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**Faculty of Letters and Languages**  
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**The European Union and the United Kingdom's  
Withdrawal  
BREXIT**

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requirements for the degree of Master in Literature and Civilization*

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## **Dedication**

I dedicate my work to my family members who encouraged me.

A special feeling of gratitude to my loving parents whose words of encouragement and push for tenacity ring in my ears

To all my friends

## **Acknowledgement**

First and foremost, I would like to thank my supervisor Dr FRID Daoudi for his guidance and valuable comments. This thesis would have never been accomplished without his considerable help, advice and guidance. For that, I owe my gratitude to him for his efforts.

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## Abstract

The aim of this study is to examine the British relations with the European Union during the last five decades, and to provide analysis of Britain's contemporary position towards the EU. The main question posed by this work concerns whether Britain is well out of the European Union club after the referendum held in June 2016. In this regard, the dissertation is divided into two chapters. The first chapter involves an overview about the European Union since its creation after the Second World War by the so called The Founding fathers who contributed effectively to the foundation of the actual European Union wherein they worked hard in order to establish peace and stability in the European continent particularly in the aftermath of the WWII, through the establishment of an economic and political integration. The European Union has been created through many treaties and agreement between the EU's countries and it saw different stages of enlargement and expansions. The Second Chapter provides an analysis of the delicate UK's relationship with the EU caused by the rise of Eurosceptic convictions among the British people towards the EU which led to the British exit from the European Union bloc. The rise of Eurosceptic movements increased since the UK's joining the EU in 1973 until 2016 when former Prime Minister David Cameron decided to hold a referendum on the UK's membership in June 2016, wherein the Britons said 'YES' to withdraw from the European Union.

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# **General Introduction**



## **General Introduction:**

The world witnessed two demolishing wars during the twentieth century; the most destroyed and bloody one was the Second World War between 1939 and 1945. The first half of the 20th century was labelled “The Era of Violence, the second half is regarded as the age of rebuilding. In the aftermath of the second war, the world counted deaths of more than fifty million soldiers and civilians, even more civilians, children, women and men died from bombs attacks, hunger and illnesses and many other people were left jobless and homeless. Germany was divided into two separate states as well as its capital Berlin, West Germany and West Berlin were a democratic state controlled by the Western allies (USA, Great Britain and France) and in other side East Germany and East Berlin which were a communist state controlled by the Soviet Union.

After many years of fighting and conflict, the European leaders recognized that they should work together in order to restart their economies again throughout a political reconciliation between the conflicted countries particularly Germany and France. After 1945, the common expression of “Never again” rose and spread among the world as a whole and in the European continent specifically, it symbolized the collective wish to avoid another war by establishing reconciliation which aim not only to make another war unthinkable but also impossible, accordingly the European states decided to start a process of integration which means that instead of competition between European countries, Europe must be integrated under a system of cooperation.

In the late 1950s, The European Union as an idea was elaborated then developed under economic and political integration by few European leaders well known “The founding fathers”. Those leaders inspired the foundation of today’s European Union and without their efforts and motivation to establish peace Europe could not lives in the climate of stability and peace from the second half of the twentieth century for many decades. From resistance fighters to lawyers, the Founding Fathers were a group of people who shared the same values: a united, peaceful and prosperous Europe, they worked tirelessly towards, and inspired, the European project.

They transformed the discussions about the Union project into a concretized decision throughout several treaties and agreements that set up the first milestone of the

unification and integration when the six European states: Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands founded the European Coal and Steel Community in 1951. It was seen as first step to unite European countries politically and economically which aimed to end bloody and frequent wars between neighbours, and to secure lasting peace.

The European leaders wanted a closer relationship when they created the European Economic Community under the Treaty of Rome in 1957. Step by step, the six founding states well known as the “little Europe”, flourished economically by the beginning of the 1960s, which motivated other European countries to join the Union project such as Ireland, Denmark and the United Kingdom on the 1st of January 1973. Then the European Union has been growing and expanding from six to twenty eight member states, wherein the mechanism was the different treaties. Whenever needed, the European member states met to amend or to adopt new laws and agreements to keep pace and to comply with new applications for accession. The Twentieth century was so specific for the greatest world empire in history Great Britain, which has colonies on every continent. UK which shaped the World’s history for three centuries saw a fast decline when all former colonies and all subordinate territories became independent. To regain its position the World scene, the United Kingdom applied twice to join the European Union but was vetoed by the French President Charles de Gaulle, then finally joined the European Union club in 1973.

For many British leaders, politicians and citizens who opposed their country’s integration saw that they were being constrained by European institutions which mean a loss of their sovereignty, superiority and their worldwide influence. This can be classified as a psychological obstacle wherein it results in a large complexity for the relationship between United Kingdom and the remaining European states fuelled by the fact that Britain did not partake in the foundation of the EU. Step by step, the Euroscepticism<sup>1</sup> convictions growth in Britain from former Margaret Thatcher’s era to David Cameron ministerial term (2010-

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<sup>1</sup> **Euroscepticism** is the opposition to the increasing powers of the European Union as well as the process of European integration. It includes opposition to the institutions of the EU, to the euro currency and to expansion of the EU

2016), who called for the Referendum on UK's membership in the European Union on 23 June 2016 which resulted that a margin majority voted in favour of withdrawing from European Union well-known the Brexit.

The interest of this research orbits around the following question: How is the relationship between the United Kingdom and the European Union and is there a prospect of harmony between them?

To achieve the objective of the study, Britain's relationship with the European Union and the related decision of the referendum of June 2016 have been studied and analysed from a political decision point of view, it means a political pressure made by the supporters of the Brexit. It is employed to analyze the role of the Eurosceptics as it is portrayed in the selected work.

The research work is divided into two chapters; the first one entitled the European Union deals with the historical background. The concern will be on the founding fathers of the European Union as well as the historic steps represented on the treaties and agreements. The first chapter deals as well with the steps of enlargement and growth of the Union.

The second chapter is entitled the Brexit; it aims to highlight the history of the difficult relationship between Britain and the European Union which led to the idea of withdrawal from the European Union under the pressure of the main political parties supporters of the Brexit such as the UKIP. Since its foundation, Britain did not partake in the creation of the European Union, then the rose of the leavers' camp during the Margaret Thatcher term in the late 1970s until the former Conservative Prime Minister David Cameron, and finally the current Prime Minister Theresa May who triggered Article 50 and started last month process of withdrawal from the European Union bloc.

**Chapter one:**  
History of EU (Historical  
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## CHAPTER ONE: THE EUROPEAN UNION (HISTORICAL BACKGROUND)

### 1.1 Introduction

When WWII ended, some western European countries wanted closer economic, social, and political ties to reach economic development, military security and to promote an enduring reconciliation between France and Germany. The EU was born after the WWII in the aim of ‘never again war’, and to prevent another such terrible war and establish reconciliation between the two conflicted nations France and Germany. To this end, a territory institution authority that could represent Europe was founded under the name the ‘Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC)’<sup>1</sup> on 16 April 1948, which has the mission of supervising the distribution of US Marshall Plan’s aid to reconstruct Europe during the years following WWII. This period was marked by the rise of protectionism, Nazism and fascism; however Europe wanted to avoid them by building trade links in the aim of establishing prosperity and peace. This special importance given to Europe as a strategic region helped basically for the integration of Western European economies and the formation of the institutions that would eventually become later part of today’s European Union (Eliot Sorel and Pier Carlo Padoan, 2008, p.8).

On 9 May 1950 (the date which is now celebrated as the birthday of the EU), Robert Schuman the minister of foreign affairs in the French government between 1948 and 1952, in cooperation with his compatriot diplomat and political economist Jean Monnet, made an important and crucial declaration to the press, which was known later by The Schuman Plan. Jean Monnet’s idea convinced Robert Schuman that assembling coal and steel production in Europe was the right idea and the accurate approach, consequently he decided to assume political responsibility for the Plan, wherein many advantages are expected in this plan principally: It helped and encouraged reconciliation between Germany and France; managing coal and steel production for peaceable ends; and it could ultimately pave the way for European integration. Based on the reconciliation between the conflicted countries Germany and France, Schuman declaration represented the first step for the European unification and it is regarded as the founding document and the starting point of the European integration process in the aftermath of the WWII; the plan have been immediately welcomed by Konrad Adenauer the German Chancellor.

In a speech delivered at the University of Zurich on 19 September 1946, Winston Churchill (1874-1965) the British statesman and Conservative leader determined the reconciliation between Germany and France along with the foundation of a European organisation as condition for peace and freedom throughout Europe.

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<sup>1</sup> The OEEC originally had 18 participants: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom, and Western Germany (originally represented by both the combined American and British occupation zones (The Bizone) and the French occupation zone). The Anglo-American zone of the Free Territory of Trieste was also a participant in the OEEC until it returned to Italian sovereignty. Forerunner of today’s Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD).

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In the same speech, he extended his political plan when he called clearly for the formation of what is known 'United States of Europe'. The post WWII era was marked by the American economy flourish, while the European financial systems were damaged. The American economic growth pushed George Marshall the United States' secretary to propose a package of subsidies represented in a very large assistance program for Europe named the European Recovery Program (ERP) well-known as the Marshall Program. It was considered as the biggest help plan in America's history launched in the preceding century. On his part, British Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin, regarded the American action as an act of "generosity ... beyond belief" (Eliot Sorel and Pier Carlo Padoan, 2008, P.7-8).

### **1.2 The founding fathers of European Union:**

The term 'Founding Fathers' in Europe refers to a group of leaders, statesmen and politicians who launched the project of the European Union and shaped the European Unity. Coming from different regions of Europe, eleven statesman and leaders shared the same desire and hope of reconciliation of European nations and pacification of the European continent. The leaders who shaped this proposal are: Winston Churchill, Robert Schuman, Jean Monnet, Konrad Adenauer, Joseph Bech, Paul-Henri Spaak Johan, Alcide De Gasperi, Walter Hallstein, Sicco Mansholt, Willem Beyen, and Altiero Spinelli.

The leaders had to establish priorities in the aftermath of the WWII firstly, To ensure lasting peace among the European peoples who, for centuries, had fought each other regularly every 25 years, secondly Bringing about together the reconstruction of Europe, tormented by successive wars, then reactivating the economy to secure a better and fairer standard of life citizens; all these objectives were achieved.

**1.2.1 Winston Leonard Spencer-Churchill** (1874-1965) (born on November 30, 1874 and died in 1965), was an ex-army British officer where he served as a reporter of the British Army during the war and then headed the government for twice (from 1940 to 1945 and then from 1951- 1955). After had been graduated from the Royal Military Academy, he began a military career that, in the following five years, he participated in several fight battles on three continents, won four medals and an Order of Merit. Moreover, he was a member in the Parliament and he wrote five books, all before his 26th birthday. (European Commission Directorate-General for Communication, 2013, p.11). After had been holding off from the Conservatives Party, Churchill used his literary skills which he mastered, and continued writing and publishing articles and books. He was also known by mastering the art of delivering speeches.

From ex-Britain's prime minister to an opposition leader, Churchill received an honorary degree on March 5, 1946 by American President Harry Truman at Westminster College, in Missouri where he delivered his strong message, wherein he warned about the threat of the Soviet Communists by introducing "Iron Curtain" to describe the division between Western powers and the area under the control of the Soviet Union. Just after the end of WWII, Once again he delivered his second famous speech at Zurich University on 19 September 1946, he came with a new vision when he urged Europeans to turn their backs 'on the horrors of the past' and look to the future by calling to the formation of a 'United States of Europe'. In 1953 Winston Churchill was honoured the Nobel Prize for Literature.

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### **1.2.2 Jean-Baptiste Nicolas Robert Schuman** (1886 -1963)

French statesman independent political thinker and activist. Before his birth, his parents became belonged to Germany when the locality of Clausen where Schuman was born was invaded then annexed by the Germans; hence he was born a German citizen which influenced his background.

Between 1904 and 1910 he studied law, economics, political philosophy, theology and statistics at the Universities of Berlin, Munich, Bonn and Strasbourg. He was graduated in law with the highest distinction from the University of Strasbourg. In the late 1910s, the region of Alsace-Lorraine returned to France in 1919, so he became French citizen at the age of 33. During the two first years of WWII he was taken prisoner because of his actions of protest and oppositions to Nazi's methods, but in 1942, he succeeded to escape and regained again the French resistance. When the war ended he occupied many seats in the French government, starting by Minister of Finance, then in 1947 nominated Prime Minister, after that Minister of Foreign Affairs from 1948-1952 and again Minister of Finance between 1955 and 1956.

As Minister of Foreign Affairs, Monnet became an intermediary of major treaties and initiatives principally when the Marshall Plan was launched, the NATO and the Council of Europe. He became famous thanks to his initiative labelled 'Schuman Declaration' related to his proposal about merging together productions and economies of Germany and other states. He saw that once these economies were attached mutually, it would make the war not just unimaginable, but impossible.

**1.2.3 Jean Omer Marie Gabriel Monnet** (1888-1979) (was born on 9 November 1888 in Charente, France – died on 16 March 1979) a French economist and political diplomat came from family traders of cognac. When he had sixteen, her father sent him to London in the UK to work for the family-run cognac trading business; as a respected and successful businessman, he travelled the world as a cognac dealer, (Russia, Canada, Scandinavia, Egypt and USA) for his family business.

During the WWI he serve his country by contacting the government with the proposal that the only way to an allied victory lay in combining the war supplies and efforts of Britain and France. This proposal was approved years later and he was appointed as an economic mediator between his country and the allies. In August 1940, Monnet was assigned a mission to the USA to oversee buying war provisions. Three years later, when De Gaulle was in exile in Algiers, Monnet was engaged in the so-called the French Committee of National Liberation. At this time his vision emerged about unifying countries of the European continent to recover and preserve concord and peace.

