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MASTER DEGREE IN
«British Civilization »

Special Relations:
Britain and the United States
After the Brexit

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Abstract

The present work examines the relationship between Britain and the United States to underline the common place of the United Kingdom within the new issue which was called the Brexit. The work looks at Britain's specificity toward the United States and the European Union processes depending on which government's policy. It does not question the UK's membership in the EU whether or not Britain should leave the EU, but it intends to inform the Brexit' effects on the UK-US special relationship. This work includes an overview of the unique relationship between Britain and America, Britain's decision to apply for membership in the European Union, and an evaluation of Britain's policy toward the European integration processes. The last part of this work deals with the consequences of Britain' policy on Europe as a result of an agreement between its members, as well as the major difficulties that faced the British party politics and its relation with the US in this respect.

Key words:

UK, USA, Brexit, UK and USA Special Relationship, Brexit' effect.

Dedication

I dedicate this work to:

My parents the dearest persons to my hearts

Source of my happiness and success in life

Who have raised me to be the person I am today

May Allah bless them

To my brothers: Sofiane, Fouade, Mohamed

And my unique sister: Chaimaa

For their unconditional support and

Encouragement to pursue my interests

To my friends: Kheira, Aicha, Imane

Imane, Malika, Nabila, Karima

For their love and encouragement

To my extended family who have been

So supportive

And encouraged the fulfillment of this work

To all those who believed in me and proud my

Success.

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As always, I am solely responsible for errors and omissions, and I will welcome correction.

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Acronyms

EU	European Union
Lib Dems	Liberal Democrats
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
PM	Prime Minister
SU	Soviet Union
UK	United Kingdom
UKIP	United Kingdom Independence Party
UNSC	United Nation Security Council
US	United States

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General Introduction

The phenomenon of the increasing role of Brexit in recent years in the global community as well as the US-UK special relationship becomes an important issue to questioning the nature of British relations with the US with the significant role of the new British' policy (Brexit), in which this relation is not a new one. Underlining the exclusiveness of Britain's status as a world power and as American's ex-colony in which the association between the supranational and intergovernmental levels of Western world was introduced.

Since the WWII, UK-US special relationship regarded almost as an important historical relation, it was a partnership for a purpose partly on the perception that the British and American are or should be closely aligned, and partly on sentimental assertions of shared values, considering the phenomenon of the so-called 'Brexit' as the center piece of this research study.

The importance of this topic is that when Britain decided to hold an/out referendum. Cameron's decision to hold a referendum therefore was intended to reduce inner-party tensions by reducing to the threat of UKIP which may currently be the third strongest party in Britain.

The purpose of this research is to investigate whether Great Britain gets benefits from this policy of being far from the European Union; also what took all my interest is to talk about the stance of US-UK' positions toward this policy.

In this respect, the dissertation attempts to cover some crucial political and economic issues that are considered as basic principles in the British –American foreign policy toward the Brexit.

The analysis of this issue extends by trying to provide an answer to the following question: what are the Brexit' impacts on the US-UK special relationship?

It is assumed that Britain's decision to question its membership of the EU is one of a series challenges facing the transatlantic relations.

Therefore, the present work consists of three chapters. The first chapter provides background information about the development of the Anglo-American relations, and a brief analysis about the shift in British political leaders' interest toward the US from opposition to application. The aim of this chapter is to determine the position of Britain on the world stage after the Second World War, and also to identify the leading factors behind Britain's coin for the Special Relationship in early 18th.

The second chapter examines Britain's European policy. A particular concern in this chapter is given to the impacts of the EU on British party politics. This helps to understand how it came to the demand of an in/out referendum on the UK's membership in the EU by 2017. The third chapter studies Brexit' impacts on the British relations with US. It explains some changes that occurred in that relationship have been characterized of been as special.

However, the central goal of all the three chapters remains the same, to determine Brexit's significance on the UK-US special relationship.

This work is a qualitative research study, and since it intends to describe the US-UK relationship under the current position of Britain in the European Union by examining and evaluating its policy' results on the Anglo-American special relationship, the appropriate methods utilized in this research study are the descriptive and the analytical methods.

Introduction:

Since WWII, Britain and the United States have enjoyed extremely close ties in a diversity of areas, forming what has been known as the "Special Relationship". This phrase coined by Winston Churchill and was not use until 1946.

The shared cultural and historical identity between Britain and it ex-colony, and on a smaller scale the close personal relationships that existed between some of the leaders of both countries, a cooperation doubled by many of their subordinates and citizens.

The so-called "Special Relationship" has been a signal feature of the foreign relations of the United States and United Kingdom; it owned its existence to the Second World War and the Cold War continued to the present years. The ability of this relation to endure through times of war and peace with its role within such multilateral organizations as the United Nations (UN) and specifically the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) is both positive and meaningful to understand the link between politics, values, and international institutions in collective security and defense in perpetual crisis through the Anglo-American historiography.

1. The special relationship

The US-UK special relationship is the name given to the close political, military, trading ties between the two English Speaking peoples on both side of the Atlantic. The Anglo-American unique relations have been evident through the 20th Century and continue into the present Century, this relation rooted in a common history, common values, common traditions and remained almost on a common language; the official language which strengthen the links between the two nations and resulted by some sense of being brothers with each other¹. The overlapping the shared language and the common beliefs in the great principles of freedom and the right of man and the large

¹ O'Driscoll, James. *Britain*. Oxford University Press 1995. p115

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number of British immigrant into the US are other factors that was behind this relationship.

The first notion of the special relationship between the UK and the US was articulated by the British Prime Minister Winston Churchill to make these relations concrete by giving them a name, in his sinews of peace address at West Minster College, Fulton, Missouri, in March 1945 (more commonly called the Iron Curtain speech):

"I come to the crux of what I have traveled here to say. Neither the sure prevention of war, nor the continuous rise of world organization will be gained without what I have called the fraternal association of the English-Speaking Peoples. This means a Special Relationship between the British Commonwealth and Empire and the United States".¹

The first coined the phrase and made the Special Relationship's first references by describing the bilateral cooperation and collaboration in the international system of states based on shared values, interests, the need to organize the European system of states, recently in face of conflict beyond Europe and North America, in the former British Empire. In fact, Churchill had used the phrase before that speech; the New York Times Herald reported a quotation from in November 1945: "We should not abandon our special relationship with the United States and Canada about the atomic bomb and we should aid United States to guard this weapon as a sacred trust for the maintenance of peace".

The US-UK's specialness has endured, when the close personal relationship between the British Prime Ministers and US Presidents was existed which has always a strong influence.

2. The US-UK historiography

¹ Marlene Z. Silva. Still a Special Relationship. The significance of UK-US relations in twentieth-first century. Monterey, California. December. 2011

The Anglo-American historical character and nature is particularly interest. In the 19th Century exactly in the late 1890s, because of a series of events that have been occurred, including the Boer and Spanish American Wars, which resulted by letting Britain and the world know and understand that the new independent country (US) wanted to prove itself and its own place in the world entire as well as proved the British Empire's end was surely before the eve of twentieth century. After the First and the Second World Wars that marked by making the Americans the dominant in US-UK relations through that power which shifted from the British to the Americans. This point was articulated by Dr Robin Niblett of Lathem, in his written testimony to the House of Commons on the US-UK basic and mutual relationship. He stated "successive British Government realized that they no longer had the capacity to protect or project British interests around the world, and acquiesced in the replacement of Britain by the US as the world's dominant power. Furthermore, the UK believed that the most direct threat to British and the European security that of the Soviet military aggression and /or political subversion-could only be comforted if the US were tightly woven into a transatlantic alliance whose principle focus was the defense of Europe and the broader Atlantic Community"¹.

2.1. An Overview of the conditions for the special relationship

The origins of an enduringly close US-UK relationship traced back to the 18th C for the past 60 years, since before most of today's British and American's citizens were born, At the time of the American War of Independence from the British Empire. Since 1776 both the Britons and the Americans have managed to maintain good relations, partly because the majority of those Americans rebellions who stood against the authority of King George III had personal links; English races or relatives².

¹ Marlene Z. Silva.Op.Cit,p.15

²Ayasch. Izabelle, and Laurianne Hillion. *Dossiers de Civilization Britanique*. Ellipses, 2004.P.225.

