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Euro-scepticism under David Cameron's Leadership

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Introduction

The notion of Euro-scepticism introduced at the first time by the British press, then it became as social science concept discussed by politicians and scholars. It describes the British relationship with the European Union. Euro-scepticism was concerned most of the time with the conservative party in general, and with Thatcher in particular at earlier time to Cameron's leadership, also it spread to cover the labour party too like that it becomes a clear-cut position that prevents Britain from any European integration.

Since David Cameron was elected as a party leader in December 2005. The conservative party has changed radically with a young and more Euro-sceptic leader. It has reformulated with series of new policies symbolizing a turning point in the party's European strategy. The main divisive issue was concerning Britain's existence in the European Union, Cameron entered a petition demanding a referendum on Britain's membership in the European Union. In addition, he refused to assemble the European steadiness mechanism, when he did not sign the treaty known as First Compact. In addition, he declared a sovereignty clause to state the supremacy of British parliament over the European Union law. To conclude, Cameron reached far beyond previous expectations. This government indicated a new reality in the Euro-scepticism phenomenon; from a theoretical perspective to a practical one.

This piece of research spots the light on the different laws and set of actual policies in relation to Euro-scepticism adopted and applied by Cameron. He succeeded to make the United Kingdom as the most powerful member within the E.U. at the same time he accused it of hinder Britain forward movement. Cameron resigned his position on June

24, 2016, after the Brexit arguing that he is no longer capable of guiding the country in its future direction.

One of the major objectives of this research is to investigate Cameron's European policy to take an overview of the ongoing developments, to see the intention of the conservative party from Euro-scepticism. Furthermore, this study attempts to address the following matters, to analyse how practical Euro-scepticism realized from a theory to practice under Cameron's leadership, as well as, to examine both the roots and the causes of the British referendum that was done on 2016, to see whether the results can benefit U.K. or E.U. futures.

Many significant questions are to be raised in this piece of research. Among many questions that constrain this research work, the following will profoundly examined: What are the roots of Euros-scepticism in the U.K.; the factors and the incidents that help to create it and make it arouse throughout history, Why is the U.K. Euro-sceptic, How Cameron succeeded to realize practical Euro-scepticism in fact, What is the conservative party's purpose from this policy, Why Cameron is risking to make a referendum, Is the Brexit a solution to end Britain's Euro-scepticism, What are the dimensions of this dilemma for the U.K.'s future?.

The above questions are the centre of concern of this dissertation. In fact, this work tried to answer these logical inquiries in an attempt to provide some basic elements related to Euro-scepticism during the rule of David Cameron. Therefore, this work will modestly contribute in enlightening some of the obscurity of the reality of West Minister's politics, along with exploring the direct and indirect reasons behind Cameron's permanent efforts to delay the British referendum by using both direct procedures and diplomacy.

After the W.W.II., Winston Churchill decided to create a kind of United States of Europe, but did not consider Britain as being its heart. This internal political context developed and became Euro-scepticism. It was seen as grace for the Conservative party because according to its policy any European integration is a direct threat to the British political sovereignty. However, this grace was no longer enjoyable because Euro-scepticism in the U.K. was exaggerated.

The problem reached the climax when Cameron promised in his election campaign in 2010 to make a national referendum to re-negotiate British existence in the E.U. through his suggestion Mr. Cameron aimed to start a new chapter with the future of the U.K. in Euro group members. However, this creates a rebellion in the conservative party with those who really wanted to get out of the E.U. As a result, David Cameron moved towards new policies with unknown consequences that can affect his political career. Euro-scepticism kept developing and appearing everyday to reinforce the supremacy of Britain over European countries.

This research tends to dissect and to examine the behind scenes of Euro-scepticism under Cameron's leadership. It will be based on qualitative method, as the nature of the topic needs a minutely exploration and deep investigation, to provide a global understanding to the main elements with which the study is concerned. Furthermore, the use of discourse analysis can assist in reporting and analyzing thoughts, dissections of those who are closely involved in this matter; political leaders, lawyers, researchers, scholars, critics...etc.

Before the research can be further examined, and more exhibited, it is necessary to provide an assemblage of variable sources that already dealt with the subject. Literature

review will furnish an explanation and additional analysis of the case from different points by some scholars, researchers and experts who investigate the enduring of British Euro-scepticism from 2010 to 2016. Numerous books and articles have been written. However, the discussion is still going on which means that the current treated topic is undertaken seriously.

A thoughtful book entitled *Revolt on the Right: Explaining Support for the Radical Right in Britain* (2014). It gave a clear vision about the successful challenges of political parties in modern British history, which Euro-sceptic rules belief of populism and opposition to immigration. It investigated the social changes that have caused a huge space for rebellion within the conservative party, from its beginning in 1990 to 2010 under the coalition government. The book examined the characteristics of the supporters of Euro-scepticism in the party and in Britain's politics. In addition, it focused on the British vote according to some politicians' analysis. Along the chapters, the writer made an interview with current activists in order to get a vivid data to tackle the subject behind the scenes.

As the research will provide a good analysis to the issue of Euro-scepticism under Cameron's leadership it is significant to examine *Euro-scepticism under Margaret Thatcher and David Cameron: from Theory to Practice* (2015), written by Alexandre Collier. This article gave a clear vision about Euro-scepticism under Cameron administration in comparison to Thatcher's policy. Alexandre tried to highlight the similarities and the differences in various areas between them. First, he argued that the conservative party knows a radical change in its structure with Thatcher. In addition, he maintained that practical Euro-scepticism realized in terms of agenda setting and party

management by David Cameron. Finally, the article offered the relevant causes that affected the conservative party attitude to European integration today.

In the same context Cécile Leconte in her book *Understanding Euro-scepticism* (2010) tried to provide a detailed analysis about Euro-scepticism, to maintain an overview on the channels of influence inside and outside the E.U. Second, he dealt with varieties of Euro-scepticism across time. Moreover, Leconte discussed the political elites' procedures in parliament and in political parties, national institutions as courts, administrations. Also, he put the light on media, civil society and concluded by a prediction to the future of Britain and the E.U.

The Europe Dilemma: Britain and the Drama of EU Integration (2014) discussed the most important events that occurred with Cameron, who guided the British conservatives out of the E.P.P. under duress in 2005. In addition, he dealt with coalition government's major concession to Euro-sceptic opinion, which was the passage of the law of the E.U. Act of 2011. The book concluded with the modern case in Euro-group that was started with the goal of the European project, but this spirit of ambition has been lost.

Another book have tackled this subject is *Euro-scepticism and European Integration* (2009). The professor Arato Krisztina examined the effects of changes that occurred in Britain; he provided a general definition of Euro-scepticism. As well as, he emphasised the causes of this problem. Then, he talked about its original that has a direct impact on the going to be a national crisis. Moreover, his analysis based on a set of articles and studies about party based Euro-scepticism. He tried to explore Euro-scepticism crisis in its broader perspective.

Most of the above questions were treated in this dissertation, which was divided into three chapters. The first chapter is a theoretical one; it provides a general historical background to the British Euro-scepticism, and to the British-E.U. relations, and how these relations have transformed from partnership to mutual exclusion. It also, tries to bring an analysis for some important reasons which led to destroy the U.K.-E.U. relations. The chapter starts with general definitions and it clarifies the types of Euro-scepticism. Then, it moves to give a glimpse of history about the roots of Euro-scepticism in Britain and its relationship with the E.U. from its formation in 1957. Finally, it explores the possible causes of Euro-scepticism in the United Kingdom.

The second chapter is commonly a continuation to the first one in which it tries to investigate Cameron's European policy plus his British policy. It is divided into three sub-titles, the first one gives a general overview concerning Cameron's legislations and new policies, as a party leader of the conservatives. Then, the sub-chapter tries to explain Cameron's European agenda in Europe. The second element discusses the challenges that obstruct Cameron's policy in Britain and in the E.U. This title, therefore, clarifies the strength which Britain possesses over the European continent; such as, the political role in world politics side to side with the U.S. The last part of this chapter investigates Britain's political realm with Cameron, how Euro-scepticism spread to cover its politics, media and the whole British society.

The third and the last chapter of this dissertation attempts to prove that Britain's rigid and threaten language with the E.U. has been replaced by less aggressive and a wiser rhetoric conducted by Cameron's administration. Thus, this chapter explores Cameron new and direct policy towards the E.U. and its outcomes. It is including three sub-titles; the first describes Cameron's last hope to stop the disintegration from the union. This title

illustrates the Cameroonian opposition to the referendum. The second part of this chapter focuses on the manipulation of the West Minister to withdraw the E.U. it displays the different diplomatic intervention conducted by Cameron to satisfy the Euro-sceptics and his people. The last title of this dissertation includes different views of David Cameron on Brexit, and his reaction through resignation. It aims at investigating the future consequences of the U.K. as an independent state from the European Union.

Chapter One

Historical Background of Euro-scepticism in the U.K.

This chapter traces the roots of Euro-scepticism in the U.K. from the second half of the 20th century to the early 21st century. This long period witnessed many national and international events such as the end of the Second World War (W.W.II.), also the creation of the European Union (E.U.). However, many upheavals also took place in the U.K. For instance, the 1970's the British participation in the European Economic Community (E.E.C.) then the European Community and today the European Union. This involvement was based on Britain's interests in the continent in terms of costs and benefits, which has no relation with emotional commitments.

In addition, this chapter discusses the national membership referendum of 1975. Yet, Britain has often reached the fact that the E.U.'s organization and its legislations uncongenial. This was highly appeared through Thatcher's battles in the 1980's, to stop the British contributions towards the European countries. Britain's membership has become the issue for the successive governments in the west minister. This chapter therefore, highlights the possible reasons that caused the tension between the governmental monarchy and the E.U. Starting from the end of the W.W.II. passing through the circumstances that surrounding the creation of the E.E.C. in 1957 and finishing with Thatcher European agenda that was often depicted as the spiritual mother of Euro-scepticism.

All these sequential events have led to the rise of the Euro-sceptic phenomenon inside the British parties and even among the ordinary people. The latter was taken by prime ministers as a tentative goal to determine during their election campaigns. Furthermore,

the chapter examines the different types of Euro-scepticism. Generally, this chapter primary intends to provide a summary and an overview on how have the Euro-scepticism established and how it has changed to be a dilemma in the British politics.

1.1. What is Euro-scepticism?

Euro-scepticism stands for the policies that are adopted by the British government to describe its position which is against the British existence in the E.U. The latter became significant element in the current political landscape of Britain. This is a matter which can be substantiated through the British media and also by evaluating the preferences of votes by the British public at the European parliament's election. Therefore, it has gained an important role in domestic politics; any casual researcher could not be blamed for reflecting this policy as a feeling of hatred towards Europe. Instead, the existence of Anti-Europeanism is a fact that exists among the British people long before the rise of this phenomenon.

To avoid generalization and ambiguity it is then necessary to define the concept of Euro- scepticism depending on some politicians and experts' analysis mainly because it is used as descriptive tool in nowadays laws. Historically, the term was employed interchangeably with the previous word "anti-marketers", to reflect those who were against British participation in the E.E.C. in 1960 (Spiering 127).

At almost all time since 1945, but precisely since the mid 1960s, new distinct group of MPs emerged to challenge the close supranational engagement with Europe. Firstly, anti-Europeans, later anti-marketers and currently Euro-sceptics. The percentages of these sceptics have waxed and waned from forty to sixty, however there has always been huge number of passive sceptics, which led those MPs to oppose their party (Forster 129).

In line with that, The Oxford English Dictionary defines a Euro-sceptic person as the one who contradicts the increasing powers of the E.U. However, scepticism refers to the doubts about the certainty of a particular information or statement. Generally, the word is used for a negative meaning to maintain the impossibility or difficulty of something's occurrence (392).

The public opposition concerning the presence of the U.K. in the E.U. is not the same, each group or party has their main perspective, this due to the different ideologies. The professors of political science at university of Sussex, Taggart and Szczerbiak asserts that Euro-scepticism is divided into two types Hard and Soft. The first one reflects the direct opposition to the E.U. through specific movements. It goes on to list restrictions aims for withdrawing their countries from the membership. Accordingly, this type can be categorized as a full rejection about any European alliance, which has been considered as the dark side of Euro-scepticism whilst the Soft is the criticism of a particular aspect and certain policies in the union, but still remaining sympathising in the safeguard of the national interests (7).

Kopecy and Mudde, associate professors in School of Public and International Affairs in University of Georgia, have offered alternative classifications of the concept, which draws a distinction between diffuse and a specific support. By diffuse support they mean assistance of the general practices of the European integration whereas specific is seen as support for the general practices of the E.U. This framework led them to propose another order according to party position in Europe (303). Kopecy and Mudde classifications categorized all the types into groups; each one reflects a specific orientation of Euro-scepticism in Europe.

Table 1

Kopecky and Mudde's Typology of Euro-scepticism

	Support for European Integration	
Support for E.U.	Europhile	Europhobe
EU-optimist	Euro-enthusiast	Euro-pragmatist
EU-Pessimist	Euro-sceptics	Euro-rejects

Source: Kopecky, P. and Mudde, C. *The Two Sides of Euro-scepticism: Party Positions on European Integration in East Central Europe*. European Union Politics, 2002. Web.

As displayed in the above table, this new typology structured along two by two categories Europhobe/Europhile and EU-optimist /EU-pessimist. Europhile's principle is to agree with the idea of European integration and pooled sovereignty while Europhobe is to refuse the integration on the basis of ideological reasons. In the same respect, the second dimension focused on the acceptance of the E.U. as a national organization. They divide the EU-optimists from the EU-pessimists. The optimists, who in principle accept the E.U. and its legislations but they can also criticize certain E.U. resolutions, whereas pessimists avoid the E.U. and its way of developing, however, this does not mean opposition of the membership but a hope of changing the E.U. along the original concepts for the cooperation (Kopecky and Mudde 303).

The last two dimensions create an alternative type of parties. This include, firstly Euro-enthusiast who support the ideological of E.U.'s thoughts and its practice; secondly,

the Euro-rejects who believe neither on the E.U. integration nor in the E.U.; thirdly, the Euro-sceptics who support the idea of a united Europe but pessimist about its future effects; finally, the Euro-pragmatists who reject the idea of the E.U. but accept the rule of the E.U. integration, they work according to their own country's interests. This classifications being ideal types, they claim, are convenient for the qualitative analysis of any party position (304).