On 5 August 1943, Monnet declared: "There will be no peace in Europe, if the states are reconstituted on the basis of national sovereignty... The countries of Europe are too small to guarantee their peoples the necessary prosperity and social development. The European states must constitute themselves into a federation." (European Union, 2013, p.20)

After the WWII, he was in charge of the national plan of modernisation and development aimed to reconstructing the French economy. On 9 May 1950, Robert



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Schuman the Minister of Foreign Affairs in the French government delivered a declaration prepared by Monnet, in which he proposed the integration of all German-French manufactures of coal and steel in which its control is submitted to a one joint high authority, open to other European states of, aimed to avoid any future hostilities. Jean Monnet subsequently nominated the first President of this high institution. Monnet is regarded as a prominent supporter of European unification.

**1.2.4 Konrad Hermann Joseph Adenauer** (1876-1967) (born in January 5, 1876 in Cologne and died in April 19, 1967) a Christian democrat and anticommunist who founded the Christian Democratic Union party, was the former Chancellor of the Federal Republic of West Germany from 1945 to 1963, he contributed strongly in changing the Germany's situation after the war by shifting Germany from a destructed country to a developed one. He succeeded rapidly in reaching the foreign policy objectives in only six years (1949-1955), when he connected Germany with the western coalition, in which Germany became part of the Council of Europe in 1951, member founded of the European Coal and Steel Community in 1952, and then in 1955 Germany's entry into NATO. He stated:

“The age of national states has come to an end. Everyone must feel that a change has taken place, that an era has vanished and that a new age is dawning in which men will look beyond the borders of their own country and work in fraternal co-operation with other nations for the true aims of humanity... And when this Europe, this new Europe, is built, our young people will once more find scope for active and peaceful lives ... Here in Europe, we have made a start in that direction by building plans for European unity... The thirtieth of January, 1933, will not be repeated. We have a viable and alert democracy here. The Federal Republic is a useful and dependable building block for a united Europe...” (István Tarrósy, Ágnes Tuka, Zoltán Vörös and Andrea Schmidt, 2014, p.524-525)

**1.2.5 Joseph Bech** (1887-1975) (born in February 17, 1887 in Diekirch, Luxembourg - died in March 8, 1975), he studied law in Switzerland then in Paris, France. After had been graduated in 1914, he was elected at the age of twenty seven to the Luxembourgian Chamber of Deputies representing the Christian Party recently created. He totalise sixteen years in the office as Prime Minister in his country, twice when he was appointed head of government before the WWII from 16 July 1926 until 5 November 1937 then for the second time after the WWII from 29 December 1953 until 29 March 1958, and by doing so, he assisted in the first years of 1950s at the formation of the European Coal and Steel Community.

The Luxembourg was in a difficult situation due to of it geographical position between two large, powerful and conflicted countries Germany and France during the two World Wars, which under these conditions, he taught the value of internationalism and cooperation between countries. On 10 May 1940 during the Nazi's invasion to Luxembourg, Bech was exiled in London where he occupied the seat of Minister of Foreign Affairs of his

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county's government in the exile.<sup>1</sup> From this position he signed the historic Benelux Union Treaty in 1944<sup>2</sup>. The Benelux Union was regarded as a concrete model for the future European unification, in which Joseph Bech played a key role in the conception of this small model of European integration, and he proved the crucial role of a small state in building a European Union model.

**1.2.6 Johan Willem Beyen** (1897- 1976) (born in May 2, 1897 in Utrecht in the Netherlands - died in 1976), a Dutch politician banker and businessman who was nominated between 1952-1956 Minister of Foreign Affairs in the government of the Netherlands; wherein he contributed in the formation of the European Economic Community (EEC).

The Common European Market was his idea when he came in the mid 1950's with what is called 'Beyen Plan', which was articulated on the unification of customs to reach an economic cooperation inside a common market. He was certain that European integration should start with the economic cooperation at first, followed by cooperation in the political fields.

On 4 April 1955, Willem Beyen sent to his BENELUX colleagues Joseph Bech and Henri Spaak a message in a form of memorandum containing his proposal of customs unification. On 18 May 1955 the three BENELUX countries adopted the Willem's memorandum, then two days later; they shared it with the three other countries of ECSC (Germany, France and Italy).

From the 1<sup>st</sup> to 3<sup>rd</sup> July 1955, Foreign Ministers of ECSC countries proposed to discuss at the conference of held in Messina<sup>3</sup> the way towards a general integration of the European economy by enlarging the responsibilities of the ECSC in different areas such as transport, nuclear energy, the economic, social and financial fields. The concluding decision of this conference adopted largely Willem's approach who supervised the Dutch delegation at this conference.

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<sup>1</sup>The Luxembourgish government in exile also known as the Luxembourgish government in London was the government of Luxembourg located in 27 Wilton Crescent in Belgravia, London between 1940 and 1944 which now serves as the Luxembourgish Embassy. The government was based in London while Luxembourg was occupied by Nazi Germany.

<sup>2</sup> The **Benelux Union** is a politico-economic union of three neighbouring states in Western Europe: Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg. The name **Benelux** is formed from joining the first two or three letters of each country's name – *Belgium Netherlands Luxembourg* – and was first used to name the customs agreement that initiated the union (signed in 1944).

<sup>3</sup> The Messina Conference is held from 1 to 3 June 1955 at the Italian city of Messina, Sicily, and brings together the Foreign Ministers of the six Member States of the ECSC to discuss the terms for a revival of the European integration process. Luxembourg's Joseph Bech chaired the meeting with Antoine Pinay for France, Professor and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs Walter Hallstein for the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), Paul-Henri Spaak for Belgium and Johan Willem Beyen For the Netherlands. It formed the basis for further work to relaunch European integration and would lead to the Treaties of Rome in 1957 and the formation of the EEC and EURATOM in 1958.

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**1.2.7 Alcide Amedeo Francesco De Gasperi** (1881- 1954) (was born in 3 April 1881 in the district of Trentino – died in 19 August 1954) is an Italian statesman, Christian, Democrat, a son of a policeman was born in a province of Trentino (South Tyrol) which, until 1918, belonged to Austria. He acted in politics and founded of the Christian Democracy Party.

In 1900, he studied philosophy in the Faculty of Literature and Philosophy in Vienna where he became an activist in the Christian Student Movement. When he graduated in 1905, he comes back to Trentino wherein he served as reporter for the magazine *La Voce Cattolica* and became politically active. In 1911 he was elected for six years to represent Trentino in the Austrian House of Representatives, where he used this seat to campaign for the promotion of civil rights for the Italian minority.

During the WWI, he remained neutral, but in the same time, he supported the Vatican's efforts to end the war. In 1918 the war ended and his home region was relocated and transferred to Italy. He was known by his opposition to Fascism, in 1919, he co-founded with Luigi Struzo the Italian People's Party and became in 1921a deputy until 1925. Under Mussolini's government leadership, the fascist powers rose in Italy by using force and pressure against his Party, as a result it was dissolved in 1926. In March 1927 he was detained and jailed for more than one year then liberated after the negotiations of the Vatican to release him. From 1929 until 1943 he worked for the Vatican's Library.

In the aftermath of WWII, when he headed the Italian government for eight years from 1945 until 1953, he became convinced that Italy must regain its place and its role among nations by being part of Marshall Plan, creation of ECSC and joining the NATO. He acquired a hybrid political profile, his wartime experiences, his background and living under fascism, made Altiero Spinelli very much conscious and very motivated about European integration.

**1.2.8 Walter Hallstein** (1901-1982): (was born on 17 November 1901 in Mainz, Germany – died 29 March 1982) a German statesman, academic and diplomat, who studied law and Political Science in Bonn, Munich then Berlin; he graduated in 1925 and began his academic career during the interwar period. Before his thirty's he became the youngest Germany's law lecturer at Rostok University from 1930 to 1941, then at Frankfurt University from which he was recruited into the ranks of the German army in 1942. When the Allies invaded Germany in 1944, he was jailed and taken into a camp in the USA wherein he taught his fellow prisoners on the law and their rights.

On 1 February 1946, Hallstein became professor again the University of Frankfurt then shifted from a professor to its rector in only two months, and in 1948, was invited at Georgetown University as a guest lecturer until 1949. This experience in the USA convinced him that Germany should be connected to the different international initiatives following the WWII such as joining international alliances like the UN and NATO which was, to him, crucial in the return of Germany to the worldwide scene. He started his diplomatic career in 1950, and he was considered one of the leading designers of the ECSC, moreover he held the office of the first president of the Commission of EEC from 1958 to 1967.

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Hallstein played an important and prominent role in the rehabilitation of Germany after the war and in the European integration too, he was convinced that reaching a successful integration in Europe must be based on the formation of common and mutual economic ties.

**1.2.9 Sicco Leendert Mansholt** (1908-1995) (was born on 13 September 1908 in Ulrum, Netherlands - died 29 June 1995) a Dutch politician came from a family of socialist farmer. He attended the HBS-school in Groningen, and then went to the School of Tropical Agriculture in Deventer, where he studied to become a tobacco farmer. He went to Java, Indonesia, for three years where he started work on a tea plantation, but he returned back to the Netherlands in 1936 because he could not get used to the colonial system there.

During the WWII he was an activist member and militant in the Dutch resistance when against the Nazi Germany who occupied the Netherlands helping to hide people on his farm who were in danger and he witnessed famine of 1944, where he organized the secret distribution of food for the western provinces. After the War, when he was 36 years only, Schermerhorn the Prime Minister entrusted to him the Ministry of agriculture as a testament to his experience, courage and organisational skills socialist which he managed as the youngest Minister from 1945 to 1958. Mansholt's experience in living the tragedy of the famine that struck the Netherlands pushed him to state a new strategy based on a series of directives such as setting minimum prices for the largely vital agricultural products, import taxes and support for exports, and in the other hand he realised that agriculture should be modernised profoundly to avoid future insufficiency.

In 1953, he came with the historic plan for agriculture known by Mansholt Plan, which was regarded as being crucial and important for European self-sufficiency and for restoring European agriculture quickly. Between 1958 and 1972 he was selected the primary European Commissioner for Agriculture wherein he argued that agricultural productivity process should increase to secure food supply for all. His ideas constituted the basis for Common Agricultural Policy.

**1.2.10 Paul Henri Charles Spaak** (1899 -1972) (was born on 25 January 1899 in Schaerbeek, Belgium – died 31 July 1972) a Belgian statesman and politician, belonged to a well-known politician family. His mother Marie Janson was the first socialist woman nominated in the Belgian senate, his uncle Paul-Emile Janson was the Belgian Prime Minister in the late 1930s. Moreover Paul Janson his grandfather was a key element in the Liberal Party.

During the WWI he was still a minor, and after lying about his age, Henri joined the Belgian army, but later on, he was arrested by the German army and jailed into a war camp. After the war, he studied at Brussels University wherein he was graduated in law, and then he started practicing law career in Brussels where he defended a lot of Communists who were opposing the Belgian Kingdom.

In 1920 he was integrated in the Socialist Belgian Labour Party afterwards was elected member of parliament in 1932, then one year before the WWII he became Prime Minister of his country. When the Belgian government-in-exile was installed in London

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during the WWII Spaak was nominated his Foreign Affairs Minister. Following the WWII, he was elected President of the first session of the UN's General Assembly; then in 1956 he was chosen by the Council of the NATO to be its Secretary General. He became President of the Parliamentary Assembly of the ECSC in 1952. Then in 1955 was chosen in the conference of Messina as President of the commission in mission to prepare a report concerning the creation of common market known later as 'Spaak Report' which represented the starting point of the Treaty of Rome of 1957, setting up the EEC and EURATOM. Spaak represented Belgium in signing treaty (European Union, 2013, p. 24).

In 1966 Paul-Henri Spaak retired from political affairs, and then died on 31 July 1972. He was honoured after his death by naming the first building of the European Parliament by his name as a testament of his efforts of building a united Europe.

**1.2.11 Altiero Spinelli (1907-1986)** (was born on 31 August 1907 in Rome – died on 23 May 1986) an Italian political theorist, communist and European federalist, when he was 17 he became a member in 'The Italian Communist Party' and entered in a radical journalism opposing the system of government of Mussolini, soon after he was detained and taken into the prison between 1927 and 1943. When the war began he was transferred to the small isle of Ventotene (in the Gulf of Gaeta) with other political opponents of the regime where his Federalist backgrounds started to be shaped.

He criticised some political positions of his Communist Party, he disagreed with the Party and then abandoned the Communists to join Federalist cause with the conviction that federalism should counteract to the devastating power of nationalism. During his detention on the island of Ventotene, he read some works and writings of some federalist theorists, being influenced by their ideas and thoughts, he planned together with his fellow Ernesto Rossi and other political prisoners what was called 'the Ventotene Manifesto' entitled 'Towards a Free and United Europe'. The manifesto proposed the foundation of a European federation by the democratic powers i.e.: supranational European federation of states, which means prevent war in the future and enter into war, ever again would be impossible. After his liberation from captivity, his works were later adopted as an agenda for the Federalist Movement of Europe which he founded in 1943 (European Union, 2013, p.26).

Thanks to his ideas and thoughts starting from his organization of the Ventotene Manifesto when he was jailed in 1943, his European federalist Movement in the same year, and his strong influence during the post-Second World War in advocating federalism, Altiero Spinelli is regarded as a reference for the basic terms of the creation of the European Union

### 1.3 Emergence of the European Union

The European Union usually symbolized by EU consist of a group of 28 European states and nearly 500m people, pledged to an 'ever-closer union' and committed to people's free of movement, goods, services and capital.

