

BREXIT

By Avinash Gogineni 2P

What is Brexit?

Brexit is the term used for representing the process of Britain's exit from the EU. 'Brexit' is simply a shortened version of 'British Exit'. In June 2016, Britain held a referendum to leave or stay in the EU and the country voted by 52% to leave the EU. Brexit was and is a very controversial issue as although Britain did vote to leave, almost half (48%) voted to stay. The formal beginning of the withdrawal was announced by the government in March 2017 and the negotiations have taken almost three years. The transition period of leaving the EU only just began recently (at time of writing) on 31 January 2020. This essay will tell you about the past, the present, and the future of Brexit.

How and why did we join the EU in the first place?

What is the EU?

To answer that question, first you need to know what the EU is and how it works.

Background

After 1945, some European political leaders thought that a European Council or Congress should be created to tie their nations together: this would be the answer to prevent extreme nationalism that caused World War II.

The first step was taken in 1949 when the Council of Europe was founded. It was the very first kind of union of Europe. The Council mainly focused upon values such as human rights and democracy instead of economic or trade issues. It was a forum where member governments could choose to work with one another.

However, in 1952, six nations grew tired of the lack of progress. The European Coal and Steel Community was born. The founders included Alcide De Gasperi from Italy, Jean Monnet and Robert Schuman from France, and Paul-Henri Spaak from Belgium. They thought that coal and steel were the two key industries for waging war, and by tying their national industries together the chances of war would be reduced.

The next step occurred in 1957 with the Treaty of Rome. It was signed by Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and West Germany. This formed the European Economic Community (EEC) which would work on trade agreements and a customs union. These countries also signed an agreement creating Euratom – intended for cooperation in the nuclear energy sector. The two organisations shared the same Common Assembly and courts. In 1973 the Denmark, Greenland, Ireland and the UK joined. Greenland later left in 1985 following a dispute over fishing rights. Greece joined in 1981 with both Spain and Portugal following in 1986.

In 1985, the Schengen Agreement paved the way for free people movement between EU member states. After the fall of the Berlin Wall and the Iron Curtain, in 1992, the Maastricht Treaty meant that former communist states of central and eastern Europe could join. The euro came into existence on 1 January 1999, although it had been a goal of the European Union (EU) and its

predecessors since the 1960s. The main reason it took so long was due to British and Danish opposition. Banknotes and coins came into circulation in 2002. In 2004, Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia joined the Union. Bulgaria and Romania followed in 2007. The Lisbon Treaty, which came in to force in 2009, gave the EU its current structure.

How Does the EU Work?

There are seven different institutions which govern, run the EU and make its decisions. They can be sorted into different groups.

EXECUTIVE

European Council

The European Council is made up of the top political leaders (e.g. president of PM) of the member states. It chooses the main aims of the EU. Sometimes it also settles urgent issues of high importance. It also has a president which its members elect. The president can serve for up to two terms of two and a half years in a row. The Council can vote only if a majority of its members is present. A member of the Council may only act on the behalf of one other member. The president initiates vote. A member of the Council can also initiate a vote but only if a majority of the Council agrees. It is based in Brussels.

European Commission

The European Commission's main job is to propose new laws: it is the only institution that can do this. It deals with issues that cannot be dealt with effectively at a national level. It also speaks on the behalf of the EU at international level. It is composed of 27 commissioners – one from each member state. The President selects potential Vice-Presidents and Commissioners based on suggestions from the EU countries. The list of nominees must be approved by the European Council. Each nominee appears before the European Parliament to explain their ideas and answer questions. Parliament then votes on whether to accept the nominees as a team. Finally, they are appointed by the European Council, by a majority. It is based in Brussels.

LEGISLATIVE

European Parliament

The European Parliament represents the citizens of the European Union. Its members are known as MEPs (Member of the European Parliament). Each member state has MEPs approximate to their share of EU population. For example, Malta with 493,600 people has 6 MEPs. With the UK leaving the EU, there are 705 MEPs in the European Parliament. The work of the parliament has two stages: Plenary Sessions and Committees.

Plenary Sessions

Plenary Sessions pass legislation. This is when all the MEPs gather in the Parliament in either Strasbourg or Brussels and vote on whether a bill should be passed. It is normally held in Strasbourg for four days a month, but sometimes there are additional sessions in Brussels.

Committees

Committees prepare legislation. The parliament has twenty committees and two subcommittees. They all handle a different policy area. The committees examine proposals for legislation, and MEPs and political groups can put forward amendments or propose to reject a bill.

Council of the European Union

The Council of the European Union is also known sometimes known as the Council of Ministers. In the Council, government ministers from each EU country meet to discuss, amend and adopt laws, and coordinate policies. The ministers can commit their governments to the actions agreed on in the meetings. There are no fixed members of the EU Council. Instead, the Council meets based on 10 different policies, each corresponding to the policy area being discussed. For example, when the Council is meeting on finance affairs then each country would send their finance ministers.

JUDICIAL

Court of Justice of the European Union

The Court of Justice of the European Union (CJEU) is the EU's highest judicial authority. The CJEU interprets EU law, settles disputes, enforces the law, annuls EU legal acts (if need be), ensures the EU acts and sanctions EU institutions (if need be). The CJEU consists of European Court of Justice and the General Court. The European Court of Justice deals with requests for preliminary rulings from national courts. The General Court rules on actions for annulment brought by individuals, companies and, in some cases, EU governments. Each judge and advocate general is appointed for a renewable 6-year term, jointly by national governments. In each Court, the judges select a President who serves a renewable term of 3 years.

European Court of Auditors

The European Court of Auditors audits the EU budget, checking that funds are properly spent and reporting any fraud to Parliament, the commission, and national governments. Court members are appointed by the European Council, after consulting the Parliament, for renewable 6-year terms. They choose one of their members as President for a 3-year term (also renewable).

FINANCIAL

European Central Bank

The European Central Bank deals with managing the Euro for the nineteen countries (Austria, Belgium, Cyprus, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, the Netherlands, Portugal, Slovakia, Slovenia and Spain) that use the Euro. It implements the EU monetary policy and helps regulate the EU banking system. The ECB is based in Frankfurt, Germany. The ECB's current president is Christine Lagarde and the main governing body of the central bank is the Governing Council. It consists of the six members of the Executive Board plus the governors of the central banks of the 19 euro-area countries.

How does a country join the EU?

Criteria

To join the EU a country must fulfil certain criteria. The rules that define whether a certain country can join the EU are known as the Copenhagen Criteria. The criteria decree that a state must have organisations to preserve democratic governance, human rights, must have a functioning market economy and accepts the obligations and intent of the EU. These criteria were laid down at the June 1993 European Council (the EU had some elements of its current structure back then) in Copenhagen, Denmark, from which they take their name. Here is a section of the conclusions of that meeting:

'Membership requires that a candidate country has achieved stability of institutions guaranteeing democracy, the rule of law, human rights, respect for and protection of minorities, the existence of a functioning market economy as well as the capacity to cope with competitive pressure and market forces within the Union. Membership presupposes the candidate's ability to take on the obligations of membership including adherence to the aims of political, economic and monetary union.'

The four main sections of criteria required for membership of the EU are geographic, political, economic and legislative. The EU also assesses whether it has the capacity to include another country in it.

Geographic

The geographic criteria must be fully or partially in Europe. For example, the US cannot join the EU because it is in North America and France can be and is part of the EU because part of it is in Europe.

Political

The political criteria require that the country has a functioning democracy, rule of law, human rights and respect for protection of minorities.

Functioning Democracy

This means that all citizens of a country should be able to take part in, on an equal basis, in the political decision making at every level. It also requires free elections with a secret ballot, free trade unions, the right to form political parties with any hindrance from the current government, a free

press, freedom of speech and opinion, a leader(s) whose powers are restricted by law and impartial, unbiased judges.

Rule of Law

The rule of law means that a government can only take actions if they are within law. These laws must have been created through a set procedure. This principle safeguards against tyranny and unfair rulings.

Human Rights

Everyone in the applicant country, regardless of age, race or religion should have the fundamental rights laid out in the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights. This means that every single person in the applicant country regardless of age, gender, race or Human Rights. These rights cannot, in any circumstance, be taken away from anyone. No one should have any more rights than anyone else. Everyone should be equal.

Respect for and protection of minorities

The citizens of the applicant country that are within an ethnic minority should have the right to practise and keep their culture, no matter how distinctive or different it is to the normal in the country. They should also be able to retain and speak their language and not suffer any discrimination on basis of their race.

Economic

The economic criteria require that the applicant country has a functioning market economy and that their suppliers can cope with competition and market forces within the EU. The applicant country, if it wishes to use the Euro, must fulfil the Euro Convergence Criteria. However, it can opt out of using the Euro like Denmark did.

Legislative

Finally, and although it is technically outside the Copenhagen criteria, the applicant country must incorporate EU law inside its national law. The European law is known as the *acquis communautaire*. It is French: the '*acquis*' means that which has been acquired or obtained and '*communautaire*' means of the community.

Negotiations

A country wishing to join the EU submits a membership application to the European Council, which asks the European Commission to check whether the applicant can meet the Copenhagen criteria. If the Commission thinks so, the European Council agrees on a framework for negotiations with the candidate country. Membership negotiations cannot start until all EU governments agree.

The negotiations have 35 policy areas which are known as chapters. The negotiations cover one chapter at a time and the speed of negotiations depends on how quickly the applicant country can meet the conditions set out by the EU. Once the negotiations are complete, the country must sign an Accession treaty, setting out when it will formally join the EU. This treaty must be approved by the European Commission, the European Parliament and each EU member state.

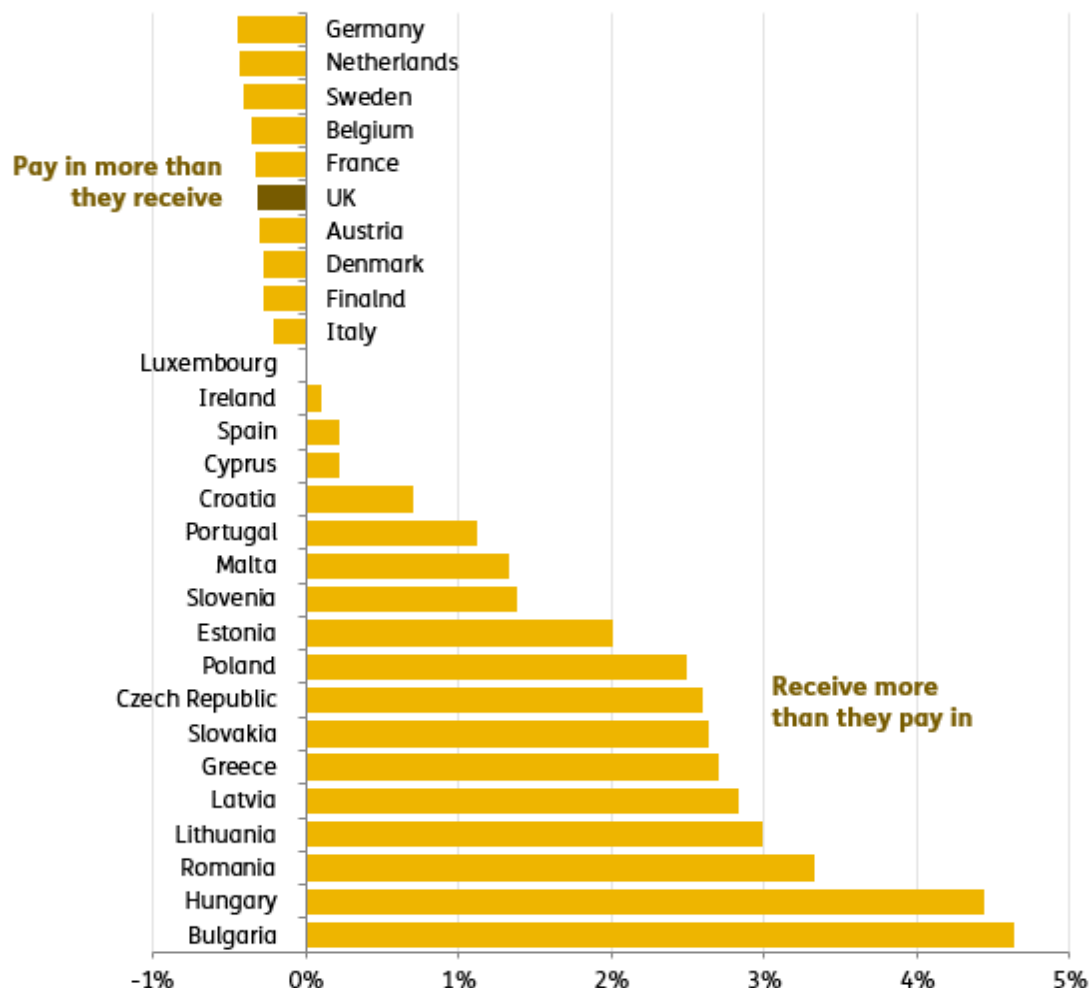
How much does a member need to pay?

How much a member needs to pay is worked out during the negotiations and varies. Each country pays the same proportion of its national income to the EU budget, so richer countries pay more and poorer ones less. Some countries, such as the UK, pay less because they receive a rebate. The EU

also takes 75% of the customs duties and agricultural duties collected by each member state when goods enter the customs union. The EU spends the money on a wide range of projects, but about three quarters of the budget every year goes to two main areas: agriculture and development of poorer areas of the EU. Therefore, poorer countries with a lot of farms get more money back. Germany received the least money back compared the proportion of its national income that it paid to the EU from 2014-2016. Germany, Holland, Sweden, Belgium, France, the UK, Austria, Denmark, Finland and Italy all received less than they gave to the EU. Every other country received more money compared the proportion of national income it paid to the EU. Bulgaria was the highest net receiver. However, the UK receives a rebate, which is basically a discount, which means although the UK pays slightly less, it is still the 6th highest net giver to the EU.

EU budget: net givers and receivers

Average net contribution as a proportion of Gross National Income (GNI) to EU budget between 2014 and 2016, by member state



Graph Source: European Commission

How and why did the UK join the EU?

This section is about why the UK government in 1975 decided to join the EU and the benefits and downsides of being in the EU.

Why did the UK not join the EU when it started?

In 1951, the UK was invited to participate in the talks that led to the birth of the European Coal and Steel Community and in 1957, it was again invited to participate in the talk that led to the EEC and Euratom. The UK did not engage significantly in either of the talks nor did it join either organisation. The UK did not like the supranational (having power or influence that transcends national boundaries or governments) or technocratic (characterized by the government or control of society or industry by an elite of technical experts) that were being discussed there. Britain did not like the idea of creating a completely new 'one-world' currency. Instead they thought the pound should be used as the 'one-world' currency. British voters also thought that joining would threaten links with the commonwealth.

The Tory Government

Winston Churchill is famously quoted as saying "We are with Europe, but not of it" when speaking of a "United States of Europe" that Britain would partner, but not be directly involved in. Although Churchill was an early supporter of pan-Europeanism, the UK did not join the ECSC. Following years of a Tory government ridiculing the early European Communities, UK GDP continued to fall, and the economy continued to struggle. At last, in 1961 when GDP difference between the UK and Europe was at a low of 10%, Prime Minister Harold Macmillan asked the continent about at last joining the European Community.

EFTA

In 1960, the UK was more interested in a rival organisation called EFTA. EFTA stands for European Free Trade Association. On 12 January 1960, the Treaty on the European Free Trade Association was initiated in the Golden Hall of the Prince's Palace of Stockholm. This established the slow elimination of customs duties on industrial products. The founding members of the EFTA were: Austria, Denmark, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom. However, it soon became clear that EFTA's performance was inferior to that of the EEC.

How and why did the UK eventually join?

The British Empire was on the verge of collapse and at the beginning of a rapid economical descent. Europe seemed to be the only answer. The United Kingdom made its first application to join the European Union in 1961. However, it was rejected because French president, Charles de Gaulle opposed. The UK applied to join again in 1967 but Charles de Gaulle opposed it *again*. Only when Charles de Gaulle died on 9 November 1970, was the UK able to join in 1973.

Suez Crisis

What was it?

In 1954 Gamal Abdel Nasser took control of Egypt. One of Nasser's goals was to modernize Egypt. He wanted to build the Aswan Dam – to generate electricity and stop the Nile from flooding each year - as a major part of the improvement. The United States had agreed to loan Egypt the money for the

Dam, but then pulled their funding due to Egypt's military and political ties to the Soviet Union. Nasser did not like this.

To pay for the Aswan Dam, Nasser decided to take over the Suez Canal. It had been controlled by the British to keep it open and free to all countries. Nasser seized the canal and was going to charge for passage to pay for the Aswan Dam.

The UK, France, and Israel all had issues with Nasser's government at the time. They decided to use the canal as a reason to attack Egypt. They secretly planned that Israel would attack and seize the canal. Then the French and the British would enter as peacekeepers taking control of the canal.

The Americans were angry with the French and the British. Due to Soviet threats of nuclear war and ICBMs (Intercontinental Ballistic missiles) raining down on Western Capitals (The United States arranged unmanned U-2 flights to establish the credibility of Khrushchev's threats and the USSR's arsenal consisted only of four *Semyorka* missiles stationed at a swamp south of Arkhangelsk), Eisenhower and other NATO nations imposed sanctions. At the same time of the Suez Crisis, the Soviet Union was invading Hungary. The United States ended up forcing the Israelis, the British and the French to withdraw to prevent conflict with the Soviet Union.

Impacts

The Suez Crisis showed that Britain was no longer the world power it once was. The UK could not even continue its war when the US threatened to sell its bonds and imposed sanctions. The Suez Crisis also accelerated decolonisation. The UK realised that links with the commonwealth were not enough. Thus, increasingly, British foreign policy shifted towards Europe. This led to Anthony Eden's successor, Harold Macmillan, to file the first application to join the EEC in 1961.

Should the UK have joined the EU at all?

Firstly, the UK did not join the EU as it is now then, it joined the EC: the European Communities. EFTA had proved inferior to the EC and the economies of the 'inner six' were performing far better than the 'outer seven' of the European Free Trade Association. In 1961, just one year after joining EFTA in 1960, Harold Macmillan filed the first application to join the EU. After numerous rejections and vetoes (mainly by Charles de Gaulle), the UK finally joined the EC in 1973.