However, other researchers claimed that Euro-scepticism is a positive sign that reflects the rise of awareness between the citizens as well as, it allows the ordinary people to participate with the political elite in policy making process. The lecturer of Business Communication in England and teacher of English business at the Bucharest Academy of Economic Studies, Monika Condruz stated that: "This phenomenon, euro-scepticism, being recently called economic protectionism, has become one of the most important concerns on the agenda of many politicians, analysis and ordinary people. Being associated with the idea of disagreement regarding the goals of the European project."

There are three main aspects to the statement of Condruz that has mentioned above. First, it assumes that Euro-scepticism emphasises on two interconnected processes: economic protectionism and political integration within the state and in Europe. Second, it directly links the public opposition towards the European project to the national sovereignty. And third, it implies that Euro-sceptics conserve their national unity. In this sense, the term is implied to describe the opponents of the European association who wants to improve their national conditions weather inside or outside the E.U. Thus, scepticism allows also for the positive change.

In the remaining conflict, Euro-scepticism becomes the scene of number of mediating researches in the last decade. In his analysis Martin Quick, a British author and politician, collected these previous definitions in three main categories, the ugly, the bad and the good one, he associated the dark side with the national parties that utilize the term as a slogan to preserve their national steadiness across any strange threat like immigration or economic barriers (Quick).

Britain agenda is among the moderate countries who obtain both the bad and the ugly features of this policy. In this respect, the bad characteristics represent the bias methods followed by some parties who refuse to tolerate or to accept any solution to obey the E.U. order. In particular, the good is the most relevant one; it is not limited only with plans for E.U. survival. However, it attempts to resolve any bloc concerning the union integration altogether. For instance, E.C.B. was designed to be a single currency. But most of the members refused it and considered such organization ineffective despite the fact all of them suffered of a variety of troubles (Quick).

Simona Guerra, associate professor in politics, summarized Euro-scepticism in certain characteristics; her article gives an explanation about the total features of this phenomenon. Guerra's work enhances the idea that Euro-scepticism is a signal discontent in which it has a unique mainstreaming dimension. The purpose of the government therefore is to protect its advantages. She also believed that Euro-scepticism takes the colour of its geographical, temporal and historical environment, since it determines the hostility towards the E.U. integration process. Also, she emphasises on the role of media which is between demand and supply, but generally offered a negative coverage. Guerra thought that the best model of Euro-sceptics is the elite level, who obtains a negative connotation though it is not used by parties as Euro-pragmatists, Euro-critical and Euro-

realists. Moreover, it depends on upon difficult to pin down, ideology, strategy or diffuse which means balanced system of power against the E.U. (Guerra).

1.2. The Origin and the Evolution of Euro-scepticism

Britain extended to become the largest world empire in history. It occupied colonies, dominions, mandates, protectors and others all over the world; it was called the empire on which the sun never sets. At the beginning of the twentieth century remarked its decline, when the majority of the colonies revolted and succeeded to get their independence; Britain ruled world's history for over three centuries, many of its politicians and populations still believe on their superiority over other countries (Spiering 45).

Joining the E.U. was seen as positive sign for smaller states to improve their relations in world's economy and politics, such as Slovenia. Whereas others like Germany wanted to build a new positive image through the union. However, for the U.K. was unacceptable to be occupied by European constraints, the tentative goal of the alliance is narrowed opportunities. Also, the integration granted the loss of Britain's influence in the world. Those psychological barriers prevented Britain to build a relation with Europe (Bojana 3).

Another complication for the U.K. was the events of the W.W.II. shaped Britain's approaches to Europe in various ways. Europe is regarded as a theatre of blood and oppression, but the U.S. is a mutual friend. A lot of cities were destroyed about 460.000 British people died. Those dark memories designed the British mentality, the concept of "British us" versus "Europe other" started to spread out in the U.K.; part of that idea proclaimed that Europe made a revolution, but Britain stopped it. In addition, U.K. already staved of the Nazi invasion. As a result, Britain opposed any European integration to avoid the trauma of collaboration and occupation again (Spiering 47).

After the W.W.II.it was a necessity to create a European unity under an official institution, which can protect the continent from any internal or external troubles, as well as to facilitate the relations and to fulfil their needs. It began as a political project reinforced by influential British voices. For instance, Winston Churchill was the prominent figure who raised this strategy, but he implied its ideologies according to his country's interests (Dinan 306).

In his Zurich speech on 1946, Churchill, former British Prime Minister, claimed the indispensability to make a U.S. of Europe ruled by France and Germany. "If we are to form the United States of Europe or whatever name or form it may take, we must begin now . . . The first step is to form a council of Europe" (Dinan). On the above discourse, it would seem that Churchill supported the idea of national Europe to ensure democratic and peaceful steadiness through political European alliance. However, this was not his real vision since he did not plan to involve Britain in any continental issue.

Churchill attempted to see the U.K. as the leader of European affairs, but without being a member inside. This perception is best summed up in his quoted proclamation: "We have our own dream and our own task. We are linked but not combined. We are interested and associated but not absorbed"(Dinan). These phrases demonstrate Britain's position in Europe and clarify the ideological division inside the country itself.

At the end of the 1950's and during the 1960's, the U.K. witnessed an economic crisis while the other six members of the E.E.C. achieved a higher level of economic prosperity. These affected British politicians' views that changed their position toward the membership. The U.K. did not plan for political integration; however, it was economic motivation that led governmental monarchy to accept the Communities Act as a first

condition of its alliance. Although Britain kept defining its integration as intergovernmental issue and it had no relation with politics (Bojana 2).

In addition, two distinct eras of opposition concerning European integration were evident. The dominant dimension of the first period was from 1945 to 1961. There were shared feeling of scepticism. It started by the labour government from 1945 to 1951 and the conservative governments from 1951 to 1961. Most of their activists MPs were alike. It was rise of anti-Europeanism which means a complete rejection with supranational Europe. The second period remarked the coming of Harold Macmillan on July 31, 1961, who opened talk to explore whether the joining of E.E.C. is suitable or could be negotiated, but the French president Charles de Gaulle used the veto to obstruct the British application to associate the E.E.C. He argued that U.K. has strong contact with the U.S.A. and the British commonwealth could cripple the Britons in their dedication to the E.E.C. (Foster 9).

Macmillan applied to join but his policy was once more criticized by the Labour Party, which returned to authority on March 31st 1966, and confronted again with the French rejection, this confused the application of membership again, thus it rose the complexity about the issue of Europe between the two main parties and even within each one of them. Two years later, George Pompidou became the French president and removed the veto. In 1973, the U.K. joined the E.E.C. under leadership of Prime Minister Edward Heath (10).

In most of European countries, all surveys of public opinion indicate a public detachment towards Europe, what is different in Britain is those opinions common with the political elite. The two parties have been divided over the European problem.

Members of the conservative party in the late 1950s and 1960s were against Macmillan's policy concerning the integration. Between 1973 and the late 1980s the percentages of opposition diminished. By the time of the Maastricht treaty in 2001, the party formulated a form of Euro-scepticism, the leaders' elections and their decisions reflected it (129). During the 1960s and 1970s, almost two thirds of MPs from the Labour party opposed and campaigned against the E.E.C. They voted on the renegotiated terms about British membership in the referendum of 1973. From 1979 the anti-market spread in the Labour party, the party transformed it to become "New Labour" in the 1990s. The level of Euro-scepticism in the parliament of the late 1990s, maintained that around ten MPs were Euro-sceptical with one third who favoured the integration (Foster 129-130).

Before continuing with the study of this issue, it is valuable to elaborate the analysis of the developing outlook of British political discourse with Europe depending on a brief study of the varieties in public opinions. In order to examine this, Euro-barometer will be gathered and used to offer a broad comparison of changes concerning the sentiment of E.U. towards the membership, in the U.K. and across all member states. Answers to the question which is posted below have only been gathered since 1973; during the time of official British membership ("Euro-scepticism..."). This in order to clarify the old public vision concerning the integration of the E.E.C. from the two sides the British and the Europeans, who favoured really this association, are the Britons or mostly Europeans in the following graph public opinions demonstrate those issues.

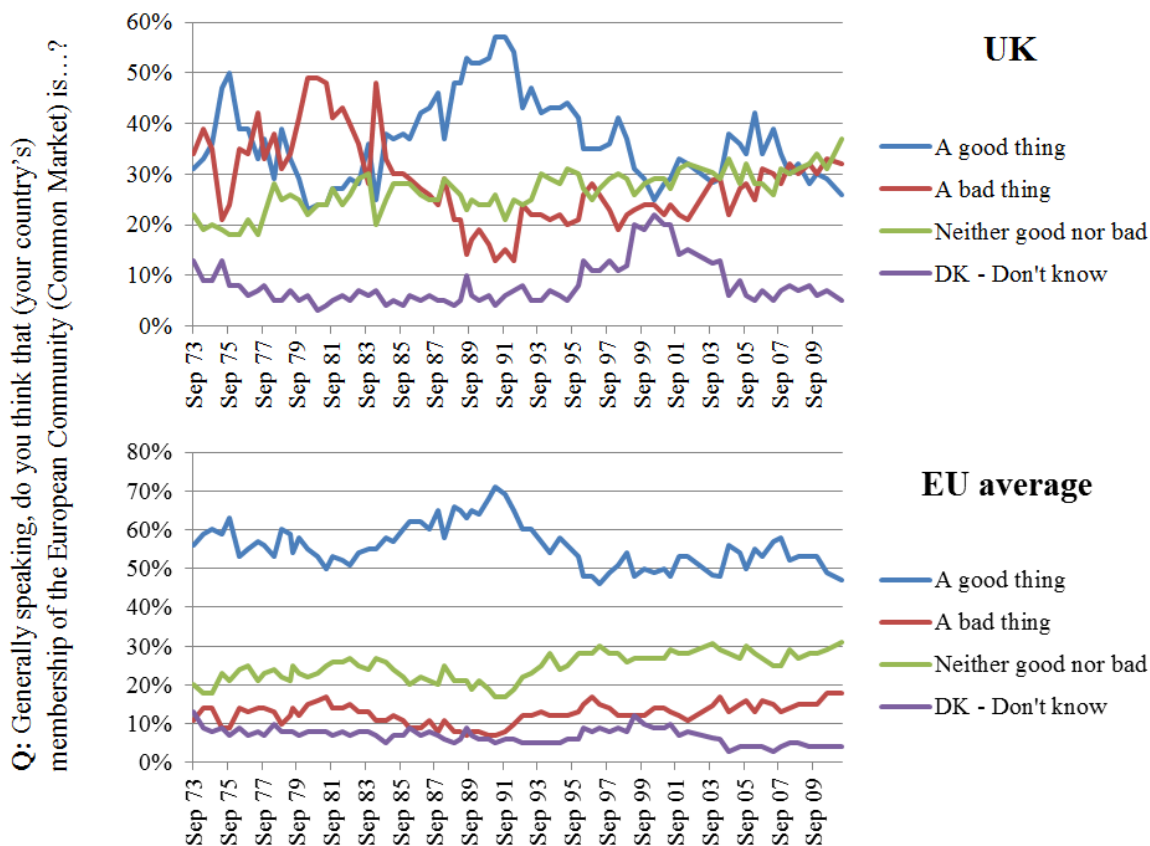


Figure 1: A Diagram Presenting the Comparison of Changes Concerning the E.U.

From the above graph, a lot of trends and bias can be noted, many of which complement the focus of this chapter. Starting with general comparison between the two, the most apparent difference is the structure of E.U. average, which contrasts the U.K. that is characterised by a clear peaks and troughs in opinion. Moreover, the level of negative responses is higher in the U.K. particularly the hard Euro-scepticism, measured from the bad thing response. Both trends confirm that integration has been a controversial issue between the British public since accession.

Both graphs expose a similar decline in the response of “I don’t know” over the course last ten years. Such analyses are a clear evidence of the rise of Euro-scepticism.

Additionally, through analyzing the graph of the U.K. response alone, it can be noticed that the percentages of support for British membership are not the same from those at the period of British accession. Also, the hard Euro-sceptics responses have a higher level of public support. Thus, Euro-scepticism is not only the prevalent feature of British politics in the past; those in favour of integration cannot neglect.

When Britain assembled the E.E.C. by the conservative Prime Minister Edward Heath, no economic change occurred even with the oil crisis of 1973, economic progress was blocked everywhere. During that time the labour party who opposed E.E.C. promised to hold a national referendum if they win the election. They permitted their promise when they took authority on 1975. Harold Wilson recovered the split of the labour party through this referendum, a tactic remarkably the same to Cameron. The question was; “Parliament has decided to consult the electorate on the question whether the U.K. should remain in the European Economic Community: Do you want the U.K. to remain in the E.E.C.” But, the majority (67%) voted for staying in (Gifford 54).

After that, the labour changed its ideologies and moved to become more concerned with Europe, especially when European laws applied welfare and social programs. For example, some parts of the British Employment Protection Act of 1978 stated unfair according to the European law, whereas the conservative party changed its position in 1975, with the coming of Margeret Thatcher, as a highly Euro-sceptic leader (Bojana 6).

Gifford, an American writer and producer, argued that the pivotal role of Margeret Thatcher in the British history and the conservative party in particular is still the heart of the political and academic debate. Thatcher regulated a fundamental restrictions and transformations through new social and economic changes. Two aspects of her legacy

have been most often exposed. Firstly, Thatcher posted an economic new liberal model which was conserved and enhanced by her successors. Secondly, Thatcher considered as a symbol of Euro-scepticism according to her perception of a liberal and intergovernmental Europe of independent sovereign states in her speech in Bruges speech, means that Britain could remain a free country outside the E.E.C. Some scholars claimed that Euro-scepticism became as paramount slogan for protecting the Thatcher legacy (519).

Euro-sceptic legacy appeared more through thoughts and beliefs than policies. As mentioned before, there are two types of Euro-scepticism. Soft is the disagreement of the interference to the E.E.C. while the hard is the total opposition to the idea itself. Thatcher extremely believed in the hard type, her concepts on Europe have been gradually achieved since her demise, she described synonymous with Euro-scepticism. However, only after her death this dilemma started to emerge as an organized movement inside and outside the parliament. For instance, the appearance of the Bruges group, who described as “one of the most guardians of Thatcher sbrine” (qtd.in Fontana and Parsons). Euro-scepticism developed to be not only attitude but also as a movement and parliamentary behaviour (Fontana and Parsons 89).

