

**DEMOCRATIC AND POPULAR REPUBLIC OF ALGERIA**  
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**DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE**



**MASTER**  
**British Civilization**

*Brexit Vote*  
*British Situation (Circumstance and Views)*

Presented by:

Mediouni Nour Elhouda

Board of Examiners:

Chair: Ghernout Soumia

University of Mostaganem

Supervisor: Ali Chaouch Faiza Lamia

University of Mostaganem

Examiner: Adnani Rajae

University of Mostaganem

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# Dedication

*I would like to dedicate this work to my parent, my brothers:  
Mohamed, Hichem, Abd Elrazak and Abd Elatif and my sisters:*

*Zineb, Fatima, Soumia, Hamda, Roufaida and Ikhlass,*

*To my best friends Salihah, Asma, Souria, Samouha, and Sakina with  
love, my friends, Issmahan, Wahiba, Bassma, Ikram, Salihah, Emma,  
Asma, and Imen.*

*To my close friends Achoune, Mohammed, Yacin, mohammed EL  
Bigar and Ali*

*My fiancé Zakaria*

*To my close friend AREN and to all the members of the English  
Department.*

# Acknowledgement

*First of all, the wittiest recognition goes ahead to the Munificent God. My sincere thanks are to my parents and all my family and all the teachers who taught me.*

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*I thank my classmates for their understanding and help to accomplish this modest work*

**Abstract**

The special relationship between Britain and Europe was a complicated issue which is still discussing over centuries, the UK never worked to build any relation with the other continent and this isolationist strategy made this later further from any European association's proposal, however, the Western European countries invited Britain to become a member in the European Community, but this later refused this offer, and when she decides to be part from this union, he request was vetoed by France. Britain becomes a member in this project in 1973. Besides, this British membership in this community did not end definitely; it is portrayed as a complex phenomenon which is still discussing today.

## **List of Acronyms:**

BBC: British Broadcasting Corporation  
EEC: European Economic Community  
EMU: European and Monetary Union  
ERM: European Exchange Rate Mechanism  
EU: European Union  
FDI: Foreign Direct Investment  
FTA: Freight Transport Association  
IMF: International Monetary Fund  
IFS: Institute for Fiscal Studies  
GPA: Agreement on Government Procurement  
MFN: Most Favored Nation  
MPs: Members of Parliament  
NHS: National Health Service  
SNP: Scottish National Party  
TEU: Treaty on European Union  
TFEU: Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union  
UK: United Kingdom  
US: United State  
UKIP: United Kingdom Independence Party  
WPC: World Pensions Council  
WTO: World Trade Organization

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**General Introduction:**

Great Britain has been and is still regarded as one of the most influential countries in the international relations, in which state interest with a foreign policy, but the British membership in the European project has always been considered as a British national issue that always caused many conflicts between the British political parties due to different political opinions towards British membership value in the European Union.

Through the general elections of 2010 which make the Conservative party return to the power and, after the euro-crisis which raised the euro-scepticism, the British-European relations did not reach better position among the British people and the conservative party, which lead to re-negotiating the British membership through the proposal of the leader's conservative party David Cameron willing in/out referendum in 2017.

There are three main reasons that pushed me to conduct this research: my proposal interest about the British-European Union and their future, the media which are talked about the economic continuous debate between the two sides, and curiosity and courage to find out answer to my questions about this topic.

This research work is meant to analyze the main reason, and the effects of the drawing from the European Union, and the future of the British-European relations in case of leaving the European projects, studying the history of British-European Union relations is very essential for all the students of the British politics and history, and those looking to gain a thorough understanding of the contemporary changes in the British political and economic decisions towards the European integration.

The present research work seeks to find answers of many questions, the main ones are: Should Britain leave the European Union? In order to provide an answer to this question, we are need to raise other questions such as: What are the economic factors that put pressure on Britain leading the latter rethink about her future membership in the European Union? Is the euro crisis was the only reason behind the British decision? What are the political opinions of the British parties towards referendum? What are the different British people opinions and views about this membership? And what should Theresa May do to keep the position of Britain in and out the Europe.

In fact this union would not able to realize the British economic ambitions because of the impact of the euro crisis on the British economic national interest; it might be the main reason that pushed Britain to estimate her British membership value in the supranational association.

This research work is conducted through data sources which are collected from books, articles and websites. The methodology adopted depends on historical, analytical research



approach; that has analyzed main historical stages and event behind the referendum since 2010 and also analyzed the British interest toward the referendum.

This dissertation is divided into three chapters: The first chapter illustrates the main reason behind David Cameron's euro-scepticism, the main issues that will face Britain in case of leaving the European Union and their effect on the future of United Kingdom memberships.

The second chapter will discuss the Britain's European question towards the referendum, the different views of the British political parties about the future of the British-European Union relations, and about the future of the British membership in the European Union, and the analyzed the result and the circumstances of the Brexit vote June 23, 2016.

Third chapter discusses the future relationships between the United Kingdom and the European Union, the appropriate solution to save the future British economy in case of drawing the European integration, and Theresa May policy in front of the analyzing of his speech on 17, January 2017.

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# Chapter One

## David Cameron

### and the Euro-

### scepticism

#### **1 Introduction:**

The British membership in the European project has always been considered as a British national issue that always caused many conflicts between the British political parties due to the different political opinions towards the British membership value in the European Union.

With the return of Conservative party to power through the general elections of 2010, the British-European Union relations did not reach better position, especially after the euro-crisis which raised the euro-skepticism ideas among the Conservatives and the British people, it led David Cameron, as the Conservative leader, to think seriously about the main issues that will face his country especially with the Scottish national party and migrants that is why, he declared that he would be ready for willing in/ out referendum if he won the next generalelections of May 2015.

## 1.1 David Cameron's Euro-scepticism:

In order to save its economic interest Britain was obliged to be a part of the European project, since it faced many issues along the past decades. British Euro-skepticism always existed and more than that, it increased as a result of political and economic circumstances which effected the British-European union relation specially when the conservative party took the leadership of the government. Years ago, Margaret Thatcher had her Euro-sceptic reasons against the policies of European community such as the European Monetary Union, the single Currency and the common agriculture policy. David Cameron in his turn had also his reasons behind the British Euro-skepticism as a legitimacy of the Conservative party.

After the Coalition government of conservative-liberal democrats through the parliamentary election 2010 the new Prime Minister David Cameron declared that euro-crisis is effecting the relation between Britain and European Union, the fact that has a negative impact on the growth of economy in the Euro-zone.<sup>1</sup>

Cameron presented his intention to re-build good relations between UK and the EU but only if European Union gives its members more economic options in order to find solutions for the financial crisis. The new leader insisted on the main reasons that made UK loose her weight in the EU is the British belief to break the idea of supporting the European institutions with more executive power when he indicated that this power would apply the national sovereignty of their European members and neither the UK government nor; the British people would not accept to be controlled by an external supranational association such the EU.