Britain joined what was then the European Economic Community in 1973 as the sick man of Europe. By the late 1960s, France, West Germany and Italy — the three founder members closest in size of economy to the UK — produced more per person than it did, and the gap grew larger every year. Between 1958, when the EEC was set up, and Britain's entry in 1973, GDP per person rose 95 per cent in these three countries compared with only 50 per cent in Britain.

After becoming an EEC member, Britain slowly began to catch up. GDP per person has grown faster than Italy, Germany and France in the more than 40 years since. By 2013, Britain became more prosperous than the average of the three other large European economies for the first time since 1965. Therefore, joining the EU allowed the UK economy to catch up with the rest of the world. Many Eurosceptic arguments that exist today, especially immigration, did not exist then. Yes, the UK should have joined the EC.

The present of Brexit: How and why are we leaving?

Have we ever tried to leave before?

In April 1975, the Prime Minister Harold Wilson (Labour Party) held a referendum asking British citizens whether they wanted the UK to remain in the EEC or not. The official question posed to voters was:

The Government has announced the results of the renegotiation of the United Kingdom's terms of membership of the European Community.

Do you think that the United Kingdom should stay in the European Community (the Common Market)?

A simple YES / NO answer was permitted (to be marked with a single 'X'). This was 25 years before the passing of the Political Parties, Elections and Referendums Act 2000 by the then Labour Government of Tony Blair, which introduced a general procedure for the holding of all future UK-wide referendums and created the Electoral Commission. Therefore, how the votes should be counted caused much division as the bill went through Parliament. The government believed that as it was different from that of a general election and that as a national referendum the United Kingdom was a single constituency and favoured a single national count of all the votes for the whole country to take place at Earls Court in London over several days with one declaration of the final result by the National Counting Officer but the proposal did not attract the wider support of the Labour Party or the opposition parties; the Liberal Party favoured individual counts in each of the parliamentary constituencies and tabled an amendment, but was defeated by 263 to 131 votes in the House of Commons; however, another amendment, proposed in the Commons by Labour MP Roderick MacFarquhar, said there should be separate counts for each administrative region (the county council areas): this won cross-party support, and was carried by 272 to 155 votes.

The Act did not specify a majority required to win the vote: a simple majority of 50% & 1 vote would suffice. It received royal assent on 8 May 1975, just under a month before the vote took place.

The 'Yes' Campaign



The 'Yes' campaign was officially supported by the PM, Denis Healey: The Chancellor of the Exchequer, James Callaghan: The Foreign Secretary, Roy Jenkins: The Home Secretary and the majority of the cabinet. Since the Labour Party was so split Wilson decided to suspend Collective Cabinet Responsibility (7 of the 23 cabinet ministers opposed EEC membership). Wilson's idea meant that ministers speaking in the House of Commons should reflect government policy (i.e. support for EC membership), but would be

allowed to speak freely elsewhere, thus avoiding a mass dismissal of Cabinet ministers. The Labour Party did not have an official party position on whether to leave or remain in the EEC. It was also supported by the majority of the Conservative Party, including its newly elected leader Margaret Thatcher. The Liberal Party, the Social Democratic and Labour Party, the Alliance Party of Northern Ireland and the Vanguard Unionist Progressive Party all supported the 'Yes' Campaign.

The 'No' Campaign

The 'No' Campaign was supported by half of the Labour Party (148 Labour MPs opposed their own government's measure, whereas only 138 supported it and 32 abstained), a minority of the Conservative Party, most of the Ulster Unionist Party, the Democratic Unionist Party, the Scottish National Party, Plaid Cymru, and parties outside Parliament including the National Front and the Communist Party of Great Britain.



Funding and Media Support

During the campaign, almost the entire national British press supported the "Yes" campaign. The Morning Star was the only notable national newspaper to back the "No" campaign. Television broadcasts were used by both campaigns, like party political broadcasts during general elections. They were broadcast simultaneously on three channels: BBC 1, BBC 2 and ITV. They attracted audiences of up to 20 million viewers. The "Yes" campaign advertisements were thought to be much more effective, showing their speakers listening to and answering people's concerns, while the "No" campaign's broadcasts featured speakers reading from a script.

The "Yes" campaign had much more funding, due to the support of many British businesses and the Confederation of British Industry. According to the treasurer of the "Yes" campaign, Alistair McAlpine, "The banks and big industrial companies put in very large sums of money". At the time, business was "overwhelmingly pro-European", and Harold Wilson met several key industrial figures to gain support. John Mills, the national agent of the "No" campaign, once said: "We were operating on a shoe-string compared to the Rolls Royce operation on the other side". However, it was also the case that many civil society groups supported the "Yes" campaign, including the National Farmers Union and some trade unions.





Results

Total Results

	Total Votes	Percentage
Yes	17,378,581	67.23
No	8,470,073	32.77

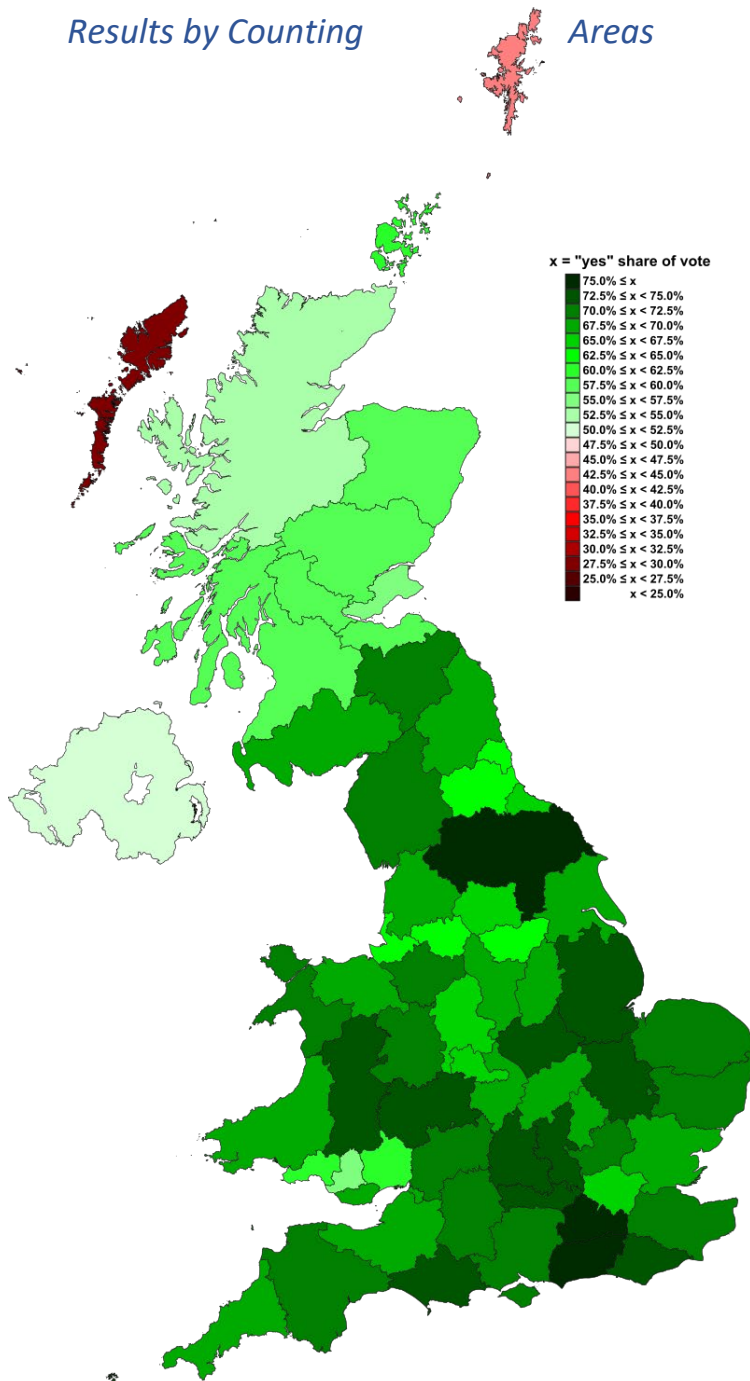
Spoiled Ballots	54,450	0.22
Turnout	40,086,677	64.67

Results by Constituent Country

Constituent Country	Electorate	Turnout (Percentage)	Yes		No	
			Votes	%	Votes	%
England 	33,356,208	64.6	14,918,009	68.7	6,812,052	31.3
Wales 	2,011,136	66.7	869,135	64.8	472,071	35.2
Scotland 	3,688,799	61.7	1,332,186	58.4	948,039	41.6
Northern Ireland 	1,030,534	47.4	259,251	52.1	237,911	47.9

Results by Counting

Areas



Conclusion of Results

The national result for the UK was declared just before 2300 GMT on Friday 6 June 1975 by the National Counting Officer Sir Phillip Allen at Earls Court in London. Due to the turnout of 64 percent, the number of votes needed to win was 12,951,598 votes. The country's decision was to remain in the EEC won by a huge majority of 8,908,508 votes. Every UK nation voted 'Yes' and just two counting area across the UK voted to leave: Shetland and the Western Isles.

Graph Source: Wikipedia

The 2016 Brexit Referendum

Why was it arranged?

In-party politics

In June 2012, nearly 100 Conservative MPs called for a referendum 'on the nature of our relationship with the European Union' but this was rejected. Cameron's initial plan was to attempt to change how the UK and EU interacted and was keen to continue down that route. He said in 2012: 'For those of us who are practical Eurosceptics, who know there is a real benefit from being engaged but are frustrated by some of the ways the relationship works, I see lots of reasons to say the argument is going our direction.' The promise of an EU referendum was made

by Cameron in a 2013 speech and made part of the Conservative manifesto for the 2015 election. The manifesto stated:

The EU needs to change. And it is time for the British people – not politicians – to have their say. Only the Conservative Party will deliver real change and real choice on Europe, with an in-out referendum by the end of 2017.

He originally planned to carry out the referendum in 2010 but they were brought to a halt due to the Liberal Democrat coalition. In 2015, his majority of 12 seats in Parliament made it easier for him to fulfil his commitments.

UKIP

The rise of anti-EU feeling was demonstrated in the 2015 election by UKIP winning 3.8 million votes (12.6%), despite only getting one MP for their efforts – Douglas Carswell, who had defected from the Tories. UKIP in their stated, in their 2015 manifesto that, 'Britain is better off out.'

The Campaigning

Stronger In

Britain Stronger In Europe was the official remain campaign for the referendum. It argued that leaving the EU would affect the economy, money and jobs. It said that being able to trade freely across the EU helps UK businesses grow and create jobs, giving people more opportunities & more financial security; Over 3 million UK jobs are linked to trade with the EU: one in every ten jobs in this country (Source: HM Treasury). Being in the EU will create 790,000 more UK jobs by 2030

(Source: Centre for Economic and Business

Research), creating more job opportunities; being

in Europe boosts the economy which is why 9 out of 10 economic experts predict economic damage if we left; Overall, we get more out than we pay in. Britain pays £5.7 billion a year to be a member of the EU Single Market, the world's largest free trade zone (Source: The Institute for Fiscal Studies) but the benefit of being in the EU is worth £91 billion to our economy (Source: Confederation of British Industry). As for finances it said that being in the EU means cheaper prices on food and fuel, giving people more money to put aside for a deposit on a home, starting a family or even a holiday.

Stronger In was fined £19,000 for failing to declare their spending properly during the EU referendum campaign. Key people included Will Straw (executive and campaign director), Stuart Rose (chair), Lucy Thomas (deputy director), Craig Oliver (communications director, Downing Street) and David Cameron (PM at the time). Parties that supported the remain campaign included the Green Party, Labour, the Liberal Democrats, Plaid Cymru, Gibraltar Socialist Labour Party, Gibraltar Social Democrats, Liberal Party of Gibraltar and the SNP. The Conservatives remained neutral.



Vote Leave

Vote Leave was the official leave campaign for the referendum. It argued that we would be able to save £350 million per week : which would be enough to build a new, fully-staffed hospital every

week (although we receive a rebate which means we only actually send £250 million per week to the EU); we send



Vote Leave, take control

the EU £20 billion per year: Half the entire English schools budget, or four times the annual Scottish schools budget or four times the science budget; a quarter of a million EU migrants come here every year – a city the size of Newcastle, this puts a big strain on public services like the NHS and schools; the EU's migrant crisis is out of control; the former head of Interpol, Ronald K Noble, has said that: "Europe's open-border arrangement... is effectively an international passport-free zone for terrorists" and that it is like "hanging a sign welcoming terrorists to Europe"; the Eurozone has a permanent majority in the EU voting system – this means we're always outvoted and that EU laws are generally biased towards those in the Eurozone. Overall, it argued that:

A Vote to Stay means:

Permanent *handing over of £350 million a week to Brussels*

Permanent *overruling of UK law by EU law and the EU Court*

Permanent *EU control of our trade and economy*

Permanent *EU control of security and migration*

A Vote to Leave means:

We stop handing over *£350 million a week to Brussels*

We take back control *of our borders and can kick out violent criminals*

We take back the power *to kick out the people who make our laws*

We decide what we spend *our own money on*

We free our businesses *from damaging EU laws and regulations*

We take back the power *to make our own trade deals*

We have better relations *with our European friends*

We regain our influence *in the wider world and become a truly global nation once again*

These statements were taken from the official Vote Leave website:

http://www.voteleavetakecontrol.org/why_vote_leave.html

The key people of its Campaign Committee (the public facing governing body that meets weekly to set the campaign strategy for Vote Leave) included Dominic Cummings (campaign director); Michael Gove (Co-Convener): Conservative MP for Surrey Heath, Lord Chancellor and Secretary of State for Justice; Gisela Stuart (Co-Convener): Labour MP for Birmingham Edgbaston; Matthew Elliott (chief executive); Boris Johnson: Conservative MP for Uxbridge and South Ruislip, former Mayor of London and current PM; Liam Fox: Conservative MP for North Somerset and former Secretary of State for Defence; Chris Grayling: Conservative MP for Epsom and Ewell and former Leader of the House of Commons; Lord Lawson: former Conservative MP for Blaby and former Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Parties that supported the leave campaign included UKIP, Democratic Unionist Party, People Before Profit Alliance (PBP) and Traditional Unionist Voice (TUV).

On 19 March 2019, Vote Leave was fined £40,000 for sending 196,154 unsolicited electronic messages to people who had not given consent for their contact details to be used for these purposes. On 17 July 2018, Vote Leave was fined £41,000 for failure to deliver a complete and accurate spending return (responsible person: David Alan Halsall); failure to provide documents on time.

Leave.EU

Leave.EU was an alternative campaign group that campaigned for the UK to leave the EU, headquartered in Millbank Tower, London. It was originally founded in July 2015 with the name, 'The Know' and its name was changed to Leave.EU in September that year. The campaign aimed to be designated as the official Leave campaign for the June 2016 referendum (along with Vote Leave); however, on 13 April 2016, the Electoral Commission chose Vote Leave as the official Leave campaign. It was founded by Arron Banks (previously one of the largest donors to UKIP) and Richard Tice.



In May 2018, the campaign was fined £70,000 after the Electoral Commission found that Leave.EU failed to report at least £77,380. In February 2019, Leave.EU and Eldon Insurance owned by its founder Arron Banks were fined £120,000 over data law breaches. On 9 May 2016, the campaign was fined £50,000 for sending people text messages without first having gained their permission to do so. On 1 February 2019, the campaign was fined £15,000 for 296,522 direct marketing emails sent without subscribers' consent and it was fined another £45,000 (that same day) for 1,069,852 Eldon Insurance direct marketing emails to 54,000 subscribers without consent £45,000. On 11 May 2018, Leave.EU was fined £50,000 for failure to deliver complete and accurate pre-poll transaction report and post-poll spending information (responsible person: Elizabeth Bilney).

Cambridge Analytica

No campaign contributions, of any type, by Cambridge Analytica were reported to the UK electoral authorities. Both CA and Leave.EU refused to comment on any donation of services. On 23 March 2018, it was reported that a former employee, Brittany Kaiser, who was the company's former director of business development, revealed that the company misled the public and MPs over its links with Leave.EU and the analysis of data which had been provided by the UK Independence Party (UKIP). She said she felt she had lied by supporting Cambridge Analytica's company line that it had done "no paid or unpaid work" for Leave.EU. "In my opinion, I was lying. In my opinion I felt like we should say, 'this is exactly what we did'". The following day, it was reported that the company claimed that it would be able to affect the outcome of the Referendum and that it had produced a 10-page document headed "Big Data Solutions for the EU Referendum", claiming it could single out 'Brexiters' among voters, donors, politicians and journalists.

Disturbances

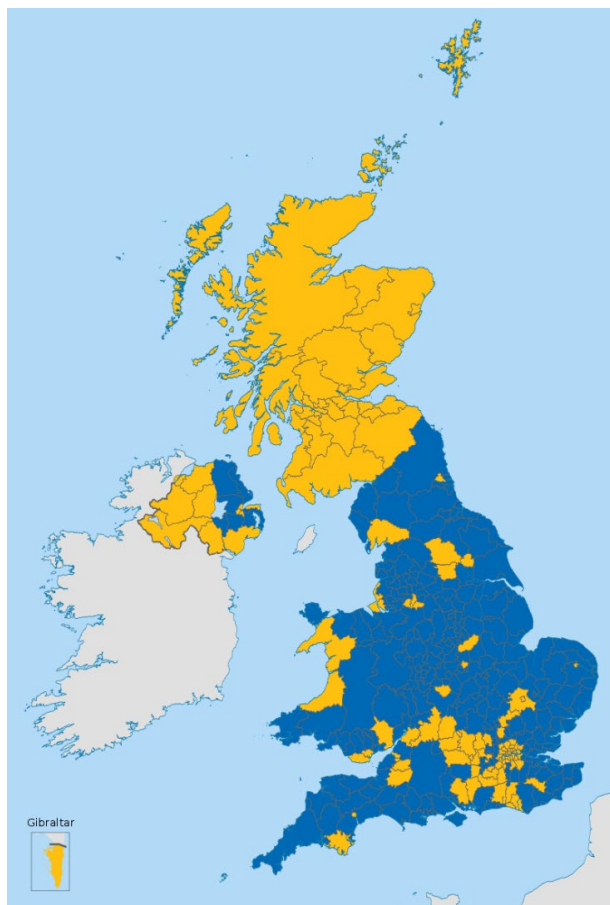
On 16 June 2016, a pro-EU Labour MP, Jo Cox, was shot and killed in Birstall, West Yorkshire the week before the referendum by a man calling himself "death to traitors, freedom for Britain", and a man who intervened was injured. It was the first assassination of an MP in two and a half decades. The two rival official campaigns agreed to suspend their activities as a mark of respect to Cox. After the referendum, evidence emerged that Leave.EU had continued to put out advertising the day after Jo Cox's murder. David Cameron cancelled a planned rally in Gibraltar supporting British EU membership. Campaigning resumed on 19 June.