The pivotal moment was in 1988; Jacques Delors the European Comission’s president, promised the Trade Union Congress that Europe’s single market would be reinforced by welfare and social regulations. This pushed Thatcher’s known for her high opposition for Trade Union, inducing directly to her Bruges speech, and attacking the excessive integration in the E.U. in the same year. Two years later, Delors was blamed for planning to closer E.U. interference. This marked the point when Torries changed labour to the party of Euro-scepticism (“The Roots...”).

Forster, a British political scientist and former British army, maintained that the era from the death of Thatcher until the ratification of the Maastricht treaty witnessed Euro-scepticism in its heyday. During the time of the treaty's negotiation which was from 1990 to 1991, there was a growing unease in the conservative party because the E.E.C. integration did not bring such benefit that Britain was looking for. Moreover, the treaty offered the opportunity for sceptics to negotiate and oppose the integration. Also, ratifying the Maastricht treaty ensured that the parliament have the authority to enhance the European integration (84).

Negotiating the Maastricht Treaty guaranteed that Parliament would be able to make contribution to the development of European alliance. For instance, in 1985 when the S.E.A. was accepted, the constitutional monarchy was obliged to agree with the E.U. legislations in their domestic laws, this is to give credibility to the treaty commitments. During this period, only few sceptics had the opportunity in Parliament to oppose the government (85).

In 1991, new events combined to the strengthening of the sceptics again. Forster stated the events as follows; first, in April 1992, John Major conducted a general election that won with a majority of twenty one votes. This majority made the government dependent on the members of the conservative Euro-sceptic votes to pass its programme. Second, the Danish government held a national referendum to negotiate the treaty on June 2, 1992, which was refused by 48,000 votes. This was a psychological push for the sceptics, to continue their job of disintegration which called for a meeting in the U.K. to abandon the ratification. The last event was the suspensions of sterling on September 1992, which damaged the economic credibility of the government, and led the Euro-sceptic; regain back the authority (85).

David Cameron's European policy was actually inspired by Thatcher Euro-scepticism. Thatcher changed the structure of the conservative party, but Cameron succeeded to realize this notion in terms of agenda setting and party management. Also, he provided tentative regulations for Euro-sceptic radicalisation in the party. Therefore, Cameron reached far beyond Thatcher expectations, he could fulfil her dreams with the Brexit of 2016 (Alexandre-Coller 9).

To sum up, the origins of British Euro-scepticism are deep, they are cultural as much as political, and the U.K. scares to lose its identity within the European states. In addition, the young and the well educated people are less Euro-sceptic. However, the popular notion claimed that only older persons and the working class who favour the disintegration are not correct, Euro-scepticism also spreads all over the continent not only in Britain. Yet, there were no serious debate anywhere concerning this phenomena but Britain opened the rebel through referendum of 1970s ending with the Brexit of 2016 ("The Roots...").

1.3. The Causes of the British Euro-scepticism

The following paragraphs aim to discuss in detail the causes advanced by the Euro-sceptics. Researches and collections of their arguments against E.U. interference are widely valuable. As shown in the previous analysis, Euro-scepticism has appeared in the U.K. longer, and is has fixed between British politicians and citizens than in other member states.

The majority of the E.U. members assembled the group for clear and apparent cause. For France and Germany, such cooperation was a tool to heal the scars of the war. Belgium took it as an opportunity to retain diplomatic economics of scale. For the eastern

European countries like Poland, Estonia and Hungary, the alliance was a guarantor to protect themselves from Russian bullying. However, Britain joined the club in 1973 hesitantly in moment of economic tension (Hughes).

Doctors Harmsen and the Speiringare are among the prominent figures who seek to explore the possible reasons of this phenomenon. They emphasise on the British differentness. The W.W.II. remarked a necessity of cooperation, even between the continents but the U.K. was dissimilar, it could choose other options either to determine its association with the commonwealth or to regulate the special relation with the U.S.A. Thus, Britain favoured to be Euro-sceptic because the European interference was a choice but one of many (137).

Another reason for the British Euro-scepticism is social and cultural. The British do not describe themselves as Europeans. This self image existed long before their time and is still alive until today. Rebecca Langlands, an associate professor in Classics, claimed this as follows; “A religious mythology of chosennes defined Englishness in opposition to the hostile Catholic states of Europe, France and Spain in particular and provided the English with a sense of unique identity and destiny.”

British people have a sense of superiority over the other races, because they belong to the Anglo-Saxon. Their language “English” is distinct in the sense that it is creole which means is a stable natural language enhanced through a mixture of other languages which were Anglo-Saxon and old French. These features tend to make English superior to other languages: it is rich and natural not like the rest that imposed to develop by intellectuals and academies (Spiering 31).

In line with that, the British are not Europeans is the concept, that it is in their blood which is assumed to be Anglo-Saxon. A tribe of civilized people who obtain democracy and liberty in their life, the cause of Anglo-Saxonism was first ruled up by Henry VIII who accused a break with the church of Roman. He defended this act as a way to protect the pure English religion. Anglo Saxonism became a fashionable to compare nations, especially after “Social Darwinism” theory emerged. Although there was a small problem with the original Anglo-Saxon who were from Europe mainly Germany, but in fact those groups were in favour of freedom, for that reason they left Europe for England many centuries ago (Mandler 59).

Racial explanation of Euro-scepticism reinforced by another factor, the U.K. is a group of islands Wales, Scotland, and England. This reason maintains that the British are special and not European; in 1991 the Prime Minister John Major said that: “the British are by temperament the least European of the present Community countries. This was for reasons of history and geography, our position as an island” (qtd.in Spiering).

Tony Blaire, former British Prime Minister, not only invoked islandness, in his speech at the Polish Stock Exchange in Warsaw he even used the word race to explain Britain attitude with Europe. He argued that, the U.K. was slow in joining the union, because it was the leader and the victor of the W.W.II, in addition it is the major ally of the U.S. and because their citizens are “proud and independent minded island race” (qtd.in Spiering). Blaire continued by saying that “we nevertheless have much European blood flowing in our veins” David Cameron also employed the term island in his speech of 2013, “Britain and Europe” this in order to clarify the tension and the position of the British: “we have the character of an island nation: independent, forthright, and passionate in defence of our sovereignty” (qtd.in Spiering). Both Cameron and Blaire tended to differentiate between

Europe and Britain, this is to confirm that U.K. does not belong to the European continental issues (Spiering 36).

The enlightenments also have a crucial role in shaping and emphasising the fundamental differences in the individual psychology. Those who contend this era were French and British like, John Locke, J.S. Mill, Charles Darwin and Bertrand Russel. But, they chose distinct roads to modernity, the French were radical, abstract and rationalists, the British were sensible, pragmatic and pluralist. The French were described as “the ideology of reason” that succeeds to formulate causes concerning the governing principles in a particular society (Abou-Saleh, Katona and Kumar 6).

History and economics assist to clarify British Euro-scepticism. During 1970s U.K. was described as the sick man of Europe, but from 1990s, Britain reached high growth and low employment. However, its economy contained some weaknesses as poor productivity. The U.K. benefited from Thatcher structural reforms, For instance; the openness with foreign relations and investments, this helped to improve the financial markets of the country (Grant 3).

Grant, an associate professor in the school of Social Work in the U.K., gives a number of arguments that testify the extent of the problem. British governments have employed their influence to slow down European interference in the E.E.C. They claimed that such integration brought obstacles for their country such as taxation, foreign policy and defence. According to Grant, there is no cause to think that this attitude will change. Gordon Brown, a former British prime minister, was less enthusiastic concerning the E.U. in comparison to his predecessor, and the government led by David Cameron described more Euro-sceptic than that ruled by Brown. Many Britons disdain the E.U. and they

believed that such feeling is reciprocated. In fact, people in the continent tend to explain that the U.K. is the responsible for the most damage to the E.U. (14).

Other justification for Britain's hostility towards the E.U., which is not easily comprehended outside Britain, is the U.K.'s has a Euro-sceptic popular media. Some of the best press institutions are the Financial Times, Reuters and B.B.C. Channels. Most of the organizations mobilized by the government to make citizens dislike the E.U. In Euro-sceptic magazines and newspapers, also, journalists are sometimes forced to write stories against the Union. Although, those who tried to make a balance with the E.U. are unlikely to be published, the internet in the U.K. not yet has such strong effect like the national written press. But, the competition between the national tiles is present to rule the public opinion (Leconte 191).

In no other European country is it tolerated for leading magazines to publish a lie about the E.U., however in Britain, it occurred twice. The first was in 2004, during the time of the agreement about the constitutional treaty. Grant stated that Britain is forced by the constitution to give up the pound, even if there is no referendum on assembling the union. While the *Daily Mail*, Edward Heathcoat-Amory, a British author, argued that the treaty meant that the British would "have to give up our vital seat on the U.N. Security Council if the E.U. Foreign Minister asked for it" (qtd.in Grant) The same paper Melanie Philips, another British writer, stated about the European Court of Justice overt purpose is to bring about a super-state (Grant 4).

For the example of 2007, this was concerning the agreement of the Lisbon Treaty, it was signed by the 27 leaders of the E.U. on September 23, 2007. It is aimed to reform the functioning of the E.U. and to enlarge the European organization. A *Sun's* article analyzed

the treaty's clause stated that "further vetoes could be given up by E.U. leaders without the permission of our parliament" (Dunn). Nevertheless, the Times tackled the issue of the European gendarme force, which contains five E.U. member states without Britain, claimed that "Brussels has set up a new E.U. police force that could patrol the streets of Britain" (Garden). Such illustrations of the popular press influenced on the way citizens think and ministers present today.

Another paradox is that opposition to immigration and Euro-scepticism are core pillars of the Independence Party (U.K.I.P.). Robert Leach, an English entertainment reporter and writer, proclaims that by the election of 2010 campaign, immigration was considered as the second important issue, after the economic crisis that concerns the majority of the British people. The bulk wave of early post-war was from the Africans and Asians who had come from Britain's former colonies. Later the E.U. states and Britain particularly became open door for asylum seekers from the world's trouble spots, the majority of them were from different races and with a variety of faiths. Therefore, Euro-scepticism highly increased inside West Minister government, it emerged as a dilemma that should be diminished (195).

Burrell, a British doctor and she is senior lecturer in Social and Cultural Geography, stated that by the 2015, immigration into the U.K. had considered a particular rallying cry on the conservative party. Euro-sceptics found British hotel desks occupied by Poles who had come from low wage jobs in Eastern Europe. This kind of inside immigration was not criticized by the E.U., but it rose in Britain the Calais crisis of 2015, when thousands of refugees attempted to enter the U.K. by hiding in Lorries. Euro-sceptics worried that those outsiders would change the identity and the culture of Britain. Nevertheless, immigration

waves kept swarming into Britain, from both inside and outside the continent, looking for welfare and unemployment benefits (157).

The last reason is the ruling class like politicians, business leaders and media owners who depend on their authority and power; such group have a special attitude concerning the E.U. They wanted to educate the British citizens according to their expectations, in order to benefit from the integration (Spiering 21).

In Britain, if any person wanted to take a position in politics or in media, he should not know a lot about Europe. They believed that taking a higher position required honesty, or they will risk by their political career. Moreover, such ignorance of Europe is not a handicap in the British politics. One of the journalists in B.B.C. argued that any politician who tried to advance his political career is to make a Euro-sceptic comment, thus to get noticed (Alec 69).

The cabinet of the Current Labour Government, only 3 or 5 from 23 members described as pro-European, who have some interest and knowledge about the E.U. However, still acceptable because the conservative one is the worst, no member devotes his time to know about the E.U. However, the Liberal Democrat party the opposite, both the current leader Nick Clegg and Chris Huhne has a profound knowledge about the union and Europe (70).

The U.K.is considered as the only country that has no written constitution. However, it has a system of fundamental laws and legislations. The reason behind this situation related on the notion of Britain is not European. The constitution should ratify some amendments with the union but Britain did not accept such restrictions. Moreover, the Radical system changes resulted the declarations of some laws such as, the situation of the American

colonies in the U.S.A., in Germany, France and elsewhere confirmed that the continent is unstable place (Spiering 59).

Recent studies have shown that the problem of European interference in the domestic political arena is divided to inter party dynamics. This type of party split is not limited only to regulate the problem of European interference, but also to demonstrate the positional nature of the two parties. The parties are reacted according to their interests, the radical right and the radical left oppose the E.U. on every ideological and argumentative base (Meijers 5).

People turn to become less Euro-sceptic only when they accept their current government, when they agree with the way democracy carry on in their nations and at the E.U. level. Moreover, when they are better cultivated, and when they find themselves as parts of a higher social class. British people would agree to be a member in the alliance. Women are also considered more Euro-sceptics than man with small difference. Thus, there are no significant reasons that led to increase Euro-scepticism over time, but it depends to personal and social conditions (Topaloff 264).

Chapter Two

The Raising of Euro-scepticism with David Cameron

This chapter tries to demonstrate Mr. Cameron European policy to clarify the ongoing developments. Also, it gives a picture concerning Cameron's ambition to withdraw the union, which is considered as an ancient project that can back to 1973 and before the coming of this young prime minister. Initially, Cameron started this project as a stimulus for his political campaign. However, the project was developed to become real especially after the raising waves of immigration towards Western Europe. This section of the dissertation will explain how Cameron in the period between 2005 and 2016's ruled the conservative party to become the major power in Britain as well as how he guided the U.K. to be the leader of the union.

This chapter explores some of the international reports and studies made on the Euro scepticism under Cameron's leadership and spotlights Cameron efforts along with some European countries, to impede the request of the referendum. In addition, it deals with the different stages which Cameron passed through from announcing the starting of the national referendum till the current time, and their impact on shaping the U.K. political decisions concerning its intention to withdraw the union.

Similarly to the first chapter, the second one again tackles the covert actions against the European integration, but with special focus on Cameron secret harassment and termination of any further transfer of powers to the E.U. It is generally assesses the implications of the European financial and economic crisis for Britain's European policy. In addition, increasing of the Euro group has changed the balance of power within the E.U. and how this problem made the U.K. future major debated in the national forums, in

order to find a way to resolve it. Finally, it highlights the new beginning for Britain-European relations and provides some answers for the reasons behind failing to reach bilateral and unconditional solutions of the Euro-scepticism issue.