How and when did it all start? The EU has been established through a number of series of treaties and agreements from the early 1950s between the founding states to ensure peace and cooperation across the European continent. The process of creation the European

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Union knew three major notable stages, this include: genius period, growth stage and then expansion era.

### 1.3.1 Genesis:

From the 1951 Treaty of Paris to the 1957 Treaty of Rome, the milestone in the creation of the European Union was really implemented. The six signatory countries paved the way to the foundation of the European Union through the cooperation and establishment of a common market of Coal and Steel industries at first, then extending their collaboration to reached the European Economic Community wherein the six member states called for free movement among their border and to abolish all kinds of tariffs between them.

**1.3.1.1 The Treaty of Paris (18 April 1951):** In Paris the treaty was concluded and signed by "the inner six" <sup>1</sup>(Richard Stock, 2011, p.2) on April 1951 implementing the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC). Robert Schuman who represented France proposed in May 1950 gathering the coal and steel in a one common market by the same six countries. Its aim was to establish the common market for the strategic products represented in the coal and steel which were the first economic sectors to be incorporated into an integrated organisation). Martin J. Dedman asserts :

“The European Coal and Steel Community is an important step in the European integration; it was the first union to be set up in the goal of the prevention further wars and to avoid any repetition of hostilities – especially between Germany and France. ECSC is an international organization, it took effect on 25 July 1952 by the Treaty of Paris, and it is regarded as a result of the Schuman Plan. The treaty’s aims were to unify coal and steel industries of France and Germany and economic integration for the prevention of conflict and to eliminate tariffs and quotas on trade in coal and steel within these six-nations. Britain declined to participate in the talks from the outset. Steel was the major element in states’ post-war economic reconstruction needed for railways, buildings, ships, vehicles, machinery”. (Martin J. Dedman, 2010, p.67)

The terms of treaty decreed several supranational institutions for the administration of the ECSC, the most important institutions sentenced in this treaty include: a High Authority consisted of nine members appointed for six years which has the role of administration, a Council of Ministers composed of six representatives of the national governments have the function of legislation wherein the council’s Presidency was held in turn for a phase of three months by each Member State, a Common Assembly to formulate policy was combined of 78 deputies who represented their national Parliaments ( there were 18 deputies each for Italy, Germany and France, 10 representatives for the Netherlands and Belgium and 4 members for Luxembourg), and finally a Court of Justice (CJ) made up of

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<sup>1</sup>Robert Schuman for France, Konrad Adenauer for West Germany, Paul van Zeeland and Joseph Meurice for Belgium, the count Carlo Sforza for Italy, Joseph Bech for Luxembourg, Dirk Stikker and Jan Van den Brink for the Netherlands.

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seven magistrates appointed for six years by common agreement between the governments of the Member States, its responsibility was to construe and perform the agreement and in the other side to abrogate related disputes. The treaty was launched to take effect on 23 July 1952 for duration of 50 years to would be finally lapsed on 23 July 2002.

### **1.3.1.2 The Treaty of Rome (March 1957):**

The six states founders of the ECSC (West Germany, Belgium, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Italy and France)<sup>1</sup> signed jointly in March 1957 the Treaty of Rome by which they founded two important institution of the European Union: the European Economic Community well-known (EEC) and the European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM).

The creation of the EURATOM aimed to sustain peacefully use of atomic energy and to facilitate cooperation in atomic energy development, research, and utilisation. The famous EEC also called the Common Market of manufactured goods with a Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) facilitated for citizens of the contractual countries to live, work and travel freely. It started to operate in January 1958, the EEC called for total liberalism, closer relationships between member countries, free movement across national borders, coordinated policies, elimination of all kinds of tariffs between them and a common or single external tariff CET which means common trade policy towards other countries out of the Union. It marked a key stage in the history of European integration.

In relation to the creation of the common market, the six countries well-known “little Europe” decided that the removal of tariffs would be applied in three stages of four years each, starting in 1958; tariffs were to be reduced by 30 per cent for the four first years, then by a percentage of 60 per cent in the second stage and then eliminated completely by the end last four years (Dr Martin J. Dedman, 2010, p. 98).

Britain refused to be part of the EEC at the start and had preferred to stay out the EEC even it sent his emissary Russell Bretherton who did not attend officially the Messina’s conference, which was considered a ‘Britain’s lost chance’ and the biggest mistakes of post WWII international statesmanship. The events and the years following the Treaty of Rome until 1961 were specific at both the regional (European) stage and in the international level for Britain’s political and economic position, especially after its failure at Suez in 1956 which confirmed that Britain was no longer a world power. Martin J. Dedman states:

“Events had demonstrated Britain’s inability politically and financially to sustain an independent role: the long-preferred two circles of influence – the Commonwealth and the ‘special relationship’ with the US – had lost credibility. Europe, in the shape of the EEC, was the last resort. Britain had nowhere else to go. The idea of joining the EEC was therefore not popular in Britain as it signified national failure.” (Martin J. Dedman: 100).

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<sup>1</sup>The signatories of the historic agreement were Christian Pineau on behalf of France, Joseph Luns from the Netherlands, Paul Henri Spaak from Belgium, Joseph Bech from Luxemburg, Antonio Segni from Italy and Konrad Adenauer from the Federal Republic of Germany.

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To give efficiency to the terms of the treaty, the administrative structure established in the EEC Treaty included four major institutions: the European Commission, the Council of Ministers, the European Court of Justice (ECJ) and the European Assembly (was called later European Parliament).<sup>1</sup>

### **1.3.2 Growth**

On 01 January 1973 the European Union saw its first enlargement by the joining of three countries: United Kingdom, Ireland and Denmark. The fact that the six founding members succeed and flourished economically motivated United Kingdom, Ireland and Denmark to apply for joining to the European Economic Community. France under the president Charles de Gaulle vetoed twice the membership application of UK in 1961 and in 1967. It was finally admitted in 1972 when Georges Pompidou was elected new French President. This first enlargement raised the number of member states to nine.

After throwing off the military dictatorships regime in 1974 and restoring democracy, Greece applied in 1975 to join the European Community, it became finally member state of the EU on 01 January 1981. Under an agreement achieved on policies for migrant workers and farm products in Brussels with the EEC it became officially the tenth member of the European Union in 1981.

Similar to Greece, the two western European Countries Portugal and Spain succeeded to get rid of their dictatorships regimes by mid 1970s. Having been isolated economically and politically and left at the margins of European Community, they could not take part of the process of European integration in the early periods. Soon after the democratic transition, both southwards countries applied to full membership in the European Community. Portugal officially applied to join on March 28, 1977 and signed the pre-adhesion treaty on December 3, 1980. Portugal and Spain became formally members of the European Union on January 1, 1986.

#### **1.3.2.1 The Single European Act (SEA) (February 1986)**

To keep abreast of these new developments on the world scene through the expansion and starting growth of the Union, the member states elaborated a number of strategies and procedures to facilitate continuously the Union's development. The peak of these discussions about the new strategies took place in the first years of the 1980s through an intense reform debate under headlines such as 'second-generation Europe', 'relance europeenne', or 'European union'.

The major event that marked the 1980s was the signing gradually of 'The Single European Act (SEA)' by nine European countries (France, Portugal, Spain, the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), Belgium, the United Kingdom Luxembourg, Ireland and the Netherlands) on 17 February 1986 in Luxembourg. Then in ten days later, Denmark signed the treaty after has been accepted by 56.2 % of the Danish people, followed by Greece and Italy which signed the Treaty in The Hague on 28 February 1986 (REPERES, 2011, p10).

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<sup>1</sup> These institutions of the EEC, ECSC and EURATOM are merged later by the so-called Merger Treaty of 1967 to form a single set of institutions, Since then there has been one Council, one Commission, one Parliament and one Court of Justice, all staffed by the same people.



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This Act of 1986 that came into force on 1 July 1987 is regarded as a very important milestone in the process of building the European Union. The treaty amended the Treaty of Rome aiming to achieve the formation of a common market between the signatories' countries by providing the basis for establishment of a single market. The Treaty of the Single European Act is viewed as the first engagement by member states to found a 'European Union'.

Within to give a new boost for the integration route of the EEC member states, the committee on 'economic and monetary union (EMU)' under the presidency of Jacques Delors<sup>1</sup> prepared the so-called the Single Market Program (SMP) wherein it presented the proposal about the implementation of a common market without domestic borders before the end of 1992. The SMP gave special attention to the executing process and the timing of actions proposed in a White Paper under the following three objectives: the removal of fiscal, technical and physical barriers. After had been published in 1985, the new scheme of SMP was included in the Document of the Single European Market which lay down 31 December, 1992 as achievement date of the Internal Market.

The Program gave a new power for launching Single Market and which include the four famous freedoms (free movement of persons, capital, goods and services). The main features of the SEA can be summarized as follow:

- Institutional reform: The key elements principally concerned with the induction of the majority voting system i.e. to make all the decisions concerning its achievement by majority (instead of the previously required unanimity), it means an enlargement in the function of the European Parliament (EP) which would be allowed to amend legislation.
- Policy Area: The SEM was the major policy sphere which reasserted the free movement of labour or peoples, capital, goods and services.
- Political consequences: The SEA revealed a new image of the European continent and had proved that it becomes an important area of real political activity and with a much greater weight at the worldwide stage.

### **1.3.2.2 Treaty of Maastricht (February 1992):**

The Maastricht Treaty well-known the Treaty on European Union (TEU) is another important sphere in the chain of the economical and political unification of Europe. The Treaty was officially approved by the 12 member states of the EEC on 7 February 1992 in the small town of Maastricht in the Netherlands situated near both Germany and Belgium. It stated clear rules for the future Europe by introducing new forms of collaboration between national governments particularly on defence field as well as justice and home affairs JHA issues.

Under this treaty, the name 'European Economic Community' officially had been replaced by the name 'European Union', dropping the name "economic" from its title. Leaders of the EU's states agreed a timetable for the realisation by 1999, of an 'Economic

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<sup>1</sup>**Jacques Delors:** The French president of the European Commission was former minister for the economy and finance of France. He was the chief architect of Western Europe's drive toward market unity by 1992.

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and Monetary Union (EMU)' with a 'new single currency' called the **euro** (€), managed by a European Central Bank. It was only in 2002 that the national currencies of the twelve participating states have been replaced by actual euro coins and bank notes.

The Maastricht Treaty or the TEU was organised into three pillars:

First Pillar: The first and the main principal pillar called the Economic Community **EC**. This pillar included the past treaties and their amendments but also main new policies, most notably the single currency, and the EMU". (A. Staab, M. Lodge, E. Thielemann, 2011, p. 25-26)

Second Pillar: "Common foreign & security policy CFSP: gave a framework to allow the member countries to present a unified front in international diplomacy". (Ibid)

Third Pillar: "The Justice & home affairs co-operation JHA: The third pillar instituted to the coordination in the fields of Justice and Home Affairs (JHA), and addressed such issues as police cooperation, immigration, asylum and other internal security matters" (Ibid). It should be noted that the major difference between these three pillars is that the decisions in CFSP and JHA are made throughout intergovernmental talks between the member countries.

The foremost objectives of the Treaty of Maastricht:

- a- Advancing the economic and social development in the European Union through the creation of a single and common market without internal frontiers as well as introducing the Economic and Monetary Union **EMU**.
- b- To identify and indicate the European identity on the worldwide stage, mainly throughout implementing a 'common foreign and defence policy' i.e. building a common defence policy and strategy.
- c- Conservation of the interests of citizens of the member countries by the insertion of European citizenship law which means setting new rights for citizens of the nationals of member countries as citizens of the EU).
- d- To secure the efficiency of the mechanisms & institutions of the Community.

On 1 January 1995, the European Union welcomed three additional countries Austria, Finland and Sweden raising the number of EU's states to 15. At this stage, these 15 members cover nearly the whole of Western Europe. Originally, it was supposed to be four further new applicants; however the referendum held in Norway hindered the country to become constituent part of the European Union when more than half of the population was opposed the accession to the European Union. The end of the cold war played a crucial role by encouraging countries applying for membership.

### **1.3.2.3 Treaty of Amsterdam 1997**

The European Union became a regional powerful political and economic body composed of 15 countries by the end of the twentieth century. The 1993 Maastricht Treaty called for another round of intergovernmental talks aiming to adjust the TEU of 1992 and the treaty of Rome of 1957. The Treaty of Amsterdam was signed in 1997 in Amsterdam, Netherlands, amending the 'Maastricht' Treaty after six years where the EU has grown by welcoming the new member states.

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In June 1997 leaders of the European Union agreed on the terms of The Treaty of Amsterdam, and then on 2 October 1997 they signed officially the Treaty giving the EU more power and responsibility concerning its citizens after two years of negotiations and discussions that started on 2 June 1995 in Messina Italy. The main elements of the negotiations are resumed as follow:

- The goal of a 'Citizens' Europe'
- The European Union's role on the worldwide scene.
- Improvements in the workings of the institutions.
- The future possible enlargement.
- The fight against terrorism, international crime and drug trafficking
- Ecological problems.

The Treaty brought much-needed clarification and definition to the concepts of the fundamental and individual's rights (such as non-discrimination and gender equality) and to the EU citizenship <sup>1</sup> in particular notions that are directly related to freedom security and justice for instance data privacy. To this end, the new agreement modified the so-called 'Justice and Home Affairs' under the name 'the area of freedom, security and justice' along with the insertion of a new title in the treaty: 'visas, asylum, immigration and other policies related to the free movement of persons' (RUTH LEA, 2004, p.106). The 'Schengen Agreement' <sup>2</sup> was brought into the EU's framework wherein free movement of people was considerably strengthened by the decision to incorporate the previously bilateral Schengen Agreement paving the way to abolish all kinds of border checks between signatory countries with an opting out of the UK and Ireland. The UK remained out of the Schengen area, along with Ireland which wanted to maintain existing arrangements whereby Irish citizens do not face passport checks at the UK's borders and vice versa.

