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**The United Kingdom's Departure From The
European Union: Brexit 2012 -2019**

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Dedication

I would like to dedicate this modest work to those who gave me their spirits and devoted their life to help me reach this position, my mother and my father.

I would like to dedicate it also, to my husband Djamel, to my best friend Sabrina, to all my family members relatives and to anyone had helped me with one way or another even with a smile.

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Abstract

This dissertation examines the issue of the United Kingdom departure from the European Union. The UK had always a difficult relationship with the EU that led it to be considered a Eurosceptic country looking for withdrawal and break from the Union, thus an in/out Referendum was held on Britain's continued membership in the EU, where the majority had voted for the leave, and to start the formal process of leaving the Union Article 50 of the Lisbon Treaty divorce clause was recently triggered, by the British current Prime Minister Theresa May, giving room for talks and negotiation about which deal to be reached and the possible way to the Brexit. It had a great impact on British economy, and politics, especially with the Scottish call for another independence referendum, since it strongly voted for the remain, causing different predictions about the political plans, and raising tension about what kind of nations the UK will be.

Key Words: United Kingdom (UK). European Union (EU), Brexit, Eurosceptic, Referendum, Article 50, Theresa May

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List of Acronyms, Abbreviation and Initialisms

EAEC: European Atomic Energy Community.

EC: European Community.

ECSC: European Coal and Steel Community.

EEC: European Economic Community.

EMU: Economic and Monetary Union.

EPP-ED: European People's Party- European Democrats.

ERM: Exchange Rate Mechanism.

EU: European Union.

MEP: Member of European Parliament.

MP: Member of Parliament.

PM: Prime Minister.

SNP: Scottish National Party.

UK: United Kingdom.

UKIP: United Kingdom Independent Party.

USA: United States of America.

WWTWO: Second World War.

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General Introduction

After both world wars and their disastrous impacts, a lot of ideas were raised to cope the situation. One of these ideas was about establishing an organization to unite Europe, as Winston Churchill called for the first time, under the belief that countries which trade together are more likely to avoid going to war with each other. He worked for an economic Union, providing the theoretical basis for the modern European Union.

Ironically, Britain had always a difficult relationship with the EU that granted her the Eurosceptic quality, which led to the strong believe and necessity of Brexit, Britain's relationship with the EU was generally described as "awkward", "reluctant" or "semi-detached", this characterization, was a result of the British public Scepticism of lack of enthusiasm towards the European integration process.

Britain wants to leave the European Union, because the Union started to pose a threat to its national government and sovereignty. The withdrawal was seen as a British disease that spread across the continent like a virus, while the symptom is mistrust in the European Project, especially since the beginning of the Euro-crisis. The term Brexit have first been used on 15th May 2012, by Peter Welding in his blog titled "stumbling towards the Brexit", but it did not gain popularity till in June 2012, by the British Resistance, a nationalist organisation, but the origins of this phenomenon, is traced back to the very beginning of membership with the EU. Since Churchill's struggled to unite European Community, to heath's successful accession in 1973, then with Thatcher's and health support for the yes campaigner, in the 1975 referendum. The latter was a great illustration of British discomfort and awkwardness about the European project.

On 23rd June 2016, a referendum about should the United Kingdom remain a member of EU or leave it was held where the majority voted to leave, and to start the formal process of leaving the EU which is expected to take several years, the British government should notify the EU about the it intention by invoking the divorce clause of article 50 of the Lisbon Treaty, which sets out how an EU country might voluntarily leave the Union. When David Cameron the previous Prime Minister resigned, he stated that the next Prime Minister should active Article 50 and begins negotiations with EU remaining states. Indeed in October 2016 the UK's PM Theresa

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May announced that article 50 would be triggered by the first quarter of 2017, she officially invokes Article 50 on 29th March 2017, and negotiation would take two years. Or even more, meaning the UK will be expected to have left by the summer of 2019.

Overall the dissertation focuses on the major reasons for the Brexit, and the most important outcomes of the Brexit Referendum. It tends to uncover the different attitudes of both the Brexiteers and the Conservative PM Mrs. May, towards the issue of the Brexit and the EU. So in the light of above, the dissertation will tackle the following question:

- Why did Britain suddenly decide to leave the European Union?
- Should the UK remain a member of the EU?
- Is it possible that the Brexit would not take a place?
- When will Britain definitely leave the EU?
- Is the Brexit a good or a bad choice?
- What will happen to Britain/ or what is waiting for the UK out of the EU?

In recent times, the phenomenon “Brexit” is floating more powerfully on the surface, with the Brexit PM Theresa May planning for an hard Brexit, and reviling about the Brexit objectives and planes, the current British Minister Theresa May gave birth to debates again over the issue of the Brexit through her key speech at Lancaster House explain her decision? To tackle these points, the dissertation is divided into three chapters; the first one is about a historical background to introduce the European Union, its roots and origins, then moving on to how did Britain joined the EU. After that the chapter sheds light on Euroscepticism in UK, explaining: why is Britain Euroscepticism in UK, the explaining: why is Britain Eurosceptic, and finally it roles as well as the impact on the issue on British Politics.

The second chapter will be devoted to highlight what is meant by Brexit, what are the reasons behind it, the second section tackles the EU referendum 2016, with its outcomes, and the last section deals with Article 50 invoking it, and starting the UK negotiations with EU. The last chapter aims to give the possible result of the Brexit by highlighting the chosen way to Brexit, and its effects on the economy of both sides.

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After that it treats the issue as a good or bad choice, moving to the political future of the out f the EU. The dissertation turns around British Prime Minister and leaders attitudes towards the EU, undertaking the issue through some selected speeches about the Brexit, relaying also on some governmental documents that tackle the EU-UK relationship, the mutual influence between them and the British policy, towards the EU according to numerous British Prime Ministers, highlighting that of both David Cameron, and Theresa May. Interestingly, the issue is discussed in several secondary sources that range from books, articles, to dissertations, having different approaches to Brexit that can serve the topic and enrich the analysis, these documents deal with the issue's development and impact on politics.

To undertake this research, the dissertation utilizes quantitative survey data, to investigate the historical background of Euroscepticism, examining the importance of the issue for British people and politics. The dissertation, also, will focus on the current British Prime Minister's selected speech about the Brexit. In this sense, a qualitative approach will be adopted to analyze Mrs May's attitudes and inventions towards the EU as well as EU-UK relations.

1.1 Introduction

A lot of ideas were raised after both world wars and their disastrous effects about a European unity as a political project, and to foster economic co-operation, under the belief that countries which trade together are more likely to avoid going to war with each other. Such thoughts of binding together Europe were supported and inspired by an important British voice, the British statesman and Prime Minister from 1940 to 1945 and again from 1950 to 1955; Winston Churchill pledged in his 1946 Zurich speech for a kind of United States of Europe. Accordingly, many activities were raised to realize such unity, beginning with the first European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) in 1952; then the parallel European Economic Community (EEC) in 1958 after the signing of the Treaty of Rome in March 1957, it has since grown to become a "Single Market".

This organization was the most important one to accomplish peace and unity in the whole European continent. However criticism of the European mix has dependably existed to differing degrees in diverse states, especially since the debate over the ratification of Maastricht Treaty, some European countries started to show skeptical attitudes towards this organization's policies and objectives. Those attitudes shaped a powerful force against the European integration launching the modern aspect of Euroscepticism.

In the case of Britain, the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) was established in 1994 to remove UK from EU. This chapter tends to tackle the definition of the European Union, its roots, origins and forms including the different treaties signed between its members, then, it sheds light into Britain memberships in the EU. Finally, it ends up with highlighting the issue of UK Euroscepticism after joining the UE.

1.2 The European Union, Roots and Origins

The European Union is about a fundamental reorganization in the relationships between member states. It manages the improvement of a typical business sector for merchandise, administration, capital and persons. It additionally handles the adoption of a European currency, the development of regular strategies towards security defense, the field

of justice and home affairs. The EU is the process of industrial, political, legal, economic, social and cultural integration of states wholly or partially in Europe, a politico-economic Union of 28 states: Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom (which recently is leaving it), that formed an internal common "Single Market" which allows goods and people to move around basically as if the member states were one country. It has its own currency "the Euro" which is used by 19 of the member countries, its own parliament, and it now sets rules in a wide range of areas including; the environment, transport, consumer rights and even things such as mobile phone changers.

The EU grew out of a desire to form a single European political entity to end the centuries of warfare among European countries that culminated with world wars, which decimated much of the continent. The historical roots of the European Union lie in the Second World War. Europeans were determined to prevent such killing and destruction from ever happening again, and it traces its origins from the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), and the European Economic Community (EEC), it was formed at the beginning by six countries which were known by the Inner Six Countries: Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands and West Germany. The EU is founded up on numerous treaties and has undergone expansions that have taken it from six member states to 28, a majority of the states were in Europe. On 9 May 1950 French foreign Minister Robert Schuman presents a plan for deeper cooperation 1952 saw the creation of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) which was declared to be "a first step in the federation of Europe" in the declaration of 9 May 1950, after signing the treaty of Paris on 25 March 1957, building on the success of the Coal and Steel Treaty these six countries expand cooperation to other economic sectors by signing the Treaty of Rome, creating the European Economic Community (EEC) and establishing a customs union "common market" so that people, goods and service could move freely across borders.

They also signed another pact which created the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom) for co-operation in developing nuclear energy, both treaties came into force in 1958, the two new communities were created separately from ECSC although they share the

same courts and Common Assembly, the executives of the new communities were called Commissions. The Maastricht Treaty took effect on 1st November, 1993 and the EC was replaced by the EU with its pillars system including foreign and home affairs. It introduced European citizenship, it is said that: “The European Economic Community before the signing of Maastricht Treaty had a power centered on the control of the common market, while in post – Maastricht Treaty, it turned into the present European Union that extended to include other areas of policy at the supranational level.” (Breed 74), and it is said also:

The twelve nation states of the European Community, after the Soviet Union’s disintegration in 1991, gathered in Maastricht in the Netherlands to arrange the treaty on the European Union. These arrangements looked to develop financial and political joining which was confirmed by everyone of the countries. The British House of Common delayed its last vote till the Danish approval, however Germany, the founding father, was the last to confirm. (De Master and Le Roy 419)

The treaty provided for the creation of the single European currency “the euro” which debuted on 1st January, 1999 Denmark and the UK negotiated “opt out” provision that permitted them to retain their own currencies; meaning to stay out of the euro.

The European integration was created in the mid 1990s with the transaction and the sanction of the settlement on European Union, or Maastricht Treaty. This arrangement was a milestone for the expanding wrangle about the European Combination and additionally the level of open investigation (Harmsen and Sparing 25), the Maastricht Treaty has been amended by the treaties of Amsterdam in 1997. Then in Nice in 2001, later more amendments were brought in Lisbon 2007 which came into force in 2009.