2.1. Cameron's Revitalization of the Conservatives

Wheeler Brian, a political reporter of B.B.C. News proclaims that David Cameron was considered as the party's answer to Tony Blair when he was elected as a conservative leader in 2005. This new, young leader who would evolve the party's decadent image and turn it back into the election competition that had dominated British politics during the 20th Century. Although he was obliged to form a coalition government with the liberal democrats, his administration carried a large scale reconstruction in welfare programs. Internationally, precisely with Europe his government marked the Soft Euro-sceptic policy; it was not an actual objection to the European interference. However, it was a direct opposition to the union current and future planned programs. Thus, Cameron's presentational charisma was never in doubts.

Heppell, and Seawright, two professors of British Politics, stated that most of Euro-sceptic members sought to maximise their supremacy after the coming of Cameron, who made a commitment to depart the conservative MPs from the European People's Party (E.P.P.), and the European Democrats (E.D.); this decision enabled him to get more support from the Euro-sceptic right. Conversely, David Davis, a British conservative party politician he served as a candidate in the conservative party, was not able to implement this big decision because he felt panic of its difficulty. Cameron succeeded to add votes from the Euro-sceptic right and remove Davis from the elected competition in 2005 (74).

Heppell and Seawright discussed the early stages of the coalition government, Cameron planned to avoid the harsh criticism that major endured this was partly led to circumstances of being in coalition. For instance, the media coverage emphasise more on conservatives attitudes who were the majority in Britain, its attention would be present with them even when small numbers of them rebelled. Furthermore, when Cameron ruled a united conservative party into national referendum in May 2011, there was a division within the labour party, media here was considerably present and criticized David Miliband policy, a British labour party politician, who did nothing to solve his party problems (75).

In the book *The Making of Eurosceptic Britain*, Gifford discussed the following aspects; the formation of the coalition government in May 2010 brought two parties in the political yard, Conservatives and Liberal Democrats both of them remarked two different positions towards Europe, Euro-scepticism considered the mainstream position within the conservative party. Accordingly, Cameron adopted modernization agenda. He called for withdrawing the conservatives from the main centre right grouping, and having them integrate the more marginal European Conservatives and Reformists (157).

Any split inside the party have been in favour for the Euro-sceptics. The conservative party won the election of October 2010, and back to rule out the membership of the E.U. indefinitely. However, the Liberal Democrats' party under the leader Nick Clegg were considered the pro-European of the three main parties they argued that the membership provided long term interest for Britain. When the coalition government was in power, there was a proliferation of Euro-sceptic groups. Some were organized with the expectation of referendum, while others were long standing; some were leading Euro-sceptics' movements like "The Better off Cut" campaign for disintegration and the

influential Bruges group, while others were preferring the Business, like the Research Based Organization open Europe and Business for Britain, but many of these groupings were controlled by Euro-sceptic conservative MPs (157).

Gifford noted that the populist campaign for a referendum was assisted to unify MPs of multiple positions on Europe. These groups are the conservative Euro-sceptics described as the rejectionists, who preferred the Exit, they are maximalists' revisionists, and according to them the relation should be based on a single market and free trade, this method known as a "Norway Plus". Also, the minimalists' revisionists those who favoured a limited repatriation of competence. Finally, minimalists who are taking far, but not further position. Despite these differences all of them were under the type of hard Euro-scepticism (158).

The U.K. and the E.U. cut off when the E.U. attempted to rearrange its Economic and Monetary Union (E.M.U.). Consequently, the British prime minister has claimed to renegotiate a new settlement relation with the E.U. The aim behind these processes seems to be disintegrated. However, the U.K. was the prominent who support the secession of this organization without being part of it. Furthermore, British government argued that the disintegration from the E.U. is a home affairs, Britain encouraged the dissatisfaction over other fields of E.U. regulation (Jokela 3).

Cameron was the first who initiated the pledge to remove the conservatives from the E.P.P. and the E.D. Before him, William Hague had negotiated their status within this organization but he left the freedom for MPs to choose. Also, Latin Duncan Smith, who served as Vice President and Secretary at Sinclair Broadcast Group, planned to leave the

E.P.P. although he did not receive a great support between 2001 to 2003 that's why he closed the negotiation concerning this issue (Heppell and Seawright 76).

Peele and Francis, British authors, asserted that the opposition return back with a hate, because of specific reasons. First of all, conservative contest concerning European membership has been more pronounced in government rather in opposition. The government could not contain the whole E.U. agenda, but it must regulate relations and take divisive decisions and often ensure compromises in E.U. negotiations. This situation was more difficult for the soft Euro-sceptic governments, which were obliged to create alliances and expect domestic changes any time. Also, coalition tested party adherence still farther; party policy was occupied and fewer ministerial posts were free to conservative MPs. Besides, new transformation in parliament has created a tension for the government. Lastly, Cameron's ineffective party policy; he had promised a poll on the Lisbon Treaty later on, he changed his mind once the treaty has been ratified by all member states. Thus, the euro sceptic MPs doubted Cameron's leadership and they increased their hater feelings towards the continent as a whole (126).

Tournier-Sol, a teacher of the British civilization, and Gifford stated that Cameron suggested that the U.K. aimed to secure the integrity and fairness of the single market in the relation of Eurozone reforms, this through being integrated in agreements on new laws for the functioning of the single market in the future. Cameron was focused on three main political problems in the relation with the E.U. In his Bloomberg speech of 2013, he discussed public disillusionment, misunderstanding and referendum which was promised but not held (160).

These synchronous events made the support of the E.U. wafer thin. As far as, Cameron wanted to start with renegotiation of better terms, then to held the referendum in order to get more benefits from the union, this would change British people's views. He said, "Wrong to ask people whether to stay or go before we have had a chance to put the relationship right". He added, "we will have to weigh carefully where our true national interest lies."(qtd.in. Tournier-Sol and Gifford). Cameron believed that Britain would still be related and even effected by E.U. trade and strategic choice. Also, Cameron thought that the British role in the continent would be weaker outside the union. To sum up, Cameron appeared to be in favour with the membership (Tournier-Sol and Gifford 161).

Tournier-Sol and Gifford stated that after Cameron's speech two waves appeared in the U.K. Those who look on the meaning of the speech, and others wait for its implication. Conservative MPs like Daniel Hannan ascertained that it was the most Euro-sceptic speech ever by a British prime minister. Cameron aimed to transform the terms of Britain's membership of the E.U. as well as, to exempt his country from any contradiction since it was the founder of the E.U. Furthermore, Cameron tried to keep the U.K. inside the union as long as possible, following unsuccessful renegotiations arguing that Britain's history is not just limited within an island story but it is also a continental story because he wanted to avoid a direct confliction within the union (161).

The conservatives became the widespread party in the new European conservatives and reformists group, but there were spell in position between the members. For this reason, Cameron did not pass the promise to depart the E.P.P. until after the 2009 European election. He restricted by the British criticism of E.U. social and employment policy, which was the main theme of conservative policy. In his first speech on the E.U. in 2007, he maintained that it should work on three problems, globalization, global warning and

global poverty. Cameron exhorted member states to discuss climate change under the E.U.'s emissions Trading Scheme. However, he did not plan for any extension of E.U. competence. To sum up, by ruling out membership in the Euro, the conservatives adopted more Euro-sceptic position on European membership (Seawright and Heppell 76).

Strategically, the political objectives under the subsequent referendum was to provide the following dividends. At the beginning, it was hoped that the conservatives would avoid obsessing about this issue, when the British government adopted a clear cut position towards E.U. In addition, Cameron assumed that such commitment would encumber Milban's plans; who could not make a similar decision, like this Miliban will appear as a follower rather than a leader for his party and even in the U.K. (77).

Francis and Peele thought that the proclamation of conservatives is also significant. The appearance of the U.K.I.P, as a competitor to their incumbency led to the spread of Euro-sceptic views against Euro-sceptics argued that rebellion cooperated to bring about policy change, this made it more complex for Cameron to agree on the fiscal compact and he raised E.U. spending 15 months after refusing a suggestion on E.U. poll, Cameron proposed an in-out referendum under the next conservative government. Euro-sceptics then wanted further concessions, pushing Cameron to accept laws enabling them to held referendum in 2016 (126).

Since its formation in 1993, the U.K.I.P. was considered the most significant challenger to parties; it performed well in European votes. Also, it gained higher percentage from proportional representation and the focus was on its core issue. However, less focus was on domestic elections (voting 3.1% in the 2010 general election). Although, U.K.I.P. remarked a significant increase in support from middle 2012, it

consistently scored over 10% in opinion votes and benefited over 100 council seats in each of the 2013, 2014 and 2015 local election. U.K.I.P. achieved a series of strong results by voting. All these previous statistics created a tension for the conservatives (Francis and Peele 126).

This commitment ensured the advance of U.K.I.P. theoretically; the referendum commitment guaranteed the neutralization of voters who could embrace a single issue party. Although the ambient conditions of the commitment concerning membership and withdrawing kept troubled many Euro-sceptic conservatives, despite having secured the concession of acceding to their demands, those of harder Euro-scepticism remain suspicious of Cameron if he would really apply it or it is only a political speech (Heppell 2024).

According to Heppell, the U.K. government has advocated the conservatives through their rhetoric on immigration and taxation. Therefore, they intended to legitimize the soft Euro-scepticism of Cameron, as well as, to make some reformulations within the conservative party. Such unease developments have caused new formation in the party. This became clear on October 2011, when 80 officials' rebels and they had the empathy of many conservative ministers. Consequently, during the course of the 2011-2012, 30% of the conservatives moved against the European integration matters (2025).

In the same link, Heppell proclaimed that his flow of opposition has pushed Cameron towards provocative actions in the E.U. The most significant examples were; the first in December 2011, Cameron employed the British veto to stop the fiscal compact that other European leaders need to regulate the Euro-zone crisis, also the second in February 2013, that was about his position concerning the E.U. budgetary negotiations, which considered

the first real terms cut in the European budget in history. This demonstrates that the British tax payers' money totally protected, as well as, the existence within the E.U. might be delimited (2025).

Ashroft, a British Business man and conservative peer, in his book *Call Me Dave: the Unauthorized Biography of David Cameron* discussed the following matters. First of all, Cameron showed less anxiety for a fighter over the constant stream of E.U. regulations and laws that needed implementation. Ashroft stated Iain Duncan Smith believed that Cameron has never counted Europe as an enemy or a passive ally for Britain. However, he still shares inner Euro-sceptic feelings with conservatives. Nicholas Soames says: "He is Euro-sceptic, no shadow of doubts. He is immensely irritated by it and frustrated by it in every way, but he is not a get out man" (60). To conclude, Cameron intended to form a standard government, he outlined the national interests above all the concepts. For this, he warned from the difficult decision like the referendum.

2.2. Cameron's Struggle against Internal and External Challenges

When Cameron and Clegg, a British Liberal Democrat Politician, announced the creation of the coalition government, it was as a cosy launch for Britain to initiate new politics based on freedom, fairness and responsibility. Later it turned out the continent witnessed regional and class division. But, Cameron is dextrous enough like Tony Blair. In the run up to the 2010's election, he opened other privileges in social welfare like jobs, free schools, vote-blue, health this national programs called the big society. Even though, Cameron was criticized because of his metro sexual manner and his support for gay marriage, he was that easy and upper class person who succeeded to seize the 2010's

election. Britain would achieve that degree of unity and longstanding in the world, but the government has not expected that during a period of five years (Toynbee and Walker 2).

Mostly Cameron adopted Thatcher's policy; he followed her ideological concepts concerning national finance to states, and also her programs within the conservative party and even her orientations towards the E.U. However, Cameron has proved to be the correct man in the right position. He ruled a fractious and anxious government by a unit's party. He has never escaped from Wales's criticism; Scotland comes close to dissolving the U.K. Moreover, his national economic plans failed, and the worst national debt about government kept raising, the U.S. was always present to save the country's steadiness. Cameron challenged those obstacles and kept working to realize Britain's big society (3).

Cameron considered the E.U. as a mean to an end. He experienced the top tension with the union, Britain always referred an awkward partner that looks first for its interests at the expense of common European ones, and it refused any political attachment with the union. This tension was not only in the E.U. even the U.K. opposed and kept raising difficulties with the E.U. project. Britain has influenced by the island theory, according to them Europe is considered as the quilt that cover the idea of Britishness, and the continent that reserve and protect British foreign policy, but it is still viewed as a source of enmity and otherness because of the early war with France and Germany (4).

Cameron has argued that the move towards political stability within the continent is neither the objective of his country, nor the objective of other Europeans. He claimed that the right way to reserve peace and ensure economic development is through emphasising on local and national authority rather than European level (4). The formation of the coalition government expected to balance between British people mostly the Euro-sceptic

members to open new page with European relationship. Although, these wishes proved to be theoretical, Cameron passed an amendment to the national legislation to ensure the transfer of powers to the E.U. subject to a referendum. This amendment locked the British European future relations; also it extended to affect the British membership of the single currency (Toynbee and Walker 4-5).

In the light of the above, the return of the conservatives to power drove the country into a new direction within unknown results. The European Financial support and economic crisis was the first reason that complicated the cooperation. Cameron proclaimed that the measures and financial support that used to stabilize the Eurozone should be provided by the Euro-group. The U.K. has helped Ireland, but it refused to contribute within the European stability mechanisms. Moreover, their relations become worse further when Cameron used the veto to embarrass a European treaty amendment since Britain has other concession on. In addition, this economic crisis has encouraged Euro-sceptics to rebel against the European agenda that failed to regulate the continent affairs. All this challenges has pushed Mr. Cameron to clarify his position about the membership either to withdraw Britain directly from E.U. or to look for another political solution (6).

Wodak, an Austrian linguist and professor at Vienna university, in her paper clarified the dimensions and the reasons which block the continuation of E.U. future relations, which ensured later by Cameron in his Bloomberg speech. First of all, the U.K. as a land did not belong to Europe; this was primarily mental construct for the British citizens who believed that they are totally different from the continent. Next, the national identity that includes multi attitudes dispositions and conventions makes a national habitus and prevent the British to accept no further identity. At the end, British government tried to reserve the

sense of nationhood “Brutishness” that’s why it scared from any new culture that would enter and create other tension within the country (1).

