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**Bakalářská práce**

**The Coverage of Brexit in the British Press**

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**The Coverage of Brexit in the British Press**

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Prohlašuji, že jsem práci zpracoval(a) samostatně a použil(a) jen uvedených pramenů a literatury.

*Plzeň, duben 2018*

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# 1. INTRODUCTION

This bachelor thesis is called *The Coverage of Brexit in the British Press* and its main purpose is to analyse the press coverage of the relations between the United Kingdom and the European Union (hereinafter referred to as “Britain” and the “EU”) in the context of Britain’s withdrawal from the EU, additionally, to describe the relationship between Britain and the EU.

It is assumed that the right-leaning press is more Eurosceptical, with its opinions similar to those of the Conservative Party, which the right-leaning press supports. On the contrary, the left-leaning press is believed to be against Britain’s withdrawal from the EU. In addition to it, there is supposed to be a difference in the interpretation of British exit from the EU by broadsheets and by tabloids; the tabloids are assumed to provide misinformation to its readers in order to persuade them to vote in compliance with the newspaper’s own political orientation, contrary to broadsheets, which are supposed to adhere to the facts.<sup>1</sup>

The topic was selected in view of the fact that Brexit – as the British withdrawal from the EU is usually referred to – is a current and often discussed issue, which has affected not only Britain and the EU as the institution itself, but all the member states of the EU, including the Czech Republic. In addition to it, this topic connects the economic and political issue of Brexit and the issue of media and its influence on the society, which is widely discussed in these days as well.

This bachelor thesis is divided into a theoretical and a practical part. The theoretical part incorporates three chapters and its purpose is to provide general knowledge of the British press and of the historical context of British relationship with Europe and the originally economic, later political, European institution which had emerged after World War II.

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<sup>1</sup> ROGERS, Tony. *What’s the Difference Between Broadsheet and Tabloid Newspapers?* ThoughtCo. [online]. Updated 30 January 2018. Available from: <https://www.thoughtco.com/broadsheet-and-tabloid-newspapers-2074248> [Retrieved 29 December 2017]



The first chapter of the theoretical part deals with the British press, with its division and with the political orientation of the particular newspapers. For the purpose of this bachelor thesis, three broadsheets and two tabloids, which belong among the most popular newspapers in Britain, were selected, namely *The Independent*, *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Guardian*, *The Sun* and *The Daily Mail*.

The second chapter deals with the communities which had emerged after the World War II. and British attitude towards them. In this chapter, the British initial hostility to the European Economic Community (hereinafter referred to as the EEC) is described, followed by the description of sudden British attempt to join the Community, moreover there are stated the reasons why Britain had changed its mind. The third chapter deals also with the obstacles which Britain had to face to, such as the repeated veto of the French President Charles de Gaulle, while striving for the accession to the EEC. Additionally, the chapter is dedicated to the beginning and to the course of the British membership of the EU, including the reign of Margaret Thatcher.

The fourth chapter of the theoretical part reports to the Euroscepticism which got the upper hand in Britain already in twentieth century; this chapter describes Britain's attitude towards Europe from the very beginning, when it was the Labour Party that was sceptical about the EEC. Moreover, there is also described the British approach to Europe during Edward Heath's, Margaret Thatcher's and John Major's premierships and disagreements concerning the European issue which had split the Conservative Party. Subsequently, this chapter deals with the Labour pro-Europeanism during premiership of Tony Blair and Gordon Brown and with the start of David Cameron as the Conservative leader as well as Prime Minister. Additionally, there are stated the reasons and events which led to the EU referendum such as the UKIP's growing power or splitting of the Conservative Party. The fourth chapter includes the course of the referendum campaigns and the results of the referendum, which indicated the British withdrawal from the EU; thus, there is depicted the content of the Article 50 of the Lisbon Treaty, which allows the EU member states to leave the EU on condition that the withdrawing would be negotiated with the EU and that the state would go through the two-year process of withdrawing.

The fifth chapter of this bachelor thesis involves the practical part, where the particular newspapers, mentioned above, and their articles, dealing with the British membership of the EU, the EU referendum and Brexit are analysed. The press has always been one of the main ways how to obtain the information and despite the fact that popularity of the Internet and television has arisen, the newspapers are still considered the most reliable source of information. Thus, the newspapers are followed by a major part of the British society and have a significant impact on the opinions of Britons, including the political ones. This chapter also analyses which of the newspapers endorsed the Leave vote and which endorsed the Remain vote in the EU referendum and what impact their political orientation has had on the objectivity of their articles.

## 2. THE BRITISH PRESS

In the eighteenth century Britain went through a major boom in journalism and newspapers became an ordinary part of everyday life of the Britons. Despite the evolution of modern technologies such as the Internet and television, newspapers are still considered the most reliable source of information nowadays.

The British press can be divided according to several criteria. The most recent division is into broadsheets (qualities) and tabloids (populars). Although the British press is not controlled (or censored) and is independent of the state, it can be distinguished into politically right-of centre and left-of-centre press. From another point of view, the British press can be divided into national and regional newspapers.<sup>2</sup>

### 2.1. Broadsheets

The term “broadsheet” comes from the format of the qualities – large-sheet. Broadsheets, as are the qualities usually referred to, deal with serious news – national and international news in detail, analysis of current events or political and financial situation. Qualities are more expensive than tabloids and more extensive as well. Their financial sources usually come from advertising.<sup>3</sup>

The national daily *The Independent*, which was founded in 1986, belongs to the category of broadsheets. These days it is available online only – the last printed version was published on 20 of March 2016. Its nickname is “*Indy*” while its sister newspapers *The Independent on Sunday* is nicknamed “*Sindy*”. From political point of view *The Independent* ranks among left-oriented newspapers. Since 2010 it has been controlled by the Russian oligarch Alexander Lebedev.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> OAKLAND, John. *British civilization: an introduction*. 6. ed., Reprint. (twice). London [u.a.]: Routledge, 2007. ISBN 0415365228. p. 232-239

<sup>3</sup> ROGERS, Tony. *What’s the Difference Between Broadsheet and Tabloid Newspapers?* ThoughtCo. [online]. Updated 30 January 2018. Available from: <https://www.thoughtco.com/broadsheet-and-tabloid-newspapers-2074248> [Retrieved 29 December 2017]

<sup>4</sup> The Paperboy. *UK Newspaper Guide* [online]. Undated. Available from: <https://www.thepaperboy.com/uk/uk-newspaper-guide.cfm> [Retrieved 29 December 2017]

*The Guardian*, another one of the British national broadsheets, was launched in 1821 as *Manchester Guardian*. The fact that the readers of *The Guardian* generally belong among progressive left-oriented, initiated a label “Guardian reader,” which refers to people with left-wing opinions. *The Guardian* is controlled by *Guardian Media Group* owned by Scott Trust – same as its sister newspapers *The Observer* and *The Guardian Weekly*. In June 2017 the *Guardian Media Group* informed that since January 2018 *The Guardian* (and *The Observer* too) will dispose of the format of the tabloid.<sup>5</sup>

*The Daily Telegraph* is a British national broadsheet which has been published since 1855. *The Telegraph* is the best-selling broadsheet in Britain. Its website, which was established in 1994, was the first online version of the newspapers in Europe. The right-oriented *The Daily Telegraph* is controlled by *Telegraph Media Group*.<sup>6</sup>

## 2.2. Tabloids

Tabloids (populars) used to be of smaller and tabloid sizes in the past. Populars contain a large number of pictures and their articles are focused on celebrities, scandals, gossips and various kinds of stories. The headlines of the articles are eye-catching and they do not always correspond to the content of the article – the meaning is slightly modified to catch reader’s attention.<sup>7</sup> Tabloids are financed primarily from their sales and from the advertising as well.

*The Sun* was launched in 1964 as a broadsheet; however, five years later, in 1969, it became a tabloid when it was bought by Rupert Murdoch. Nowadays, *The Sun* is the most popular tabloid and the biggest-selling newspaper in Britain, well-known for the “Page 3 girls,” whose nude photograph can be found on the

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<sup>5</sup> The Paperboy. *UK Newspaper Guide* [online]. Undated. Available from: <https://www.thepaperboy.com/uk/uk-newspaper-guide.cfm> [Retrieved 29 December 2017]

<sup>6</sup> The Paperboy. *UK Newspaper Guide* [online]. Undated. Available from: <https://www.thepaperboy.com/uk/uk-newspaper-guide.cfm> [Retrieved 29 December 2017]

<sup>7</sup> ROGERS, Tony. *What’s the Difference Between Broadsheet and Tabloid Newspapers?* ThoughtCo. [online]. Updated 30 January 2018. Available from: <https://www.thoughtco.com/broadsheet-and-tabloid-newspapers-2074248> [Retrieved 29 December 2017]

third page. This tabloid is right-oriented and supports the Conservative Party. Its current owner is *News Group Newspapers* which comes under Rupert Murdoch.<sup>8</sup>

The second biggest-selling newspapers in Britain, *Daily Mail* was launched in 1896. Tabloid *Daily Mail* supports the Conservative Party and for its sensational headlines it is often referred to as "*Daily Fail*". Since May 2011 Daily Mail's website is the most popular one in the UK with 64 million visitors for month.<sup>9</sup>

### 2.3. Other Divisions

One of the other divisions of the British newspapers is according to its political orientation. From the political point of view the British press can be distinguished into right leaning newspapers and left-leaning newspapers. The right-leaning ones are conservative and they hold the view of self-sufficiency and individualism. It is said that most of the British newspapers are right-of-centre orientated and sympathize with Conservative Party. The left-leaning newspapers are liberal, they are zealous on state welfare and on big state. They support the Labour Party.

There is also a difference between national and regional press. The national newspapers are usually published in London and they are distributed to all the parts of Britain where they are available on the same day (including Sunday).<sup>10</sup> They contain significant worldwide news.

The regional and local newspapers are printed out in town and cities across Britain. They are mainly focused on regional news, but there could be found an important national information as well.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> The Paperboy. *UK Newspaper Guide* [online]. Undated. Available from: <https://www.thepaperboy.com/uk/uk-newspaper-guide.cfm> [Retrieved 29 December 2017]

<sup>9</sup> The Paperboy. *UK Newspaper Guide* [online]. Undated. Available from: <https://www.thepaperboy.com/uk/uk-newspaper-guide.cfm> [Retrieved 29 December 2017]

<sup>10</sup> OAKLAND, John. *British civilization: an introduction*. 6. ed., Reprint. (twice). London [u.a.]: Routledge, 2007. ISBN 0415365228. p. 233

<sup>11</sup> OAKLAND, John. *British civilization: an introduction*. 6. ed., Reprint. (twice). London [u.a.]: Routledge, 2007. ISBN 0415365228. p. 238

### **3. BRITAIN'S RELATIONSHIP WITH THE EUROPEAN UNION**

The relationship of Britain and the European Union has always been complicated. Disagreements between Britain and Europe had occurred well before the establishment of the European Union or other European Communities. In the past, Britain was at war, for example, with France, Spain, Russia and, naturally, with Germany – during First and Second World Wars. Although the situation is not as serious as in the past and there are no wars between the European states nowadays, discords between Britain and the other European countries remain.

#### **3.1. History – from the Post-war Period up to the Euro Crisis**

The ideal of more integrated, closely united Europe, emerged after Second World War, in 1945. The reason was clear – the creation of prosperous Europe and cooperation of the European countries instead of waging wars against each other.

In 1950s Britain stood out, distancing itself from European integration, and saw its future in cooperation with the USA, with which they had a "special relationship", and with the Commonwealth rather than with the European continent. In fact, Britain in the fifties was one of the most conservative countries in the world and most of the Britons were convinced about Britain's world power – thus the European integration did not appeal to them as much as to other European countries.<sup>12</sup>

One of the first European Community organization, the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), known as one of the pillars of the European Union, was established by six European countries – Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, Netherlands and Luxembourg – by signing the Treaty of Paris in April 1951.<sup>13</sup> The

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<sup>12</sup> SANDBROOK, Dominic. *Never had it so good: a history of Britain from Suez to the Beatles*. Pbk. ed. London: Abacus, 2006. ISBN 9780349115306. p.31, 218, 224-229

<sup>13</sup> WILSON, Sam. *Britain and the EU: A long and rocky relationship*. BBC News [online]. 1 April 2014. Available from: <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-26515129> [Retrieved 15 January 2018]

Six – as the six establishing countries are usually referred to – founded the ECSC to reassemble the economy of Europe after the Second World War and for contribution of economic expansion, growth of employment and a rising of standard living – which was supposed to be implemented by the common market for coal and steel.<sup>14</sup>

Despite the fact that Winston Churchill wholly supported the unification of Europe, Britain rejected the invitation of the Six to join them and it did not sign the Treaty of Rome, a founding document of the European Economic Community (hereinafter referred to as the EEC), in March 1957.<sup>15</sup> By signing the treaty, the members of the EEC – the Six – agreed on free movement of the goods, people, services and capital.

Although Britain had refused to take a part in establishing the EEC, later this year and year after, in 1957 and 1958, the British government tried to persuade the EEC to enlarge the free trade area and accept Britain and eleven other European states as the members of the EEC. This British proposal was dismissed in 1958 by the French president Charles de Gaulle, who used his power of veto – not for the last time.<sup>16</sup>

At the beginning of the 1960s Britain's economy was distinctly worse than the economy of the six EEC and ECSC founding countries.<sup>17</sup> To create a counterweight to the EEC, Britain and six other European countries who were, same as Britain, outside the Six – Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Austria, Switzerland and Portugal – founded the organization, whose main purpose was to create a free trade area between the founding countries – European Free Trade Association (EFTA). The organization was officially set up by signing the Stockholm Treaty in January 1960. Nevertheless, economies of the EFTA

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<sup>14</sup> EUR-Lex. *Treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community, ECSC Treaty* [online]. Undated. Available from: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/HTML/?uri=LEGISSUM:xy0022&from=CS> [Retrieved 16 January 2018]

<sup>15</sup> BBC News. *Britain and the EU: A long and rocky relationship* [online]. 1 April 2014. Available from: <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-26515129> [Retrieved 15 January 2018]

<sup>16</sup> SANDBROOK, Dominic. *Never had it so good: a history of Britain from Suez to the Beatles*. Pbk. ed. London: Abacus, 2006. ISBN 9780349115306. p. 526

<sup>17</sup> KENEALY, Daniel. *How did we get here? A Brief History of Britain's Membership of the EU*. European Futures [online]. 24 May 2016. Available from: <http://www.europeanfutures.ed.ac.uk/article-3278> [Retrieved 16 January 2018]

members were not as strong as the economies of the Six, thus the vision of the EFTA as the equal competitor to the EEC was not really fulfilled.<sup>18</sup>

During the 1960s Britain changed its mind and tried to join the EEC. Politicians like Harold Macmillan and especially Edward Heath (both of them were members of the Conservative party) started to be persuaded that the future of Britain's trade was in trading with the Six and the rest of the Western Europe rather than with the Commonwealth (according to the statistics, in 1962 two fifths of the British export went to the European countries and only one third to the countries of the Commonwealth, the reason was that the former British colonies did not want to rely on Britain and they started to develop their own industries – in this situation the Common Market and the membership of the EEC would be very beneficial for Britain). Additionally, the British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan was under the pressure of the USA, the British ally, which wanted Britain to join the Six and to become a bulwark against the Soviet Union. The British government decided to apply, for the first time, for the membership of the EEC in July 1961; however, it was not successful in doing so.<sup>19</sup>

Britain's first application for membership of the EEC, filed in 1961, was vetoed by the French President Charles de Gaulle. Charles de Gaulle used the opportunity of the power of veto for several reasons. „*He was critical of Britain's relationship with the USA (particularly on nuclear weapons policies).*”<sup>20</sup> Furthermore he wanted to maintain France as a leader of the EEC and did not want any rival in the Community – which Britain certainly was. He knew that the position of France would be weakened in the case of the British entry; moreover, he also worried about French as the sole language of the EEC and its replacement by the English and last but not least, he was convinced that Britain would be a troublemaker.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> SANDBROOK, Dominic. *Never had it so good: a history of Britain from Suez to the Beatles*. Pbk. ed. London: Abacus, 2006. ISBN 9780349115306. p. 527

<sup>19</sup> SANDBROOK, Dominic. *Never had it so good: a history of Britain from Suez to the Beatles*. Pbk. ed. London: Abacus, 2006. ISBN 9780349115306. p. 529

<sup>20</sup> OAKLAND, John. *British civilization: an introduction*. 6. ed., Reprint. (twice). London [u.a.]: Routledge, 2007. ISBN 0415365228. p. 120

<sup>21</sup> OAKES, Leigh a .. *Language and national identity: comparing France and Sweden*. Amsterdam: J. Benjamins, 2001. ISBN 9789027218483. p. 137-138



British politicians did not give up and they started to negotiate the British entry anew. The Labour Prime Minister Harold Wilson and his Foreign Secretary, George Brown held the talks with the representatives of the Six and they tried to persuade them that Britain was prepared to be a beneficial member of the Common Market.<sup>22</sup> The negotiations seemed going on well and in May 1967 Wilson announced that government decided to apply for membership of the EEC once more. Unfortunately, the French President had not changed his mind and the second Britain's attempt of being a member of the EEC was vetoed again, in 1967, once again by Charles de Gaulle. According to him Britain was not European enough (with regard to its alliance with the USA) and he said that *"this great people, so magnificently gifted with ability and courage, should on their own behalf and for themselves achieve a profound economic and political transformation which could allow them to join the Six Continentals."*<sup>23</sup>

Nevertheless, the veto of the French President was the only obstacle for Britain to join the Common Market, the negotiations about Britain's accession enabled British politicians to show to the Six what Britain can offer to the Community; thus, when de Gaulle resigned from the presidency post at the end of the 1960s, in 1969, the negotiations about Britain's accession to the EEC could be reopened and seemed much more real than ever.<sup>24</sup>

The negotiations were reopened in 1970 under the Conservative Edward Heath, who became a Prime Minister in 1970. At long, the last British Parliament decided to apply for entry in 1972. The new French President Georges Pompidou did not reject the British application like his predecessor, nor did the rest of the

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<sup>22</sup> CVCE Website. *The United Kingdom's second application for accession to the Common Market* [online]. Available from: [https://www.cvce.eu/obj/the\\_united\\_kingdom\\_s\\_second\\_application\\_for\\_accession\\_t%20o\\_the\\_common\\_market-en-ac6525e2-24a0-4752-a79b-b5456e224e5b.html](https://www.cvce.eu/obj/the_united_kingdom_s_second_application_for_accession_t%20o_the_common_market-en-ac6525e2-24a0-4752-a79b-b5456e224e5b.html) [Retrieved 4 March 2018]

<sup>23</sup> SANDBROOK, Dominic. *Never had it so good: a history of Britain from Suez to the Beatles*. Pbk. ed. London: Abacus, 2006. ISBN 9780349115306. p. 390

<sup>24</sup> SANDBROOK, Dominic. *White Heat: a history of Britain in the swinging sixties*. Pbk. ed. London: Abacus, 2007. ISBN 978-0349118208. p. 391

Six, and “*Britain formally joined the EEC on 1 January 1973, having left EFTA in 1972.*”<sup>25</sup>

“*Almost from the outset, Britain was an awkward member of the EEC.*”<sup>26</sup> Soon after the British entry, de Gaulle’s presentiments about Britain as a mischief-maker, became true. In 1975, only two years after joining the EEC, British people were asked to decide about Britain’s staying in the EEC in the referendum, which was held by new Labour government and under new Prime Minister Harold Wilson. It was the first referendum in the British history; however, Britons decided to do not make any changes in the international policy and voted to stay in the EEC by a margin of 67.2% in favour and 32.8% against.<sup>27</sup>

In 1984 at the meeting in Fontainebleau, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher enforced a rebate on Britain’s contribution to the EEC budget “*to compensate for Britain’s disproportionately low benefit from EEC agricultural subsidies.*”<sup>28</sup> The rebate came into force in 1985 and laid the foundations of one of the disagreements between Britain and Europe.

