

## **The Dilemma of UK- EU relationship**

**Abdelhakim Dehbi**

Assistant Lecturer ( A) at the Department of Political Science  
University Blida 2 -Ali Lounici

### **Summary:**

After forty years as a member of the European Union, the United Kingdom remains the only nation whose European identity still questioned, actually on January 23, 2013; the Prime Minister announced the organization of a referendum on this membership. It seems then that the prophetic speeches of Winston Churchill on the choice of England between Europe and the "open sea" it will choose the open sea as a mean of the united states of America.

In the last elections of 2013, David Cameron pledged to hold a referendum on a possible exit from Europe; it was a consequence's of the crisis in the euro zone in 2008 and the rises of many inside demands for less political and economic integration within the EU, therefore, a Brexit Referendum took place in 2016. This will to leave the EU does not date from the last rain: London had joined the European process (at that time of the European Economic Community), in 1973, only by dragging its feet and regularly difference.

In recent years, as the EU continues to widen, become heavier and become more complicated, divergences within member countries are

increasing and some are calling for greater integration, but some other feels clearly less and less comfortable in this marriage of reason and is openly considering divorce. The last referendum gave the "yes" to the Brexit, so it seems useful to us to look at the causes and consequences of such a break.

### **Key Words:**

United kingdom, European Union, Brexit.

### **ملخص:**

تظل المملكة المتحدة بعد أربعين عامًا كعضو في الاتحاد الأوروبي، الدولة الوحيدة التي تشكك بشكل منتظم في هويتها الأوروبية حيث أعلن رئيس الوزراء في 23 جانفي 2013 عن تنظيم استفتاء حول مسألة العضوية الشيء الذي يعيد الى ذاكرتنا مقولة ونستن تشرشل " اذا اعطي الاختيار لبريطانيا بين اوروبا و البحر المفتوح ستختار هذا الاخير و بعني به المحيط الاطلسي و حليفته الولايات المتحدة. الامريكية "لقد تعهد ديفيد كاميرون من خلال الانتخابات التي اجريت سنة 2013 بإجراء استفتاء حول خروج محتمل للمملكة من الاتحاد الاوروبي وقد جاء هذا نتيجة الازمة الاقتصادية التي شهدتها منطقة اليورو سنة 2008 وكذلك نتيجة تزايد المطالب السياسية داخل بريطانيا للحد من التكامل السياسي والاقتصادي مع اوروبا.

هذه الارادة لترك الاتحاد الاوروبي ليست وليدة الساعة فقد انضمت بريطانيا الى المجموعة متأخرة سنة 1973 وكانت في اختلاف دائم مع باقي الاعضاء حيث انه في سنة 1974 اجري اول استفتاء للخروج او البقاء مع الاتحاد الاوروبي الذي انتهى بخيار البقاء و الخلاف حول مسألة الميزانية مع مارغريت تاتشر رئيسة وزراء بريطانيا سابقا الى غاية السنوات الاخيرة و توسع الاتحاد وتزايد مشاكله الشيء الذي ادى بالقادة البريطانيين بإعادة التفكير في مسألة العضوية.

لقد أعطى البريطانيون من خلال الاستفتاء الأخير الضوء الاخضر لخروج بريطانيا من الاتحاد الأوروبي ، ولهذا ارتأينا انه من الضروري أن ننظر إلى أسباب هذا الخروج وعواقبه

**الكلمات الدالة:**

المملكة المتحدة، الاتحاد الأوروبي، البركسيت.

## **Résumé:**

Le Royaume–Uni reste la seule nation dont l’identité européenne est régulièrement remise en question. Le 23 janvier 2013, le Premier ministre a annoncé l'organisation d'un référendum sur cette adhésion. Il semble donc que le discours prophétiques de Winston Churchill sur le choix de l'Angleterre entre l'Europe et la «mer ouverte» trouvera bientôt sa pleine concrétisation.

Lors des dernières élections de 2013, David Cameron s'est engagé à organiser un référendum sur une éventuelle sortie d'Europe. C’est là une conséquence de la crise dans la zone euro en 2008 et de la montée en puissance de nombreuses demandes internes visant à une moindre intégration politique et économique au sein de l’UE. C’est pour cela qu’un référendum sur le Brexit a été organisé en 2016.

