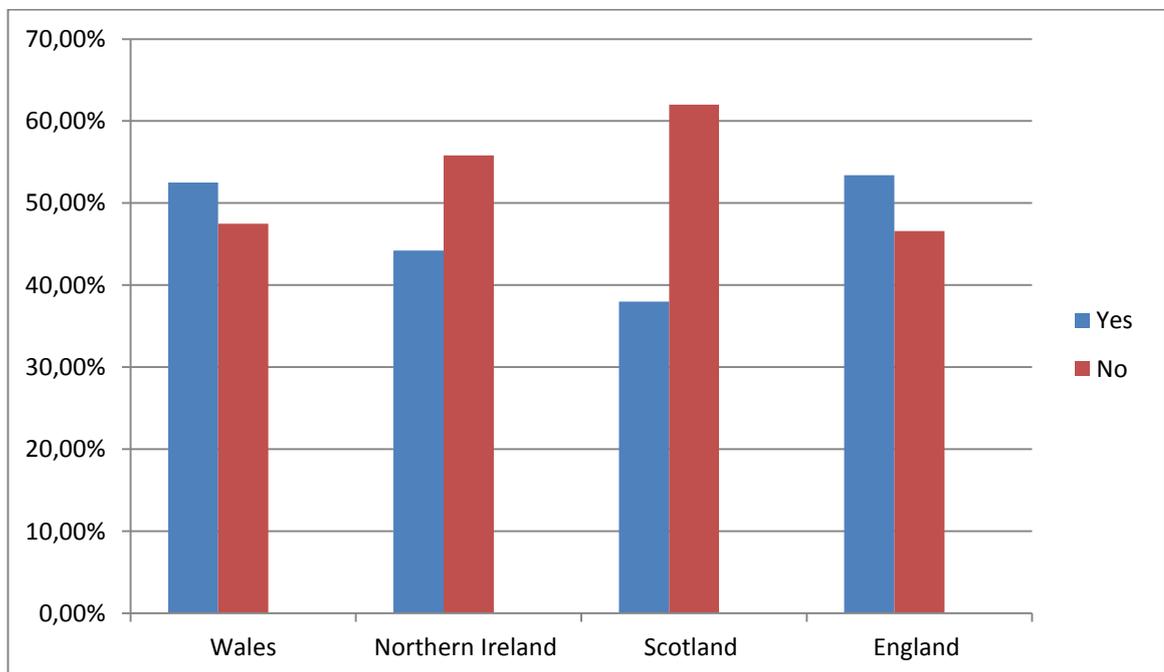


Chart 02: Nation results about Britain leaving the Union

Proponents of the idea of the membership believe that Britain's membership is beneficial for the both sides. In contrast to opponents who have a different ideology from of the others .So, they see this accession to the European Union as a reduction of the Britain's power, and its withdrawal from the union is a positive step in order to open to the outside world.

<u>Answer</u>	<u>Voice</u>	<u>Rate %</u>
Yes	17400000	51.9%
No	16100000	48.1%
Total (Participation: 71.8 %)	33500000	100%

Source: Office of National Statistics.

Table 04: Referendum's results for Britain in 2016

We also observe in the table and the chart below, that form the result of the referendum compared to the referendum conducted by the British for the first time are totally different. As the final result turned out that the British people had changed the old view that they had in 1975 towards the Union ,and the majority became see only the of disadvantages the membership.