In 1985, five of ten member states of the EEC (France, Germany, Belgium, Netherlands and Luxembourg) signed the Schengen Agreement, which led to creation of the zone without the frontiers across the member states.<sup>29</sup> In some time, all the member states of the EEC (later the European Union) acceded to the Schengen Agreement – except for Britain, which is, along with Ireland, one of the EU member states that are a part of Schengen Area only partially – in the cases of Police Security and Judicial Cooperation – up to now.

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<sup>25</sup> OAKLAND, John. *British civilization: an introduction*. 6. ed., Reprint. (twice). London [u.a.]: Routledge, 2007. ISBN 0415365228. p. 120

<sup>26</sup> KENEALY, Daniel. *How did we get here? A Brief History of Britain’s Membership of the EU*. European Futures [online]. 24 May 2016. Available from: <http://www.europeanfutures.ed.ac.uk/article-3278> [Retrieved 16 January 2018]

<sup>27</sup> OAKLAND, John. *British civilization: an introduction*. 6. ed., Reprint. (twice). London [u.a.]: Routledge, 2007. ISBN 0415365228. p. 120

<sup>28</sup> KENEALY, Daniel. *How did we get here? A Brief History of Britain’s Membership of the EU*. European Futures [online]. 24 May 2016. Available from: <http://www.europeanfutures.ed.ac.uk/article-3278> [Retrieved 16 January 2018]

<sup>29</sup> EUR-Lex. *The Schengen area and cooperation* [online]. Undated. Available from: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/HTML/?uri=LEGISSUM:I33020&from=EN> [Retrieved 28 January 2018]

The Maastricht Treaty, or the Treaty of the European Union as the Maastricht Treaty is also referred to, signed in 1992, created from the European Economic Community the European Union (the EU) such as it is known today. In the treaty there are stated three pillars of the European Union – the European Communities, Common Foreign and Security Policy and Police and Judicial Cooperation in Criminal Matters – and it concerns the creation of the European single currency – the euro. The Treaty of Amsterdam was created five years later, in 1997, to modify and complement the Maastricht Treaty. In 1997 the Amsterdam Treaty was signed by fifteen member states of the EU, in 1999 it was validated by all member states.<sup>30</sup> By signing these treaties Europe became much more integrated than ever in the past – it was not only the Common Market any more, it has become a political union.

*“Although Britain secured opt-outs from the single currency (the euro) and on some social policy legislation, the EU moved forward towards political union.”<sup>31</sup>*

There has always been a contradiction if the membership of the EU (or in the EEC, before 1992) is a right decision for Britain and British society, however in the twenty-first century this topic became more frequent than in the end of nineteenth century. Membership of the EU does not include only free-trade area, but also considerable integration of the member states and transferring of certain powers to the EU – which might be perceived as a loss of the independence.

When the Netherlands and France rejected the *Constitution for Europe* in the referendum in 2005, the negotiations about Treaty of Lisbon began. The Treaty was signed in 2007 and came into force in 2009, adopted by all twenty-seven member states, including Britain. This treaty was another step of the European integration.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Historiasiglo20. *The Treaty of Amsterdam (1997)* [online]. Undated. Available from: <http://www.historiasiglo20.org/europe/amsterdam.htm> [Retrieved 28 January 2018]

<sup>31</sup> KENEALY, Daniel. *How did we get here? A Brief History of Britain’s Membership of the EU*. European Futures [online]. 24 May 2016. Available from: <http://www.europeanfutures.ed.ac.uk/article-3278> [Retrieved 16 January 2018]

<sup>32</sup> The Lisbon Treaty. *The Lisbon Treaty* [online]. Undated. Available from: <http://www.lisbon-treaty.org/wcm/the-lisbon-treaty/> [Retrieved 4 February 2018]

In 2008 the EU faced the global economic crisis which affected several countries using euro. *“The result was bailouts for several countries that used the euro, new EU laws and institutions in the areas of banking and finance and the possibility of far deeper integration amongst those EU members in the Eurozone.”*<sup>33</sup>

The economic crisis in 2008, the annexation of Ukrainian autonomous republic of Crimea in 2014, the migrant crisis when thousands of refugees looked for asylum in the European countries, but also many other facts, forced the British (and not only British) society and politicians to consider the membership of the EU.<sup>34</sup> As the result of this consideration the referendum about Britain’s membership of the EU was launched.

### 3.2. Great Britain and the Euro

The Euro is the official currency of the European Union, which has been adopted by nineteen out of twenty-eight member states of the EU and with 338 million people, who use it, it is the second most utilized currency – after the U.S. dollar. The area of the states using the euro is called the Eurozone. The euro was officially introduced in 1999 and it was put in practice in 2002. The monetary policy for the euro is set by European Central Bank.<sup>35</sup>

The Exchange Rate Mechanism (ERM) is a system “designed to control a currency's exchange rate relative to other currencies,”<sup>36</sup> the European Exchange Rate Mechanism is one of the extremes of the ERM because it “allows currencies to trade without intervention by governments and central banks.”<sup>37</sup> In fact, the

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<sup>33</sup> KENEALY, Daniel. *How did we get here? A Brief History of Britain’s Membership of the EU.* European Futures [online]. 24 May 2016. Available from:

<http://www.europeanfutures.ed.ac.uk/article-3278> [Retrieved 16 January 2018]

<sup>34</sup> RAY, Michael. *Lisbon Treaty.* Encyclopædia Britannica [online]. Undated. Available from:

<https://www.britannica.com/event/Lisbon-Treaty> [Retrieved 3 February 2018]

<sup>35</sup> Europa.eu. *The euro* [online]. Undated. Available from: [https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/money/euro\\_en](https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/money/euro_en) [Retrieved 28 February 2018]

<sup>36</sup> KUEPPER, Justin. *What is an exchange rate mechanism (ERM)?* The Balance [online]. 9 September 2016. Available from: <https://www.thebalance.com/what-is-an-exchange-rate-mechanism-erm-1979093> [Retrieved 1 March 2018]

<sup>37</sup> KUEPPER, Justin. *What is an exchange rate mechanism (ERM)?* The Balance [online]. 9 September 2016. Available from: <https://www.thebalance.com/what-is-an-exchange-rate-mechanism-erm-1979093> [Retrieved 1 March 2018]

European ERM was supposed to prepare the member states of the EU for European Economic and Monetary union and for the adoption of the euro as the single currency. In the eighties, the ruling British Conservative government had been indecisive about signing up to the European ERM, but the Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher decided to sign up in 1990. However, two years later, in 1992, Britain had to withdraw the pound sterling from the European ERM, because it was not able to keep the pound above the minimum level, which was agreed for European ERM. The day of the withdrawal is known as Black Wednesday, and, also, as the day that cost Britain more than £3 billion.<sup>38 39</sup>

“In fact, all 28 member nations pledged to adopt the euro when they joined the EU. But they must meet budget and other criteria before they can switch to the euro. These were set out by the Maastricht Treaty.”<sup>40</sup>

However, Britain (together with Denmark) concluded the opt-out – it means that it is not obliged to adopt the euro – in contrast to the other member states – but the adoption of the euro, instead of the pound sterling, is at its discretion. The British government approached the opt-out as the possibility to decide about adoption of the euro in the future up to 1997, when the British Minister of Finance Gordon Brown proposed „five economic tests” which are – as it is widely believed – almost impossible to meet. Gordon Brown expressed his support for the euro and he described the introduction of the common currency as the success of the European trade; however, he also expressed his worries about Britain’s loss of sovereignty with regard to adoption of the euro.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> BBC. *Euro Moments: UK joins Exchange Rate Mechanism* [online]. 19 May 2014. Available from: <http://www.bbc.com/news/av/uk-politics-27053535/euro-moments-uk-joins-exchange-rate-1mechanism> [Retrieved 1 March 2018]

<sup>39</sup> NAUGHTON, Philippe. *Black Wednesday cost UK £3.3 billion, documents show*. The Times [online]. Available from: <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/black-wednesday-cost-uk-pound33-billion-documents-show-ftzd96zht6n> [Retrieved 2 March 2018]

<sup>40</sup> AMADEO, Kimberly. *What is the euro?* The Balance [online]. Undated. Available from: <https://www.thebalance.com/what-is-the-euro-3305928> [Retrieved 27 February 2018]

<sup>41</sup> PROCHÁZKA, Petr. *Euro a Velká Británie*. Česká národní banka [online]. 17 April 2003.

Available from: [https://www.cnb.cz/cs/verejnost/pro\\_media/clanky\\_rozhovory/media\\_2003/cl\\_03\\_030417.html](https://www.cnb.cz/cs/verejnost/pro_media/clanky_rozhovory/media_2003/cl_03_030417.html) [Retrieved 1 March 2018]

“Brown immediately used the new tests to close down the option of euro membership during the 1997-2001 Parliament.”<sup>42</sup>

The five tests are following:

- “1. Business cycles and economic structures must be compatible enough that the United Kingdom could live with Eurozone interest rates.
2. The system must have sufficient flexibility to deal with both local and aggregate economic problems.
3. Adopting the euro must create conditions conducive to firms and individuals investing in the United Kingdom.
4. The euro would enable the nation's financial services industry to remain in a competitive position internationally.
5. Adopting the euro must promote higher growth, stability and a long-term increase in jobs.”<sup>43</sup>

In case of meeting all five economic tests, the government would declare a national referendum in which Britons should decide about adoption of the euro.

Although the Eurozone countries receiving plenty of benefits from the euro (for example, removing an exchange rate risk in business), Britons have never really wanted to accept the common single currency – one of the reasons was the fear of losing their sovereignty, another one the pride of their own currency – sterling pound. According to a MORI poll (2005), the majority of Britons – 57 per cent – were against adoption of the euro and 55 per cent of them would not change the decision even though the government asserted the support.<sup>44</sup> Additionally, the Eurozone crisis in 2008 was a reason for not accepting the euro as well.

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<sup>42</sup> The Penguin Companion to European Union. *Five economic tests* [online]. 1 October 2012. Available from: [https://penguincompaniontoeu.com/additional\\_entries/five-economic-tests/](https://penguincompaniontoeu.com/additional_entries/five-economic-tests/) [Retrieved 28 February 2018]

<sup>43</sup> Investopedia. *Why doesn't England use the euro?* [online]. Undated. Available from: <https://www.investopedia.com/ask/answers/100314/why-doesnt-england-use-euro.asp> [Retrieved 28 February 2018]

<sup>44</sup> OAKLAND, John. *British civilization: an introduction*. 6. ed., Reprint. (twice). London [u.a.]: Routledge, 2007. ISBN 0415365228. p. 124

## 4. THE BRITISH EURO-SCEPTICISM THAT HAS LED TO BREXIT

The integration of European states has always met with the opposition, but with the support as well. The opinions of the British population and the British political parties on the membership of the EEC, later of the EU, have been changing with time.

In the course of time, two terms for the designation for these who support the European integration and these, who are against it, arose. The enthusiastic ones who endorse the relationship and collaboration with other European states got a name “Euro-enthusiasts” or “Europhiles”. The others who are critical about European integration and who are confident that integration means a weakening of sovereignty, got a name “Euro-sceptics” (or “Euro-critics”).

When British Euro-sceptics began to speak openly about Britain’s withdrawal from the EU, the new term that designated this intention started to be use. The term Brexit, mixture of words Britain and exit, was used for the first time in 2012 by expert on European law and politics Peter Wilding in his article “Stumbling towards the Brexit” on the blog BlogActiv.eu. He found an inspiration in word “Grexit” that depicted the potential withdrawal of Greece from the Eurozone.<sup>45</sup>

During the debates about the closeness of the British relationship with the EU, terms as hard Brexit and soft Brexit were used. Both refer to the extreme kinds of British relationship to the EU in the post-Brexit period. The hard Brexit could include refusal of the free movement of people even if that meant abandoning of the single market. The soft Brexit is the very opposite of the hard Brexit and its form is similar to Norway’s relationship to the EU – Norway is not

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<sup>45</sup> Euroactiv. *Slovo brexit sa po prvý raz objavilo na blogu EurActiv* [online]. 1 October 2012. Available from: <https://euractiv.sk/section/brexit-referendum/news/slovo-brexit-sa-po-prvy-raz-objavilo-na-euractiv/> [Retrieved 15 March 2018]



the EU member however, it is still the member of the single market and a part of the free movement of people.<sup>46</sup>

#### 4.1. Labour as the First Anti-European Party

British political parties have always been split because of the European case. In contrast to other European countries, where, at the beginnings, the European integration and cooperation were warmly welcomed, Britain was indifferent from the very beginning. Winston Churchill expressed his support to unification of Europe; however, the subsequent government and the Conservative Prime Minister Anthony Eden, were not really interested in the European issue. In 1956, Eden was invited to Messina conference, where the outlines of the Treaty of Rome were stated. He did not attend the conference himself, instead sending an envoy from the Board of Trade instead. "Gentlemen, you are trying to negotiate something you will never be able to negotiate. But if negotiated, it will not be ratified. And if ratified it will not work,"<sup>47</sup> these words of refusal were said in Messina, on behalf of British Prime Minister.<sup>48</sup>

Nevertheless, it was not the Conservative party, who was profoundly anti-European (as it is nowadays) in the past. For most of the time of the twentieth century the Eurosceptical attitude dominated in the Labour Party. Although, there were a few pro-European members, the party as whole was anti-European. When Labour was elected in 1945, the first ideas and propositions of the integrated Europe came, however, the Labour Party assumed a negative position to them. This position has not been changed during forthcoming decades, due to worries that "free trade would export British jobs to the continent,"<sup>49</sup> and due to fear of loss of the sovereignty. In 1962 the Labour MPs even founded an 'Anti-Common Market Committee'. In the same year, the contemporary Labour leader, Hugh

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<sup>46</sup> HUNT, Alex, WHEELER, Brian. *Brexit: All you need to know about the UK leaving the EU*. BBC News [online]. 26 March 2018. Available from: <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-32810887> [Retrieved 27 March 2018]

<sup>47</sup> MACSHANE, Denis. *Brexit: How Britain Left Europe* [online]. Fully revised edition. London: I.B. Tauris & Co., 2016. ISBN 9781784537845. p.58

<sup>48</sup> MACSHANE, Denis. *Brexit: How Britain Left Europe* [online]. Fully revised edition. London: I.B. Tauris & Co., 2016. ISBN 9781784537845. p. 57-58

<sup>49</sup> OAKLAND, John. *Contemporary Britain: a survey with texts*. New York: Routledge, 2001. ISBN 0-415150388. p.161



Gaitskell, marked the Common Market as “the end of Britain as an independent European state...the end of a thousand years of history.”<sup>50</sup> Clement Attlee, another Labour member, a former Prime Minister, who is known for his Eurosceptic opinions, said in 1967:” The Common Market. The so-called Common Market of six nations. Know them all well. Very recently this country spent a great deal of blood and treasure rescuing four of ´em from attacks by the other two.”<sup>51</sup>

## 4.2. From Edward Heath up to Margaret Thatcher

On the other hand, the right supported European integration more than the left. It was Harold Macmillan, the Conservative Prime Minister, who appealed for the British entry to the EEC in 1961, although he was not successful. Moreover, the Conservative Edward Heath extensively plugged the EEC in the British politics, and under his premiership Britain finally joined the EEC in 1973. After joining the EEC, Heath said, that Britain joined EEC only with the 'full-hearted consent of the British people' – what Labour interpreted as the necessity of the referendum. Two years later, in 1975, the new Labour Prime Minister, Harold Wilson, declared the first Referendum about continuing membership of the EEC, in which Britons decided to remain in the Community. A Yes vote (yes for staying in the EEC) in the Referendum was supported by the Conservatives and what is important – by the press (in contrast to nowadays), nevertheless also by the pro-European Labour MPs.<sup>52</sup>

Despite Labour’s increasing sworn hostility, British euro-enthusiasm and support of the EEC was at its height in 1980s, when Britain took an active part in the concerns of the EEC. The Labour party was at the beginning of the eighties split more than ever, because of the European issue and because of stating the quitting the EEC as its officially party policy. The Labour pro-European members decided to leave their excessively anti-European colleagues and they formed the

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<sup>50</sup> SANDBROOK, Dominic. *Never had it so good: a history of Britain from Suez to the Beatles*. Pbk. ed. London: Abacus, 2006. ISBN 9780349115306. p. 534

<sup>51</sup> SANDBROOK, Dominic. *Never had it so good: a history of Britain from Suez to the Beatles*. Pbk. ed. London: Abacus, 2006. ISBN 9780349115306. p. 220

<sup>52</sup> MACSHANE, Denis. *Brexit: How Britain Left Europe* [online]. Fully revised edition. London: I.B. Tauris & Co., 2016. ISBN 9781784537845. p.50-52

Social Democratic Party (SDP). In 1983 elections was the Labour party defeated by Conservatives and it lost more than 3 million of voters – mainly because it was too hostile to Europe.