Under this Treaty a legal requirement for closer cooperation had been established between member states' in numerous fields such as in judicial and police authorities to prevent racism, terrorism, organised crime, offences against children, xenophobia, drug and persons trafficking,

In the other hand, in prevision for future Eastward expansion, the Treaty dealt with reforms of the institutions as well with the Common Foreign and Security Policy CFSP.

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<sup>1</sup>EU citizenship is granted to those who have obtained citizenship status in one of the Member States.

<sup>2</sup>At a summit meeting in the Luxembourg town of Schengen, Belgium, the Netherlands, France, Luxembourg and West Germany decided to remove all border controls between the signatory countries. The agreement came into force in 1985 and over the next years Spain, Portugal and Italy also decided to join up. Denmark, Ireland and the UK, however, chose not to ratify Schengen. In the case of the latter two, this decision was mainly prompted by fears over terrorism in Northern Ireland. By 2010 all EU Member States, with the exception of Britain, Ireland, Cyprus, Bulgaria and Romania, had ratified Schengen. Three non-EU states – Iceland, Norway and Switzerland – are also enrolled in the programme.

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### **1.3.3 Expansion**

In the late twentieth century, the European Union expanded largely and welcomed new member states, which needed a revision and amendment of the precedent treaties that led to the Union to be able to welcome and facilitate Eastward expansion.

**1.3.3.1 Treaty of Nice 2001** In December 2000 the European leaders discussed in Nice, France the Treaty and then by the beginning of the following year they signed it on 26 February 2001 after had been ratified by all 15 Member States; the Treaty came into force on 1 February 2003. The Treaty of Nice represents the third treaty amendment in the stage of less than 10 years which modified the Treaty of Rome (EEC Treaty) and the Maastricht Treaty (TEU). Under the French presidency (chairmanship of Jacques Chirac) the Treaty adjusted and reformed the institutions of the European Union by making some new fundamental institutional changes to the EU's institutions opening the path for eastward expansion (10 countries from East and Central Europe)<sup>1</sup> for a Union intended to be enlarged to 25 member states. It was formerly agreed that by the accession of the 18th member state, all European Council meetings would be held in Brussels (RUTH LEA, 2004, p.38).

The Treaty of Nice was so important and eloquent in a sense that it introduced changes and reforms to the EU's institutional organization that were needed to prepare and facilitate eastward expansion and to enable effective administration of such large political and economic body. (Michael A. Becker: Managing Diversity in the European Union: Inclusive European Citizenship and Third- Country Nationals)

On 01 May 2004 the European continent saw the largest (Fifth) enlargement so far. The fifth enlargement of 2004 is the largest historic extension of the EU since its creation. The number of member states shifted from 15 to 25 members. On 1 May 2004 the EU' club was extended greatly by the addition of ten new countries with a collective population of approximately 75 million. The new members are three Baltic republics Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania, four former states of the communist USSR (the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, and Slovakia), Slovenia as a former Yugoslav republic and two Mediterranean islands (Malta and Cyprus). On 9 November 1989, the fall of the Berlin Wall marked the dissolution of the whole Communist bloc of the East. This event was the starting point for the route of reunification Eastern and Western Europe that had been divided for half a century by the WW2 and the Cold War. It was the largest enlargement in terms of number of countries and population. The new EU now forms an economical and political area with over 450 million citizens.

### **1.3.3.2 Treaty of Lisbon 2007**

On 1 January 2007 two more former communist states from Eastern Europe namely Romania and Bulgaria becomes the 26<sup>th</sup> and 27<sup>th</sup> members of the EU. The accession of Bulgarian and Romanian nations to the European home concludes the EU's eastward extension and raised the number of member states to 27. Bulgaria and Romania represents the weak link in the EU since they are the poorest countries in comparison with the other

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<sup>1</sup>Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Slovenia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Cyprus and Malta

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countries; however their accession into the EU's camp helps to make end to the historical geographic and political divisions left by the Cold War. Romania which suffered also from the Communist dictatorship regime becomes the EU's seventh largest member with a population of about 22 million. Bulgaria whose history is symbolized by both Soviet occupation and conflicts with the Ottoman Empire is far smaller with a population of 7.7 million. Their membership is regarded as a starting place of economic flourish and democratic stability.

In the first half of 2007, Angela Merkel German's Chancellor took over the rotating presidency of the EU. At a summit meeting in June 2007, all of the EU's member countries approved the Berlin Declaration, by which the Members agreed on a new treaty known at first as the Reform Treaty and then in the future as the Lisbon Treaty.

The Reform Treaty agreement or Lisbon's Treaty signed on 13 December 2007 aimed to complete the reform process related to the constitutional changes and to perform the required alters to enable the expanded EU to work more effectively. It was endorsed by all EU's states, and then came into force on 1 December 2009. Lisbon Treaty amended the 1993 Maastricht Treaty, and renamed the 1957 Treaty of Rome as the 'Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union TFEU' of 2007, which includes the constitutional foundation of the EU.

In 2003, Croatia the former Yugoslavia state applied for EU's membership. The EU finished accession negotiations with Croatia in June 2011, in which a great deal of talks was about cooperating with the UN criminal war's tribunal in The Hague. Later on, Croatia signed the Treaty of Accession on 9 December of the same year, then held a referendum on 22 January 2012 which resulted 66% in favour of joining. On 21 June 2013 the approval process was completed, and finally on 1 July 2013, 4.4 million Croatian nationals became European Union citizens. Croatia is the second state from ex-Yugoslavia after Slovenia to join the EU. A decade after its application for EU membership in 2003 then making it a formal candidate in early 2004 by the European Commission, Zagreb became the 28th member of the European Union on 1 July 2013.

### 1.4 The Euro

More than a decade after the end of the WW2, the first cornerstone was set up in 1957 for the construction of the European Union and then the creation of common market. It became evident very early to the member countries that in order to achieve the union's economic goals it would be necessary to adopt a common currency. By the end of the 1970s, exactly in March 1979 the European Monetary System (EMS)<sup>1</sup> was founded by which exchange rates were related directly to the European Currency Unit (ECU).<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>EMS was an agreement established in 1979 under the Jenkins European Commission where most states of the EEC associated their currencies to prevent large variations relative to one another.

<sup>2</sup>ECU was the former currency unit of the European Communities member states, adopted on 13 March 1979 (replacing the 'European Unit of Account') then replaced by the euro on 1 January 1999. It was composed of a basket of European Communities currencies and it served as the standard monetary unit of measurement of the market value/cost of goods, services, or assets in the

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The EU leaders decided to go for economic and monetary union (EMU) <sup>1</sup>by signing the Treaty of Maastricht formally the Treaty on European Union (TEU) on 7<sup>th</sup> February 1992. The treaty involved the coordination of fiscal and economic policies and stated the creation of a single common European currency by January 1999, supervised by the European Central bank (ECB). However British Prime Minister John Major obtained an accord for UK's opt out of EMU. On December 16, 1995, European leaders adopted officially, at the European Council in Madrid the new common European currency which would be known The EURO replacing the existing ECU as an accounting currency.

At the meeting of Madrid, Europe's leaders approved the euro as the name of the new currency. However, other propositions were declined because of their national significance such as **franken**, **ecu**, **ducat**, **florin**, or adding the euro as a prefix to a currency names, for instance **euromark**. For this reason, they agreed that the currency's new name must be similar in all official languages of the European Union, to be simple, easy to pronounce and representative of Europe.

Like the name, the new currency needs to have a symbol which would be certainly related to the continent, also attractive and easy to write. From a list of thirty suggestions, only ten were accepted and became the subject of a public survey. From this selection, two symbols appeared and the last choice comes back to Jacques Santer the President of the commission, and his collaborator Yves-Thibault de Silguy, the commissioner in charge of Economic and Financial Affairs at that time. The euro sign was inspired from **epsilon** (the Greek letter) as an indication of European civilization's cradle. The letter **E** is the first letter of the word Europe and the two parallel horizontal lines symbolizes the stability of the currency. The official code of the euro: **EUR** has been registered with the (ISO) International Organization for Standardization.

The new single currency the euro was launched on 1 January 1999 to world financial markets as an accounting currency for cash-less payments and accounting purposes then became a reality on 1 January 2002, when euro notes and coins replaced currencies in twelve of fifteen countries ( Belgium, Germany, Greece, Spain, France, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Austria, Finland and Portugal). The name euro was officially adopted on 16 December 1995 in Madrid. Physical euro coins and banknotes entered into circulation on 1 January 2002, making it the day-to-day operation currency of its original members, and by May 2002 had completely replaced the former currencies.

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Same European Communities, regarded as the cornerstone that led to the constitution of the European Monetary System EMS. Unlike the euro, the ECU was only an electronic unit of account without any official coins or notes that could be used for cash transactions.

<sup>1</sup>**EMU** is the successor to the European Monetary System EMS; it involves the combination of European Union member countries into a cohesive economic system, most remarkably represented with the approval of the euro as the national currency of participating members.

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On January 1, 1999, one of the largest steps towards European unification took place with the introduction of the euro as official currency in 12 countries. The euro is the mainly concrete evidence of European integration. It represents the common currency in 19 out of 28 EU states and used consequently by more than 338 million Europeans as of 2015.

Today, the **euro (€)** is the official currency of the Eurozone, which consists of 19 of the 28 European Union's member countries : Austria, France, Belgium, Germany, Greece, Cyprus, Finland, Italy, Portugal, Spain, Estonia, Ireland, Latvia, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Slovenia, Slovakia, Malta and Lithuania.

Banknotes and coins have been part of everyday life for millions of Europeans in the Eurozone. These leaflets represent the seven euro banknotes and the eight euro coins, with their security features. The banknotes inspired by architectural styles of seven periods in Europe cultural story are of the same design throughout all member countries of the Euro area. While the side of the euro coins portraying three different maps of Europe is common to all 12 states, the country specific reverse side features designs which reflect each member country's national identity. All of the banknotes and coins are legal tender in any member country of the Eurozone.

The most important thing in designing the banknotes is the security feature which means resistance to counterfeiting. The Council of the European Monetary Institute EMI solicited in the late 1994, the Banknote Working Group to formulate suggestion for design themes for the euro banknote series. The suggestion of the seven banknote denominations would be mainly first about reflecting a sense of union, and secondly it should depict the stars and the flag of the EU. 18 themes were initially chosen, but only three of themes were proposed finally by the Working Group: "Ages and styles of Europe", "Heritage of Europe" and "Abstract theme and security", later renamed "Abstract/modern design". In June 1995 approved two of the three proposals were approved by the EMI: "Ages and styles of Europe" and "Abstract/modern design". It was also decided that the only words to be shown on the banknotes would be the currency's name and the ECB in the different languages. (HOW THE EURO BECAME OUR MONEY, European Central Bank, 2007). The euro coins designs were at the same time as the euro banknote designs. Each coin would have a "national side" and a "common European side".

### **1.5 Schengen**

Under the 1957 Treaty of Rome, the member states were committed to abolish the national borders checks between them in order to allow freedom movement for citizens across internal borders. It was concerned also by setting rules for controls at external borders, and providing cooperation in police and judicial affairs. However, the consensus has not been achieved among all the EC countries since the European Community's states made only fewer efforts on this issue in the three decades following its creation. As a result, governments in the Benelux countries, French Republic and Federal Republic of Germany decided to go on with the strategy separately, resulting in the Schengen Agreement of 1985. It scheduled:

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- **Short-term measures** simplifying internal border checks and coordinating the fight against drug trafficking and crime. (The Schengen Area, European Commission).
- **Long-term measures** such as the harmonisation of laws and rules on drug and arms trafficking, police cooperation and visa policies. (Ibid).

The agreement was named in relation to a small village in Luxembourg located on common borders of those of Germany and France where the meeting took place. The term Schengen Agreement refers to both the agreement that was signed on 14 June 1985 in the town of Schengen, Luxembourg by five of the ten EEC member states abolishing gradually controls at their national frontiers, and to the Convention of implementing the Schengen Agreement approved on 19 June 1990. The Schengen Agreements entered into force on 26 March 1995.

On 19 June 1990, the Agreement was reinforced by the Schengen Convention which set out how to apply the needed measures for complete abolition of internal border checks and a common and uniform visa policy's procedures by the establishment of what is known Schengen Information System (SIS).<sup>1</sup> On 26 March 1995, Europe applied the implementation of Schengen Agreements

In 1995 the implementing Convention and the Schengen Agreement were applied but only for seven number states, which led the creation of the Schengen Area. Two years later during the Amsterdam Intergovernmental Conference IGC the incorporation of the Schengen were introduced in European Union law. All European Union members signed the Agreement in 1997 which would come into effect in 1999 except the UK and Ireland which remained outside of the Schengen Area.

Today, the Schengen Area covering a population of over 400 million people and an area of 4,312,099 square kilometres incorporates 26 European countries from the total 28 states that have officially eliminated passport and all kinds of border checks at their mutual frontiers. While the two others UK and Ireland remain outside the Schengen zone they maintained a Common Travel Area (CTA)<sup>2</sup> since 1923. It should be noted here that four countries member states of the European Free Trade Association EFTA<sup>3</sup> signed accords relative with Schengen Agreement however they are not EU's members.

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<sup>1</sup>**SIS:** functions as a basis for cooperation in law enforcement and protection of the external borders of the area, by providing alert information for police, migration, justice and other authorities regarding missing people, criminal entities associated with crimes, as well as about forbidden people to enter and stay in the Schengen Area.