1.3 Britain’s Membership in the EU

Although the British government favored the creation of the European Communities and supported it, the UK was not a founding father member. There were, however, many opportunities for Britain to join the European Economic Community (EEC). As an example, the

ones those were between 1950-1951 and 1953-1954 when Jean Omer¹ invited the British government to participate in creating the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC). Then the other opportunity was in 1957 as the British were invited to sign the Treaty of Rome. In the 1950s Britain refused to participate in the Shuman Plan² to establish the (ECSC), fearing the loss of national sovereignty, then, to sign the Treaty of Rom in 1957 to establish the European Economic Community (EEC), or the European Atomic Energy Community (EAEC). However it was quickly apparent that this was a danger of political isolation for UK within Western Europe. Common Wealth States were rushing to do deals with the new bloc, and it had American support .Therefore the UK made its first application to join in 1961 “the Macmillan’s application”, this application was vetoed by the French Government in 1963, with a second application vetoed by the French again in 1967. It was only in 1969 that the green light was given to negotiations for British membership, it is argued that:

Harold Macmillan recognized that Britain is no longer the world power. He started the negotiations about first application to join the Community trying to persuade the skeptical Conservative Party. The application was rejected by the French president Charles de Gaulle’s veto in 1963, De Gaulle was afraid about the dominant position of his country arguing that the UK was closer to the American policies than European ones. (Mc Naughton 250)

In 1967 the British Government under the Labour leader Harold Wilson renewed the application that was also rejected by De Gaulle’s veto. The successful application of 1973 began with reopening of negotiations by Edward Heath on 30 June 1970, which lasted till 22 January 1972. This third application was after the resignation of De Gaulle the previous year. Heath signed the accession treaty “Heath’s Accession” in Brussels after parliamentary ratification. Thus, Britain became a member of the European Community on 1January 1973 with Denmark and Ireland just twelve days later; the conservative party won the general election (Bache and Jordan 6).

¹ Jean Omer Marie Gabriel (1888-1979), a French political economist and diplomat regarded as Chief architect of European Unity.

² Proposed by French Foreign Minister Robert Shuman on May 9, 1950 for creating a single authority to control the production of Steel and Coal in France and West Germany, to be opened for membership to other European countries.

“The success of this application was a personal triumph for Heath after a decade of negotiations started by Churchill in 1946” (Growson14). It was difficult for Britain to make alliance with the original members (Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and West Germany because of many reasons. First, the common Agricultural policy and the basic budgetary arrangements were against Britain’s interest since they were set out before its entrance .The second reason is related with the British governments to which the EC is just an economic enterprise and a Common Market, yet, for the other members the project bears a political dimension. The last and the most important reason is about the British public to whom the possibility of the European incorporation was introduced as a financial need for down to business objective and the British people were betrayed about the supranational nature or the real role and function of the EC by Harold Macmillan. Edward Heath, who took Britain into the EEC in 1973. And by Harold Wilson’s chose on British enrollment in 1975 after he returned to control as the Labor Prime Minister in December 1974 (George 45-55).

After r all Britain joined officially the EEC on the 1st January 1973 however this provided controversial at the time, the Labor party initially sought renegotiation of membership and his was toned down to requiring on Britain’s continued membership EC in 1975, which was the major defeat for the skeptics as the electorate voted by seventeen million 67% in favor of continued membership (Neal)

1.4.1 Definitions and Origins

Euroscepticism appeared as an English phenomenon known as the country’s “awkwardness” or “otherness” towards a continental European project of political and economic integration. This term was coined in the 1980 s by the British media as they provided details regarding the different stand- offs between the Thatcher government and the European Commission. The European integration was considered as a risk to nation states as it attempted to put them in a one united entity, and force on people changing their cultures and holding new ones. Since the EU began to infringe on State autonomy and sovereignty, so

many social movements with skeptical attitudes towards the EU rose in member states to oppose and contradict such breach to national sovereignty.

The Oxford English Dictionary defines "Euroscepticism" by separating it into two syllabi; "Euro" which refers to the EU and its precursors and additionally towards particular formulation of cooperation proposed by the EU, while "septic" refers to a person who doubts truth of, or is slanted to question the truth of facts, statements or claims. Thus, "Euroscepticism" is a person "who is not energetic about expanding the forces of the European Union" (Oxford Dictionary), or a person having doubts or reservations regarding the supposed benefits of increasing cooperation between the member states of the EU. "Euroscepticism", then was used to mean negative perspective towards the European Union. In fact the dictionary took the definition from a citation stated in June 1986 article in *the times* as its earliest reference to the usage of the term. In *the times* itself, the word has appeared earlier on 11th November 1985 article, as it is used interchangeably with, or mixed with, the term "anti-marketer" to show a basic opposition to British participation in European Integration, the rejection of continued EEC membership during the 1975 referendum (Harmsen and Spearing 15-16).

The British publics have not had a direct say on the UK relationship with the EU since its very beginning which gave birth to a sceptic party along with the conservative. "We are with you but not of you" this was the famous quote by Winston Churchill in 1948 that unofficially announced Great Britain's political position towards Europe as well as their relationship, this difficult relationship passed through different phases and lasted for a long time. Even when the Euro was introduced, Britain refused to take part, which was strengthened by the financial crisis affecting the Euro-Zone, this critical vision in Britain towards Europe contaminated the vision towards the European Communities as well, ranging from the European Coal and Steel Community to the European Economic Community then the European Union creating the so-called "British Euroscepticism".

There are a lot of efforts put by many scholars to define Euroscepticism. For instance; Stephen George writes "it has to be said that in Britain the term has come to refer to a rather stronger position which is hostile to British participation in the European Union" (15). In other words, the term is used to describe opponents of European Integration whether principled or opportunist. It was firstly used by the Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's

famous “Bruges Speech” on 20 September 1988 during the time of tension between her and the European Commission. The discourse was given to the college of Europe in Brussels in which Thatcher was very vocal in her opposition to the EU sovereignty that would supersede that of Great Britain making the term gaining popularity. Euroscepticism became tightly associated with Mrs Thatcher’s famous “No, No, No” in 1990 towards more European integration as well as John Major’s struggle along with his EU hostile MPs and ministers, for instance; Norman Lamont, at the 1994 Conservative Party conference, who stated that it is time for the UK to consider a complete withdrawal from the EU. Then, it came to prominence in ratification of Maastricht Treaty between December of 1991 and 1993 (Spiering 129).

In this sense, Euroscepticism can be described as resistance to EU policy, enlargement and integration, this resistance can seek either large-scale reform or the abolishment of the EU which is known as hard and soft Euroscepticism. Hard Euroscepticism in Britain is based on either conservative nationalism or utilitarian libertarianism while soft Euroscepticism is based on pragmatic cost-benefit analysis of European Union membership (Breed 75).

In other words, Euroscepticism mentalities depend on moderate patriotism that takes a gander at the EU as a threat to the cultural values and recorder account of Britain in a way that the privilege to cultural self-determination is violated. In this way the EU is a threat to people’s social, political, religious and national identities. On one hand Soft Euroscepticism is doubt, anxiety and an opposition to the direction by the EU and a further expansion of its power bases on perceived realities and pragmatic concerns; Soft- Euroscepticism do not seek to move away yet to accomplish large-scale reform. On the other hand, Hard- Euroscepticism based utilitarian libertarianism which looks at the EU strategy as on invasive source of superfluous intercession in British affairs seeking for EU abolishment for the advantage of the great number of Britons; consequently Hard- Euroscepticism resembles a social movement whilst Soft- Euroscepticism more closely resembles contentious politics (Breed 74). Euroscepticism can be characterized, as well as, sentiment of disapproval-reaching a certain degree and durability directed towards the European Union (EU) in its entirety or towards particular policy areas or developments in the Union. Some scholars argue that Euroscepticism is a negative signal of a gap between the wants of the political elite and the European public. But, also it may have positive aspects as it demonstrates increased

awareness, interest and critical capacity of the public reminding the political elite that it cannot govern without popular consent. Others argue that Euroscepticism is healthy because it invites closer examination of the policy options open to Europe. Thus it increases the involvement of ordinary people in the European Union's policy-making process (Harmsen and Spearing 7-8). As an attempt to define Euroscepticism, it is a doubt or lack of satisfaction towards the European task. This procedure in turn may have distinctive equivalent words like Euro-pessimism, Euro-phobia (irrational fear about Europe), anti-Europeanism (the person that dislikes anything about Europe), and Euro-criticism. Whilst in the middle of all this lies Euroscepticism as an ambiguous term for the obscure degree of opposition to Europe, and the extent to which the opposition is based on knowledge or rather on irrational fear. In other words it is argued that the term is a sort of catch-words used by the media, the political elite and the academic world with different meaning and connotations (de Wilde 2-3). The term "Sceptic" recently appeared as a concept got from a journalistic discourse rather than to political science. It is thought to be used as a generic name to describe an attitude opposed the European Integration in general, and to the EU in particular comprehensively. Euroscepticism includes discourses of outright rejection, requiring the exit of the member state from the EC/EU, skepticism towards the process of integration, economic, political and criticism of the institutions and policies of the EU.

The origins of the word is journalistic as it expressed before, while the attitude backtracks to the medieval era when Britain attempted to avoid involvement in continental matters- policy of splendid isolation. It goes back even further after the foundation of the Church of England and the season of the English reconstruction in the 16th century when Henry 8 broke with Rome. More, the imperial nature of Great Britain and fact that it did ever experience neither invasion, nor Nazism made it fond of independence as well as concerned too much with its cultural autonomy and individuality. All this added to make the UK Eurosceptic. This Eurosceptic vision was not towards the European monetary exchanging and social sharing outlet, yet to the EU's intercession in sovereign issues in the area.

Euroscepticism has evolved over time because of its multifaceted nature which was a key to its longevity. It ranges from questioning the values of involvement with the European Integration project, doubts about the benefits of EC/EU membership, active skepticism to calling for disengagement and outright withdrawal. In other words the opponents to European

Integration were developed from a group of Anti -Europeans into Anti-Marketeters, and finally, to a mainstream group of Eurosceptics opposing political, economic and Monetary Union Agendas. Euroscepticism since its emergence following the Burgers speech, passed through three Formative periods:

- From the Macmillan's government application to join the European community in 1961 to the end of referendum in 1975.
- From 1979 to 1990, the period was about the opposition to the Maastricht agenda of political and Monetary Union.
- Then, the re-emergence of the question of whether Britain should remain a member of the EU. (Forster 2-3)

1.4.2 Euroscepticism and British Politics

Euroscepticism emerged as a phenomenon in British politics dividing the two major political parties in Britain the Conservative and Labour parties over the European Integration. It had an impact on the parties themselves and through them in Britain's policy towards Europe.