Nevertheless, at the end of eighties, euro-enthusiasm in the Conservative party started to fade as well. The Conservative Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, who had supported the membership of the EEC in 1975, who had criticised the Labour government for not signing up to the Exchange rate mechanism (ERM) in 1978 and who had signed, in 1986, the Single European Act – one of the most integrative acts, which created the single European market – started to fight a large number of “battles” against the Brussels. In fact, she was in despair of the European Union and its development. Her desperation had several reasons and one of them was caused by Jacques Delors, President of the European Commission. In July 1988 he announced, in one of his speeches, the idea, that 80 per cent of economic, social and tax legislation would be realized on European level, which met with the opposition in London. In September 1988 Delors disquieted Margaret Thatcher by his positive speech about trade unions, that Thatcher constantly criticised. She took it personally, as a criticism of herself. Because of the “battles”, that she led against Europe and her increasing scepticism, Thatcher had a several disputes with the members of her cabinet. In 1989 Nigel Lawson, Chancellor of the Exchequer and Geoffrey Howe, Foreign Secretary, resigned from their posts to protest against Thatcher. She was more and more criticised for her scepticism and that led to her resignation in 1990.<sup>53</sup>

#### **4.3. Pro-European Conservative John Major and Anti-European Conservative Party**

John Major – a Conservative who became a Prime Minister after Margaret Thatcher in 1990 – was much more Euro-enthusiastic than his predecessor; however, his cabinet was split. In 1992, new generation of the Conservatives – including David Cameron – came to the House of Commons. This new generation perceived Margaret Thatcher as the heroine that they wanted to follow. Because

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<sup>53</sup> MACSHANE, Denis. *Brexit: How Britain Left Europe* [online]. Fully revised edition. London: I.B. Tauris & Co., 2016. ISBN 9781784537845. p.62-80

of these new-coming Euro-critics the Major's ambitions "to restore Britain to the heart of Europe"<sup>54</sup> were hard to realize. The Euro-sceptics of Major's cabinet refused to support the Maastricht Treaty in 1992, by which the member states pledged, among other things, to be a part of Economic and Monetary Union and to adopt the euro. The employment secretary, Michael Howard, threatened to resign if no exceptions from Europe's social policy were negotiated for Britain. Thus, foreign and Commonwealth diplomats conceived the conception of opt-outs, so the Maastricht Treaty's Social Chapter did not relate to Britain. The withdrawal of the pound sterling from the European ERM in 1992 was another situation, that made the British Euroscepticism, to John Major's displeasure, even stronger. Increasing Euroscepticism in his own party perturbed John Major so much that in 1993 he had described three Eurosceptic members of his cabinet as "bastards" and in 1995 he had even resigned from his post of the party leader in 1995; nevertheless, he was re-elected in the forthcoming voting. In 1997 when it was defeated in elections by Labour party, the Conservative party was increasingly Eurosceptic.<sup>55</sup>

#### **4.4. Thirteen-year Period under the Labour Prime Premiership**

From 1997 up to 2010 power was assumed by Labour Prime Ministers. From 1997 to 2007 it was Tony Blair; with his successor Gordon Brown becoming a Prime Minister in years 2007-2010. Both of them were Euro-enthusiastic; however, concerning the European single currency, Blair promised a referendum if adoption of the euro would be under consideration by British government and Brown was even much more distrustful, in contrast to Blair, of the adoption of the euro.<sup>56</sup>

In 1997 after defeating the Conservatives, Tony Blair became a Prime Minister. At that time the Commons negotiated and accepted the Amsterdam Treaty, which modified the Maastricht Treaty. One of the first Blair's decision as

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<sup>54</sup> MACSHANE, Denis. *Brexit: How Britain Left Europe* [online]. Fully revised edition. London: I.B. Tauris & Co., 2016. ISBN 9781784537845. p. 81

<sup>55</sup> MACSHANE, Denis. *Brexit: How Britain Left Europe*. Fully revised edition. London: I.B. Tauris & Co., 2016. ISBN 9781784537845. p. 79-83

<sup>56</sup> MACSHANE, Denis. *Brexit: How Britain Left Europe*. Fully revised edition. London: I.B. Tauris & Co., 2016. ISBN 9781784537845. p. 86

Prime Minister was to accept the Social Chapter of the Maastricht Treaty against which the Conservative cabinet had protested. Tony Blair was firmly pro-European and that was the reason why he was a target of William Hague's – anti-European Conservative leader elected in 1997 – attacks. In 2001 Hague described at the Conservative's conference the "plain" vision of Britain if pro-European Prime Minister Tony Blair was re-elected:" Let me take you on a journey to a foreign land – to Britain after a second term of Tony Blair. The Royal Mint melting down pound coins as the euro notes start to circulate. Our currency and our ability to set our own interest rates gone forever. The Chancellor returning from Brussels carrying instructions to raise taxes still further."<sup>57</sup>

Nevertheless, Blair was re-elected and started his second term as the Prime Minister in 2001. In 2004, Blair was the first of the European leaders, who announced the referendum concerning the Constitution of the European Union; however, the referendum was never realized because the Constitution had been vetoed in France and in the Netherlands. Notwithstanding the expected criticism from Eurosceptics, Blair endorsed British increase in the EU budget for new-coming member states in 2004. Despite all the criticism from the successor of William Hague, euro-sceptic Michael Howard and in fact, whole the Conservative party, Blair was re-elected as the Prime Minister in 2005 once again. Nevertheless, since the very beginning of his third term, he dealt with the dissatisfaction over his policy in Iraq and as a result he promised to resign before forthcoming general elections – he did so in 2007 and was succeeded by Gordon Brown.<sup>58 59</sup>

Gordon Brown was undoubtedly Euro-enthusiastic, though not as much as Tony Blair. He saw some aspects of the EU in common sceptical way. In Brown's first months in the office the Parliament ratified the Treaty of Lisbon (also known as EU Reform Treaty) which replaced the EU Constitution – which was refused by the French and the Dutch in 2005 – and at the end of the same year it was signed by the representatives of the EU member states, including current British

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<sup>57</sup> MACSHANE, Denis. *Brexit: How Britain Left Europe*. Fully revised edition. London: I.B. Tauris & Co., 2016. ISBN 9781784537845. p. 110

<sup>58</sup> MACSHANE, Denis. *Brexit: How Britain Left Europe*. Fully revised edition. London: I.B. Tauris & Co., 2016. ISBN 9781784537845. p. 98-106

<sup>59</sup> GALLAGHER, Tom. *Tony Blair*. Encyclopædia Britannica [online]. Undated. Available from: <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Tony-Blair> [Retrieved 21 March 2018]

Prime Minister, Gordon Brown. The British press criticised him for not announcing the referendum on this issue – like it had been announced on the original EU Constitution by Tony Blair. During his Prime premiership, Gordon Brown had to face the worldwide financial crisis and his own cabinet member’s dissatisfaction with his leadership in Labour party. The elections to the European Parliament in 2009 also did not go well for the Labour Party. It gained only 15.7 per cent of the votes. One of the members of Brown’s cabinet, the secretary of state for work and pension, James Purnell, even resigned from his post and claimed that Brown’s “continued leadership makes a Conservative victory more, not less likely....I am therefore calling on you to stand aside to give our party a fighting chance of winning.”<sup>60</sup> In British general election on 6<sup>th</sup> May 2010, the Labour party lost its majority in Commons. Because it was unable to negotiate a coalition government with Liberal democrats, Brown resigned from the position of the Prime Minister.<sup>61</sup>

In these years dominated by Labour party, three treaties that commit Britain to the European Union were signed – the Nice, the Amsterdam and the Lisbon treaties. The Amsterdam and the Nice treaties were minimalist in contrast to the other treaties which had been signed in the past – for example Maastricht Treaty or Single European Act. Nevertheless, they deepened the European integration as well – not to the satisfaction of Eurosceptic politicians. In connection with these treaties signed under the Labour government, the Eurosceptic Conservatives started to consider the exit from the EU openly.<sup>62</sup>

#### **4.5. David Cameron as the Party Leader and as the Prime Minister**

David Cameron, who was at that time a Conservative leader, became a Prime Minister after Gordon Brown’s resignation in 2010. He was strictly anti-European and when he stood to be a candidate to party leader in 2005 he was able

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<sup>60</sup> Encyclopædia Britannica. *Gordon Brown* [online]. Undated. Available from: <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Gordon-Brown> [Retrieved 21 March 2018]

<sup>61</sup> Encyclopædia Britannica. *Gordon Brown* [online]. Undated. Available from: <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Gordon-Brown> [Retrieved 21 March 2018]

<sup>62</sup> MACSHANE, Denis. *Brexit: How Britain Left Europe*. Fully revised edition. London: I.B. Tauris & Co., 2016. ISBN 9781784537845. p. 85

to use his Euroscepticism to impress the Eurosceptic party members much more than his evenly Eurosceptic rival David Davis. Davis was an equal rival to Cameron; however, his negative answer to question if he, as leader, would lead the Conservative party to withdrawal of European People's Party (EPP) – Party that unify all the conservative parties across Europe – was not satisfying to the party. In contrast to him, Cameron was doing very well – he answered the same question that he would approve the exit from EPP and that was enough to persuade the Conservative party that he was the right person to lead them. After Cameron was elected as the leader of the Conservatives, he criticised most of the decisions concerning Europe, made by the Labour government. One of these criticised decisions was, for example, not announcing a referendum on the Lisbon Treaty, which was also criticised by British press as mentioned and by William Hague, current shadow foreign secretary. In 2007, Cameron tendered a 'cast-iron guarantee' – that means that he would announce a referendum on the Lisbon Treaty if elected a Prime Minister.<sup>63</sup>

Additionally, the Conservatives were opposed to new wave of workers arriving from new EU member states to Britain – this anti-immigrant atmosphere contributed to the growth of anti-immigrant and racist parties as British National Party (BNP) and United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP). After elections to European Parliament in 2009, David Cameron kept the word that he gave when elected a Conservative Party leader and he pulled the party out of the EPP.<sup>64</sup>

Because none of the parties gained a majority in the 2010 general elections and because of the Gordon Brown's resignation, Cameron as the leader of the party that gained the largest number of votes was charged by Queen Elizabeth II. to put together a government and become a Prime Minister. Thus, the coalition of Conservatives and Liberal Democrats, led by Nick Clegg, emerged. The coalition seemed to work well, however, most of the Conservatives MPs were not contented with the coalition with the Liberal Democrats, who had been known as the most pro-European party in British politics. Especially they

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<sup>63</sup> MACSHANE, Denis. *Brexit: How Britain Left Europe*. Fully revised edition. London: I.B. Tauris & Co., 2016. ISBN 9781784537845. p. 114

<sup>64</sup> MACSHANE, Denis. *Brexit: How Britain Left Europe*. Fully revised edition. London: I.B. Tauris & Co., 2016. ISBN 9781784537845. p. 115-116

disliked their pro-European leader Nick Clegg and they started to urge to Cameron to pledge a referendum about leaving the EU.<sup>65</sup> Moreover, the Conservative voters were defected to anti-immigrant parties as UKIP. In 2013 Cameron, however, unwillingly and under the pressure of Eurosceptic members of his party, promised a referendum on continuing membership of the EU if the Conservative government will be re-elected in general elections in 2015.<sup>66</sup> Despite unfavourable opinion polls the Conservative Party won 2015 elections and majority of seats with 36.9 per cent. In fact, Cameron himself did not yearn for the referendum on the withdrawal of Britain from the EU, however his party and the voters of the Conservatives did. Soon after the Conservatives were elected for their second term the European Referendum Act 2015 (EU Referendum Bill) was introduced and ratified by the Commons – the Act sets that the referendum on continuing membership of the EU would be held no later than 31 December 2017.<sup>67</sup> Subsequently, David Cameron announced to the House of Commons in January 2016, that the referendum would take a place on 23 June that year.<sup>68</sup>

#### 4.6. The Referendum Campaigns

Campaigns for the European Union membership referendum unofficially started since that time Cameron announced the date of forthcoming referendum. Officially they took a place from 15 April 2016 and lasted up to the day of the referendum – 23<sup>rd</sup> of June.

The campaign for remaining a member of the EU “*Britain Stronger in Europe*” was declared as the official campaign for “Remain” by Electoral

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<sup>65</sup> WHEELER, Brian. *The David Cameron story*. BBC News [online]. 12 September 2016. Available from: <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-eu-referendum-36540101> [Retrieved 23 March 2018]

<sup>66</sup> MACSHANE, Denis. *Brexit: How Britain Left Europe*. Fully revised edition. London: I.B. Tauris & Co., 2016. ISBN 9781784537845. p. 118-119

<sup>67</sup> Statistics & Facts | Statista. *Brexit: United Kingdom exit from the European Union* [online]. Undated. Available from: <https://www.statista.com/topics/2971/eu-referendum/> [Retrieved 23 March 2018]

<sup>68</sup> WHEELER, Brian. *The David Cameron story*. BBC News [online]. 12 September 2016. Available from: <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-eu-referendum-36540101> [Retrieved 24 March 2018]

Commission on 13<sup>th</sup> April 2016.<sup>69</sup> This pro-European campaign was endorsed, for example, by Prime Minister David Cameron, Chancellor George Osborne, several Labour MPs, including their leader Jeremy Corbyn or Liberal Democrats. There also arose certain unofficially campaigns for Remain; however, they were not as numerous and noticeable as unofficially campaigns for Leave.<sup>70</sup>

“Vote Leave” was registered by Electoral Commission as official Leave campaign on 13<sup>th</sup> April 2016 as well.<sup>71</sup> Several key Conservative members as Michael Gove, Boris Johnson or former Conservative Chancellor Lord Lawson, but also a Labour MPs and many others backed the Vote Leave. Nigel Farage and his UKIP led their own campaign for the Leave vote and they took a part in *Leave.EU* campaign founded by UKIP former donor Arron Banks; however, they did not participate in *Vote Leave*. There were ran another campaign for Leave for example by The Trade Union and Socialist Coalition but also by others smaller groups.<sup>72</sup>

In the end, the *Britain Stronger in Europe* campaign was unsuccessful in persuading British voters to vote for Remain. 51.9 per cent of voters – 17.4 million of British population – had chosen to leave the European Union in the referendum in contrast to 16,1 million that wanted to remain.

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<sup>69</sup> Electoral Commission. *Electoral Commission designates 'Vote Leave Ltd' and 'The In Campaign Ltd' as lead campaigners at EU Referendum* [online]. 13 April 2016. Available from: <https://www.electoralcommission.org.uk/i-am-a/journalist/electoral-commission-media-centre/news-releases-referendums/electoral-commission-designates-vote-leave-ltd-and-the-in-campaign-ltd-as-lead-campaigners-at-eu-referendum> [Retrieved 27 March 2018]

<sup>70</sup> HUNT, Alex, WHEELER, Brian. *Brexit: All you need to know about the UK leaving the EU*. BBC News [online]. 26 March 2018. Available from: <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-32810887> [Retrieved 27 March 2018]

<sup>71</sup> Electoral Commission. *Electoral Commission designates 'Vote Leave Ltd' and 'The In Campaign Ltd' as lead campaigners at EU Referendum* [online]. 13 April 2016. Available from: <https://www.electoralcommission.org.uk/i-am-a/journalist/electoral-commission-media-centre/news-releases-referendums/electoral-commission-designates-vote-leave-ltd-and-the-in-campaign-ltd-as-lead-campaigners-at-eu-referendum> [Retrieved 27 March 2018]

<sup>71</sup> HUNT, Alex, WHEELER, Brian. *Brexit: All you need to know about the UK leaving the EU*. BBC News [online]. 26 March 2018. Available from: <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-32810887> [Retrieved 27 March 2018]

<sup>72</sup> HUNT, Alex, WHEELER, Brian. *Brexit: All you need to know about the UK leaving the EU*. BBC News [online]. 26 March 2018. Available from: <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-32810887> [Retrieved 27 March 2018]



## 4.7. The British Society and the European Union

The European Union has always been an issue that split all the political parties. Thus, when even the politicians are not able to reach an agreement about the European issue and political parties are disjointed because of it, the attitude of the society towards the EU could not be different; thus, the European issue do not split only the political parties, but society itself as well.

At the beginning of European integration British society was indifferent to European integration. According to Gallup poll from 1957 “39 per cent of respondents had never heard of the Common Market, and of those who had, only 35 per cent knew that France was a member, while 20 per cent thought that Britain had already joined”.<sup>73</sup>

Even in 1961, when the first negotiations about joining the EEC were held by British government, Gallup poll found that 48 per cent of respondents preferred Commonwealth, 19 per cent United States and only 18 per cent Europe as the most important ally for Britain<sup>74</sup>

Later, in the seventies, the public, thanks to politicians as Edward Heath and all the major party leaders that backed the EEC membership but also thanks to British press – which at that time supported British continuing membership of the EEC – came to understand that Europe and the EEC was more important for Britain than the Commonwealth. The 1975 referendum can be regarded as a proof – 67.2 per cent of Britons were in favour of the EEC in contrast to only 32.8 per cent against.<sup>75</sup>

At the beginning of the eighties British Euro-scepticism started to increase and most of the Britons regretted their decision to vote for staying in the EEC that

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<sup>73</sup> SANDBROOK, Dominic. *Never had it so good: a history of Britain from Suez to the Beatles*. Pbk. ed. London: Abacus, 2006. ISBN 9780349115306. p. 526

<sup>74</sup> SANDBROOK, Dominic. *White Heat: a history of Britain in the swinging sixties*. Pbk. ed. London: Abacus, 2007. ISBN 978-0349118208. p.223

<sup>75</sup> MORTIMORE, Roger. *Polling history: 40 years of British views on 'in or out' of Europe*. The Conversation [online]. 21 June 2016. Available from: <https://theconversation.com/polling-history-40-years-of-british-views-on-in-or-out-of-europe-61250> [Retrieved 26 March 2018]

they had made five years ago. It was evident at 1980 MORI poll that showed that 65 per cent of respondents would now vote to leave the EEC.<sup>76</sup>

At the end of the eighties, the polls suggested that British society became more enthusiastic about Europe than in the past years – this pro-European atmosphere lasted until 1999. It was primarily the Monetary Union that caused decay of support of the EU by British society. Most of the Britons endorsed the EU itself, however, the idea of the common currency was unpleasant for them – and that left its marks on their attitude towards the European Union as unit.<sup>77</sup>

The immigration policy has been another reason for Euroscepticism in Britain – the migrants from EU members states (mainly these that joined in 2004, especially Poland) were not perceived well by the Britons. When the migrant crisis started in 2014 British relationship to the new-coming migrants got even worse.

It is the referendum on the British membership of the European Union that shows the most recent opinion of British society on the EU. With 51.9 per cent for Leave the Britons chose to withdraw from the EU and British government respects the public opinion.