In her article, the analysis of Cameron’s Bloomberg speech, Wadak discussed the simultaneous struggles that enabled Cameron to cope with the E.U. Europe has suffered from a range of economic crisis that considered as a barrier in the dual relationship, the financial crisis of 2008, the Eurozone crisis since 2010, the Ukraine, the Greek crisis and the refugee crisis. These in expectable events always locked Europe and took it out to huge consequences; also these problems have pushed the British citizens and even the Europeans to search for a way to escape from those restrictions. The opposition rose in movements within organized groups such as right-wing, the left-wing, extremist parties. The European citizens a whole were waiting their delegates to permit their promises (3).

This economic tension pushed Cameron to adopt a new policy which led him to declare honestly his position towards the union through the Bloomberg Speech of 2013. Furthermore, those problems have circulated political and party contexts since the 1950’s. Also, the intertextual relationship between utterances on the immediate language has contributed to its triangulatory principles. Indeed, the raise of “the Brexit” as a political and social dilemma for Britain and Europe as a whole was mainly because of those direct reasons. The U.K. therefore considered the awkward partner who could escape from European problems (10).

In his Bloomberg speech, Cameron tackled the major issues which create a tension within the continent. For this, he said that a national referendum must hold between 2016 and 2017 give the opportunity for the British people to choose either to stay or to leave the union (11). Cameron argued his position by the challenges that face Europe of global and

economic competitiveness. He addressed a set of objectives that should achieve in the near future, like identity, democracy, and flexibility. Cameron's speech was an evidence to clarify that Europe primarily is an economic objective rather than political ones. The referendum and autonomy was Cameron's solution to end the struggle inside and outside his country (12).

Financial Times magazine stated in article entitled "How David Cameron Lost his Battle for Britain" which it mentioned that Cameron's political career engraved by the Brexit. Some British ministers blamed him for his hasty decision concerning the integration; he was able to obtain a better deal for the U.K. in the E.U. because the voters who opposed the union were much more concerned about economic and social issues than political relations. Such strategic mistakes could run Britain for unknown future, which brought Cameron down (Parker).

According to the magazine, the referendum was much Cameron's own decision however he remained campaign for his failure. One of the leading Tory mistakes encouraged Cameron to stop the legislative procedures to leave the union, because it would divide the country and cause a fall in terms of party management. While Cameron argued that it is the right thing to do, the British citizens had not been able to reclaim for 40 years and now this is their opportunity. To conclude, Cameron was the first boss who had the final decision but he would always be the prime minister who run Britain off from the union (Parker).

Cameron's confidence was not enough to secure new term for Britain from the E.U. he played for very high stakes. The immigration was considered the first cause that blocked the continuation with union. But, Cameron depended more on Angela Merkel procedures

to limit the free movement of people; her efforts was not enough too. Also, Germany disagrees with Britain on emergency brake to suspend E.U. migration. The latter have transformed the course of the referendum. Cameron received the help from eastern European countries who opposed any disintegration of the members. They claimed that Merkel was only limited with other responsibilities elsewhere she would provide the help (Parker).

The magazine's article stated the analysis of some scholars and politicians concerning the referendum. Bouris Johnson, the former London Mayor of London believed that Cameron commits a mistake, he took a crucial decision meanwhile, he was able to be more intellectual. Another politician called Mr Hannan described the situation as "a shell shock", he added the shock is to find yourself back in control again. But Cameron's was obliged to hold the referendum elsewhere he would be a liar for his citizens' views. The former British trade minister and European commissioner maintained that "the history will remember Mr. Cameron simply as the prime minister who took us out of the E.U." which means, whatever Cameron did, his political epitaph is already written (Parker).

Cameron called for freedom of movement within the E.U. such procedure make it very difficult for new European states which might join, because those movement linked to the countries wealthy levels. Firstly, Cameron has insisted on changing the rules. There is, however slight criticism against him from those European states like Poland, because the right of any European citizen is to move freely and to work in other member state within the union. So, Cameron has found himself between two options either to flow his Eurosceptic legislation or to declare the concessions that the rest of E.U. would be willing to make (Traynor).

The article discussed how Cameron wanted to shift the interest in the immigration issue, he caused a problem for Brussels that had never thought it would change the fundamental rules of the union, this means the system cannot be refined and even the European countries like Berlin, Warsaw and Brussel and Paris could not provide concessions for Britain to stay in the union, there are limits cannot be passed because of this European press, Cameron was obliged to take a decisive actions, the national referendum (Traynor).

Rankin Jennifer discussed Cameron dealing in terms of wishes, in other words the prime minister has asked for several demands in Brussels' summit. First of all, he put crucial concessions concerning E.U. citizens who worked in the U.K. Also, the British government insisted to keep the emergency brake in place for 13 years, although the visegard group that include central European countries arrived the summit with other offer of five years. The consensus finished at seven years.

Some western countries refused to accept Europeans in their labour market. However, Cameron wanted to provide a payment for children whose parents worked in Britain and they are not with them, this legislation accepted and applied to new arrivals to the U.K. the above demands might clarified that Cameron is a good prime minister with Europeans, but in fact he adopted some regulations in order to decrease the European's opposition towards him as well as to get a financial support from the union about his policies (Traynor)

Rankin Jenifer follows chronological method that dealt with what Cameron wanted and what he got. In his Bloomberg speech, Cameron emphasised on safeguards to protect the countries that they do not belong to the Eurozone from any inside threats, Cameron

succeed to get his wishes only one euro “out” will be able to negotiate or to reclaim about any problem of the Eurozone laws, the member states agreed on because no one of them except U.K. has the veto. Cameron put down this demand in order to ensure the British authority carry on after its withdrawing. Specifically, Rankin ended her article by Cameron’s Euro-sceptic ideologies that were long his procedures.

2.3. Britain’s Political Realm under Cameron’s Authority

Lynch in his book, *Exploring British Politics*, stated that the British politics influenced more by economic crisis major years had not produced any changes for the government. However, they assist to shape its political assumption, Cameron as a party leader and as a prime minister applied a set of sceptic concepts in the coalition government, this because of some reasons. At the beginning, though the national economy grower up under the coalition government but the benefits were distributed unequally, London appeared to be the only country that took a positive consequences for the South East of England as a whole, but outside this area it is not easy to detect signs major years had not produced any changes for the government. However, they assist to shape of backing vitality (91).

As it noted above the first reason behind the economic crisis was a failure in the banking system. The conservatives did not want to attack the labour for their irresponsible attitudes, since they failed to regulate bank based in Britain which was mostly international and not only domestic issue. However, it provided Cameron and the conservatives pretext for claiming since it led to international crisis. At the end, though the conservatives proved their economic competence through the election of 2015, it was not easy to reconcile between the neoliberal ideologies, which ruled their perspective during the coalition period (92).

The conservatives under Cameron's leadership provided the country with a political stability which enhanced economic recovery. Although, the Tories unconsciously run in the interest of the rich class at the expense of the least well off. From Cameron's perspective 2015's election was his chance; the E.U. referendum was the tool to succeed, if he was able to rescue Britain from its economic crisis, he would ensure for the next four years his higher standing in the union. But unfortunately Cameron found himself in a corner which he already fought to escape from, if the E.U. refused to help him or British people choose to withdraw the union, this would totally damage the British economy (94).

For Cameron, his worst case scenario was when he won the election with a very small majority, he was obliged to be the ideal man who satisfy all the sides, his skill were suited to the fudges and compromises of coalition politics. That difficult era called for a prime minister with entirely different skills who has multi perspectives. However, all the successful leaders in history need a degree of luck; Cameron actually missed this point particularly in his political career (Seldon 28).

Another issue that should be discussed is the British American relation or as it is know the political marriage. Marsh and Dobson in their book *Anglo-American Relations Contemporary Prescriptive*, they analysed the special relationship between the U.K. and the U.S. Cameron, this dual relation was highly reinforced by the media and the propaganda. A British flustered spokesman from the foreign police answered in March 2010, concerning the special relationship "what matters is that the U.K.'s relationship with the U.S. is unique and uniquely important to protecting our national security and promoting our national interest." Cameron was like the previous British prime ministers, he puts it as an essential objective above the E.U. relations, and he worked with Obama to

revive it each year, not only politicians even the British people about 62% agreed with the assertion that America is Britain's most important ally (2).

In his book, Turner discussed Cameron's key challenges mostly it was about politics and economy. He wanted to put an end concerning the gap between the poor and the rich, through following a special budget. That is why the coalition government announced in October 2010 a fundamental legislation to regulate the spending of the U.K.'s large budget deficit. Turner spoke also about security that remains as a pressing issue in the U.K. Cameron worked to solve the threat of terrorism, for this he engaged in international crisis like in Afghanistan war. Furthermore, he set up defence and security plans with France in 2010, and Britain played significant role within the N.A.T.O. and the U.N. Consequently, Cameron tried to cover his country's political and economic needs (1273).

Turner highlights the political division which was within the conservative party towards the European integration, Cameron revolts to satisfy all the MPs and his struggle to stop the rebellion. Turner stated that Euro-scepticism was Cameron's ideology, but he put it down when he was obliged to look for Britain's necessities in terms of interests and costs. Those immediate actions put Cameron with a new Liberal Democrat coalition under further conditions and pressures. Meanwhile, the British economy continued to falter down from 2011, presenting minimal growth and symbolizing the rise of unemployment, particularly among young people. Therefore, it was the first time when the government thought about their country steadiness (1274).

Turner maintained that one of the major decisive actions that were taken by Cameron was to initiate the work of the defence council again. It was signed with France cooperation treaty that is responsible for providing a creation of a rapid reaction force.

However, the spending towards this institution was highly raised. Cameron used his responsibility to regulate the economic state of the country, which effects Britain's political agenda especially during its difficult era, because it was occupied with the E.U. laws, as well as, in the national level. Britain prepared to make a national referendum. Cameron kept working to prove Britain's political and economic state either at the national or the international level (1274).

In the book of *The Politics and Policy of Wellbeing* Reardon and Bache analysed Cameron's support of wellbeing, they described him as sceptical and mocking, because this issue was mainly related with the left wing thinking. Cameron argued that it promoted further by the conservatives. However, he was highly criticized in the context of media scepticism, plus the Deeping effects of the recession. All these obstructs impeded the work of Cameron; it was very difficult even for other politicians to take a unique stance on this problem. Cameron spotlights on the realm of administrators and statisticians, his measurement dimension was to clarify his fair role in the wellbeing programs (88).

Reardon and Bache indicated, individuals and politicians pushed well-being up the U.K. political agenda. They stated names of a number of good members who played an interest advocacy role over the period, they were under the government of Cameron. Layard has been a visible influence as an academic with a formal position in the political system, in addition to Halpern who was convinced the government on adopting wellbeing for over decade since it was a part of Blair's strategy unit. Others like Andrew Oswald has a various interactions with the government members and via C.M.E.P.S.P. in indirect way, Enrico Giovannini too could influence on the international statistical community and ultimately the O.N.S. all this elite category helped Cameron to guide the U.K. politics (80).

Another issue that Cameron has dealt with was the British Foreign Policy. Robins, Coxall and Leach in their book *British Politics* mentioned that Cameron's foreign policy tends to be reactive rather than proactive. The coming of Cameron in 2010 remarked unexpected upheaval that spread through the Arab world; it was known the Arab Spring in 2011. These movements have affected world politics and it led to regime change. The first was in Tunisia than followed by the rebellion in Egypt and Libya. Later it ended with a civil war in Syria and in Yemen. Cameron Euro-sceptic manner appeared during that problems, his coalition government followed further implications to limit and to renegotiate the political, economic relations (439).

Although, the British politics principles in theory favoured the peace to solve international problems and democracy, it has often abused human rights and armed dictators to attack the citizens. It is clear that Britain interfered only for its national interest; Cameron accepted the world as it is he did not try to change it on the way it should like to be. However, Cameron was in favour of less interventionist approach. He justified this method to prevent the spread of terrorism and genocide in their homeland. Thus, the coalition government seemed to be more cautious, it sets its national objectives above any international affairs. So, Cameron's Euro-sceptic strategies were highly practiced not only with the E.U., but also with international issues (444).

Yet the popular Arab rebellion against their repressive governments led to rapid change concerning Britain's relations, because finishing business with dictators no longer effective with Britain any more. Additionally, Britain policy would be better through supporting world peace and democracy. For this, Cameron agreed on ally with the U.S. and France to protect the civilians from Gadaffi's forces, this through the U.N. resolution which authorized no fly zone over Libya. This new policies of the British's government

led to party support of Cameron, but the sceptics were looking only for the longer term objectives. Later Britain moved to reduce its military forces over Libya. Thus, inevitably Britain support the Libyan rebels against Gaddafi troops to maintain world order theoretically for sure and to gain its aims from the new weak government (449).

The Future of the European Union analysed the speech of some British politicians, who discussed Britain's role within the union and its future relation. If the union would determine Britain's interest, the U.K. could stay as long as possible. Those political speakers relied in their analysis on prime ministers' speech. Mr Hague for example stated that stated that Mr. Cameron from his speech set out the disadvantages that result from the European membership. According to Mr. Hague, even with the political presence of the E.U. there is no real single market, the arrangement which was applied for Norway and Switzerland brought a lot of disadvantages for the U.K. because Britain wanted to achieve an unique single market, which is not really difficult in the sense of structure, but it needs specific principles of reform to the E.U. that would allow to recommend British people to stay with it (49).

Chapter Three

Cameron's Direct Policy "the Brexit" and its Outcomes

Withdrawing the union has become the core of Britain E.U. relations during Cameron's last term. This chapter aims at highlighting the consequences of the British Euro-scepticism, which lead to the Brexit, as well as, the procedures behind the west minister intervention to end its existence in the union under the leadership of the prime minister David Cameron. At the start, the chapter deals with Cameron's government's "direct policy" adopted by Cameron towards the E.U. which seems different from his predecessors. Then, it explores the government's efforts to protect the country's interests in the continent and the world. At last, it highlights the British and the Cameronian's view about the Brexit in general, and the Brexit in Europe with regard to Britain's security and clarifies the position of some politicians, economists towards the results of the Brexit and their cooperation with the union, and also the position of the U.S.A. which is against the U.K. desire to disintegrate from the union.