Cette volonté de quitter l'Union européenne ne date pas d’aujourd’hui : Londres avait adhéré au processus européen (à l’époque de la Communauté économique européenne), en 1973. Ces dernières années, alors que l'UE continue de s’élargir, de s'alourdir et de devenir plus compliquée, les divergences au sein des pays membres s'accroissent.

Le dernier referendum a donné le "oui" au Brexit, il nous semble donc utile de regarder les causes et les conséquences d'une telle rupture.

**Mots Clefs:**

Royaume–Uni, Union européenne, Brexit.

## **I. Introduction**

In the referendum of June 23, 2016, the British population voted in favor of the United Kingdom leaving from the European Union at 51.9%.<sup>1</sup> The UK Government initiated the withdrawal request under Article 50 of the Treaty on European Union on 29 March 2017, the withdrawal date of the United Kingdom of the European Union, originally scheduled for 29 March 2019. The United Kingdom will be released without EU approval on 31 October 2019, unless the withdrawal agreement is ratified by both parties by that date.. If the British Parliament has not ratified the withdrawal agreement by 22 May 2019 and if it does not organize the elections to the European Parliament in its territory, the exit without agreement will take place on 1 June 2019<sup>2</sup>.

***What are the major steps of «the United Kingdom accession to the European Union?***

***Why does the United Kingdom want to leave the European Union?***

***What is the future of the UK-EU relationship?***

---

<sup>1</sup> Harold D. Clarke, Why Britain Voted for Brexit: An Individual-Level Analysis of the 2016 Referendum Vote at <https://blogs.kent.ac.uk/epop/files/2016/07/Clarke-Goodwin-and-Whiteley.pdf>.p02.

<sup>2</sup> After Brexit: Alternate forms of Brexit and their implications for the United Kingdom, the European Union and the United States at: [https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/research\\_reports/RR2200/RR2200/RAND\\_RR2200.pdf](https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/research_reports/RR2200/RR2200/RAND_RR2200.pdf) p 30-31.

- **Définition of concept:**

### **What does it mean the word «Brexite »?**

The "Brexit" is an abbreviation of "British Exit", denoting the exit of the United Kingdom from the European Union.

### **What is Article 50?**

Article 50 of the Treaty on European Union defines the procedure by which a Member State may withdraw from the European Union, if it so desires. The Lisbon Treaty introduced it in 2007<sup>1</sup>.

## **II. Major steps of «The United Kingdom accession to the European Union.**

### **1. Britain and Europe from 1950 to 1969**

In 1949, Ernest Bevin, Labor Minister for Foreign Affairs, said: "I must warn my colleagues that the United Kingdom - because of its links with foreign countries - can never become an entirely European country" <sup>2</sup>, In his view, strengthening ties with Europe could jeopardize the very close political and economic ties that existed between the United Kingdom, the Commonwealth countries and the United States.

When the united Benelux, France and the Federal Republic of Germany invited the United Kingdom to join the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), the Labor government refused, arguing that the British coal and steel industries would be nationalized and therefore impossible to place under international control. The Conservative government that followed in 1951 did not change this consensus position in the country.

The European market gained importance for British manufacturers, which led to the strengthening of economic ties with European countries. The British government therefore considered the creation of a free-trade area within Europe to facilitate trade between states, while at the same time denying the application

---

<sup>1</sup> Article 50 TEU: Withdrawal of a Member State from the EU ,European Parliament Briefing February 2016 , p 2 at : [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2016/577971/EPRS\\_BRI\(2016\)577971\\_EN.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2016/577971/EPRS_BRI(2016)577971_EN.pdf)

<sup>2</sup> Maria Sorokina , Great Britain and the European integration , thesis in European Politics , MASARYK UNIVERSITY,2014,p,08-12 at : [https://is.muni.cz/th/404812/fss\\_m/Master\\_Thesis.pdf](https://is.muni.cz/th/404812/fss_m/Master_Thesis.pdf)

of a common customs duty, which could threaten British trade with the Commonwealth and other foreign countries. The 1957 Treaty of Rome provided for the strengthening of the European Free Trade Area and the creation of a customs union, which is why the British refused to sign it. In 1959, the United Kingdom signed the Stockholm Treaty with Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Switzerland, Austria and Portugal. The treaty set up the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) <sup>1</sup>.