The Results

The final result was announced by then Electoral Commission chair Jenny Watson at Manchester Town Hall after all 382 voting areas and the twelve UK regions had declared their totals.

Choice	Leave	Remain
Percentage	51.89%	48.11%
Votes	17,410,742	16,141,241
Turnout		
Registered Voters	46,500,001	
Total Votes	33,577,342	
Turnout Percentage	72.21%	

By Voting Areas



By Constituent Country	
 England	Leave: 53.38%
	Remain: 46.62%
	Turnout: 73%
 Scotland	Leave: 38%
	Remain: 62%
	Turnout: 67.2%
 Wales	Leave: 52%
	Remain: 48%
	Turnout: 71.7%
 Northern Ireland	Leave: 44%
	Remain: 56%
	Turnout: 62.7%

Yellow = Remain

Blue = Leave

Why did the UK vote to leave the EU?

Anti-Immigration Sentiment

The vote for Brexit was partly fuelled by people, particularly poorer voters expressing anger at their lack of control over immigration. Many felt that immigrants were taking away jobs from Britons. Constituencies that over the past decade had experienced an increase in migration from EU member states were more likely to vote for Brexit, for example, Peterborough which voted to leave by 61%, the EU migrant population increased by about 7 percentage points. In the weeks and months after the Brexit vote, anti-immigrant hate crimes increased threefold in leave strongholds across the country.

The money the UK sends to the EU

During the EU referendum campaign, however, the Leave camp claimed that exiting the EU would financially benefit the NHS, boosting its funding by £350m a week. However, this was false due to the rebate and how much the EU benefits the economy. Dominic Cummings, campaign director for Vote Leave admitted that most people would not have voted for Brexit had it not been for the false NHS claim. He said:

‘For millions of people, £350m/NHS was about the economy and living standards — that’s why it was so effective. Would we have won without £350m/NHS? All our research and the close result strongly suggests no.’

Sovereignty and Identity

The biggest reason why people vote to leave the EU was their belief that the UK should be a self-governing entity.

People did not want their country to be accountable to a supranational body’s rules and regulations, according to a survey of 12,369 voters conducted on the day of the referendum by Lord Ashcroft (a major independent public opinion pollster). Stephen Phillips, a Conservative MP for Sleaford and North Hykeham, said:

‘I persuaded myself that the sovereignty of the parliament in which I sat was more important than the tactics of a bunch of people I declined to have anything to do with.’

Professor Matthew Goodwin, professor of politics at the University of Kent, said that some parts of society feel as though outside influences such as immigration threaten their sense of national identity. He said: that the EU became a manifestation of that threat. It created a group of voters who thought they were going to go out and defend my identity as they saw it. His research suggested that those who felt ‘strongly English’, opposed immigration and had fewer qualifications were more likely to vote for Brexit. Nearly 76% of voters backed Brexit in the deprived Lincolnshire town of Boston that has been transformed by mass immigration from Eastern Europe but just 21% of voters supported Brexit in the London borough of Lambeth that has twice as many professionals as Boston.

More generally, most older people voted to leave the EU. Just two of the thirty areas with the highest share of over 65s voted to Remain - South Lakeland in the North West and South Hams in the South West. Every other older area voted for Brexit.

The Withdrawal Process

Theresa May

Cameron Resigns

On the morning of Friday 24th June, the day after the UK voted to leave the European Union, David Cameron - who had advocated for the country to remain in the EU - resigned from his role as PM. Here is an extract from the speech he made that morning:

I made the pledge to renegotiate Britain's position in the European Union and to hold the referendum on our membership and have carried those things out.

I fought this campaign in the only way I know how, which is to say directly and passionately what I think and feel - head, heart and soul.

I held nothing back, I was absolutely clear about my belief that Britain is stronger, safer and better off inside the European Union and I made clear the referendum was about this and this alone - not the future of any single politician including myself...

...I will do everything I can as prime minister to steady the ship over the coming weeks and months, but I do not think it would be right for me to try to be the captain that steers our country to its next destination.

But the British people have made a very clear decision to take a different path and as such I think the country requires fresh leadership to take it in this direction.

This is not a decision I've taken lightly but I do believe it's in the national interest to have a period of stability and then the new leadership required.

There is no need for a precise timetable today but in my view, we should aim to have a new prime minister in place by the start of the Conservative Party conference in October.

Leadership Election

On the 30 June 2016, a week after the referendum, May announced that she would be participating in the Conservative Party Leadership Election. She emphasised the strong requirement for togetherness in the Party, due to increased division from varied positions on leaving the European Union, saying she could bring "strong leadership" and a "positive vision" for the country's uncertain-looking future in the aftermath of the historic referendum. Although she supported remaining in the EU during the referendum, she asserted that she would not back a second referendum, saying, "The campaign was fought... and the public gave their verdict. There must be no attempts to remain inside the EU, no attempts to rejoin it through the back door... Brexit means Brexit".

May's supporters included several prominent figures in the cabinet such as Amber Rudd, Justine Greening, Jeremy Hunt, Michael Fallon and Patrick McLoughlin. She received the most votes in the first ballot on 5 July, receiving support from 165 MPs, with rivals Andrea Leadsom and Michael Gove receiving 66 and 48 votes, respectively. Stephen Crabb withdrew after receiving 34 votes and subsequently. Meanwhile, Liam Fox, who was eliminated after receiving just 16 votes, also endorsed May.

In the second ballot, Theresa May took an overwhelming majority of 199 votes, coming 1st place. However, Leadsom received 84 votes in 2nd place while Gove was eliminated when he received just 46 votes. On 11 July, hours after May had made her first official campaign speech, Leadsom announced that she would be withdrawing from the leadership contest saying her lack of support amongst Conservative MPs compared to May's huge majority would make it too difficult to be a credible prime minister.

As the only remaining candidate in the contest, May was formally declared Leader of the Conservative Party that evening. On 13 July 2016, two days after becoming Leader of the Conservative Party, May was appointed prime minister by the queen, becoming only the second female British prime minister after Margaret Thatcher in 1979.

2017 Snap Election

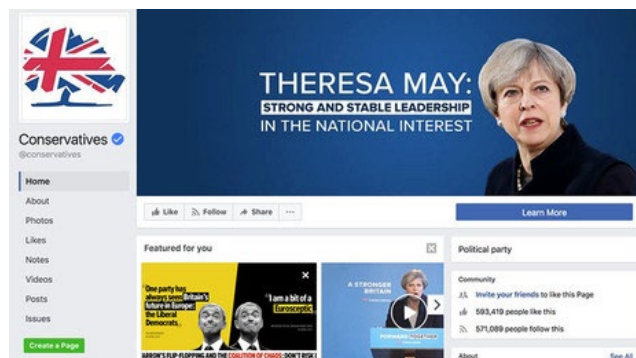
When Theresa May visited Berlin, in her first overseas visit as Prime Minister since taking office, she participated in talks with German Chancellor Angela Merkel. During the talks, May said that she would not trigger Article 50 (the process of leaving the European Union, set out in the Lisbon Treaty in 2007) before 2017, suggesting the UK would require time to negotiate a "sensible and orderly departure" from the EU. However, despite Merkel saying it was correct for the UK to "take a moment" before initiating the lengthy process, she urged May to provide more clarity on a timetable for negotiations.

On 18 April, May announced that she would call a parliamentary vote to hold an early general election (a snap election) on 8 June, saying that it was the "only way to guarantee certainty and security for years ahead" and to make it easier for her to negotiate Brexit, because she would then have a larger chunk of Parliament on her side, saying she hoped to "strengthen [her] hand" in the forthcoming Brexit negotiations.

Party Campaigns and Policies

Conservatives

Theresa May launched the Conservative Campaign with key focuses on Brexit and lower domestic taxes but refused to commit not to raise taxes. On 30 April, May announced she aimed to lower taxes if the Conservatives won a larger majority in government, but only explicitly ruled out raising VAT. May also stated that she would be continuing her policy of spending 0.7% of GNI (Gross National Income) on foreign aid.



May chose to hire Lynton Crosby – the campaign manager for the Conservatives in the 2015 General Election, which was a success for her party – as well as Jim Messina, Barack Obama's 2012 campaign manager. The Conservative campaign used targeted advertisements on popular social media platforms, particularly attacking Corbyn. The perpetual use of the expression, 'strong and stable' attracted scrutiny and criticism.



Above: A Screengrab from a video released by the Conservative party of Jeremy Corbyn giving a speech 30 August 2014. Photograph: Facebook

On 7 May, the Conservatives pledged to replace the 1983 Mental Health Act, to employ an additional 10,000 NHS mental health workers by 2020 and they promised to put an end to discrimination against those with mental health problems. The Tories also promised to retain their target to keep net immigration levels within the tens of thousands. In a move controversial to many Conservative politicians, May proclaimed that she would introduce a £100 cap on energy bills. She denied that her plans for a cap on "rip-off" energy prices are a repeat of an old Labour policy (from Ed Miliband) derided by David Cameron as "Marxist". When she spoke to factory workers in Leeds, she said the that the resulting savings would make a huge difference. May defended her policy saying:

"Sometimes people say to me that doing something like that doesn't sound very Conservative. But actually, my response to that is when it comes to looking at supporting working people what matters is not an ideology, what matters is doing what you believe to be right."

May indicated she would allow a free vote in the House of Commons on removing the ban on fox hunting in England and Wales. On 11 May the Conservatives guaranteed above-inflation increases in defence spending alongside its NATO commitment to spend at least 2% of GDP on defence.



When she unveiled the Tory manifesto in Halifax on the 18th of May, Theresa May promised a "mainstream government that would deliver for mainstream Britain". Its key policies comprised of balancing the

budget by 2025, adding £8bn to spending on the NHS annually, removing the ban on grammar schools, means-test the winter fuel allowance (a benefit given to cover costs of heating over the winter months to qualifying individuals), reducing the "triple lock" on pensions to a "double lock" with the state pension to rise by the higher of average earnings or inflation - but to no longer go up by 2.5% if they are both lower than that, An extra £4bn on schools in England by 2022 – partially funded by an end to the current measure of free school lunches for all infant pupils in England and increasing the national living wage to 60% of the average earnings by 2020.

Labour

Jeremy Corbyn launched the Labour campaign concentrating on public spending and argued that Tory cuts to public services, particularly education, were unacceptable. Keir Starmer, Labour's shadow Brexit Secretary asserted that the party would replace the existing Brexit white paper with

new negotiating priorities that place emphasis on the benefits of the single market and customs union, that the residence rights of EU nationals would be assured and that the principle of free movement would have to end. Corbyn put focus on Labour's backing for a 'jobs-first Brexit' that "safeguards the future of Britain's vital industries".

Corbyn advocated creating four new bank holidays, one for each feast day of the patron saints of each of the UK's four countries. On 27 April, Labour pledged to construct 1 million new homes if it is elected to form a government. Corbyn said half of the homes built would be council and housing association homes which would be "for rent and totally affordable". Labour also adduced that its councils had built more homes than Conservative ones since 2010. Labour councils have built on average 2,577 new homes between 2010 and this year, compared with 1,679 in Conservative-led areas, according to a Labour-commissioned study of House of Commons library analysis. Labour also committed to employing 10,000 new police officers to combat Conservative cuts to crime-fighting. Unfortunately, however, this was overshadowed when Shadow Home Secretary Diane Abbott cited incorrect figures in a widely publicised blunder in an LBC interview on the 2nd of May on how it would be funded.



On 7 May, Shadow Chancellor John McDonnell declared there would be no rises in VAT and in income tax and employee national insurance contributions for those with earnings below £80,000 per year. The next day, Labour outlined plans to ban junk food TV ads to tackle rising levels of obesity and axe parking charges at

NHS hospitals. Corbyn insisted his party would increase education funding by an additional sum of £4.8 billion, funded by raising corporation tax from 19% to 26%.

In a speech at Chatham House on 12 May, Corbyn set out his foreign policy, saying he would amend Britain's foreign relations, steer clear of the use of nuclear weapons, and while Labour supported Trident he would begin a defence review in government. Jeremy Corbyn stated he would halt all weapon sales from the UK to Saudi Arabia due to violations of human rights in their intervention in Yemen. After the 2017 London Bridge attack, Corbyn said that a conversation should take place "with Saudi Arabia and other Gulf states that have funded and fuelled extremist ideology".

On 14 May, Labour revealed plans to increase stamp duty by introducing a financial transactions tax, which Shadow Chancellor McDonnell claimed would raise up to £5.6 billion per year. The next day Corbyn set out plans to spend £37bn on the NHS in England over a five-year parliament, including £10bn on IT upgrades and building repairs.

Launching its manifesto officially on 16 May, the party revealed it would nationalise the water industry, provide 30 hours per week of entirely free childcare for two- to four-year-olds, charge companies a levy on annual earnings above £330,000, lower the 45p income tax rate threshold to £80,000 per year, and reintroduce the 50p tax rate for those earning more than £123,000 per year. Labour declared it would raise an additional £48.6 billion in tax revenue per year and insisted its policies were fully costed and funded for, though it was noted no costings were provided for its nationalisation pledges.

SNP

The Scottish National Party pushed for Scotland to have a 'special status' including staying in the single market after the UK completely leave the European Union due to it voting to remain in the EU. Nicola Sturgeon, the SNP's leader, asserted that she would devolve immigration, so Scotland could create its own policies after Brexit. Sturgeon also declared she would press for border checks to be as seamless as

possible after the UK leaves the EU and that she would lobby for the scrapping of the Skills Immigration Charge – a charge for employers of £1,000 per non-EEA worker per year.

She also pledged to push for the Scottish



government to be given a seat at the Brexit negotiations table and for the SNP plan to keep Scotland in the EU single market when the rest of the UK leaves to be included in the UK's negotiating stance. However, Sturgeon clarified that she did not want to introduce trade barriers with England or the rest of the UK.

As for defence, the SNP asserted they would scrap Trident 'as quickly and safely as possible' and support for its home on the river Clyde to be turned into a conventional Royal Naval Base.

The SNP also promised to protect 'free' university tuition for Scottish students and call for the full reinstatement of the Post-Study Work Visa scheme, which allows foreign students to stay in the UK after graduation.

Liberal Democrats



Main themes of the Liberal Democrat campaign were an offer of a referendum on any eventual Brexit deal and a strong desire for the UK to stay in the single market. Tim Farron placed particular focus on parliamentary seats which had previously voted to leave the EU, including Oxford West and Abingdon, Twickenham and Vauxhall. Bob Marshall-Andrews, a Labour MP from 1997 to 2010, announced he would support the Liberal Democrats.

The party saw a surge in membership after the election was called, passing 100,000 on 24 April, having grown by 12,500 in the preceding week. The Lib Dems also raised £500,000 in donations in the first 48 hours after May's announcement of an early election.

The party declared they would be raising income tax by 1p to fund the NHS and maintaining the triple-lock on the state pension, unlike the Conservative stance. The Liberal Democrats also promised an additional £7 billion to protect per-pupil funding in education which would be partly funded by remaining in the EU single market.

The Lib Dems planned a £100bn package of additional infrastructure investment and a major programme of capital investment to stimulate growth across the UK. Additional funding would also be provided to bring more private investment into renewable energy. The state-owned British Business Bank will be expanded and rail plans HS2, HS3, Crossrail 2 and an Oxford-Cambridge train line will go ahead.

The party pledged on 11 May to accept 50,000 refugees from Syria over five years, with Farron saying that the £4.3 billion costs would over time be repaid in taxes by those refugees that settle in Britain.

On 12 May the party outlined plans to legalise cannabis and extend the length of paid paternity leave. Farron proposed financial incentives for university graduates joining the armed forces and committed to NATO's 2% of GDP defence spending target. The following day the Liberal Democrats promised to end the cap on public-sector pay increases.

Tim Farron pledged to build 300,000 homes a year by 2022, including half a million affordable and energy-efficient homes. The Lib Dems a new "rent-to-own" scheme, under which rent payments would contribute towards eventual ownership, making housing more affordable for first-time buyers. A "help-to-rent" scheme would offer people government-backed loans to help them pay a rental deposit. Housing association "right-to-buy" schemes will end and council tax on second and empty homes will be doubled.

The party promised for arms sales to Saudi Arabia to be suspended and the counter-terrorism strategy to be scrapped and replaced. Police would also get an extra £300m to tackle violent crime and all frontline officers will have to wear body cameras.

UKIP



Paul Nuttall announced that UKIP's manifesto sought to reduce net migration to zero within five years, a ban on the wearing of face coverings in public places – especially burkas, an extra £11bn every year for the NHS and social care by 2022, a rise in the threshold for paying income tax to £13,500, remove all VAT on household bills, axe tuition fees for STEM subjects and medicine, provide up to 100,000 new homes for younger

people every year, maintain the triple lock on pensions which sees them rise by the higher of prices or average earnings or 2.5%, spend "a genuine" 2% of GDP on defence plus £1bn every year and 20000 more police, 7000 more prison officers, and 4000 more border force staff.

As for Brexit, UKIP declared its policies for negotiations would be to take back control of Britain's fisheries, re-instate the 'classic' blue passport when the British passport contract comes up for renewal in 2019, stop businesses from paying tax in whichever EU or associated country they choose, cut unnecessary EU regulation from the 88% of the UK economy not linked to trade with EU countries and prioritise free trade agreements with non-EU countries.