British fear of losing her international achievement as a result of the European financial issues , which means that the UK government put plans to apply specific political strategy, which give the ability for Britain to preserve the British Economic growth in the light of the bad economic situation in many European countries , like Spain and Greece which means that Britain wanted to save her Economic achievement from European crisis .By adopting the policy of staying further from euro-crisis, Briton's relations with the European comities was deeply affected by this policy , as a result of that , European members decided not to give

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<sup>1</sup> Juha.Jokela, David Cameron's European policy, the European Union research programme, the Finish Institute Of International Affairs

London an extra authority which means , that Britain is no longer the leader of the European integration.<sup>2</sup>

To save his existence as an economic power in the world , both of Britain and the EU rethink about their future economic which pushed both of them to decide working to each other , the UK wants to use his executive power to reign her international relations' economic in order weaken the EU popularity , the European economic project impost extra financial duties on the British government to fill the economic gap in the EU budget ,and to reveal his financial problems, this project plans to re-build the economic by the expense of Germany ,France and Britain and to solve its poor countries which were touched by the euro-crisis as Greece and Ireland. While the UK government did not accept to pay more, the conservative leader declared that this plan would definitely finish the British-European Union relations and guide to, another British referendum the coming days.

The fear of the British subjects<sup>3</sup> to lose their national sovereignty through the political pressure of the European project, is the main reason, which increase the UK government's scepticism as Mr. Cameron claimed, that impact the British parliament decisions. It makes the Britons think that they are controlled somehow by the supranationalism, this is why the conservative leader has a suggestion for future referendum which provide the British citizens the right to choose whether to stay in or leave.

The appearance of the latest euro-crisis in the euro-zone, which threat the future British growth is the main second reason that raised the British euro-skepticism, this is why the British government has to dealt seriously about the future weight over the world, even this decision would not be serve the whole European body, it should pick the most servable economic options and plans, means that the British government should threat carefully especially after the latest euro-crisis.<sup>4</sup>

Third reason is the British media which play a big role that gave an exceptionally view<sup>5</sup> about Euro sceptic , this Britain's unique media is usually attack and censure EU policy towards the UK government ,the media also reflect the conflict points between the EU and UK ,this policy has great effect on the British opinions , they also bring another economic

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<sup>2</sup> Jokela, Juha, op.cit, p.3

<sup>3</sup> Grant, Charles, “Why is Britain eurosceptic ” ? *Centre for European Reform essays*, London,Dec, 2008,p.2

<sup>4</sup> Jokela, op.cit,

<sup>5</sup> Ibid

troubles and distress in Britain , which make the UK government rethink seriously about her future membership and to make a strict decision to save her national achievement in this supranational project.

## **1.2 The effect of Euro-crisis on Britain:**

After the new appearance of the Euro-zone crisis the British Euro-skepticism is raised towards European project, which allowed to create a gloomy atmosphere that make pervious to develop the British European Union relations, especially with the return of the Conservative party to the power in 2010. In order to fill the gap in the budget of poor European members as Ireland, the EU as the only solution tries to apply the austerity policy.

Because of the Britain hopes to acquire exemptions from the regulation of the financial EU markets, which does not serve the British interest, the British leader used the veto's right to stop the treaty of the EU amendment, which get worse between Britain and this supranational association, this act caused the rest members provoked so they obtained a serious decision to run up to their goals.<sup>6</sup>

The sense of British euro-skepticism expanded through the European monetary crisis and it reduce the pro-European's number with in the coalition government of the political parties, conservatives and liberal democrats.

Ms. Cameron promises his citizens that he would be achieve a good deal with the European project in order to save the British European Union relations and to give more interest to the single Market project more that stay further from the single European Currency which is serve both of British economy and achievement.<sup>7</sup>

Through the negotiation US-EU free trade affaire, Britain try to encourage the international economic competition to organized free trade area, but the exit of Britain from the European project would pose many issues such as weak her growth, and she would lose her regional single market the EU to export and import her products, at the same time she would lose her relations with the United States in his exit from the European projects, this decision would cost Uk government Billions of Pounds and would make Britain an isolated economic position in the future.

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<sup>6</sup> Jokela, op.cit,p.6

<sup>7</sup> Ibid,p.7

unlike non-members of the EU who had to make economic affairs due to the single market, without any intervene in the final decision of its European legislative process, Britain had the opportunity to make decision about the British participation in the single Market through the European legislative body, however the UK government wanted to change the EMU and modify the European amendment, while the other European members do not want to modify or touch any principles of the European integration project.<sup>8</sup>

## **1.2. The influence of British Media of Britons attitude towards the Brexit:**

According to Benjamin Hawkins the British Media have a negative effect on the British-European Union relations, they impact on the Britons attitude toward the UK's EU referendum, this impact would create things worse between Britain and the rest members of the economic integration, Benjamin said also that the British Media considered as a vital element that guides the UK's reactions towards the EU policy.<sup>9</sup>

Social British Media would make the Britons rethink about their future relations with the EU, they continue to play a key role to the Brexit referendum, they are a part of the reason which raised the idea of leaving this supranational association.

Unlike the Europeans, the British citizens do not trust the European project, they are not interested to be a part of the European Union society, they always proud about their British national identity, UK citizens always have a doubter towards the European integration's society, that is what the British Media reflect through the articles and newspaper, the anti-European Union British print media focuses on the Euro sceptic articles and discourse such as the Sun, the Daily Telegraph and the Daily Mail which increase the Briton's point of views towards the exit of this European project.

David Deacon, said "*The media has more influence in telling people what to think about than telling them what to think*" which means that surveys show that the British people trust the papers less than their European integration.<sup>10</sup>

## **1.3 The most important issues that face the leaving of the EU:**

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<sup>8</sup> Jokela, op.cit,p.7

<sup>9</sup> Benjamine,Hawkins “Media coverage of the European Union is Key to understanding eurosceptic attitudes within the UK”, *Foreing Policy and Defence*, LES,October 3rd, 2012 (May,2012)

<sup>10</sup> [http:// www. The Guardian.com](http://www.TheGuardian.com)



Britain's exit from the European Union is expected to have far-reaching consequence for the United Kingdom, but the UK would face internal problems especially with the Scottish national party and the migrants.

### **1.3.1 The Issue of immigrants as a main reason for the referendum:**

Scepticism about the economic benefits in the era of struggling the Euro-zone, the cost of being in EU and the desire for greater control immigration, these were the reasons for the British referendum. But immigration was the main reason that the Brexit referendum was held in the first place. The issue is much more salient to the public than the EU itself because the levels of immigration raised after the eastward expansion of the EU.

The outsider populist Euro sceptic party UKIP party won the European elections in 2014 by fusing the two issues together which forced David Cameron to propose the public vote that had ended his political career. But that denouement reflected earlier failures of political leadership on immigration by successive governments. The Labor governments of Tony Blair and Gordon Brown famously failed to anticipate any significant scale of Polish immigration, so that the largest single wave of migration in Britain's long history came as a surprise, with too little done to prepare for or manage the local impacts.