It is a philosophy which created an extensive dividing line across the political parties of Britain fostering followers on both sides of European argument among politicians, political thinkers and the British public. There are political parties in Britain that advocate the EU and see it as beneficial to the social and economic standing of their nation, like the Liberal Democrats in addition to those who call for the Brexit and see the EU as harmful to the UK as the United Kingdom Independence party (UKIP), (Forster1). Although Euroscepticism appeared in the 1980s. It traced back in British politics to the European cooperation schemes. This phenomenon in the UK saw important ebb and flow within both the Conservative and the Labour parties making the attitude move one party to another. In the 1970s and early 1980s the Labour party was the more Eurosceptic party with more anti-European communities MPs (Member of Parliament), than the conservatives. In 1979, the Labour manifesto declared that the Labour government would "oppose any move towards turning the community into federation". In 1983, Labour still favored and advocated the British withdrawal from the

EEC, through their 1983 manifesto in which the Labour party pledged to extricate themselves from the Treaty of Rome and other Community Treaties, (Harmsen and Spring 131). In the early 1960s to the 1980's the Labour party showed a rejectionist attitude towards Europe from Hugh Gaitskell's rejection of Europe in his 1962 Labour conference speech when he announced joining the European Communities would mean "the end of thousand years of history" to Harold Wilson's twistings over EEC membership in the early 1970s, to James Callaghan's "non, merci beaucoup!" in 1971, and to the 1983 pledge in the Labour manifesto to remove themselves from the Treaty of Rome and other Community Treaties (Harmsen and Spring 132). At that point the attitude changed to support membership which caused the division inside the party over EEC membership. This issue made the Labour party propose a choice on the changelessness of the UK in the communities in 1972 by Anthony Wedgwood Benn (Tony Benn). This proposition helped the Labour party to come back to the government; this is a convention in British politics that helped the party to win elections. Grant said :

The conservative party, a centre-right political party in the UK, maintains a less severe form of Euroscepticism as part of its European policy advocating Britain's continual membership of the EU, yet opposing particular European policies and laws, then the Conservatives became a profoundly Eurosceptic party divided between those who dislike the EU but accept that Britain is better off in than out, and those who want to leave. Most of the party's leaders are ignorant about the EU and many of them have few contacts with other European politicians. (6)

The issue coincided with the coming of British Prime minister Margaret Thatcher to government in 1979, concerning the clash between Thatcher and the European Commission; her thoughts were not with policies, rules or regulations when she defended her battle with Commission, it was as she claimed a question of national character "there is a great stand of equity and fairness in the British people, this is our characteristic which does not exist in Europe" (qtd. in Neal). Thatcher after the conservative party's general election victory in 1979, proved to be spearhead of Euroscepticism as she addressed: "we want to see Europe more united and with a greater sense of common purpose. But it must be in a way which

preserves the different traditions, parliamentary powers and sense of national pride in one's own country" (qtd. in Neal). Besides according to Margaret Thatcher, the idea of European Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) and Exchange Rate Mechanism (ERM) would require unification of currencies and the end of sterling's independence, whereas ironically, Thatcher signed the single European Act 1987 (Neal). "Popular support for European integration is the collective public approval of the attempt to create more unified association among the nation-states of the European Union" (De Master and le Roy 424). The British public opinion as expressed through numerous polls particularly the regular Eurobarometer surveys of public opinion by the European Commission suggest that the British people are the most Eurosceptic and hostile to the EU than any other European people using their influence to show down the European integration project.

The polls show that the British are not just critical of the EU but of Europe as a whole. While the first one was the 1975 referendum on the UK's membership of the Common Market with 67% in favor of staying in, and 33% voting to get out, so that the third of the British public was Eurosceptic. More in 1977 MORI poll question "if there were referendum now on whether Britain should stay in or get out of the EEC how would you vote?" (qtd. in Spearing 133), the result was 53% of the British people wished to stay in, and 47% were for the withdrawal. Therefore during the period covered by MORI poll (1977-1979), 48% of the British public was Eurosceptic. In 1980 the percentage raised to 71% (Spearing 0133-134). Moreover, in 2004 there was a relatively low level in trust and a negative image of the EU, the percentage of those who tend not to trust the EU rose from 48% to 80% in 2012. Even the Eurobarometer of 2007-2013 showed the persistence of Euroscepticism in the UK and renewed the debate about UK's membership (Neal).

Since the EU referendum of 2016 the domestic political implications for the UK have been unprecedented. Three political parties the Conservatives, Labour and the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP), have held leadership elections. While the Conservative replaced David Cameron with Prime Minister Theresa May, Labour reelected Jeremy Corbyn and UKIP elected Paul Nuttall, a long-time deputy to Nigel Farage while Labour's Corbyn was the only leader to survive the political turmoil of 2016, big questions continue to emerge about this party's ability to survive as a competitive opposition party. Overall, the debate

between Eurosceptics and EU supporters is ongoing within, as well as between British political parties with a broad spectrum of views concerning the EU both the Conservative and Labour party respectively.

1.5 Conclusion

The Eurosceptic attitudes had deep origins in the UK while the phenomenon emerged clearly after the Second World War (1945), and even before the formal Britain's joining of the EU, to be very striking feature in all of the British public life, media and politics. British Euroscepticism has gained an enormous importance, particularly by governments as well as political parties that held it as an ideology on which they based their thinking and decision dealing with political matters, so that influencing the UK's attitude towards Europe as a whole and the EU in particular. It is noticed that all the British government came into office as relatively supportive of integration into the EU, whereas by the end of their term they become more Eurosceptic.

Euroscepticism was always one the features that characterize British politics and attitudes towards the European Union. Those attitudes changed from one Prime Minister to another; Edward Heath, the Conservative leader took the UK into the European Economic Community in 1973, thought he was leading a Eurosceptic party, the situation changed with the coming of Margaret Thatcher who launched the British Eurosceptic attitude making it clear and stronger, then with the previous British Prime Minister David Cameron who tackled the issue again in different way.

2.1 Introduction

The European question in Britain was always the issue of intra-party conflict since the Conservative government, led by Edward Heath, put the question of the European Integration in front of parliamentary debate in 1972. The intra-party dispute about the proper nature of British involvement in the institutions of the European Community created serious problems within the Conservative Party. For this party the European Integration was considered a painful experience. Wilson was the Prime Minister who originally introduced plebiscitary decision making to Britain in an attempt to bring unity to his fractious government. The contentious issue was, then as now, UK relations with its continental partners. Despite the electorate voting decisively to stay in the then European Economic Community (EEC) in 1975, the question over British membership was not resolved. When, David Cameron, put himself forward as a prospective Tory Leader in 2005. It was on a promise to lead the party out of the centre-right federalist grouping, the European People's Party (EPP), as a signal of intent. The Prime Minister wanted his party to stop banging on about Europe, a vain hope. Having honored his EPP pledge his Eurosceptics wanted for more. He went to Brussels to cut the EU budget and veto integrationist plans, but it was not enough; they wanted a referendum on whether to stay or to leave, which took place on 23rd June 2016.

The Referendum delivered a half voting to leave and less than half to remain, and to start the process of leaving the EU which is expected to take several years, the UK should formally triggered Article 50 of the Lisbon Treaty. This chapter is going to introduce the term Brexit highlighting the reasons behind the issue, then it focuses on the EU Referendum (2016) and its major outcomes. Finally it talks about the Article 50 and the possible negotiation with Britain.

2.2 The Brexit

The Brexit is one of the biggest events in Britain's postwar history and the word Brexit is a Portmanteau, or a linguistic blend of words merging the words "British" and "exit" to get "Brexit" in the same way "smog" which is coined by blending "smoke" and "fog", or "motel" by merging "motor" and "hotel", "Brexit is a commonly used term for the United Kingdom's prospective withdrawal from the European Union." (Hunt and wheeler), in the same way as possible Greek exit from the Euro was dubbed Grexit.

“The term Brexit may have first been used in reference to a possible UK withdrawal from the EU by Peter Wilding in a Euractive blog post on 15 May 2012” (Friederichsen). Wilding a former solicitor in EU law and head of media for the Conservative Party in the European Parliament wrote a blog post on may 2012 titled: “Stumbling towards the Brexit” which is widely held to be the first use of the term. Another use of the term was by the British Resistance, a nationalist organization in June 2012. However it is possible that the term was invented simultaneously by a member of writers, because “Grexit” had been in use since February 2012.

2.2.2 The Main Factors that Led to Brexit

The difficult relationship between Britain and the European Union and its Eurosceptic quality led to the necessity of the Brexit “Brexit is the greatest disaster to befall the European Union in its 59 years-history” (Wilkinson and Mildgley). Britain joined a simple trading community, while the EU transformed from trading arrangement to fully fledged political Union giving Brussels the Capital of Belgium, influence over many other areas of policy and Britain was held back by the EU, also the EU was putting too many rules on business. Affecting the British sovereignty, but Britain wanted to take back full control of its borders.

After WWII, the progressive British governments looked at the international position of their country as different to that of the continental countries. Britain’s first past the post electoral system. Besides for British; the sovereignty of parliament matters more than the others as well as the dislike of bureaucracy. Additionally Britain’s participation in the WWII plays a significant role in nourishing Euroscepticism. This war was described as the country’s “finest hour” whilst other countries supported the EU as a means to heal their wounds left by the war. That is why the UK does not view the EU as its partners do, to whom the war was their moment of greatest humiliation. So that, the EU looks like a savior, the British people do not want to forget the history of which they feel proud; those memories of war give them a strong sense of moral superiority vis-à-vis the other peoples of Europe (Grant³). The British focus is on their “differentness” which is related to the political structures.

There is also, a great British refusal of the EU based on criticizing this association. One of the criticized points was a democratic deficit within the EU, since the decisions were taken by unaccountable institutions instead of elected national governments.

However, the current crisis is not giving birth by a clash between Brussels and the member states but instead of a clash between the democratic wills of citizens in northern and southern Europe or the centre and the periphery. In addition to that many Brexit supporters believe that the supremacy of the EU law limits national parliament, freedom to legislate refusing that the EU legislation must be proposed by the European Commission. This organization lacks democratic legitimacy because it is elected by the European Parliament not by voters. (De Master and le Roy 419-436)

“Another argument that explains and strengthens the Brexit is economics, since the 1990s the UK economy was the leading one of Western, Europe, France, Germany and Italy, with high development and low unemployment” (Greant3). Regardless of few short shortcomings as poor efficiency, Britain profited from the structural reforms of the Thatcher period as the Liberalization of labour Market and the openness to foreign investment; Britain saw the EU as a good idea at the beginning but the Euro was a disaster, especially after the Euro crisis. Moreover, Britain takes the “four freedoms” which implies the free movement of capital, goods, labour and services more seriously than many countries, completely dedicated to the European Union preferring trade with the Commonwealth rather than with countries forming a Common Market (Grant 3-5).

“[T]he British people contradicted the European Union sharing the same concerns, focus on sovereignty, national identity and the need for economic and political independence” (Forster 17). Thus Britain’s underlying refusal to remain in the EU was also, because of its exceptional association with the USA, and its commitment to the Empire and Commonwealth (Bache and Jordan 5-6). This restriction lies in the key parts of the British personality based on “island mentality”, or what is known as psychological reasons according to Hugo Young who refers to the “national psyche” or “the British mind” (Spearing 140).