In 1963: the United Kingdom was strongly encouraged by the United States to join the EEC, which was not appreciated by President De Gaulle who saw thereby an attempt by the United States to control the European community. In addition, this application for membership was made at the same time as the first negotiations on the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP, 1962) in which the British questioned several fundamental rules on agricultural products.

In 1967: this second application for membership came in full crisis of the policy of the empty chair led by Charles de Gaulle. The application for membership to be approved by all states unanimously, this was impossible in the absence of France around the negotiating table.

## **2. Opposition of France**

In the Member States, French President Charles de Gaulle was one of the main opponents of the United Kingdom's accession. French fears were based on several factors that would have altered the objectives and direction taken by the EEC<sup>2</sup>:

On its international position. The first French fear was that the increase in the size of the Community would have forced the United States to react. According to the position of the then French government, they would then open trade negotiations aimed at creating a trans-Atlantic free trade area. The main fear that emerges from such a free trade area would be the dissolution of the Communities' political objective and the links of solidarity between the Member States, which would slow down integration. The other concern was the Soviet Union, which may feel threatened.

---

<sup>1</sup> Maria Sorokina, Great Britain and the European integration, op-cit, p 14.

<sup>2</sup> Nesta Roberts, Emphatic 'No' by de Gaulle : The General gives his reasons . at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/1967/nov/28/eu.france> seen the 12/11/2017.

On its internal functioning. The fear was based on too much divergence of national interests and traditions that would reduce the ability to reach consensus. Similarly, the government expressed doubts about the ability of community institutions to manage the accession of new members. its ability to develop new policies: because of the question of the adoption of the common agricultural policy in the United Kingdom (see agriculture) and because of the weakness of the pound sterling after World War II which create a balance of payments crisis.

### **3. The accession of the United Kingdom**

In the United Kingdom, membership was approved on 28 October 1971 by a vote qualified as historic in the House of Commons. Outside the party divides, the positive vote wins<sup>1</sup>.

British public opinion, however, is much divided on the merits of joining the European Economic Community (EEC). This hesitation is reflected in the behavior of the deputies during the vote. The composition of the parliamentary group that approves the treaty is indeed as heterogeneous as that of the group that rejects it. Among the 356 supporters of Britain's participation in European integration, in addition to the majority of the conservative party, are 69 elected Labor members. Among the 244 opponents of the British accession to the EEC is a majority of Labor MPs joined by 39 Conservatives. The number of supporters of British participation is further reduced when national legislation is adapted to Community legislation.

On 22 January 1972, Great Britain signs the Treaty of Accession in Brussels. On 13 July 1972, the House of Commons again voted in favor of accession. On September 20, 1972, the House of Lords did the same. On 6 October, the Queen closed the accession procedure for Great Britain, which joined the European Community on 1 January 1973.

### **4. The United Kingdom join the Common Market: 1970 - 1979**

The country returns to the EEC under the conservative government of Edward Heath In the general election of February 1974, Anthony Barber and Sir

---

<sup>1</sup> The United Kingdom's accession to the EC at: [http://www.cvce.eu/obj/the\\_united\\_kingdom\\_s\\_accession\\_to\\_the\\_ec-en6a3b2cef-b775-40f0-9256-9b4b1fce09e8.html](http://www.cvce.eu/obj/the_united_kingdom_s_accession_to_the_ec-en6a3b2cef-b775-40f0-9256-9b4b1fce09e8.html)

Alec Douglas-Home were in charge of the accession negotiations. Three principles were at the root of these negotiations: the *acquis communautaire* (all that has been achieved by the EEC) was to be maintained, the Hague agreement which opened the establishment of an economic and monetary union not be questioned, and transitional measures should not alter existing treaties. Negotiations were difficult and focused first on details to avoid major disagreements: transitional measures on the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), the UK contribution to the EU budget and sugar exports to the EU. Finally, an agreement was reached in June 1971. The divisions between the Conservatives and Labor were strong. According to Stephen Tindale, associate researcher at the European Reform Center, "in the 1960s and 70s, Labor was the opposite of Europe. In the 1960s Labor leader Hugh Gaitskell said that if the United Kingdom joined the EEC, it would mean the end of centuries of history. Labor was attracted by nationalization and 'socialism in a country'. Labor's Harold Wilson ran the slogan "no entry in conservative terms". But Heath's proposal in Parliament won a large majority of 356 votes in favor of accession (244 against). "Heath said the EEC was about economics [and not about political integration in the long run], and that was its name, the European Economic Community. But there was not a huge public debate at that time, and no referendum."<sup>1</sup>