Cameron, in opposition, promised to reduce the numbers, pledging that net migration would fall from the hundreds of thousands to the tens of thousands. Because of the free movement rules, he was making a promise he could not keep, causing the Conservative reputation on immigration to collapse. With net migration at triple his target, the Prime Minister's referendum strategy, whenever immigration came up, was simply to change the subject back to the economic risks of leaving the EU. It is hardly surprising that the public have lost confidence in how governments have managed immigration over the last decade. But it is important to recognize that the public blame their politicians, not those who have come to live and work in Britain.

Naturally, the three million EU migrants in Britain are anxious about what the vote means. The government did not offer any reassurance before the vote, preferring to keep all post-Leave scenarios uncertain, despite the Leave campaigners supporting calls from employers and civic groups to be clear that future policy changes should not apply retrospectively to current migrants.

The Vote Leave campaign proposed that every EU migrant exercising free movement rights should receive indefinite leave to settle in Britain. It is vital that the message is now sent loud and clear to those EU citizens already living in Britain: this is your home and you are welcome here. A public petition has been launched urging the Government and politicians from all parties to offer reassurance that Britain will do the practical and decent thing.

The longer-term debates about immigration in Britain will be part of the uncertain debate about what “out” looks like. It is unlikely that the U.K. government can propose a model, like that of Norway, which keeps free movement in place.<sup>11</sup>

### **1.3.2 The Scottish Issues:**

The Scottish National Party wants the UK to remain in the EU, but unionists generally wanted to leave, but if the UK votes to leave the EU, a wide political crisis would result. The reaction in Scotland and the impact on its politics of independence, seems validate another referendum in order to leave the UK and stay as a member in the supranational association, and it will be one key dimension of this crises, that what David Cameron faire from, various political crises are likely to ensue in the face of a Brexit vote.

If the SNP did decide to call a second independence referendum, Westminster may not agree to it, leading to a bitter political standoff. Furthermore, while EU matters are not devolved, EU law is part of Scotland’s devolution statutes, and the Scottish parliament does pass various EU decisions into law. If the Scottish parliament refused to repeal or revise EU laws as part of Brexit refusing to pass a legislative consent motion, there would be a major political crisis between Scotland and the rest of the UK. The Scottish government might also challenge the loss of acquired rights by its citizens and businesses that Brexit could entail.

If the UK votes to leave the EU at the upcoming referendum, the implications for Scotland are many and challenging. The route to independence would in many ways be made much more complex and difficult if the UK votes for Brexit, while Scotland votes to remain in the EU.

Yet while some pro-independence voices in Scotland caution against rushing into a second independence referendum in the face of Brexit, the challenges for Scotland if it, along with the rest of the UK, leaves the EU, mean that a rapid push for independence could make strategic sense. Such a rapid push, even assuming Brexit led to a big shift in the Scottish polls in favor of independence, would also contain many risks. Splitting from the rest of the UK

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<sup>11</sup> <http://www.Telegraph.co.UK/news/0/how-would-affect-Scotland>

when remain UK is no longer in the EU is more difficult, and may be less appealing to voters, than doing so while both are in the EU.<sup>12</sup>

#### **1.4 Conclusion:**

The different British political attitudes towards the European policies increased the gap in the British-European Union relations and led to the raise of many debates between them, Britain wanted to use the European Union power to become one of the economic leaders in the international relations, it is commonly known that that many British and European politicians do not agree with the possibility of the British quitting their membership in the EU through in / out referendum, but with the result of the UK General Elections which was not anticipated at all and with 331 seats for the Conservative party, the 2017 referendum about the British membership in the EU would be validated officially only if Cameron decides the opposite by changing his political strategies towards the EU.

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<sup>12</sup> <http://www.FoE-FE-discussion-paper-Scotland-and-Brexit-3-small>

# **Chapter two**

**The Brexit vote**

**June 23, 2016**

**Circumstances and  
views**

## **Introduction:**

This chapter investigates forces that shaped the decisions voters made in the June 23, 2016 referendum on the UK's continued membership in the European Union. Results emphasize the power of two classes of benefit-cost calculations, risk assessments, emotional reactions to EU membership and leader images as predictors of referendum voting. Among leader images, feelings about Boris Johnson had noticeably strong effects, thereby suggesting that his decision to become a leader of the Leave campaign made an important contribution to the forces that generated a Brexit majority.

## **2.1 Between referendums :**

The United Kingdom opted out of the newly formed European Exchange Rate Mechanism (ERM) in 1979, which was the gesture to the creation of the euro.

In 1983, the opposition Labor Party campaigned on a commitment to withdraw from the EEC without a referendum. As the Conservative government of Margaret Thatcher was re-elected, the labor party was heavily defeated as a result; it subsequently changed its policy.

The Single European Act was approved by the United Kingdom in 1985, the first major revision to the Treaty of Rome without a referendum with the full support HM Government of Margaret Thatcher.

In, notwithstanding the deep reticence of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher but under pressure from her senior ministers, the United Kingdom joined the ERM in October 1990 with the pound sterling pegged to the deutschmark. As a prime minister, Thatcher resigned amid internal divisions within the Conservative Party arising partly from her increasingly Euro sceptic view since November 1990. The United Kingdom was forced to retract from the ERM after the pound sterling came under pressure from currency speculators in September 1992; the resulting cost to UK taxpayers was estimated to be in excess of £3 billion.

The EEC became the European Union on 1 November 1993 as a result of the Maastricht Treaty. The new name of the organization was a reflection of its evolution from an economic union into a political union. As a result of the Lisbon Treaty, which entered into force on 1 December 2009, the Maastricht Treaty is now known, in updated form as, the Treaty on European Union (2007) or TEU, and the Treaty of Rome is now known, in updated form, as the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (2007) or TFEU.

In 1994 the Referendum Party was formalized by Sir James Goldsmith to contest the 1997 general election on a platform of adducing a referendum on the UK's membership of the EU. It deputed candidates in 547 constituencies at that election and won 810,860 votes, 2.6% of total votes cast. It couldn't win a single parliamentary seat as its vote was spread out, losing its in 505 constituencies.<sup>13</sup>

As a Euro sceptic political party, the UK Independence Party, was formed in 1993. It could reach the third place in the UK during the 2004 European elections, second place in the 2009 European elections and first place in the 2014 European elections, with 27.5% of the total vote. This was the first time since the 1910 general election that any party other than the Labor or Conservative parties had taken the largest amount of the vote in a nationwide election. The electoral success of the UKIP in the 2014 European election has been authenticated as the strongest consensual of the for the leave campaign in the 2016 referendum.

UKIP won two by-elections in 2004, triggered when the sitting Conservative MPs defected to UKIP and then resigned. These were their first elected MPs. At the 2015 general election UKIP took 12.6% of the total vote and held one of the two seats won in 2014.<sup>14</sup>

## **2.2 Britain's European question:**

For those who follow the issue of the European Union in British politics, it was not a surprise that David Cameron's January 2013 speech on Europe excited a great deal of comment. The EU is among the most divisive issues in British politics. Cameron himself drew on this to justify his committing the Conservative Party, should it win the general election in 2015, to seek a renegotiated position for the UK within the EU which would then be put to the British people in an in/out referendum.