Indeed geography importantly affected British history, the fact that the British individuals live on an island on the edge of the continent; it makes them generally inspired by the oceans. Britain’s history was different to that of most mainland forces with its provinces, exchange speculation and examples of movement that have been centered around North and South America, Africa and Asia as much as on Europe while the other European states looked to

construct domains essentially in the areas. Thus London today, is the most cosmopolitan city in Europe with more than 30% of its populace conceived outside UK (Grant 2).

In his speech “Britain and Europe” delivered on January 23rd, 2013. Cameron reminded of the distinctive character of the British people that makes them different from the other Europeans. He claimed that the reason is the British geography emphasizing the value of independence for all the British people : “Our geography has shaped our psychology; we have the character of an island nation independent, forthright, passionate in defense of our sovereignty. Britain is characterized not just by its independence but above all, by its openness.” (Cameron)

More, Britain had a problem with the EU’s representation in multilateral from. It refused the EU’s aspiration to speak on behalf of the member states in matters of shared competences; Cameron was concerned with the unidirectional transfer of powers from national capitals to Brussels. He suggested that the power should move in both directions. (Jokela 5-6)

To understand why Britain favored an exit from the EU; the main factors behind the Brexit should be summarized in: First Economics, Britain saw the Euro as disaster, and the EU failed to address the economics problems that had been developing since 2008 (the Euro crisis), even more Britain realized that it was giving more to EU budget than it received in comparison to the other partners.

The UK’s contributions to the EU budget vary from year to year, unfortunately due to recent global events the budgetary contributions have been greater than in past decades. In 2015 the UK government paid £13 billion to the EU budget, whilst the EU spending on the UK totaled £ 4, 5 billion. Therefore the UK’s “net contribution” was estimated at about £ 8, 5 billion. (Alalade25)

The second reason for the Brexit is Sovereignty and Immigration, the EU was depriving individual nations of the power to make many decisions, the rise of nationalism across the world and the immigration crisis in Europe, because the EU was offering free migration between the members. However Britain want to take back control over its borders.

The last reason can be the Political Elitism: the Brexit was against the British elites, Brexiters believed that politicians, business leaders and intellectuals had lost their right to control the system, because elites had contempt for their values, for their nationalism and interests.

2.3 EU Referendum 2016 in between supporters and rejecters

A referendum is an official direct vote on a specific issue, in which all people in an area, and of the voting age are asked to give their opinion about a particular proposal. It is legal mechanism for voters to repeal or accept a law passed by the state legislature. In Britain's case a referendum was held on; whether the UK should remain or leave the EU?

But before that referendum could take place, it was somehow rejected by some members who accept the EU.

The difficulties in the Eurozone and the Prime Minister's veto of the EU fiscal treaty in December 2011 re-opened the debate on the UK's relationship with the EU. This issue stimulated Government and Parliamentary initiatives to examine and evaluate the current situation and any possible alternatives. For this purpose, Cameron pushed strongly for the European Union Act to require a referendum on any further transfer of competence to the EU. (House of Commons, "*Leaving the EU*" 2)

2.3.1 The EU Referendum and the provenance PM David Cameron

Cameron in 2011, after six years leading a Eurosceptic party, faced a great confrontation within the conservative party since his election. The European issue re-emerged in British parliament, as the MPs debated to hold a referendum on Britain's relations with Europe, when more than 100.000 people signed an e-petition to call for one while the same time, all the three main parties' leaders told their MPs to vote against holding such a referendum. (EU Referendum Commons vote)

In this sense, the EU Bill was introduced in parliament in November 2010 and received Royal Assent in July 2011. This is the most important change since the UK joined the EEC in 1973. In spite of that in 2011 Cameron did not call for Britain's exit from the EU. He said: "I don't believe an in/out referendum is right, because I don't believe that leaving the EU would be in Britain's interest" (Hannan).

In his speech "David Cameron's Statement on the European council", 24th October. 2011. Cameron announced that the idea of leaving the EU was not in his party's policy. He argued that time is not suitable for such a decision.

To convince the British people, he listed the reasons that made him prefer staying in the EU. The first reason is that: “it’s not right because our national interest is to be in the EU, and helping to determine the rules governing the single market, for the benefit of millions of jobs and millions of families in our country”. The second reason is that “it’s not the right time at this moment of economic crisis to launch legislation that includes an in/out referendum”. Whilst the third reason according to Cameron; is the most important, he confirmed that Britain out of the EU will not be able to preserve its national interests as he said: “we miss the real opportunity to further our national interest”.

Furthermore, Cameron thought that, having a referendum is not right and would bring nothing for Britain: “[b]ut I just don’t think it’s tight to concoct some new pretext for a referendum simply to have one for the sake of it. I don’t think a made-up referendum will get Britain anywhere”.

Many conservatives revolted and attacked against Cameron’s announcing and attitude towards the referendum call for instance, Jackson spoke against government stating:

If we can have a referendum on fiscal powers for Wales...on Scotland ...and on other issues...why can’t we have a [referendum] on one of the most important philosophical differences about our approach to the European Union in a whole generation. (qtd. in “EU Referendum: voting split”)

However, the Financial Times supported Cameron arguing that: “Cameron is also right not to want a referendum” (EU Referendum commons vote). Douglas Alexander; the shadow foreign secretary also considered the referendum bad for Britain arguing that Britain’s interests would not be served by wasting time to discuss leaving the EU.

After that Cameron’s announcements were unwelcomed and criticized, Cameron seems that he changed his mind through his long-awaited speech which he delivered on 23rd June. 2013, about Britain and Europe. In this speech, Mr. Cameron promised to hold an In / out Referendum on British continued membership in the EU in the 2017. He answered saying: “I am not against referendums in our parliamentary democracy...I am also not against referendum on Europe...”. Then he added: “As I have Said, for the two words Europe and referendum can go together...but let us get the people a real choice first”.

Therefore, Mr Cameron surrendered to the will of his people even though; leaving the EU was not his goal. He said he does not aim to make Britain out of Europe; instead, he was looking for the best for both Britain and Europe explaining: “I never want us to pull up the drawbridge and retreat from the world” adding : “I don’t just want a better deal for Britain. I want a better deal for Europe too”. Via this speech; Cameron highlighted the main aims Britain seeks from being an EU member, while the EU is in a crisis. Cameron announced that his stand towards membership in the EU’s linked to EU success:

I want the European Union to be a success. And I want a relationship between Britain and the EU that keeps us in it. If we don’t address these challenges, the danger is that Europe will fail and the British people will drift towards the exit. I do not want that to happen.

The speech was hardly criticized, Ed Miliband the Labour Leader along with his party did not support the referendum. He argued that such a proposal would show Cameron as “a weak Prime Minister, being driven by his party not by the national economic interest” (atd. In House “PMs Speech on Europe” 19).

Strengthening this idea, he claimed that Cameron in October 2011, opposed such a referendum fearing from the uncertainty it would be created in the country, but latter he changed his mind because he lost control of his party (House of Lords “PMs speech on Europe”20).

The other figure’s Nick clegg, the Liberal Democrat Leader, who believes in the value of referendum but in the right time and place and for the national interest. Yet, he described the negotiations about Britain’s place in the EU as “protracted ill- defined” and “not in the national interest because it hits growth and jobs” (House of lords “PMs Speech on Europe”20).

The initial reaction of European Union members was doubtful. Guido Westerwelle; the German Foreign Minister claimed that: “not all and everything must be decided in Brussels and by Brussels” (qtd. In House of Lords, “PMs Speech on Europe” 25).

Even the French president François Hollande in the European parliament criticized Cameron's call for EU's reform proposal (House of Commons, "leaving the EU" 6).

Obama the US president expressed the US vision on the subject by a call stating that: "[the] US wanted to see a strong UK in a strong EU" (House of Commons, "leaving the EU" 7). Only one member state supported the speech, Peter Necas, the Czech PM who agreed with Cameron the point that the EU must be "more flexible, more open". (House of Lords, "speech on Europe" 25)

The president of the European Council, Herman Van Rompuy, answered through a speech on February 28th.2013, in which he talked about complexities of leaving the EU. Jose Manuel Barroso the president of the European Commission focused on the importance of the UK's role in the EU. More, the Economic and Monetary Union Commissioner, Olli Rehn, claimed that the EU is stronger due to Britain's contribution and it would be better for Britain to use its energy to reform the EU rather than leaving it. (House of Commons, "leaving the EU" 5)

2.3.2 The EU Referendum and its Outcomes

After all the debate about such a referendum, the EU referendum was finally held last year on 26th June(2016), David Cameron confirmed the referendum act in 2015, "on 22 February 2016 Prime Minister David Cameron announced a referendum date of 23 June 2016 (Alalade 13). The referendum turnout was 71.5%, with more than 30 million people voting. The "United Kingdom European Union membership referendum" was ostensibly about membership of the EU, and its question was clear should the United Kingdom remain a member of the European Union or leave it?

Figure 01: The EU Referendums Poll Card

Referendum on the United Kingdom's membership of the European Union	
Vote only once by putting a cross <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> in the box next to your choice	
Should the United Kingdom remain a member of the European Union or leave the European Union?	
Remain a member of the European Union	<input type="checkbox"/>
Leave the European Union	<input type="checkbox"/>

Brexit/EU Referendum. BBC

But voters took it to be asking a different question: what kind of country do you want Britain to be? From one hand, (Remain) promised it would lead to a modern world of opportunity based on interdependence. In the other hand, (Leave) was advertised as a route to an independent land that would respect traditions and heritage (Brexit/ EU Referendum. BBC). The referendum took place in the UK and Gibraltar, “[t]he result was on overall vote of 51.9% to leave the EU and 48.1 to remain, on a national turnout of 72%” which is the highest ever turnout of a UK- wide referendum” (Alalade 15). England voted for Brexit by 53.4% to 46.6%. Wales also voted for Brexit, with Leave getting 52.5% of the vote and Remain 47.5%. Scotland and Northern Ireland both backed staying in the EU; Scotland backed Remain by 62% to 38%, while 55.8% in Northern Ireland voted Remain and 44.2% Leave. And the general result of the Referendum was 52% victory to the Leave companying over 48% Remain in the whole (Hunt and Wheelr).

[T]he results were more than startling. In England, every region outside the capital city of London voted to exit the EU. within the elective countries of the UK, a majority in England and Wales voted to leave the EU, and majority in Scotland [62%] and North Ireland voted to remain in the EU. the British overseas territory of Gibraltar also voted to remain. (Alalase15)

With Scotland and Northern Ireland voting to Remain in the EU; there are powerful pressures on the fabric of the UK; that is currently a not so United Kingdom. The Leave vote was a victory for the rural cities, countryside that are more traditional in their outlook, over the urban cities, that are generally more comfortable with globalization and diversity that voted to remain. There is also a generational divide, where young people largely supported Remain as they tend to embrace modernity and diversity while older people largely supported Leave. London's overwhelming to Remain (59.9%), it is abundantly evident that vote to Leave the EU is multifaceted and complicated but it can simply be divided into two groups which feed into the urban\rural divide, the generation divide and the anti Westminster model ;first group: almost 80% of those who strongly agreed that things in Britain were better in the past voted to leave; and the second one, according to social capital: individuals with the lowest level of social capital almost twice as likely to have voted leave as those with the highest level.(Simpson), about half of the conservative party's MP's, including Boris Johnson and five members of the ten cabinet, UKIP all supported the Brexit. Labour also had leading voices for leave including MPs Gisela Stuart and Kate Hoey.