The Prime Minister Harold Wilson criticized the concessions made by his predecessor to the European Union Accession Treaty since 1974. The United Kingdom Government calls for the renegotiation of the Treaty followed by a referendum on membership of the EEC. At the Dublin European Council in March 1975, the United Kingdom obtained a rebalancing of its contribution to the European budget and, three months later, the British voted 67% against a Brexit<sup>2</sup>

### **Margaret Thatcher era: 1979 – 1990**

The difficulties with the United Kingdom, however, persist and a new crisis breaks out with the arrival of Margaret Thatcher in power in 1979. Without wanting to break with the EEC, she considers that Britain pays too much compared to what it receives of the European budget. Thatcher was very close to the neo-liberal theses, in favor of the reduction of the intervention of the State in

---

<sup>1</sup> The United Kingdom's accession to the EC op cit . p 4.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p.5

the economy. She also had a nationalist speech about the United Kingdom. The Iron Lady is often defined as Eurosceptic. This is only partially true. She was in favor of some form of European integration, one that would strengthen the opening of the European market.

After taking a strong position on the issue, the so-called "I want my money back" of 1979, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher succeeds in 1984, after negotiating fiercely, to obtain a discount to the British contribution to the financial mechanism of the Community budget.<sup>1</sup>, it was justified by the fact that the budget served essentially to finance the CAP and that the UK, rich country, contributed a lot to the budget without much benefit from the CAP. The idea that "we pay for what we have" has since been a constant characteristic of European negotiations.

In 1986, Margaret Thatcher played an important role in the conclusion of the Single European Act that created the single market and extended qualified majority voting in the Council (and thus reduced the possibility of veto by one country). She wanted European integration to create a big market without borders. Lord Cockfield, British Commissioner very close to Thatcher, was responsible for preparing the single market<sup>2</sup>. But Commission President Jacques Delors said the need for institutional reforms, especially to reach consensus, in order to achieve the single market. He managed to convince Thatcher to accept the extension of the qualified majority and the 300 harmonization directives (to remove the technical barriers to free movement). She is, as British Prime Minister who has allowed Europe to move towards more political integration, to move towards the Maastricht Treaty.

## **6. The rise of Euroscepticism of conservatives. 1990 – 1997**

During discussions on the Economic and Monetary Union, Thatcher and his successor John Major were isolated in their refusal of further economic and

---

<sup>1</sup> James Kirkup, Margaret Thatcher: Conflict over Europe led to final battle, telegraph ,08 Apr 2013at : <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/politics/margaret-thatcher/9980360/Margaret-Thatcher-Conflict-over-Europe-led-to-final-battle.html> seen 16/11/2017.

<sup>2</sup> Mario Monti, A NEW STRATEGY FOR THE SINGLE MARKET, AT THE SERVICE OF EUROPE'S ECONOMY AND SOCIETY, Report to the President of the European Commission José Manuel Barroso, 2010 p 13. At : [https://www.kfw.de/migration/Weiterleitung-zur-Startseite/Homepage/KfW-Group/Research/PDF-Files/Monti\\_Report.pdf](https://www.kfw.de/migration/Weiterleitung-zur-Startseite/Homepage/KfW-Group/Research/PDF-Files/Monti_Report.pdf)

political integration. They failed to build alliances or compromises within the Council.

During his campaign, John Major had promised to keep the United Kingdom "at the heart of Europe" and claimed to have succeeded in negotiating several aspects of the Maastricht Treaty: the social chapters and the withdrawal option on the single currency, the withdrawal of the mention of a "federal Europe" and the fact that the foreign and defense policy is maintained in the intergovernmental fields of cooperation. However, these demands of John Major on his reinstatement of the United Kingdom "in the heart of Europe" is criticized. Indeed, the elements obtained by the United Kingdom during the negotiations of the Maastricht Treaty result from the control exercised by the Eurosceptic faction of the Conservative Party and the British Cabinet. Thus, in terms of security and defense policy, John Major's government insisted that NATO remain the main framework for discussions on these topics, relegating the European Union to a marginal role on the subject.<sup>1</sup>

To summarize this history, we observe in the course of the history of the second half of the twentieth century themes and relatively constant power relations. The themes of the common agricultural policy, the contribution to the budget and political integration regularly return to the points of friction between the United Kingdom and the European Union. However, the positioning of the actors has changed, Labor being rather anti-European at the beginning and conservatives rather in favor of integration; which is the opposite now. This historical overview allows us to understand the context in which the current debate is taking place.