Growing public frustrations at UK-EU relations were, he argued, the result of both a longstanding failure to consult the British people about their country's place in the EU, and a changing EU that was undermining the current relationship between Britain and the Union. As a result, he argued, 'the democratic consent for the EU in Britain is now wafer-thin'. Cameron's speech was met with both criticism and praise from Euro sceptic, and Pro-Europeans alike, in a speech at Chatham House backing Cameron's plan, the former Conservative Prime Minister Sir John Major best captured some of the hopes for a referendum: The relationship with Europe has poisoned British politics for too long, distracted

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid

<sup>14</sup> Ibid

parliament from other issues and come close to destroying the Conservative Party. It is time to resolve the matter.

### **2.3 Negotiations for EU Reform:**

Calls for a referendum on the UK's EU membership were all rejected by Prime Minister David Cameron in 2012, but in the same time, he suggested the possibility of a future referendum to gauge public support. According to the BBC, the prime minister acknowledged the need to ensure the UK's position within the European Union had 'the full-hearted support of the British people' but tactical and strategic patience were needed to be shown.

In January 2013, Cameron announced that a Conservative government would hold an in/out referendum on EU membership before the end of 2017 which was under pressure from many of his MPs and from the rise of UKIP, on a renegotiated package, if elected in 2015.

Unexpectedly the Conservative Party won the 2015 general election with a majority. After a while the European Union Referendum Act 2015 was presented into Parliament to give the ability to the referendum to take a place. Cameron preferred to remain in a reformed European Union and sought in order to renegotiate on four key points: protection of the single market for non-euro-zone countries, reduction of "red tape", exempting Britain from "ever-closer union", and restricting EU immigration.

In 2016, the result of the renegotiations was declared. Some limits to in-work benefits for new EU immigrants were agreed, but before their application a country such as the UK would have to get permission from the European Commission and then from the European Council.<sup>15</sup>

### **2.4 The British political views towards the Brexit:**

Behind the Brexit vote the British political views were defers between how are agree or not for the drawing of the supranational association.

#### **2.4.1 The Labor Party and Tony Blair views:**

According to the views of the British Prime Minister Tony Blair, financial issues may come at the surface as a result of the British referendum of the 2017, Blair is opposed to David Cameron's policy toward the EU he prevented that his political decisions make things

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<sup>15</sup> Patrick Wintour, op.cit

worse between his country, and the European integration in case the Britain left the European project, and may face great economic issue.

The leader of the Labor Party Ed Miliband shares the same views toward the EU referendum, since they believes that the UK achievement will be put at risk if Britain decides to leave the supranational association ,move over Blair , during his speech said that if the leader of the Labor Party wins the next elections , a reconstruction of the British-European union relations would be better thanks to the role of Miliband, who has strong pro-European beliefs unlike Cameron who is influenced by the anti-European media which work only during the dream of “the United State of Europe”.<sup>16</sup>

#### **2.4.2 Liberal Party views:**

Nick Clegg, the Senior of the liberal Democrat party has an opposite view towards the proposal of the Conservative Party to make a referendum in 2017, about the EU, Clegg said that he is ready to split his party, and his supporters, and he will not accept to make a coalition government with the Conservatives though the next General Elections, and he claimed that this decision may have disastrous economic consequences on the British achievement.

The liberal Democrats think that the referendum will cause damages to the future of the British economy, and even it may lead to employment crisis.The liberal Democrats want from Clegg to open discussions with Cameron in order to reach a compromise about this dilemma, the last option to make another conservative-liberal coalition deal is making in/out referendum about the EU.<sup>17</sup>

Vince Cable, and Tim Ferron talked with the leader of the Liberal Party, Davis steel they suggest that they would never think to share power with the conservative, in addition to that, Ferron believes that this referendum will not be for the British national interest, and it may make things worse.

The Liberal Democrats saw that the UK government must not let the British people to decide whether they want to stay in or leave the EU, but this party suppose that it would be better to make a referendum about whether they should give more power to the EU or not.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Patrik wintour, “Blair backs Miliband and warns of EU chaos if Tories win election”, <http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2015/apr/07/tony-blair-backs-ed-miliband> (20April2015)

<sup>17</sup> Helem,Toby,op.cit

<sup>18</sup> Ibid



## **2.5 Brexit Term:**

*Brexit* like its early variant, *Brexit* is a portmanteau of "Britain" and "exit". It was derived by analogy from Grexit, referring to a hypothetical withdrawal of Greece from the euro-zone. The term *Brexit* may have first been used to refer to a possible UK withdrawal from the EU by Peter Wilding in a Euro-active blog posted on 15 May 2012. The terms "hard Brexit" and "soft Brexit" are much used unofficially, and are used to provide a description for the prospective relationship between the UK and the EU after withdrawal, ranging from *hard*, that could involve the UK trading with the EU like any other non-EU-member country under World Trade Organization rules but with no obligation to accept free movement of people, to *soft*, that might involve retaining membership of the EU single market for goods and services and at least some free movement of people, according to European Economic Area rules.<sup>19</sup>

## **2.6 Why Britain Voted for Brexit: An Individual-Level Analysis of the 2016 Referendum Vote:**

On June 23 2016 Britain voted to leave the European Union. When all votes were counted 51.9 % of those voting had chosen to leave providing a lead over the Remain vote that extended to almost 7% points in England. The vote for Brexit followed a campaign by several Euro sceptic groups notably Vote Leave, Leave. EU and Grassroots Out, that had focused heavily on mobilizing public anxiety over immigration, the free movement of EU nationals and the further enlargement of the EU to encompass Albania, Montenegro and Serbia, and possibly Turkey. The Brexit campaign also had focused heavily on the issues of sovereignty and the economic costs of EU membership, variously claiming that voters could take back control' by voting to leave the EU and that the country would save £350 million each week that could be redirected into the National Health Service.

In contrast, the campaign to remain in the EU repeatedly emphasized the claimed heavy economic costs and major risks that would accompany Brexit. The official campaign for remain, Britain Stronger in Europe, alongside Prime Minister David Cameron, Governor of the Bank of England, trade unions and numerous businesses, variously warned that Brexit would leave households £4,300 worse off each year, workers £38 a week worse off and that house prices could fall by 10-18 percent. Only days before the vote pro-Remain Chancellor

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid

George Osborne claimed that Brexit would produce a £30 billion ‘black hole’ in the budget that would necessitate harsh public spending cuts and tax increases. Christine Lagarde, Director of the International Monetary Fund similarly cautioned that a vote to leave the EU would entail ‘severe global damage.’ Shortly before polling day the IMF predicted that the effects of a vote to leave would be ‘negative and substantial’ and that Britain’s gross domestic product could lose 5.6 percentage points by 2019. In perhaps the most high-profile intervention, U.S. President Obama informed voters that after Brexit the UK would be at ‘the 3 back of the queue’ in trade talks with the United States.<sup>20</sup>

These observations point to the importance of cost-benefit *calculations*, feelings of attachment to a wider *community* and *cues* from political elites in shaping the outcome of the 2016 referendum, three sets of explanations that have received significant attention in academic studies of the drivers of public attitudes to the EU.