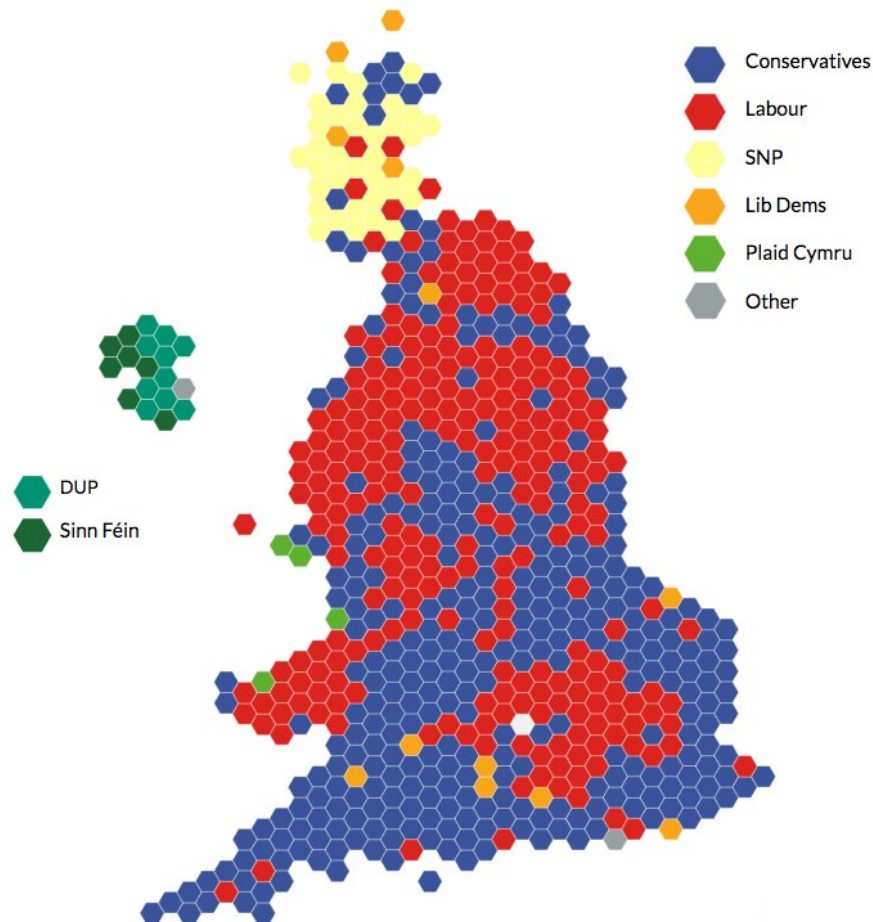
Results

Composition of the House of Commons after the Election

Party	Leader(s)	MPs		Votes	
		Number	Of Total	Number	Of Total
Conservative Party	Theresa May	317	48.8%	13,636,684	42.3%
Labour Party	Jeremy Corbyn	262	40.3%	12,877,918	40.0%
Scottish National Party	Nicola Sturgeon	35	5.4%	977,568	3.0%
Liberal Democrats	Tim Farron	12	1.8%	2,371,861	7.4%
Democratic Unionist Party	Arlene Foster	10	1.5%	292,316	0.9%
Sinn Fein	Gerry Adams	7	1.1%	238,915	0.7%
Plaid Cymru	Leanne Wood	10	0.6%	164,466	0.5%
Green Party	Jonathon Bartley Caroline Lucas	1	0.2%	525,665	1.6%
Speaker-Conservative	John Bercow	1	0.2%	34,299	0.1%
Independent	Sylvia Hermon	1	0.2%	16,148	0.05%

By Constituency

(If every seat was the same size)



(White = Speaker)

Aftermath

The election was catastrophic for the Conservatives and a hung parliament was confirmed. In the aftermath, Tim Farron called upon Theresa May to resign after the Conservative's disastrous result, accusing her of being 'arrogant and vain' and said if she had 'an ounce of self-respect' she would step down. In London, at the Liberal Democrats' headquarters, he told activists, 'She should consider her future - and then, for once, she should consider the future of our country.' Labour Leader Jeremy Corbyn, followed suit, saying May had called the election to assert her authority. "She wanted a mandate. Well, the mandate she's got is lost Conservative seats, lost votes, lost support and lost confidence. I would have thought that is enough for her to go."

On 9 June, May apologised to Conservative MPs who had lost their seats and asserted she would continue as party leader and prime minister. Here is an extract from the speech she held outside 10 Downing Street following her defeat:

'I have just been to see Her Majesty the Queen, and I will now form a government – a government that can provide certainty and lead Britain forward at this critical time for our country.'

This government will guide the country through the crucial Brexit talks that begin in just 10 days and deliver on the will of the British people by taking the United Kingdom out of the European Union.

...What the country needs more than ever is certainty and having secured the largest number of votes and the greatest number of seats in the general election, it is clear that only the Conservative & Unionist Party has the legitimacy and ability to provide that certainty by commanding a majority in the House of Commons.

As we do, we will continue to work with our friends and allies in the Democratic Unionist Party in particular. Our 2 parties have enjoyed a strong relationship over many years, and this gives me the confidence to believe that we will be able to work together in the interests of the whole United Kingdom.'

She also confirmed she intended to form a government with the support of the Democratic Unionist Party. Although the Conservatives finished on 317 seats, combined with the DUP's total of 10 would push the parties to a combined total of 327, 1 more than what is required to have a majority in the Commons.

Negotiations between the Conservatives and the DUP began on the 9th of June. 17 days later, on 26 June, the two parties reached a confidence and supply deal (a deal where a will support the government in motions of confidence and appropriation or budget votes, by either voting in favour or abstaining. However, parties normally retain the right to otherwise vote in favour of their own policies on conscience on legislative bills). The agreement included extra funding of £1 billion for Northern Ireland, highlighted support for Brexit and national security, expressed commitment to the Good Friday Agreement, and indicated that policies such as the state pension triple lock and Winter Fuel Payments would be maintained and remain unchanged.

Brexit Negotiations

June 2017

Theresa May triggered Article 50 on 29 March 2017. On the 19th of June 2018, the Secretary of State for Exiting the European Union, David Davis travelled to Brussels to *formally* initiate negotiations with Michel Barnier, the EU's chief negotiator. Firstly, terms of reference were agreed, dates were set for four-week cycles, to culminate in a fifth round of negotiations beginning on 9th of October. Negotiating groups were set for three different subjects: the rights of EU citizens living in Britain and vice versa; Britain's outstanding financial obligations to the EU; and the border between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland.



Left: Michel Barnier, the EU's chief negotiator

On 22 June 2017, May assured, at a European Council summit, that no EU citizen living legally in the UK would be forced to leave, and she offered that any EU citizen living in the UK for more than 5 years until an unspecified deadline between March 2017 and March 2019 would enjoy the same rights as a UK citizen,

conditional on the EU providing the same offer to British expatriates living in the EU. The rest of the EU's leaders in the council did not agree at once, with the Council's president Donald Tusk stating that Brexit negotiations would not take place in the Council.

The PM outlined her ideas for EU citizens living in the UK and vice versa in Parliament on 26 June. However, she did not arrive at any agreement with her European counterparts, who refused to fast-forward talks on expatriates before June 2017.

July 2017

The second round of negotiations began in mid-July, in Brussels. Both sides reported that more progress had been made on citizen rights in the UK and EU, although there were still disagreements on how to assure such rights, the rights of future family members, and the exporting of certain social benefits (sending benefit money abroad). The UK acknowledged that the UK has financial obligations to the EU that will survive its withdrawal, and vice versa, and that they need to be resolved despite the UK's Brexit secretary, David Davis not issuing any form of public statement on this topic. As for Irish Border negotiations, the only public points made were that both sides committed to a Common Travel Area and the Good Friday Agreement and that further talks were required. No paper was published on this topic. At the end of July, Downing Street confirmed free movement would end in March 2019, despite initial dispute in the Cabinet.

August 2017

On the 16th of August, the UK unveiled the first of several papers on the UK's ambitions in Brexit negotiations, detailing plans for trade and customs arrangements. A week later, May declared that the UK would be leaving the Court of Justice of the European Union's direct jurisdiction when the transition period (planned to begin after March 2019) ends. However, she also announced that both British courts and the Court of the European Union will be keeping, 'half an eye' on each other's actions afterwards as well. One of the papers published also proposed for goods already on the market in the UK and EU to have no additional restrictions.

The third round of talks commenced on the 28th of August 2017. European Commission President Jean-Claude Juncker criticised the UK's Brexit negotiations, saying none of the papers provided were satisfactory. He also said there would be no trade talks until the divorce bill was settled. On the Irish border question, there was a breakthrough, with the UK pledging free movement of EU citizens within the Common travel area constituting Ireland and the United Kingdom. While some advances were made in parts of citizens' rights and parts of other issues, little progress was made on the financial settlement, with the EU continuing to press the Government for a "clear position" on the UK's recognition of its "legal and moral" commitments to a settlement on the divorce bill.

The Secretary of State for Exiting the European Union, David Davis, asserted that, "concrete progress on many important issues" had been made. But Michel Barnier, the EU's chief negotiator, was not as optimistic and said there had been no progress on major issues and suggested there might not be enough time to negotiate a timely UK withdrawal from the EU. He did not think "sufficient progress" would be made by October, to initiate the second phase of the negotiations on future EU-UK relations.

September 2017

On the 2nd of September 2017, at the European Ambrosetti Forum -an annual international economic conference held at the Villa d'Este, since its inauguration in 1975, the Forum has united heads of state, ministers, Nobel laureates and businessmen to discuss current challenges to the world's economies and societies – Michel Barnier, the EU's chief negotiator, explained that he would "teach the British people and others what leaving the EU means".

In a statement to Parliament on 5 September 2017, David Davis asserted that 'concrete progress' had been made over the summer in areas such as protecting the rights of British expatriates in the

EU to receive healthcare services and over the topic of the Irish border, while significant disagreement over the "divorce bill" remain. He predicted that, 'the money argument will go on for the full duration of the negotiation. The famous European "nothing is agreed until everything is agreed" will apply here absolutely, as anywhere else.' The next day, Theresa May announced that new immigration measures will be used on EU nationals when the transition period ends.

On the 7th of September, the European Commission published a paper that set out its principles for the political dialogue on Ireland and Northern Ireland in the Brexit negotiations. The paper stated that the Good Friday Agreement should be maintained after the UK leaves the EU. It also called for the Common Travel Area to be continued. Michel Barnier gave the following announcement:

"Today's paper on Ireland and Northern Ireland is a concise and comprehensive text, which has been drafted in close cooperation with the Irish government. Our aim is to minimise the impact of the UK's decision to leave the EU for the island of Ireland. But as it was the UK's decision to leave the EU, it is the UK's responsibility to come forward with solutions to overcome the challenges for the island of Ireland."

The European Commission also published five new position papers on: intellectual property rights (including geographical indications); the use of Data and Protection of Information Obtained or Processed before the Withdrawal Date; Customs related matters needed for an orderly withdrawal of the UK from the Union; the Dialogue on Ireland/Northern Ireland; Public Procurement.

On the 21st of September, Theresa May agreed to a transition deal which would inject €20 billion over the course of two years. A cabinet source confirmed to the BBC that the Cabinet was in fact in agreement with the PM's two-year transition deal.

On the 22nd of September, the PM outlined the details of her Brexit proposal during a speech in Florence, Italy. As well as the €20 billion and the continued acceptance of European immigrants, May offered a, 'bold new security relationship' with the EU which would be, 'unprecedented in its depth'. May asserted that the UK would not, 'stand in the way' of Juncker's proposals for further European integration. Michel Barnier welcomed May's ideas, treating them as, 'constructive'. Furthermore, Emmanuel Macron, the President of France, stated that the EU would not commence talks on future EU-UK relations until, 'the regulation of European citizens, the financial terms of the exit, and the questions of Ireland' were, 'clarified' by the UK.

The fourth round of talks began on the 25th of September, in Brussels. They were delayed by a week because Theresa May had to deliver a speech on the 22nd. May proposed a transitional, 'implementation period' of, 'around two years' and said that the UK, 'will honour commitments' to not make other EU countries pay more or receive less during the current EU budget period.

The two sides also agreed that after Brexit, the UK would apply EU law concepts used in the withdrawal agreement consistently with CJEU case law as at the point of departure. But May did not agree that the CJEU should have a role in guaranteeing this, demanding that UK courts would administer and protect citizens' rights.

November 2017



Another round of negotiations commenced in Brussels on the 9th of November and continued until the 10th. This round was unscheduled but was considered necessary by both sides, given the relative lack of progress in previous rounds. At the ending news conference, Michel Barnier announced that the UK was required to give extra explanation on financial commitments within the next two weeks. If that deadline were not met, he said, the next phase of negotiations (the future EU-UK relationship) would not begin next month. Donald Tusk -the president of the European Council and in the left picture- on the other hand, was optimistic and said there was no deadlock in the negotiations following a meeting with Theresa May in Gothenburg,

Sweden. Discussions on the financial settlement took place later in the month, led by Oliver Robbins, the chief negotiator for the UK, for the UK and Sabine Weyand for the EU. In his autumn budget report on 22 November Chancellor Philip Hammond announced that to prepare for leaving the EU and ensure a smooth transition, the Government was setting aside an additional £3 billion.

December 2017

At a meeting between Jean-Claude Juncker, in the below picture, and Theresa May in Brussels on the 4th of December, a draft agreement was expected to be finalised and progress was made on the financial settlement and citizen's rights but the meeting was abandoned after Northern Ireland's biggest party, the Democratic Unionist Party, objected to arrangements for the Irish border (Ireland's Taoiseach Leo Varadkar had agreed to those arrangements earlier). Negotiations

continued the following days, and on 8 December a joint report was published detailing the commitments to be reflected in the Withdrawal Agreement. 'Agreement in principle' was reached on three different areas: protecting the rights of European Union citizens in the UK and UK citizens in the European Union, the framework for addressing the circumstances of Northern Ireland and the financial settlement. A



joint technical note detailed in full the agreement on citizen's rights. Meanwhile, talks on the rights of UK citizens resident in an EU27 country on the withdrawal date to move to another EU27 country, and their right to return to the UK and recognition of professional qualifications, beyond those already mutually recognised at the withdrawal date were postponed. Juncker described the agreement as a "breakthrough" Brexit deal.

On the 8th of December the two sides agreed on the principle that "nothing is agreed until everything is agreed" and announced they would proceed at once to the next phase of talks on a transition period and future trade relationships.

EU leaders declared an agreement to begin the next phase of negotiations, with talks on a transition period after March 2019 to begin in early 2018 and discussions on the future UK–EU relationship, including trade and security, to begin in March.

January 2018

The talks on some outstanding issues carried on and were described as, 'low-key'. On the 29th of January, the EU published some negotiating directives. These stated that the UK would have to comply with the entire *acquis communautaire* during the transition period, the UK would remain in the customs union and the single market, while no longer being in the decision-making process.

February 2018

Multiple meetings took place between both sides' negotiators, but little progress was made.

March 2018

Since the UK had mixed feelings about the issue of the Irish Border, Tusk declared that negotiations were unable to continue without resolving this problem, saying:

"We know today that the UK Government rejects a customs and regulatory border down the Irish Sea, the EU single market, and the customs union.

While we must respect this position, we also expect the UK to propose a specific and realistic solution to avoid a hard border.

As long as the UK doesn't present such a solution, it is very difficult to imagine substantive progress in Brexit negotiations.

If in London someone assumes that the negotiations will deal with other issues first before the Irish issue, my response would be Ireland first."

However, on the 19th of March, the negotiations continued, and the two sides agreed on the terms of a 21-month transition period to keep Britain inside Europe's economic structures and to avoid an economically damaging "cliff edge" when the UK formally departs the union in March 2019. However, it was not considered legally binding until the entire agreement was agreed, following the principle of, 'Nothing is agreed until everything is agreed'.

June 2018

On the 10th of June 2018, negotiations resumed when Ireland's Taoiseach, Leo Varadkar postponed the talks on the Irish border until the final deal in October 2018. On the 19th, the two sides published a joint paper, which asserted that agreements had been made in several topics including goods placed on the market, VAT, copyrights, Euratom and cooperation in judicial matters.

A week later, on the 26th of June, the European Union (Withdrawal) Act 2018 became law. The act stated that parliamentary approval was required for any withdrawal agreement negotiated between the UK government and the EU.

July 2018



On the 6th of July, May announced that her cabinet had come to a consensus on a UK-EU free trade area under a "common rulebook" that will match EU standards on foods and goods. This worried some Eurosceptic MPs, who believe it signals that Britain will in effect remain subject to EU rules and be unable to negotiate new trade deals. On the 10th of July, Michel Barnier declared, "After 12 months of negotiations we have agreed on 80% of the

negotiations." He also stated that he wished to complete negotiations by October or November 2018.

On the 12th of July, a major development took place: Theresa May published the Chequers plan, or officially known as, 'The future relationship between the United Kingdom and the European Union'. It laid out the future relationship with the EU that the UK sought. Secretary of State for Exiting the European Union, David Davis – in the above picture on the previous page - resigned in opposition to the plan 4 days earlier and Foreign Secretary, Boris Johnson followed him out on the 9th of July, saying a "needless fog of self-doubt" had descended over the past 18 months and said the PM's Chequers plan would see the UK in, 'miserable limbo'. Keir Starmer, the Shadow Secretary for Brexit, stated that it was a disgrace that the media had been allowed to see the white paper from 9am, while MPs had been shown it hours later. Starmer also condemned the white paper as both unworkable and unlikely to survive opposition from Tory MPs.

While Donald Trump - the President of the United States of America – was on a visit to the UK on the 13th of July, he said, in an exclusive interview with *the Sun*, that the PM's plan would "probably kill" any trade deal with the US. Meanwhile, a giant blimp of President Trump as a baby was floating in central London. However, the next day, Trump said May was 'doing a fantastic job' as PM.

On the 24th of July, Theresa May declared she would be taking control of the negotiations with the EU, with Dominic Raab, the new Brexit Secretary deputising on her behalf be left in charge of domestic preparations, no-deal planning and legislation. On the 26th of July, Dominic Raab participated in a meeting with Michel Barnier and, in the closing news conference, both announced that progress had been made but, 'obstacles' remained before reaching a deal in October. Michel Barnier also highlighted agreement on certain trade security measures and said both sides wanted a wide-ranging free trade deal.