The results demonstrate that the UK citizens saw the Brexit issue from different angles, which created a kind of political instability. As a consequence of all that, the UK's facing a challenge on two fronts: first, it negotiates its exit from the EU, and secondly as it faces an intergovernmental challenge within the constituent part of the EU.

The Brexit vote merely signaled the British public which was; to leave the EU, but did not in itself actually set the process in motion, that only begins when Article 50 of the Treaty of Lisbon is triggered.

[T]he referendum in which British voters opted to leave the European Union does not automatically signal the country exit. That's the job of Article 50. Britain's complex negotiations to exit the EU can only begin when article 50 of Lisbon treaty is formally triggered by the UK. (Wilkinson and Midgley)

After that the British people had voted for the leave campaign, and rejected the Prime Minister's advice, David Cameron ended his six years premiership by resigning as Prime Minister. He announced his resignation in his speech delivered on 24th June 2016, in Number 10, Downing street alongside his wife Samantha. He said that: "the British people have voted to

leave the European Union, and their will must be respected”. Then he added that they need a fresh leaderships: “the British people made a different path. As such I think the country requires a fresh leadership to take it in this direction”, after that he said that next Prime Minister should activate Article 50 and negotiate the country’s exit from the EU.

David Cameron tendered his resignation to the monarch on 13th July 2016 and Theresa May replaced him; she becomes officially the UK Prime Minister (second female prime Minister) when the Queen appointed her on the same day of the formal resignation.

2.4 Article 50

After that Britain had voted for the exit, the next step was invoking Article 50 which sets out the procedure for leaving. The EU article 50 is a plan for any country wishes to exist the EU. It was created as part of the treaty of Lisbon¹ by the former British diplomat John Kerr². An agreement signed up by all EU members, it became law in 2009. In just 264 words in five paragraphs; it sets out any EU member state may decide to quit the EU. That it must notify the European council of its intention negotiates a deal on its withdrawal and establish legal grounds for a future relationship with the EU before that treaty. There was no formal mechanism for a country to leave the EU. And its full text is:

1. Any member state may decide to withdraw from the Union in accordance with its own constitutional requirements.
2. A Member State which decides to withdraw shall notify the European Council of its intention. In the light of the guidelines provided by the European Council the Union shall negotiate and conclude an agreement with that state, setting out the arrangements for its withdrawal, taking account of the frame work for its future relationship with the Union. That agreement shall be negotiated in accordance with Article 218 (3) of the Treaty on the

¹ It is called also the constitutional treaty. It amended the treaty on EU and the treaty establishing the EC. It was signed at Lisbon on December 13th.2007, and entered into force on st1 December. 2009; allowing the powers of the EU to expand in the future without a new treaty.

² John Olva Kerr, Baron Kerr of kinlochard, born on 22nd Feb. 1942, is a former diplomat; now Deputy Chairman of Scottish Power and crossbench member of the House of Lords.

Functioning of the European Union. It shall be concluded on behalf of the Union by the Council, acting by a qualified majority, after obtaining the consent of the European Parliament.

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

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

5. If a state which has withdrawn from the Union asks to rejoin, its request shall be subject to the procedure referred to in Article 49. (Lord Kerr, Article 50)

Although Lord Kerr is the one who wrote article 50, but he never imagine that his own country would be the one to use it. Kerr told Politico: “I don’t feel guilty about inventing the mechanism. I feel very sad about the UK using it.” Then he added: “I didn’t think that the United Kingdom would use it”. Kerr Said: “It seemed to me very likely that a dictatorial regime would then in high dudgeon want to storm out. And to have a procedure for strutting out seemed to be quite a sensible thing to do to avoid the legal chaos of going with no agreement”(Gray). Because the rise of Austrian far-right leader Jory Haider was a big worry for mainstream EU Leaders. And to avoid tension between EU and withdrawing countries Kerr thought about a legal way to gain stability in Europe, which was Article 50.

2.4.2 Invoking Article 50 and Starting Brexit Negotiations

After that David Cameron resigned as Prime Minister Theresa May became the new one, and like Mr Cameron, Mrs May was against Britain leaving the EU as a conservative member. However yet she seems to change her mind as a PM, caring the will of the British people on.

Theresa May’s key message has been that “Brexit means Brexit” but there is still a lot of debate about what that will mean in practice. In her speech about the Brexit on January 17th 2017, Theresa May said her famous quotation: “Brexit means Brexit and we’re going to make a

success of it”, then she added: “the referendum result was clear it was legitimate, and it was the biggest vote for change, this country has ever known”. However the Brexit vote merely signaled the British public wish to leave the EU, therefore the formal process of leaving only begins when article 50 is triggered, which has been the subject of fierce debate since the Brexit referendum, because the 262 words of the EU divorce clause could be the key to Britain’s future. Both British government and its critics agree that after the prime Minister activation of the article 50 divorce clause in the EU treaty, there is no way back.

Theresa May promised to invoke article 50 in her speech, and she announced that it would triggered before the end of March 2017: “we will invoke it when we are ready and we will be ready son”, then she clarified that the job invoking it is the government matter:

The first thing to say’s that it is not up to the House of Commons to invoke article 50, and it is not up to the House of Lords. It is up to the government to trigger Article 50 and the government alone.

Because those people who argue that article 50 can only be triggered after agreement in both houses of Parliament are not standing up for democracy they’re trying to subvert it.
(May’s Brexit speech)

After a court battle, the UK’s Supreme Court ruled in January that parliament must be consulted before article 50 is invoked; MPs overwhelming voted to pass the Brexit Bill and rejected changes made by Europhile peers in the House of Lords. It came after the Supreme Court upheld a high court ruling that there must be a parliamentary vote before triggering article 50.

Therefore the road to triggering it and which will see Britain officially start the process of leaving the EU, has been paved with complications for the PM including a supreme court case ruling MPs needed to vote on Brexit negotiations. The Brexit Bill faced its final Parliamentary hurdle on Monday night, 27th March. 2017. When MPs overturned two amendments passed by the House of Lords. Legislation which would guarantee the rights of the EU nationals living in the UK as well as requiring a meaningful parliamentary vote on the final deal obtained by the PM, is set to be passed without alteration.

The Brexit bill finally became a law and Mrs May was given the power to trigger article 50, when the Queen Elizabeth II has signed of the Bill.

Theresa May officially served notice of Britain's intention to the European Council, invoking article 50 of Lisbon Treaty on 29th March, 2017; and she declared: "this is a historic moment from which there can be no turning back." (qtd in Foster) Britain is now scheduled to finally leave the EU by the end of March 2019 (Foster).

In her letter Mrs May wrote to the President of the European Council Donald Tusk about British intention of leaving the EU:

Today, therefore, I am writing to give effect to the democratic decision of the people of the United Kingdom. I hereby notify the European Council in accordance with Article 50(2) of the Treaty on European Union of the United Kingdom's intention to withdraw from the European Union... I hereby notify the European Council of the United Kingdom's intention to withdraw from the European Atomic Energy Community.

Donald Tusk the president of the European council has promised that he will respond by two days after with "draft Brexit guidelines": "within 48 hours of the UK triggering article 50, I will present the draft # Brexit guidelines to the EU 27 Member states." (weaver) Once a country gives notice it wants to leave it has two years to negotiate new arrangement but it may take longer if there is no agreement. The UK would still be set to leave the EU by 29th March, 2019, but with so agreement there would be no provisions in place for its legal and trading relations with the bloc.

Theresa May set up a government department headed by veteran conservative MP and Leave campaigner David Davis, to take responsibility for the Brexit. Former defiance secretary Lain Fox; who also campaigned to leave the EU. He was given the new job of international trade secretary, and Boris Johnson who was a leader of the official Leave campaign, he is foreign secretary. These men dubbed the three Brexiters, who are going to negotiate the Brexit with the EU and to seek out new international agreements, although it will be Mrs May as PM who will have the final say.

One article 50 has been triggered the balance of power will we with the EU 27 states. As for how the member states of the EU will allow the UK to drive the exit negotiations. The veteran diplomat. Lord Kerr who wrote article 50, expected that negotiations will take much longer, highlighted the sheer complexity of the talks: “Clearly there is a less than 50/50 chance of comprehensive triple agreement by March 2019” and he worried that the UK may leave “with no deal at all that would mean legal uncertainty and economic disruption”. (Financial Times).

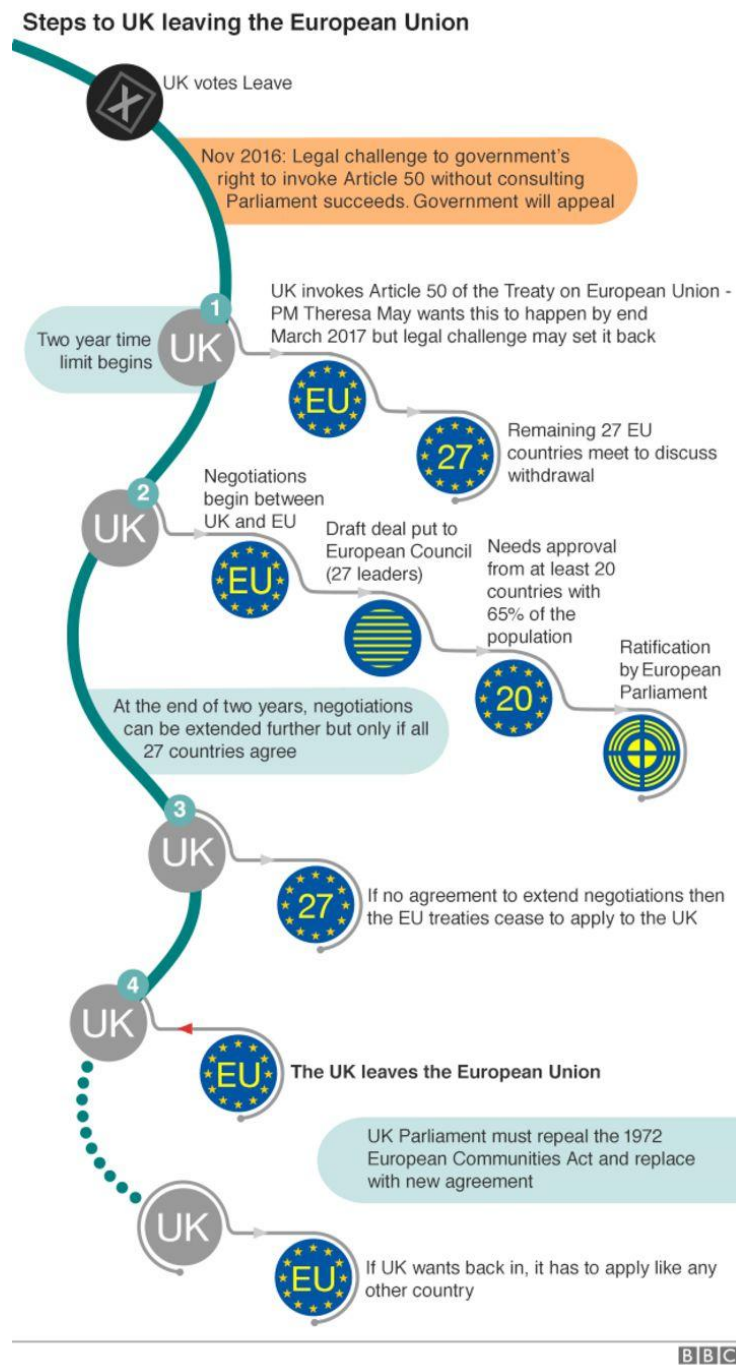
And as a response to those who said that Article 50 is irrevocable, Lord Kerr said to POLITICO that it is not irrevocable, you can change your mind: “I think if you ask an EU lawyer he will tell you straight away that of course it’s not irrevocable”, he said: “And if the issue was decided in a court it would be decided in the European court of Justice and it would be found that it is not irrecoverable”. Then he added: “I would love to be the British negotiator who came with the second letter saying actually we’ve changed our mind” (Gray).