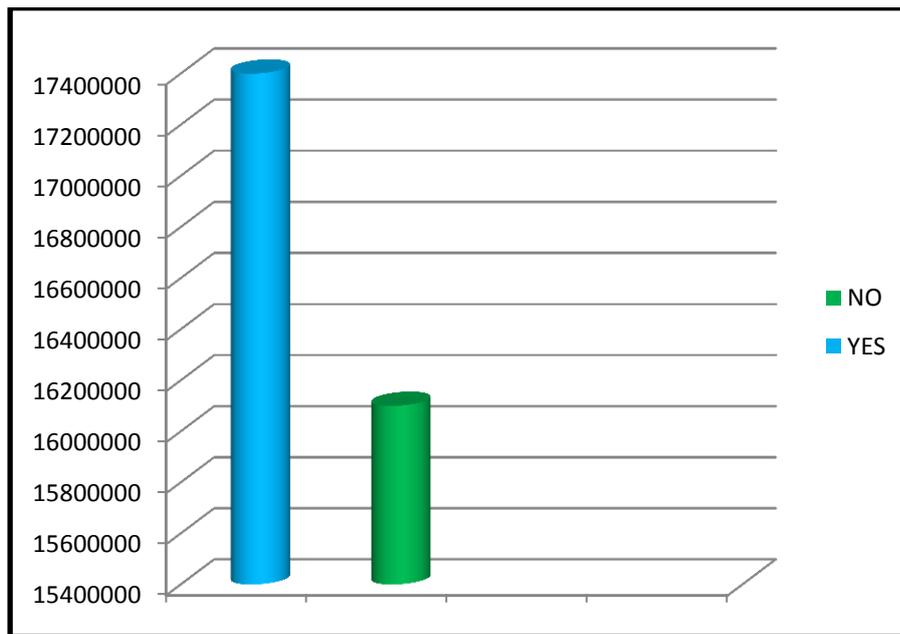


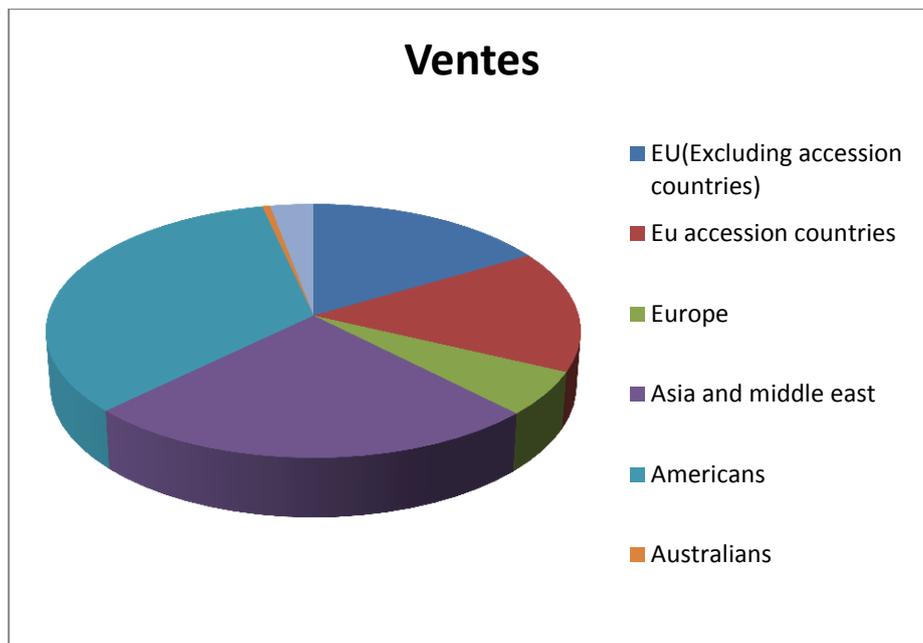
Chart 03: Results of referendum for Brexit 2016

II. Reasons behind Britain leaving the Union (Arnorrsson and Zoega)

Britain is big country in the world; it has a great power in every domains and sectors. There are many countries within the European Union which have weak economy, they depends on Britain in order to develop their economy. So United Kingdom faced many problems within the union that's why it decided to leave the union, those problems or reasons are:

➤ The problems of immigrants and refugees: The United Kingdom has experienced a steady flow of immigrants (British nationals, nationals of other EU countries and nationals of non-EU countries) from 1992 until September 2016. This phenomenon is a significant factor in the growth of the UK population, but it does not help in the development of Britain economy. Therefore a burden of migrants and refugees resulting huge of unemployment and social issues. So according to the latest statistics, the number of immigrants in Britain is estimated at 863 thousand, which is a great burden amounts to more than 3,67 million pounds (\$ 4.311 billion) a year, which is equivalent to half of the education budget in England. So,

British citizens proposed to stay employed this budget in scientific research and new industries. Thus, The British citizen believes that exit from the European Union will enable his country to adopt a new system that limits the admission of migrants from outside the European Union to enter the country.