## **2.7 Referendum result:**

The result was announced on the morning of 24 June: 51.9% voted in favor of leaving the European Union and 48.1% voted in favor of remaining a member of the European Union. Comprehensive results are available from the [UK Electoral Commission Referendum Results](#) site. A [petition calling for a second referendum](#) attracted more than four million signatures, but was rejected by the government on 9 July.<sup>21</sup>

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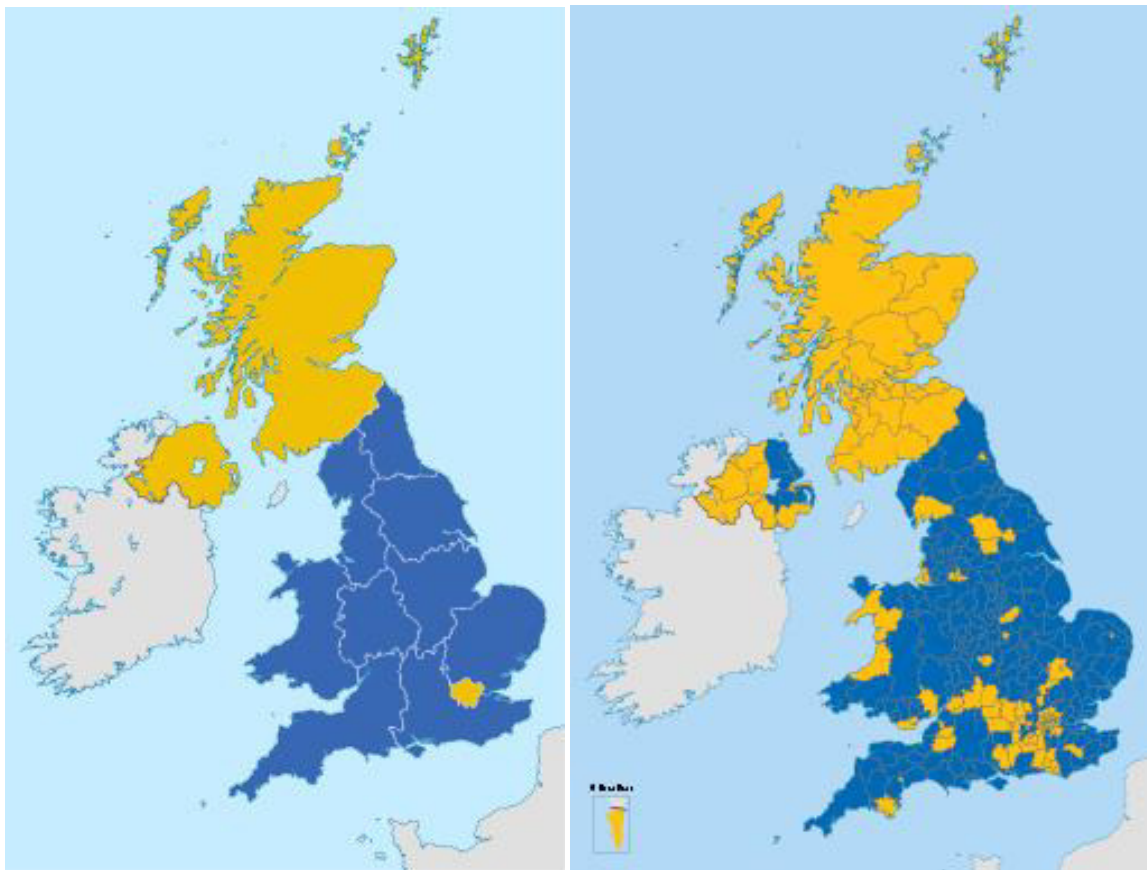
<sup>20</sup> Jokela, op.cit

<sup>21</sup> Ibid

United Kingdom European Union membership referendum 2016

Choice	Votes	%
Leave the European Union	17, 410,742	51.89
Remain a member of the European Union	16, 141,241	48.11
Valid votes	33, 551,983	99.92
Invalid or Blank votes	25,359	0.08
Total votes	33, 577,342	100.00
Registered voters and turnout	46, 500,001	72.21
Voting age population and turnout	51, 356,768	65.38

## Referendum result



Results by region (left) and by local council district (right)

■ Leave

■ Remain

### 2.7.1 Political effects:

After the result was declared, Cameron announced that he would resign by October. In the event, he stood down on 13 July, with Theresa May becoming Prime Minister. George was replaced as Chancellor of the Exchequer by Philip Hammond, Former Mayor of London Boris Johnson was appointed Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, and David Davis became Secretary of State for Exiting the European Union. Labor leader Jeremy Corbyn lost a vote of confidence among his parliamentary party and a leadership challenge was launched, while on 4 July, Nigel Farage announced his resignation as head of UKIP.

Outside the UK many Euro sceptic leaders celebrated and expected others to follow the UK example. The right-wing Dutch populist Greet Wilders said that the Netherlands should follow Britain's example and hold a referendum on whether the Netherlands should stay in the European Union.<sup>22</sup> However, opinion polls in the fortnight following the British referendum show that the immediate reaction in the Netherlands and other European countries was a decline in support for Eurosceptic movements.

A week after the referendum, Gordon Brown, a former Labor Party leader and the Prime Minister who had signed the Lisbon Treaty in 2007, warned of a danger that in the next decade the country would be refighting the referee will have to ratify whatever deal is negotiated and then, depending on the deal there could be a case for a second referendum. He wrote that voters for remaining were feeling they must be pessimists to prove that Brexit is unmanageable without catastrophe, while leavers optimistically claim economic risks are exaggerated.

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<sup>22</sup> Grant,op.cit

The previous leader of the Labor Party and Prime Minister (1997–2007), Tony Blair, in October 2016 called for a second referendum, a decision through parliament or a general election to decide finally if Britain should leave the EU. Former leader of the Conservative Party and Prime Minister John Major (1990 to 1997) <sup>23</sup> argued in November 2016 that parliament Economic effects prior to the referendum, the UK treasury estimated that being in the EU has a strong positive effect on trade and as a result the UK's trade would be worse off if it left the EU.

Supporters of withdrawal from the EU have argued that the cessation of net contributions to the EU would allow for some cuts to taxes and/or increases in government spending. However, Britain would still be required to make contributions to the EU budget if it opted to remain in the European Free Trade Area. The Institute for Fiscal Studies notes that the majority of forecasts of the impact of Brexit on the UK economy indicate that the government would be left with less money to spend even if it no longer had to pay into the EU.