But the negotiator Boris Johnson has other words to say, and other decisions to take, he maintains that two years would be “absolutely ample” time to reach an agreement. However it would be “perfectly OK” to walk away without a deal (Weaver).

And Mrs May in her key Brexit speech in January, has warned that she is prepared to walk away from negotiations if she does not get what she wants: “I am equally clear that no deal for Britain is better than a bad deal for Britain.” During this time of negotiation, the EU law still stands in the UK until it ceases being a member. The UK will continue to abide by EU treaties and laws but not take part in any decision-making.

UK’S exit will have to be agreed by 27 national parliaments. The negotiation must be with all 27 member States.

Figure 02: The Process of the Brexit Negotiation



BBC (web: Brexit: All you need to know).

2.5 Conclusion

Just over nine months after the UK'S historic referendum of the Brexit, where the Leave won 52% over 48% Remain, the government finally starts the formal proceedings for leaving the European Union by triggering article 50 of the Lisbon Treaty on 29th March. 2017, under the leadership of the Conservative Prime Minister Theresa May, after that David Cameron had resigned as prime Minister a day after the referendum.

The Brexit starting pistol is fired, giving the UK two years to negotiate new arrangements with the EU 27 states, after which it will no longer be subject to the EU treaties, therefore the UK would still be set to leave the EU by 29 March 2019, but with no agreement there would be no provision in place for its legal and trading relations with the bloc. Brexit negotiations are never going to be a straightforward task. It is further complicated by the fact that it has never been done before the three Brexiters: David Davis, Laim Fox and Boris Johnson; are the British negotiators who will negotiate the post-Brexit trade deal, which is likely to be the most complex part of the negotiations because it needs the unanimous approval of more than 27 national and regional parliaments across Europe that may refused the deal.

Mrs May says in her January key speech that leaving the EU with no deal whatever would be better than signing the UK up to a bad one, and within the same speech she reveals about some possible Brexit plans.

3.1 Introduction

The people of Britain have voted for Brexit in a decision which will transform this nation forever, prompting jubilant celebrations among Eurosceptic around the continent, and sent shockwaves through the global economy, especially after that the Prime Minister Theresa may reveals about her intention of the possible way to Brexit.

Brexit campaigners believe that British voters have taken a once in a lifetime opportunity, to restore Britain sovereignty; they have argued that Britain is now free to take back control of it borders in order to reduce immigration and increase security. The Brexit secretary Boris Johnson claimed that British people would be able to settle their own destiny after the Brexit. Even the new US president Donald Trump declared his support for Brexit and thinks it is a great thing, which is going to be wonderful for the country. Eurosceptics see EU institution as inherently undemocratic, and argue that laws which affect the UK should not be decided by bureaucrats in Brussels.

The Brexit will shape what kind of country the UK becomes once it ends more than four decades of EU membership, and Mrs. May became much clear about her goals, plans, and strategies to reformulate the UK, in her January Brexit speech, and a subsequent white paper as a preparatory stage for the Great Repeal Bill, that will come into force and end the supremacy of the EU law over Britain's own legislation, on the day of the Brexit, by the end of the Brexit negotiations. This chapter is going to talk about the possible rising views about the way to Brexit, then it sheds light on the Brexit economic effects on both sides, after that it is going to examine the Brexit as a good or a bad choice, and finally it talks about the political future of the UK's out of the UE, talking about the white paper and the Great Repeal Bill, after that it passes through the issue of the Scottish and Irish independence.

3.2 Raising views about the way to Brexit

After that Britain decided to leave the European Union, different views were raised about the suitable road to be followed for the Brexit, and the perfect deal, which should be reached from the negotiation between both the UK and the UE's State. Therefore speculation remains over what kind of relationship the UK will develop with its partners, after it leaves the bloc, as a result the two terms "Soft" and "Hard" Brexit have increasingly been used as debate focused on the UK's departure from the EU. These terms are thought have been coined more than a

year before the referendum, in Feb.2015, where economists distinguished between “Hard” exit as a “huge risk” and “operationally complicated”, and “Soft” exit which is “less risky” but will not serve the “British interest” (Tara).

3.2.1 Soft Brexit

Both sides want trade to continue after Brexit with the UK seeking a positive outcome, for those who wish to trade goods and services, such as those in the city of London, some in the Conservative Party, and some in industry, wanting a comprehensive free trade deal, giving Britain the greatest possible access to the single market¹, which is not what 52% of voters wanted when they chose Brexit last year. This approach would leave the UK’s relationship with the EU as close possible, to the existing arrangements which are preferred by many Remainers who argue that maintaining proper connection with the EU’s trading arrangements is a matter of national interest.

The UK would no longer be a member of the EU, and would not have a seat on the European Council. It would lose its MEPs and its European Commissioner. But it would keep unfettered access to the European Single Market, where goods and services would be traded with the remaining EU state on tariff-free basis, and financial firms would keep their passporting rights to sell services and operate branches in the UE. In brief, Britain would remain within the EU’s Customs Union², making payments into EU budgets, and accepts the four freedoms movements of goods, services, capital and people. It is likely that a “Soft Brexit” deal would insist on Britain observing the “four freedom”, meaning continued free access for European nationals to work and settle in the UK (Olterman. et al).

3.2.2 Hard Brexit (Clean Break)

A hard Brexit would likely see the UK give up full access to both, the Single Market, and the Customs Union along with the EU, giving Britain full control over its borders, allowing it making new trade deal, and applying laws within its own territory. “A hard Brexit arrangement means the UK will give up full control over its borders. It would also likely

¹ An economic arrangement between EU member State and a few others who agree to the four fundamental freedom ; the free movement of services, goods, capital and people

² It facilitates free trade between UN State by ensuring that all charge the same import duties on goods from countries outside the Union, the countries also agree not to impose tariff on goods travelling between the member states, to enjoy tariff-free goods transport.

mean a withdrawal from the UE's customs union" (Tara). Therefore hard Brexit could invoke the UK refusing to compromise on issues like the free movement of people, in order to maintain access to the EU single market.

This approach is favoured by ardent Brexiteers, and the majority of Britain. The international Trade Secretary, Laim Fox, has said a hard approach would benefit the UK by making it a global trading nation, because Britain outside the EU would be free to sign its own trade deals, which would entail withdrawal from the customs Union, and gains full control over immigration (Olterman, et all).

The issue of the Brexit was driven by a desire to put stronger restrictions on immigration. The government insists that it must regain control of its borders as a part of any 'Brexit', and as membership of the single market requires free movement of people and goods, Britain must leave it in order to do that, as a result a harsh break is needed.

3.2.3 The Britain's Preferable Way

Following Theresa May's Brexit speech at Lancaster House, 17 Jan 2017 things became much clear about what sort of relationship Britain will seek to have with the EU once it leaves the bloc, and it is noticeable that the UK is not intending to stay neither in the EU's single market nor in the Customs Union ; in other words the UK is prepared to make a clear break from the EU, because it strongly rejects staying under the auspices of the European Court of Justice, and having to allow unlimited EU immigration, under freedom of movement rules.

Mrs. May unveiled a tougher stance on EU withdrawal, by seemingly backing a hard Brexit, with controls on immigration at its core; "let me be clear", said PM "we are not leaving only to give up control of immigration again. And we are not leaving to return to the jurisdiction of the European Court of Justice" and she has been repeating since the Conservative Party conference in October last year, that her top two Brexit priorities are : controlling EIl immigration, and withdrawing from the jurisdiction of the European court of justice; those two objectives are incompatible with membership of single market saying : "I want to be clear that, what I am proposing cannot mean membership of the single market", arguing that those wanting to do every thin possible to preserve access to the single market, were looking at Brexit the " wrong way", because single market membership would mean

accepting the EU's four freedoms, and "complying with the EU's rules and regulations that regulate those freedoms", which she said would mean "not leaving the EU at all.

The prime minister said:

We seek a new and equal partnership between an independent, Self-governing, global Britain, and our friends and allies in the EU. Not partial membership of the EU, associate membership of the EU, or anything that leaves us half-in, half-out we do not seek to adopt a model already enjoyed by other countries. We do not seek to hold on to bits of membership as we leave.

Concerning the Customs Union, the Prime Minister was less clear than she was for the single market: "full membership of the Customs Union, prevents us from negotiating our own trade deals outside the union". Therefore she did not want Britain to be bound by the common commercial policy and the common external tariff, because whenever a country is a part of the Customs Union, cannot negotiate trade deals on its own, which is why Britain was always destined to leave it, and to negotiate independent trade deals, that is a big part of what pro-Brexit campaigners think Brexit should mean.

However, Mrs May also said she wanted tariff-free trade with Europe and cross-border trade, meaning to have a customs agreement with EU along with the rest of the world. That could come in the form of completely new customs agreement, or that Britain could become an associate member of Customs Union in some way, or retain some part of it, she said: "I have an open mind on how we do it", certainly on what serves the Britain interest and desire, this seems to confirm the government will be looking for Sector-by-Sector deals for certain key businesses; and British business has interim arrangement, favoured by some kind of transitional arrangement with the EU; will be essential to avoid the potential economic disaster. But PM is opposed to the kind of interim arrangement, favoured by some who want a lengthy transitional deal, what is considered as open-ended, in which EU rules would continue to apply in the UK. An indefinite interim deal Mrs May said would be "permanent political purgatory", and she wanted nothing could be considered as 'bits of membership'.