#### **4.8. Two-year Process of British Withdrawing from the European Union**

The decision to withdraw Britain from the European Union in the referendum is only the beginning, however, as withdrawal itself is not so simply to realize. According to Article 50 of the Lisbon Treaty signed by all the member states of the EU, every member state has a right to withdraw from the EU, but

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<sup>76</sup> MORTIMORE, Roger. *Polling history: 40 years of British views on 'in or out' of Europe*. The Conversation [online]. 21 June 2016. Available from: <https://theconversation.com/polling-history-40-years-of-british-views-on-in-or-out-of-europe-61250> [Retrieved 26 March 2018]

<sup>77</sup> MORTIMORE, Roger. *Polling history: 40 years of British views on 'in or out' of Europe*. The Conversation [online]. 21 June 2016. Available from: <https://theconversation.com/polling-history-40-years-of-british-views-on-in-or-out-of-europe-61250> [Retrieved 26 March 2018]

there is necessity to negotiate its exit with the EU and go through two years lasting process of withdrawal.<sup>78</sup>

Even though David Cameron promised he would stay in the office, whatever the result of the referendum would be, he resigned the day when British people decided to leave the EU. Former Home secretary Theresa May became his successor. Although she had campaigned for Remain, she announced that Brexit is what British people want and that “Brexit means Brexit”. Following the Article 50, on 29<sup>th</sup> March 2017 she wrote a letter to the EU council president Donald Tusk in which she stated her negotiating goals and the two-year process of Britain’s leaving the EU began.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> The Lisbon Treaty. *Article 50* [online]. Undated. Available from: <http://www.lisbon-treaty.org/wcm/the-lisbon-treaty/treaty-on-European-union-and-comments/title-6-final-provisions/137-article-50.html> [Retrieved 28 March 2018]

<sup>79</sup> HUNT, Alex, WHEELER, Brian. *Brexit: All you need to know about the UK leaving the EU*. BBC News [online]. 26 March 2018. Available from: <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-32810887> [Retrieved 27 March 2018]

## **5. THE COVERAGE OF BREXIT IN THE BRITISH PRESS**

As was mentioned in the first chapter, the British press is not controlled by the state and it is absolutely independent of it. However, particularly newspapers support particular parties – or usually only one party. The political orientation of the newspapers is usually determined by their owner.

Despite all the modern technologies, the press is one of the most important means of obtaining the information that influences the British society in the same manner as television or the Internet. The British press has always been interested in the European issue; it was engaged in 1975 referendum (when the newspapers promoted the staying in the EEC – in most of the cases), it led the discussions about the European single currency – the euro, about the European Constitution, about the Lisbon Treaty and, of course, about Brexit.

In fact, during the last years, most of the British newspapers have been anti-European. In some cases, they even misinformed their readers with the “facts” about the EU in order to convince them that the EU and its regulations represented a threat for Britain and its sovereignty. Thus, it was not a great surprise when most of the tabloids but also broadsheets promoted the leaving of the EU.

### **5.1. Daily Mail**

One of those who endorsed leaving the EU was the tabloid *Daily Mail*. Despite the fact that the tabloid did not officially express its support for Leave until the last week of the referendum campaigns, its anti-European orientation indicated that it would endorse voting of the Leave since the very beginning. The *Daily Mail*'s articles aimed to provoke the British society to distrust the European Union.

#### **5.1.1. Before the Referendum**

On 21<sup>st</sup> June 2016, only two days before holding the referendum, the Daily Mail published the article “*If you believe in Britain, vote Leave. Lies, greedy elites*”

*and a divided, dying Europe - why we could have a great future outside a broken EU.*" In this article the *Daily Mail* argues for Leave and states the arguments against the EU as the domination of the EU, the EU regulations and loss of the British sovereignty related to the EU domination.

"More than 40 years on, some 50 or 60 per cent of our laws and 70 per cent of regulations are dictated to us by Brussels, whose power is only matched by its incompetence, corruption and hunger to impose ever more statist regulations on 28 utterly diverse member nations."<sup>80</sup>

Other arguments of *the Daily Mail* against the EU have been focused on migration. Migration has been a tricky problem in Britain – in the past there was a problem with the Poles, who, after Poland's accession to the EU migrated to Britain in search of better work. Nowadays, there is some controversy surrounding immigration from Muslim countries, which causes concern among certain parts of the population.<sup>81</sup>

Anti-European British press takes advantage of the situation, instigating anti-European atmosphere in Britain by its articles concerning intentional misinformation about the migrant crisis and immigrants coming to Britain. On 15<sup>th</sup> June 2016 only a few days before the referendum, the *Daily Mail* published the article "*As politicians squabble over border controls, yet another lorry load of migrants arrives in the UK from mainland Europe*". The article deals with eleven migrants from Kuwait and Iraq who were on the run in Italian lorry and who were intercepted in London. In the article the *Daily Mail* declares that "Under the free movement edict, 500 million EU citizens enjoy free access to the UK. This will continue if Britain votes to Remain on June 23."<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> Daily Mail. *If you believe in Britain, vote Leave. Lies, greedy elites and a divided, dying Europe - why we could have a great future outside a broken EU* [online]. 21 June 2016. Available from: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/debate/article-3653385/Lies-greedy-elites-divided-dying-Europe-Britain-great-future-outside-broken-EU.html> [Retrieved 1 April 2018]

<sup>81</sup> KERN, Soeren. *The Islamization of Britain in 2016*. Gate Stone Institute[online]. 9 January 2017. Available from: <https://www.gatestoneinstitute.org/9741/islamization-britain> [Retrieved 1 April 2018]

<sup>82</sup> SLACK, James, GROVES, Jason. *As politicians squabble over border controls, yet another lorry load of migrants arrives in the UK from mainland Europe* [online]. 15 June 2016. Available

In the article “*Undecided? Read this essential guide giving 20 reasons why you should choose to leave*”, published on 22<sup>nd</sup> June 2016, the *Daily Mail* promotes leaving the EU for reasons as the migration, British sovereignty and independence of the EU, but also for the economic reasons. In this article the *Daily Mail* made a list of twenty reasons why the withdrawing of the EU would be beneficial for Britain.<sup>83</sup>

The contribution to the EU budget had been discussed for many times since Britain joined the EEC. In the article the *Daily Mail* states the contribution as one of the reasons why Britons should vote for leaving Europe in the referendum. “We pay far more into the EU budget than we get back — making a net contribution of around £8.5 billion last year (£23 million a day), which is more than we spend on the police service or border controls. The NHS costs £8.5 billion a month and the Health Service would get an extra £5 billion a year as a result of Brexit”, wrote the *Daily Mail* one day before the referendum.<sup>84</sup>

According to the *Daily Mail*’s article mentioned above, the EU economy growth was not as large as the growth of the British economy and the tabloid gave it as the example why the quitting of the EU would be good for Britain.

“By the end of last year, the UK economy was 6.8 per cent larger than it was at the start of 2008, whereas the EU economy was only 1.9 per cent bigger (France’s grew by 2.9 per cent and Italy’s is 8.8 per cent smaller than in 2008)).”<sup>85</sup>

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from: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3643140/Shocking-moment-migrants-pour-cargo-container-tell-police-stopped-lorry-London-Europe.html> [Retrieved 1 April 2018]

<sup>83</sup> Daily Mail. *Undecided? Read this essential guide giving 20 reasons why you should choose to leave* [online]. 22 June 2016. Available from: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3653526/Undecided-Read-essential-guide-giving-20-reasons-choose-leave.html> [Retrieved 1 April 2018]

<sup>84</sup> Daily Mail. *Undecided? Read this essential guide giving 20 reasons why you should choose to leave* [online]. 22 June 2016. Available from: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3653526/Undecided-Read-essential-guide-giving-20-reasons-choose-leave.html> [Retrieved 1 April 2018]

<sup>85</sup> Daily Mail. *Undecided? Read this essential guide giving 20 reasons why you should choose to leave* [online]. 22 June 2016. Available from: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3653526/Undecided-Read-essential-guide-giving-20-reasons-choose-leave.html> [Retrieved 1 April 2018]

### 5.1.2. After the Referendum

When David Cameron resigned as the result of the referendum that he had lost, the *Daily Mail* published articles such as “*It all ends in tears: David Cameron stands down in the wake of historic Brexit vote with emotional resignation speech as rival Boris Johnson makes first pitch to take over*” or “*David Cameron's resignation to set off leadership scramble*”. The first of the mentioned articles, published on 23<sup>rd</sup> June 2016, describes Cameron’s speech of resignation. The second of the articles was published a day later and it deals with the reasons of Cameron’s resignation and there are potential proposals of his successor.

“The often cheerful prime minister, who had seemed to live a charmed political life, was laid low not by his enemies...Instead, his fate was sealed by two former close friends within the Conservative Party who helped lead the campaign to leave the EU: Oxford University mate Boris Johnson and close family friend Michael Gove.”<sup>86</sup>

After announcing the results of the referendum, the *Daily Mail* same as the other pro-Brexit press published articles that celebrated British withdrawal from the EU. In the article “*Take a bow, Britain! The quiet people of our country rise up against an arrogant, out-of-touch political class and a contemptuous Brussels elite*” the *Daily Mail* celebrates the results of the referendum. The tabloid also discussed the politicians who “won” and who “lost”. One of those discussed politicians was David Cameron, according to the *Daily Mail* his leading of the Remain campaign was not done well and that was a reason why the Britons had chosen to leave the EU.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> Daily Mail. *David Cameron's resignation to set off leadership scramble*[online]. 24 June 2016. Available from: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/ap/article-3657989/David-Camerons-resignation-set-leadership-scramble.html> [Retrieved 1 April 2018]

<sup>87</sup> Daily Mail. *Take a bow, Britain! The quiet people of our country rise up against an arrogant, out-of-touch political class and a contemptuous Brussels elite* [online]. 25 June 2016. Available from: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/debate/article-3659143/DAILY-MAIL-COMMENT-bow-Britain-quiet-people-country-rise-against-arrogant-touch-political-class-contemptuous-Brussels-elite.html> [Retrieved 2 April 2018]

“And what a disastrous campaign he then conducted. Instead of trying to persuade voters of his positive view of the EU, he threw everything into Project Fear, prophesying Armageddon if we withdrew.”<sup>88</sup>

Taking into consideration that the *Daily Mail* has been anti-European press and endorsed the Leave vote, it is no surprise that the politicians who represented Leave and who became the winners of the referendum were given a more favourable coverage.

“Then there are the winners — among them Michael Gove, who brought high intelligence and discipline to the Leave campaign, Iain Duncan Smith, whose convictions never wavered, Labour's Gisela Stuart, the feisty Priti Patel, Nigel Farage (without whom neither the referendum nor Brexit would have happened) and the extraordinarily eloquent Tory MEP, Daniel Hannan.”<sup>89</sup>

Regarding Boris Johnson, who has also been one of the Leave vote supporters the *Daily Mail* wrote that “It will be surprising if he doesn't emerge among the favourites to succeed Mr Cameron.”<sup>90</sup>

At the end of the article the *Daily Mail* expresses its respect for their readers who voted for Remain and also its belief that the fears of the Remain voters about Britain without the EU will prove as groundless. The tabloid also points out that there is no place for recrimination and triumphalism, because “After a campaign that often descended into bitterness and rancour, it's a day to start building

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<sup>88</sup> Daily Mail. *Take a bow, Britain! The quiet people of our country rise up against an arrogant, out-of-touch political class and a contemptuous Brussels elite* [online]. 25 June 2016. Available from: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/debate/article-3659143/DAILY-MAIL-COMMENT-bow-Britain-quiet-people-country-rise-against-arrogant-touch-political-class-contemptuous-Brussels-elite.html> [Retrieved 2 April 2018]

<sup>89</sup> Daily Mail. *Take a bow, Britain! The quiet people of our country rise up against an arrogant, out-of-touch political class and a contemptuous Brussels elite* [online]. 25 June 2016. Available from: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/debate/article-3659143/DAILY-MAIL-COMMENT-bow-Britain-quiet-people-country-rise-against-arrogant-touch-political-class-contemptuous-Brussels-elite.html> [Retrieved 2 April 2018]

<sup>90</sup> Daily Mail. *Take a bow, Britain! The quiet people of our country rise up against an arrogant, out-of-touch political class and a contemptuous Brussels elite* [online]. 25 June 2016. Available from: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/debate/article-3659143/DAILY-MAIL-COMMENT-bow-Britain-quiet-people-country-rise-against-arrogant-touch-political-class-contemptuous-Brussels-elite.html> [Retrieved 2 April 2018]



bridges — both within our political parties and between Britain and the rest of Europe.”<sup>91</sup>

## 5.2. The Guardian

In the article “*EU referendum: guide to the UK's biggest political decision of the century*” published on 7<sup>th</sup> March 2016, more than two months before the referendum, is evident that *The Guardian* made an attempt to stick to the facts in its articles. In the article *The Guardian* states only the facts about the EU, about British relationship with the organization and it states the reasons why it would be better for Britain to remain in the EU.

### 5.2.1. Before the Referendum

For a long time, *The Guardian* has been one of the pro-European broadsheets ranking among the most influential British newspapers. On 20<sup>th</sup> June 2016 *The Guardian* announced its support for the Remain vote in the forthcoming referendum about the European Union in its article “*The Guardian view on the EU Referendum: Keep connected and inclusive, not angry and isolated.*”

*The Guardian* attempted to persuade the British voters to vote “by their heads” not “by their hearts” and to do not succumb to their feelings influenced by anti-European campaign that misled and misinformed the British society for the purpose of convincing people of voting for Leave in the referendum. The reason why *The Guardian* urged to vote for Remain was its conviction that Britain should stay in the centre of the European Union and cooperate with the other European states in such a way as it has been until now. „A better world means working across borders, not sheltering behind them”, wrote *The Guardian* in the article.<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> Daily Mail. *Take a bow, Britain! The quiet people of our country rise up against an arrogant, out-of-touch political class and a contemptuous Brussels elite* [online]. 25 June 2016. Available from: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/debate/article-3659143/DAILY-MAIL-COMMENT-bow-Britain-quiet-people-country-rise-against-arrogant-touch-political-class-contemptuous-Brussels-elite.html> [Retrieved 2 April 2018]

<sup>92</sup> The Guardian. *The Guardian view on the EU Referendum: Keep connected and inclusive, not angry and isolated* [online]. 20 June 2016. Available from:

According to *The Guardian*, British society's political opinions and especially these on the EU have been influenced also by the migrant crisis that the European Union has faced since 2014. Nevertheless, *The Guardian* also pointed out that the situation is not as serious as it seems to be and that for Britain is better to solve the problem as the member of the EU rather than facing it alone.<sup>93</sup>

"More broadly, there is no crisis in Europe which is so serious that it would be better for the British prime minister to be outside the EU knocking on the door pleading to be heard rather than inside the room sorting things out."<sup>94</sup>

*The Guardian* also pointed out that leaving the EU was aim of Nigel Farage; the current anti-European UKIP leader was one of the promoters of the Leave vote. By this information and by explaining that taking Britain out of the EU was exactly what Farage wanted, the broadsheet meant to persuade opponents of Nigel Farage and his politics to not vote for Leave.<sup>95</sup>

"Those who have not yet made up their mind in this campaign should ask themselves this: do you want to live in a Britain in the image of Nigel Farage? Yes or no? For that's the choice on offer. If the answer is no, then vote remain."<sup>96</sup>

At the end of the article *The Guardian* encourages people to vote for Remain in the referendum.

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<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/jun/20/the-guardian-view-on-the-eu-referendum-keep-connected-and-inclusive-not-angry-and-isolated> [Retrieved 7 April 2018]

<sup>93</sup> The Guardian. *The Guardian view on the EU Referendum: Keep connected and inclusive, not angry and isolated* [online]. 20 June 2016. Available from:

<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/jun/20/the-guardian-view-on-the-eu-referendum-keep-connected-and-inclusive-not-angry-and-isolated> [Retrieved 7 April 2018]

<sup>94</sup> The Guardian. *The Guardian view on the EU Referendum: Keep connected and inclusive, not angry and isolated* [online]. 20 June 2016. Available from:

<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/jun/20/the-guardian-view-on-the-eu-referendum-keep-connected-and-inclusive-not-angry-and-isolated> [Retrieved 7 April 2018]

<sup>95</sup> The Guardian. *The Guardian view on the EU Referendum: Keep connected and inclusive, not angry and isolated* [online]. 20 June 2016. Available from:

<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/jun/20/the-guardian-view-on-the-eu-referendum-keep-connected-and-inclusive-not-angry-and-isolated> [Retrieved 7 April 2018]

<sup>96</sup> The Guardian. *The Guardian view on the EU Referendum: Keep connected and inclusive, not angry and isolated* [online]. 20 June 2016. Available from:

<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/jun/20/the-guardian-view-on-the-eu-referendum-keep-connected-and-inclusive-not-angry-and-isolated> [Retrieved 7 April 2018]

“Vote this week. Vote for a united country that reaches out to the world, and vote against a divided nation that turns inwards. Vote to remain.”<sup>97</sup>

## 5.2.2. After the Referendum

On 24<sup>th</sup> June, a day after the referendum, *The Guardian* informed the British society, but also the rest of the world, about David Cameron’s resignation in the article “*David Cameron resigns after UK votes to leave European Union*”. Moreover, in the article *The Guardian* comments David Cameron’s failure in the referendum by following words: “Yet he had underestimated the backing Vote Leave would receive on his own backbenches; and reckoned without the charismatic and popular former mayor of London, Boris Johnson, becoming its figurehead.”<sup>98</sup>

With regard to David Cameron’s resignation *The Guardian* made a suggestion to potential Prime Minister, who would be in charge since October 2016.

“Party modernisers are likely to rally around an alternative candidate – perhaps Theresa May, Stephen Crabb or Nicky Morgan – in an effort to stop Johnson and other leave campaigners, who tend to be on the right of the party.

George Osborne’s chances of succeeding the prime minister are effectively over after he fought so forcefully alongside Cameron to remain in the EU.”<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> The Guardian. *The Guardian view on the EU Referendum: Keep connected and inclusive, not angry and isolated* [online]. 20 June 2016. Available from:

<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/jun/20/the-guardian-view-on-the-eu-referendum-keep-connected-and-inclusive-not-angry-and-isolated> [Retrieved 7 April 2018]

<sup>98</sup> STEWART, Heather, MASON, Rowena, SYAL, Rajeev. *David Cameron resigns after UK votes to leave European Union*. The Guardian [online]. 24 June 2016. Available from:

<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/24/david-cameron-resigns-after-uk-votes-to-leave-european-union> [Retrieved 8 April 2018]

<sup>99</sup> STEWART, Heather, MASON, Rowena, SYAL, Rajeev. *David Cameron resigns after UK votes to leave European Union*. The Guardian [online]. 24 June 2016. Available from:

<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/24/david-cameron-resigns-after-uk-votes-to-leave-european-union> [Retrieved 8 April 2018]

Like the other newspapers *The Guardian* has dealt in its articles with the economic situation related to the consequences of Brexit. One of them has been a fall of pound sterling that fell to its lowest level since 1985 after the EU referendum.<sup>100</sup>

*The Guardian* published the articles “*David Cameron resigns after UK votes to leave European Union*” and “*UK votes to leave EU after dramatic night divides nation*” where the slump of the pound is described.