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Similarly, after the Americans win in that war created a powerful new thought of life to defend their independent country, especially against the powerful British Empire. Also, the American Revolution's effect built a strong American nationalism, which defined the US against the British and European monarchial system.

Shortly, the basis for the special relationship existed and resulted by surmounting the US-UK unique relationship's development barriers as well as the importance of the rise of the British democracy, the growth of the American power and American Anglophobia with the concept of the British Empire decline; equally to defend their own common interests.

Presently, specific crises and acts of British-American leadership were vital, partly the special relationship growth goes back to the effective historical trends in which the industrial Britain had to move towards democracy and decline, and the American Anglophobia. These did not create the special relationship, but they did create the space that could bring into existence by political leadership's acts and in response to specific crises.

2.2. Early Anglo-American relations

With its origins in the 18th and 19th Centuries, through US-UK relations, the Anglo-American's first history was founded in a couple of disagreements and surprised cooperation. This relationship can be discovered in the first-half of their connection as the beginning of the 1820s which characterized as a historical event that turned the American and the British views to marched or at least closely together ,whereby the interests of British Empire and the growth of American was encountered. They were sharing common values, language ideals during their mutual history, the Anglo-Saxons powers were as one against the enemy.

From its conception by Churchill in 1940, the so-called special relationship has been used by the British and the Americans through their state or government's visit across the Atlantic. It was widely known that only weak powers could make such relations, but world powers no need to do so, exceptionally their personal and

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governmental purposes, and a close cooperation can be the reason that a positive decisions be taken differently, this what happened between Britain and the US as the Falkland war¹.

At the end of the 18th century, after Europe 'ravage by the Napoleonic wars, the Americans sold their goods to both British and French concluded by British impressed to the Americans sailors to work on their warships, causing the Americans sailors impressments provocation the Americans for the declaration of the war on the British in 1812².

Actually, both Briton's and American's desires to avoid the war of 1812 by some of their interests. However, the war of 1812 highlights the transatlantic relations which took place in the midst of this century after the American Civil War, when the British took the American's part of the south³. The north was very exasperated as British's opinion and attitude during the conflict, and the south had not helpful as they expected. American mood took a strong return against Britain, at one point of time, which had seen the overall movement of development on transatlantic was preparing and improving the way for a better understanding between the two nations. However, because of some circumstances of the Civil War and not permanent, it happened in a very sensitive period of time that helped in the development of Anglo-American understanding⁴.

It was observable that the reason behind the US spread in almost complete safety was because the Royal Navy guarded the Atlantic. The US issued the Monroe Doctrine

¹ O'Driscoll, James. Op, cit, p114.

² Brown, Rebekah. A History of the Anglo-American Special Relationship. A shbrook States manship Thesis, 2012<http://ashbrook-org/up-content/uploads/2012/06/sherman_Brown-Printable-pdf>

³ Duncan Andrew Campbell. *Unlikely Allies Britain, American and the origins of the special relationship*. British library, 2007. P5.

⁴ G.M Travelyan. *Ashortened History of England*. Longman, 1942. p496.

and developed by John Quincy Adams and issued once again by the president James Monroe in 1823, to achieve their common aim; to prevent the European Empires 'area and because of America weak navy, British had such desires of preventing the expansion of European into the America due to its protection from the European Empire's settlement by the British ships policy. Consequently, the two nations were united their foreign policy interests and pursued their own individual interests in own particular hemisphere.

British's needs presented by enforcing Monroe Doctrine, she didn't want the French and Spanish rivals in the US comparatively the Americans. Subsequently the two nations allied together in one side and tried to guarantee the security of the British-American constitutional governments against the French and Spanish's threat, accordingly Monroe Doctrine wanted to accept England's offer to issue a joint declaration condemning European influence in the former South American colonies as early as 1823.

3. UK attitude towards the US

The principle reason of the significance of the Special Relationship and why it was holding politically by the UK; it was assimilated in both returned principles and remained UK interests and provided the strategy for the management of UK decline.

During the Second World War, it was preferable for the UK government to adopt the policy which embodied in reconstructing a liberal world order under its leadership and resulted by building a strong relationship with the US became the cornerstone for protecting UK global interests. Consequently, many fundamental features of UK state and society had developed over one century and a half.

Aftermath of the two World Wars which resulted by a Cold War, the UK remained a close alliance with the US¹. Requiring the commitment of staying close to

¹ Andrew Gamble and Ian Kearns. Recasting the special relationship. 21/05/2007<<http://www.ippt.org/files/articles/2007/recasting-special-relationship.pdf?noredirect:1>>

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US positions, US regarded as the guarantor of a liberal global economic order and Britain self-protector. It was continued that the fact of sharing history and values to unite the two countries. Moreover, their origin that was laying on the common history embodied in common language, institutions and traditions. This Anglo-American relation occupied a transnational space, to some extent the use of phrases as "our Atlantic cousins" and "brothers across the ocean" meant their way of communication between Americans and British's citizens was easy, even in the sense of sharing the same identity¹.

British's people were identifying themselves with the US rather than with Europe, they are sharing one English language which facilitated the UK-US cultural exchange and intellectual ideas and fashions media, films and books. Politically, many debates have frequently been pursued on both sides of the Atlantic. British politicians are concerned to maintained America military and security influence within Europe and NATO to preserve the Atlantic connection in their own bargaining with EU countries for global stability.

There have been at least three distinct phrases of the special relationship in the last recent years, the first period lasting up to Suez Crisis of 1956 and the second up to the onset of the new Cold War in 1970s. The third, the Thatcher-Blair era, till now.

4. The US-UK relations

Over and over again, Britain's government referred to the Special Relationship which exists between Britain and her closest ally the USA and based on the common language, cultural traditions, and the shared of the history and military partnership.

The new relation between the Anglo- American relations was built upon the darkest days of the Second World War, it endured in the disasters of the Cold War which of the common values and traditions and encouraged by Britain's and American's

¹Andrew Gamble and Ian Kearns. Recasting the special relationship. Op, Cit, p12

commitment of its leadership and institutions as they are two members of United Nation Security Council (UNSC) within the NATO which used against the threat of Soviet Union. The Special Relationship will continue as the principle bilateral relationship in the world.

The significance of the Special Relationship between the UK-US had a political and ideological construction. At the political level, this association had varied from the geopolitical conditions, the changed of political leaders and the different of the domestic British's and American's policies¹.

4.1. Political relations

The Anglo-American Special Relationship held a meaning in the Twentieth Century. Successfully, the alliance navigated the two World Wars and the Cold War.

The political goals that declares publicity of the same democracy, human's rights and the rule of law. The close US-UK partnership had been benefited of the common interests in bodies such as UN and particularly the NATO in both positive and meaningful in collective security and collective defense in permanent crisis.

The Special Relationship between the two nations occurred in which personalities have an exceptionally important role, in how the partnership has been conducted, the relationship between the UK and the US marked by close friendship and making alliances between top leaders. This relationship between the individual national leaders is characterized as been representative of countries 'broader political relations by some observers. Politically, the UK-US Special Relationship remains partly on the advantage role for the British politicians and basically on the sense of the shared interests and values.

¹Wallace ,William. Philips, Chrosopher.Ressessing the special relationship.International affairs.24/02/2009 p264.<[http://www.Ise-ac-UK/Ideas/pdf/reassessing the special relationship.pdf](http://www.Ise-ac-UK/Ideas/pdf/reassessing%20the%20special%20relationship.pdf)>

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From the moment that the US entered the Second World War, it closely stated making together with the United Kingdom and allied their powers. Particularly, this association resulted from the close relationship Churchill personally enjoyed with the Americans.

A close personal relationship between the two national leaders; US president Franklin Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill was developed through the excellent working relations in which most of political relationship's celebration in modern history was built in the era that remarked as been relaxed and unwound. The two leaders exchanged nearly two thousands letters and cables and they met eleven times, their ability to understand each other and to work to gather was the result of the greatest consequences to their nations and to the world. Shortly, Winston-Roosevelt relationship was developed through their agreements and many cooperative appearances for the alliances' needs and successful peace following victory as well as the lighting of the National Community Christmas Tree when the two men delivered Christmas greeting to the nations and the world on December 24, 1941¹.