<sup>2</sup>**CTA** The Common Travel Area is a special travel zone with open borders area between the Ireland and the UK, Isle of Man and Channel Islands. Within the CTA countries can travel freely without being subject to passport controls.

<sup>3</sup>**EFTA** are Switzerland, Norway, Iceland and Liechtenstein



## **CHAPTER ONE: THE EUROPEAN UNION (HISTORICAL BACKGROUND)**

### **1.6 The Origins of Brexit**

The British people as well as politician leaders have historically manifested and voiced their critical positions and their uncertainty against the European Union project since its foundation after the WWII. Wherefore the Eurosceptic tendencies and critics about the integration rose remarkably in the UK. The problematic of UK's membership tackled in the referendum has evoked wide-ranging discussions about the UK's position inside the EU.

In the referendum held in June 2016, a majority of British peoples voted by against the United Kingdom to remain in the European Union. The referendum results indicated once more a new low level of the relationship linking Britain with the EU. British exit referendum can be observed as part of a larger populist tendency in Europe, but there are some accurate motivating grounds behind holding the referendum that are profoundly implanted in the British society and awareness. These can be recapitulated in four major grounds: British history, geography, economics and socio-politics.

The sovereignty question pervades the UK's historic as well as present conflicting vision of its correlation with European Union. During the election campaign that accompanied the referendum, the sovereignty issue was at the forefront, it was considered as a priority for the Leave supporters. They argued that European institutions' missions have changed since 1973 when the UK joined the Union club, and they saw that the EU had become 'a suffocating bureaucracy with expanding regulations' particularly after Lisbon Treaty which gave Brussels broader powers. In this regard, Michael Gove Minister of Justice says "Laws which govern citizens in this country are decided by politicians from other nations who we never elected and can't throw out,"

Geography also played a crucial role in shaping the British exit from the EU, it influenced hardly British voters. When he indicated that he would support an EU in/out referendum on 23 January 2013, former Prime Minister David Cameron said, "It's true that our geography has shaped our psychology. We have the character of an island nation – independent, forthright, passionate in defence of our sovereignty" (Bloomberg speech).

Economically Tensions had exploded between the European Community and the UK in 1984 when the Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher called clearly to reduce British contributions to the EEC budget. At that time UK paid a lot more into the budget than other countries by reason of its relative lack of farms. Economic factor had already driving British concern to withdraw from the EU notably after the global economic crisis at the end of 2008. The Eurozone crisis in which financial systems collapsed across Europe and some Eurozone states such as Greece could not face the crisis, this made the British look on in gratitude, for they had not joined the Eurozone.

The migration crisis matter was another leading complaint for the Leaving camp and became a focal point of the referendum. After the two largest expansions of 2004 and 2007, more than three hundred thousand people arrived from Central and Eastern Europe to the UK by 2015 wherein the fears rise that immigrants from these countries take all of low-wage positions. Moreover, Europe and UK faced huge waves of numbers of asylum seekers and migrants arriving from Middle East and Africa between 2015 and 2016.

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Another aggravating ground to the Brexit referendum was the increase in terror attacks in Paris and Brussels which have already deepened security worries in the UK about the dangers of remaining in the EU. Terror attacks on mainland of Europe raised fears that the free movement of people leaves the UK exposed to dangers, by taking in account that more than three thousand EU nationals have moved to Syria for fighting with the so called Islamic State. Richard Dearlove the Former head of UK intelligence stated that “controlling immigration would be the primary security benefit of a Brexit”.

Former Prime Minister Tony Blair said in a recent BBC documentary “Britain’s problem with Europe is that we didn’t invent it and weren’t there at the origin, and as a result of that we’ve always felt that Europe was something kind of done to us and something that we were always somewhat on the fringe of.”

### 1.4.1 Attitudes of the British people towards the Brexit

According to an article published by the ‘Independent newspaper’ on Monday 13 February 2017, a recent survey demonstrates that Britons would vote in favour of remaining in the EU with 51 % and 49 % would vote for Brexit if the referendum were to be held again. The same survey of more than 44,000 people show that 13.5 % of British people who voted to leave in June 2016 would change their mind to choose to remain if there were a second referendum. **Adrian Low** from the London School of Economics and political Science confirmed this when he examines the post-referendum surveys. He revealed there have been nearly 13 polls asked similar questions since the referendum held in June 23<sup>rd</sup> in which the results indicate that the Brexit was not the will of Britons and that the greater part in the UK does not want Brexit.

In the other side the leave camp’ voice cannot be neglected, particularly the UKIP supporters who saw that the UK have made the right choice by voting leaving the EU, one of supporters of Brexit said in a comment on the article published by the ‘Independent newspaper’ on Monday 13 February 2017:

“The same polls who said remain would win at the first referendum totally unreliable. I voted leave and would do in as many referendums as needed instead of listening to the doom mongering and desperate mps worrying about their bank balances but on the pretence they’re worried for public...The EU is ruled by Germany and once they get their own way for an EU superstate there will be not 27 member states just one large country ruled by Germany.... We are getting our country back our identity back ...but I believe in Britain not the EU dictatorship” (<http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/brexit-latest-news-eu-referendum-held-today-again-remain-win-leave-lose-uk-poll-a7576981.html>)

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### **1.7 Conclusion:**

To sum up, The European Union was created by the famous Founding Fathers after the Second World War throughout several agreements and treaties between the European states from Western and Eastern Europe in order to establish peace and prosperity in Europe. It has been enlarged many times in which it shifted from six member states in 1951 to 28 member countries in 2015, by setting up political cooperation as well as economic integration which resulted in many figures such as the use of a unified currency the Euro and the free circulation of peoples, goods, services and capital between the member states of the European Union in what is called Schengen area. Britain has special and difficult links with the European continent, influenced by its superiority over the three centuries before wherein the kingdom spread overseas, to be declined in the twentieth century. Britain was obliged to join the European Union by the 1970s wherein the unification and integration's experience resulted positively to the six countries founding. However, internal political pressure contributed to the rise of the uncertainty against the European Union project.

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## CHAPTER TWO : THE BREXIT

### 2.1 Introduction

Every state has a certain vision of its role in the world, which planned its identity and the approach it perceives itself in relation to other countries. The historical era of the British Empire has considerably influenced the manner the British political leaders sees the situation of their country in Europe. The first settlements of the British Empire were established by the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th centuries,

Later, United Kingdome expanded greatly to become the largest and the greatest world kingdom in history, with colonies on the entire continents and in all the oceans. During the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the empire saw a fast decline and finally most former colonies became independent and the British Commonwealth<sup>1</sup> was created. All of the subordinate states became independent territories with sovereign governments, but in the other hand, they all more or less continue symbolically faithful to the British Crown. Thus, for more than three centuries, the UK shaped the history of the contemporary world, and it comes clearly that a large part of British population and many politicians still consider somewhat superior to the other European nations. Furthermore, its integration in the EU was considered as a positive step by citizens of most member states on the way to extend communication with other countries and to reach out to the world. Smaller countries such as Slovenia saw it as a gain, whereas other countries such as Germany, wanted to improve their negative image from the past. On the other hand, for the British Empire, the focus only on Europe and being controlled by European institutions represents a failure in their international influence, which therefore narrowed its opportunities. It is a psychological obstacle and it results in a great trouble for the relationship between Britain and Europe.

Another impediment was the fact that Britain did not contribute in the founding of the EU. The founding states established fundamental regulations that cannot easily be modified, and therefore members who will join later must adjust to the rules already in place. Britain had two opportunities to join the EU, but it did not take advantage of them. During the 1950s, the first step on the road to create a United Europe was made by starting discussions about the creation of the (ECSC) European Coal and Steel Community when the Labour Government presided by *the Labour Party leader* Clement Attlee was called to take part but officially refused the offer.

Later, when the ECSC was established, the six founding states wanted to enlarge the common market for coal and steel into a common market. Treaty of Rome (also known as the Treaty of the European Community) was signed in 1957, led to the foundation of the European Economic Community (EEC) and the European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM). This was a basic stone and a very important stage in the creation of the modern European Community; however the Conservative Government under the presidency of Anthony Eden did not recognise its value and refused to sign the treaty. In The aftermath of the treaty, the six founding countries of the EEC flourished economically whereas Britain suffered from continuous economic decline. It was only following this most prosperity epoch of the Community, that Britain entered the ECC.

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<sup>1</sup>It is a voluntary intergovernmental association mostly composed of the former colonies of the Empire.

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### **2.2 History of the delicate relationships between BRITAIN and EUROPE**

In 1961, the Conservative Government of Harold Macmillan was convinced by the idea of been a member of the EEC, and applied to join was necessary. This takes to next the issue, which is the traditional and historical antagonism with France. This historical antagonism led the French President Charles de Gaulle in 1961, to oppose the British application to join the EEC when he vetoed twice its application. His argument was based on the idea that the British strong relationship with the USA as well as the British Commonwealth could hinder them in their dedication to the EEC. Then in 1967 the Labour Government of Harold Wilson filed the second application but rejected once again by the French veto. By the arriving of Georges Pompidou the new French President, the veto was removed, and finally in 1973 under the leadership of Conservative Prime Minister Edward Heath, the UK joined the EEC.

In the late 1950s and during the 1960s the continuous economic decline of the UK and in the other hand the economic flourishing of the six other states largely influenced leaders and politicians in Britain, who changed completely their mind about their relationships with European Community. Britain does not strive for any form of political integration; it was noticeable that for economic motivation that the UK was urged into applying for membership, it is disinclined to transfer its sovereignty and its self-decision for the intergovernmental collaboration structure instead.

Once and following only a small majority voted in favour of the European Communities Act of 1972 which was introduced in Britain, it became obvious that the country's incorporation would face the so-called sovereignty obstacle. Under the Communities Act, the European law has the superiority and the entire supremacy over each national source of law of the member states. However, Sovereignty of Parliament in Britain represents one of the basic principles of the unwritten constitution in the country. This sovereignty of Parliament in the UK means that Parliament is the highest power of the country and that it has the official and the lawful right to pass laws that are the principal form of British regulation. Nevertheless, this divergence was and still is seriously affected by its EEC membership in view of the fact that it leads to conflict with the basic superiority principle of the Community. In order to apply to join the EEC and become a member of it, UK had to agree with the principles of the Communities Act as a legal foundation of its membership. However, Britain continues to identify its collaboration with Europe as intergovernmental and not as a regular procedure of political integration in which supranational institutions take priority above all national governments.

Practically all surveys of public attitude in all European countries revealed a widespread and a large disappointment with the European integration. What is specific for Britain is that the political elite shared equally the public uncertainty and discontent towards the European integration. From the time when there has been a change in the point of view and the two major parties have been divided over the European question. This became obviously and fully noticeable from the very early days of British integration. Namely, when UK joined the EEC under the Conservative Government of Edward Heath, there was no economic growth notably affected by the Oil crisis of 1973 which was regarded as the origin of the impediment of economic progress everywhere.

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In other side, the Labour party declined such integration and opposed firmly the EEC, they promised to hold a referendum on leaving if they came into power. In 1975, Harold Wilson of the Labour Party won the presidency of the Government; he kept his word and held the referendum. Nevertheless, the results were that the majority of British voters preferred staying in which consequently urged Labour to change its mind, and became now even more attracted by European project when some social affairs were raised by European law. For instance, a few elements of the British Employment Protection Act of 1978 were considered inequitable in referring to European law for the reason that part-time employees had less social protection. The Protection Act even amounted to sexual discrimination since the majority of part-time workers were women. On the other side, from 1975 the Conservative Party accelerated with its new leader Margaret Thatcher and started gradually opposing the idea of integration.

Thereafter, in 1979 the Iron Lady<sup>1</sup>Margaret Thatcher as the first woman to lead the Conservative party became Prime Minister; she firmly uttered her discontent and her negative attitude to the EEC. During the epoch of her service Britain knew a rising political isolation from Europe. She was strongly against full political, social and economic integration; in another word Thatcher opposed the project of this system to set up a Monetary Union and a Eurozone. Sir Geoffrey Howe, her Chancellor of the Exchequer, argued that in terms of budget the UK contributed greatly more than the other states and he believed that something had to be done about it. As a reaction, in 1984 the Conservative government of Margaret Thatcher started negotiations to refund on the contribution of Britain, and consequently received some of its funds back and it was during that period that she delivered her famous declaration "We want to get our money back" (Ibid).

The most important motivation for this call to get back British money was the fact that a big part of the European budget is spent on what was known the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) and since agriculture does not represent a most important segment in the UK economy, Britain considered that it benefited much less from farming than other countries. Moreover, for Margaret Thatcher, Britain was losing its sovereignty, supremacy and independence by transferring the authority of decision-making to Brussels. In her "Bruges Speech"<sup>2</sup> in 1988 The Iron Lady stated that: "To try to suppress nationhood and concentrate power at the centre of a European conglomerate would be highly damaging and would jeopardize the objectives we seek to achieve ... Working more closely together does not require power to be centralised in Brussels or decisions to be taken by an appointed bureaucracy." (Thatcher, Bruges Speech 1988)

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<sup>1</sup>**Iron Lady** is the nickname of British politician and former Prime Minister of the United Kingdom Margaret Thatcher. It was coined by Captain Yuri Gavrilo in a 24 January 1976 article in the Soviet newspaper *Red Star* about Thatcher's "Britain Awake" speech where she expressed her staunch opposition to the Soviet Union and to socialism. The nickname became popular, transforming Thatcher's image, and helping her and her Conservative Party to win three elections. Thatcher was in effect portrayed as the "spiritual mother" of Euroscepticism.