## **II. Reasons that makes the United Kingdom want to leave The European Union**

### **1. Sovereignty**

The question of sovereignty is an important issue for the United Kingdom. A note published in July 1971 by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office responds to these questions by saying that membership does not affect the monarchy or the constitutional position of the Crown in Parliament<sup>2</sup>.

---

<sup>1</sup> Peter Dorey, Towards Exit from the EU: The Conservative Party's Increasing Euroscepticism since the 1980s , Politics and Governance , Volume 5, 2017 p 30-31 at: <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/82895992.pdf>

<sup>2</sup> Juliette Ringeisen-Biardeaud , "Let's take back control": Brexit and the Debate on

The sovereignty of the British national representation is sacred in the minds of the English. The politicians live very badly the sacrifice imposed by the membership of the EU, where 70% of the texts of applicable laws would originate. They denounce the democratic deficit of the decisions of an unelected Commission. The hardest eurosceptics are vainly demanding a veto over Brussels decisions. Failing that, they argue for an exit from the Union, which alone would give back Westminster Parliament its omnipotence.

## **2. Control of immigration**

If Europe does not appear at the top of the concerns of the voters, it is on the other hand the case of the immigration. For several years has been spreading a feeling of "too full" in Britain, maintained by the Ukip (United Kingdom Independence Party) and, in its wake, the governing parties. More than half of the net immigration to Great Britain comes from the European Union, especially the Eastern European countries (Poland, Romania, Baltic countries ...). Freedom of movement within the EU prevents London from acting on these flows<sup>1</sup>. To counterbalance, the government has tightened the entry criteria for countries in the rest of the world. Eurosceptics believe that outside the EU, the UK could finally regain control of its borders and its migration policy.

## **3. Budget savings**

An exit from the EU would allow the United Kingdom to recover its net contribution to the European budget of nearly 12.3 billion euros annually. According to figures gathered by the Financial Times, a Brexit would save London 27.6 billion euros by 2019-2020, even taking into account the stop payment of subsidies and European aid agriculture or the British economy<sup>2</sup>.

## **4. Free for trade**

The EU is the UK's largest trading partner (45% of UK exports and 53% of imports in 2014), but pro-Brexit believe London could do better outside the

---

Sovereignty, French Journal of British Studies, 2017 p 02. At : <https://journals.openedition.org/rfcb/1319>

<sup>1</sup> Matthew Goodwin<sup>1</sup> and Caitlin Milazzo, Taking back control? Investigating the role of immigration in the 2016 vote for Brexit , The British Journal of Politics and International Relations , 2017 p 451. at : <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/1369148117710799>

<sup>2</sup> Costs and benefits of a United Kingdom exit from the European Union , GED Study, 2016 , p27-28 at : [https://www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de/fileadmin/files/BSt/Publikationen/GrauePublikationen/NW\\_BREXIT\\_EN.pdf](https://www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de/fileadmin/files/BSt/Publikationen/GrauePublikationen/NW_BREXIT_EN.pdf)

Twenty-Eight. Free of Brussels, foreign trade players hope to negotiate new trade agreements with major markets such as China, India, the United States and emerging Asia or Latin America. In addition, the country could maintain its trade relations with the EU via a free trade agreement, such as Switzerland or Norway.<sup>1</sup>

## 5. UK-US special relation

United by a common language, sharing to a large extent the same culture, faced one with the decline of its global influence and the other with the expansion of its international responsibilities, the two countries have, it seems, found in the convergence of their interests, the instrument of an implicit solidarity to which Churchill gave the name of "special relationship". This relationship, which asserts itself in a visible way - and sometimes strongly felt by their partners - in the management of the foreign relations of the two countries, seems however to escape any definition too rigid and to raise, besides a diffuse sentimentality expressed by the opinions different levels of government, depending on the country and time considered, exceptional relationships of trust between certain elites accustomed to working together. It was obviously during the Cold War that this relationship, which became stronger during the Second World War, became fully established. The period defined by the arrival at the Presidency of Harry Truman (April 1945) and the withdrawal of Margaret Thatcher (November 1990) seems to lend itself particularly to a fruitful observation of the evolution of this relationship.