This chapter is related to the previous chapters in terms of reaffirming what has been said about Britain-E.U. relations and Cameron's resignation after the Brexit's results. It provides answers for all the questions of this dissertation. Thus, it attempts to see whether Cameron's intervention to prevent the progression of the referendum is for the continent's peace or just for Britain's national security. In fact, Cameron's government was totally opposite from the previous ones that used to protect the economic relation with the E.U. and ensure their existence within the union despite the national rebellions of the parties. In other words, the prime minister like his predecessors, has one objective to reserve Britain's security and economic goals, from any regional threat especially immigration.

However, to get this objective he is not adopting blindly past strategies, he is rather applying a new strategy being mainly more diplomatic and requiring direct election with the E.U. side. But, this strategy caused his end career after the Brexit results.

3.1. The Brexit Ambition versus Cameron's Opposition

When he first came into office, Prime Minister David Cameron has brought along with him new ideas that resulted in radical changes at the level of the British policy towards the E.U. According to these policy changes, Britain was no longer pressed with restrictions of economy in Europe; this gives space for the Euro-sceptic members to extend their influence.

Denis MacShane, a British former of Labour party, politician who served as an MP for Rotherham, stated in his book; *Brexit: How Britain will Leave Europe* that Mr. Cameron tried to offer new concessions for the U.K. within the E.U. in order to persuade voters to stay in the E.U. and to convince the Euro-sceptics mainly to forget about the political rebellions. Cameron gets the support from some of labour politicians, those of Tony Blair generation, who favour staying in Europe. Among them were Alan Johnson, the former cabinet minister who served as a head of Labour's pro-E.U. campaign in the referendum, and Lord Hannay, who represented Britain during Brussels in 1985-1990. However, the Euro-sceptic media has highly appeared to call for the disintegration through famous figures, mostly politicians from the older generation. These categories use the social media mainly to convince the youth about the indisputability to leave the union, arguing that they are the group who experience the failure of the E.U. and the new political leader know nothing about the real situation (25).

The old generation which include political leaders and opinion formers emerged again with a substitute aim to win the referendum of 2016. This issue rose mainly because of the

absence of any younger political elite which create a huge gap in the British politics, as well as, it makes from Britain a player instead of winner in Europe. Among them the Labour and the Liberal Democrats who were ready to offer the yes vote for any referendum against the E.U. but, without the objective of any internal party interest like the conservatives. Nevertheless, Kate Hoey, a member of the Labour party, was described as a leader for the “No, or Out” campaign. For this, the trade unions and some other left of centre forces united to rule a campaign behind Cameron for increasing the “yes” votes. Cameron aimed to offer a settlement on Europe by his political skills through the welfare support programs and a rise in public sector unemployment, but those may lead to an economic crisis which they may not be able to avoid (26).

The English author, Nicola Walton describes the Brexit as a threat to the British economic sovereignty which affects the west minister steadiness. Britain was considered as a home for the largest financial centre across Europe, and the Brexit would be an economic uncertainty that may lead to an unexpected future consequences. This political adventure restricted the British policy, as it caused the end of Cameron’s political career. Although, he imposed compliance through formal and informal mechanism, he confronted with a real challenge; to choose between two conscious decisions, either to stay in the E.U. and to suffer with the Euro-sceptic opposition each time, or to leave the union and to wait for unknown results (238).

Walton argued that the U.K. has a leading role in the context of international trade negotiations and liberalization. These efforts are mainly to enhance cross jurisdictional markets not only traditional trade negotiations, some scholars proclaimed that the E.U. shape the global markets through its regulatory rules and standards, but others assume only on the role of the U.S. as the head of the global affairs in financial and management

regulations. However, no one can neglect the E.U. role in world economy that is why Britain would certainly lose its world status after the Brexit because it may continue the economic integration with other European states, but the political one will not be desired by the majority of members cause to reserve their sovereignty and governance (266).

The Nigerian British author, Alalade referred to the Brexit as a disaster. Cameron was under the pressure, after his promise by no means he was obliged to encourage a British referendum to carry on in order to permit his words. Most of political analysts, journalists and even commentators agree that the Prime Minister would not have wished for this situation. That is why he started a political movement over the E.U. capitals to renegotiate Britain's term of existence. The first meeting was held at The Hague with the Dutch counterpart Mark Rutte, than Cameron moved to France precisely in Elysée Palace when he met the French president Francois Holland, than with the Polish Prime minister, Ewakopacs in Warsaw; finally, Cameron finished with Angela Merkel, the German chancellor in Berlin. This frantic tour over capitals was Cameron's reaction when the referendum became a serious issue especially after the Queen's speech to hold a second referendum concerning British membership of the E.U. after the one of 1975. This decision was thunderbolt not only for Cameron, but for Britain as a whole; this led for increasing waves of fear, confusion and uncertainty in the nation (11-12).

Alalade also entitled a subchapter as could one vote lead to the disintegration of the U.K., in this part he described the referendum as a consultative one, because there were no rules of interpretation set before. The way of the four E.U. presidents' reactions, the French, the Dutch, the German and the British, was really hard to understand, after minutes the government should start to leave as soon as possible even though this process is painful for the whole continent. However, Cameron was not able enough to apply this

decision, he favoured to resign and to leave it for the next government. The European presidents, however, maintained that it is scandalous for a Prime Minister who did a lot of efforts to ensure the continuation of the referendum to delay later any notification. In an interview Schulz, a chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, said that the west minister government took a whole continent hostage. Here, such attitudes clarified Britain's most important role in the union because the referendum's outcomes were highly criticized and Mr. Cameron was attacked from everywhere by journalists and politicians (104).

On the efficiency or failure of Britain with the E.U. relations, Doctor Pilkington and the British professor Watts, as experts in the British Euro-scepticism in relation with the union have reported that most of Euro-sceptics in their criticism of Europe, often employed the word unelected and undemocratic in explaining the Europe's institution and the need for Britain to defend its parliamentary sovereignty. Euro-sceptics argued that the British parliament formed and started to defend citizens' rights before the formation of the European parliament, which was referred too, as weak body; its job was limited to the poor cases. Moreover, it has been elected on the basis of poor turnout among Europe's voters, as well as, its authority only when the members are appointed rather than elected (122).

Watts and Pilkington argued that even though the referendum was stated by Britain, but it has been used in parts of the E.U. Indeed, it has little effects for west minister. In 1975, when the Prime Minister Harold Wilson proposed the referendum in Europe; the yes vote was the permanent voice for the British people, his government in its third term received a harsh opposition from Europe, that refuse to keep silent under the rules of collective responsibility. However, Harold did not accept to lose prominent members of

his government if he obeyed the European aim and resign. This enabled the Euro-sceptics again to campaign vigorously against government policy while remaining members of the government (124).

Gowland claimed that Cameron in 2015 did not refer to the polls as resignation matters even if it goes beyond his advice. Nevertheless, he proclaimed that his authority rested to hold and ensure the continuation of these procedures. Some Euro-sceptic members however argued that his authority was limited as he was ultimately holding the referendum as a Prime Minister of Britain. Others opponents of Cameron criticized his decision making regardless to the consequences, also his management to the conservative party who was only a follower in some resolutions (305).

The editor and the producer, Bill Jones stated that Cameron needed to overcome the opposition from the older cohorts, in order to retrain diplomacy within the conservative party and peace in the U.K. He proclaimed that when Cameron won the election of 2010, he presented his government as a radical one. Cameron committed a mistake when he made the European case, as a smaller issue, he appeared to accept the U.K. as a part from the E.U. plus that he opposed this entire body to rule his country's policy. However, The Lisbon Treaty and Cameron's speech ruled Britain out from the organization even though he tried to convince his colleagues to stop the vote, but all the members have already ratified the treaty and the decision of the vote passed twice, but was cancelled, that is why it was a matter of credibility in the poll of 2016 (75).

Outhwaite William, a professor of sociology, maintained that Cameron was impressed by some conditions to hold the referendum, Outhwaite moved to analyze Cameron's speech and to clarify his total opposition to the disintegration of the E.U. Nevertheless, his promise was broken, before he ensured that the anxiety with the union would never rise

again he added that he will change the law and the vote concerning the membership of Britain in the European organization should be held before the rise of any further power outside Britain (12). He said:

We will make sure that this never, ever happen again, never should it be possible for the British government to transfer power without the consent of the British people. If we win the next election, we will amend the European Communities Act 1972 to prohibit, by law, the transfer of power to the EU without a referendum. And, that will cover not just any future treaties like Lisbon. But any future treaties like Lisbon. But any future attempt to take Britain into the euro. (qtd.in Outhwaite)

This impression ruled Cameron to accept the conditions and the decision of the referendum of 2016.

One of the Independent Newspaper articles speaks about leaders' position. The article stated that whenever Cameron made efforts to stop the Brexit, the departure from the E.U. became closer. The campaign versus the integration, which has been raised by the conservatives, considered the most failure political movements in the world. From one hand, the efforts to stop the continuation of the Brexit mobilized everyone from the American president Barack Obama to the Pope of the European Church to argue for staying in, and they knew how that worked out too. However, remainers states accepted the decision of the British people and said that the result was close, which it really was. On the other hand, not only Obama and the Pope, but also the Prime Minister, the Opposition's leaders, more than three-quarters of all MPs, and the head of the Bank of England, all said leaving the E.U. was a worst idea. After the referendum results, those leaders and famous figures rear-guard procedures to try to reverse it, reconsider it or at the

least to reserve other options open. New expensive legislations passed through the court to force new Prime Minister Theresa May to pass the invoking of Article 50, general process of leaving; to votes in Parliament was successful. Since, the two Houses of Parliament voted by large majorities to apply it. In the Commons, the vote was towards 80 percent and in the Lords it was 70 percent (“Every...”).

The Prime Minister David Cameron has resigned as Britain's Prime Minister ultimately after the E.U. referendum. He declared that a new leader should be in his office by October. Cameron said: “I will do everything I can as Prime Minister to steady the ship over the coming weeks and months, but I don't think it would be right for me to try to be the captain that steers our country to its next destination.” (Foster). Losing the referendum was a huge defeat for Mr. Cameron who set his credibility on the line by ruling the so-called Project Fear campaign. Mr. Cameron has been pitted against his own Euro-sceptic Tory MPs as the referendum debate tore the Conservative Party apart over the past few months (Foster).

3.2. Britain Withdrawing from the E.U.

As discussed in the previous chapters, in June 2016, the British citizens voted in a referendum to withdraw their country from the E.U., this decision has constitutional and legal implications for the Westminster's government. According to the Britain's constitution, a referendum can advisory be negotiated rather than binding. Nevertheless, the 2016 referendum has been judicially organized as having rather than only advisory status. The national parliament does not have this fundamental authority to pass this act unless a leaving supported by a national referendum, Parliament have the total authority to decide about any case, but this is only theoretically, it was ratified in the first time by the

Lisbon Treaty in 2008, however, it could not be applied without a national referendum (Barnett 208).

The U.K. voted to disintegrate the E.U. after more than four decades with a rejection of the continent's post war political and economic order, Prime Minister David Cameron immediate resignation send a shock around global markets. The pound moved to the lowest since 1985, European stocks come after Asian equities in tumbling and U.S. Treasuries in one of the most dramatic day in modern British history. The final tally, published just after 7 a.m. London time, showed voters had chose to leave by 52 percent to 48 percent (Bailey and Budd 82).

In June 23, 2016, the U.K. people went to vote on the referendum the majority chose to leave the E.U., the following figure clarify the distribution of the results votes in the U.K., however, the votes for remain and leave were not distributed equally across Britain. For example, in England and Wales, leave won the highest share of the votes, whereas in Scotland and Northern Ireland remain won the most share of the vote, only London and England remain has the majority of votes (“Analysis...”)

The total people who vote in the referendum were about 33.551.981, vote cast for leaving were 17.410.742 and those who chose remain were 16.141.241 with 25.359 rejected papers. So, the final results ended by a majority of 52% withdraw the E.U. to 48%. Concerning the analysis by counting area, the East considered the highest vote share of leave precisely in St. Albans (82%) and lowest in Luton (66%). However, the North recorded the top of leave in most of the states except in Manchester remain was the permanent vote there. In Wales, the majority chose to leave the E.U. only Cardiff recorded the highest level for remain. Finally, Northern Ireland shared the higher level for leave, thus in 7 out of the 18 constituency areas leave won more 50% of the vote (“Analysis...”).

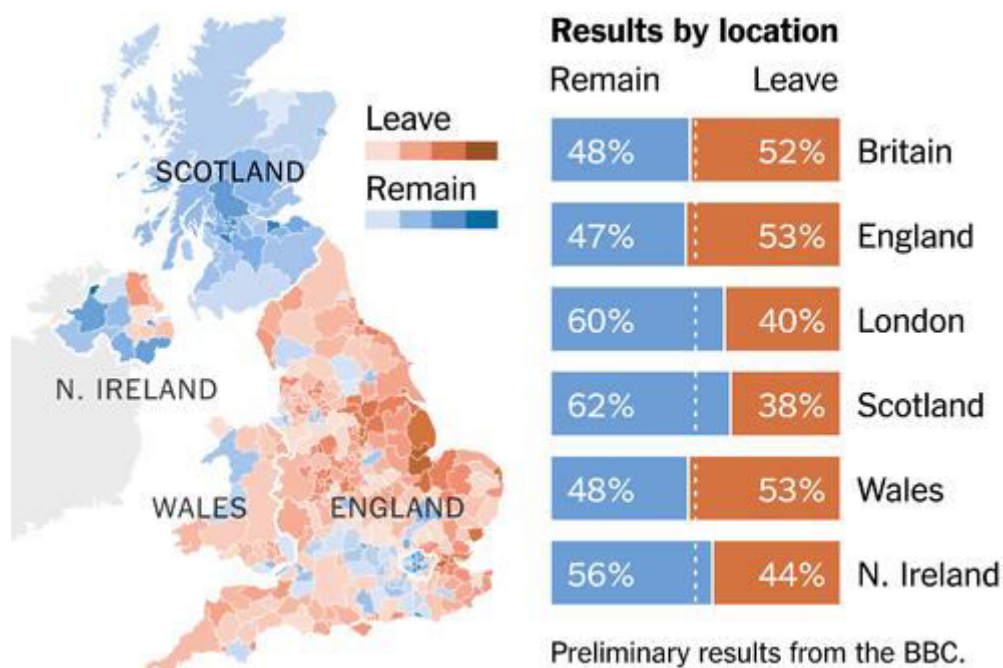


Figure 2: A map presenting the Results of the British referendum by location.