Source: OECD, inward foreign direct investment statistics.

Chart 04: The number of immigrants into Britain

➤ Fear of terrorism: The increase in terrorist attacks in some European countries recently (France and Germany) prompted the British citizen to think that separation from the EU will stop the open border agreement between its countries, which may limit the movement of European citizens, and prevents the advent of terrorists to Britain. Such as the latest terrorist attack in London on Wednesday 22nd March 2017 in front of the British parliament .The attacker who carried out the terrorist attack raided people by his car and then stabbed a policeman. In an official statement, four people were killed and twenty wounded.

- **Free trading:** The single market is one of the advantages of the Union, but any member is required to abide by a certain conditions, like no member state can deal freely without other country without the consent of the European Union. Therefore, these conditions make Britain constrained and thus affect its economy. On one side the British citizen believes that the withdrawal from the Union will make Britain far from the European Union laws, on the other side Britain can make trade agreements with important countries such as America, India and China, in addition to the establishment of a free trade area.
- **International influence:** The British agrees that their country's influence within the EU is weak, and that if Britain leaves the EU they will be able to act freely and get seats in international institutions such as the World Trade Organization that they lost because of their accession to the European Union.

III. The procedure that is taken by Britain to leave the Union

The European Union had a restrict laws, which include sets of conditions in case of entry or exit of any member. So, Britain adopted in its leaving on Article 50 to facilitate the process of leaving the union. The withdrawal from the European Union considered as a right of a Member States in accordance with article 50 of the Lisbon convention.

The Treaty of the European Union provided for a legal mechanism regulating the withdrawal of its members from it, and was included in the "withdrawal clause" of Article 50 of the Lisbon Treaty signed by the EU leaders on 19 October 2007 in the Portuguese capital of Lisbon, and entered into force on 1 December 2009. Article 50 of the Lisbon Treaty defines the ways for the unilateral withdrawal of a member of the European Union in accordance with its own constitutional requirements.

Contents of Article 50: Under Article 50, each State that wishes to withdraw must follow,

1- Negotiation of a "withdrawal agreement" approved by the Council of the European Union (including the 28 Member States) ,of the "Qualified Majority" (defined by Article 238 / 3B of the "Treaty of Action of the European Union"), after the approval of the European Parliament; Leaving.

2- - The application of European Treaties shall cease to apply to the withdrawing State as of the date of entry into force of the "Withdrawal Agreement" or two years after the Union formally takes the decision to withdraw if the parties have not reached any agreement in the meantime. The Union and the withdrawing State may decide to extend the time limit by mutual agreement, provided that the States of the Union vote on it by consensus.

3- The EU should negotiate with the withdrawing state to reach an agreement specifying its withdrawal arrangements, taking into account the search for a "framework" for its future relationship with the Union. This negotiation is conducted in accordance with Article 218 (3) of the Treaty on the European Union.

4- If the withdrawing State of the Union wishes to rejoin it, its application shall be subject to the same procedure as laid down in Article 49 of the Lisbon Treaty.

Britain decided to leave the Union after forty three years of membership; the process of the UK's withdrawal is somehow difficult within the article 50 of the EU law. Unless the agreement is extended, the date of departure is two years from the time Britain officially gives notice of its desire to exit. Thus, Britain has handed over a formal notification to the EU on its decision to leave the European Union, and also Britain's ambassador in Brussels Tim Barrow, delivered a letter to European Council President Donald Tusk referring to the activation of Article 50 of the Lisbon Treaty. According to which Britain will officially begin exit procedures from the European Union. The withdrawal's procedure contains lot of Complex issues that will be negotiated; include the draft financial law, the future of the British citizens in European Union area and business relationship between them.

Note: See appendix (Article 50).