The study of the question deserves to be conducted at four levels<sup>2</sup>:

1 - The strategic and diplomatic plan. This is the most important aspect of the question. This dimension is rooted in the brotherhood of arms of the Second World War and the joint development of a project of international organization based on democratic ideals and cooperation between states (Atlantic Charter, 1941). It is concretized by the presence of numerous bases and other important American military installations on the British territory.

---

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Marie- France Chouinard "Le Royaume uni entre les états unis et l'Europe : ya t-il un future pour la relation spéciale ? Université Laval. 2004. p 1...site [www.hei.ulaval.ca/...et.../MRIEssaiMarieFranceChouinard.pdf](http://www.hei.ulaval.ca/...et.../MRIEssaiMarieFranceChouinard.pdf)

The production, the concept of employment and the control of the nuclear weapon are at the heart of the relations, often difficult between the two countries until the agreement of Nassau (1962) and the failure of the project of Multilateral Force. Already sensitive throughout the genesis phase of the nuclear program (Manhattan project), tensions intensify during the first post-war years, which saw the establishment of an unchecked control over nuclear information by the administration. American law (McMahon law, 1946) until the revival of atomic military cooperation between the two countries, particularly after the Suez crisis and the launch of the Soviet Sputnik. Once the deceleration of the arms race begins (SALT I agreement, 1972), the issue of conventional arms control and the reduction of nuclear arsenals will not always see the two allies aligned in the same position. In the background is the question of American participation in the defense of Europe (NATO) to which respond the attempts, more or less successful, Europeans to set up a defensive system of their own (CED, WEU ). More generally, the question of European integration and the role that the United Kingdom could play in this construction are often the subject of divergent or even contradictory interpretations in London and Washington, particularly during the gestation phase of the company. Then, from the 1960s, the problem became for London to reconcile the preservation of the "special relationship" with its quest for a role in the integration process already in train in continental Europe. On most of the major international issues of the period, there is an even stronger sense of purpose between the leaders of the two countries in pursuing exceptional cooperation in the collection and exchange of information. Nevertheless, there are important differences in the Middle East: the Iranian crisis in the early fifties (until the arrival of the Eisenhower administration), the Suez affair in 1956 which will leave important consequences but paradoxically leads to what is perhaps the most intense period of the special relationship. Other major crises will be an opportunity to observe some flaws in this alliance deemed unbreakable: policy towards the USSR (at certain times), American intervention in Grenada, German unification.

2 - The economic and financial dimension. The negotiation of the American loan under lend-lease, US aid under the Marshall Plan, had a significant impact on relations between the two countries, as did the support of the United States. and international financial organizations during the economic difficulties facing the United Kingdom during the period (the pound crisis of the second half of the 1960s and the budget crisis of 1976 in particular). The question of direct investment is not negligible, any more than that of the identity of the economic

and monetary theories that prevailed in both countries during the Reagan and Thatcher era.

3 - Relationships between men. They are a less perceptible but equally important dimension of the issue. Relations between political leaders, tandems or famous couples: Churchill / Truman and later Eisenhower; Macmillan / Eisenhower then JFK, Reagan / Thatcher. Other tandems have had more complex or stormy relationships: Dulles / Eden; Wilson / Johnson; Heath / Nixon. Relations between diplomatic and military officials, particularly in the area of the intelligence community whose role will be crucial during the Falklands war<sup>1</sup>.

4 - The reaction of public opinion. Are Americans still perceived as overseas cousins and privileged allies? Are we, on the contrary, witnessing the trivialization of this relationship in the perception of public opinion in both countries? One will wonder about the image of each of the two countries and their politics in the public opinion of the other.

### **III. Scenarios of the Brexit**

#### **Three exit scenarios**

The European Council of 10 April 2017 modified the date of the withdrawal of the United Kingdom from the European Union, originally scheduled for 29 March 2019, with several possible scenarios: if the British Parliament votes in favor of the withdrawal agreement, this Agreement may be ratified by 31 October 2019 at the latest. If the UK Parliament does not ratify the withdrawal agreement by 22 May 2019 and does not respect its obligation to hold elections to the European Parliament, the UK will leave the EU on 1 June 2019. If the withdrawal agreement is still not ratified on 31 October 2019, then the no deal scenario will apply from 1 November 2019. However, the agreement can be ratified before that date: the exit The United Kingdom Order of the Union could in this case intervene before 31 October and the transitional period would then enter into force.