“The value of the pound swung wildly on currency markets as initial confidence among investors expecting a remain vote was dented by some of the early referendum results, triggering falls of close to 10% and its biggest one-day fall ever.”<sup>101</sup>

The article “*How did UK end up voting to leave the European Union?*” which was published on 24<sup>th</sup> June 2016 deals with several factors which influenced the referendum. As one of these factors *The Guardian* determined the Euro-scepticism in British politics and across Britain; *The Guardian* emphasized that it has been the British Euro-scepticism, persisting since the British accession to the EEC, that led Britain out of Europe. The article deals with growing hostility to Europe which has increased in the Conservative Party during decades. According to *The Guardian*, for David Cameron was not possible to resist the pressure which was exerted on him by his anti-European colleagues and that even deepened the anti-European atmosphere in the British politics.<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> ASTHANA, Anuschka, QUINN, Ben, MASON, Rowena. *UK votes to leave EU after dramatic night divides nation*. The Guardian [online]. 24 June 2016. Available from: <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/24/britain-votes-for-brexiteu-referendum-david-cameron> [Retrieved 8 April 2018]

<sup>101</sup> ASTHANA, Anuschka, QUINN, Ben, MASON, Rowena. *UK votes to leave EU after dramatic night divides nation*. The Guardian [online]. 24 June 2016. Available from: <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/24/britain-votes-for-brexiteu-referendum-david-cameron> [Retrieved 8 April 2018]

<sup>102</sup> MASON, Rowena. *How did UK end up voting to leave the European Union?* The Guardian [online]. 24 June 2016. Available from: <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/24/how-did-uk-end-up-voting-leave-european-union> [Retrieved 8 April 2018]

“Britain’s self-ejection from Europe is the culmination not just of four months of heady campaigning but four decades of latent Euroscepticism, which, through good times and bad, never really went away.”<sup>103</sup>

Similar to the other newspapers, *The Guardian* has dealt with migration crisis which had hit Europe in 2014, but also with migration of the EU-citizens to Britain. Thus, another factor analysed in the article is the migration factor. According to *The Guardian*, migration, which has always been a controversial topic in Britain, was one of the factors that influenced the results of the referendum.<sup>104</sup>

“The leave camp tried to make the arguments for Brexit more about the economy and sovereignty than immigration, but quickly found that “taking back control” over immigration was the most resonant message. They also linked immigration to shortages of primary school places, difficulty in getting a GP appointment, and depressed wages.”<sup>105</sup>

In the article *The Guardian* makes a reference to one of the long-standing rehashed topics – the British sovereignty. *The Guardian* emphasized that the EU was not the organization which had been discussed in 1975 referendum; the Britons had voted for staying in the EEC and for continuing membership of so-called Common Market, not for the organization whose aim is, besides other things, political integration. “The UK has never voted on being part of the EU, which was formed at the time of the Maastricht treaty in 1993 and expanded its remit from an economic community to include foreign affairs, justice and policing.”<sup>106</sup> *The Guardian* admitted that it was a very strong argument which

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<sup>103</sup> MASON, Rowena. *How did UK end up voting to leave the European Union?* The Guardian [online]. 24 June 2016. Available from: <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/24/how-did-uk-end-up-voting-leave-european-union> [Retrieved 8 April 2018]

<sup>104</sup> MASON, Rowena. *How did UK end up voting to leave the European Union?* The Guardian [online]. 24 June 2016. Available from: <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/24/how-did-uk-end-up-voting-leave-european-union> [Retrieved 8 April 2018]

<sup>105</sup> MASON, Rowena. *How did UK end up voting to leave the European Union?* The Guardian [online]. 24 June 2016. Available from: <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/24/how-did-uk-end-up-voting-leave-european-union> [Retrieved 8 April 2018]

<sup>106</sup> MASON, Rowena. *How did UK end up voting to leave the European Union?* The Guardian [online]. 24 June 2016. Available from: <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/24/how-did-uk-end-up-voting-leave-european-union> [Retrieved 8 April 2018]

helped the Leave vote along to convince some group of voters to endorse withdrawing from the EU.<sup>107</sup>

In addition to that, *The Guardian* gives also the other examples of the factors which had had an impact to British voters during the pre-referendum period. Besides the factors mentioned above, *The Guardian* points out the influence of Nigel Farage and UKIP, whose political upswing had scared off the Conservatives and had contributed to Cameron's pledge to hold the referendum about continuing membership of the EU.<sup>108</sup>

### 5.3. The Sun

As it was mentioned in the second chapter, tabloid *The Sun* is owned by Rupert Murdoch, who widely known for his Euro-sceptical views; thus, his Euro-sceptical newspapers *The Sun* were supposed to endorse the Leave vote from the outset.

*The Sun* was one of the tabloids which strongly urged to leave the EU, not just during the referendum campaigns but over a long period of time. The newspapers officially supported the Leave vote on 14<sup>th</sup> June 2016 by publishing the article "*BeLEAVE in Britain*" on its front page (the online version of this article was published on 13<sup>th</sup> June 2016 and the title was "*SUN SAYS We urge our readers to beLEAVE in Britain and vote to quit the EU on June 23*".)

#### 5.3.1. Before the Referendum

On 9<sup>th</sup> March 2016, *The Sun* misinformed its readers by its article "*Queen backs Brexit*" published on the newspaper's front page; the tabloid as the

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<sup>107</sup> MASON, Rowena. *How did UK end up voting to leave the European Union?* The Guardian [online]. 24 June 2016. Available from: <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/24/how-did-uk-end-up-voting-leave-european-union> [Retrieved 8 April 2018]

<sup>108</sup> MASON, Rowena. *How did UK end up voting to leave the European Union?* The Guardian [online]. 24 June 2016. Available from: <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/24/how-did-uk-end-up-voting-leave-european-union> [Retrieved 8 April 2018]

criticiser of the EU wanted to take an advantage from this information to convince British voters to vote for withdrawing from the EU.

"The Queen was hailed as a backer of Brexit yesterday after details emerged of an alleged bust-up between her and Nick Clegg over Europe... A source said: 'People were left in no doubt about her views on Europe'."<sup>109</sup>

The Buckingham Palace firmly refused this statement published by *The Sun* and filed an official complaint on the tabloid to Independent Press Standard Organization (IPSO).<sup>110</sup> According to Buckingham Palace spokesman the Queen has remained politically neutral.<sup>111</sup>

The article "*SUN SAYS We urge our readers to beLEAVE in Britain and vote to quit the EU on June 23*" published online on *The Sun*'s website has a subheading "*THIS is our last chance to remove ourselves from the undemocratic Brussels machine ... and it's time to take it*" – by denomination "Brussels machine" *The Sun* pointed out the question of the British sovereignty which has been, according to *The Sun* and most of the Euro-critics, threatened by the regulations coming from the EU.<sup>112</sup>

In this article *The Sun* spoke openly, expressing its opinion on the EU in blunt terms; in the very first sentence of the article *The Sun* described the British membership of the EU as "increasingly greedy, wasteful, bullying and breathtakingly incompetent in a crisis." Then, *The Sun* called on for change in the

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<sup>109</sup> Business Standard. *Queen gets dragged into Brexit controversy* [online]. 9 March 2016. Available from: [http://wap.business-standard.com/article-amp/pti-stories/queen-gets-dragged-into-brexite-controversy-116030901121\\_1.html](http://wap.business-standard.com/article-amp/pti-stories/queen-gets-dragged-into-brexite-controversy-116030901121_1.html) [Retrieved 14 April 2018]

<sup>110</sup> Business Standard. *Queen gets dragged into Brexit controversy* [online]. 9 March 2016. Available from: [http://wap.business-standard.com/article-amp/pti-stories/queen-gets-dragged-into-brexite-controversy-116030901121\\_1.html](http://wap.business-standard.com/article-amp/pti-stories/queen-gets-dragged-into-brexite-controversy-116030901121_1.html) [Retrieved 14 April 2018]

<sup>111</sup> DUNN, Tom Newton. *Revealed: Queen backs Brexit as alleged EU bust-up with ex-Deputy PM emerges*. *The Sun* [online]. Available from: <https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/1078504/revealed-queen-backs-brexite-as-alleged-eu-bust-up-with-ex-deputy-pm-emerges/> [Retrieved 14 April 2018]

<sup>112</sup> *The Sun*. *SUN SAYS We urge our readers to beLEAVE in Britain and vote to quit the EU on June 23*. [online]. 13 June 2016. Available from: <https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/1277920/we-urge-our-readers-to-believe-in-britain-and-vote-to-leave-the-eu-in-referendum-on-june-23/> [Retrieved 14 April 2018]



forthcoming EU referendum, describing the EU membership as “huge and historic mistake”.<sup>113</sup>

For leaving the EU, *The Sun* stated reasons as the growing wealth of Britain if leave and taking the control under Britain to the hands of the country itself. However, the economic growth and British sovereignty were not the only arguments of the newspapers. *The Sun* also pointed out the increasing role of Germany:” If we stay, Britain will be engulfed in a few short years by this relentlessly expanding German dominated federal state.”<sup>114</sup>

According to *The Sun*, the continuing membership of the EU would worsen everyday life of Britons by influencing the wages, the labour market, but also the migrant situation. As the examples *The Sun* stated EU countries as Greece, which is bankrupt or Spain where “45 per cent of those under 25 are out of work.” *The Sun* also suggested that accession of some states that filed an application for joining the EU, would cause a tricky situation because these states are “poorer and worse-govern”.<sup>115</sup>

In the article *The Sun* criticised the Remain campaign and its “Project Fear” (the term used by Leave promoters to designate the pessimism and terrifying of people with the sceptic vision of Britain outside the EU, performed by Remain campaign and its representatives). *The Sun* indicated that Britain could stand alone without the EU and if it would not be possible to be a member of the single market due to not accepting all the rules of the EU, including free movement of people, there is possibility to trade “with the other 85 per cent of the world”.<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>113</sup> The Sun. *SUN SAYS We urge our readers to beLEAVE in Britain and vote to quit the EU on June 23* [online]. 13 June 2016. Available from: <https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/1277920/we-urge-our-readers-to-believe-in-britain-and-vote-to-leave-the-eu-in-referendum-on-june-23/> [Retrieved 14 April 2018]

<sup>114</sup> The Sun. *SUN SAYS We urge our readers to beLEAVE in Britain and vote to quit the EU on June 23*. [online]. 13 June 2016. Available from: <https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/1277920/we-urge-our-readers-to-believe-in-britain-and-vote-to-leave-the-eu-in-referendum-on-june-23/> [Retrieved 14 April 2018]

<sup>115</sup> The Sun. *SUN SAYS We urge our readers to beLEAVE in Britain and vote to quit the EU on June 23*. [online]. 13 June 2016. Available from: <https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/1277920/we-urge-our-readers-to-believe-in-britain-and-vote-to-leave-the-eu-in-referendum-on-june-23/> [Retrieved 14 April 2018]

<sup>116</sup> The Sun. *SUN SAYS We urge our readers to beLEAVE in Britain and vote to quit the EU on June 23*. [online]. 13 June 2016. Available from: <https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/1277920/we->



“This is our chance to make Britain even greater, to recapture our democracy, to preserve the values and culture we are rightly proud of. A VOTE FOR LEAVE IS A VOTE FOR A BETTER BRITAIN.”<sup>117</sup>

### 5.3.2. After the Referendum

“*SEE EU LATER!*” was the title of *The Sun*’s article published in the small hours at the day of the referendum – 23<sup>rd</sup> June 2016. Article of the same title was published a day later in the paper version as well. The online article was updated on 24<sup>th</sup> June 2016 in early morning, thus is also informed about David Cameron’s resignation and provided his but also Nigel Farage’s statements about the referendum results.<sup>118</sup>

The article “*FINAL COUNTDOWN*” deals with the withdrawing of Britain from the EU. In the article *The Sun* explained what Brexit means, why Britons had voted for leaving the EU, when the withdrawing started and when it will be finished.

“Those in favour of leaving said Britain was being held back by EU red tape with too many rules on business. They also campaigned on the issue of sovereignty and said they wanted Britain to take back full control of its borders.”<sup>119</sup>

*The Sun* explained that date of withdrawing has been conditioned by the Article 50 of the Lisbon Treaty and described what the Article 50 has dealt with. The tabloid also informed that Prime Minister Theresa May officially triggered the

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[urge-our-readers-to-believe-in-britain-and-vote-to-leave-the-eu-in-referendum-on-june-23/](https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/1277920/we-urge-our-readers-to-believe-in-britain-and-vote-to-leave-the-eu-in-referendum-on-june-23/)

[Retrieved 14 April 2018]

<sup>117</sup> DUNN, Tom Newton. *SUN SAYS We urge our readers to beLEAVE in Britain and vote to quit the EU on June 23*. *The Sun* [online]. 13 June 2016. Available from:

<https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/1277920/we-urge-our-readers-to-believe-in-britain-and-vote-to-leave-the-eu-in-referendum-on-june-23/> [Retrieved 14 April 2018]

<sup>118</sup> TOLHURST, Alain, DUNN, Tom Newton, HAWKES, Steve. *SEE EU LATER*. *The Sun*.

[online]. 23 June 2016. Available from: <https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/1332742/britain-votes-to-back-brexite-and-leave-the-eu-on-historic-night-as-nigel-farage-declares-victory-for-ordinary-people/> [Retrieved 14 April 2018]

<sup>119</sup> FRUEN, Lauren, MULLIN Gemma. *FINAL COUTDOWN*. *The Sun* [online]. 29 March 2018.

Available from: <https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/2099807/brexit-leave-eu-march-29-2019-deal-negotiations/> [Retrieved 14 April 2018]

Article 50 on 29 March 2017 and that she initiated the two-year period of withdrawing by it. *The Sun* also explained terms as soft and hard Brexit and described the differences between them; it also clarified that politician's opinions on how Brexit should look like has differed.<sup>120</sup>

“Ministers are bitterly divided over what exactly this will look like - with Remainers wanting to stay as close as possible to the EU, but Brexiteers urging the PM to break away and go it alone.”<sup>121</sup>

## 5.4. The Independent

*The Independent* has never expressed its support for any of the referendum campaigns. However, regarding its long-standing pro-Europeanism and its pro-European articles, *The Independent* has led its readers to consider all positives and negatives of their vote; *The Independent* attempted to lead them to it by explaining the current situation and by stating the reasonable facts about British membership of the EU.

### 5.4.1. Before the Referendum

On the day of the referendum the *Independent* published the article “*Brexit: What is it and why are we having an EU referendum?*” in order to explain to British voters all the details and all the consequences of potential leaving or remaining in the EU.

“So until 23 June we we’re running a series of question and answer features that explain the most important issues in a detailed, dispassionate way to help inform your decision.”<sup>122</sup>

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<sup>120</sup> FRUEN, Lauren, MULLIN, Gemma. FINAL COUNTDOWN. *The Sun* [online]. 29 March 2018. Available from: <https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/2099807/brexit-leave-eu-march-29-2019-deal-negotiations/> [Retrieved 14 April 2018]

<sup>121</sup> FRUEN, Lauren, MULLIN, Gemma. FINAL COUNTDOWN. *The Sun* [online]. 29 March 2018. Available from: <https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/2099807/brexit-leave-eu-march-29-2019-deal-negotiations/> [Retrieved 14 April 2018]

<sup>122</sup> WRIGHT, Oliver, COOPER, Charlie. *Brexit: What is it and why are we having an EU referendum?* *Independent* [online]. 23 June 2016. Available from:

In the article the historical context of British and the EU relationship was explained; in addition to it, it also concerned the period before the Maastricht Treaty. The *Independent* pointed out that there was not any referendum on British accession to the EU before signing the Maastricht Treaty and stated it as one of the reasons why Eurosceptic politicians, and not only politicians, have called for referendum about the EU.<sup>123</sup>

In the article, the *Independent* also explained how the UKIP influenced the political scene and David Cameron's way of thinking about the referendum concerning the European issue. The *Independent* mentioned the UKIP's growing power in 2012, which alarmed the Conservatives; at that time the Conservatives started to exert the pressure on their leader David Cameron and wanted him to take some action – more precisely, to pledge for a referendum. According to the *Independent*, the Conservative pledge to the referendum was supposed to be a step made to remain in their anti-European voter's good grace.<sup>124</sup>

“In private, and sometimes in public, they demanded that the Prime Minister give them something in their armoury to fight off the challenge – and that something was an EU referendum.”<sup>125</sup>

According to the *Independent*, the referendum and Britain's subsequent withdrawal from the EU has never been David Cameron's main aim. In the article the *Independent* stated that David Cameron and his Conservative Party were not really convinced about their chance to win overall majority in 2015 elections; they believed that there will be a coalition needed to form a government and that the

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<https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/what-is-brexit-why-is-there-an-eu-referendum-a7042791.html> [Retrieved 15 April 2018]

<sup>123</sup> WRIGHT, Oliver, COOPER, Charlie. *Brexit: What is it and why are we having an EU referendum?* Independent [online]. 23 June 2016. Available from:

<https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/what-is-brexit-why-is-there-an-eu-referendum-a7042791.html> [Retrieved 15 April 2018]

<sup>124</sup> WRIGHT, Oliver, COOPER, Charlie. *Brexit: What is it and why are we having an EU referendum?* Independent [online]. 23 June 2016. Available from:

<https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/what-is-brexit-why-is-there-an-eu-referendum-a7042791.html> [Retrieved 15 April 2018]

<sup>125</sup> WRIGHT, Oliver, COOPER, Charlie. *Brexit: What is it and why are we having an EU referendum?* Independent [online]. 23 June 2016. Available from:

<https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/what-is-brexit-why-is-there-an-eu-referendum-a7042791.html> [Retrieved 15 April 2018]

EU referendum would be one of the first negotiated issues – which might not be ratified.<sup>126</sup>

On 18<sup>th</sup> June 2016 the *Independent* published the article “*Brexit: What will happen if Britain leaves the EU?*” by political editor Oliver Wright, who analysed the potential withdrawal of Britain from the EU and its consequences. Oliver Wright described – at that time potential – situation that might come really aptly. In the article Wright predicted that if Britons would vote for Leave, David Cameron would resign from his function of Prime Minister and that the new Prime Minister would be elected in autumn at Conservative party conference. Wright also wrote in the article that David Cameron himself would not negotiate Brexit with the EU representatives but that it would be the new Prime Minister. His prediction about the pound sterling slump in the case of the Leave vote success in the referendum, has also proved as right one. “...Mr Cameron will not be the person negotiating Britain’s exit, so anything of substance will be put on hold until a new prime minister is in place.”<sup>127</sup>

A day before the referendum the *Independent* published the article “*EU referendum: Which celebrities support Brexit and which support Remain?*” with the list of celebrities supporting Remain and with these supporting Leave. The *Independent* derived information about opinions of celebrities from their social networks.<sup>128</sup>

#### 5.4.2. After the Referendum

On 24<sup>th</sup> June 2016 when the results of the referendum were known, the *Independent* published the article “*EU referendum result: Brexit confirmed as*

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<sup>126</sup> WRIGHT, Oliver, COOPER, Charlie. *Brexit: What is it and why are we having an EU referendum?* Independent [online]. 23 June 2016. Available from: <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/what-is-brexit-why-is-there-an-eu-referendum-a7042791.html> [Retrieved 15 April 2018]

<sup>127</sup> WRIGHT, Oliver. *Brexit: What will happen if Britain leaves the EU?* Independent [online]. 18 June 2016. Available from: <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/eu-referendum-what-happens-if-britain-does-vote-for-brexit-a7089336.html> [Retrieved 15 April 2018]

<sup>128</sup> WORLEY, Will. *EU referendum: Which celebrities support Brexit and which support Remain?* Independent [online]. 22 June 2016. Available from: <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/people/eu-referendum-brexit-remain-who-do-celebrities-support-david-beckham-jk-rowling-a7094751.html> [Retrieved 15 April 2018]

*David Cameron faces calls to resign*” where the results of the referendum and predictions of how British and EU relationship would look like after Brexit.