Franklin Roosevelt ended his message with the following words: "And so I am asking my associate, [and] my old and good friend, to say a word to the people of America, old and young, tonight.--Winston Churchill, Prime Minister of Great Britain". These words clearly describe the Free world 'leaders had struck.

This association personified in Yalta Summit in 1945, when the decision was made by Sir Winston Churchill and President Roosevelt about the fate of half the world. Meaningfully, and assimilating in the United States' efforts of preventing the re-establishment of the British Empire in its pre-war form. Throughout the Cold War (1945-1989), both the two countries stood together against the Communist World Powers and in economic war which became the most powerful in the Western world.

¹ The special relationship: Franklin D Roosevelt and Winston Churchill <http://www.Juniata.edu/juniata-voices/media>.

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Rarely the two nations teamed up with the France against other countries as well as the GATT negotiation.

In 1947, all of Canada, Australia and New Zealand teamed up and support the UK-US relation and agreement. However, in spite of their old friendship they found themselves in opposition such as Suez Canal¹.

Secretly British with French and Israel governmental collaboration forces to stop the Egyptian government and taking over the Suez Canal. Strikingly, this crise remains

the US attitude vis a vis the attack led by Britain, French and Israel against Egypt, in the late October 1956².

Loudly, the rest of the world and mostly the US disapproved of Britain's action and enforced it to remove its power from Egypt. Until Suez Britain had the possibility to deal with both the US and SU equally. But consequently it was not, and it was viewed differently by world powers and by Asian and African countries specially, the Arab countries and they started to challenge Britain's authority. On the other hand, British politicians tried to define British role internationally after such kind of political defeat.

In the course of the Second World War, the Anglo-American cooperation grew up fastly as a result of the growing the sense of shared threat and communicable wants. Then, this relationship had been toughening by the common traditions between the two English Speaking Peoples. After the Cold War that described by the US-UK alliance against the Communist Soviet Union due to the geographic situation help of Britain which maintained the link between the American and European continents.

¹ William wallance and Christopher Phillips. Reassessing the sp. Op. c it, p466.

².Atmani Samia Insaf. The Suez Crises 1956 American Attitude and polices. April 2008.p 30
<<http://bu-umc.edu.dz/theses/anglais/ATM1013.pdf>>

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Shortly, militarily Britain's was unable to keep up between the US and SU. Consequently, she broke down the Independent nuclear deterrent's and gave it to the American "Polaris" nuclear missiles in 1962. Moreover, the fact that Britain possessed these weapons; gave it the right "to sit at the top of the table" with the world powers certainly with the agreement of the US use of these missiles which resulted by close ties between the two countries¹.

The interdependence of the nations of the Free World and the cooperation which must be rested between Europe and the United States was important theme that took up by the US president Kennedy and the British Prime Minister Macmillan. Deeply, Macmillan-Kennedy cooperation was another connection that took place in British-American history to extend the Special Relationship beyond Churchill's conception of US-UK as the Kennedy's declaration on the Prime Minister's retreat on 1963: "In nearly three years of cooperation, we have never worked together great and small issues, and we have never had a failure of understanding or mutual trust". This mentioned the good Macmillan-Kennedy personal cooperation in the era that characterized by the golden days and solidified the Anglo-American relations. However, severally this good friendship leaders period was witnessed the Skybolt crisis of 1962.

From one period of time and from the British historiography, Britain had different power rule; from Europe, the Special Relationship with the US's role of been a head Commonwealth as one of the former US Secretary of state, Dean Acheson in his speech on 1962: "Great Britain has lost an Empire and has not yet found a role".

Like Churchill with Roosevelt, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, who controlled over military power in the Falklands War, established a close personal relation with US president Reagan between 1980 and 1988, exactly in the Falklands War in 1982 and the Gulf War in 1991. This relation often described as "ideological soul-

¹Mac Dowall, David. Op. Cit, p173<[http://bu-umc.edu.dz/theses/anglais/ATMA 1013. Pdf](http://bu-umc.edu.dz/theses/anglais/ATMA%201013.Pdf)>

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mates", like stated "the extraordinary alliance". Shortly, in 1981 in her explanation of Special Relationship understanding, she said: "Your problem will be our problems and when you look for friends we shall be there". Extremely, these words pointed the strong relationship between the two Anglo -American leaders.

Margaret Thatcher was no doubted about the global influence carrier as a US's partner than as a European Community's member. Britain surviving the Falklands/Malvinas Islands, when the US helped Britain and offer it important material help which supported by many of people to strengthen its in 1991 by Britain's help in Iraq and Afghanistan.

Recently, there has been a high closeness between the British Prime Minister Tony Blair and American President Bill Clinton and President George Bush. This personal friendship between the two leaders of the two joint nations was called "unique partnership". As the president Clinton said: "Over the last fifty years our unbreakable alliance has helped to bring unparalleled peace and prosperity and security. It's an alliance based on shared values and common aspirations". Thus, the Special Relationship was built and solidified by the consensual bond of Anglo-American leaders.

Blair-Clinton had a crucial in leading NATO into raids in previous Yugoslavia among 24 March to 10 June 1999 and challenging to solve the crises in Kosovo, they interested in peacekeeping and putting an end to the reign Serb terrorist the president Slobodan Milosevic¹.

Other personal closer relationship in the twenty-first century was between British Prime Minister Brown with the American president Barack Obama. In the 2009 and 2010 media reported that Brown was refused to meet with Obama in the UK about the future of the Special Relationship and about Obama administration's view point.

¹Mix, Derek E. Op. Cit,p8

Afterwards, it was noted that due to the appearance of the personal relations between the individual leaders, leading the functional aspects of the UK-US political relationship run much broader and deeper. Clearly the president described the Anglo-American relations as the "essential relationship", cornerstone of security and peace in the world for decades.

As British and American leaders Obama and Cameron have cooperated closely by supporting their countries in such as UN, NATO, and the G20.

5. World's Situation under the Special Relationship alliance

Public feeling about the special relationship is ambiguous. On the one hand, it is reassuring to be a diplomatically close to the most powerful nation in the world, and what gives people some sense of brotherhood with Americans is the shared language, values and culture.

On the other hand, there is the mild bitterness about the sheer power of the USA. And there is distrust, but remarks are often made about Britain being nothing more than the fifty-first state of the USA. In the same way, some older people remember with gratitude the Americans who came to their aid in two world wars, and others dislike the fact that it took them so long to get involved.

Other European countries would not have felt so uneasy about the close ties between the US and Britain, they had not disagreed with the US concerning the SU and other foreign policy matters.

Since 1945, the US and the political right in Britain were more aggressive to SU. On the other hand, the EU and the British political left were as a suspicious of intentions, but were more anxious to improve relations. However, under the labor governments, British remained between the European and American positions. It must be acknowledge that, under Thatcher who was more firmly to the right than any conservative Prime Minister since the war.

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British foreign policy was more closely linked to that of the US especially towards the SU, it is clear that, after invading Afghanistan by Russians, and Britain joined the US in the boycotting the Moscow Olympic in 1980. Moreover, the encouragement of the Britain to the US in other foreign policy matters too, which alarmed its European partners. This encouragement of Britain assimilated in the permitting of using the British aircraft by American aircraft in order to attack the Libyan capital, Tripoli in 1986. From this events it is clear that British; the first political loyalty across the Atlantic or in Europe.

As MORI POLL in November 2001 showed that British people feel the USA is now of relatively less importance to Britain than Europe is: 53 percent of respondents thought that Britain's closest relationship should be with Europe and 36 percent for the USA.

Britain's membership of the EU means that is moving to more unified policies, member states have conflicting interests, this from EU's position. But Britain follows its own policy when necessary and the EU's foreign policy is still very much in its infancy and any critics doubt its potential validity. As POLL show that Europe is considered to be relatively more importance to Britain than the USA, Europeanism seems to be more easily and naturally accepted by young people¹.

The special relationship is a security relationship. Its maintenance requires the British government to invest enough in military equipment and operations, and in intelligence resources, to justify continued access to US policy-making.