#### **1. First scenario - the withdrawal agreement is ratified**

On 25 November 2017, the EU and the United Kingdom reached an agreement on the entire UK withdrawal from the EU, as provided for in Article

---

<sup>1</sup> Eoin Heaney, *Unrequited Love: The Anglo-américain "Spécial Relationship"* p.3-4 site : [www.atlantic-community.org/.../Unrequited Love](http://www.atlantic-community.org/.../Unrequited Love)

50 of the Treaty on European Union. European. This agreement must be ratified by both parliaments, British and European.

The withdrawal agreement sets the conditions for the withdrawal of the United Kingdom from the EU. It ensures that the withdrawal will be orderly and provides legal certainty as soon as the Treaties and European law cease to apply in the United Kingdom<sup>1</sup>.

## **2. Long report of Brexit**

EU leaders have opened the possibility of a long delay, if the withdrawal agreement is rejected, provided a significant change occurs in the meantime. Theresa May said on Wednesday that she would no longer be in her position to conduct new negotiations. This could be the change that the EU is calling for since a the new Conservative government, with other postulates, would then be able to reopen negotiations with Brussels. A long delay should run at least until the end of 2019, warned the European Commission, and be approved by the 27. It implies that the United Kingdom takes part in the European elections in May<sup>2</sup>.

### **I. No Brexit scenario**

This scenario, which Ms. May refuses, can not be ruled out in view of the prevailing chaos in the United Kingdom. According to the European Court of Justice, the UK can decide alone to give up leaving the EU, without the need for the approval of other Member States. But such a turnaround, supported by a minority of deputies, implies the organization of new elections or a new referendum that would reverse the result of the first consultation, in June 2016, the result acquired by 52% of the votes<sup>3</sup>.

## **IV. The future relationship between the EU and the UK**

From the beginning of the negotiations, the Heads of State and Government signaled the EU's wish to "see the UK as a close partner in the future". This close partnership for the future, which should include, in accordance with the political declaration, an economic partnership and a security partnership, will have to respect a certain number of principles (balance of rights and obligations,

---

<sup>1</sup> UK government's preparations for a 'no deal' scenario at: <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/uk-governments-preparations-for-a-no-deal-scenario/uk-governments-preparations-for-a-no-deal-scenario>

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> ANATOLE KALETSKY Theresa May Could Back a New Brexit Referendum at :<https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/theresa-may-could-back-new-brexite-referendum-by-anatole-kaletsky-2018-10?barrier=accesspaylog>

fair competition, autonomy of decision of the Union, etc.) and could not in any event offer the same advantages as membership of the Union<sup>1</sup>.

The UK and the EU have together defined their understanding of the framework for their future relations; it was the subject of a political declaration .

After leaving the EU, the UK, which has become a third country, will have to sign one or more agreements with the EU to implement this framework. The Union's approach will continue to respect a number of general principles (balance of rights and obligations, fair competition, autonomous decision-making of the Union, etc.)

Provisions are also provided for the movement of persons. (Visa exemptions may be provided for short-term travel and "entry and residence requirements for research, study, training and youth exchanges" will be discussed during negotiations.

On fisheries, the EU and the UK will have to establish a new fisheries agreement, in particular on access to maritime areas and on the allocation of quotas<sup>2</sup>.

With regard to foreign and defense policy, the declaration envisages close cooperation between the United Kingdom and the EU, while respecting the decision-making autonomy of the Union.

Finally, in terms of internal security, mechanisms for the exchange of DNA information, fingerprints and vehicle registration data will be set up.

---

<sup>1</sup> The future relationship between the United Kingdom and the European Union, HM Government , [https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/786626/The\\_Future\\_Relationship\\_between\\_the\\_United\\_Kingdom\\_and\\_the\\_European\\_Union\\_120319.pdf](https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/786626/The_Future_Relationship_between_the_United_Kingdom_and_the_European_Union_120319.pdf)

<sup>2</sup> Ibid