According to the *Independent*, results of the referendum might provoke calls for the second independence referendum in Scotland, which, in contrast to England, voted for remaining in the EU. “Nicola Sturgeon said it the vote in Scotland “made clear” that it saw its future as part of the European Union.”<sup>129</sup>

In the article the *Independent* informed that as the consequence of the referendum, the pound plunged to very low level which has not been seen for more than thirty years.<sup>130</sup>

In the article the *Independent* published statements of British politicians related to the referendum and British withdrawal from the EU; for example, Nigel Farage’s statement that David Cameron should immediately resign, or his statement that he “hoped the vote would be a catalyst for the complete collapse of the European Union”, the *Independent* marked this statement as “provocatively” said. Another politician quoted in the article was, for example, former Labour leader Ed Miliband: “It’s a nation divided and the PM will have a big responsibility - to show he understands what people are saying on the Leave side of the argument”.<sup>131</sup>

In the article “*Brexit: Britons now back Remain over Leave by 10 points, exclusive poll shows*” from 16<sup>th</sup> December 2017, the *Independent* published its poll elaborated by BMG Research, which has indicated that most of the Britons would now back to remain in the EU rather than leave it. Precisely, according to this study, only 41 per cent of Britons still aim to leave the EU, in contrast to 51

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<sup>129</sup> WRIGHT, Oliver. *EU referendum result: Brexit confirmed as David Cameron faces calls to resign*. *Independent* [online]. 24 June 2016. Available from: <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/brexit-eu-referendum-result-results-in-full-britain-uk-vote-to-leave-the-european-union-live-latest-a7099101.html> [Retrieved 15 April 2018]

<sup>130</sup> WRIGHT, Oliver. *EU referendum result: Brexit confirmed as David Cameron faces calls to resign*. *Independent* [online]. 24 June 2016. Available from: <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/brexit-eu-referendum-result-results-in-full-britain-uk-vote-to-leave-the-european-union-live-latest-a7099101.html> [Retrieved 15 April 2018]

<sup>131</sup> WRIGHT, Oliver. *EU referendum result: Brexit confirmed as David Cameron faces calls to resign*. *Independent* [online]. 24 June 2016. Available from: <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/brexit-eu-referendum-result-results-in-full-britain-uk-vote-to-leave-the-european-union-live-latest-a7099101.html> [Retrieved 15 April 2018]

per cent who would now vote to remain; the rest of the respondents said that they did not know (7 per cent) or they refused to answer (1 per cent). At the end the respondents who said that they do not know, were enforced to answer the question – 55.5 per cent of them chose remaining in the EU and 44.5 per cent of them chose to withdraw.<sup>132</sup>

Dr Michael Turner, the head of polling from BMG Research, stated that since February 2017 British society's opinion has rather been in favour of remaining in the EU. According to him, the voters who had been undecided about the EU issue in June 2016 and as the result of it they did not vote in the referendum, would now vote in favour of remaining.<sup>133</sup>

“Our polling suggests that about a year ago, those who did not vote in the referendum were broadly split, but today's poll shows that they are now overwhelmingly in favour of remaining in the EU, by a margin of more than four to one.”<sup>134</sup>

The article also dealt with the contingency of the second EU referendum and there are quoted some of the statements of British politicians and their opinion on the second referendum; for example, Conservative MP Ms Fernandes said that “any attempt to go back on withdrawal would be 'deeply divisive, fundamentally undemocratic and destroy the trust of the British people’”. On the contrary Labour peer Lord Mandelson said: “If we are to have control as a nation then we must insist on the democratic right to change our minds.”<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>132</sup> WATTS, Joe. *Brexit: Britons now back Remain over Leave by 10 points, exclusive poll shows*. Independent [online]. 16 December 2017. Available from: <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/brexit-second-referendum-latest-poll-remain-ten-points-leave-bmg-a8114406.html> [Retrieved 15 April 2018]

<sup>133</sup> WATTS, Joe. *Brexit: Britons now back Remain over Leave by 10 points, exclusive poll shows*. Independent [online]. 16 December 2017. Available from: <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/brexit-second-referendum-latest-poll-remain-ten-points-leave-bmg-a8114406.html> [Retrieved 15 April 2018]

<sup>134</sup> WATTS, Joe. *Brexit: Britons now back Remain over Leave by 10 points, exclusive poll shows*. Independent [online]. 16 December 2017. Available from: <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/brexit-second-referendum-latest-poll-remain-ten-points-leave-bmg-a8114406.html> [Retrieved 15 April 2018]

<sup>135</sup> WATTS, Joe. *Brexit: Britons now back Remain over Leave by 10 points, exclusive poll shows*. Independent [online]. 16 December 2017. Available from: <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/brexit-second-referendum-latest-poll-remain-ten-points-leave-bmg-a8114406.html> [Retrieved 15 April 2018]

Another situation discussed in the article was contradiction between soft-Brexit and hard-Brexit supporters. According to the *Independent* this contradiction has underlined the difficulties of Brexit.<sup>136</sup>

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<sup>136</sup> WATTS, Joe. *Brexit: Britons now back Remain over Leave by 10 points, exclusive poll shows*. Independent [online]. 16 December 2017. Available from: <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/brexit-second-referendum-latest-poll-remain-ten-points-leave-bmg-a8114406.html> [Retrieved 15 April 2018]



## 5.5. The Daily Telegraph

*The Daily Telegraph* is one of the broadsheets that has backed Brexit; with regard to the long-term Euro-sceptic view of *The Daily Telegraph* and its close ties to Euro-sceptic Conservative Party, it was not surprising when on 20<sup>th</sup> June the newspapers officially expressed its support for the Leave vote in its article “Vote leave to benefit from a world of opportunity”.

### 5.5.1. Before the Referendum

*The Daily Telegraph* expressed officially its support for Remain campaign immediately before the referendum, however, its anti-European articles had indicated that it would be the Leave vote who would gain *The Daily Telegraph*’s favour. The article “Wages for British workers will rise in the event of a Brexit, head of 'in' campaign, Lord Rose says” published on 3<sup>rd</sup> March 2016 deals with Lord Rose’s statement that there has been a possibility that Brexit would increase the wages of British workers as the consequence of lower migration rate. *The Daily Telegraph* also stated the advantages of free movement which emerged from being the EU member, that Lord Rose spoke about, however it underlined that “Economists found that increases in immigration have reduced the pay on offer to care workers, waiting staff and cleaners as competition for jobs has risen.”<sup>137</sup>

Additionally, in the article “It’s not just the Brits: Euroscepticism on the rise all across Europe, major survey shows” published on 7<sup>th</sup> June 2016, *The Daily Telegraph* pointed out that not only Britain is Eurosceptical and has lost its trust in the EU. In the article are enumerated particular countries, which has started to doubt about the EU and its functioning; *The Daily Telegraph* stated that from *Pew Research Centre* analysis had emerged that in Spain, France and Greece, for example, the EU has also been a tricky issue. *The Daily Telegraph* also pointed

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<sup>137</sup> SWINFORD, Steven. *Wages for British workers will rise in the event of a Brexit, head of 'in' campaign, Lord Rose says*. The Telegraph [online]. 3 March 2016. Available from: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/newsttopics/eureferendum/12181385/Wages-for-British-workers-will-rise-in-the-event-of-a-Brexit-head-of-in-campaign-says.html> [Retrieved 17 April 2018]



out several reasons, suggesting why Euro-scepticism has been so extensive across today's Europe.<sup>138</sup>

“Anti-Brussels sentiment has risen sharply all across Europe over the past year thanks to a toxic combination of economic stagnation and the mismanagement of the migrant crisis, a new Europe-wide opinion poll has shown.”<sup>139</sup>

In the article “*Vote leave to benefit from a world of opportunity*”, in which *The Daily Telegraph* directly expressed its support for the Leave vote, the broadsheet deals with the relationship of the EU and Britain in the retrospective view. Regarding the historical context of the EU and Britain, *The Daily Telegraph* refers to its own article which had been published in 1973 after joining the EEC.<sup>140</sup>

“Whether or not this is to be regarded as a sunshine day for the British people will depend largely on how they react to the opportunities which now beckon. Enlargement of the community from six to nine members could spell the final atrophy of a once great nation; or, more probably, it could mark a new and splendid chapter in our long history.”<sup>141</sup>

*The Daily Telegraph* also highlighted signing of the Maastricht Treaty, which deepened the European integration and changed the economic organization into political organization. According to *The Daily Telegraph* it was

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<sup>138</sup> FOSTER, Peter. *It's not just the Brits: Euroscepticism on the rise all across Europe, major survey shows*. The Telegraph [online]. 7 June 2016. Available from: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/06/07/its-not-just-the-brits-euroscepticism-on-the-rise-all-across-eur/> [Retrieved 17 April 2018]

<sup>139</sup> FOSTER, Peter. *It's not just the Brits: Euroscepticism on the rise all across Europe, major survey shows*. The Telegraph [online]. 7 June 2016. Available from: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/06/07/its-not-just-the-brits-euroscepticism-on-the-rise-all-across-eur/> [Retrieved 17 April 2018]

<sup>140</sup> The Telegraph. *Vote leave to benefit from a world of opportunity* [online]. 20 June 2016. Available from: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/opinion/2016/06/20/vote-leave-to-benefit-from-a-world-of-opportunity/> [Retrieved 18 April 2018]

<sup>141</sup> The Telegraph. *Vote leave to benefit from a world of opportunity* [online]. 20 June 2016. Available from: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/opinion/2016/06/20/vote-leave-to-benefit-from-a-world-of-opportunity/> [Retrieved 18 April 2018]

the beginning of preferring the common interests rather than interests of the individual member states.<sup>142</sup>

“Subsequent treaties signed at Nice, Amsterdam and Lisbon, together with a string of political protocols, have further aggrandised the EU into a supra-national body within which the interests of individual states are secondary to the greater good of the overall Union.”<sup>143</sup>

*The Daily Telegraph* pointed out that by signing all the treaties mentioned above, Britain has started to be a part of the political organization despite the fact that it has never been the British aim. The broadsheet also underlined that Britain had agreed on several opt-outs with the EU concerning, for example, opt-out from the single currency or from the Schengen area, however, it has not changed the fact that Britain has been influenced by both of them.<sup>144</sup>

“The fact that Britain does not participate in some of its component parts, notably the euro or the borderless Schengen area, makes no difference since they have an impact upon us.”<sup>145</sup>

At the end of the article *The Daily Telegraph* criticised not only the EU as the political institution which it has become, but also the Remain campaigners for believing that remaining in the EU would mean a better future for Britain, despite the fact that the EU “lurches from one crisis into another”. Additionally, at the end of the article *The Daily Telegraph* indicated that the Remain campaigners pointed out in their campaigns only the threats that would be imminent to Britain after

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<sup>142</sup> The Telegraph. *Vote leave to benefit from a world of opportunity* [online]. 20 June 2016. Available from: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/opinion/2016/06/20/vote-leave-to-benefit-from-a-world-of-opportunity/> [Retrieved 18 April 2018]

<sup>143</sup> The Telegraph. *Vote leave to benefit from a world of opportunity* [online]. 20 June 2016. Available from: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/opinion/2016/06/20/vote-leave-to-benefit-from-a-world-of-opportunity/> [Retrieved 18 April 2018]

<sup>144</sup> The Telegraph. *Vote leave to benefit from a world of opportunity* [online]. 20 June 2016. Available from: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/opinion/2016/06/20/vote-leave-to-benefit-from-a-world-of-opportunity/> [Retrieved 18 April 2018]

<sup>145</sup> The Telegraph. *Vote leave to benefit from a world of opportunity* [online]. 20 June 2016. Available from: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/opinion/2016/06/20/vote-leave-to-benefit-from-a-world-of-opportunity/> [Retrieved 18 April 2018]

leaving the EU. In the very last sentence of the article the newspapers appealed to its readers to grasp the opportunity to leave the EU.<sup>146</sup>

“In the event, and despite the optimism of our editorial, Jan 1, 1973 turned out not to be a sunshine day for the UK after all. On Thursday, the country has another opportunity to lift the clouds. We must take it.”<sup>147</sup>

In the article “*20 reasons you should vote to leave the European Union*” published on 22<sup>nd</sup> June 2016, only a day before the referendum, *The Daily Telegraph* mentioned the reasons which testified in favour of Brexit. One of the reasons which spoke in favour of Brexit, stated by *The Daily Telegraph* was the British contribution to the EU budget and the savings which Britain might save in case of leaving the EU. Other factors analysed in the article were migration and the topic closely related to it – controlling of the British borders. Moreover, other rehashed topics were discussed; from the British sovereignty the topics as using of proper lightbulbs or blue colour of the British passports, which had been changed in the past into red such as the passports of the other EU member states.<sup>148</sup>

### 5.5.2. After the Referendum

In the article “*How Britain backed a Brexit: the key moments of the night*”, which was published in early morning of 24<sup>th</sup> June 2016, *The Daily Telegraph* dealt with the results of the referendum, which seemed to be completely different at 23<sup>rd</sup> June night in compare to 24<sup>th</sup> June morning. The newspapers described all the details of 23<sup>rd</sup> and 24<sup>th</sup> June very minutely, almost hour after hour. *The Daily Telegraph* underlined the fact that it was widely believed that the Remain vote would win; for example, David Cameron and official polls were convinced

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<sup>146</sup> The Telegraph. *Vote leave to benefit from a world of opportunity* [online]. 20 June 2016. Available from: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/opinion/2016/06/20/vote-leave-to-benefit-from-a-world-of-opportunity/> [Retrieved 18 April 2018]

<sup>147</sup> The Telegraph. *Vote leave to benefit from a world of opportunity* [online]. 20 June 2016. Available from: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/opinion/2016/06/20/vote-leave-to-benefit-from-a-world-of-opportunity/> [Retrieved 18 April 2018]

<sup>148</sup> The Telegraph. *20 reasons you should vote to leave the European Union* [online]. 22 June 2016. Available from: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/06/22/20-reasons-you-should-vote-to-leave-the-european-union/> [Retrieved 18 April 2018]

about it, additionally, even Nigel Farage admitted that it seemed that Remain would edge it.<sup>149</sup>

*The Daily Telegraph* also pointed out that during 23<sup>rd</sup> June evening, when everything spoke in favour of the Remain vote, the pound was at its highest level that year; that has changed altogether with changing of the referendum results – when the Leave vote took the lead, the pound immediately started to plunge.<sup>150</sup>

“The markets immediately panicked: the pound’s value plunged by 3.5 per cent in a matter of minutes, showing as a long vertical line on currency graphs.”<sup>151</sup>

*The Daily Telegraph* highlighted that all the predictions and all the polls were proved as wrong ones, when the results of the referendum were completely different to the predicted ones and the Leave vote won by a margin 51.9 per cent to 48.1 per cent.<sup>152</sup>

Another issue mentioned in the article of *The Daily Telegraph* was David Cameron’s resignation. “When, giving the first clue of what was to come, by referring to his premiership in the past tense, he said: ‘I love this country and I feel honoured to have served it.’” According to *The Daily Telegraph* this statement was the first indicator of Cameron’s resignation. The newspapers also informed in detail about steps that Cameron took to announce that he would step down as the Prime Minister; first he explained to the Queen why he would like to resign, then he congratulated to Michael Gove to his victory in the referendum and told

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<sup>149</sup> RAYNER, Gordon. *How Britain backed a Brexit: the key moments of the night*. The Telegraph [online]. 24 June 2016. Available from: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/06/24/how-britain-backed-a-brex-it-the-key-moments-of-the-night/> [Retrieved 19 April 2018]

<sup>150</sup> RAYNER, Gordon The Telegraph. *How Britain backed a Brexit: the key moments of the night*. The Telegraph [online]. 24 June 2016. Available from: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/06/24/how-britain-backed-a-brex-it-the-key-moments-of-the-night/> [Retrieved 19 April 2018]

<sup>151</sup> RAYNER, Gordon The Telegraph. *How Britain backed a Brexit: the key moments of the night*. The Telegraph [online]. 24 June 2016. Available from: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/06/24/how-britain-backed-a-brex-it-the-key-moments-of-the-night/> [Retrieved 19 April 2018]

<sup>152</sup> RAYNER, Gordon The Telegraph. *How Britain backed a Brexit: the key moments of the night*. The Telegraph [online]. 24 June 2016. Available from: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/06/24/how-britain-backed-a-brex-it-the-key-moments-of-the-night/> [Retrieved 19 April 2018]

him that he would like to make a statement – and then, finally, came his announcement of the resignation.<sup>153</sup>

At the end of the article *The Daily Telegraph* mentions what the Leave vote would mean for Britain and describes the process of withdrawing Britain from the EU, moreover, it was said there, that the Article 50 of the Lisbon Treaty would be applied and that it would start the two-year process of negotiations with the remaining EU members, during which Britain would still be a member of the EU “...the country will still, technically, be part of the EU until at least June 2018”, explains the *Daily Telegraph*.<sup>154</sup>

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<sup>153</sup> RAYNER, Gordon The Telegraph. *How Britain backed a Brexit: the key moments of the night*. The Telegraph [online]. 24 June 2016. Available from: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/06/24/how-britain-backed-a-brex-it-the-key-moments-of-the-night/> [Retrieved 19 April 2018]

<sup>154</sup> RAYNER, Gordon The Telegraph. *How Britain backed a Brexit: the key moments of the night*. The Telegraph [online]. 24 June 2016. Available from: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/06/24/how-britain-backed-a-brex-it-the-key-moments-of-the-night/> [Retrieved 19 April 2018]

## 6. CONCLUSION

As stated in the introduction, the main objective of this bachelor thesis was to analyse the press coverage of the relations between the United Kingdom and the European Union (hereinafter referred to as “Britain” and the “EU”) in the context of Britain’s withdrawal from the EU, additionally, to describe the relationship between Britain and the EU.