Conclusion

The history of the Anglo-American Special Relationship is inseparably to the political development, common to the two nations, without the growth of closely similar political institution.... The Special Relationship would not have appeared as a remarked

¹ Oakland, John. British Civilization: An introduction (British library 2007) p113

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phenomenon in the twentieth century distinguishable from the Cold War entente to which many and diverse nations belonged.

Thus, the staying power of the relationship will remain intact due to the shared attitudes and interests of the two countries and a more hostile world in which the power of the west is contested from old and new challenges and threats.

For Britain, the special US-UK relationship constituted one of the "three circles of influence". The other two involved Britain's relationship with the Commonwealth and with Europe. The UK saw its role in these circles as that of a swing power: not totally integrated into any one circle, but wielding power as a fulcrum within a wheel.

Inevitably, the significance of the Special Relationship' decline has originated since Britain joined the European Community. Continually by British' links with Europe as an awkward partner and lasting by the rise of a single-issue party "the UK Independence Party (UKIP) and other internal pressures that pushed the British Prime Minister to hold an in/out referendum from the EU.

Introduction

After the 2010 general election resulted in a hung Parliament, a coalition government was formed, led by the Conservative Prime Minister David Cameron, and the Liberal Democrat Deputy, Nick Clegg. The coalition partners held different views on the subject of UK's relationship with the EU in their election manifestos. However, with the rise of the domestic crisis and the UK's budget problem, the unlikely pairing decided to reach an agreement on the EU, which aimed after all to play a leading role in the EU.

However, as a result of the internal pressure of the Conservative party Prime Minister D. Cameron promised to renegotiate Britain's relationship with the EU and then hold an in/out referendum on Britain's future membership in the EU by 2017 if Conservatives returned to power in the 2015 general election. The announcement of holding an in/out referendum already led to diverging positions of the UK's major political players on the subject.

The issue of holding an in/out referendum became an accepted noun of UK politics such that at the 2015 General election, all the main UK parties will be committed to holding an in/out referendum, even if under different conditions.

A vote in favour of Brexit will fire the starting gun on a two years renegotiation of the UK's place in Europe and the world. If the UK opts to cut ties with the rest of Europe, this renegotiations could fundamentally change the political, economic and legal foundations of UK life that have built up since the country joined the EU in 1973.

1. Cameron's promise of a referendum (2017)

In the course of the UK-EU relationship, there was a political debate about the UK's redefining its relationship with the European community has been founded since David Cameron, made his Bloomberg (London) speech on 23 January 2013, when his European Policy has been summarized in a plan known "reform, renegotiation, referendum" also "Brexit". The UK-EU relationship is still in process.

David Cameron's speech of January 2013 confirmed the Conservative government and renegotiated the Britain's EU membership and an in/ out referendum by 2017 if he elected again in the 2015 general election.

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In the referendum, there were two main stances for the UK's future membership of the EU, one introduced in the UK's remaining in the EU but with new conditions, the second where the UK is outside the EU but on different trading bloc. Under the first option the UK renegotiates its relation with the EU with the possibility to return some significant EU powers at the national level. The second option, with the EU moves towards ever closer fiscal union the UK has to withdraw from the union, but remain in the European Economic Area or the European Free Trade Area¹.

Shortly, the reason behind the Cameron's decision to hold a referendum was putting an end to the Eurosceptics' growth in his party who had such belief that "Britain should leave (the EU) if can't negotiate better terms". Cameron's claims that he is not a supporter of an in/out referendum on British's membership in the EU mentioned clearly that he wants to please the more Eurosceptic conservatives than liberal democrats, who in turn supported an in/out referendum in their election manifesto. By contrast, Lib Demos assert to maintain Britain as positive participant in the EU. Certainly, they will suggest such a referendum hoping that the result will be in rather than out.

As previously shown, the principal reason for Cameron's promise of a referendum originated from domestic politics; partly it was time of the Conservative Party. If he has not made his promise the Conservative party will be in a difficult challenge from the xenophobia, anti-European UKIP party which has been asking for the Britain withdraws from the EU. Approximately, the majority of the Conservative MPs shared similar views to that of UKIP and if the Prime Minister has not kept his word, he himself will face severe challenge to his leadership.

In this concern, Cameron's speech was not a surprise; it was for the pressure' growth inside his party and the UKIP' threat. Consequently, the only solution for PM Cameron to recuperate the Eurosceptic backbenchers' support, and to reduce UKIP's strength was holding the referendum on EU membership in 2017, by trying to achieve two goals: one is posing pressure on Labour party, which refuses the referendum, and avoiding conflicts with Liberal Democrats, who was not an in/out referendum's backing.

Cameron's speech was argued by Liberal Democrats Deputy Nick Clegg in March 2014, that PM renegotiation Policy will not satisfy his Conservative members whose

¹Proposed referendum on United membership of the European Union<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Proposed_referendum_en_United_membership_of_the_European_Union>

interested on EU powers or leave the EU, contrasting Liberal Democrats who still insist upon Britain's interest within the EU.

2. The UK's political parties views on EU referendum

Holding a referendum can create internal conflicts concerning the different views of UK political parties towards the EU referendum, the UK political player containing the Conservatives and Liberal Democrats, and the opposition (Labour and UKIP) and Britain's population.

2.1. Conservative's position

In the regard of EU referendum, the Conservatives party is divided into two parts; first who are asking for out referendum and close to UKIP, and others who are in flexible relationship with the EU and close to PM Cameron. In spite of the different views, the majority support the UK within the EU, but under new conditions with the British single market development and the rules of the union at the political level.

2.2. Liberal Democrat views

They were interested to remain Britain within the EU, that is why they have refused an in/out referendum policy.

2.3. Labour

Concerning the Labour party's positions on EU referendum, it was varied between the small left-wing group who support UK referendum, and the bigger pro-Europeans group who believe that time is right for one¹

2.4. UKIP

It is a Euroceptic party; they supported British referendum on EU.

According to many people to whom the four positions were presentd, they described each party' view on Brexit.

Parties' positions on Brexit were as follow:

¹ kilcourse, James. Op. cit, p, 4

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Conservatives' position (% naming)	Labour' positions (% naming)	UKIP' position (% naming)	Lib Dems' position (% naming)
Wanted the UK to remain in the EU, but believes the referendum result to leave the EU must now be implemented on the best possible terms for Britain (56)	Think leaving the EU would be a mistake, and would still like to prevent Brexit from happening, if at all possible (28)	Campaigned for a leave vote the referendum and now wants Brexit to happen as soon as possible (75)	Think leaving the EU would be a mistake, and would still like to prevent Brexit from happening, if at all possible (40)
Is completely divided on the issue (13)	Is completely divided on the issue (25)	Is completely divided on the issue (3)	Wanted the UK to remain in the EU, but believes the referendum result to leave the EU must now be implemented on the best possible terms for Britain (11)
Campaigned for a leave vote the referendum and now wants Brexit to happen as soon as possible (12)	Wanted the UK to remain in the EU, but believes the referendum result to leave the EU must now be implemented on the best possible terms for Britain (24)	Wanted the UK to remain in the EU, but believes the referendum result to leave the EU must now be implemented on the best possible terms for Britain (3)	Is completely divided on the issue (9)
Think leaving the EU would be a mistake, and would still like to prevent Brexit from happening, if at all possible (5)	Campaigned for a leave vote the referendum and now wants Brexit to happen as soon as possible (6)	Think leaving the EU would be a mistake, and would still like to prevent Brexit from happening, if at all possible (2)	Campaigned for a leave vote the referendum and now wants Brexit to happen as soon as possible (3)

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Table 2.1 : The UK parties' views on Brexit¹

UKIP's was clearly understood with over 75% said the party campaigned for out referendum and wanted Brexit to happen. Just around a quarter of conservatives were in favour of Britain remain in the EU.

Labour's position was ambiguous : Poll respondents divided into ; thinking the party wanted to prevent Brexit from happening. Believed the referendum result should be implemented although it campaigned to remain, and was completely divided on the issue.

The poll respondents were able to say unprompted what the Lib Dems' positions was, even the majority had voted for remain. Over 45% of respondents said that the conservatives were the best in presenting their view point on UK-EU membership and an in/out referendum.