Instead, she will seek to reach agreements on the future relationship within the two years time frame of article 50 divorce talks, that would be followed by flexible "phased process of implementation" which could vary in length according to issues concerned: immigration, control, customs arrangements, financial services, and the complexity of the new notion that

these talks are to be conducted without animosity: “I want us to be...the best friend and neighbour to our European partners”. But she warned that if the EU 27 states heeded those “voices calling for punitive deal that punishes Britain”, it would amount to “an act of calamitous self-hard, for the countries of Europe. And it would not be the act of friend”, because she assumed that no deal is much better for Britain than a bad deal. And Michel Barnier, the EU’s chief negotiator, replayed to her threat in his speech on 22 March.2017 in Brussels: “When a country leaves the Union, there is no punishment; there is no price to pay to leave. But we must settle the account... In making this choice, the UK automatically will be in a less favourable situation than an EU member state.”

The Brexit secretary and negotiator, David Davis, has strongly indicated that the UK government is committed to leaving the EU Customs Union after Brexit, and the Chancellor Philip Hammond veiled threat that, if it does not get the deal it want, Britain could become a low-tax rival, and the government would be free to change the basic of Britain’s economic model(Champan and Rodionove), mean while the government wrote in a white paper published on Thursday 2, Feb,2017 ; “ after we have left the EU, we want to ensure that we can take advantage of the opportunity to negotiate our own preferential trade agreements around the world”, in the sense that Britain would be free in taking trade decision and not following any rules of any organization.

3.3 The Economic implication of Brexit on Both Sides

Being a member of the European Union, costs a great deal of money for both sides, the economic value of EU membership is that creates trade, jobs, and investment; therefore many different financial and trade groups will face major changes, due to the British exit from the European Union

3.3.1 British Economy

Article 50 has been triggered by Theresa May, taking Britain one step closer to freedom from EU rules, however the road for its freedom is not going to be paved or straightforward. Britain would face an immediate economic crisis, House prices would fall, there would be a recession with a big rise in unemployment, and an emergency Budget would be needed to bring in the large cuts in spending that would be needed, as consequences for its decision to leave the Union, “An immediate and significant impact on the UK economy, was predicted by many economists, as a knee jerk reaction to the Brexit” (Alalade17). Some economists predicted a kind of payment into the EU’s Budget might have to be part of whatever future trade deal the government negotiates with the EU, and for its exit bill.

Mrs. May made a reply in her key ‘Brexit’ speech even she did not say much, but did make clear that : “because we will no longer be member of the single market...the days of Britain making vast contributions to the EU every year will end”, adding that : “some specific European programmes on which we might want to participate. If so, and this will be for us to decide, it is reasonable that we should make an appropriate contribution”.

Institutions and economists have also warned a clear break with EU’s trading zones could severely disrupt the economy, lending to the rise of good’s prices in shops, if alternative mechanisms are not quickly set up. In 2015, around 44% of all UK’s exports in goods in goods, and services went to the EU Banks would have to give up their pass porting rights, which allows them to provide services in the EU (Tara).

Economists are generally wary of transitions, fearing that heightened uncertainty over Britain’s relationships with other countries, will damage confidence and investment, at least for a few years after departing the EU. They also more likely than many politicians to play down the importance of sovereignty, maintaining there will be a trade-off between sovereignty and the best decision in making authority. The consequence of Brexit will vary depending on the terms of departure, as well as the prevailing economic climate.

The UK economy grew by more than previously reported in the final three months of 2016, according to the latest official estimate. Gross office for National Statistics(ONS), that cut its estimate for growth in 2016 as a whole to 1.8% down from 2%, it forecast last month, there are hints that Brexit uncertainty is hitting business investment, which fell by 1% compared with the three months to the end of September (Bowler).

The production sectors in the economy face a more uncertain outcome than services; the range of potential outcomes is more variable as production sectors are more dependent on whether or not the UK agrees a trading agreement with the European Union, and the nature of any agreement.

Since the vote for the Brexit, the values of the pound has also been hit hard on the foreign exchange markets, “the financial world held its breath as the value of the British pound swing wildly on currency markets, and triggered a fall of 10%, and its biggest one day fall in the history of the pound sterling” (Alalade18), the value of the pound has been tumbling to lows not seen since 1985. At one stage, it hit \$ 13305 a fall of more than 10% although it too slightly recovered to close down 9% at \$ 136 (BBC.WHN).

The pound fell dramatically after the Brexit last year, when parliament passed the Brexit bill, allowing the Prime Minister, to trigger Article 50, and start the Brexit negotiations, the pound hit an eight-week, and since then has been trading around 15% lower compared to the euro than it was before the referendum. This fall in the pound has helped exporters, but it has made foreign holidays more expensive for British tourists. It has also increased import costs for manufactures which is a key factor for sectors such as car industry, where vehicles which may be completed in the UK often have imported component parts-currency strategists say that sterling is likely to remain volatile in coming months until there is greater clarity about the UK’s Brexit deal (Bowler), the pound did slump the day after the referendum and remains around 15% lower against the dollar and 10% down against the euro. Inflation has risen to 23% in February, its highest rate for three and a half years, but unemployment has continued to fall, to stand at an 11 year low of 4,8%. Annual House price increases have fallen from 9,4% in June but were still at an inflation, busting 7,4% in December, imported goods will consequently get more expensive, some prices raised for food, clothing, and homeward goods (Hunt and Wheeler).

David Alalade talks in his book ‘what the hell just happened’ about the fell of the pound:

The British pound fell dramatically after the Brexit vote, at the end of June 2016, and continued to decline to a Three year low against the euro, following Theresa May’s announcement that the UK would begin formal negotiations by March 2017. The currency’s continued weakness, has affected the negotiating power of business with its international suppliers (Alalade17).

After the referendum, the Bank of England took steps to boost the economy. In particular it cut interest rates from 0.5% to 0.25% in August, the first reduction in the cost of borrowing since 2009, taking UK rates to a new record low. The unemployment rate has been falling stealthily over the last five years, as the UK recovered from the global financial crisis, which saw up to two million jobs lost and wages have been growing faster than inflation in recent months. In the three months to January, regular pay increased by 2.3%, compared with the same period a year earlier, that was sharply lower than the 2.6% seen in three months to December (Bowler).

The British exit from the EU had caused major changes in many different social and trade groups, especially the banking group. London could lose as many as 40,000 workers in the wake of the Brexit, it became a less advantageous place for foreign banks to do business which is likely to cut as many as 1000 jobs (Alalade 21).

3.3.2 EU's Economy

One of the major issues facing Europe is the future of its shared currency, which was set up in 1999. The 2008 financial crisis exposed some major challenges of having a monetary union of 19 countries without a shared fiscal policy. The crash emptied the coffers of many EU governments, particularly in Southern Europe, but deprived of their own currencies or fiscal transfer from wealthier nations; there was little they could do to stimulate a recovery. At the same time European Union institutions increased the economic pain in debt-ridden countries on Europe's periphery by raising interest rates, and imposing stringent fiscal austerity measures in exchange for loans. Greece the most desperate of the debt-ridden European nations, remains stuck in a cycle of onerous debt repayments that have crippled its economy (Allen and Scruton).

Brexit could even be the long-term trigger of the EU's eventual collapse, the period since the June 23 referendum has seen the rise to prominence of anti-EU politicians in countries such as Austria, Denmark, France, the Netherlands and Sweden. Analysts say that:

Brexit will almost inevitably weaken the EU's global role, forcing other countries to think about the exit as possible Grexit, or Franexit, Britain is the EU's foremost military power, and its membership means the EU can access the country's significant diplomatic network, intelligence, capabilities and soft power. The UK is the EU's third most populous member

state, comprising 12.76% of the bloc's overall population, the country is a highly influential player in the European Council and Parliament, and the UK spends more on defence than any other EU country (Bowler).

Therefore losing the UK as a member would mean a great loss for the EU. Brexit means a great loss for the EU, Brexit means the EU sheds one of its largest annual contributors, the UK contributes around US \$ 19.3 billion (€18. 2 billion), leaving Germany and France far and away, the largest donors at US \$ 25.8 billion (€ 24.3 billion) and US \$ 20,1 billion (€19 billion) respectively (Giles), will have to pay out more once the UK leaves. Without the UK, the collective weight of liberal bloc, would decline, whereas the protectionist bloc would strengthen, producing a less open EU Brexit would also alter parliament's party landscape and ideological composition over 60% of the UK's, 73 MEPs currently sit with center-right and Eurosceptic groups (Olterman, et al). While it is unclear whether the UK's seats will be lost or reallocated, their loss would arguably strengthen the left, as for the first time in years progressive parties could form majorities without the European people's party. In an ironic twist, this may mean that if and when the UK is obliged to import policies from the EU, they will be of a more social democratic nature than in the past. Moreover Brexit could alter the balance of power within in the EU (Charlotte).

3.4 Brexit a Good or a Bad Choice?

Since the biggest event in the Britain's post-war history vote, and after that, Theresa May notifies the EU of the UK's plans to withdraw, revealing about her intentions for leaving both the single market and the customs union if necessary, aiming for a clean break from the Union, tension raised in Britain and in Europe as whole over the debate whether Brexit is a good or a bad choice.

Britain's new government is seeking to chart a path for the country outside the EU, as debate intensifies about the economy's prospects after Brexit, because economists have worried for months that Brexit will drag the economy down. Over half Britain's trade goes to the EU, bringing the country around E 400 billion a year that dwarfs any saving from not contributing to the EU budget. Over one-in-ten British jobs are directly linked to EU membership. International companies invest in Britain because it is a gateway to the EU's 500 million consumers (Griles). Pro-EU campaigners think the UK's status as one of the world's biggest financial centres will be diminished, and financial services have more to lose immediately after the exit than most other sectors of economy. They believe that Brexit will

hit the British economy, which relies on the free movement of EU, migrant workers, such as health professionals, “the Brexit camp’s claim that Europe needs Britain more than the other way round; the UK takes almost half Britain’s exports, whereas Britain takes less than 10% of the EU’s” (Reklaitis), some argue leaving the Union would make little difference, because the UK’s trading partners in the EU would not want to start a trade war. Others say it will mean greater costs UK businesses buying and selling goods abroad. However, Brexiteers believe that the British withdrawal from the EU would have no long-term negative impact on the UK economy, contrasting, it could benefit in short term. They argue that leaving the EU will result in an immediate cost saving as the country will no longer contribute to the EU and other Britain also benefits from trade deals between the EU and other world powers and would lose some of that negotiating power, but would be free to establish its own trade agreements. The Brexit negotiator and the International Trade Secretary, Laim Fox assumed that the Brexit would benefit the UK by making it a global trading nation; Britain will finally be able to control its borders again. It will no longer have to listen to meddlesome EU judges, nor will it need obey the directives emanating from Brussels. Britain will be able to make its own laws, set its own taxes and negotiate its own trade deals (Nagesh).