On 15 June 2016, Vote Leave, the official Leave campaign, presented its roadmap to lay out what would happen if Britain left the EU. The blueprint suggested that Parliament would pass laws: Finance Bill to scrap VAT on tampons and household energy bills; Asylum and Immigration Control Bill to end the automatic right of EU citizens to enter Britain; National Health Service (Funding Target) Bill to get an extra 100 million pounds a week; European Union Law (Emergency Provisions) Bill; Free Trade Bill to start to negotiate its own deals with non-EU countries; and European Communities Act 1972 (Repeal) Bill to end the European Court of Justice's jurisdiction over Britain and stop making contributions to the EU budget.<sup>24</sup>

European experts from the World Pensions Council (WPC) and the University of Bath have argued that, beyond short-lived market volatility, the long term economic prospects of Britain remain high, notably in terms of country attractiveness and foreign direct investment (FDI): "Country risk experts we spoke to are confident the UK's economy will remain robust in the event of an exit from the EU. 'The economic attractiveness of Britain will not go down and a trade war with London is in no one's interest,' says M Nicolas Firzli, director-general of the World Pensions Council and advisory board member for the World Bank Global Infrastructure Facility, Bruce Morley, lecturer in economics at the University of

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<sup>23</sup> Watt,op.cit

<sup>24</sup> Ibid

Bath, goes further to suggest that the long-term benefits to the UK of leaving the Union, such as less regulation and more control over Britain's trade policy, could outweigh the short-term uncertainty observed in scores.

The mooted importance of the UK's membership of the EU as a lure for Foreign Direct Investment has long been stressed by supporters of the UK's continued involvement in the EU. In this view, foreign firms see the UK as a gateway to other EU markets, with the UK economy benefiting from its resulting attractiveness as a location for activity.

The UK is certainly a major recipient of FDI. In 2014, it held the second largest stock of inward investment in the world, amounting to just over £1 trillion or almost 7% of the global total. This was more than double the 3% accounted for by Germany and France. On a per capita basis, the UK is the clear front-runner among major economies with a stock of FDI around three times larger than the level in other major European economies and 50% larger than in the US.

On 10 August the Institute for Fiscal Studies published a report funded by the Economic and Social Research Council which warned that Britain faced some very difficult choices as it couldn't retain the benefits of full EU membership whilst restricting EU migration. The IFS claimed the cost of reduced economic growth would cost the UK around £70 billion, more than the £8 billion savings in membership fees. It did not expect new trade deals to make up the difference.<sup>25</sup>

### **2.7.2 Economic effects:**

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid

<sup>26</sup> ibid

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<sup>27</sup> ibid

<sup>28</sup> Jokela,op.cit,p.7



couldn't retain the benefits of full EU membership whilst restricting EU migration. The IFS claimed the cost of reduced economic growth would cost the UK around £70 billion, more than the £8 billion savings in membership fees. It did not expect new trade deals to make up the difference.

## **2.8 Consequence of the Brexit for the EU:**

Shortly after the referendum, the German parliament published an analysis on the consequences of a Brexit on the EU and specifically on the economic and political situation of Germany. According to this, Britain is, after the United States and France, the third most important export market for German products. In total Germany exports goods and services to Britain worth about 120 billion Euros annually, this is about 8% of German exports, with Germany achieving a trade surplus with Britain worth 36.3 billion Euros (2014). Should a "hard Brexit" come to pass, the German exports would be subject to WTO customs and tariffs, which would particularly affect German car exports, where duties of about 10% would have to be paid to Britain. In total, 750,000 jobs in Germany depend upon export to Britain, while on the British side about 3 million jobs depend on export to the EU. The study emphasizes however that the predictions on the economic effects of a Brexit are subject to significant uncertainty.

According to the Lisbon Treaty (2009), EU Council decisions made by qualified majority voting can only be blocked by if at least 4 members of the Council form a blocking minority. This rule was originally developed to prevent the three most populous members (Germany, France, and Britain) from dominating the EU Council. However, after a Brexit of the economically liberal British, the Germans and like-minded northern European countries (the Dutch, Scandinavians and Balts) would lose an ally and therefore also their blocking minority. Without this blocking minority, other EU states could overrule Germany and its allies in questions of EU budget discipline or the recruitment of German banks to guarantee deposits in troubled southern European banks.<sup>29</sup>

With Brexit, the EU would lose its second-largest economy, the country with the third-largest population and the financial center of the world. Furthermore, the EU would lose its second-largest net contributor to the EU budget (2015: Germany 14.3 billion Euros, United Kingdom 11.5 billion Euros, France 5.5 billion Euros).

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<sup>29</sup> <https://www.the-guardian.com>

Thus, the departure of Britain would result in an additional financial burden for the remaining net contributors: Germany for example would have to pay an additional 4.5 billion Euros for 2019 and again for 2020. In addition, the UK would no longer be a shareholder in the European Investment Bank, in which only EU members can participate. Britain's share amounts to 16% which Britain would withdraw unless there is an EU treaty change. After a Brexit, the EU would lose its strongest military power (next to France) including the British nuclear shield, and one of its two veto powers in the security council of the United Nations.<sup>30</sup>

A report by Tim Oliver of the German Institute for International and Security Affairs expanded analysis of what a British withdrawal could mean for the EU: the report argues a UK withdrawal "has the potential to fundamentally change the EU and European integration. On the one hand, a withdrawal could tip the EU towards protectionism, exacerbate existing divisions, or unleash centrifugal forces leading to the EU's unraveling.<sup>31</sup> Alternatively, the EU could free itself of its most awkward member, making the EU easier to lead and more effective. Some authors also highlight the qualitative change in the nature of the EU membership after Brexit: "What the UK case has clearly shown in our view is that for the Union to be sustainable, membership needs to entail constant caretaking as far as individual members' contributions to the common good are concerned, with both rights and obligations.

As of 15 November 2016 the President of the European Parliament is considering moves to exclude British MEPs from key committee positions ahead of the exit talks. The President has written to the head of the conference of committee chairs asking him to gather information on how Britain's imminent departure will impact various EU documents passing through the parliament's committees. Among the issues that should be considered, the letter states, are the possible impact of the British departure on the legislative files currently under discussion in various committees, the impact if the files are not concluded before Britain leaves, and whether any of the files are likely to feature in the EU-UK withdrawal agreement.

There has been debate about whether other member states will seek to follow Britain's example in leaving the European Union. However, it has been argued that most member states have a greater dependence on the EU than Britain, and that the economies of many of the smaller countries would struggle greatly to survive outside of the EU.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid

<sup>31</sup> Ibid

<sup>32</sup> Jokelaop.cit

## **2. Conclusion:**

The Britons vote to leave the supranational association that what the circumstance of the June, 2016 referendum resulted, that why make the British government rethink to protect their place over the word and try to make a political strategy to protect their economy and provide a new political policy and rethink about the future relationship between UK and EU and memberships of UK specially with the Scottish government.

# **Chapter three**

## **Britain without the EU**

## **3. Introduction:**

This chapter discusses the future relationship with UK and the EU and the potential implications of Britain's exit from the EU for the future of the euro. The British economy has

not yet been negatively affected by the referendum result and the impact of the depreciation of sterling on the euro area economy should be limited. The Brexit referendum illustrates that the European Union is less popular than many imagine. It also shows the appropriate solutions to save the future British economy in case of reaming the supranational integration and the Theresa May policy font of his speech on 17, January 2017.

### **3.1 The future relationship between the UK and the EU:**

The UK has been a member of the European Economic Community since 1973 and was one of the founding members of the EU in 1992. The EU membership of the UK is unique in some respects since the UK is not part of the Schengen area. Given the current debate on a potential future withdrawal of the UK from the EU, the procedure for such withdrawal and the implications thereof must be carefully examined. Recently, various general studies have been published, that the UK may face when withdrawing from the EU as well as the scenarios that the UK may face in relation to the EU and the rest of the world after withdrawal, with a special focus on the UK's trade relations.