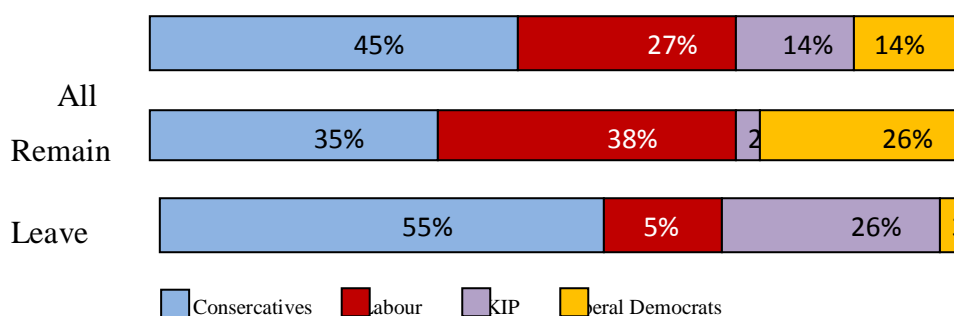


Figure 2.1: The British political parties' positions on Brexit and UK-EU relations.

As it was shown in the above figure, the conservative party is the most one that mentioned their position of being out of the EU rather than in, whereas the Labour and Lib Dems parties were in favour of remaining in the EU membership².

2.5. Population's opinion

The issue of EU membership creates a split in British public showed by opinion polling, they are doubtful because there were among the most Euroskeptics in the EU and they continue to express negatively the subject of the UK's EU membership.

Although none party supported Britain's withdrawal from the EU, except UKIP, British public opinions continue to express negative views on the subject of the UK's EU

¹ Lord Ashcroft KCMG. The new political landscape and Britain expects from Brexit. April 2017. [p<https://lordashcroftpolls.com/up-content/uploads/2017/04/all-change-lord-Ashcroft+polls-April2017.2017.pdf>](https://lordashcroftpolls.com/up-content/uploads/2017/04/all-change-lord-Ashcroft+polls-April2017.2017.pdf)

² Lord Ashcroft KCMG, Ibid, p

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membership. As You Gov survey recorded British attitudes from June 2011 to May 2012 to an in/out referendum, when asked the following question:¹

% Who would vote for Britain to...		
	Stay in the EU	Leave the EU
June 2011	35	48
August	30	52
September	33	47
October	31	52
December	41	41
January 2012	34	44
April	31	49
May	28	51

Table 2.2 How would you vote in an in/out referendum on UK's EU membership²

As shown in table 1.3, the majority of respondents 52% said they would vote to leave the EU, compared to 41% who would vote to stay. However, when asked how they would vote if Britain renegotiates its relationship with the EU and protects her national interests, large number of over 50% said they would vote to stay.³

3. Euroscepticism and the rise of UKIP

The rise of the so-called United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) is a single issue party founded in 1993, which extended in the British inner- party tensions, was because the EU membership, its main aims is being out from the European Unity. Thus, UKIP raised a threat against the conservatives, a right-wing Euro-Skept party that could attract many Conservatives Euro-skeptics of Cameron's party who held UKIP's view. But even so, many politicians have underestimated UKIP as a party that could pose any significant electoral threat.⁴ The polls' survey by the Pew Research Center founded that the significant of the

¹ Miller, Vaughne. Op. cit, p, 10

² <<http://www.google.fr/search?q=the+UK=and+the+Europe++a+new+relation++p> >

³ Proposed referendum on United Kingdom membership of the European Union
<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Proposed_referendum_en_United_Kingdom_membership_of_the_European_Union>

⁴Hull, Christina. Op. cit, p, 43-44

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Euroskepticism is on the rise across Europe and about two-thirds of British and the Greeks, along with the minorities in other key nations, would like returning some powers to national governments. Mainly, the European populations agree that a British exit would harm the 28-member EU, and their position were as the following:

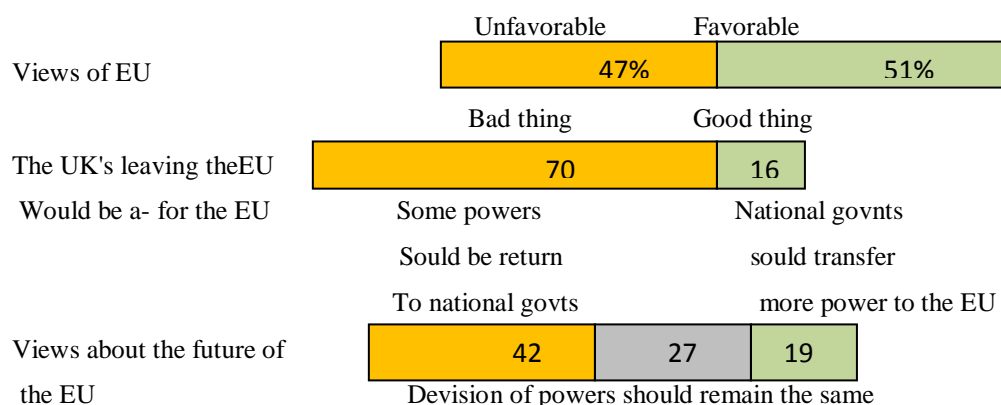


Figure 2.2: European views of the EU and likely Brexit (2016)¹.

A median of just 51% across 10 EU countries surveyed had a favorable position of the EU and 42% of them like returning power to the National government, whereas only 19% had favor of giving Brussels more power.

A median of 70% were against Britain's exit from the EU and they believed that it would be bad thing, and around 16% were in favor.

Overall, the European publics divided into: supporters of Euroskepticism parties as well as in France.

4. Brexit's essence

Over the following 40 years of UK-EU membership, the question of the Britain's continued its membership with the Europe has appeared and came into being as a result of the British Prime Minister David Cameron through the Euroskeptic opposition that rose in his party rather than securing an EU reformation or protecting UK-EU relations. In short, the issue of British referendum from the EU have been called and accepted by the political leaders as well as holding a referendum is committed by all of the main parties at the 2015 General election. Additionally, with the existence of many crises in the EU such as the Eurozone crises, Russian, migration and decreasing in the trade that shaped the UK-EU

¹ Bruce. Stoke. Euroskeptic Beyond Brexit. 2016.p2<<http://www.pewglobal.org/files/2016/06/Pew-Research-Center-Brexit-Report-Final-June-7-2016.pdf>.

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membership. Thus, Britain had seen no need of such relations. Consequently, the referendum had came from a withdrawal and concluded by shaping the likelihood a "Brexit".

Brexit, as a new issue of renegotiation and withdrawal of the EU is supported by the majority of British' population and reflected to European Unity and the rest of the world.

5. The Path to Brexit

If the so-called Brexit came into being, it was because of the votes of the majority in a referendum to withdraw the European Union. Uncertainty, the votes' outcome of renegotiations will be a long and protracted process taking into count vote' timing and the results due to some fished points and did not create others:

1. Promising an in/out referendum by the new Conservative Governments at the end of 2017. After the referendum bill passed by the British Parliament which proposed the British possibility to continue its membership with EU.
2. The British Prime Minister Cameron' ambiguity towards renegotiations rather than waiting more controls on immigration from new member state or needing more power for national parliaments to block EU legislation.
3. Cameron and political establishment' support the campaign by contrast to the Conservative Party and the Cabinet whose have supported the no campaign.
4. The uncertainty long and complex process that lead to the Brexit through the British government' weakness by forcing the resign of the PM to continue the years negotiations in order to leaving the EU.

By the end of 2017, the UK is set to redefining the EU which led to the exiting of British from the EU under the name of "Brexit".