The objective to describe the British-EU relationship was achieved in the theoretical part, namely in the third and in the fourth chapters of this bachelor thesis, which are dedicated to describing in detail Britain’s relationship to Europe since the post-war period.

Practical part analyses the articles of particular newspapers which were selected for that purpose – *The Guardian*, the *Independent*, *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Sun* and *Daily Mail*.

Assumption that the right-leaning press endorsed the Leave vote in the EU referendum was corroborated by analysing the articles of right-leaning newspapers selected for this purpose – *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Sun* and *Daily Mail*. Articles of all of these three newspapers indicated their anti-European attitude in a long-term period of time and it was even more obvious when they published the articles in which their support of the Leave vote was stated. Two of these analysed right-leaning newspapers are tabloids which, as was supposed, did not always adhere to the facts in their articles because of the impact of their own political view and mainly because of their desire for sensation; they even published the articles which could be marked as “fake news” (such as the tabloid *The Sun* which published the article about the Queen backing Brexit). *The Daily Telegraph* endorsed the Leave vote as well; however, as a broadsheet *The Daily Telegraph* remained relatively objective and in most of the cases it published verified information concerning the EU.

As the main reasons for endorsing the Leave vote and withdrawing Britain from the EU these anti-European newspapers primarily point out the British sovereignty or a tricky problem of migration in Britain and they appeal to their readers to vote to achieve the changes in these respects.

On the contrary, *The Guardian* and the *Independent*, representing the left-leaning press in this bachelor thesis, supported the Remain vote in the referendum as was supposed. Simultaneously, *The Guardian* and the *Independent* represent the broadsheet category, which was assumed to adhere to the facts more than the tabloids; both of these broadsheets, together with *The Daily Telegraph*, proved this assumption as the right one.

Both, *Independent* and *The Guardian*, deal with the migration factor with regard to the British membership of the EU as well; however, in one of the analysed articles, *The Guardian* points out that solving out the migrant crisis, which had hit the EU, would be easier for Britain as the member of the EU rather than facing it alone.

Moreover, all of the broadsheets analysed in the practical part, including anti-European *The Daily Telegraph*, informed their readers about pound slump; the *Independent* warned about it even before the referendum and then, together with *The Guardian* and *The Daily Telegraph*, informed about it as about the consequence of results of the referendum in which the Leave vote had won.

The difference in the coverage of Brexit between broadsheets and tabloids is evident – the tabloids are more sensationalist in contrast to broadsheets which are more objective. Nevertheless, both of the right-leaning and Eurosceptical tabloids, analysed in this bachelor thesis, have a stronger impact on Britons and their political opinions than the broadsheets because of their larger circulation as was seen in previous text.

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## 8. ABSTRACT

This bachelor thesis is called *The Coverage of Brexit in the British Press* and its main purpose is to analyse the press coverage of the relations between the United Kingdom and the European Union (hereinafter referred to as “Britain” and the “EU”) in the context of Britain’s withdrawal from the EU, additionally, to describe the relationship between Britain and the EU.

The thesis itself is divided into theoretical and practical parts and into four basic chapters. The first three chapters provide the theoretical information about British press and its division and about the United Kingdom and its relationship to the European Union, including the retrospective view. The fourth chapter is a practical one and deals with comparing of the particular newspaper articles retrieved from the broadsheets *The Guardian*, *Independent*, *The Daily Telegraph* and from the tabloids *The Sun* and *Daily Mail*.

## 9. RESUMÉ

Hlavním cílem této práce, jejíž název je *Obrázek Brexitu v britském tisku*, je analyzovat jakým způsobem britský tisk popisuje vztah mezi Velkou Británií a Evropskou unií, a to především s ohledem na vystoupení Británie z Evropské unie, dále pak popsat vztahy mezi Velkou Británií a Evropskou unií.

Samotná práce je rozdělena na teoretickou a praktickou část a obsahuje čtyři kapitoly. První tři kapitoly patří do části teoretické a obsahují teoretické informace o britském tisku a jeho dělení a o Velké Británii a jejím vztahu k Evropské unii, včetně historického kontextu. Čtvrtá kapitola patří do části praktické a zabývá se analýzou jednotlivých novinových článků, čerpaných jak ze seriózního tisku, jako například z *The Guardian*, *Independent* nebo *The Daily Telegraph*, tak z bulvárního tisku jako je *The Sun* nebo *Daily Mail*.

## 10. APENDICES

### Appendix 1:

#### **DAILY MAIL COMMENT: If you believe in Britain, vote Leave. Lies, greedy elites and a divided, dying Europe - why we could have a great future outside a broken EU**

Published: 23:41 BST, 21 June 2016 | Updated: 09:46 BST, 22 June 2016

Throughout this long and often acrimonious referendum campaign, the most striking fact about the Remainers is that they have failed to articulate a single positive reason for staying in the EU.

Instead, they have subjected voters to a barrage of scaremongering, with the aid of a once proudly independent Civil Service, pinning all their hopes on persuading the British people that the dangers of withdrawing from Brussels outweigh the many drawbacks of belonging to it.

In doing so, they have had to seek the support of the likes of Jeremy Corbyn, Ed Miliband, Gordon Brown and Tony Blair — from the very party voters rightly rejected at the last election on the grounds that they couldn't be trusted.

But then the EU is an edifice built on lies — starting with the blatant untruth, peddled when we signed up to the Common Market in 1973, that we were joining nothing more threatening than a tariff-free trading zone, which would involve no sacrifice of sovereignty.

More than 40 years on, some 50 or 60 per cent of our laws and 70 per cent of regulations are dictated to us by Brussels, whose power is only matched by its incompetence, corruption and hunger to impose ever more statist regulations on 28 utterly diverse member nations.

And though we do less than 10 per cent of our total business with the EU — with 80 per cent of our trade being within the UK — every firm in the country must submit to its throttling red tape.

Then there's the great lie that the EU is a guarantor of prosperity for its members. In truth, while the economies of other countries have forged ahead, the Continent's share of global commerce has been shrinking for decades. Meanwhile, the proportion of the UK's overseas trade that we conduct with our partner nations has actually declined since we joined, from about 55 to 45 per cent.

As for the 19 countries locked into the catastrophic, one-size-fits-all single currency — the very apotheosis of the European dream of ever closer political and economic union — just ask the jobless young people of Greece, Spain or France if the euro has underpinned their prosperity.

Indeed, in Greece, crushed in bankruptcy by arrogant German intransigence, daily living is a nightmare. In other parts of southern Europe, youth unemployment is a terrifying 50 per cent and more, with half a generation's prospects of a decent life sacrificed on the altar of EU empire-building.

Or take Italy, a country with an economy roughly comparable in size to our own. Its growth rate over the past eight years has been just 3 per cent. In the same period, free from the shackles of the euro, Britain has grown 35 per cent.

Yet far from realising their mistake and helping those whose lives have been laid waste by the single currency, Europe's political elites are pressing ahead with the project, determined — in the face of bitter opposition from the people — to achieve ever closer political and economic union.

Next, there's the lie that the EU is popular with those it governs, spreading peace and harmony between nations. Certainly, this was among its founding fathers' dreams, when Europe lay ravaged by World War II. The reality has turned out very differently.

A survey earlier this year by Pew, the highly respected U.S. think tank, found that 61 per cent in France had unfavourable feelings about Brussels, as did 71 per cent of Greeks and 48 per cent of Spaniards. Even in Germany, whose exports have benefited from the weak euro, 44 per cent were against the EU.

Unsurprisingly, then, with deep racial and national fissures opening up and barbed wire fences dividing countries, tensions within Europe are perhaps greater than at any time since the War. Witness the alarming rise of far-Right and far-Left parties — Golden Dawn in Greece, the Freedom Party in Austria, AFD in Germany, the National Front in France and Communism resurgent.

We needn't look far for the explanation. For not only is the euro destroying livelihoods, but the madness that is the free movement of peoples has brought waves of migrants sweeping across Europe, depressing wages, putting immense strain on housing and public services, undermining our security against criminals and terrorists — and making communities fear for their traditional ways of life.

Which brings us to David Cameron's deceptions over migration. The first was his 'no ifs, no buts' pledge to bring numbers down to manageable levels by 2020, promising in his manifesto to aim for a net figure of less than 100,000 a year.

Even as he made that pledge, as his former guru Steve Hilton exposed devastatingly in yesterday's Mail, he had been 'directly and explicitly' warned by civil servants that it would be impossible to keep while we remained members of the EU.

Yet he went ahead and made it anyway. But then who cares, when votes are at stake, if our population is spiralling towards an estimated 80 million by 2039? As for the effects of demographic upheaval, a dramatic 8 per cent increase in just a year in the number of primary school pupils in class sizes over the 'legal limit' of 30 has recently been revealed.

Then there is the PM's second deception on migration — so obviously untrue that he even seems increasingly embarrassed to repeat it. This is his claim that the frankly pathetic 'reforms' he secured during his humiliating tour of European capitals will have any impact on numbers.

Indeed, his failed renegotiation demonstrates another unpalatable truth about the EU — that it is institutionally incapable of meaningful reform. After all, if the Brussels bureaucracy refuses to listen to the British public's concerns with a referendum gun held at its head by its second biggest contributor, what hope can there be that it will mend its ways if we vote to remain?

And reform it desperately needs. Not even the most passionate of Remain campaigners have dared to suggest the 28-member bloc is democratically run.

Neither its lawmakers nor its 85,000 bureaucrats (only 3.6 per cent of whom are British) are accountable through the ballot box to the 500 million people they rule. And how many of us can name our MEP?

No, the irrefutable fact is that the EU is ruled by a secretive, unelected commission, whose diktats are backed by a court able to override elected democracies.

True, we cannot predict exactly what will happen if we pull out (though we can surely be confident that the EU won't want to inflict damage on itself by erecting trade barriers against the world's fifth biggest economy and a huge net buyer of its exports). But then nor can we know what the EU will do next if we vote to remain.

But we can make educated guesses. For one, Brussels has long set its sights on establishing a European army (and how significant that so many of our top generals and admirals support Brexit). And it is only for the duration of our referendum campaign that it has shelved policies that threaten serious damage to the City, British ports and our dominance of the global art market.

Indeed, our service industries (which are not subject to the single market) have long been the envy of Germany and France, which crave more of the action for themselves. There can be little doubt that they would take a Remain vote as their cue to seize it.

Meanwhile, with Albania, Macedonia, Montenegro, and Serbia set to join, the EU continues its relentless expansion.

Mr Cameron has desperately tried to silence talk of Turkey's application for membership, which would give its 80 million largely Muslim population the right to free movement.

But how can we trust a Prime Minister who told Turkish journalists six years ago: 'I will remain your strongest possible advocate for EU membership. This is something I feel very passionately about?'

True, the EU is loved by its greatest beneficiaries — Europe's political elites, the mighty corporations that spend millions lobbying Brussels, determined to get the bureaucrats to enforce their monopolies. Then there are the unscrupulous banks such as Goldman Sachs and fat cats such as Richard Branson and the egregious euro-supporting George Soros, who made a fortune from almost destroying the Bank of England.

Indeed, it is the EU fervour of these globalised elites, telling democracies how to vote, that has enraged working class communities in Britain who, more than anyone, have had to cope with mass migration and have every right to feel abandoned.

No, if the Remainers have been unable to make a positive popular case for our membership, this is because the task is virtually impossible. But the irony is that there is a wonderfully positive case to be made for withdrawal.

A vote to leave would enable us to fulfil our destiny as one of the world's greatest trading nations, free to strike deals with any country we like. It would also give us back our seats on international bodies, instead of being one voice in 28, represented by a bureaucrat without our interests at heart.

Remainers are fond of branding Leavers as 'little Englanders'. But there is nothing petty-minded about being proud of our traditions and history as a great seafaring country, with enterprise in our DNA, unafraid to reach out to Europe and beyond — especially as that is now where the wealth increasingly lies.

Indeed, it is a sclerotic EU, with its terror of competing with the great economies of the world (to this day, it has no trade deals with America, China, Japan, Brazil or India) which is backward-looking and locked into the past.

Our ancestors shed oceans of blood to uphold and defend this country's right to govern itself, pass its own laws, raise its own taxes and — most pertinently — get rid of politicians when they abuse our trust. Why on earth should we now want

to belong to a dysfunctional club that denies us these rights — a club with an imploding economy, pursuing a frankly mad policy of open borders which, if not checked, will lead to violence between the ugly left and ugly Right across Europe?

The truth is that no one — apart, it seems, from a plutocratic elite — knows what will happen if we choose Brexit. We do know, however, that as the world's fifth largest economy we should be able to forge deals with countries keen to sell to our affluent consumers.

We do know that the Germans will still hunger to sell us their cars, the Spaniards to welcome our currency-rich holidaymakers, and the world will want the unique skills of the City of London. And if the pound falls, that will be good for exports, as it was when the Exchange Rate Mechanism collapsed.

It was Tony Benn who said in the last referendum in 1975 that Britain was signing up for something that was undemocratic and run in the interest of elites. 'I can think of no body outside the Kremlin that has such power without a shred of accountability,' he declared.

If you believe in the sovereignty of this country, its monarchy, its unwritten constitution and its judicial system; if you believe in the will of the people and don't want to be ruled by faceless bureaucrats; if you are concerned about uncontrolled immigration; if you wish to control the destiny of the UK; if you want a government you can vote for and in turn vote out of office if it breaks its promises; and if you believe in Britain, its culture, history and freedoms, there is only one way to vote. Brexit.

This is our one chance. We must seize it.

Source: Daily Mail. *If you believe in Britain, vote Leave. Lies, greedy elites and a divided, dying Europe - why we could have a great future outside a broken EU* [online]. 21 June 2016. Available from: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/debate/article-3653385/Lies-greedy-elites-divided-dying-Europe-Britain-great-future-outside-broken-EU.html#ixzz5D6sJyERS> [Retrieved 1 April 2018]



## **Appendix 2:**

### **The Guardian view on the EU referendum: keep connected and inclusive, not angry and isolated**

by Editorial

Mon 20 Jun 2016 16.25 BST Last modified on Wed 14 Feb 2018 16.09 GMT

**Economics, foreign policy and Britain's idea of itself are all on the ballot. But after a divisive campaign so, too, is our ability to get along. Another powerful reason why the wise vote is for remain**

Who do we think we are, and who do we want to be? Are we so different from others that we cannot play by shared rules? Are we one member in a family of nations, or a country that prefers to keep itself to itself and bolt the door?

All of these questions were always on the ballot in this week's fateful referendum. But after a campaign that has been nasty, brutish and seemingly endless, the UK will be voting on another question too. With all the differences and the diversity among all of us who already live on these islands, how are we all going to get along? In the run-up to polling day this contest has risked descending into a plebiscite on whether immigrants are a good or a bad thing. To see what is at stake, just consider the dark forces that could so easily become emboldened by a narrow insistence on putting the indigenous first.

#### **Head and heart**

The backdrop has been the most unrelenting, unbalanced and sometimes xenophobic press assault in history. The leading political lights of leave have claimed to be pro-immigrant and yet have, at the same time, been ruthlessly fearmongering about Britain being overrun by Turks, after a Turkish accession which they understand perfectly well is not on the cards. The mood is frenzied, the air thick with indignation, and clouded with untruths. The best starting point for Britain to reach a sound decision on Thursday is to cool the passions of the heart, and listen to the head.

All reason tells us that the great issues of our time have little respect for national borders. The leave side has attempted to turn “expert” into a term of abuse, but one does not need the IMF, the Bank of England or any special knowledge to grasp that these border-busting issues range from corporate power, migration and tax evasion to weapons proliferation, epidemics and climate change. Not one of them can be properly tackled at the level of the nation state. Impose controls on a multinational corporation and it will move to a softer jurisdiction. Crack down on tax evasion and the evaders will vanish offshore. Cap your own carbon emissions in isolation and some other country will burn with abandon. In so far as any of these problems can be effectively addressed, it is through cooperation. A better world means working across borders, not sheltering behind them. Cutting yourself off solves nothing. That, fundamentally, is why Britain should vote to remain in the club that represents the most advanced form of cross-border cooperation that the world has ever seen.

We need, too, to remember our history. Britain was formed and shaped by Europe. And we are – in historical as well as cultural, geographical and trading terms – a European nation. In almost every generation of European history until the past 70 years, people from these islands have fought and died in European wars. But within the borders of the European Union, there has been no war at all. This has not been an accident. To turn our back on that is unworthy of our traditions.

This is not to dispute that there are flaws in the way that Europe is constituted and led. The EU is a union of nations working together, it is not and never will be a United States of Europe, and so its leadership is bound to depend on the imperfect leadership of all these countries. The single currency has been a flawed project and has set one nation against another, forcing the poor to pay the price for propping up a shonky structure. But Britain is not part of the eurozone, and the EU is not a plot against the nation state. Britain is still robustly herself too, warts and all.

If the EU has become a whipping boy, that is in large part because of the frustration that many inevitably have with day-to-day life in Britain. There are millions of citizens whose wages have been stuck for many years, whose job

security has been hollowed out, and whose hopes of a fair deal are being undermined, all at a time when immigration has increased. People are bruised and angry, and many are ready to take it out on those they feel have let them down. Even if the UK government itself actually bears far more of the responsibility, it must be admitted that the EU is part of an international economic order that has been unkind to many. The wish to kick against it can thus be understood, even though it is mistaken.

For the core issues here are labour standards, and they are more effectively governed collaboratively, or else the great danger is of a competitive pressure to strip away protections covering hours, discrimination or agency and temporary working. More broadly, there is no crisis in Europe which is so serious that it would be better for the British prime minister to be outside the EU knocking on the door pleading to be heard rather than inside the room sorting things out. A leave victory would not solve the problems that cause such anger. On the contrary, it would make most of them worse.

The only argument about the immediate economic effects of Brexit is the depth of the hit that the economy would take, not whether it would take a hit at all. The political victors would not be those who wish to rebuild politics. They would be rightwing Tories, and ruthless plutocrats who want freedom to reorder Britain and make money as they choose. They have no interest in fairer taxes on the rich, or higher spending on the NHS. They have spent their so-called Brexit dividend – which in reality is almost certainly a negative number, not the mendacious £350m a week which has earned them an official reprimand – many times over. A significant group of them are flat-taxers who are whispering about deep cuts to corporation taxes. Facile Brexiter talk of a more buccaneering Britain – presumably a country fit for Sir Philip Green or Fred Goodwin to capture other galleons – offers precisely nothing to assuage the fears of elderly voters who simply want nothing more to change.