August 2018

On the 2nd of August, Michel Barnier signalled a willingness to be flexible in Brexit negotiations around the Irish border, calling the issue "the biggest risk" caused by Brexit, Barnier said he was "ready to improve" the EU's proposal. He stated:

"Since we will not know what the future relationship will bring by autumn 2018, we need to have a backstop solution in the withdrawal agreement.

The UK agrees with this, and both the EU and the UK have said that a better solution in the future relationship could replace the backstop.

What the EU has proposed is that Northern Ireland remains in a common regulatory area for goods and customs with the rest of the EU. We are ready to improve the text of our proposal with the UK.

It is possible to respect EU principles and create a new and ambitious partnership."

However, he warned that May's Brexit proposals, put forward in the UK government's recent Chequers Plan, posed a threat to the future of the European single market.

On the 9th of August, European leaders announced they were ready to make a major concession to Theresa May: In return for allowing Britain to retain single market for goods membership, they demanded that Theresa May replicate all environmental, social, and customs rules in addition to those set out in her Chequers Plan proposals. This potentially meant that Britain would be unable to change laws to give it an edge against the EU and could hinder any chance of signing additional trade deals if the UK agreed to such a proposal.

On the 16th of August, a week later, the two sides commenced negotiations to resolve the concern of the Irish border but neither Dominic Raab nor Michel Barnier attended the talks. However, no progress was achieved. That same day, leaked documents revealed that Theresa May had prepared no-deal Brexit for 84 areas of life. Foreign Secretary Jeremy Hunt (Boris Johnson's replacement since he resigned) stated earlier that leaving the EU with no deal would be a would be, 'a huge geo-strategic mistake' that the UK, 'would regret for generations.' Although the plans were written in a neutral tone, the intention of the plans was to reframe the debate by highlighting the potential wide-ranging dangers of no deal.



On the 21st of August, European diplomats stated that European Union leaders are likely to have to hold an emergency summit in November to consider any Brexit agreement struck with Britain due to the unlikelihood of reaching a deal by the October EU summit. Both sides had still failed to achieve any breakthrough in the talks on the question of the Irish border. Barnier and Dominic Raab, in the left picture, agreed to intensify the talks

and hold them continuously due to the setback and Michel Barnier added that 'Dominic and I will meet regularly to take stock and move the negotiations forward.'

The first part of the no-deal Brexit advice (which had previously been leaked) was published by Dominic Raab on the 23rd of August. On the 29th of August, Michel Barnier announced that the EU was willing to offer the UK an unprecedented trade deal, the likes of which it has not agreed with any other country. He issued the encouraging words before adding that the European Union would not give any ground when it came to the integrity of the single market. His speech came as UK officials pressurised the EU, warning that the UK may even delay payments of the Brexit bill, potentially causing havoc for the EU's budget. The EU's chief negotiator also promised to "respect" Britain's central demands on regaining control of borders, laws and money if the future relationship did not undermine the EU's Single Market. 'We respect Britain's red lines scrupulously. In return, they must respect what we are,' he said. 'Single market means single market. There is no single market a la carte.' ('a la carte' refers to, in a restaurant, to food that can be ordered as separate items, rather than part of a set meal). That same day, Dominic Raab told the House of Lords that there was a deal, 'within our sights'. When asked whether a deal would be reached by the October EU summit, Raab stated that remained his goal, but that there was "a measure of leeway" over the exact timetable.

On the 31st of August, both Dominic Raab and Michel Barnier announced that progress had been made in negotiations. Raab stated that the UK was committed to an October EU summit vote and Michel Barnier stated that the EU held the same stance.

September 2018

On the 4th of September, Dominic Raab said the Chequers plan had proved "challenging" for some in Brussels - but that European counterparts were "engaging seriously". Barnier has said he "strongly" opposes parts of the plan and it has also come under fire from some Eurosceptic Conservative rebel MPs. After updating MPs on his latest meeting with the EU's Michel Barnier, Raab was urged by several of his own colleagues to "chuck Chequers". On the 7th of September, it was unveiled that Michel Barnier had made a compromise and that he had allowed the trade agreement to be linked to the divorce bill, which would be around £39 billion. That same day, Phillip Hammond, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, declared that he believed an agreement could be reached by next month's EU summit vote.

On the 13th of September, the Taxation (Cross-border Trade) Act became law. The Act gave the government the ability to establish its own customs regime and ensure that VAT and excise legislation (taxes on certain goods produced or sold within a country and on licences granted for

certain activities) operates effectively, following the UK's withdrawal from the EU. That same day, Raab published the second batch of no-deal Brexit papers, containing 80 papers.

October 2018

On the 4th of October, Leo Varadkar declared that he would support May's idea keep the entire UK in a customs union with the EU, according to a report. The next day, a member of Michel Barnier's negotiating team, stated that a divorce pact with the UK was 'very close'. The EU indicated that it was engaging in intensive talks with the UK on how to avoid a 'hard' Irish border. On the 6th of October, Donald Tusk – the president of the European Council – declared in Krakow, Poland that he expected the two sides to move toward 'if not finalise' an agreement this month. "If need be, I'll call in November a Council session devoted just to this topic and I think that before the end of the year there is a chance to reach such an agreement," he said. That same day, Leo Varadkar insisted it was increasingly important to cut a deal "sooner rather than later".



On the 9th of October, Raab echoed Tusk's optimistic views, stating 'I remain confident we will reach a deal this autumn.' However, that same day, Arlene Foster – the leader of the Democratic Unionist Party, the largest party in the Northern Ireland Assembly and in the left picture – flew to Brussels and warned Barnier that she would not support any withdrawal agreement that produced new economic between Northern Ireland and the rest of the UK. She warned that such a deal would lead to 'catastrophic' consequences for the Northern Irish

economy, saying 'Over 70% of all goods leaving Belfast port are destined for Great Britain. To create a barrier to that trade would be catastrophic.'

On the 10th of October, the Chancellor of Germany, Angela Merkel welcomed progress in negotiations for Brexit, declaring "'I hope there is progress, apparently there is progress, but sometimes the devil is in the detail - so everything is only worked out when it is all worked out,' to a news conference after a meeting Mark Rutte – the Prime Minister of the Netherlands – in the Hague, a city in the Netherlands. That same day, EU officials cancelled the release of a document containing planning for a no-deal Brexit, dreading it would upset negotiations at such a delicate stage. On the contrary, the Financial Conduct Authority (an organisation independent of the UK government which regulates financial firms providing services to consumers and maintains the integrity of the financial markets in the United Kingdom) published more documents advising what to do in the event of a no-deal Brexit that same day.

On the 11th of October, the EU made further concessions and agreed to an all-UK customs union on top of the backstop for an indefinite amount of time. Speaking to Northern Irish journalists outside 10 Downing Street, May announced that she thought that talks on the crucial question of how to avoid a hard border in Ireland are likely to continue until November. That same day, Michel Barnier offered a compromise and offered to allow Britain's stay in the EU customs union to be only 'temporary' and suggested Britain should continue to use the EU's external tariffs.

On the 14th of October, the Department for Exiting the European Union announced that progress had been made 'in a number of key areas' however, several 'unresolved issues relating to the

backstop' still remained. A spokesperson also declared 'The UK is still committed to making progress at the October European Council.' That same day, Dominic Raab travelled to Brussels for unscheduled negotiations with Michel Barnier but "key issues" remained despite speculation a deal had been reached. On the 16th of October, after a two-and-a-half-hour cabinet meeting, May insisted to her ministers that a deal was possible, telling them 'I am convinced that if we as a government stand together and stand firm we can achieve this.' That same day, Emmanuel Macron – the president of France - made a concession, offering to support a temporary backstop at the Irish border.



At the beginning of the EU summit, on the 17th of October, the PM met with Emmanuel Macron, Leo Varadkar, Donald Tusk and Jean-Claude Juncker and delivered a half an hour speech to all 27 EU leaders. Antonio Tajani – the president of the European Parliament – told reporters after the

summit about May's speech: 'I listened very carefully to what Theresa May said. The tone was more relaxed than in Salzburg, undoubtedly. There is a message of good will, a readiness to reach an agreement: but I did not perceive anything substantially new in terms of content as I listened to Mrs May.' During the EU summit, Theresa May turned down an offer an EU offer designed to rescue a Brexit deal because it would add £5bn more to the £39bn 'divorce bill' because it included a short extension to the transition period. On the 18th of October, the second and final day of the summit, Pedro Sanchez – the prime minister of Spain – said, 'Gibraltar will no longer be a problem in arriving at a Brexit deal'. He also stated that the part of the negotiations related to the status of Gibraltar had now been agreed with Britain. It had been agreed that Gibraltar would leave the EU along with the United Kingdom on the 29th of March 2019. Its status, and that of two British sovereign areas in EU member Cyprus, would form part of any overall divorce agreement with the EU.

On the 21st of October, the PM urged MPs in the House of Commons to back her in the final stages of Britain's exit from the European Union, saying talks were in their most difficult phase even if a deal was close. She told them, 'Serving our national interest will demand that we hold our nerve through these last stages of the negotiations, the hardest part of all.' However, she also announced, 'Taking all of this together, 95 per cent of the Withdrawal Agreement and its protocols are now settled.' Compared to Michel Barnier's remark in July 2018, that meant the negotiations had progressed around 15% in three months. May also confirmed that she had negotiated a protocol around the UK's military base in Cyprus and agreed a mechanism for resolving any future disputes with the EU.

On the 22nd of October, EU sources reported that negotiators were looking at ways to promise Britain a customs deal that could stretch Brussels' Brexit red lines but might break a deadlock over the Irish border. On the 23rd of October, EU negotiators offered May a UK-wide customs union as a way around the Irish backstop issue, but it would have to be negotiated beyond the Withdrawal Agreement as a separate treaty. The proposal, which Theresa May had previously claimed would

protect and preserve the Belfast agreement, was one of the four steps May had outlined to advance beyond the Irish border impasse. A spokesperson for 10 Downing Street denied reports that there had been a row in the Cabinet over the proposal.

On the 24th of October, May asserted there was a proposal to extend the transition period by several months. However, she also stated it was unlikely that it would be used. Donald Tusk said, 'Since Prime Minister May mentioned the idea of extending the transition period, let me repeat that if the UK decided that such an extension would be helpful to reach a deal, I am sure that the leaders would be ready to consider it positively.'

November 2018

On the 8th of November, the EU stated it wanted the UK to stick to the its rules on state aid, environment and workers' rights after Brexit to prevent it from gaining unfair access to the single market. The EU saw this as key to ensuring a "level playing field" should the so-called Irish border backstop kick in after Brexit, tying all of the United Kingdom into a customs zone. On the 12th of November, Michel Barnier stated that the main elements of an exit treaty text were ready to present to the British cabinet on the 13th. He told ministers from the EU's 27 member states that 'the parameters of a possible agreement are very largely defined' but still require political endorsement. However, 10 Downing Street stated Theresa May was ready to accept the EU's latest offer.

On the 14th of November, after a 'long, detailed and impassioned debate' in a five-hour cabinet meeting (as described by May), the PM announced the Cabinet had backed a draft withdrawal



agreement between the UK and the EU. She said it was a "decisive step" in the progress of Brexit and would allow the agreement to be finalised. While Michel Barnier stated it was in both sides' interests, Jacob Rees-Moggs - a Eurosceptic Tory MP and chair of the strongly pro-Brexit European Research Group (ERG) - described it as a 'rotten deal'. That same day, the text of the 585-page withdrawal agreement was published along with a seven-page document detailing Britain's future relationship with the EU. Within minutes of the documents being published, Jacob Rees-Moggs had written to all his Conservative Party colleagues with a detailed rebuttal, urging them to join him in voting it down. May defied sceptical MPs, insisting, 'there will be difficult days ahead, this deal will come under intense scrutiny and that is entirely as it should be and entirely understandable.'

After the cabinet meeting, on the 15th of November, Dominic Raab resigned from Theresa May's government. Announcing his departure on Twitter, he said: 'Today, I have resigned as Brexit Secretary. I cannot in good conscience support the terms proposed for our deal with the EU.' Raab wrote in his resignation letter that he believed the border that May had negotiated for the island of Ireland posed 'a very real threat to the integrity of the United Kingdom'. He also said, 'No democratic nation has ever signed up to be bound by such an extensive regime, imposed externally without any democratic control over the laws to be applied, nor the ability to decide to exit the arrangement.' That same day, Esther McVey (the Work and Pensions secretary) followed him out. In her resignation letter to May, she wrote: 'We have gone from no deal is better than a bad deal, to any deal is better than no deal.' On the 15th of November, Donald Tusk announced an emergency summit would be held on the 25th of November to finalise the draft Brexit agreement. Barnier noted: 'Our work is not finished. We still have a long road, a long road, ahead of us on both sides.' The EU's chief negotiator said he would now work with EU countries and the European Parliament on the text of the political declaration on the future relationship with the UK, adding: 'This work will be intense.'

On the 16th of November, Stephen Barclay was named the new Secretary of State for Exiting the European Union. On the 19th of November, European ministers announced that they supported the withdrawal agreement, ahead of the summit in less than a week's time.



On the 21st of November, Theresa May travelled to Brussels to hold talks with the president of the European Commission, Jean-Claude Juncker amid a scramble to finalise the deal before the summit in four days' time. The Commission stated, 'very

good progress' had been made in the meeting. Controversial issues discussed included fishing rights in British waters and Gibraltar. After the meeting, May was encouraged to call Pedro Sanchez (in the above picture, showing him with May at the summit), but in the aftermath of the call, the Spanish prime minister tweeted, 'After my conversation with Theresa May, our positions remain far away. My Government will always defend the interests of Spain. If there are no changes, we will veto Brexit.' However, Spain did not have a veto because there was no actual vote at Sunday's summit which was designed to rubber stamp the Brexit withdrawal package. Spain's actual complaint was article 184 in the withdrawal agreement, which says the UK and EU will work with best endeavour to get a future trade deal. Spain thinks that ignores the need for any deal on Gibraltar being subject to bi-lateral agreement between Spain and the UK.

Before leaving for Brussels, in other developments, John McDonnell – the shadow Chancellor of the Exchequer – stated that Labour could take power as a minority government. In the House of Commons, Jeremy Corbyn – the Leader of the Opposition – asked, 'Does the prime minister agree there are no circumstances under which Britain would leave with no-deal?' The PM replied, 'no' and announced that the alternative to her deal would 'either be more uncertainty, more division or', in what looks like the emerging new emphasis from her government, 'it could risk no Brexit at all'. Jeremy Corbyn declared, 'if the government can't negotiate an alternative then it should make way for those who can and will.' Mrs May replied: 'He is opposing a deal he hasn't read, he's promising a deal he can't negotiate, he's telling Leave voters one thing and Remain voters another - whatever [Mr Corbyn] will do, I will act in the national interest.'

On the 22nd of November, Tusk stated that the European Commission approved the draft agreement, a development that paved the way for leaders at the EU Summit to rubber-stamp the deal. He also sent the draft agreement to the governments of the EU's 27 member states, urging them to review the paper. On the 24th of November, Tusk issued a statement saying the dispute over the future of Gibraltar clearing the way for the summit. Spanish Prime Minister Pedro Sanchez withdrew a threat to veto the deal and stated he would vote in favour of the deal. On the 25th of November, at the summit, all 27 EU leaders approved the agreement on the UK's withdrawal and future relations - insisting it was the 'best and only deal possible'. This meant that 27 out of 28 of the parliaments that needed to approve the deal had done so. Now all that was left was for the deal to be approved in the UK's parliament. This would be very difficult: Corbyn described the deal as 'the worst of all worlds'; Sturgeon, the head of the SNP, called it a 'bad deal'; Arlene Foster, head of the DUP and whose party May relies on to retain a majority, previously said her party's parliamentary pact with the Conservatives would be reviewed if MPs approved the deal; former PM Tony Blair, who was backing another referendum, said the deal was a 'dodo'; Vince Cable, the leader of the Liberal Democrats, called for a second referendum. Dozens of Tory MPs also planned to rebel against the PM.

On the 26th of November, May declared there would be a vote in Parliament on whether to approve the Withdrawal Agreement or not on the 11th of December.

December 2018



On the 10th of December, the PM called off the crucial vote on her Brexit deal so she could go back to Brussels and ask for changes to it. She admitted the deal

'would be rejected by a significant margin' if MPs voted on the deal. However, she said she was

confident of getting 'reassurances' from the EU on the Northern Ireland border plan. Tusk stated the EU would not 'renegotiate' the deal. Labour leader Jeremy Corbyn had been hoping to force a general election if Ms May had lost Tuesday's planned vote, by tabling a vote of no confidence. In his reaction to Ms May's announcement that the vote would be delayed, he urged Theresa May to stand down because her government was now in 'chaos'. A spokesperson for Labour said:

'We will put down a motion of no confidence when we judge it most likely to be successful.'

It is clear to us that Theresa May will not renegotiate the deal when she goes to Brussels and will only be asking for reassurances from EU leaders.

When she brings the same deal back to the House of Commons without significant changes, others across the House will be faced with that reality.

At that point, she will have decisively and unquestionably lost the confidence of Parliament on the most important issue facing the country, and Parliament will be more likely to bring about the general election our country needs to end this damaging deadlock.'

The prime minister vowed to put the deal to a vote but said there was no point at this stage because it would have been defeated. May also said she would be, 'looking closely at new ways of empowering the House of Commons to ensure that any provision for a backstop has democratic legitimacy.'

Under current legislation - the European Union (Withdrawal) Act 2018, section 13 -, the House of Commons was required to vote by 21 January 2019 at the latest.

On the 12th of December, Theresa May won a vote of confidence in her leadership of the Conservative Party by 200 to 117, however, this meant that 37% of Tory MPs voted against her. The secret ballot was triggered by 48 of her MPs angry at her Brexit policy, which they said betrays the 2016 referendum result. On the 14th of December, May's bid to make her deal more acceptable to MPs suffered a blow after EU leaders said it was 'not open for renegotiation' when she travelled to Brussels for reassurances over the Irish Backstop. However, the president of the European Commission, said there could only be clarifications and no more negotiation. Keir Starmer, the shadow Brexit secretary, stated, 'This is becoming a farce. The prime minister pulled this important vote last week on the basis that she was going to get meaningful changes to her Brexit deal, she has obviously not.'