5.1. Brexit time line

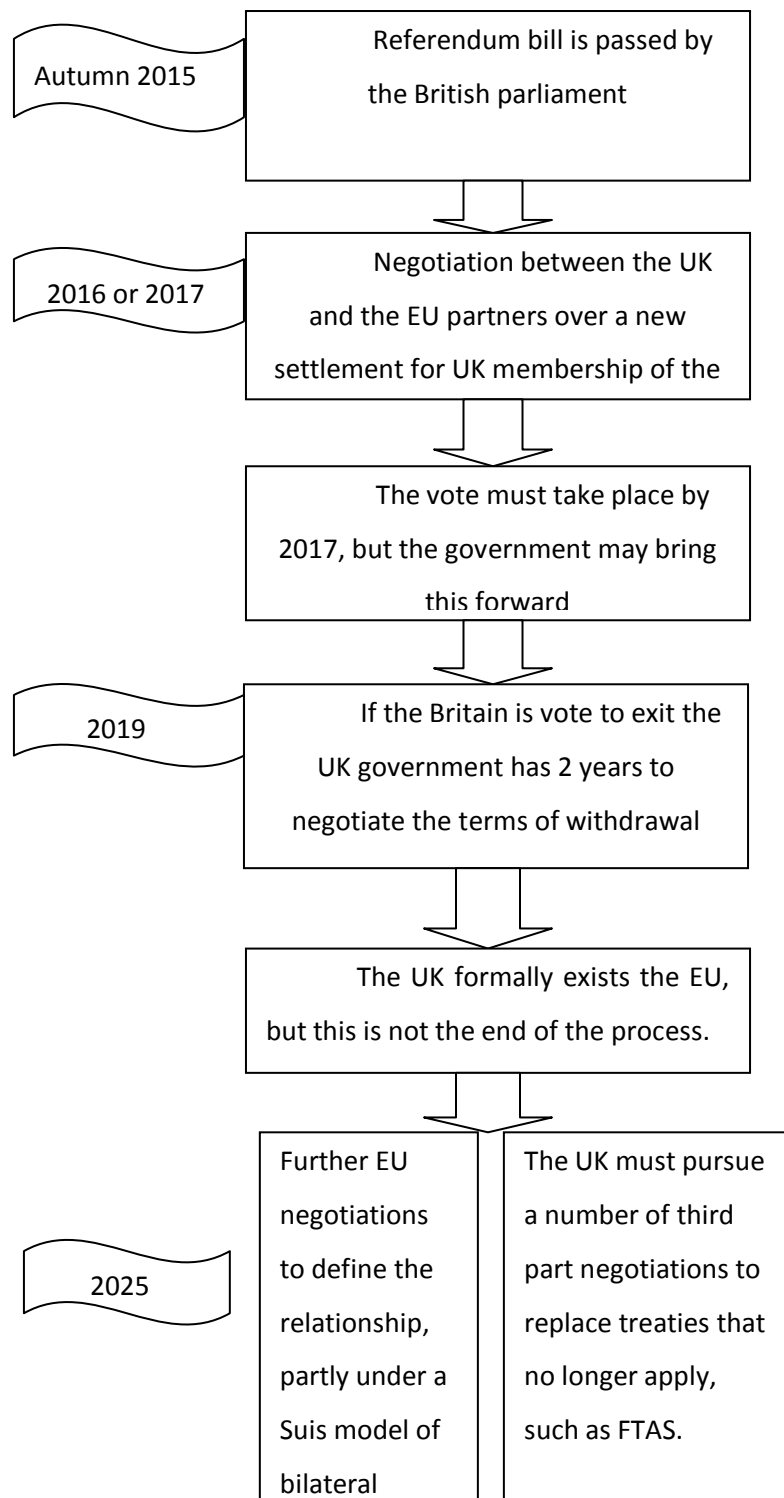


Table: Table time of British withdrawal from the EU.

6. Brexit and European Unity' Integration

Brexit is the first negotiation of the member state' withdrawal experienced by the EU, it represented the challenge to European integration' belief and a process moving forwards not backwards.

Shortly, in response to any state' withdrawal the EU has procedures set down in Article 50 of the EU' Treaty which provided the withdrawal two years of time frame in case of agreement or longer than that, it was considered as a commission and approved by the Council. Thus, Article 50 calls for the withdrawal of the member state and a frame work for a post-withdrawal relationship with it. The overall deal would lead to maintain EU membership through a vote in the European Council within the support of European Parliament.

In Britain case, any deal demand both the UK government and parliament' support and possibly the British people to subject to approval by another referendum. Thus, the context of the UK' withdrawal from the EU membership could be another period of significant EU institutional change, Maritime-gazing and tense individual leaders-national elites relations.

In order to change its own institution and procedures to fill the gap of British institutional naval-gazing would be the results of EU' needs, this letter would face a difficult task of negotiations for decision's making in the European Council through the voting system. When joint the possible changes to the Eurozone, a Brexit could add to shifts to the EU's balance of power and changes to the EU's policies and outlook¹.

One of the main consequences led by the Brexit is the Unity of the EU which was under pressure; the EU's unity was under substantial pressure during the Eurozone and migration crises. While they had far belief of being together as a response against any thing that pushed their integration, the Eurozone remain weak and their unity future' tests can't be ruled out. Shortly, if the Eurozone continued struggling while Britain and other non EU-countries succeeded. Thus, Britain's withdrawal could lead and push other member state to question integration about their membership and commitment like Germany. Whichever way is taken Britain' attitude could call to far left and right wings groups, partly in some Southern and Eastern European member states within the Eurozone Gesis concluded by fixing these countries into the European mainstream and uniting the Northern and Western Europe in one

¹ Tim Oliver. All European Union without the United Kingdom. The Geopolitics of A British Exit from theEU.February2016.P6

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group such as France's Front National. In a time that the UK struggles out of EU, their decision and appeal were limited contrasting the strengthening of the EU's position. Actually, EU lose a member known as an awkward partner allow the EU' member state to work together.

Overall, Brexit could change the EU's relationship with European countries such as Norway and Switzerland who are within the European Free Trade Area (EEA) . Brexit would more than likely end remaining hopes. At the time Britain 'exit and new external relationship with the EU could open new possibilities for the EU's' relations with states such as Turkey¹.

7. Brexit and Britain

UK' government and political leaders expected that Britain would be treated differently with same specialty. This point didn't reflect to high self-opinion with regard to the British situation and its place in the world. It reflected to the UK real extent in terms of democracy, economy, society and military contrasting the non-European countries as well as Norway and Switzerland who similarly have the same own unique with the EU.

Also, it reflected to the British future position, at the economic level, British' economy is expected to overtake the France by 2020, and Britain's growing populations looks set overtake Germany' decline by 2040s. Thus, Britain could be the largest EU member by the mid of Century.

As long as, Britain outer of the EU would move from making decision to shaping decision, it will be the best place to shape decisions with the aid of the joint governmental links, or through the net works within civil society and business community.

Brexit can present a united front to the UK by giving a material interest in the areas as well as security, defense matters and the global power financial institutions.

Generally, the possibility of UK-EU relations to become more united and came to resemble with UK-USA relationship: a one-sided "special relationship"².

¹ Tim Oliver. Op. cit, p7.

² Ibid. p 7.

7.1. The Brexit consequences

British exit from the EU would be an unprecedented event in the historic EU' withdrawal with certain consequences for the EU and Britain.

7.2. Political consequences

Britain withdrawal possibility from the EU led to many significant political results, one is the expansion of Euroscepticism movement in England rather than in Scotland in which the Scottish National Party (SNP) rejected the British referendum. In the course of being independent, the SNP demanded for a second referendum that would lead to Scottish last' decision to isolate from the UK and continue with Scottish-EU relations.

The external consequences of Britain's withdrawal from the EU influenced the in terror EU and the EU-member states-non EU countries future relations. This concern introduced in EU member state' re-evaluation their membership conditions and would be applied if the British succeeded renegotiating these conditions and let to renegotiations' relations between the special argument with the EU' members and other non EU countries as well as Switzerland and Norway.

Externally, Britain's exit from the EU would be seen as a decline of the politics, finance, military and economic' heart. In this concern, Great Britain' desires to terminate its EU membership and it was in favor with most political and economic interest to concludes this mutually beneficial agreement.

7.3. The present political situation within the problem of UK's from the EU:

After the elections 'outcomes that held in May 2015, there were a large disagreement between the British 'main political parties (Conservatives and Labour Parties) about the Brexit and its significant as been a campaign issues. In this regard the Conservatives Party under Cameron leadership and because of the internal pressure there was a post-election stake: to continue his party's position as a leader of party and a head of government as well as to gain the votes from the significant part of population who doesn't agree with European Policy. Consequently, David Cameron promised to hold a referendum from the EU by the end of 2017.