It is a fantasy to suppose that, if Britain votes to leave, these victors would want to maintain or extend protections for pensioners or workers. On the contrary. Human rights, equality, health and safety, and aid to refugees would be out of the window. Those who vote to leave as a protest against the elite will, in truth, be

handing the keys to the very worst of that very elite. There would be no “taking back control” for most working-class leave voters, just less control over their diminishing share than ever. Those who have not yet made up their mind in this campaign should ask themselves this: do you want to live in a Britain in the image of Nigel Farage? Yes or no? For that’s the choice on offer. If the answer is no, then vote remain.

### **Fantasy island**

Thursday’s vote is in some ways a choice between an imaginary past of which too many in this country cannot let go and a future about which all of us are inescapably uncertain. If it goes in favour of leave it will hand Britain’s young people a country that most of them do not intend to vote for. Is that fair? It may push Scottish nationalists to proceed with a break-up of Britain that was rejected less than two years ago. Is that responsible? It will put the settlement in Northern Ireland – the fragile prize won so recently from decades of hatred – at risk. Is that worth it? Not at all. Instead we should be putting our shoulders to the task of building a democratic, devolved, multicultural Britain with a fair deal for all, connected to the world and working with our European neighbours.

The campaign has further alienated voters who were already disaffected. To an extraordinary degree, it has inflicted the Tory party’s pathological obsession with the EU on a country that does not ordinarily share it. No one bears more responsibility for this whole unedifying event than David Cameron, it is true. In the end, though, Thursday’s vote is not about him. It has become a turn-in-the-road issue for Britain and Europe alike. Imagine a world without the EU – without the clout to face down Russia over Ukraine, without the ability to put together coherent answers to carbon emissions, to protect standards at work from a race to the bottom. Like democracy, the EU is an imperfect way of answering the modern world’s unrelenting challenges. But the answer to its imperfections is to reform them, not to walk away – still less to give in to this country’s occasional hooligan instinct in Europe.

Like democracy, whose virtues are in our minds afresh after the violent death of the committed and principled MP Jo Cox, the EU is not just the least bad of the available options. It is also the one that embodies the best of us as a free people

in a peaceful Europe. Vote this week. Vote for a united country that reaches out to the world, and vote against a divided nation that turns inwards. Vote to remain.

Source: The Guardian. *The Guardian view on the EU Referendum: Keep connected and inclusive, not angry and isolated* [online]. 20 June 2016.

Available from: <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/jun/20/the-guardian-view-on-the-eu-referendum-keep-connected-and-inclusive-not-angry-and-isolated> [Retrieved 7 April 2018]

## **Appendix 3:**

### **SUN SAYS We urge our readers to beLEAVE in Britain and vote to quit the EU on June 23**

**WE are about to make the biggest political decision of our lives. The Sun urges everyone to vote LEAVE.**

By The Sun, 13th June 2016, 9:58 pm

Updated: 4th August 2016, 8:28 pm

We must set ourselves free from dictatorial Brussels.

Throughout our 43-year membership of the European Union it has proved increasingly greedy, wasteful, bullying and breathtakingly incompetent in a crisis.

Next Thursday, at the ballot box, we can correct this huge and historic mistake.

It is our last chance. Because, be in no doubt, our future looks far bleaker if we stay in.

Outside the EU we can become richer, safer and free at long last to forge our own destiny — as America, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and many other great democracies already do. And as we were the first to do centuries ago.

If we stay, Britain will be engulfed in a few short years by this relentlessly expanding German dominated federal state.

For all David Cameron's witless assurances, our powers and values **WILL** be further eroded.

Staying in will be worse for immigration, worse for jobs, worse for wages and worse for our way of life.

Greece is bankrupt.

Italy is in danger of going the same way, with even more disastrous consequences.

In Spain, 45 per cent of those under 25 are out of work.

And numerous even poorer and worse-governed countries are now joining the EU.

To remain means being powerless to cut mass immigration which keeps wages low and puts catastrophic pressure on our schools, hospitals, roads and housing stock.

In every way, it is a bigger risk.

The Remain campaign, made up of the corporate establishment, arrogant europhiles and foreign banks, have set out to terrify us all about life outside the EU.

Their "Project Fear" strategy predicts mass unemployment, soaring interest rates and inflation, plummeting house prices, even world war.

The Treasury, Bank of England, the IMF and world leaders have all been wheeled out by Downing Street to add their grim warnings.

This is our chance to make Britain even greater, to recapture our democracy, to preserve the values and culture we are rightly proud of

Nonsense! Years ago the same politicians and economists issued apocalyptic predictions about our fate if we didn't join the euro.

Thank God we stopped that. The single currency's stranglehold has since ruined the EU's poorer nations and cast millions on the dole.

We are told we cannot be in the single market without accepting all the rules, free movement of people included.

If so, let's leave it and, using our enormous clout as the world's fifth biggest economy, strike great trade deals with the other 85 per cent of the world.

And pick and choose the best migrants from the whole world.

If we stay in the EU, as Cameron wants, we will finally give up any chance of controlling our population. Cameron admits it.

Vote Leave, and we will reassert our sovereignty — embracing a future as a self-governing, powerful nation envied by all.

We will re-establish the basic principle that we are governed by politicians we elect or eject every five years, not foreign bureaucrats.

The Sun has campaigned relentlessly against the ever-expanding superstate.

But the EU cannot reform.

Remain has conducted a deceitful campaign. It has been nasty, cynical, personally abusive and beneath the dignity of Britain.

Our country has a glorious history.

This is our chance to make Britain even greater, to recapture our democracy, to preserve the values and culture we are rightly proud of.

**A VOTE FOR LEAVE IS A VOTE FOR A BETTER BRITAIN.**

Source: The Sun. *SUN SAYS We urge our readers to beLEAVE in Britain and vote to quit the EU on June 23.* [online]. 13 June 2016. Available from: <https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/1277920/we-urge-our-readers-to-believe-in-britain-and-vote-to-leave-the-eu-in-referendum-on-june-23/> [Retrieved 14 April 2018]



## **Appendix 4:**

### **Brexit: What will happen if Britain leaves the EU?**

Oliver Wright explains just how seismic events will be if the Leave campaign prevails on Thursday

Oliver Wright Political Editor

Saturday 18 June 2016 17:59 BST

#### **The result itself**

Unless the result is very close, we should have a clear idea of whether Britain has voted for Brexit before the official announcement is made in Manchester. This is because individual local authorities will be declaring their results as and when the votes are counted, so we'll have a good idea of what's happening up and down the country before an official declaration. This declaration is not expected until about 5am, at the very earliest.

It is unlikely that David Cameron or Boris Johnson will make any kind of official statement until the official declaration. But both will do so shortly afterwards, especially if the result is not declared until just before the financial markets open.

David Cameron announces he will quit

Whichever way the vote goes, expect to see David Cameron making a statement outside Downing Street at around 7am. If it is a vote for Brexit, he may well use this opportunity to announce he will stand down and make way for another Tory leader to negotiate Britain's exit from the EU.

He is unlikely to stand down immediately, though. Most people expect he will announce his intention to stand down so a new leader can be put in place by early autumn, in time for the Tory party conference. But despite everything he is saying now, there is no way he will carry on and negotiate Britain's exit from the EU. If he tried, he would face a leadership challenge from Tory Brexit MPs, and he would lose.

### **Sterling falls, stock market falls, debt interest rates rise**

As most financial markets still believe Britain will vote to remain (regardless of the polls), the impact of a Brexit vote is likely to be considerable. The pound will almost certainly fall significantly, as will share prices, with banking stocks and multinationals hardest hit.

It is possible that in order to try to stem the fall in sterling, the Bank of England will put up interest rates – at least in the short term. This would have a very ‘real world’ effect as it would mean the cost of mortgages and borrowing would immediately rise for us all.

Michael Saunders, a new member of the bank’s Monetary Policy Committee, has said he expects the pound to come under severe pressure. When he was working for Citibank, he wrote that Brexit risks were “nowhere near priced yet”, adding that Britain should expect between 15 and 20 per cent depreciation of sterling against Britain’s main trading partners.

The Bank of England has already said it has contingency plans in place that will be implemented in the event of Brexit. In fact, some of these plans will take place regardless of the vote. Next week, the bank will hold additional auctions of sterling to ensure the banking system has sufficient funds to operate in a potentially chaotic moment.

### **George Osborne will change his tune**

While all the rhetoric of the campaign has been about the catastrophic consequences of Brexit, if we actually do vote to leave the Chancellor will do everything he can to calm the markets.

Expect him to emphasise how long it will take for a negotiated exit to take place, and expect him to reassure the markets that there will be no change in Britain’s relationship with Europe for at least several years. The name of the game will be buying time. That said, Mr Osborne may also announce he will stand down as Chancellor when a new Tory leader is elected. If Britain votes for Brexit, he would almost certainly rule himself out of the race to succeed David Cameron and would probably likely jump before he is pushed out of the Treasury.

### **David Cameron will invoke Article 50 of the Lisbon Treaty**

This is a legal mechanism by which Britain withdraws from the EU. Mr Cameron could do this at any time, but it is perhaps most likely to happen at a meeting of EU heads of state on 27 June. If Britain does vote for Brexit, then this meeting will be of crucial importance anyway. It will be the first time that all 26 member states will be able to take stock of the decision of the 27th member to pull out.

But don't expect any decisions at this meeting – Mr Cameron will not be the person negotiating Britain's exit, so anything of substance will be put on hold until a new prime minister is in place.

### **Boris Johnson and Theresa May announce they will stand to become the next prime minister**

If Britain votes for Brexit, then Boris Johnson is the man to beat for the next Tory leadership. In these circumstances, the only two figures that could realistically challenge him with a chance of winning are Michael Gove and Theresa May. Mr Gove may rule himself out, preferring to be Boris's kingmaker rather than a contender. But Ms May is almost certain to stand. She had kept a low profile during the campaign so far: she has come out in favour of remain (which will disadvantage her), but she might still come through to win as a steady but tough hand on the tiller through what will undoubtedly be turbulent times.

*The EU referendum debate has so far been characterised by bias, distortion and exaggeration. So until 23 June we we're running a series of question and answer features that explain the most important issues in a detailed, dispassionate way to help inform your decision.*

Source: WRIGHT, Oliver. *Brexit: What will happen if Britain leaves the EU?* Independent [online]. 18 June 2016. Available from:

<https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/eu-referendum-what-happens-if-britain-does-vote-for-brexit-a7089336.html> [Retrieved 15 April 2018]

## **Appendix 5:**

### **Vote leave to benefit from a world of opportunity**

Telegraph View

20 June 2016 • 9:30pm

On the day the United Kingdom joined the Common Market on Jan 1, 1973, the editorial in this newspaper captured the views of much of the country. We wrote: “Whether or not this is to be regarded as a sunshine day for the British people will depend largely on how they react to the opportunities which now beckon. Enlargement of the community from six to nine members could spell the final atrophy of a once great nation; or, more probably, it could mark a new and splendid chapter in our long history.”

There is no doubt that since 1973, the country has prospered. Indeed, we joined the Common Market because we thought it was the answer to the economic malaise that had led to Britain being dubbed “the sick man of Europe”.

But all industrialised countries are wealthier than they were then, not just those in Europe. Arguably, the economic and financial changes wrought during the 1980s, together with the decline of trade union power, contributed far more to our GDP growth than membership of the Common Market.

Is it seriously being suggested that had we continued to function as an independent nation for the past 43 years like, say, Australia or Japan, we would today be the impoverished off-shore neighbour of a continental powerhouse? We cannot be sure; but there is no reason to believe so.

The Remainers have sought to scare the nation into believing that calamity lies in wait for an independent Britain. They imply that our trade would collapse even though we import far more from the EU than they buy from us and our biggest markets are outside the EU.

We are told membership is essential because it provides access to a market of 500 million people; yet there is a market of six billion people beyond its borders and nothing would stop us continuing to trade with Europe anyway. Other non-

EU countries trade more with the single market than we do but don't have to pay into the EU budget for the privilege of doing so.

A world of opportunity is waiting for a fully independent Britain. This country is a leading economic power, its language is global, its laws are trusted and its reputation for fair dealing is second to none. To say we cannot thrive free of the EU's constraints is defeatist and flies in the face of this country's great mercantile traditions.

But while the economic rationale for membership was the key argument behind the movement to take us into the Common Market, there were other motivations, too. After the Second World War and the end of Britain's role as a colonial power, the country was politically and diplomatically adrift. Its predicament was summed up by the US secretary of state Dean Acheson with the phrase: "Great Britain has lost an empire and has not yet found a role."

In the early 1960s, the Macmillan government thought to plug that gap by joining what was then a community of six countries, but his overtures were rebuffed by the French president Charles de Gaulle. Our eventual accession, together with Ireland and Denmark, increased the number to nine. Today there are 28. So how do we answer the question implied in that editorial 43 years ago? Can history regard it as a "sunshine day"?

Within a few years of joining, our ambivalence to Europe was already apparent when the Labour government, for internal political reasons, called a referendum on our continued membership in 1975. The result was an overwhelming vote to remain – by 2:1 – and this seemed to put paid to any lingering doubts. The country wanted to stay; so let's get on with it.

Few people, however, fully appreciated the extent to which the EEC was less the benign economic arrangement they imagined and much more a political project. True, there were those during the 1975 referendum campaign who made this point; but they went largely unheeded. The national sense was that we were in a free trading area of independent nation states that would help our exporters, create jobs and allow everyone to get richer.

There were early difficulties, not least British objections to the terms on which we joined, which Mrs Thatcher sought to rectify by demanding and securing a rebate on the UK's excessive contribution. But, by and large, the relationship worked well. If anything, the British took the lead in seeking to turn the EU into a proper trading area by championing the single market, even if Mrs Thatcher later regretted the way this was done.

Everything changed in 1992, however, with the Maastricht Treaty. Now, the political nature of the project took over. The Common Market became the European Union and its people citizens of the EU; timetables were set for economic and monetary union and the introduction of a single currency; areas of policy-making that had previously been agreed among member states were brought within the competence of the European Commission, which became a supercharged administration-cum-government.

We did not like this development but were not given the opportunity to stop it. John Major, then prime minister, obtained an opt-out from the single currency. But it went ahead with all the safeguards to prevent economic disparities abandoned, with disastrous consequences.

Subsequent treaties signed at Nice, Amsterdam and Lisbon, together with a string of political protocols, have further aggrandised the EU into a supra-national body within which the interests of individual states are secondary to the greater good of the overall Union.

It now has the trappings of the nation state that we were always assured it would not become: a single currency; a central bank; no frontiers (even if these have been going up again recently in response to the migration crisis); a supreme court; a police force and judicial system (Europol and Eurojust); an embryonic gendarmerie; its own foreign policy; and, if some in the Commission get their way, it will have a European army.

Nor will it stop there. The report of the EU's Five Presidents published last year in response to the eurozone's deep problems charts the way forward to a fully integrated EU, a superstate in all but name. The fact that Britain does not

participate in some of its component parts, notably the euro or the borderless Schengen area, makes no difference since they have an impact upon us.

It is suggested by those wanting to stay in the EU that this somehow gives us “the best of both worlds”. In truth it gives us the worst of a bad job: half in and half out of something we do not really wish to be part of but feel we cannot leave for fear of wrecking it.

Indeed, so fragile is this political construct that the departure of one of its members, and especially one as big as the UK, threatens to trigger terminal instability. And why is that? If this were a robust democratic institution, underpinned by a thriving economy and a content and happy citizenry then Britain’s withdrawal should have no impact at all. Of course, if it were such a utopia then we wouldn’t be having a discussion about leaving in the first place; but it isn’t.

Across Europe, disenchantment with Brussels is growing. A recent poll in Italy showed 48 per cent would vote to leave, an astonishing figure in the spiritual home of the EU. The MORI poll also suggested that 58 per cent of the French want their own referendum, and 41 per cent say they would vote to leave. Those who dismiss the referendum here as some British eccentricity whipped up by Little Englander Europhobes need to ask why the EU is so unpopular elsewhere.

The principal reason is its anti-democratic nature - the dislocation between those who govern and the governed. While people can vote for their national leaders, who then have an input into collective decision-making, they are no longer able to influence events that affect them directly through the ballot box. In any case, by the time many directives that begin life in Brussels have got to the Council of Ministers for a decision it is too late to stop them.

So we are not alone in Britain in feeling irritation with the EU. Most pernicious has been the way in which it has imposed its will on democratically elected governments in indebted eurozone countries in order to bail them out of the economic difficulties brought about by their membership of the single currency. The fact that the EU is a collection of democracies does not detract from the

reality that this is a profoundly undemocratic institution. This has nothing to do with being anti-European. It is about the type of institution the EU has become.

The question that arises, therefore, is whether we wish to stay in a club whose rules and membership have changed so markedly since we joined 43 years ago and which no longer delivers the benefits we were promised at the outset.

We are told by Remain campaigners that we can always occupy an outer ring of countries that do not wish to be part of the integrated eurozone but do not want to leave the EU either.

Is this what we want for our country: peripheral status, an unloved and little-noticed satellite of a Greater EU? Or do we want to be an independent nation once more, free to make our own decisions, forge our own trading relationships and maintain our own strategic and diplomatic partnerships? Those who say that if we vote to stay we can bring about the reforms in the EU that we would like to see are ignoring the evidence of the past 25 years.

In addition, what future does the EU offer as it lurches from one crisis to another? It has shackled itself to a currency union that has wrecked the livelihoods of its southern member states, causing mass unemployment among young people and encouraging the growth of extremist political parties. Its economies have stagnated, other than that of Germany, to whose advantage the system principally works. The only continent with lower growth than Europe is Antarctica.

Had we joined the euro, as many Remainers now warning of catastrophe if we leave wanted us to, then Britain would be in a desperate mess. Why, then, would a country with our history and economic strength want to continue its membership of such a dysfunctional outfit? Ask ourselves this question: if we weren't in it would we be agitating to join now?

Remainers also claim we would lose influence in the world and deride those wanting to leave as Little Englanders. Yet the opposite is the case: it is the EU which is insular and self-regarding, hemmed in by the narrow confines of dreary summits and endless treaty-making. Britain, by contrast, has always been a global player, with its connections to the Commonwealth, the UN and Nato, and will be again.



We have often commended David Cameron for staging the referendum but have been dismayed with the way his campaign has been conducted, especially in besmirching his opponents and impugning their motives.

In supporting a vote to leave, we are not harking back to a Britannic golden age lost in the mists of time but looking forward to a new beginning for our country. We are told it is a choice between fear and hope. If that is the case, then we choose hope.

In the event, and despite the optimism of our editorial, Jan 1, 1973 turned out not to be a sunshine day for the UK after all. On Thursday, the country has another opportunity to lift the clouds. We must take it.

Source: The Telegraph. *Vote leave to benefit from a world of opportunity* [online]. 20 June 2016. Available from: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/opinion/2016/06/20/vote-leave-to-benefit-from-a-world-of-opportunity/> [Retrieved 18 April 2018]