<sup>2</sup>**Bruges Speech:** is a speech by British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher launched in September 20, 1988 at the College of Europe in Bruges, Belgium on the occasion of the opening of the academic year. The generis basis of that speech came as opposition to the Maastricht Treaty and the establishment of Eurozone.



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During the 1980s she was not motivated to let Britain join the European Monetary System and agree to a common social policy for the reason that she regarded both of them as steps on the way to construct a closer political union. She pointed out that the united Europe project is a “utopia that could endanger our societies, our liberties, and our ways of life” (Ramiro Toroitino, 2008, p.1). For Margaret Thatcher, the European project is considered merely as a union made out for economic grounds, a union that could set up an economic and a common European market, and not a political union. Thatcher was not particularly ready to adapt revolutionary transformations, such as the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe and the fall of the Berlin Wall that took place by the end of the 1980s. By the beginning of the 1990s, the Conservative Party appointed a new leader, John Major,<sup>1</sup> who replaced Margaret Thatcher. In 1992, his government ratified the Maastricht Treaty, which led to the construction of the European Union in 1993. However, he opted out of the social policy section of the treaty, as well as of joining the economic and monetary union in which the awkward attitude of UK was once again reinforced.

In 1997, Tony Blair<sup>2</sup> who replaced John Major in leading the Labour Party ensured an outright success with the Party’s pro-Europe programme. The new Prime Minister Tony Blair was much more pro-European and very passionate about the Union, his aim was striving Britain’s position in the EU, and the first action he did when he arrived into power was to sign the Social Chapter. During his election campaign, he proclaimed a referendum on adopting the common European currency (euro €); but, it did not take place during the period of his service. Labour Governments of both Tony Blair and Gordon Brown accomplished favourable reflection of Britain as an EU member country. In the other hand, in this period the one more issue which became noticeable in the Britain’s relationship with the EU was the special alliance and remarkable connection with the USA since many European countries considered and still the Union as a kind of counterweight to the USA. One image of this alliance between the UK and the USA was confirmed frankly after the terrorist attacks of September 2001. British Prime Minister Tony Blair directly declared that the UK will support categorically the USA, and he ordered to sent great numbers of British troops to Iraq and Afghanistan, a decision which was largely unpopularity in both Europe and at home.

By the arriving of the new leader of the conservative party David Cameron, the political atmosphere in Britain knew a quickly changes. In his Bloomberg speech,<sup>3</sup> Cameron added a new stage to the critical relationship between Britain and Europe, known as “Reform or Brexit” when stated that EU in entire needs to be changed. He added “Britain is uncomfortable in the Union as it is, developing. It must now be completed and ensured that developments in the Euro area – of which Britain will never be a member, , do not

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<sup>1</sup> **John Major:** a Conservative Party politician was nominated the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and Leader of the Conservative Party from 1990 to 1997. He was Foreign Secretary and Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Thatcher Government.

<sup>2</sup>**Tony Blair** Anthony Charles Lynton Blair was born on 6 May 1953, originally known as Anthony Blair, is a British Labour Party politician, who served as Prime Minister of the United Kingdom (UK), from 1997 to 2007.

<sup>3</sup> at the London headquarters of Bloomberg on 23 January 2013,

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compromise in any way Britain's access to this market" ( Cameron, Bloomberg Speech, 2013). Cameron's message was strong and very pertinent when he said : "either you satisfy our wishes, and in doing so we would have to negotiate a new treaty, or you bear the risk of seeing British voters deciding a Brexit from the European Union in 2017"( Ibid). The upshot was that David Cameron promised to hold a referendum on Britain future membership of the EU; his aim was to negotiate a kind of "*lose membership*" for UK.

David Cameron decided that such referendum would not take place under the existing situation, but under an adjusted agreement, the future of the UK's membership has become the mainly crucial preoccupation. Therefore, he called for an 'In-Out Referendum'; however in the other hand, his efforts to reform the EU clearly alienated the conservative party and divided his coalition with the Liberal Democrat, this large political pressures led to the rise again of Eurosceptic movement represented by UKIP <sup>1</sup> under the current leadership of Nigel Farage <sup>2</sup> who adopted an exceptional discourse especially on some terms of national identity's elements in the way of attracting support and mobilization of British voters to a withdrawal from EU, he emphasized that "leaving the Union and reclaiming own destiny will create the most exciting opportunity for national renewal in our lifetime" ( Farage ,2013).

There is no uncertainty that the British European relationship on the world scene is characterized by a complex and difficult one. There are many explanations and grounds of the British membership problematic in the Union. As an ex-imperial and supremacy power, the UK faced particularly difficulties to alter and adjust its political interest to the European Union. Being a latecomer in the Community, UK had to narrow and adapt itself to the already established rules and policies set in previously, some of which are in direct contrast with the basic principles of the British sovereignty and Constitution. Its connection with America and its historical antagonism with France are also additional issues. Moreover, the fact that Britain joined the European Community merely for economic reasons at a critically time (oil crisis of 1973) mirrored in population and political elite discontent. Conservative Governments from 1979 until 1997 contributed to a British isolation in the European Community. Conservative Government of Tony Blair demonstrated enthusiastic attention for a close links to the USA, which seemed to exceed in the same time those with the EU.

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<sup>1</sup>**UKIP:** United Kingdom Independence Party. UKIP was founded in 1991 by the historian Alan Sked as the Anti-Federalist League, a single-issue Eurosceptic party. Renamed UKIP in 1993, the party adopted a wider right-wing platform and gradually increased its support. Under Farage's leadership, from 2009 the party tailored its policies towards the white working-class, before making significant breakthroughs in the 2013 local elections and the 2014 European elections, where UKIP received the most votes. At the 2015 general election, the party gained the third largest vote share and one seat in the House of Commons.

<sup>2</sup>**Nigel Paul Farage** (born 3 April 1964) is a British politician, broadcaster and political analyst who served as the leader of the UK Independence Party (UKIP) from 2006 to 2009 and again from 2010 to 2016. In 1999 he was elected a Member European Parliament for South East England, then re-elected in 2004, 2009 and most recently in 2014. He left the Conservative Party in 1992 after the signing of the Maastricht Treaty, he strongly criticised the Euro Currency.

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On the other hand, Labour Governments have in general demonstrated much more interest in European Community and British membership.

### 2.3 Article 50

The EU integrated for the first time in its history this infamous article designed for a potential leave but they left it purposely vague. When the Leaders of the EU member states approved in 2007 the Treaty of Lisbon, they did not imagine that any country would leave the Union. The lecturer at Cambridge University Chris Bickerton says: “The Treaty of Lisbon was drafted with the idea that [Article 50] would not be used, and to make it pretty hard to exit in a smooth way”. No state has ever withdrawn from the EU before the 2007 Treaty of Lisbon. Article 50 introduced under the Treaty of Lisbon which became a law entered in force in December 2009 gave for the first time to any EU’s member state the right to leave voluntarily and unilaterally the union, and outlines the process for accomplishing so. It gives the withdrawing state a period of two years to discuss an exit agreement. The Article permits to a member state to notify the EU of its leaving intention which paved the way to negotiate a ‘withdrawal agreement’.

The Article 50 is considered as the officially permitted mechanism for a member state to withdraw from the EU; it gives any member states of the EU the right to leave unilaterally. It does not require any conditions for an EU’s Member country to apply for withdrawing; however it outlines just the necessary and obligatory process for doing so. Article 50 states that the withdrawing country should obligatory inform the European Council of its intention for leaving, thus official negotiations for an exit deal can start. Triggering this article will launch automatically the timer on a two-year negotiation of leave discussions over state’s separation from the EU bloc. Once the two-year period ends and if no deal is concluded within this period, that withdrawing state will be excluded automatically and terminates its membership from the EU 28-member bloc except unanimously consent of all member states and the European Council to extend this period by lengthening the deadline. During the two-year period of negotiations, the country wishing to leave would apply all the EU laws and treaties, However, in the other hand the rule says that once a country has withdrawn under the same article, its representing member of the European council shall not take part in internal EU debate or decisions relating to its withdrawal.

The lawful effect of leaving the EU by a member state is the cease of the use of the EU laws, Protocols and Treaties in the country exited starting from that point. Consequently, EU law stops to be applied in the leaving country, although any domestic acts approved in transposition or implementation of EU rule would continue applicable until the national authorities decide to modify or revoke them. Moreover, an exit accord could include terms on the intermediate use of EU regulations, for instance the rights related to the EU citizenship, which would be eliminated by the withdrawal.

What’s more is that Article 50 of the Treaty of Lisbon states noticeably that whether a country of the EU wish to become again a member for a second time it would apply for membership in the same system as a new candidate, the day after leaving.

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### 2.4 Definition of BREXIT

Brexit is the combination of the two words "**Britain**" and "**exit**" which means UK's withdrawal from the European Union.

Br (itish) + exit = Brexit

Other definitions:

- The withdrawal of the United Kingdom from the European Union.
- Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary defines Brexit: is the act of leaving of the United Kingdom from the European Union Bloc.
- Brexit is the abbreviation of "British exit" with reference to the Britain's decision made in a referendum held on June 23, 2016, in which British electorate decided to leave the EU bloc.
- It is a word that has become used as a shorthand way of saying the UK leaving the EU - merging the words **Britain** and **exit** to get Brexit, in a same way as a possible Greek exit from the euro was dubbed Grexit in the past. (bbc.com).

“**Brexit**” has been added to the Oxford English Dictionary (OED), noting the “impressive” speed with which it became widely used. **Lexicographers** said the word filled an empty space in the language, but is now used globally to describe the phenomenon - appearing in many foreign language newspapers. **Grexit** - to define “the (potential) withdrawal of Greece from the Eurozone monetary union” - was added as well.<sup>1</sup>

### 2.5 Procedures of withdrawal from the EU (Procedures of BREXIT)

The 2009 Lisbon Treaty <sup>2</sup>facilitates for the first time under Article 50 the voluntary leaving of a member state from the EU. This right for any member state to withdraw was highly discussed before that. The bases rules for exit available in Article 50 of the Treaty on European Union are the only legal lawful way to withdraw from the EU. The British Prime Minister David Cameron made clear to the House of Commons that “if the British people vote to leave, there is only one way to bring that about, namely to trigger Article 50 of the Treaties and begin the process of exit, and the British people would rightly expect that to start straight away” (House of Commons Library, 10, 2016).

Prime Minister David Cameron, who called the referendum and campaigned for Britain to remain in the EU, resigned the following month. Home Secretary Theresa May replaced Cameron as leader of the Conservative party and as Prime Minister. In his ‘Bloomberg Speech’ of January 2013, the UK Prime Minister David Cameron presented his vision for the future of Britain in the European Union. The message was clear

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<sup>1</sup><http://www.investopedia.com/terms/b/brexit.asp#ixzz4ikbR6Lb3>

<sup>2</sup> The Treaty of Lisbon (initially known as the Reform Treaty) is an international agreement which amends the two treaties which form the constitutional basis of the European Union (EU). The Treaty of Lisbon was signed by the EU member states on 13 December 2007, and entered into force on 1 December 2009. It amends the Maastricht Treaty(1993), also known as the Treaty on European Union, and the Treaty of Rome (1958), also known as the Treaty establishing the European Community (TEEC). The Treaty of Lisbon renamed the Treaty of Rome to the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU). entered into force on 1st December 2009

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and it was evident that the Prime Minister was engaged in reshaping the British links with the EU, furthermore in the other hand, granting British citizens a say on Europe through a referendum. Since he was re-elected as Prime Minister, the general election outcome of 2015 secured a comfortable parliamentary majority to his Conservative Party in the House of Commons which paved the way to a 'remain-or-leave' referendum. However, the European financial and economic crisis during his current premiership strained the relationship between his country and EU. The vote has had an important influence internally on national politics, and outwardly a deeply impact on the country's position in both the European continent and the world as a whole. Surveys before the polling indicated that the majority of British voters will vote in favour of remaining within the EU, but suggested too that nearly a half of British electorate wish to say yes to leave the EU.

On May 27<sup>th</sup>, under a harsh pressure imposed by Eurosceptic movement within his own party worried from the rise of political threat of UKIP party, the Conservative Prime Minister David Cameron called to a referendum on the Britain's EU membership by making public the EU Referendum Bill. Within the bill, voters would be asked the question: '*Should the United Kingdom remain a member of the European Union?*'

On 23 June 2017, in a historic ballot British electorate was asked to chose between remaining within the EU with the changes negotiated by David Cameron, or being out of the EU, there is no possibility to choose the *status quo* i.e. declining reform package proposed by Cameron while voting to continue in the EU, voters should consider only the question: '*Should the United Kingdom remain a member of the European Union or leave the European Union?*'. The outcome confirmed that with a robust 72 % turnout "leave" supporters delivered 17,410,742 votes against the "remains" with 16,141,241 votes, which means a roughly 52% to 48%. So the majority of voices were in favour to leave the European Union hardly influenced by "leavers" campaign. Shocking the Britain's political establishment as well as Europe continent, the 'leave camp' won the vote and the referendum campaign is formally closed resulting a divided nation, however Britain was engaged in the great mission of securing an arranged withdrawal from the European Union. The question raised in the post-referendum was how to leave the European Union?

Following a successful 'leave' campaign, UK has chosen to leave the European Union and Britain's Prime Minister David Cameron said that he would resign, however he would continue until a new leader would be chosen by the Conservative Party in October during the party conference. Besides, he said that he would leave to his successor to invoke article 50 – and therefore triggering the two-year deadline for UK to quit the EU. After an important Cabinet overhaul,<sup>1</sup> David Cameron's successor the new Eurosceptic Prime Minister Theresa May was engaged to success the Brexit. Although the 27 other EU states were disappointed with the British electorate's choice, they reacted respectfully to the UK's choice. British society saw some turbulent days after the referendum. The shocking result was very clear but a lot of the Brexit opponents collected signatures for a second referendum.