On the 19th of December, the European Commission its no-deal contingency plan in specific areas because the UK was going to leave the EU in 100 days' time.

January 2019

On the 15th of January, the vote on the withdrawal agreement which May had previously delayed was held. The House of Commons voted against the deal put forward by 432 votes against and 202 votes for. Soon after, on the 16th of January, Labour leader Jeremy Corbyn put forward a motion of no confidence. Theresa May saw off the bid to remove her government from power, winning the vote 325 to 306. Rebel Tory MPs and the DUP - who had earlier rejected the PM's Brexit plan by a huge margin - voted to keep her in Downing Street. Corbyn argued that May's 'zombie' administration had lost the right to govern. The PM won the vote by a margin of 19, including 10 votes from the DUP. Had the party voted against her, she would have lost by one.

On the 29th of January, MPs backed an amendment proposed by Conservative MP Graham Brady to replace the backstop with 'alternative arrangements to avoid a hard border'. The amendment was passed by 317 votes to 301 – a majority of 16. That same day, another amendment was passed,



barring a no-deal Brexit with 318 votes for and 310 against. On the 30th of January, Corbyn issued a statement after a meeting with the Prime Minister on Brexit. He had earlier refused to meet May unless she agreed to rule out a no-deal Brexit but changed his mind after MPs voted against the idea of leaving the EU on 29 March without a deal. He described the meeting as 'serious' and said the PM had 'listened'. The leader of the Labour Party said it was 'not acceptable' for the PM to keep the no-deal option on the table after MPs voted against it. After their meeting May tweeted: 'The only way to avoid No Deal is to vote for a deal.' She also wrote she had been 'pleased' to meet Mr Corbyn and had stressed the importance of the UK doing its own trade deals after Brexit. A spokesperson from the Labour Party said that the two would meet again 'soon' after the forty-five minutes of 'cordial' talks in the PM's Commons office. That same day, May also announced she would be reopening talks with the European Union.

February 2019

On the 2nd of February, during a meeting in Brussels, Theresa May announced that Jeremy Corbyn, the Leader of the Opposition, supported her bid to win new protections to ensure the backstop deal - a customs plan to avoid a 'hard' border between Ireland and Northern Ireland if a free trade deal between the UK and EU is not reached - is



not permanent. Despite Juncker's previous refusals to hold further negotiations, on the 7th of February – during a meeting in Brussels –, the two sides agreed to hold more face-to-face talks by the end of February. On the 24th of February, during a summit in Egypt, May said she had made 'good progress' with the EU over Brexit, but needed more time before MPs can have their final say and delayed a vote on the withdrawal agreement which had been scheduled to take place in 3 days'

time to the 12th of March. On the 27th of February, MPs voted by 502 to 20 for a motion to allow votes on whether to leave the EU without a deal and delay Brexit if her agreed deal was rejected based on a timetable beginning on the 12th of March.

March 2019

On the 11th of March, after late-night talks in Strasbourg with European Commission President Jean-Claude Juncker, the Prime Minister said she had secured an agreement with the EU that there would be 'no indefinite backstop' – which was a key sticking point for many Eurosceptic MPs that May needed to win over to pass her deal through. Although no words from the Withdrawal Agreement were changed. Instead, the UK and EU declared they had produced a legally-binding, parallel agreement to pacify MPs unhappy at the current deal. Juncker said Ireland's Taoiseach Leo Varadkar had informed him that he 'would be prepared to accept this solution in the interest of securing an overall deal' but he warned there would not be a third round of negotiations on the withdrawal agreement. On the 12th of March, during the highly anticipated second vote on the withdrawal agreement in the House of Commons, MPs in Westminster voted against it by 391 to 242 — a margin of 149. However, it was an improvement of 71 votes following May's 220 vote margin defeat during the vote in January. Following her defeat, May immediately announced in the Commons that she would put forward a motion refusing to allow leaving the European Union on 29 March 2019 without a withdrawal agreement and a framework on the future relationship, for debate and vote in the House the next day. On the 13th of March, MPs voted by 321 to 278 in favour of a motion to rule out leaving the EU with no deal on March 29. However, in a bizarre turn of events, the government ordered its MPs to vote against its own motion ruling out a no-deal Brexit. The defeat for the government, by 43 votes, prompted shouts of 'resign' from opposition MPs. Immediately after *that* vote May declared she put forward a motion on extending the Article 50 negotiating period, for debate and vote in the House the next day.

On the 14th of March, the House of Commons voted by 413 to 202 (a majority of 211) in favour of a motion requiring the Prime Minister to request an extension from the EU. But in another sign of how far events have careered out of her control, a majority of MPs in her own party, including eight Cabinet ministers, voted against the motion, and it passed only with the backing of Labour MPs. This meant that May was set to request an extension to Article 50 at the European Council on the 21st to the 22nd of March. On the 20th of March, May told the public she was 'on their side', laying the blame for the delay to Brexit squarely with MPs. Speaking from Downing Street, the prime minister said



people were 'tired of infighting and political games' and it was 'high time' politicians made a decision on the next steps. Meanwhile, Corbyn stated that she was 'in complete denial about the scale of the crisis'. May stated, 'All MPs have been willing to say is what they do not want.'

On the 21st of March, at the European Council summit, Theresa May proceeded to request an extension to Article 50 from the EU's 27 leaders. The EU set out their reply in two circumstances:

If the UK's parliament ratified the deal before the 29th of March deadline, the UK would have until the 22nd of May to complete any technical steps, exit and begin a transition period, a day before the European Parliament election begins. If Parliament failed to vote or voted to reject the deal for a third time, the UK would have until April the 12th to indicate a way forward.

On the 29th of March, the original exit date, MPs voted against May's Brexit deal for the third time with 344 votes against and 286 for. Addressing MPs after her *third* defeat in three months, the PM said the consequences of the vote were 'grave' and warned she feared parliament was 'reaching the limits of this process,'. This meant May now had until the 12th of April to indicate a way forward to the EU. Otherwise the country would potentially leave with no deal. Tusk called an emergency European Council summit on the 10th of April. Now the House of Commons had to come up with a new Brexit plan through indicative votes, starting on 1 April. The PM pledged to base her negotiating stance on the votes.

April 2019

On April Fools' day, the 1st of April, the House of Commons rejected all the tabled options. Here is a table of what happened with each option:

Option	Result (Votes)		More Information
	For	Against	
<i>All-UK Customs Union</i>	273	276	This proposition was backed by the Labour Party but opposed by most of the Tories and some supporters of a second referendum. Its proposer, Conservative MP Ken Clarke complained about stubborn Remain MPs who voted against it, begging them to accept they would struggle to win a majority, and to compromise. 'We cannot go on with everybody voting against every proposition,' he said. However, it was also the closest vote, if two more MPs had voted for it, it would have been passed.
<i>Common Market 2.0</i>	261	282	This proposal was the most heavily rejected, losing by 21 votes. It proposed for the UK to remain in the single market and a customs union with the EU. Its architect, Tory MP Nick Boles resigned from the Conservative Party minutes after the vote, saying, 'I accept I have failed. I have failed chiefly because my party failed to compromise.'
<i>Confirmatory public vote</i>	280	292	This proposal was the same as a second referendum. Remain MPs were most likely emboldened by the vote however, because it lost by just 12 votes.

On the 2nd of April, following a seven-hour cabinet meeting, Theresa May issued a statement from 10 Downing Street. Here is an extract from her speech:



"This debate, this division, cannot drag on much longer. It is putting Members of Parliament and everyone else under immense pressure – and it is doing damage to our politics."

Despite the best efforts of MPs, the process that the House of Commons has tried to lead has not come up with an answer. So today I am taking action to break the logjam: I am offering to sit down with the Leader of the Opposition and to try to agree a plan - that we would both stick to - to ensure that we leave the European Union and that we do so with a deal.

Any plan would have to agree the current Withdrawal Agreement – it has already been negotiated with the 27 other members, and the EU has repeatedly said that it cannot and will not be reopened. What we need to focus on is our Future Relationship with the EU.

The ideal outcome of this approach would be to agree an approach on a Future Relationship that delivers on the result of the Referendum, that both the Leader of the Opposition and I could put to the House for approval, and which I could then take to next week's European Council. However, if we cannot agree on a single unified approach, then we would instead agree a number of options for the Future Relationship that we could put to the House in a series of votes to determine which course to pursue.

Crucially, the Government stands ready to abide by the decision of the House. But to make this process work, the Opposition would need to agree to this too. The Government would then bring forward the Withdrawal Agreement Bill. We would want to agree a timetable for this Bill to ensure it is passed before 22nd May so that the United Kingdom need not take part in European Parliamentary Elections.

This is a difficult time for everyone. Passions are running high on all sides of the argument. But we can and must find the compromises that will deliver what the British people voted for. This is a decisive moment in the story of these islands. And it requires national unity to deliver the national interest."

Jacob Rees-Mogg, A Eurosceptic Tory MP and the chair of the European Research Group, stated, 'People did not vote for a Corbyn-May coalition government, they voted for a Conservative government,'.

That same day, two agreements with Norway and Iceland were signed by the UK to safeguard Norwegian/Icelandic citizens' rights in the United Kingdom, and ensure continued trade between the countries, if the UK left the EU without an agreement.

On the 5th of April, Theresa May wrote to Donald Tusk requesting an extension of Article 50 until the 30th of June. She also stated that she wished to agree 'a timetable for ratification that allows the United Kingdom to withdraw from the European Union before 23 May 2019 [the date of the European Parliament elections]' and that it was 'frustrating' the two sides had not brought the process to a 'successful and orderly' conclusion yet. As for the situation in the Commons she complained that 'the impasse cannot be allowed to continue'. She also said she understood that 'the European Union has a legitimate desire to move on to decisions about its own future'.

The Czech Prime Minister Andrej Babiš welcomed May's move, saying, 'No deal is no good for anybody, I still hope for an orderly Brexit and I remain open even for a longer extension, but it cannot happen without UK participation in European Parliament elections. In that sense I welcome Theresa May's constructive approach on this issue.' That same day, Donald Tusk raised the idea of a long, flexible delay, announcing, 'The only reasonable way out would be a long but flexible extension...We could give the U.K. a yearlong extension, automatically terminated once the Withdrawal Agreement has been accepted and ratified by the House of Commons.' He said it would be good for both sides and remove the need to meet every few weeks to further discuss Brexit extensions.

On the 10th of April, at the emergency European Council, the EU formally gave the UK a flexible deadline of Halloween (the 31st of October) to complete talks. Emmanuel Macron, the French president, showed reluctance to give the UK an extension, protesting, 'no plan, no extension' however, he had little support from any other European leader and neither France nor any other country seriously advocated forcing the UK into a no-deal departure. Tusk also stressed that the option for the UK to end Article 50 and remain in the EU was still on the table.

In post summit remarks, Leo Varadkar tried to explain the EU's reluctance to force a no-deal exit, 'The EU is not a prison. Nobody has to stay. But it's also a home and we're not going to kick anybody out either.'

May 2019

On the 14th of May, Theresa May declared Parliament would vote again on the Withdrawal Agreement for the fourth time in the first week of June. On the 17th of May, talks between the Conservative Party and the Labour Party failed to reach any agreement on a compromise on the Withdrawal Agreement. Jeremy Corbyn wrote to Theresa May saying talks had gone as far as they could. Corbyn said the two parties had been unable to bridge important policy gaps.

On the 21st of May, the PM announced that she was making some concessions, hoping that MPs would vote for her deal. The ten concessions that she announced included:

- The Government would seek to conclude alternative arrangements to replace the backstop by December 2020, so that it never needs to be used.
- A commitment that, should the backstop come into force, the Government would ensure that Great Britain would stay aligned with Northern Ireland.
- The negotiating objectives and final treaties for our future relationship with the EU would have to be approved by MPs.
- A new Workers' Rights Bill that guarantees workers' rights would be no less favourable than in the EU.
- There would be no change in the level of environmental protection when the UK leaves the EU.

- The UK would seek as close to frictionless trade in goods with the EU as possible while outside the single market and ending free movement.
- The UK would keep up to date with EU rules for goods and agri-food products that were relevant to checks at the border protecting the thousands of jobs that depend on just-in-time supply chains.
- The Government would bring forward a customs compromise for MPs to decide on to break the deadlock.
- There would be a vote for MPs on whether the deal should be subject to a referendum.
- There would be a legal duty to secure changes to the political declaration to reflect the new deal.

However, her plea was met with huge opposition from both her own party and the Labour party. On the 23rd of May, the fourth vote was cancelled amid substantial backlash, although the new Withdrawal Agreement would still be published in the first week of June. That same day, European Parliament Elections were held in the UK, with the results to be announced on the 26th to the 27th of May.

Resignation

On the 24th of May, Theresa May announced that she would step down as Leader of the Conservative Party on the 7th of June and would resign from her post of Prime minister when a new Tory leader was selected. She listed some of her government's achievements such as reducing unemployment rates and boosting mental health funding. But she admitted that, 'It is and will always remain a matter of deep regret to me that I have not been able to deliver Brexit.' Here is an extract from her resignation speech:

Ever since I first stepped through the door behind me as Prime Minister, I have striven to make the United Kingdom a country that works not just for a privileged few, but for everyone. And to honour the result of the EU referendum.

Back in 2016, we gave the British people a choice. Against all predictions, the British people voted to leave the European Union. I feel as certain today as I did three years ago that in a democracy, if you give people a choice you have a duty to implement what they decide. I have done my best to do that. I negotiated the terms of our exit and a new relationship with our closest neighbours that protects jobs, our security and our Union. I have done everything I can to convince MPs to back that deal. Sadly, I have not been able to do so.

I tried three times. I believe it was right to persevere, even when the odds against success seemed high. But it is now clear to me that it is in the best interests of the country for a new Prime Minister to lead that effort.

So, I am today announcing that I will resign as leader of the Conservative and Unionist Party on Friday 7 June so that a successor can be chosen. I have agreed with the Party Chairman and with the Chair of the 1922 Committee that the process for electing a new leader should begin in the following week.

I have kept Her Majesty the Queen fully informed of my intentions, and I will continue to serve as her Prime Minister until the process has concluded. It is, and will always remain, a matter of deep regret to me that I have not been able to deliver Brexit. It will be for my successor to seek a way forward that honours the result of the referendum.

To succeed, he or she will have to find consensus in Parliament where I have not. Such a consensus can only be reached if those on all sides of the debate are willing to compromise.

Boris Johnson

Leadership Election

Round	Date	Successful			Eliminated		
		Name	Votes	%	Name	Votes	%
1	13 th of June	Michael Gove	37	11.8	Mark Harper, did not endorse	10	3.2
		Matt Hancock*	20	6.4			
		Jeremy Hunt	43	13.7	Andrea Leadsom, endorsed Johnson	11	3.5
		Sajid David	23	7.3			
		Boris Johnson	114	36.4	Esther McVey, endorsed Johnson	9	2.9
		Dominic Raab	27	8.6			
		Rory Stewart	19	6.1			
2	18 th of June	Michael Gove	41	13.1	Dominic Raab, endorsed Johnson	30	9.6
		Jeremy Hunt	46	14.7			
		Sajid Javid	33	7.3			
		Boris Johnson	126	40.4			
		Rory Stewart	37	6.4			
3	19 th of June	Michael Gove	51	16.3	Rory Stewart, endorsed Hunt	27	8.6
		Jeremy Hunt	54	17.3			
		Sajid Javid	38	12.1			
		Boris Johnson	143	45.7			
4	20 th of June – Morning	Michael Gove	61	19.5	Sajid Javid, endorsed Johnson	34	10.9
		Jeremy Hunt	59	18.8			
		Boris Johnson	157	50.2			
5	20 th of June – Afternoon	Jeremy Hunt	77	24.6	Michael Gove, did not endorse	75	24.0
		Boris Johnson	160	51.1			

*Matt Hancock withdrew after the first ballot despite meeting the first ballot's threshold and endorsed Boris Johnson.

Candidate	Members' Vote	
	Votes	%
Boris Johnson	92,153	66.4
Jeremy Hunt	46,656	33.6
<i>Spoilt Ballots</i>	509	0.4
<i>Turnout</i>	139,318	87.4

First 100 days

Boris Johnson became the Prime Minister on the 24th of July when he accepted Queen Elizabeth II's invitation to form a government. He reshuffled the cabinet, with his key appointments including promoting Sajid Javid as Chancellor of the Exchequer, Dominic Raab as Foreign Secretary and First Secretary of State, and Priti Patel as Home Secretary. Johnson created the role of Minister of the

Union, who's role was to keep the four countries of the UK in the 'union'. Boris gave himself the role and has been the Minister for the Union since the 26th of July 2019.

Loss of Majority

On the 3rd of September 2019, Phillip Lee – the Conservative MP for the constituency of Bracknell – defected to the Liberal Democrats. The next day, on the 4th of September, 21 Conservative MPs had the whip withdrawn after they voted for an opposition motion to block a no-deal Brexit. Losing the whip, or having it withdrawn, is a very serious business: it effectively means that an MP is expelled from their party because they have not followed strict instruction from the leadership. However, they do not lose their seat, until the whip is restored, they sit as an independent. After the vote, a No. 10 spokesperson said: 'The Chief Whip is speaking to those Tory MPs who did not vote with the Govt this evening. They will have the Tory whip removed.'

On the 5th of September, Jo Johnson (the PM's own brother) resigned as an MP and minister, saying he is 'torn between family loyalty and the national interest'. The business minister and Tory MP for Orpington, south-east London, cited an 'unresolvable tension' in his role. Jo Johnson voted Remain in the 2016 referendum, while his brother co-led the Leave campaign. On the 7th of September, Amber Rudd (the Secretary of State for Work and Pensions) quit as a Tory MP. She resigned from the Tory whip, which meant she would no longer be part of Johnson's cabinet or his party but would continue to sit as an independent MP. She said that she joined his cabinet 'in good faith'. In her resignation letter, she wrote: 'However, I no longer believe leaving with a deal is the Government's main objective. The Government is expending a lot of energy to prepare for "no deal" but I have not seen the same level of intensity go into our talks with the European Union, who have asked us to present alternative arrangements to the Irish backstop.' She also stated: 'I must also address the assault on decency and democracy that took place last week when you sacked 21 talented, loyal One Nation Conservatives. This short-sighted culling of my colleagues has stripped the party of broad-minded and dedicated Conservative MPs. I cannot support this act of political vandalism.'