Pro- Brexit campaigners have argued that Britain will be free to take back control of its borders in order to curb immigration and increase security, the UK will no longer have to accept the free movement of people from Europe as soon as it leave the single market.

In short Britain even though may witness some financial losses, and a kind of instability, but it will remain a key player on the world stage. Britain will in fact be able all the most powerful, as it will have one thing few European nations enjoy, the freedom to decide its own destiny, to gain back its sovereignty again, controlling its borders and immigration, to sake the money it use to contributes within the EU and spend it for the British progress, simply to be a self governed nation.

3.5 The Political future of the UK out of EU

In her January speech at Lancaster House, PM Theresa May gives a clear explanation of the Brexit objectives, outlining the government’s twelve priorities that formed the White Paper’s Great Repeal Bill. So a day after parliament had voted overwhelmingly, to give

Theresa May the power to trigger Article 50, the government has published details of its Great Repeal Bill, setting out how the UK proposes to leave the EU.

3.5.1 The White Paper and the Great Repeal Bill

The Great Repeal Bill White Paper is a government paper that sets out the government's proposals for ensuring a functioning statute book, once the UK has left the European Union, legislating for the United Kingdom's withdrawal from the European Union, as a draft for the Great Repeal Bill. It provides the detail about three principal elements that made it a bill : the repeal of the European community's Act 1972, how EU law will be converted into UK law, and how corrections will be made to the statute book, to ensure the law continues to function once the UK will left the EU (Henley).

The Great Repeal Bill, which will be formally introduced in the Queen's speech before passing through both House of Parliament, the government has announce I twill repeal the 1972 European Communities Act, which paved the way for Britain to join what was then EEC in 1973, and meant that European law took precedence over laws passed in the British parliament. It will also end the jurisdiction of the European Court of Justice. All existing EU legislation will be copied across into domestic UK law to ensure a smooth transition on the day after Brexit, therefore, it will put power for the nation's laws back into the hands of it parliament (Hughes)

The Prime Minister talked about this Great Repeal Bill in her key speech saying:

This historic Bill which will be included in the next Queen's speech, will mean that the 1972 Act, the legislation that gives direct effects to all EU law in Britain, will no longer apply from the date upon which we formally leave the European union.

And its effect will be clear. Our laws will be made not in Brussels but in Westminster. The judges interpreting those laws will sit not in Luxembourg but in court this country. The authority of EU law in Britain will end.

The Brexit secretary, David Davis, describes the Bill to the House of Commons, there were 12 objectives which will guide the government in fulfilling the democratic will of the people, these are:

- Providing certainty and clarity where we can as we approach the negotiation.
- Taking control of our own laws and statute book.
- Strengthening the Union by securing a deal that works for the whole of the UK.
- Maintaining the Common Travel Area and protecting our strong historic ties with Ireland.
- Controlling immigration from the EU.
- Securing the rights for EU citizens already living in the UK and the rights of UK nationals living in the EU.
- Protecting and enhancing existing workers rights.
- Ensuring free trade with European markets whilst forging a new strategic partnership with the EU.
- Forging ambitious free trade agreements with other countries across the world.
- Ensuring the United Kingdom remains the best place for science and innovation.
- Cooperating in the fight against crime and terrorism.
- And finally delivering a smooth, orderly exit from the EU (Morby).

3.5.2 The Scottish and Irish Independence

Both Scotland and Northern Ireland voted to remain in the EU in last year's referendum. The result in Scotland was 62% to remain over 38% to leave, therefore they preferred the European Union what became a key part of the Brexit talks, especially for the UK's future as United, because leaders in this countries are calling for referendums on leaving the UK (Hunt and Wheeler).

Now, after Britain as a whole voted to leave the European Union while Scotland voted overwhelmingly to remain, Scotland's first Minister Nicola Sturgeon is patiently laying out a path for an another independence referendum, claiming that it was "democratically unacceptable" to take out Scotland from the EM, when it voted to remain: "the UK

government has decided to remove Scotland, not just from the European Union but from the single market as well, and that's clearly against the will of the majority of people who live

her”(qtd, in Erlanger), Ms Sturgeon has officially asked for the permission of having a second referendum by sending a formal letter to Mrs May, with the support of the Scottish Parliament. Mrs. May responded that the referendum cannot happen before Britain leaves the European Union, “this is not the time” (qtd in Hunt and Wheeler), she insisted that, it should be for those living in Scotland to decide, not the parliament in London, and adding that after the Brexit would be a greater changes for the best wandering “what independence would mean for Scotland” after that, “ then Scotland gets to take that informed choice before it’s too late”(Erlanger). David Mundell, the Scottish secretary told the BBC, the answer sturgeon’s request would be no, “we won’t be entering any negotiations at all until the Brexit process is complete”, he said “now is the time for the Scottish government to come together with the UK government, work together to get best possible deal for the UK, and that means Scotland as we leave EU” (Hunt and Wheeler).

Chris Deerin, a Scottish political analyst said in a report for the NY times that: “Ms Sturgeon is both stuck and in charge”, she would not want another referendum so soon in any case and she can now blame Mrs May and Westminster, always a popular tactic here. But for Ms Sturgeon, it would be important to try to have the vote before the next Scottish Parliamentary election in 2021 when the non-dominant SNP might lose more seats in the normal cycle of politics (Eralanger).

Since Scots voted down independence, the Scottish National Party (SNP) has grown enormously, with many Scots getting politicized by the better campaign, with some 25000 member in September 2014, her party now has more than 125000, and it strongly demands the Scottish independence, sometimes called the Scottish National Independence Party (SNIP) (Carrell).

Even Northern Ireland has called for a referendum on leaving the UK and joining the Republic of Ireland as soon as possible, and that because of the land between Northern Ireland, and the EU member the Republic of Ireland, which is likely to be a key part of Brexit talks. There is currently a common travel area between the UK and the Republic. However, the conservatives have rejected this call, saying there was no evidence opinion had shifted in favour of a United Ireland. Meanwhile, the Brexiteer David Davis claimed that after the people of the Northern Ireland had already voted to remain in the EU, they are willing to leave the UK, “to be in a position becoming of becoming part of an existing EU member state, rather than seeking to join the EU as a new independent state” (qtd, in Carrell). So the UK government is likely to support the Irish decision, because a referendum on Irish Unity will not be a problem as long as Northern Ireland was a part of the UK, but with strong links to Ireland (Hunt and Wheeler)

3.5.3 Conclusion

The Prime Minister, Theresa May triggered Article 50 of London notifying the European Union of the UK’s plan’s to withdraw both supporters and rejecters agree that after the activation of the article 50 divorce clause in the EU, there is no way back, therefore, all sides

of the debate agree that the Brexit will shape what kind of country the UK becomes once it ends more than four decades of Europe EU membership?

Mrs. May became much clearer about her Brexit goals and objectives in her key speech inveigling about her intention for a hard Brexit, rather than soft Brexit, meaning that the country will leave the EU's single market and customs union. Since that would limit the British freedom to choose its free trade deal, however, the PM still wants Britain to have a customs agreement of some sort with the EU, and such a new comprehensive bold and ambitious free-trade agreement with the bloc, as long as that can serve the British, taking the British economy in consideration, and she insisted if such an agreement can be granted, or in a bad manner, Britain is ready to walk away with no deal rather than a bad one.

After the hard Brexit decision, economists raised several questions about the economic future of the UK, and whether it is good or bad for Britain. Even the political future of the UK out of the EU's became open to debate, especially after the Scottish and Irish, call for their independence referendum.

General Conclusion

British Euroscepticism is a phenomenon that goes back to the period after WW2. It gained a significant and considerable place in public life, media and politics playing a great role in the later and influencing the British attitude towards the EU. The UK was always described as an awkward partner representing a lack of enthusiasm and doubt about the viability and the benefit of the European project, this sceptical attitude witnessed an ebb and flow in the British Governments particularly in the Conservative ones in which it is noticed that the same government adopts different attitudes towards the EU within the same term.

Euroscepticism is a political is a political attitude that became a faith in the UK. It gained a strong position in, almost, all the aspect of British life including political parties particularly the Conservative Party. The latter witnessed different Prime Minister holding different attitudes towards the EU ranging from Europhiles to Eurosceptics. In this context all British Prime Ministers are accustomed to start their term as pro-European, then, turn to be Eurosceptic on the eve of the general elections, Cameron is an evident example holding ambivalent attitudes and policies towards the EU-UK relations depending on the circumstances and his political tendencies towards this European organisation. The conservative Party was Pro-European in the 1970s and 1980s then, it became Soft-Eurosceptic, and later it become Eurosceptic, the European question in Britain was always the issue of intra-party conflict, and it passed through many phrases to reach it final one with the decision of referendum of 2016.

The people of Britain have voted for Brexit, a decision that would transform this nation of Europe forever, in a historic referendum on Thursday 23rd June 2016, the most important event in post-war history, its outcome prompted a celebration among Eurosceptics around the continent and David Cameron resigned as Prime Minister claiming that the process of the withdrawal needs a fresh leadership, and later he stepped down as MP after losing the EU referendum. Theresa May become the new Prime Minister, facing the responsibility of invoking Article 50 of the Lisbon Treaty, which

General Conclusion

explains how would a member State of the European Union. Voluntarily leave it, notifying the Union, to start negotiations for the exit, a step that starts the timer on two years of Brexit takes.

Mrs May had triggered Article 50 on 29th March 2016, after that the Queen had signed off on the Brexit bill. MPs overwhelming voted to pass the Brexit bill and rejected changes made by Europhile peers in the House of Lords, it came after the supreme court upheld a High court ruling that there must be a Parliamentary vote before triggering Article 50, Britain is scheduled to finally leave the EU by the end of March 2019, even though deal agreement cannot be granted during this time far, Britain is ready to leave without a deal, and to make new trade agreements with the rest of the world.

Theresa May was clear in her key Brexit speech, about explaining her intentions and the Brexit objectives. Mrs May is set to take Britain out of the EU's single market and customs Unions in order to end the free movement of EU works that goes with it, that to control it borders again and the number of immigration, even more to put an end to the EU's law in UK, so that it can gain it sovereignty again but she preferred to have such a customs agreement in different way , announcing that Britain will choose the hard way for it Brexit, a clean Brexit is needed, which sent shockwaves through the global economy once more, which was accepted by some as a good step, but for others as a bad choice, the Brexit vote has led to higher import costs however it released Britain to contribute billions of pounds a year towards the European Union's budget, and the Brexit campaigners believe that British votes have taken a once in a lifetime opportunity to restore Britain's sovereignty .

On the day of Brexit, the Great Repeal Bill will come into force and end the supremacy of EU law over Britain's own legislation, in March, Brexit Secretary David Davis, unveiled a white Paper of the Great Repeal Bill that will overturn the European community's Act, as a beginning of the political future of the UK out of the EU, and the SVP leader, Ms Nicola Sturgeon is calling for a second referendum because most Scots voted to

General Conclusion

remain in the EU, Northern Ireland has also called for the permission to join the Irish republic.

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