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<sup>1</sup>Former Mayor of London Boris Johnson, former party leader Iain Duncan Smith, Employment Minister Priti Patel and Justice Minister Michael Gove, were among the High-profile Conservative defectors.

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Now directed by Theresa May <sup>1</sup>who won leadership of the conservative Party, the UK must discuss a new relationship with the EU under her famous clear declaration “Brexit means Brexit.” Whilst, the British high court stated that invoking Article 50 should be supported by parliament, which thereafter voted affirmatively. Consequently, May triggered Article 50 exit process on March 29, 2017. The treaty provides the UK a timeframe of two-year to discuss the terms of its withdrawal. Negotiations seem to be very complex in which the UK is required to find out many transient measures for disentangling the country from EU rules, adjusting the position of millions of UK citizens living in the EU and non-UK EU citizens residing in the UK, as well as the future of EU-UK security collaboration. The final leaving arrangement must be officially approved by a supermajority of EU states, and also by a majority in the European Parliament.

Under the terms of Article 50, Prime Minister is engaged to leave the EU single market. The UK may possibly loss particular access to its biggest trading collaborator, troubles in its financial sector, and an extended phase of political ambiguity. Lisbon’s Treaty amended the Treaty on European Union by the addition of a clear clause allowing the voluntary leaving of a Member country from the EU. Article 50 states the process to be followed by any Member country wishing to withdrawal from the European Union, which is regarded as the only official way for such an exit.

After the historic decision made by the narrow majority British voters to leave the EU, and the ‘Royal assent’ from the Queen on 16 March 2017, the procedure of withdrawing The EU formally started on March 29, 2017 when the Prime Minister Theresa May has officially triggered Article 50 with a letter of six pages informing the President of the European Council of Britain’s intention to leave the European Union. From that date British Prime Minister has indicated that Britain has a period of two years to negotiate its new links with the EU, meaning that Britain’s leaving the EU is scheduled on **Friday, 29 March 2019**, and however this can be extended in condition that all 28 EU member states agree.

Under the Article 50 TEU, the first step in the process of withdrawing starts officially when UK notifies the European Council about its plan to withdraw on March 29, 2017. After that, the European Council approve a constitutional and legal strategy for the negotiation in order to conclude an accord between the UK and the Union, which should define the actions for the exit, by taking into account the framework and grounds for future interrelationship between them to conclude new arrangement. On the European Council side, the agreement requires a qualified majority voting QMV of member countries and approval of the European parliament.

The government of Theresa May has taken some time to clarify the parameters it prepares to the process of leaving. In February 2017 it published what was called a white

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<sup>1</sup>**Theresa Mary May**(born 1 October 1956)is the new Conservative Party leader who served as Prime Minister since July 2016 and second female prime minister after Margaret Thatcher. She takes in charge the UK at one of the most unstable period in recent political history. May was MP for Maidenhead since 1997.

## CHAPTER TWO : THE BREXIT

paper: 'The United Kingdom's exit from and new partnership with the European Union', through which a schedule to direct the negotiations was drawn in the form of twelve priorities. The necessity for an Act of the British Parliament to allow to the government to start the procedure of leaving was approved by the UK Supreme Court<sup>1</sup> on 24 January 2017, i.e. the government could not start the withdrawal negotiation without a prior act of the Parliament.

Following Article 50, UK's Prime Minister has proceeded on March 2017 to trigger Article 50 when Tim Barrow the UK's ambassador to the EU in Brussels transmitted her six pages letter labelled "notification of withdrawal" to the President of the European Council Donald Tusk, who reacted immediately on Twitter: "After nine months the UK has delivered. #Brexit." she described her government's action: "This is a historic moment from which there can be no turning back," she said that withdrawal from EU is a great turning point in their national story.

After have been notified of the UK's withdrawal on 29 March 2017, the European Council approved on 29 April 2017 its political guidelines. Then, the recommendation to activate the Article 50 negotiations with the UK were accepted and published by the European Commission on 3 May 2017. On 22 May 2017, the European Commission received the Council's approval decision and directives to start firstly negotiations with the UK and secondly to delegate the Union negotiator represented by the commission which nominated Michel Barnier <sup>2</sup>as Chief Negotiator to conduct negotiations with Britain who was welcomed by the European Council, just after his nomination he said "*We are ready to sit down at the negotiating table with the UK. Our objective is to rapidly reach an agreement on the issues put forward by the Council today.*" (European Commission-Press release 22 May2017).

On 29 April 2017, leaders of the EU27 agreed the European Council guidelines and negotiations directives, and they outlined the priorities for the first stage of the negotiations. The first chapter of discussions will deal with three major areas: firstly preservation the rights and status of citizens – remaining 27 EU's states citizens in the UK and UK citizens in the EU 27 bloc– including their families; secondly attaining an accord on the principles of the financial payment of the UK's duties as a member state; and thirdly providing for the

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<sup>1</sup>On the issue of whether a prior Act of the UK Parliament is necessary for the withdrawal notification under Article 50 TEU, the decision was reached by a majority, with eight judges taking that view and three dissenting.

<sup>2</sup>**Michel Bernard Barnier** (born 9 January 1951) is a French politician who was nominated as European Chief Negotiator for Brexit since December 2016. He has served as Minister of the Environment and way of life from 1993 to 1995, French Minister of Foreign Affairs during 2004–2005, then from 1995 to 1997 as Minister of State for European Affairs. At the European level he was appointed between 1999-2004 as European Commissioner for Regional Policy then European Commissioner for Internal Markets and services from 2010 to 2014. He was nominated Minister for Agriculture and Fisheries in the French government from June 2007, to June 2009 when he was elected a Member of European Parliament MEP.

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new exterior frontiers of the EU. Other topics include agreements concerning dispute payment and the administration of the exit agreement. (Ibid)

The transparency policy which intends to secure full clearness in the negotiations has been published on 22 May 2017 by the European Commission; furthermore Commission negotiating documents are shared with the UK and other EU institutions such as Member Countries, the European Parliament, the European Council, national parliaments, and it will be released to the public. (Ibid)

For the Next steps, official negotiations are planned to start probably by the end of June 2017 as Britain is ready. In preparation for the first meeting between the UK and the EU representatives, the Commission will share draft negotiating documents with the EU27 Member States. All these documents which will be made public cover the following areas: Euratom, citizens' rights, issues related to goods placed on the market before the UK's exit, financial settlement, on-going judicial and administrative procedures, and the governance of the Article 50 agreement. <sup>1</sup>

When David Cameron resigned, he was quickly replaced by Theresa May as prime minister, which means that she has been appointed on the head of the Conservative Party and the government and not by the way of election. She said that the country needed a period of stability after the upheaval of the Brexit vote. She added she was happy to wait until the next scheduled election in 2020. However after the Easter Bank Holiday she made a surprise when she announced that she had changed her opinion and called for an election on Thursday, 8 June 2017. Her arguments were that she wanted to reinforce her position during the Brexit negotiations with European leaders. It is clear that she feared her opponents Labour, and other opponent parties and few members of the House of Lords who sought to obstruct and disturb her plan, so consequently making her government look weak.<sup>2</sup>

Today 09 June 2017, the outcome of the election of yesterday has also come with surprise when the Conservative Party of Theresa May lost 17 seats, paving the way to her major opposing leader Jeremy Corbyn <sup>3</sup>to reinforce his position; However Brexit process would still carry on. The Liberal Democrats <sup>4</sup>are also in the opposing side of Prime Minister

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<sup>1</sup>[http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release\\_IP-17-1405\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-17-1405_en.htm)

<sup>2</sup><http://www.investopedia.com/terms/b/brexit.asp#ixzz4ikc3VQHE>

<sup>3</sup>**Jeremy Bernard Corbyn** (born 26 May 1949) is a British politician who has been the Member of Parliament for Islington North since 1983. He served as the Leader of the Labour Party and officially Leader of the Opposition since September 2015.

<sup>4</sup>The **Liberal Democrats** are a liberal political party political party in the UK. The party was formed in 1988 as a merger of the Liberal Party and the Social Democratic Party SDP, a splinter group from the Labour Party. The two parties had formed the SDP-Liberal Alliance for the previous seven years. At the general election of 2010, the Liberal Democrats won 57 seats, making them the third-largest party in the House of Commons, behind the Conservatives with 306 and Labour with 258. At the general election of 2015, the party was reduced to eight seats then became later nine. Consequently, Nick Clegg resigned as leader and was replaced by Tim Farron since July 2015.



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Theresa May, they promised a second election on the terms of any arrangement. Furthermore, for Scotland which voted to stay within the EU, Prime Minister Theresa May is facing a harsh opposition from Nicola Sturgeon <sup>1</sup>(the SNP leader) who seeks for a particular status for Scotland after the Brexit, including its preference to stay in the single market. Nicola Sturgeon has called as well for a second independence vote before the Brexit bundle has been concluded. (Ibid)

### 2.6 Conclusion

Internal political pressure has pushed the former Conservative Prime Minister David Cameron to call for a referendum about the UK's membership on 23<sup>rd</sup> June 2016. During the last decade, issues in Brexit discussions and debates increased by the opponents of the UK's membership in the EU, they argued that the UK needs to regain its autonomy and its self decision; they saw that Britain was losing its sovereignty, supremacy and independence by transferring the authority of decision-making to Brussels. David Cameron promised that he would negotiate the EU-Britain relationship in another meaning he looks for new terms of its country's relationship with the EU. However, leavers camp won in the referendum with a margin majority and the Britons choose to leave the European Union. There either remaining within the EU or leaving it, there were now third opportunity like what Prime Minister David Cameron was looking for. His successor Theresa May, triggers Article 50 of the Treaty on the European Union then notified the European Council about the Britain's wish to withdrawal from the European Union.

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<sup>1</sup>**Nicola Ferguson Sturgeon** (born 19 July 1970) is the leader of the Scottish National Party (SNP) and the current Scottish First Minister since November 2014. She is the first woman to hold either position. Sturgeon has been a member of the Scottish Parliament since 1990, first as an additional member from 1999 to 2007 for the Glasgow electoral region, then as the member for Glasgow Southside known as Glasgow Govan from 2007 to 2011.

# **General Conclusion**

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### **General Conclusion:**

Learning about the world's scene after the Second World War in general and in the European continent in particular, explains the status and the conditions that led to the foundation of the European Union. The founding fathers have the task to rebuild devastated Europe after 1945 through the reconciliation between the conflicted countries France and Germany to reach political and economic cooperation first in Coal and Steel industries, it aimed to make another War not only unthinkable but also impossible.

The study of UK's relationship with the European Union familiarizes us to political, economic and socio-cultural arguments and circumstances that played a crucial role in shaping what kind of links do the British want vis-à-vis the European Union as an integrated bloc. Learning about the negative attitudes towards the Union enables us to understand why the Britain's electorate had chosen to vote for leaving the European Union community.

In looking at the history of the British complicated relationship with Europe after the WWII, the first mark to point is that there were a sort of distance between the two sides represented first, in the Britain's refusal to participate in the discussions then the agreements of the creation of ECSC and EEC, consequently it did not partake in the foundation of the European Coal and steel Community in 1951 and in the creation of the European Economic Community under the Treaty of Rome in 1957; and secondly since its joining the Union in 1973 an internal pressure made by the Eurosceptic team who exposed their negative attitudes towards the European Union which raised remarkably by the arriving of the irony lady former Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

After the brutal terrorist attacks of Brussels and Paris during David Cameron's term (2010-2016), and the large waves of immigrants and asylum seekers from the Middle East zones of conflicts Syria and Iraq as well as from African Continent, the debate about the Britain's membership was reopen largely in the British society led by the UKIP party of Nigel Farage who adopted particular discourses on some important issues such as national identity, which influenced the public attitude and reinforced the leaver's camp position in the referendum campaign. David Cameron who called for the referendum guided a huge campaign for reforming the EU, but once the results were announced that British electorate

## **CHAPTER TWO : THE BREXIT**

voted in favour of leaving the European Union, he resigned and paved the way for his successor Theresa May to trigger Article 50 and launching negotiations with the EU-27 states on terms of withdrawal and future relationship of her country with the European Union.

By analysing the ballot's results at a glance, the supporters of remaining within the European Union were optimistic and saw that UK's membership was a good thing by which Britain benefitted from EU membership. Others who were against the Britain's remaining a member and voted to exit from the European Union were influenced by the negative attitudes towards the EU. Now in charge of conducting talks about Brexit, Theresa May has the challenge guide the discussions with the EU 27 countries successfully and in the other hand to prove to the World and to the British people that Britain is well out of the union and withdrawing from the Union is more beneficial economically and socially.

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**Appendices:**

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## The Founding Fathers of the EU

The vision of a peaceful, united and prosperous Europe brought a diverse group of leaders to inspire the creation of the European Union we live in today.

These are 11 of the Founding Fathers. Many others played key roles in the European integration project.