Prorogation of Parliament



On the 28th of August, the PM declared he would prorogue (suspended so that no sessions would take place) parliament from the 12th of September to the 14th of October. Boris Johnson declared that a Queen's speech would take place after the suspension, on 14 October, to outline his 'very

exciting agenda'. However, that would mean the time for MPs to pass laws to stop a no-deal Brexit on 31 October would be cut. John Bercow, the speaker of the House of Commons, described it as 'a

constitutional outrage'. The Speaker, who does not traditionally comment on political announcements, continued: 'However it is dressed up, it is blindingly obvious that the purpose [of suspending Parliament] now would be to stop [MPs] debating Brexit and performing its duty in shaping a course for the country.' Labour leader Jeremy Corbyn said, 'Suspending Parliament is not acceptable, it is not on. What the prime minister is doing is a smash and grab on our democracy to force through a no deal.' He said that when MPs return to the Commons, 'the first thing we'll do is attempt legislation to prevent what the PM is doing.' He also announced that he would attempt a motion of no confidence at some point and asked what the PM was so afraid of that he would suspend Parliament. Hundreds of protestors gathered in Westminster chanting, 'stop the coup'. On the 31st of August, protests increased to thousands of people (shown in the picture on the previous page).

On the 24th of September, the Supreme Court of the United Kingdom declared that they had concluded that the Prime Minister's advice to Her Majesty was (the PM does not do the suspension himself; he/she advises the queen to do so) was unlawful, void and of no effect. The court said the order in council to which it led was also unlawful, void and of no effect and the court's decision was the unanimous decision of all eleven justices.



On the 2nd of October, the PM confirmed the Government's plans to prorogue Parliament from the 8th of October to the 14th of October and hold a Queen's Speech on the 14th of October. In a statement, Downing Street said the planned prorogation - which must be approved by the Queen - would be 'for the shortest time possible' to

enable logistical and security preparations for the State Opening of Parliament. Downing Street said the Queen's Speech would set out the government's plans for the NHS, schools, tackling crime, investing in infrastructure and building a strong economy. However, with a parliamentary majority of minus 45, it was unlikely it would be easy. On the 10th of October, in an event in Northampton, Labour leader Jeremy Corbyn stated, 'This Government isn't going to put any legislation before Parliament...But there is one area where Boris Johnson has a 100% record and I commend him for it, that he's been defeated on every vote he's put to Parliament since he became Prime Minister.' The First Minister of Scotland, Nicola Sturgeon, said Johnson should resign and called for a no-confidence vote in his leadership if he refuses to do so. Jo Swinson, the Liberal Democrat leader, said: 'This confirms what we already knew - Boris Johnson isn't fit to be prime minister. He has misled Queen and country, and unlawfully silenced the people's representatives. I am on my way to resume my duties in the Commons and stop Brexit altogether.' Condemnation also came from Nigel Farage, the leader of the Brexit Party, who said: 'The calling of a Queen's speech and prorogation is the worst political decision ever. Dominic Cummings [one of the PM's senior advisors who advised the PM to prorogue Parliament and the Campaign Director for the Vote Leave in the 2016 referendum] must go.'

Brexit Plan

On the 2nd of October, the Government unveiled its new Brexit proposals to the EU. The plan, outlined in a seven-page document, would see Northern Ireland stay in the European single market for goods, but leave the customs union - resulting in new customs checks. Johnson's plan scrapped May's backstop (which was rejected by Parliament 3 times) but replaced it with a 'broad landing zone' for a new deal with the EU:

- Northern Ireland would leave the EU's customs union alongside the rest of the UK, at the start of 2021.
- But Northern Ireland would, with the consent of politicians in the Northern Ireland Assembly, continue to apply EU legislation relating to agricultural and other products - what he called an 'all-island regulatory zone'.
- This arrangement could continue for an infinite amount of time; but the consent of Northern Ireland's politicians would have to be sought every four years.
- Customs checks on goods traded between the UK and EU would be 'decentralised', with paperwork submitted electronically and only a 'very small number' of physical checks.
- These checks would take place away from the border itself, at business premises or at 'other points in the supply chain'.

On the 4th of October, the Government assured the highest Scottish court that Boris Johnson would send a letter to the EU asking for a Brexit delay if no deal was agreed by the 19th of October. However, a central theme of Boris Johnson's campaign in the Conservative Party leadership race was to get Brexit done, no-matter what, by the 31st of October (Halloween). On the 10th of October, Downing Street issued a statement that Boris Johnson and his Irish counterpart Leo Varadkar agreed they could 'see a pathway to a possible deal' after talks. The two leaders spoke for over two hours, including a one-to-one discussion during a walk in the grounds of Thornton Manor in north-west England. Ireland's Taoiseach said that the meeting was 'positive', and it was 'sufficient to allow negotiations to resume in Brussels'.



On the 17th of October, Boris Johnson achieved a new deal to swap the backstop for a four-year alignment between Northern Ireland and the EU with Michel Barnier. In a special Saturday sitting of Parliament, on the 19th of October, MPs inflicted a humiliating defeat on Boris Johnson by passing an amendment withholding their support from his Brexit deal. Instead of backing Johnson's

agreement, MPs passed an amendment proposed by a cross-party group of MPs led by Oliver Letwin (a Tory MP and in the picture above) by 322 votes to 306. The prime minister said he was not 'daunted or dismayed' by the defeat and would press ahead with tabling Brexit legislation next week. The amendment also forced Johnson to request an extension until the 31st of January 2020.

On the 20th of October, Boris Johnson wrote a letter requesting the EU for a delay to Brexit - but without his signature. The request was accompanied by a second letter, signed by Boris Johnson, saying that he believed a delay would be a mistake. The PM was required by law to ask the European

Union for another extension to the 31st of October deadline after losing a Commons vote. Johnson also rang European leaders calling the letter 'Parliament's letter, not my letter'. There was also a third letter, this time a cover note from Sir Tim Barrow (the UK's representative in Brussels), explained the first letter complied with the law as agreed by Parliament. One Labour MP joked, 'Surely there should be a fourth letter too, saying "my name is Boris Johnson and I am five years old".'

On the 22nd of October, MPs backed Boris Johnson's Withdrawal Agreement – but minutes later voted against his plan to get it through the Commons in three days. After the vote, Tusk said he would recommend EU leaders to back an extension to the 31st of October deadline. A Downing Street source said that if a delay were granted, the PM would seek an election. Jacob Rees-Mogg, the Leader of the House of Commons, said it was 'very hard' to see how all the necessary laws could be passed by the Halloween deadline. Labour leader Jeremy Corbyn described the Prime Minister as the 'author of his own misfortune' but also offered to enter talks to for a 'sensible' timetable for the PM's deal to go through Parliament.

On the 28th of October, Boris Johnson formally accepted the EU's offer of a Brexit extension until the 31st of January 2020. Donald Tusk said that what was being offered was a 'flexextension' (meaning the UK could leave before the deadline if a deal was approved by the Commons) like the previous deadline of the 31st of October. On the 29th of October, the following day, MPs approved Boris Johnson's calls for an early election by a margin of 438 votes to 20. This paved the way for the first December election since 1923. The PM also readmitted 10 of the 21 Conservative MPs he threw out of the party for rebelling over Brexit, allowing them to stand as Conservative candidates. On the 30th of October, the day named as 'exit day' was changed to the 31st of January in UK law.

2019 Snap Election

Party Policies on Prominent Issues

Brexit



Major parties held a variety of stances on Brexit. The Conservatives, led by Boris Johnson, supported leaving the EU as set out by the Withdrawal

Agreement that Johnson had negotiated. 'What we've got is a fantastic deal that nobody thought we could get,' Johnson said. 'As soon as we get back in the middle of December, we can put that deal through.' This agreement also formed a central part of the Tory Campaign. The Brexit Party was in support of a no-deal Brexit, with Nigel Farage (the party's leader) telling the PM: 'Drop the deal because as these weeks go by and people realise what you've signed up to ... people will not like it... Simply, it is not Brexit. What we're doing here is kicking the can down the road.' Nigel Farage also gave the PM a two-week deadline to drop his deal and join him in a 'leave alliance'. Farage reprimanded politicians' broken promises, especially the PM's deadline of the 31st of October to get

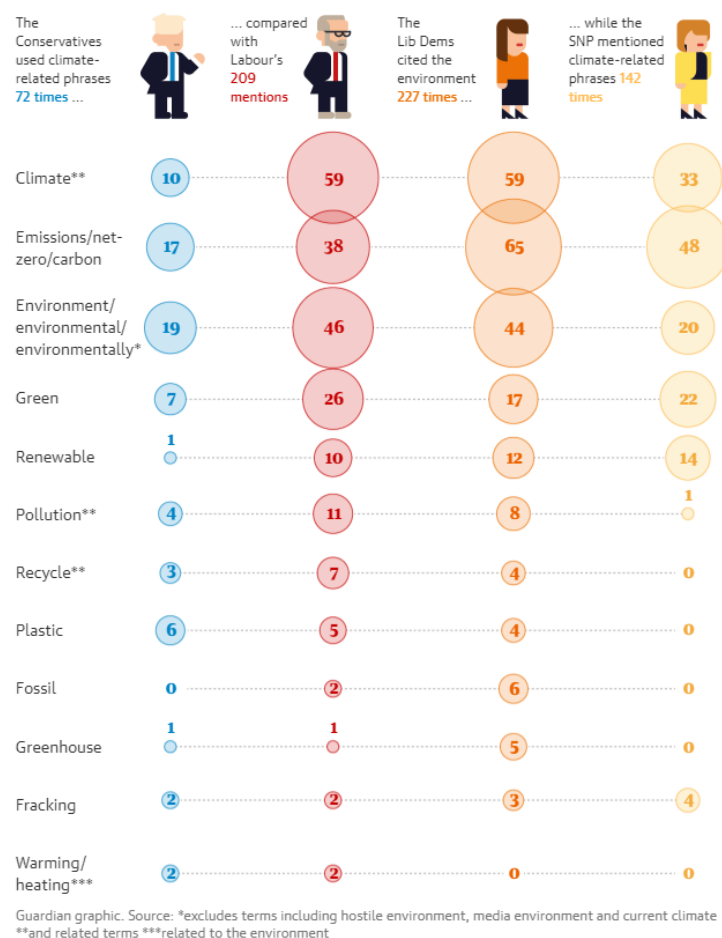
Brexit done. However, later in the campaign process, Farage changed his stance from no deal is the only acceptable deal to the party simply promising there would be ‘no extended transition period’.

As for Labour’s Brexit strategy, Jeremy Corbyn set out a careful plan – aimed at not alienating Leave or Remain voters. He declared that he would first attempt to negotiate a Labour Brexit deal (which would aim for a closer post-withdrawal relationship with the EU) with Brussels relatively quickly. Within six months of the election, there would be a second referendum to choose between Labour’s deal and remaining in the EU. There would be a special conference to decide how Labour would campaign. Despite initially refusing to set out how he would campaign in the referendum, he later said that he would remain neutral in a *Question Time* TV debate.

The Liberal Democrats, SNP, Plaid Cymru, Change UK, and the Green Party were all opposed to leaving the EU and proposed that a further referendum be held with the option—for which they would campaign—to remain in the EU. However, Jo Swinson (the leader of the Liberal Democrats) originally pledged to revoke Article 50 without a second referendum, but part-way through the campaign, the Lib Dems dropped their original policy and replaced it with a second referendum.

The DUP (Democratic Unionist Party) supported leaving the EU with a Withdrawal Agreement but opposed Boris Johnson’s Brexit deal, saying they resulted in too big divide between Northern Ireland and Great Britain. Sinn Féin, the SDLP (the Social Democratic and Labour Party), the UUP (Ulster Unionist Party) and Alliance all favoured remaining in the EU. The UUP did not support a second referendum.

The Environment



Corbyn advocated a ‘green industrial revolution’. This included support for renewable energies and a promise to plant 2 billion trees by 2040. The Labour Party pledged to electrify England’s entire bus fleet by 2030, promising to bring services ‘into the future’. Jeremy Corbyn also promised to devolve bus services, giving local authorities the power to regulate bus services and bring down the cost of tickets.

The Liberal Democrats also placed the environment as a key theme of their campaign. They pledged to introduce a department for climate change, local government would be given new powers to cut emissions, there would be a moratorium (a temporary pause) on airport expansion and an end to fracking, and the UK would achieve net-zero carbon status by 2045 – five years sooner than the current government goal. The Lib Dems would

end the sale of diesel and petrol cars by 2030 – 10 years sooner than the Conservatives – and stop fracking.

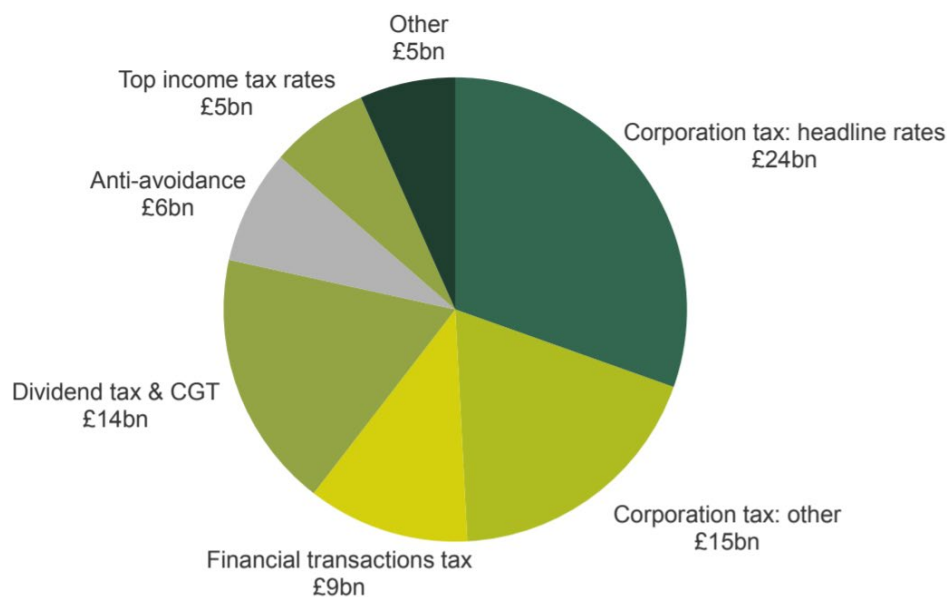
The Climate Crisis was only mentioned 10 times in the entire Tory manifesto and was ranked as the worst of the main political parties on the crisis by Friends of the Earth. The Conservatives also preferred to use the term 'climate change' over 'climate crisis/emergency'. The Tories also promised to reach net zero emissions by 2050 and launch a new £640 million Nature for Climate fund to help reach the net zero goal and create new National Parks and Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty.

Tax and spending commitments

The Conservatives pledged to not raise tax, VAT or National Insurance and create a 'high-wage, high-skill, low-tax economy'. Boris Johnson said he would 'keep costs down for small businesses – rather than hiking their taxes and crushing Britain's prosperity'. However, the Conservative manifesto was described as having "little in the way of changes to tax" by the Institute for Fiscal Studies. The plan to increase the national insurance threshold for employees and self-employed to £9,500 would also cost £2 billion/year. There were increased spending commitments of £3 billion current spending and £8 billion investment spending.

The Labour manifesto planned to raise an extra £78 billion per year from taxes over the course of the parliament, with sources including:

Labour: £78bn of tax rises



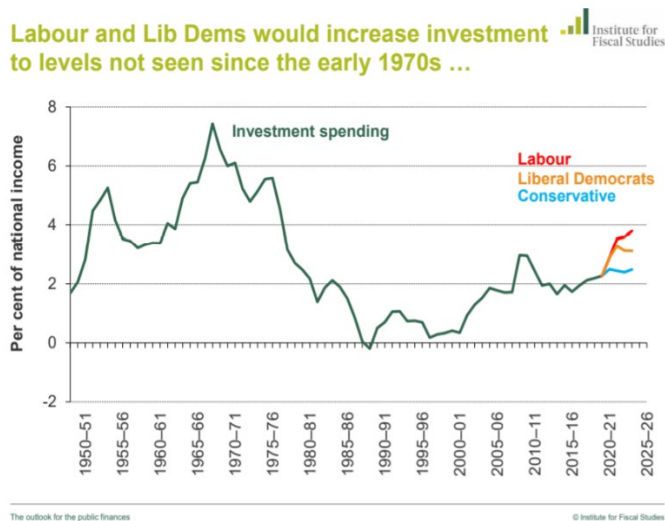
Brexit and Tax

The Conservative commitment not to extend the transition period beyond 31 December 2020 would risk a no-deal Brexit (even after the UK leaves the EU on the 31st of January 2020 the EU and the UK would still need to negotiate a UK-EU free trade deal). The Liberal Democrat policy of revoking Article 50 would boost economic growth: The Institute of Fiscal Studies said, 'Lib Dems assumption that national income would be £50bn (2%) higher in five years under a remain scenario plausible (3% lost since 2016)' Although the Lib Dems dropped their original policy of immediately revoking Article 50, if the country voted Remain in the second referendum this outcome would still be possible. Labour's policy of renegotiating a softer Brexit deal would boost growth relative to the Conservative policy because there would be a closer single market relationship.

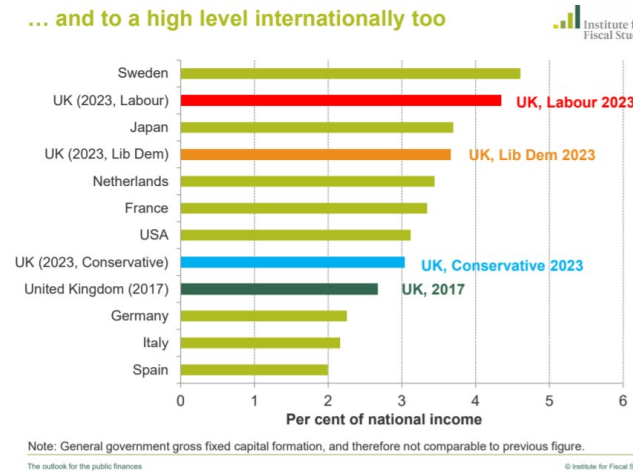
Investment as a proportion of national income

Labour and the Liberal Democrats would push investment to levels not seen since the early 1970s and a high level internationally too.