IV. Beneficiary and non- beneficiary countries from Britain exit

A. Beneficiary countries

➤ **Gibraltar:** The First beneficiary of the Kingdom's exit from the European Union is Spain, which has been demanding restoration of control over Gibraltar for many years. More than 32,000 British citizens in the colony fear the outcome of the referendum, which will boost Spain's hopes, to restore its sovereignty over the colony, which is rejected by the population. By 1713s Gibraltar was surrendered to Britain by Spain, and the region remained under British control until 1981. Since that date, Spain has demanded that it be restored, based on the agreement signed between the two countries, while the most of the British residents preferred to remain under British control and sovereignty.

➤ **Switzerland:** Switzerland supports the withdrawal of Britain from the European Union, given the huge money that will flow to its banks if it is achieved. The deputy chairman of the Association of Swiss Private Banks, Gregoire Bourdieu, said at a conference in Geneva that support for Britain's exit from the European Union would create a climate of "anxiety" From the "flow of additional funds" originating from Europe to Switzerland.

➤ **France:** On the other hand, France is one of the biggest beneficiaries of the exit of Britain from the European Union, where London occupies a dominant position in the European financial arena and is active in many banks, investment and financial analysts and has a prominent position in the exchange market. In the event of exit from the European Union, the scene will change, which could lead to the establishment of the largest financial market in Europe and the world, while some considered that the Paris Stock Exchange will be the preferred to replace the London Stock Exchange because of its position in Central Europe and has several advantages with financial institutions sparkling globally and therefore

considered The second financial capital in Europe could benefit from the golden triangle formed by “BNP Paribas”, “Societe Generale” and “Credit Agricole”.

➤ United States of America: America is also one of the countries benefiting from this divorce; they will establish economic relations and partnerships with Britain between freely without any constraints or obstacles that faced them previously. Because they considered Britain as an important political and trade partner and also Is a great prize for them.

B. Non- beneficiary countries

➤ Germany: German magazine Der Spiegel issued an appeal to British in February to choose to stay in the referendum ,and Some German politicians believe that the leaving of Britain from the Union will have a catastrophic impact on Berlin and Europe alike, where the German Finance Minister said "we will cry if you leave " during a visit to London in response to a question about what Germany would do if Britain leaves the European Union, This decision will be as a poison on the economy of the United Kingdom, the European continent and the global economy. The magazine entitled "Please do not leave ... why Germany needs the British." Berlin wants to be a leader in Europe but does not want to do so on its own." Germany, Britain and France were once the most important players who made strenuous efforts. In Europe to achieve unity on the continent, and France was exposed to economic and political crisis led to Britain and Germany becomes the two largest forces in the Union.

➤ The Netherlands is the biggest loser: A study by the Dutch government's Central Planning Office warned that the Netherlands would be hit hard if Britain leaves the EU. The country's gross domestic product (GDP) is expected to drop by 1.2 percent by 2030 and trade losses of about 10 billion euros due to the low volume of trade between the two countries, the study concluded that the Netherlands will be the biggest affected compared to other EU countries because of its strong bilateral relationship with Britain.

➤ Japan: Japan is closely monitoring the potential impact of the referendum and Japan's economy minister said that if the referendum results in a withdrawal from the union, it will affect Japanese companies with operations in Britain.

Conclusion

Britain is the second largest economy in Europe with nuclear weapons, and is a permanent member of the UN Security Council, as well as an important role represented by the traditional bridge between Europe and the United States across the Atlantic. From the beginning of the year until this date, there are conflicting opinions about who would win or lose from Britain's exit from the Union. So, the price of "Brexit" will be one of two things: either the disintegration of a united Europe or the disintegration of the British state.

General Conclusion

In the past, the idea of integration was proposed in order to unify the Europe, and all countries became one hand to face all problems and obstacles. But not to make the situation worse than before. Considering that the United Kingdom is the most essential member that the European Union cannot do without it. Despite all the laws agreed upon by the EU members, which are working to help each country economically, politically, and socially. But Britain saw this membership only as controlling its interests and narrowing its opportunities. After long negotiations and many referendums British people chose the withdrawal from the Union, because they saw the future of their country will flourish far from the Union.