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According to Ipsos Mori' survey that conducted in 2014, which showed that the majority of the British respondents over 56% were support the British' remaining with the EU, while the 36% were for EU leaving. In the one of expert' view that the first time since 1990, the British Eurosceptics are a minority in which 49% of British public were in favor of Britain' exit the EU and 41% of them were against.

8. British Interests

Britain's large economy and a trade deficit with the EU, which in 2014 was £61% billion, lead some UK Eurosceptics to argue the EU needs the UK more than the UK needs the EU. Thus, the EU would face a cost, but such opinion is not held elsewhere in the EU given that Britain represents somewhere around 16% of total EU trade while the EU represents 44.6% of the UK's export.

However, the economic, social and security interests can play a powerful role. The main impact on German car manufactures or Ireland' economy could shift those countries; the large EU population in the UK and UK population elsewhere in the EU. The role of the UK plays (both blocking and facilitating) in EU cooperation on foreign, defense and security interests will also be factored.

9. International Relations

The UK and EU will not be obvious to how international factors will impinge on their negotiations. Things such as the transatlantic trade and investment partnership will need to be changed to accommodate a Brexit, with the aim of Europe and the USA to shape global economics requiring them to include Britain in some way. Terrorist attacks, aggressive behavior by Russia, common concerns about the environment or migration could compel the two sides towards cooperation. Actually, Britain has a history of being a major player in the international arena; it is a member of the G7, G20, NATO and a permanent member of the UN Security Council.

In the current years, the UK has three major channels for international influence: the European Union, its economic and international security partnership with the US, and its other key mutual and institutional relationships. The UK' ability to influence the external world is decreasing due to structural and long-term changes at the same time. Furthermore, with the US focusing more and more on Asia, the UK becomes a less important partner and

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therefore the EU is the principle source of leverage for Britain in the world, the EU allows the UK to leverage in the world's biggest single market to secure the UK's economic interests, to shape policies towards the EU's Eastern and Southern neighborhoods, to maximize its ability to shape global policies with such countries as well as the United States.

Conclusion

A referendum on Brexit is now certain while the outcome is far from a foregone conclusion, a vote for Britain to leave the EU is very possible.

The impact of Brexit on British businesses, the UK economy and wider British interests would be severe and felt across multiple channels. Both the path to Brexit and the end point, in the regard of the rest of the EU, would be uncertain, compounding the costs to the UK.

Member states would be affected in different ways and to different extents. These will most likely influence ways in which states are willing to engage and accommodate the UK during the pre-referendum negotiation. Moreover, all member states would be affected by the Brexit impact, both politically and economically.

Again, the British exit from the EU will carry with it large economic and political costs. Thus, it will also reduce the UK's standing in the world and its ability to influence the international events.

Introduction

A vote by the British people to withdrawal from the EU-also known as a "Brexit" will have a significant implications for the EU, the ideas and structures of European integration, and European geopolitics.

The EU, the rest of the Europe, allies around the world and the UK itself need to be prepared for the wider international implication of such issue.

A British exit from the EU would add to strains' growth on the US' relations with Britain and the rest of Europe, but by itself would not lead a break down in transatlantic relations due to the scale of shared ideas and interests, institutional connections, international pressure and commitments by individual's leaders. However, with pressure on the US could change the direction of the transatlantic relationship.

1. Relations with the US

During the Britain exit from the EU, it was widely agreed by some of politicians and commentators that leaving the EU would have enormous consequences for Britain as well as British foreign policy.

One of the four key questions for assessing the Brexit' effects on UK foreign policy by 2026: Will there still be a UK-US special relationship?

Will the NATO relationship be sufficient to sustain it? Can the UK continue to act as a "bridge" between the EU and the US from outside the EU? Might the US pivot towards Germany instead? Will the UK remain a stalwart ally of the US in Asia?

The Obama administration' encouragement for the European countries to have more responsibility for the defense of their continent as well as the pivot to Asia is partly dependent on Europeans countries to have responsibility for the security of their region. This policy aimed at the US' approach to Libya conflicts (2011) "Leading from behind", the European leaders were motivated of taking the lead in Libya within the US' support providing.

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Shortly, the main vehicle for the transatlantic defense cooperation is the NATO. Thus, the US has not stopped the EU from developing its security and defense policy¹.

One of the main reasons that the US principles the UK contribution to the EU the UK defense capabilities and the US-UK special relationship. Firstly, the British decision for the referendum reduce the remaining member states of the EU and the mutual defense capacity and the Britain role as an example of reducing of military to European Unity' membership.

The second one, the US administration developed defense structures in order not to challenge the US-Europe relationship, in other word; they should not be seen in competition with the NATO. Usually Britain advocated protecting the NATO' importance when the UK-French working in cooperative defense matters and taking advantage from the European forces' effectiveness. In this concern, the two positions were in favor of American' interests.

The UK's support viewed by the Americans for the EU enlargement of taking their neighborhood responsibility and drawing some European countries in the Western Camp as well as Turkey.

Moreover, it was viewed by the British and the Americans Conservatives commentators that the US administration abandoned traditional allies containing Britain and Western Europe' counties, with the pursuit of the "reset" with Russian and the pivot to Asia. Consequently, this policy (Reset) have given a new lease of life to the NATO within the outbreak of Ukraine' conflict. Shortly, Europe integration within the influence of Britain has been traditional Republican as well as Democratic policy.

For Britain, the role of NATO is not itself undermined by the referendum' vote to leave the EU, it is possible that the British exit from the EU make the US foreign policy less relevant to the UK which no longer be able to argue from within against the EU defense structures that may be in competition with the NATO.

The US-European transatlantic trade and investment partnership may face more difficulties in the European Union: recently France has indicated stiffen opposition to it and relatively, it will be stronger after the UK leaves.

¹ Brexit impact across policy areas, 26 August 2016 <<http://next.ft.com/content/0c71dc88-3b8b-11-e6-gf2c-36b487e>>.

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The US-UK relationship has already been undermined by some factors, within the economic success that challenge the balance in the EU by the unification of Germany. As one former US state department official Nicholas Burns said after the referendum that Henry Kissinger's question about who to phone had now been answered: Henry Kissinger's famous question about "who do I call in Europe"? Has now been settled. The answer is that we call the German Chancellor's office. That means we have to invest in the relationship with Germany.

On the other hand, it was argued by some commentators that Germany will not be such a natural fit as the UK as the main interlocutor for the US-German regarding the use of military force are likely to remain from the US. Thus, it could signal the US-EU long-term in distance.

Even so, the practical US-UK cooperation in areas as well as common intelligence, are likely to continue.

2. The UK-US Special Relationship' Prospects

British government reaction to the negatives political and economic effects of Brexit is through deepening the UK-US cooperation in the security and defense areas. On the other hand, within the decline of British military potential and the differences with Donald Trump' administration on a major foreign policy issues, the UK's support on strengthening EU security at the cost of motivating the US in other regions.

Donald Trump's victory in the US presidential elections was in favor for the British government rather than other European countries, in order to strengthening the special relationship with the US in many areas as well as trade, security, and defense. In short, it would be difficult of moving cooperation with the US to a new level, even if Trump' stressing the Special Relationship 'importance with the British people. Traditionally, the Britain-US relations may be weakened if the new US implement policies that suggested by Trump, in the regard of Russian and NATO. Militarily, it was viewed that in recent years Britain' capabilities reduced and concluded by limiting the potential for cooperation.

2.1. The special relationship

The main basics of the Anglo-American Special Relationship are on the historical, cultural and economic ties and their desires to defend their common values and shared

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interests. Defense cooperation is the main pillar of the US-UK relations. American is interested on the maintenance of the UK's independent nuclear deterrent and military bases on Britain' territory and overseas installations, partly in the Indian Ocean, south Atlantic and on Cyprus. In the current years, Britain engaged in the US military interventions, such as Afghanistan (2001) and Iraq (2003).

Both allies have unique intelligence' collaboration and have developed close defense industry links which contain privileged access for British companies to the US.