The procedures of withdrawal from the EU under Article 50 of the Lisbon Treaty, It will mainly focus on two issues: first, the possibility for the UK to negotiate an agreement on future trade relations with the EU and to agree on an alternative to the EU model; second, the possibility for the UK to withdraw from the EU without any agreement.<sup>33</sup>

The EU has entered into various agreements with third countries for international cooperation. While some of these agreements have been solely entered into by the EU, there are other agreements where each Member State of the EU is a party along with the EU.

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<sup>33</sup> <http://ww.europarl.europa.eu/news/en/headlines/eu-affairs/2017>

Upon withdrawal, the fate of these mixed agreements conferring rights and obligations on the UK, the EU and the third countries needs to be examined. The continued existence of these agreements in relation to the UK is of immense importance when the UK has to negotiate the exit terms with the EU. The parties to these agreements may either choose to continue the rights and obligations even after UK's withdrawal, which would necessitate appropriate amendments to the agreements. Alternatively, the possibility of the UK being automatically disqualified from these agreements also needs to be analyzed in light of the provisions of these agreements. In any case, the UK will have to conduct detailed negotiations with the EU as well as various third countries in the event of its withdrawal from the EU.

Further, the UK's EU-exit would have major implications for its membership to the World Trade Organization (WTO) as the latter is conditioned upon the submission of new UK schedules of commitments under several WTO agreements, subject to approval by consensus of all other WTO members. We will examine the major difficulties that these procedures may involve by means of different scenarios. In addition, the UK's EU-exit has major implications on its membership to the Agreement on Government Procurement (GPA).

Therefore, once the UK's WTO membership is approved, the UK would have to preserve its membership to the GPA, which might also involve difficulties that shall be discussed here. Moreover, we will explain that once the UK's WTO membership is approved, the UK's trade relations with non-EU parties to the WTO would continue to be governed by the same WTO rules that govern this relationship now, being subject to any changes set out in the UK's WTO schedules and any continuing or new Free Trade Agreement (FTA) relations between the UK and non-EU parties to the WTO.

Finally, the UK's EU-exit would generate both advantages and disadvantages for the UK's position vis-à-vis the world's regional trade networks. This stems from the fact that not only the UK but also all other non-EU parties to the WTO may deviate from the MFN treatment obligation under certain conditions. In this regard, it will also be shown that the UK's withdrawal from the EU may have major implications on the UK's key industry sectors and other stakeholders.<sup>34</sup>

### **3.2 The appropriate solution to protect the British economy:**

There is a list of six things the government, should to support the economy.

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<sup>34</sup> <http://arendt.com/publications/pages/future-relationship-eu-uk-brexite-partsch-agefi>

The first is that it needs to acknowledge that the Brexit vote will obstruct even destroy the development and growth for the next years, may be longer, whatever view you take about the long-term implication and there is a significant minority of economists who think in the long run it may be positive in the short-term it is bad news. There may or may not be an encouraging to the global business and financial community would be to show that the government is well aware of the danger. Project far failed to frighten the voters, or at least enough of the fears were overdone. But now denial of the real risks ahead would be deeply damaging.<sup>35</sup>

Next, Government need some business-friendly actions, saying the country is still open for businesses won't wash. The Government has to take practical steps to prove it. There have been suggestions of cut in corporation tax to 12.5 percent to match Ireland, or even below, but there are other options such as enabling the ability of companies to recruit high-skilled staff from outside the EU.

Third, the country needs clarity on future fiscal policy. Abandoning the rigid commitment to a balanced budget by 2020 suggested by Theresa May, is a helpful start, actually what will probably be needed will be a repeat performance of policy in the last parliament: keeping the objective of cutting the deficit in place but being prepared to show down the timetable. This fits in with the monetary easing already signaled by Mark Carney, the governor of the Bank of England.

Fourth, the Government will need to talk directly to European business communities that have large UK investments and/or substantial exports to the UK as and when negotiations begin, the prime allies in Europe will be the business communities of the remaining members, they need to maintain their access to EU markets and be prepared for negotiation.

Fifth, the Government would be wise to start informal talks with other trading partners, including Canada, Australia, New Zealand and India, to explore how trade could be improved further. India is particularly the important, given that it has now become the second-largest inward investor in UK manufacturing.

Finally, the British Government needs to show much more concern for the parts of the economy, and country that have either failed to benefit from globalization or have actually been threatened by it. The business community needs a stable society, and if government pay insufficient attention to parts of the country that are striking into tough headwinds that

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<sup>35</sup> <http://ww.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etude/STUD/2017>

undermines that stability. Quite aside from the ethical and moral case for government paying more attention to parts of the country that feel left behind, there is a powerful business case too.<sup>36</sup>

### **3.4 Analysis of Theresa May's speech:**

On 13th July 2016 Theresa May held her first speech as the new Prime Minister of the UK in front of Downing Street No. The speech followed the resignation of David Cameron after the "Brexit" vote and started her time of governance. It is addressed towards the entire British population and was broadcasted on TV.

The speech starts out with her describing how she just accepted her position as the new PM. She then goes on to praise David Cameron and his way of governing. According to May, his legacy was social justice and she seems to admire him for that.

Right in the first sentence, she uses litotes as she refers to the act as the Queen "asking" her to form a new government. This could be done to show her reverence towards the Queen and her modest character. The way she goes on to talk about Cameron seems very euphemistic considering many scandals surrounding his career. Cameron is portrayed as if he was the greatest leader Britain ever had and a close friend and comrade of May. The latter is done by referring to him by his first name which again sounds very indirect since May was campaigning against the Brexit. The antithesis "not about the economy but about social justice" makes it seem as if Cameron was a huge visionary who fought for a greater goal. All this is done to flatter May's own party and to make Cameron's surprising resignation look like a thoughtful step ending a perfect leadership.

The fourth paragraph focuses on the word "union". May emphasizes the strong bond between the entirety of the UK. In the following paragraph, she expands that definition, creating a vision of a united and equal British public. The repetition "precious, precious bond" illustrates the importance of it to her. The phrase "it means" is repeated several times, too, creating a wider definition of the union step by step. In the last sentence, she starts to form a bond between that Union by speaking of "we". The next two paragraphs aim to analyze and criticize current situations of injustice in Britain. May mentions racial profiling, the effect of poverty on your life, the gender wage gap and several other issues.

In the first sentences, she visualizes how she feels about the mentioned things by using the metaphor "burning injustice". She stresses the importance of overcoming these even more by

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<sup>36</sup> <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/business/news/brexit-economy-what-it-means-government-bank-of-england-pound-mark-carney>

accumulating many situations. Every following sentence starts with the words “if you”, creating a parallelism that might aim to show that all these forms of discrimination are equally important to May.

After that, there are three paragraphs only talking about, later even directly to, working-class people. May admits that the government often does not understand or even see their problems. Again, she names certain situations the addressed people experience after which she pays tribute to them and appreciates how strong they are. She then assures them that her government will care about their problems.