David Cameron maintained that he would resign as a Prime Minister; he could not stay with the conservatives. Only when they choose their party leader he will resign. Cameron told his successor Theresa May about his decision in order to finish representing his constituency in Oxford shire to open the opportunity for someone who could margin and concentrate on the area of England after the circumstances of his resignation. Before, Cameron had said he would finish his term in office until 2020 the next election, but after his failed campaign to persuade voters to stay in the E.U. he has changed his mind. Cameron proposed May as a leader for the conservative party, they elected her to lead their country (“UK:…”).

The resignation is Cameron paying price for his failure to secure the U.K. future in the E.U. for that the country needed a fresh leadership. Britain chose to leave the E.U., but

there are major issues that could not be changed. The first one, immigration; no immediate change could happen after the disintegration, although he is reassure nationals of the other member states. In addition, when Britain cut its relation with E.U. any foreign holidays in European countries could cost more, before the leaving the pound was less abroad.

Furthermore, the West Minister government could not get their money back after withdrawing which are circulating in the trade market, so the yes vote for leaving is a negative chock to economy. Another issue related to economy is the returns of inflation, prices before were stable for so long and the rising was no more than 2 percent (Wright).

Cameron brought an end to his six premierships through the resignation, his wife Samantha argued: “the will of the British people is an instruction that must be delivered” (qtd.in. Mason, Heather and Syal). Cameron stated that the British people made a cursive decision to take a new path, when Cameron called for the referendum he aimed at silencing the Euro-sceptics in his party. Later he faced further obstacles, he found himself ruling Britain to go out from the union, that is why he said it would be best to leave his successor determine the negotiation of the U.K.’s exit (Mason, Heather and Syal).

Cameron said he stepped down as Prime Minister in order to not be a distraction, he claimed previously he would stay until the next election of 2020. Most of the researchers stated some reasons behind his resignation, the professor of politics at Queen Mary University of London, Tim Bale believed that Cameron wanted to write his memoirs in order to avoid a widespread criticism of his leadership; he does not only want to be remembered for Brexit. Another cause which is sated by Bale is his opposition to May concerning grammar schools, Cameron stresses on immigration and selective education, for that after his resignation he discussed May’s efforts plus he admitted that he has different views about certain issues. The last expect reason was the military intervention

in Libya, Prof Bale stated that the publication of the Foreign Affairs Committee report had pushed Cameron to resign (Foster).

The West Minister's historic Brexit vote to go out from the European Union caused the resignation Friday of British Prime Minister David Cameron; in addition, it affected the global markets. There was a mixture of anxiety and tearful disbelief in Britain as people found themselves with unexpected situation from Thursday's extremely close vote, which caused a division within the nation. The results of the vote took Europe into uncertainty. It also affected financial markets, causing big losses in Asia, Europe and the United States as traders weighed the outcomes for the world's biggest economic zone (Mckirdy, Neild and Visser).

British Prime Minister David Cameron left the authority on Wednesday, paving the way for Theresa May, home secretary, to take the reins. May was elected successor to Cameron as a party leader immediately in Monday, Graham Brady, chair of the 1922 Committee, claimed that a group of Conservative members of Parliament key to choosing the party leader (Dewan and Isaac).

Several potential components are in the Brexit bill. However, they were messy and complex, they comment to a handful of conceptually different elements. The beginning with the commitments which already done by the E.U., or due to be done before the date of Brexit. These commitments arise since many of the E.U.'s plans, mostly multi-annual as research and regional development. Typically, projects will receive a higher proportion of their money; even though they will only take final payment when the project is finished. For instance, new transport links take several years to build, but finding should be provided, with contracts signed in 2017, other than only concluded in 2021. Second, is the reality that the E.U. budget is put and set for along a seven year framework lasting

from 2014 until the end of 2020, with the group headings of expenditure accepted in a council regulation dating from 2013. It passed by the two legislative bodies of the E.U., and the Council of Ministers, containing Britain, and the European Parliament (Lian).

Some on the E.U. side, precisely the net recipients from the budget, claim that the U.K. is liable for the full seven years, irrespective of when Brexit has occurred. On the assumption Brexit is determined by the late of March 2019, the effect is the U.K. will keep paying its share for the staying seven quarters that is from April 2019 until the end of 2020. The last element is about a longer term obligations; the wages of workers of E.U. institutions who retire when the U.K. is a member state, a percentage of whom are British citizens. In the E.U.'s accounts, there is a figure for the indirect pension pot obliged to pay the future pensions, one possibility would be that the U.K. buys out its share of this pot (Lian).

The following figure summarizes the road of the U.K. to leave the European organization, starting by the surrounding events around the article 50 of the Lisbon treaty moving to the negotiations that hold between the E.U. and the U.K. After that, the figure clarifies the third step which is the negotiation that extended further with the intervention of other European member states. Finally, the U.K. leaves the E.U. with a small majority.

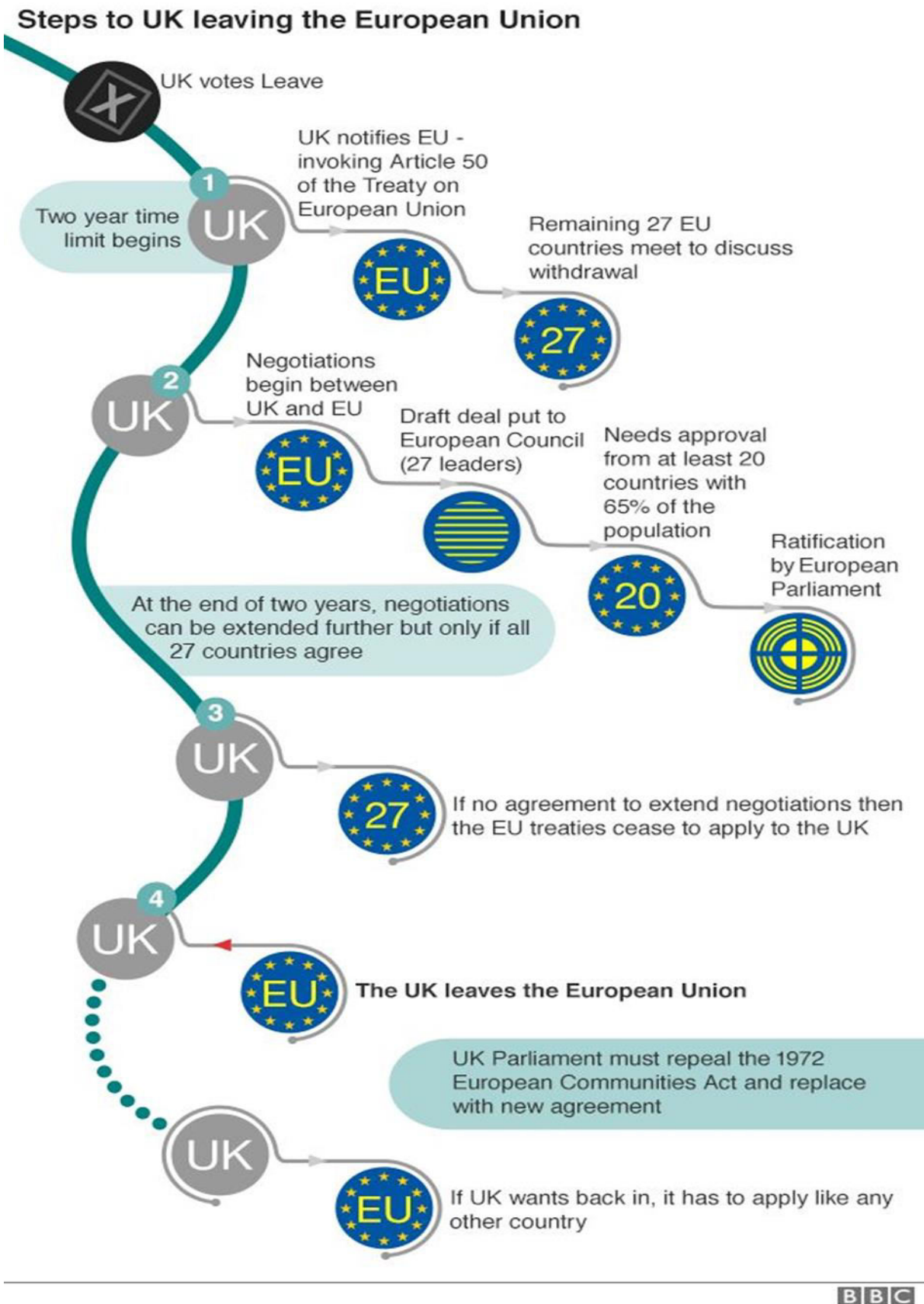


Figure 03: A map presenting steps to the U.K. leaving the E.U.

To sum up, Euro-scepticism is considered the first and the direct reason behind the rise of the problems which lead later to Cameron's promise, then with the pressure of the Euro-sceptics inside the conservative party the Prime Minister was obliged to state a clear date to hold a vote in order to negotiate Britain's membership in the E.U. Therefore, the British citizens moved to choose either to remain or to leave. The majority wanted the independence from the European organization this lead later to further economic and political outcomes.

3.3. The Effects of Euro-scepticism in the U.K. after Withdrawing the E.U.

Britain's E.U. referendum has ended, but economists are still evaluating the damage from what has variously been called the act of self-harm, or the tragic split with Europe, or as the most foolish idea of the century. The initial panic that viewed was by businesses asking whether they would have to close the shop, after funds shutting down. However, it has become very clear that a resolution of keeping superiority and stupidity has cost U.K. factories billions if not trillions of pounds. Moreover, the price will determine to be paid for years to come. Therefore, this is only an overview of what can occur so far and what can be expected from this multiple economic and business sectors. This is the aim of the opponents of the E.U. they welcome the independent state of Britain after the Brexit (Manila).

Within seconds of the announcement of the result's vote, politicians and economists looked forward to the value of the pound to take a concept on the currency markets around the world. David Cameron is likely to pass a statement on the next steps on how the government will respond to the country's decision to depart the E.U. in order to convince traders before the London stock Exchange starts for business. Nevertheless, the Treasury and the Bank of England will be witnessing the end of the markets. Mark Carney, the

bank governor, could be pressed to step in to rise up or to keep the pound as it is if the value of sterling falls down dramatically. This has not occurred since 1992 with the black Wednesday, the Bank would be deeply stopped to act in this way (Ross and Meakin).

The rhetoric around the divorce bill for the U.K. to depart from the E.U. has become increasingly poisonous, despite the fact that E.U. side has not raised any demand about this issue. Equally, the West Minister has yet to ensure an accessible offer. The House of Lords European Committee generated a stir by claiming that the U.K. could move away with no limitations or obligations whatsoever, a verdict welcomed by the government. The elite, however pass legal advice to the E.U. organizations takes an opposite view. Both extremes, in practice, are largely irrelevant, unless the negotiations degenerate into so hostile a Brexit that it ends not around the table, but it ended in the courts (Iain).

Euro-scepticism has been divided into two types; the Soft and the hard, even the Brexit has the same two options, according to the first exit scenario the West Minister government would determine to enjoy access to the Single Market, but it would keep be subject to the most of environmental rules, and with small opportunity to shape its contents. Members' states of the E.U. are supposed to comment collectively against any E.U. provisions, however, the determination of these processes is not consistent. The elements of the European institutions as the Common Agricultural Policy, Common Fisheries Policy...etc, will no longer apply to work with the U.K. (Schaaf 122).

Apart from causing a sharp, short-term hit to Britain's economy, the first outcome of Thursday's vote to depart the E.U. was a government crisis. David Cameron declared his resignation and a new Conservative leadership, distinctly more anti-E.U. in tone, is wanted in order to replace him. Unless carefully tackled, this policy will fall down relations between London and other E.U. capitals. The latter will interfere the Brexit vote

as destruction to Europe's unity. For the aim of reserving that unity, they could not offer generous post-Brexit pledge for the U.K. Negotiations could result danger of moving into a harsh war, destroying Europe from other urgent business (Guild 88).

Brexit will rule financial markets to more sensitive to the inequities of the 19 nation euro-zone. Sterling has already fall down to a last 30 year low. Researchers will question either, in the light of the Brexit surprise; European states governments have the economical will and public voices to support the architecture of European monetary union. The test will be about Europe's banking union, containing a program for common deposit insurance, finishes progress over the next year. At present it is stopped. More desired proposals, like an Italian program for common E.U. migration bonds to support financially the E.U.'s answers to the refugee and migrant crisis; this will have little chance of being moved into practice. Individual European countries will be under support of market scrutiny. A leadership of the U.K. poll, caused spreads widened within German authority bonds and those of less financially state southern European countries (Gideon 133).

In Western Europe, right parties took inspiration from Brexit. Among the most galvanised was Marine Le Pen, the leader of the France's National Front, who was working for 2017's presidential elections and who became stronger than before. David Cameron has resigned. He expected a new Prime Minister who will hand power in October. That will be preceded by what could a leadership battle caused. Theresa May will finish the formal application to withdraw the E.U. and begin other two years of negotiation that will determine the U.K.'s departure. The leader of the opposition Labour Party, Jeremy Corbyn failed to deliver labour voters to support staying within the E.U. for

that he is also under pressure to resign and his often half-hearted support for Europe (Passlack 35).

Another effect of the Brexit; Mark Carney, the governor of the Bank of England, maintained that the bank will do all its best to develop the Stock Exchange and the Pound Sterling, which have witnessed the worse damage in decades. Gibraltar has always been considered as a British colony since 1713, however, 96% of its people claimed that they desired to keep in the E.U. like this Spain will seek co-sovereignty there since it is situated on the southern tip of Spain (“The EU...”).

Another issue on Scotland the leader of the Scottish National Party, Nicola Sturgeon, has stated that Scotland should hold a second independence referendum before the U.K. depart the E.U. officially. Before the Scottish voters favoured to remain within the E.U. also in Northern Ireland opposition towards the government raised again. Sinn Fein, the head of the party which shares power and commands has encouraged in the Republic of Ireland. He has asked for another election on unifying the two parts of Ireland. While Northern Ireland kept part of the U.K. after the rest of Ireland seceded in 1922 (“The EU...”).