Konrad Adenauer

Joseph Bech

Johan Willem Beyen

Winston Churchill

Alcide De Gasperi

Walter Hallstein

Sicco Mansholt

Jean Monnet

Robert Schuman

Paul-Henri Spaak

Altiero Spinelli





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### European Union

#### Member States (28)

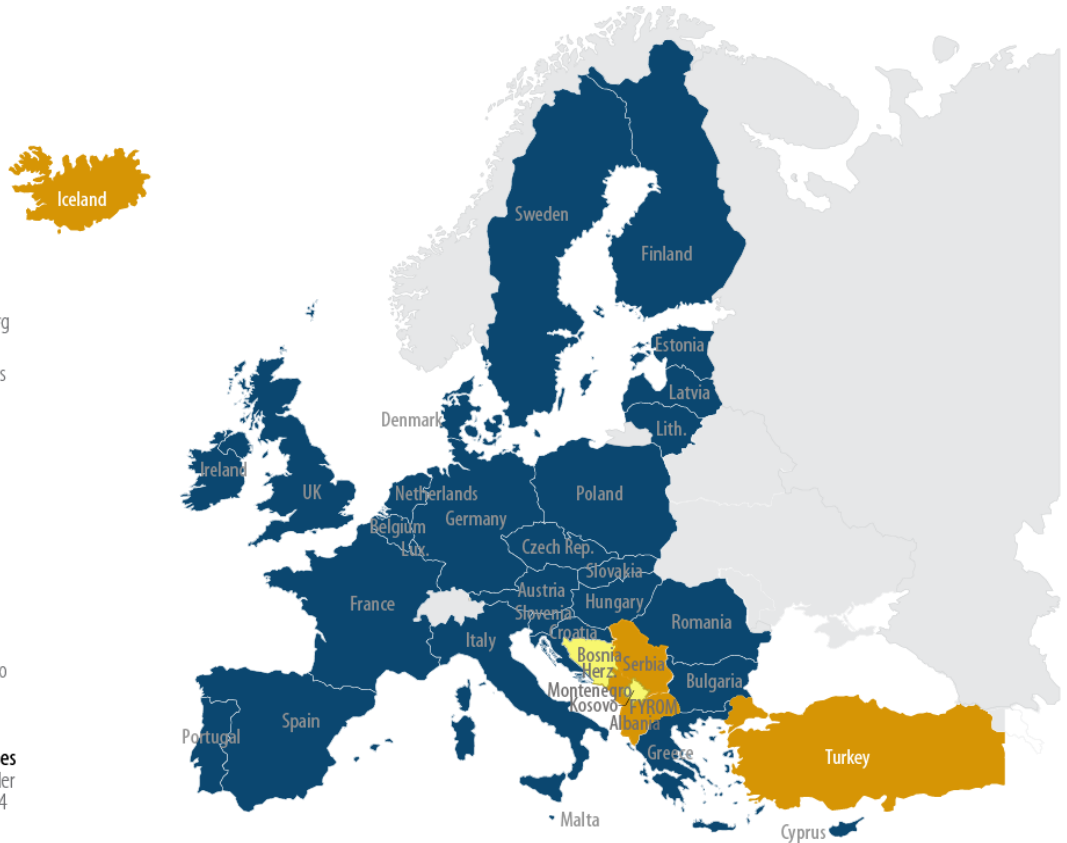
Austria	Italy
Belgium	Latvia
Bulgaria	Lithuania
Croatia	Luxembourg
Cyprus	Malta
Czech Rep.	Netherlands
Denmark	Poland
Estonia	Portugal
Finland	Romania
France	Slovakia
Germany	Slovenia
Greece	Spain
Hungary	Sweden
Ireland	UK

#### Candidate Countries

Albania	Turkey
Former Yugoslav	Montenegro
Rep. of Macedonia	Serbia
Iceland	

#### Potential Candidate Countries

Bosnia & Herzegovina	Kosovo under UNSCR 1244
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Source: **The European Union: Questions and Answers**, Kristin Archick, Specialist in European Affairs, January 19, 2016



- **Name:** European Union
- **Birthday:** 25 March 1957
- **Birthplace:** Rome
- **Principal residence:** Brussels
- **Official languages:** 24
- **Marital status:** supranational alliance of sovereign states
- **Size:** 28 member states, >507m people, area of >4m km<sup>2</sup>
- **Awards:** Nobel Peace Prize 2012
- **Anthem:** 'Ode to Joy' by Ludwig van Beethoven
- **Europe Day:** 9 May – day of the Schuman Declaration of 1950, which laid the foundation of the European Union

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### Technical Specifications of the Euro Banknotes

	Size	Colour	Architectural period
<b>5 €</b>	120 x 62 mm	Grey	Classical
<b>10 €</b>	127 x 67 mm	Red	Romanesque
<b>20 €</b>	133 x 72 mm	Blue	Gothic
<b>50 €</b>	140 x 77 mm	Orange	Renaissance
<b>100 €</b>	147 x 82 mm	Green	Baroque and rococo
<b>200 €</b>	153 x 82 mm	Yellow-brown	Iron and glass architecture
<b>500 €</b>	160 x 82 mm	Purple	Modern 20th Century architecture

Source: *THE EURO BANKNOTES AND COINS (European Central Bank).*

### Technical Specifications of the Euro Coins:

	Diameter	Height at edge	Weight	Shape	Colour	Composition	Edge:
<b>2 €</b>	25.75 mm	2.20 mm	8.50 g	round	<u>Outer part:</u> white. <u>Inner part:</u> yellow.	<u>Outer part:</u> copper-nickel <u>Inner part:</u> 3 layers: nickelbrass, nickel, nickel-brass	Interrupted milled
<b>1 €</b>	23.25 mm	2.33 mm	7.50 g	round	Outer part: yellow Inner part: white	<u>Outer part:</u> nickel-brass <u>Inner part:</u> 3 layers: copper-nickel, nickel, copper-nickel	Interrupted milled
<b>50 Cent</b>	24.25 mm	2.38 mm	7.80 g	round	yellow	Nordic gold	Shaped edge with fine scallops
<b>20 Cent</b>	22.25 mm	2.14 mm	5.74 g	Spanish flower shape	yellow	Nordic gold	Plain
<b>10 Cent</b>	19.75 mm	1.93 mm	4.10 g	round	yellow	Nordic gold	Shaped edge with fine scallops
<b>5 Cent</b>	21.25 mm	1.67 mm	3.92 g	round	red	Copper-covered steel	Smooth
<b>2 Cent</b>	18.75 mm	1.67 mm	3.06 g	round	red	Copper-covered steel	Smooth with a groove
<b>1 Cent</b>	16.25 mm	1.67 mm	2.30 g	round	red	Copper-covered steel	Smooth

Source: *THE EURO BANKNOTES AND COINS (European Central Bank).*

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### A timeline of the eurozone's expansion

Country	ISO code	Previous currency	Date of Joining the Eurozone
Austria	AT	Schilling	1 January 1999
Belgium	BE	Franc	1 January 1999
Finland	FI	Markka	1 January 1999
France	FR	Franc	1 January 1999
Germany	DE	Mark	1 January 1999
Ireland	IE	Punt	1 January 1999
Italy	IT	Lira	1 January 1999
Luxembourg	LU	Franc	1 January 1999
the Netherlands	NL	Guilder	1 January 1999
Portugal	PT	Escudo	1 January 1999
Spain	ES	Peseta	1 January 1999
Greece	GR	Drachma	1 January 2001
Slovenia	SI	Tolar	1 January 2007
Cyprus	CY	Pound	1 January 2008
Malta	MT	Lira	1 January 2008
Slovakia	SK	Koruna	1 January 2009
Estonia	EE	Kroon	1 January 2011
Latvia	LV	Lats	1 January 2014
Lithuania	LT	Litas	1 January 2015

**Source:** <http://www.politico.eu/article/a-timeline-of-the-eurozones-growth/>  
<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eurozone>

- 1. Eurozone countries:** Austria, Belgium, Cyprus, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, the Netherlands, Portugal, Slovakia, Slovenia and Spain.
- 2. Countries with an opt-out:** Denmark and United Kingdom.
- 3. Non-Eurozone countries:** Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Romania and Sweden.

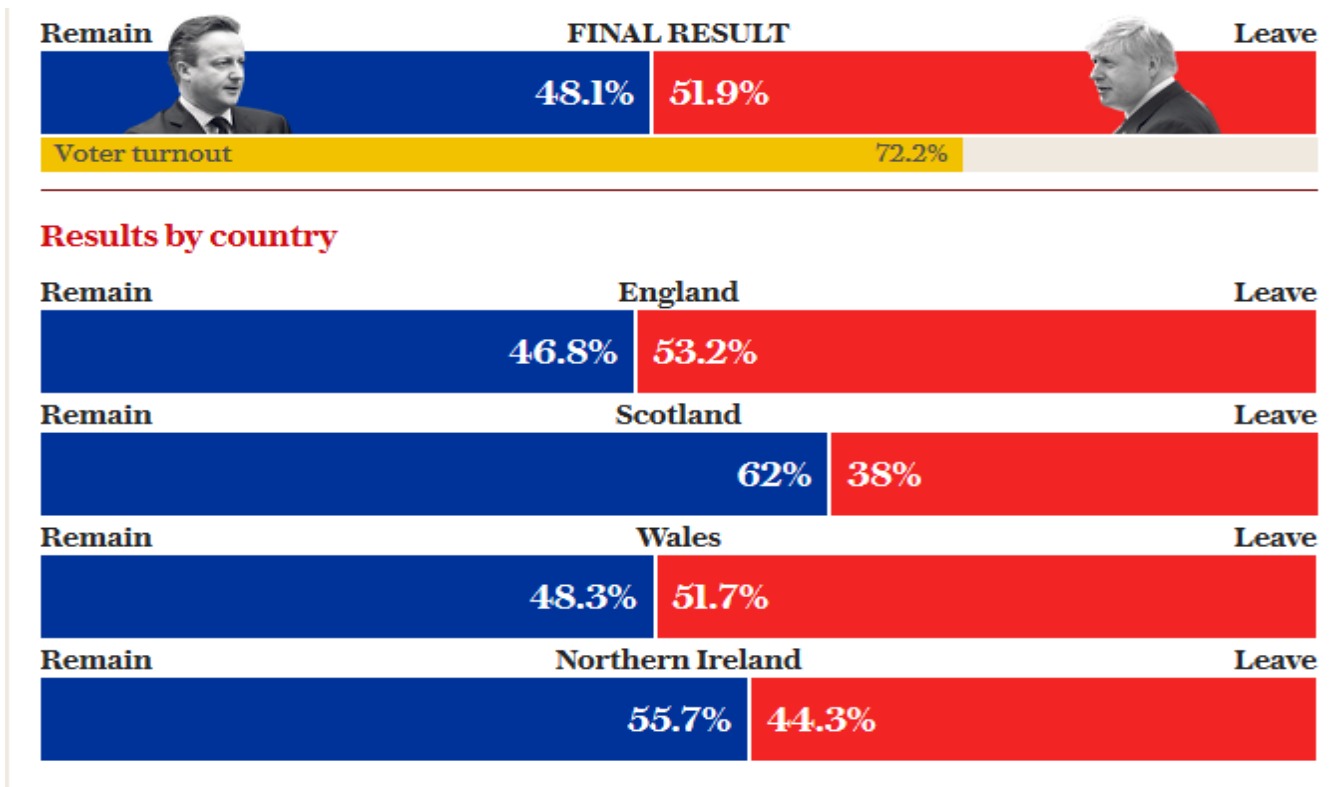
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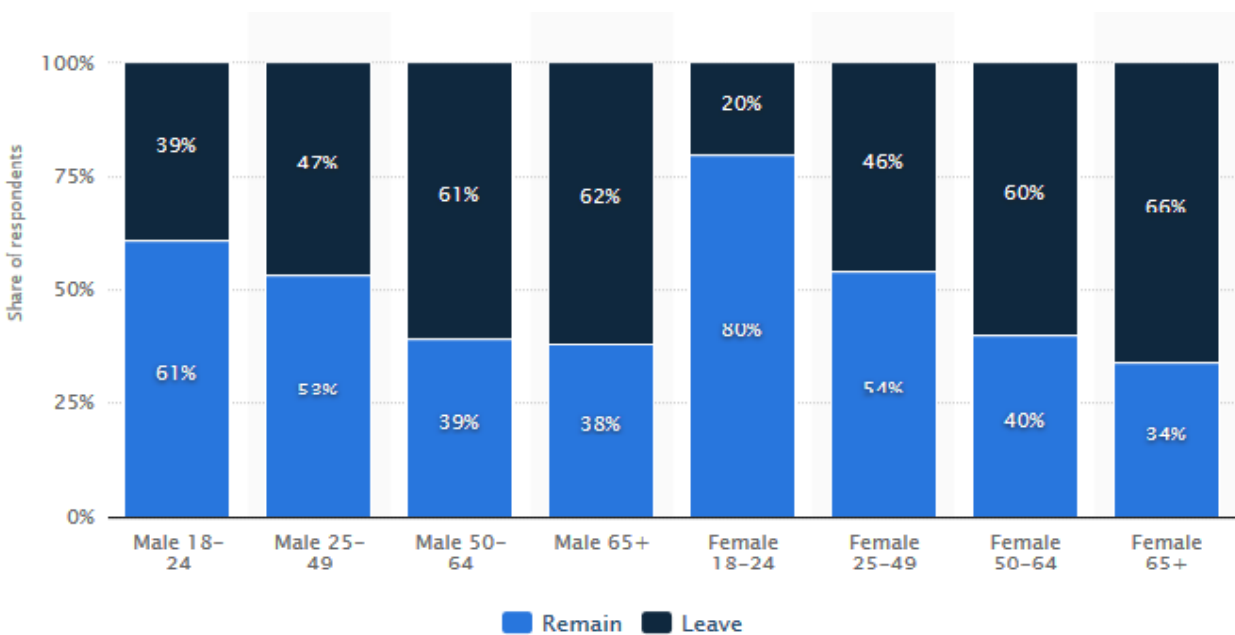
### Article 50

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

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Source: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/0/leave-or-remain-eu-referendum-results-and-live-maps/>



Source : <https://www.statista.com/statistics/567922/distribution-of-eu-referendum-votes-by-age-and-gender-uk/>