The list of issues working-class people deal with is again done with a parallelism, starting every sentence with “you have” or “you can” and then later proceeding with “but you”. Some of the sentences even sound like an antithesis, e.g. when she says you “have the job” but not “job security”. That sentence in particular makes clear how unfair that situation is – it just sounds wrong. The next paragraph makes the change from “you” to “I” in her speech and ends with the antithesis that the government will not act in the interest of the “privileged few” but “yours”, introducing working-class people as the main-group her politics are going to help.

Then, there is a paragraph on the plans May has to set the focus of her politics on working-class people. She explains that in her opinion everyone should be able to become whatever they want to be – no matter their background. She gives lots of examples on how she will prioritize the downgraded people, making her point more trustworthy since she seems to understand so many situations. The sentences are again forming a parallelism. They all start with the words “when we” and later go on with the words “we’ll” or “we won’t”. Also, the former “I” turns into a “we” talking of what her cabinet will try to do. Following that, there are three last paragraphs in which the new PM talks about the general situation and her general plans for the UK. She is convinced that the country will manage the huge changes following the Brexit and promises to make the country better.

Here, May’s “we” from the last part becomes even bigger and means the whole population. She shows national pride by saying they will rise to the challenge just because they are the UK. Her words sound very visionary and meaningful but also very general. The speech ends with the alliteration “build a better Britain” which sounds catchy, patriotic and like a must to her at the same time.

May’s gestures often are quite welcoming and she looks directly into the camera. The performance, however, is not her main point but just a supporting element to her words.



All in all, the speech shows May's competence and introduces her as a wise politician. She sounds as if she cared a lot about social justice.

The speech is surprisingly progressive from an actually conservative politician, very well put and clever. The speech does a good job of uniting the country by speaking directly to the poor, marginalized people who often voted for the Brexit out of fear.

Her words often are of a very general nature without a certain plan which leaves the door open for her to just not do what she says. That might be because of the many things that had to fit into such a short speech but is a critical point.

She presents herself as a strong leader and even if her speech might not become the truth word by word, I like it and the fact that she seems to care about so many different issues. I hope that her time of governing will mark a change towards social justice. In my opinion, she does a good job of addressing daily issues many Britons have.<sup>37</sup>

### **Conclusion:**

Theresa May's Speech laying out the UK's plan for Brexit, he delivers her keynote speech on Brexit that the Briton's want to leave the EU not Europe and discuss the future of the UK economy and membership in/out the European projects which has related to the political policy of the Prime Minister who, obliged to work hard and renegotiate to put the UK in the right way.

### **General conclusion:**

After out, this research work, it is needed to mention that the UK government is never satisfied with the European Union policy, according to many British Prime Minister's views. This research work is set out to study the future relationship between Britain and the EU which is ruled by different economic views that why led to increase the British eurosceptic towards this project and speaks about the referendum and about the future of the UK membership in this association. The present project seeks to provide answers to why Britain is voting about leaving the European Union Today.

Answering this question would not be possible without having a clear overview about the relationship Britain and Europe behind Brexit vote. In chapter one, more clarification was

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<sup>37</sup> <http://www.thetimes.co.uk/artical/therisa-may-s-speech-unspun>

added to the main reasons behind the British euroscepticism of David Cameron today as a conservative leader who would work either to challenge to keep his country away from this community. The prime minister's agenda aimed at re-building new British-European Union based on more trust and less economic issues. He would struggle in order to make an ideal policy to serve the UK national interest then he would be willing to deliver in/out referendum about the future of the British membership and the UK membership and to let the final decision in the British people's hands, whether they want to stay in or exit from this economic project on the other hand.

In chapter two, emphasis was about the different views of the political parties toward the referendum, which made the British leader create considerable distance from this integration, and in order to protect their place over the world and to save their country from any economic trouble that make the British government rethink about and provide a new political policy after the referendum.

In chapter three, focus on the future of the UK economy and membership in/out this European integration which is related to the political policy of Theresa May, who obliged to work hard to get appropriate solution to protect the British economy, and negotiate to put the UK in the right way.

In fact, Britain want to become a leader who has the total authority to reign, and with this power she would fight globalization, and the best way to reach the EU reformation is through the British departure idea which is not only disastrous for Britain, but even the remaining members would lose one from the most important contributors in EU annual budget which means that the best way to change the European project is by winning the British people's support to accept changes. We may conclude that the idea of deliver in/out referendum is just a strategic plan or joker card by David Cameron to win the parliamentary election with majority, and to accelerate the EU reformation and continued after the June, 23 rd 2016 referendum by Theresa May who obliged to create a great stagey and policy to keep the UK membership specially with the scotch and to put the Uk government in the right way in over the world.

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## **Appendix:**

### **Theresa May Speech**

A little over six months ago, the British people voted for change. They voted to shape a brighter future for our country. They voted to leave the European Union and embrace the world. And they did so with their eyes open: accepting that the road ahead will be uncertain at times, but believing that it leads towards a brighter future for their children, and their grandchildren too. And it is the job of this Government to deliver it. That means more than negotiating our new relationship with the EU. It means taking the opportunity of this great moment of national change to step back and ask ourselves what kind of country we want to be.

My answer is clear. I want this United Kingdom to emerge from this period of change stronger, fairer, more united and more outward-looking than ever before. I want us to be a secure, prosperous, tolerant country, a magnet for international talent and a home to the pioneers and innovators who will shape the world ahead. I want us to be a truly Global Britain, the best friend and neighbor to our European partners, but a country that reaches beyond the borders of Europe too. A country that gets out into the world to build relationships with old friends and new allies alike. I want Britain to be what we have the potential, talent and ambition to be. A great, global trading nation that is respected around the world and strong, confident and united at home. That is why this Government has a Plan for Britain. One that gets us the right deal abroad but also ensures we get a better deal for ordinary working people at home.

It's why that plan sets out how we will use this moment of change to build a stronger economy and a fairer society by embracing genuine economic and social reform. Why our new Modern Industrial Strategy is being developed, to ensure every nation and area of the United Kingdom can make the most of the opportunities ahead. Why we will go further to reform our schools to ensure every child has the knowledge and the skills they need to thrive in post-Brexit Britain. Why as we continue to bring the deficit down, we will take a balanced approach by investing in our economic infrastructure, because it can transform the growth potential of our economy, and improve the quality of people's lives across the whole country. It's why we will put the preservation of our precious Union at the heart of everything we do. Because it is only by coming together as one great union of nations and people that we can

make the most of the opportunities ahead. The result of the referendum was not a decision to turn inward and retreat from the world. Because Britain's history and culture is profoundly internationalist. We are a European country, and proud of our shared European heritage, but we are also a country that has always looked beyond Europe to the wider world. That is why we are one of the most racially diverse countries in Europe, one of the most multicultural members of the European Union, and why, whether we are talking about India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, America, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, countries in Africa or those that are closer to home in Europe, so many of us have close friends and relatives from across the world. Instinctively, we want to travel to, study in, and trade with countries not just in Europe but beyond the borders of our continent. Even now as we prepare to leave the EU, we are planning for the next

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