David Kauders, manager and investment who contribute to the U.K. financial press, explained the four options of the Brexit. The first one is the hard which maintain a complete break with the E.U. it includes secondly a loose arrangement, which means finishing negotiations in order to mitigate the hard problems of the first option, third is the soft Brexit means that the U.K. would continued to be a member inside the single European market. Finally, a close association agreement inside the customs union and the single market (3).

Kauders stated that the hard Brexit will take the U.K. outside the customs union, or any future plans with the free trade agreement, in addition to any tariffs or quotas. Travellers of the both sides would be subject to customs controls; like that the U.K. should check all commercial goods and commercial imports coming from other E.U. member states. The positive aspect concerning the hard Brexit is that the U.K. could build trade with Asia and in North America, this back to the use of the English language by the big countries (7). Another result of Hard Brexit, immigration would decline towards the U.K. from the poor states, but it rose from skilled Europeans this is the dictate strategy of immigration (8). In the option of the Soft Brexit, the U.K. remains in the single market (E.E.A.), but not within the E.U. this in order to satisfy the majority and the referendum results. Like that, Britain reserves its trade benefits vis-a-vis Europe, and stay in free trade with E.U. 27 states plus three countries E.E.A. (14).

Ricardo A. Halperin said, the risk of Brexit will appear later in Britain and world politics. The outcomes of the referendum brought important issues, mostly uncertainty in financial markets, also the exit of Britain from the E.U. push to the rise of nationalist agenda in several world states like the U.S. which pose questions concerning the unknown future of the free trade policies that have stable in worldwide for several decades (252).

There are a lot of concessions in order to be a member within the E.U., amongst them the freedom of goods, services and persons and freedom to move between capital states. However, the Brexit is likely come to determine such opportunities for the British people in Europe, as well as, to finish the existence of higher migration waves in the U.K. weather Britain should leave the E.U. or not, it rose enamours exclamations about the formal policy that Britain would take after the secession, according to some politicians the

West Minister government would take it as a challenge to ensure its power far from any international assistance depending on its world status plus its resources of superiority (336).

B.B.C. reported an article in which Tim Bowler, the English author, stated that the gloomy expectations which was during and after the referendum proved to be wrong, although only when the U.K. has left the E.U. the real change have occurred. The West Minister's economy grew up more than previously after the Brexit; for instance, the domestic product developed by 0.7% up from 0.6% showing in the Office for National Statistics (O.N.S). However, the pound fell around 15% after the referendum, since then it remained as it is, this helped mainly the exporters, but it limited the foreign holidays. Another issue, withdrawing the Union increased the costs of imports for manufacturers like those of vehicle industry, because the U.K. imported mainly the components parts. Bowler; also, speaks about the decline of Net migration to Britain, before it was calculated to be 596,000; among them 257,000 are non E.U. citizens, but 268,000 were; after the vote towards 323,000 have left Britain during the same period mostly were E.U. citizens and 128,000 British citizens (Bowler).

Kimberly Amadeo, the president of World Money Watch and an international expert on the global and U.S. economy, stated the expected consequences of the Brexit on the U.K., the E.U. and the U.S.; according to her the positive aspect for the U.K. is that it can take stop the free flow of people. They were worried about rise in amount of refugees from the Middle East. That was the primary cause people favoured for Brexit. However, the prohibition would harm the younger workers in Britain because the U.K. planed to have two million labour shortages by 2030. Brexit would be disastrous for the U.K. free trade status with the members of the E.U. the British factories would be less competitive and

higher priced because of the rise of tariffs. Another negative impact of the Brexit could be on Britain's financial centre, which considered the base for companies now, since it uses English speaking entry, but after withdrawing it would no longer be. Also, the cities would be collapsed because huge numbers of office buildings are under construction, if the city's financial services industry shifts to another centre, they may sit empty.

Under the Brexit, Britain may lose the aid of E.U. state of the art technologies; the E.U. grants these advantages to its group including research and development, energy and the issue about environmental protection. Even though the U.K. will be free from E.U. membership fees, indeed it would be able to pay the taxation without the union guideline. Moreover, West Minister factories and institutions would find obstacles to build any public contacts with any European country. In addition, London will suffer from the biggest loss in services this back to practitioners could not operate with all member countries after withdrawing, which may cost rise of phone services, internet and airfares (Amadeo).

Kimberly Amadeo analyzes the affects of the Brexit on the E.U. First, the process of the U.K. departing from the E.U. would take from two to ten years negotiations. Most of the members want an earlier exit of Britain. However, the Chancellor of Germany, Angela Merkel demands for more patience, she wants to allow the best consequences of all. Second, the parties of anti-immigration could be strengthen more after the Brexit and this would lead to downfall of the E.U. because such parties in France and Germany will follow Britain's same road and force the governments to hold a vote if any one of them leave the union too, this organization would dissolve and lose its strongest politics and economies. Although, the Brexit has a positive impact on Europe, it helped for union cohesiveness the West Minister voted for some points which are preferred by other

member states, so the U.K. here is the one who lose because the E.U. can find simply another strong member.

Even the U.S.'s economy would be affected via the referendum results, since most of the American's businessmen are in Great Britain. When the pound fell the investors would lose huge amount of money, at least they put about \$588 billion each year and engage more than a million people, and these factories use the U.K. as a door to work with the 28 E.U. states in free trade. The same thing with Britain that has the same investigation in the U.S. after leaving the E.U. it could lead to raising both American and British employees' looking for jobs. Additionally, withdrawing is a vote against globalization which makes Britain off the stage of the financial world since it stays for two years, as well as, removes the U.K. as the city that ensure the success of international clients, in another term the stability of the U.S. related to the U.K. and the loss of London cause the loss of Washington (Amadeo).

Conclusion

Throughout this dissertation and depending on historical analysis it becomes evident that Euro-scepticism is a central problem in the heart of Europe and the E.U. From the formation of the E.E.C. until the present day governments, groups and citizens have voiced their opposition over this organization. One idea covers the European states and Britain particularly, is that the E.U. is taking away their sovereignty and ruling them according to the union's law which is actually controversial issue. Further integration encompasses a growth in Euro-scepticism within the U.K. where politicians; such as, Margaret Thatcher have confronted with the E.U. under diplomatic policy, fearful of its power and to preserve her country's identity and authority in world's politics. This scepticism is evident today with leaders who opposed their country's membership in the E.U.; such as, David Cameron who headed the conservative party from 2005, and increased the feeling of difference between the E.U. and the U.K., but he moves to adopt new strategies in order to decrease the sense of scepticism between his public's view points.

Euro-scepticism was initiated for the first time after the W.W.II. by Winston Churchill in his Zurich speech, when he emphasised on the difference between the U.K. and Europe, than it elaborated to appear through the first British referendum, it is clearly seemed in the election time, the result presented minority of 33% opposing the membership after two years only of integration. The direct reason from the past until now is the lack of interest towards Europe and the E.U. which is highly posed by media. The E.U. can be changed simply by inevitable ally; the U.S., for that the integration in the E.U. considered less important for the British. Another reason that covers Britain's political realm from before is the immigration that caused a tension and social problem inside the U.K. like jobless,

crime...etc. The west minister government as an attempt to reserve its superiority over the other European states and is refusing of being a member with them under single rules, decreased its status in world's affairs. Furthermore, the E.U. law allows the refugees to enter Europe and to state in any country, the same thing with the other member states, those inside Europe. Britain has never accepted such situation because it considered that as a threat to its identity and security.

David Cameron as a party leader has been praised for modernising the conservative party, he was highly inspired by Thatcher's policy of Euro-scepticism, however, he has shared the moderate version of Euro-scepticism, or as it is known the bad type, when he hated the E.U., but he accepted to remain within and for the political and economic objectives, when he has elected the discussions in right wing and Euro-scepticism began to developed, Cameron made a promise to hold a referendum to renegotiate the British existence in the E.U. if he was elected as a prime minister. For this he got a higher support from the Euro-sceptics in his political campaign, the promise was his arm to win. In the election of 2010, Cameron became the head of the coalition government, as the youngest Prime Minister at the age of 43 his administration introduced large scale changes to social programs, as well as, to world's affairs.

Cameron's era was marked by the ongoing effects of the late 2000's financial crisis. For that he did not retain his promise concerning the referendum, this increased higher scale of opposition about his policy, in exchange he was restricted by further challenges. For instance, the division of the conservatives between his followers and the hard Euro-sceptics; in addition to the European crisis, that was the direct push for them to revolt against the union mainly immigration. Cameron stated that immigration from outside and even from inside should be subject to annual limits, because it caused pressure on public

services and in communities. Despite the Prime Minister's efforts to stop the dignity of Britons to hold a vote, no concrete evidence was practically identified to prove British's violation especially that conservatives showed a great opposition under the help of new leaders, in the prospect to limit the withdrawing ambition of Britons he has asked for further benefits to the U.K. Indeed, Cameron gained his desire by further benefits from the E.U., but he was not able to convince his people to forget the disintegration.

Cameron had been under the pressure of Euro-sceptics for years, for that he agreed to make the vote in his last term precisely on June 23, 2016, despite his position which was against its continuation. Cameron, in his last hope, moved around European states to prevent the referendum's occurrence. However, no one could interfere in the country's internal affairs. The U.K. launched to end the integration of other European states in its politics. Euro-sceptics achieved their aim finally and chose to withdraw the union with a majority of 52 percent. In this context, Britain certainly shifted to be as the major Euro-sceptic state in Europe with the ugliest type.

From Cameron's side the determination of the election was a positive sign, Cameron's appears optimistic about the general process, because at least the vote ensures his government credibility when he left the choice for the people to select what it is appropriate for their nation's future. Cameron praised his own party because it pushed him to accept the referendum results and got responsibility of delivering it, he added that it was the healthy party in Western Europe. However, he preferred to resign and to leave the determination role of Theresa May who might be more successful, arguing that she has a time to deal with the Brexit consequences.

Euro-sceptic MPs and cabinet members attempt to unite the party following the E.U. referendum results; arguing that most of Euro-sceptic Tory MPs who chose to leave the union, signed a letter for Mr. Cameron asking him to stay as their own prime minister, regardless of the vote outcomes, but score waves of vocal opponents including conservative members refused to sign because they do not totally trust Cameron's decision. Two weeks after the referendum Cameron announced his resignation immediately. Euro-sceptic Tories began discussing the U.K.'s future and speaking to ensure political stability over their state.

To sum up, the topic debated in this dissertation is significant because it can be utilized as a historical platform for further researches about Euro-scepticism in Britain, and under Cameron's leadership particularly. It gives the scholars and researchers willing to investigate about the nature of Britain and E.U. relations. Moreover, it provides a general overview about past and present events and a glimpse about the future of Britain's E.U. relations, and the west minister role in world politics, and how it would be precisely.

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Dedication

I dedicate my dissertation to my family and my friends. A special feeling of gratitude to my loving parents, Jamel and Noura whose words of encouragement and push for tenacity always ring in my ears. My brothers Heythem and Yaakoub, and my wonderful sister Noussa have never left my side and are very special.

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Abstract

The present dissertation discusses the policy of Euro-scepticism in the U.K. precisely to the Prime Minister David Cameron's leadership, with a focus on the causes, procedures and implications of this policy. The study comes to offer the direct reasons behind the raising of this phenomenon in Britain; the immigration mostly by its types, into and from Europe that confronted with the sense of superiority posed by the British. Euro-sceptic leaders who oppose the European organization argued that those strategies adopted by the government are tools for the protection of Britain's interests in Europe and the world. This study explores the nature of British-European relations before and after the coming of Cameron. It points out the transformation of Britain from being a strong imperialist state throughout history into a member in the European Union, and which was rejected twice by a French veto. This work also, traces the evolution of Euro-scepticism throughout waves of rebellions inside the conservative party and the pressure over Cameron who has endured and resisted. The major finding of the current dissertation contains first the validation and the speculations rose around Cameron's attempt to delay and even prevent the British to vote for withdrawing, and second his resignation after the Brexit.

الملخص

تناقش المذكرة سياسة الارتياح المنتهجة حول أوروبا من قبل المملكة المتحدة البريطانية بصورة مفصلة خلال فترة حكم الوزير الأول ديفيد كاميرون وكذا برنامجه المتبع، مع التركيز على الأسباب الإجراءات والآثار المترتبة عن هذه السياسة. تنتهي هذه الدراسة باستنتاج عام مفاده أن الأسباب المباشرة وراء ارتفاع هذه الظاهرة في بريطانيا يرجع للهجرة الأوروبية بنوعها الداخلية و الخارجية التي انصدمت مع واقع الرفعة الذي يتميز به الشعب البريطاني. قادة التيار المعادي لمنظمة الاتحاد الأوروبي عللوا بان كل هاته الاستراتيجيات ما هي إلا وسائل من اجل حماية مصالح بريطانيا في القارة والعالم. كما تقوم هذه الدراسة أيضا بالتحقيق في طبيعة العلاقة بين المملكة البريطانية المتحدة و الاتحاد الأوروبي قبل وبعد مجيء كاميرون. أشارت نتائج هذا التحقيق بان المملكة المتحدة تحولت من قوة امبريالية على مر التاريخ، إلى دولة عضو في الاتحاد الأوروبي رفضت مرتين بقرار من الفيتو الفرنسي. هذا البحث أيضا تتبع مراحل تطور العدوان البريطاني لأوروبا، من خلال موجة التمرد داخل حزب المحافظين وكذا الضغوطات حول كاميرون التي عانى منها وقاومها. وتشمل النتائج الرئيسية لهاته المذكرة، أولا إثبات صحة التكهنات التي أثرت حول محاولات كاميرون لتأخير ومنع الشعب البريطاني انتخاب الخروج من دول الاتحاد، وثانيا نظرة عامة عن النتائج المترتبة بعد خروج بريطانيا من الاتحاد الأوروبي.

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

B.B.C	British Broadcasting Corporation
E.E.P.	European Public Party
E.D.	European Democrats
E.E.A.	European Economic Area
E.E.C.	European Economic Community
E.U.	The European Union
MPs	Members of Parliament
N.A.T.O.	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
S.E.A.	South East Asia
U.K.	The United Kingdom
U.K.I.P.	United Kingdom Independence Party
U.N.	United Nations
U.S.	The United States
U.S.A.	The United States of America
W.W.II.	The Second World War

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