The importance of the special relationship with the United Kingdom is emphasized by the US administration in which the real significance has been declining after the British global financial crises. In short, the British defense budget is reduced by 8% between 2010 and 2015 introducing decommissioning of the British aircraft carriers (2010-2014) and expected to be fully in 2020 and 2013.

Consequently, the US-France strengthened military cooperation with other countries in which they supported intervention in Syria (2013) and was the first Europe' country that joined the American airstrikes against the significant Islamic State in 2015, extremely two months before the UK started. In the moment that the British started to preoccupied its internal affairs which introduced in the independence of Scotland' referendum in 2014. In this concern, the Americans turn towards Germany as US key political allies in the EU, partly in the Russia-Ukraine conflict.

Before Britain's withdrawal from the EU, the US administration except Donald Trump, warned that Brexit could weaken both the UK position and undermine European integration. Thus, the importance of British influence on the decisions with the Union is emphasized by the US' officials.

A great deal of how a Brexit might change European security will hang on the reaction of the USA. Focusing on the meaning of Brexit for US-UK special relationship or accusing Britain of being an "American Trojan Horse" set to weaken the EU or make it serve the USA, deflects attention from the close relations the USA has with any number of other European States such as Ireland and Germany. The sheer economic relations would overshadow those with Britain.

In short, the US administration could face a double loss from Brexit if this led to a more awkward relationship with the EU and a reduced standing of the UK in the world. Thus,

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there would be no shortage of applicants to fill the position of claiming to be the closest friend of the USA inside the EU. While such applicants might not offer a relationship that could be claim to be as "special" and intimate as that with the UK, for the USA they will be of increased importance thanks to Europe, and the EU, being an area of the world in which it will retain considerable interests. As the president Obama in his state visit to the UK in 2011, made clear that Europe remains the cornerstone for US global action in the world and the greatest vehicle for global action in the world, as he clarified UK membership of the EU in 2015.

"Gives as much greater confidence about the strength of the transatlantic union and is part of the cornerstone of institutions built after WWII that has made the world safer and more prosperous...the values that we share are the right ones, not just for ourselves, but for Europe and the world as a whole"

Should the UK will absent from the predominant political and economic organization of Europe. Thus, it would be disengaging from a partner the USA will continue to work with shared ideas, interests and through a variety of multilateral institutions.

Britain' exit from the EU, would likely worried the US that Europe lacks the unity or political energy to think geostrategically about the rise of powers such as China. In this concern, the EU' focus on its internal problems in the current years as well as the Eurozone Crises.

3. Transatlantic common purpose

Trump 'similarities support with Britain and Europe' political trends such as those that the Brexit form the basis for cooperation is driven, notably the white working class aimed at globalization, elite politics, austerity, fears about threats to identities, and immigration. Similarities can be seen in Brexit across Europe. Thus, the question that can be raised is if the US and Europe can be find a common purpose?

Both the two sides of the Atlantic find themselves driving further apart. In this concern, it would pose a dilemma for the Britain' policy of exiting from the EU and it would

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be difficult for British leaders who support the British referendum from the European Unity. So, it could forge new global relations¹.

The US' administration may look for a trade deal with its closest ally (UK) far from the EU' membership and contrasting with the Trump's position who is more protectionist stance.

Britain' desires to secure global trade deals depend on the rest of the world being open to such approaches.

The basis of the US-UK special relationship that protected by the Anglo-American Presidential and Prime Ministerial politics, are emphasized on Intelligence, Special Forces and nuclear weapons areas in which the two nations trusted each other rather than with other countries. This had helped in making the US-UK relationship going deeper and varied from other relations. Frequently, this unique relation came to dead due to personal falling out of conflicts as well as Iraq War, and return to life. Yet these basics could be tested to the limit leading by politics leaders when they came of doing and saying anything as well as bombing, deportation such as Russian relations in which the US intelligence agencies cooperates more closely with the UK rather than other states.

4. Possible Areas of cooperation and divergence of interests

Maintaining the US commitment to NATO is one of UK' priority while Trump has conditioned this on an increase in defense budgets by European allies and better adaptation of the alliance to fight terrorism. Thus, the UK had conducted the highest number of airstrikes by the end of 2016, after the US' opposition in Syria and Iraq, would be a natural American ally in the intensified fight against terrorism which announced by Trump.

Moreover, Britain plans to increase its political and military involvement in the Persian Gulf region. In December 2016, it announced that it would strengthen cooperation with regional partners in combating terrorism as well as the influence in Iran. In 2016 it opened a naval base in Bahrain and plans new military facilities in Oman that will support maritime and land-based activities. In short, it was also announced by the British government

¹ In 2017 and beyond, the US-UK special relationship will be caught between a Trump Rock and a brexit Hardplace.p2.<http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/usapplog/2017/01/2016/in-2017-and-beyond-the-uk-us-special-relationship-will-be-caught-between-a-trump-rock-and-a-brexit-hard-place>/.

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that it will support the US in Asia- pacific region through an increased military presence after 2020.

At the same time, Britain rejected the relationship with Russian, and it considered this relation as one of the main foreign policy aims of the new US' president. Significantly, British engaged in strengthening of Eastern Flank of the alliance. Additionally, Britain' government supported the agreement restricting Iran' nuclear programme and would like to maintain pressure on the Assad regime in Syria for ending the conflict and solving its humanitarian issues.

On the other hand, Trump suggested changes in US policies as well as a divergence of interests may lead to tension that could weaken the US-UK special relationship¹.

Conclusion

A British exit from the EU is not something to be casually overlooked. The possibility of the referendum leading to a vote to withdraw has increased through Britain's and EU's development. Britain's difficulties with the EU reflected deeper problems in Britain.

As a result, the UK's ability to shape global security and offer operational support to the United States in Asia-Pacific and the Persian Gulf would not be significantly enhanced, which could result in decreasing British attractiveness as a U.S ally.

¹ Ibid,p2.

General Conclusion

Based on the study conducted the following conclusions can be drawn:

We realize that the Special Relationship was a unique relationship in a time that remarked Americans and British are aware of, and frequently enjoy, each others 'popular culture. There is a strong link resulting from a shared political system of democracy and the rule of law, from the shared experience of WW II. This leads us to conclude that this relation was in some extent beneficial for both US and UK.

Britain's commitment to the United States relations in the immediate post-WWII formed a psychological barrier to Britain's relations with Europe during the early waves of European integration process and raised a considerable difficulty for the relationship between the two, when Britain decided to apply for EU membership, after it had become clear that Britain was no longer a world power. Britain's historical relationship with the US was the driven factor behind their mutual cooperation of being together against the enemy as well as SU.

Brexit represents a potentially significant change to the way transatlantic relations have been organized since WWII. The special relationship between the UK and the US, born out of historical and cultural affinities, has come under strain, since American relied on Brexit as its political and economic entry point into Europe. Exploring the new Brexit system of multiple partnerships and alliances that is likely to emerge, while to the US will maintain strong bounds with the UK, it will have no other choice but to reinforce ties with other European Union countries such as France-American relations. On the other hand, Trump suggested changes in US policies as well as a divergence of interests may lead to tension that could weaken the US-UK special relationship.

The UK maintains significant military potential, which is unique in Europe. However, in recent years it has been visibly weakened through Brexit' negative consequences for the British economy, the planned reconstruction of some lost military capability could be difficult to achieve. This would limit the potential for British cooperation with the US. The relations between the two allies will depend to a large extent on US policy towards Russia and NATO. Attempts to make concessions to Russian and reduce US engagement in the alliance could force the UK to increase investment in

European Security and offer operational support to the US in Asia-Pacific and the Persian Gulf would not be significantly enhanced, which could result in decreasing British attractiveness as a US ally.

For the US, a Brexit would not be seen in a narrow sense of being about the UK and UK-US relations. The concerns will revolve around how a Brexit might change the EU.

Nevertheless, the US-UK cooperation in areas as well as common intelligence is likely continued. On the whole, one of the main Brexit' opportunities for Britain is contributing for the strengthening "special relationship" with the US.

Taken as whole, Brexit has been the possible to clarifying its impacts on transatlantic relations; it will change the UK as a European country and its own place in the world. Also, it will change the EU geopolitically, affect NATO and change the US-UK and US-EU relations internally and internationally.

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