Thus, this conclusion provides a brief overview of the main ideas contained in this work, as well as an exploratory statement for its main findings. Where we discussed the subject of research in three chapters. So, we presented in the first chapter to detailed study about the European Union, how it works, and we explained also the reasons that led Britain to join the Union in the 1997s. Then we moved to the second chapter, which addressed the Brexit issue from the Union, and the main important reasons behind Britain leaving the EU. Finally, we came to the last chapter, which portrayed the impact of Brexit on the EU, and studied the relationship between Britain and the European Union after the withdrawal, and the future of the EU without Britain.

We conclude with this study that the European Union lost an important pillar, and it also threatened with disintegration, as long as there are several countries wish to take their independence from it. Because the British decision considered as the main catalyst for them, especially as Britain is characterized by a great economy

Therefore, it must reconsider its laws in order to preserve its members and restore its credibility over the world, and strengthen relations among members.

Appendix

Article 50– Treaty on European Union (TEU)

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

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

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

4. For the purposes of paragraphs 2 and 3, the member of the European Council or of the Council representing the withdrawing Member State shall not participate in the discussions of the European Council or Council or in decisions concerning it. A qualified majority shall be defined in accordance with Article 238(3) (b) of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union.

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

Source: Official Journal- Article 50 from Lisbon Treaty.

Works cited

Books:

Baker, David, Schnapper, Pauline. *Britain and the Crisis of the European Union*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.2015.Print.

Ciccarone, Giuseppe, Enrico, Marchetti. Trade unions' objectives and inflation. Rome, Italy: n.p., 2002. 2-15. Print.

Clements, Ben. *IEA Brexit Prize: Britain outside the European Union*. Britain, 2014. Print.

Marchiel, David. *Treaty on European Union (TEU) and the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU)*. London, 2008. Print.

Oliver, Tim. *What impact would a Brexit have on the EU?*. London, 2016, p. 2–5. Print.

Official Reports:

Hodson, Dermot. Economic Policy Coordination in the European Union. Rep. Vol. I 83. London: n.p., 2003. Print.

Irmen, Andreas. *Trade Union Objectives and Economic Growth*. Rep. Germany, N.p. n.p., 2000. Print.

Michel, Barnier, ed. *20years of the European Single Market* . Rep. N.p.,n.p., 2012. Print.

Reenen, John Van. The consequences of Brexit for UK trade and living standards. Rep. London: n.p., n.d. Print.

Schuman, Robert, ed. *Schuman Declaration of 9 May 1950*. Rep. N.p.: n.p., n.d. Print.

Tim , Oliver. *European Union without the United Kingdom the Geopolitics of a British Exit from the EU*. Rep. Vol. 16; 1. N.p.: n.p., 2016. Print.

United Kingdom. SPICe Briefing. The Scottish parliament. *The European Union – A Brief History*. Lain McIver. Vol. 11. Scotland : n.p., 2011. Print. Ser. 44.

Webliography:

Arnorrsson, Agust . “On the Causes of Brexit.” University of Iceland Birkbeck, University of London, 2016, pp. 1–35.web.09Apr.2017.

Bache, Iane, Stephen, George. *Politics in the European Union*. New York: Oxford University Press.2006.Web.02Jan.2017.

CER .The Economic Consequences of Leaving the EU. London: Centre for European Reform Civitas (2014) EU External Trade Policy.2014. Web.19Jan.2017.

Cicilus, John. "The Treaty of Nice." *Europedia.moussis.eu*. N.p., n.d. Web. 13 Mar. 2017.

"Consolidated version of the treaty on European Union." *Official Journal of the European Union 326th ser.* 13 (26.10.2012): 1-34. Web. 12 Mar. 2017.

"Europa.eu." *EU treaties*. N.p., n.d. Web. 25 Feb. 2017.

Lymbouris, Christos, ed. "The Treaty of Amsterdam." *EU politics*. N.p., n.d. Web. 23 Sept. 2016.

Ray, Michael. "Lisbon Treaty." *Encyclopedia Britannica*. N.p., n.d. Web. 25 Feb. 2017.

"The history of the EU-the European citizenship." *Historiasiglo.org*. Ed. Jonathan Goldberg. N.p., n.d. Web. 09 Feb. 2017.

"Treaty of Maastricht on European Union." *Eur-Lex*. N.p., n.d. Web. 12 Mar. 2017.