Labour and Lib Dems would increase investment to levels not seen since the early 1970s ...

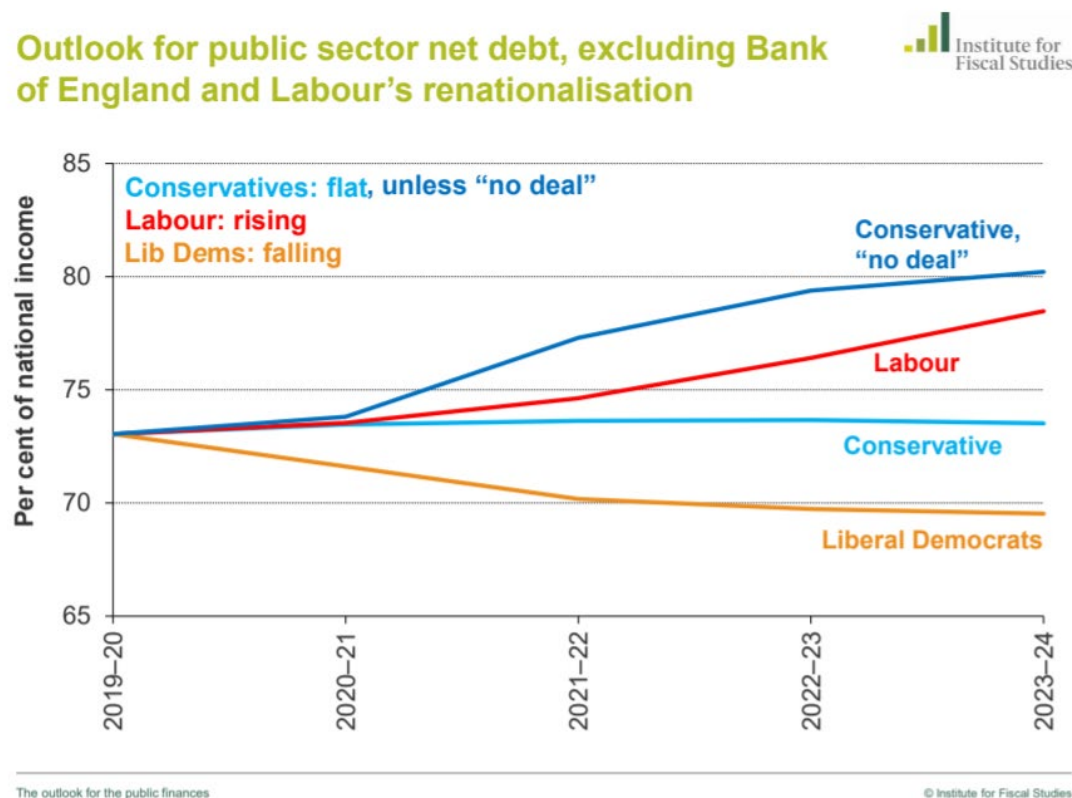


... and to a high level internationally too



Public Sector Net Debt, excluding Bank of England and Labour's renationalisation

Outlook for public sector net debt, excluding Bank of England and Labour's renationalisation



Other Issues

The Tories pledged an additional £2.3bn in real terms by 2023-24 for mental health: roughly a 20% increase on the current mental health budget. Labour said it would provide an additional £1.6bn a year for mental health by 2023-24 on top of the government's £2.3bn pledge. The Liberal Democrats

wanted a 1% income tax increase, to go to the NHS and social care. Of that, 30% would be spent on mental health. This represented an additional £2.2bn a year, mostly for England.

Labour proposed increasing the minimum wage of £8.21 to £10; nationalising rail, mail, water, the broadband arm of BT and energy into public ownership; ending state pension age rises; scrap universal credit; abolish the schools' charitable tax status, make them pay full business rates and impose VAT on fees; free bus travel for under-25s; build 100,000 council homes per year. While the Lib Dems' main priority was opposing Brexit, other policies included increased spending on the NHS; free childcare for two-to-four-year-olds; recruiting 20,000 more teachers; generating 80% of electricity from renewable sources by 2030; freezing train fares; legalising cannabis.

The Brexit Party's main concern was also Brexit. However, other policies included: no privatisation of the NHS; reducing annual immigration levels and introducing a fair points-based immigration system; cutting VAT on domestic fuel; reducing corporation tax; ban the UK exporting its waste; free broadband in deprived regions and free Wi-Fi on public transport; scrap BBC licence fee; abolish inheritance tax; scrap HS2; abolish interest on student loans.

The SNP's key issues included: a second referendum on Brexit; hold a second independence referendum election in 2020 for Scotland; increase health spending; scrap Trident; devolve drugs classification powers to Holyrood (the location of Scottish government offices) due to the Scotland's drugs crisis; devolve control of immigration; increase paid paternity leave; devolve transport powers.

The Liberal Democrats, the Greens, the SNP and Labour all supported a ban on fracking, whilst the Conservatives proposed approving fracking on a case-by-case basis – the Conservatives had recently imposed a moratorium on new fracking sites.

False Statements



During the first TV debate ahead of the election, between Boris Johnson and Jeremy Corbyn, the Conservative Party's twitter account renamed itself to 'factcheckUK' and gave itself a new logo. The account, which had around 75,000 followers, changed its display name back after the debate. Twitter criticized the Conservative Party for the move but stopped short of banning the account or removing

its blue 'verified' tick, which signals that the account is who it says. Twitter issued a statement saying, "Any further attempts to mislead people by editing verified profile information – in a manner seen during the U.K. Election Debate – will result in decisive corrective action...Twitter is

committed to facilitating healthy debate throughout the U.K. general election. We have global rules in place that prohibit behaviour that can mislead people, including those with verified accounts.’ During the debate, the rebranded ‘factcheckUK’ account shared tweets attacking the Labour Party — some preceded by the word ‘FACT’ — and retweeted Conservative cabinet ministers. The European Parliament’s representative on matters relating to Brexit, Guy Verhofstadt, also called the move ‘dystopian’. David Lammy, a Labour politician, also condemned the Tories, said, ‘Twitter should ban @CCHQPress from their site...It’s not a fact check service, it’s a disinformation machine that would make Vladimir Putin blush.’ However, Dominic Raab, the Foreign Secretary, said: ‘No one gives a toss about the social media cut and thrust.’

First Draft News (a project ‘to fight mis- and disinformation online’ founded in 2015 by nine organizations brought together by the Google News Lab. It includes Facebook, Twitter, the Open Society Foundations and several other charities) found 88% of ads posted recently by the Conservatives contained content that had been deemed misleading by Full Fact (an independent fact-checking organisation). Some of the adverts included questionable content while others linked directly to a webpage with misleading claims.

Results

The Conservative Party won a landslide victory, with 365 seats out of 650, granting them a majority of 80 in the House of Commons. The Conservatives even gained seats in several Labour ‘strongholds’ in the North of England and the Midlands that had been held for decades. Wakefield, which had been a Labour constituency since 1932 voted Conservative by 3,000 votes; however, most seats which had previously been Labour were only won by a narrow margin. The Liberal Democrats won 11 seats, down 1, despite significantly increasing their share of the popular vote. Leader Jo Swinson lost her seat to SNP candidate Amy Callaghan and resigned shortly afterward. The Scottish National Party had a good night, finishing with 48 seats up 13 from 2017 and only slightly down from their 2015 landslide. In Northern Ireland, the DUP, who had backed the Conservatives since 2017, lost two of their seats, including their Westminster leader Nigel Dodds. The SDLP picked up two and the Alliance Party won one and for the first time nationalist political parties won more seats than unionist ones for the first time.

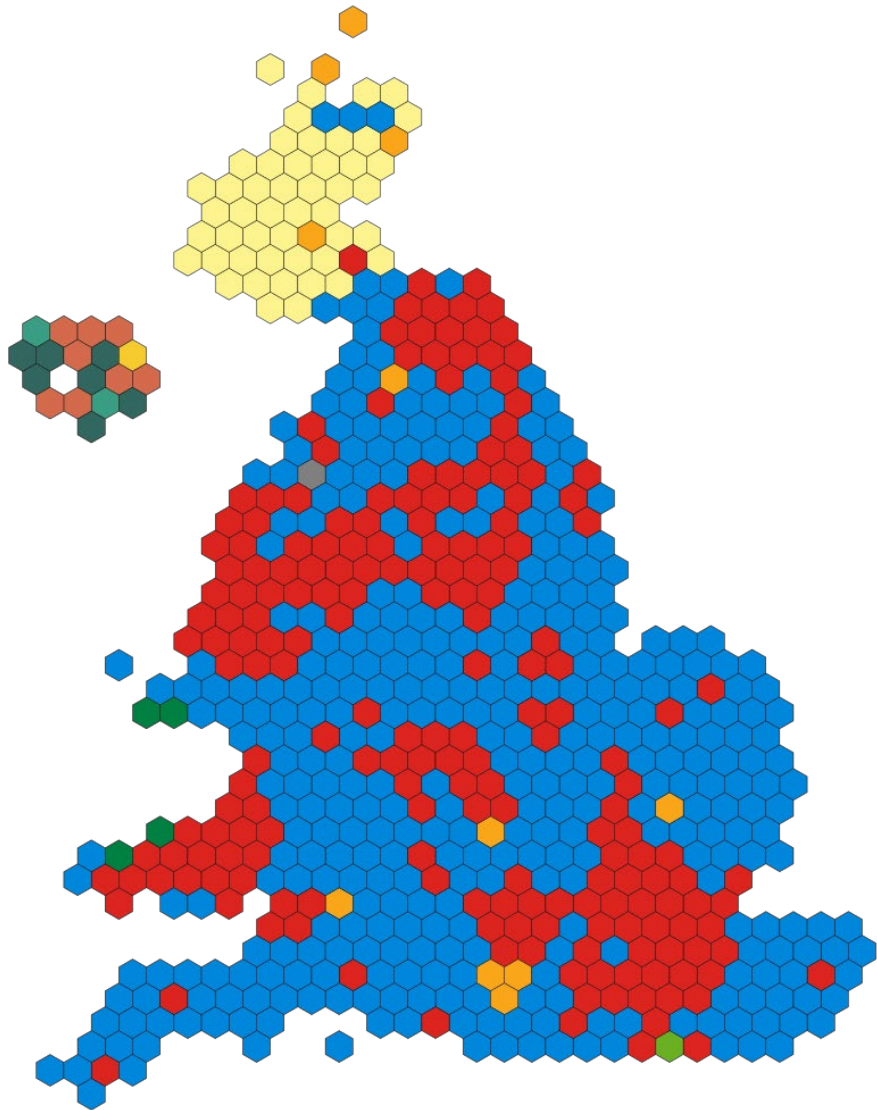
Political Party	Leader	Candidates	MPs				Votes			
			Total Result	Gained	Lost	Net	Of Total	Total	Of Total	Change
Conservative	Boris Johnson	635	365	58	10	48	56.2%	13,966,454	43.6%	1.2%
Labour	Jeremy Corbyn	631	202	1	61	-60	31.1%	10,269,051	32.1%	-7.9%
SNP	Nicola Sturgeon	59	48	14	1	13	7.4%	1,242,380	3.9%	0.8%
Lib Dem	Jo Swinson	611	11	3	4	-1	1.7%	3,696,419	11.5%	4.2%
DUP	Arlene Foster	17	8	0	2	-2	1.2%	244,128	0.8%	-0.1%
Sinn Féin	Mary McDonald	15	7	1	1	0	1.1%	181,853	0.6%	-0.2%
Plaid Cymru	Adam Price	36	4	0	0	0	0.6%	153,265	0.5%	-6.7%
SDLP	Colum Eastwood	15	2	2	0	2	0.3%	118,737	0.4%	0.1%
Alliance	Naomi Longwood	18	1	1	0	1	0.2%	134,115	0.4%	0.2%
Speaker	Lindsay Hoyle	1	1	N/A	N/A	N/A	0.2%	26,831	0.1%	0.0%
Brexit Party	Nigel Farage	275	0	N/A	N/A	N/A	0%	644,257	2.0%	N/A

Green

Sian Berry	472	1	0	0	0	0.2%	835,579	2.7%	1.1%
Jonathan Bartley									

By Constituency

On 30 October 2019, the day named as "exit day" in UK legislation was changed to 31 January 2020 at 11.00 pm.



Colour Key			
Conservative	Blue	Green Party	Green (England only)
Labour	Red	SDLP	Light Green (NI)
Liberal Democrat	Orange	Alliance	Orange-Yellow (NI)
SNP	Yellow (Scotland)	Sinn Fein	Dark Green (NI)
DUP	Maroon (NI)	Other	Grey
Plaid Cymru	Green (only in Wales)		

An Extension

On the 30th of October, UK and EU government representatives agreed to further postpone the United Kingdom's exit from the European Union until January 31, 2020. This meant that Boris Johnson had failed to keep his promise to have Brexit done by Halloween.

Trade Talks

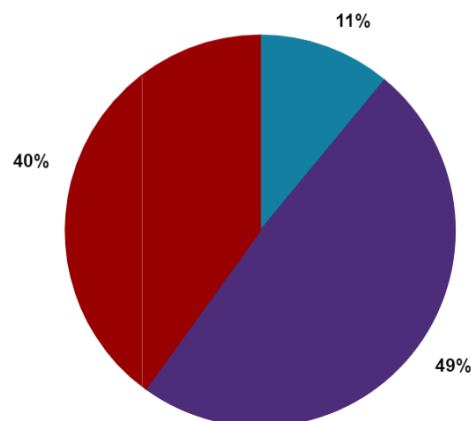
The UK left the European Union at 23:00 GMT on 31 January, but that was not the end of the Brexit story. After that hour had passed, the UK had entered an 11-month period (due to end on the 31st of December 2020), known as the transition, which kept the UK bound to the EU's rules. The Department for Exiting the European Union (DExEU) was dissolved that hour. David Frost was appointed as the UK's chief negotiator by the PM on the 27th of January, ahead of the shutdown.

During this period, the UK would remain in both the EU customs union and single market. The idea behind the transition period was to give some breathing space to allow new UK-EU trade negotiations to take place.

Where does the UK trade?

% of total UK trade in 2018

■ Countries with EU trade agreements ■ The EU ■ Rest of the world



Source: Department for International Trade



This will be essential if the UK wants to be able to continue to trade with the EU with no tariffs, quotas or other barriers after the transition. Tariffs are a type of tax, usually paid on imported goods. Both sides would also need to decide how far the UK can move away from existing EU regulations.

However, a free trade deal would not eliminate every type of security check between the UK and EU. So, businesses still need to

prepare.

Other than trade the UK and EU still need to decide other policies, including:

- Law enforcement, data sharing and security
- Aviation standards and safety
- Fishing waters access
- Supplies of electricity and gas
- Licensing and regulation of medicines

The UK would also need to design and implement many new systems, including how it would handle immigration once freedom of movement comes to an end.

Since the trade talks are still ongoing, this essay will only cover developments in March and April 2020.

Negotiating Stances

Both sides want a free-trade agreement with no restrictions on the quantity of imports or exports. The European Union says 'zero-zero [as in trade with minimal checks]' is only available if the UK makes a legally binding pledge not to undercut European companies. That means following EU rules on state aid, which would stop the UK government from showering British companies with large subsidies. On social and employment law, environmental standards and tax, EU standards would be 'a reference point' so the UK would have to change its standards when the EU upgrades its regulations.

However, UK officials said the UK wished to be free from EU regulations and standards shortly before the transition period begun on the 31st of January, which also confirmed by Boris Johnson slightly after. The UK's chief negotiator declared:

'We aren't frightened by suggestions there is going to be friction, there are going to be greater barriers. We know that and have factored this in, and we look further forward – to the gains of the future.'

March 2020

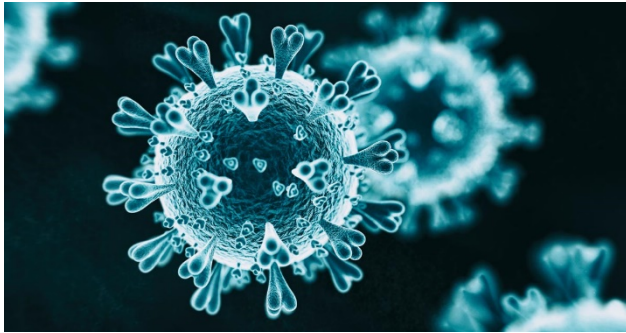
Trade negotiations commenced on the 2nd of March. The first round of talks dealt with regulatory standards of trade and fisheries. Both sides also announced that if sufficient progress were not achieved in four months (by June), they would end talks and focus on preparing for no-deal. On the 5th of March, Michel Barnier (the European Commission's chief negotiator) gave a statement on what progress had been made. He laid out what the two sides need to negotiate by the end of the year:

- **Ensure proper implementation of the withdrawal agreement concluded with the UK.**
 - This means safeguarding the rights of 4.5 million European and British citizens.
 - It also means maintaining peace and stability in Ireland and Northern Ireland in the context of the Good Friday Agreement.
- **Prepare for the changes that will take place in any event – whether we have an agreement or not – on 1 January 2021.**
 - On that date the UK decided that it would leave the single market, the customs union and all EU international agreements.
- **To rebuild a partnership with the UK.**
 - He said the EU would do everything possible to build a basis for their future partnership, in line with the Political Declaration agreed with Boris Johnson in October 2019.
 - However, he also said the EU would defend the interests of its citizens, its consumers, its workers and its companies.
 - He also said the two sides faced a 'time constraint' in doing so.

He also said there were large differences between the two sides, especially the UK disagreeing to implement the European Convention on Human Rights into British legislation.

The second round, due to take place in mid-March in London was cancelled due to the ongoing coronavirus pandemic. EU and UK officials were expected to take part in talks through videoconference calls. On the 20th of March, David Frost began self-isolating after showing mild symptoms of the coronavirus. During a European commission briefing on the 26th of March, the EU commission declared that negotiating via videoconferencing had so far proved impossible and too impractical.

Nearing the end of March, the UK declared that it had shared its text, while concerns spread about the possibility of using a timetable set before the pandemic.



April 2020

On the 8th of April, a leaked letter Michael Clauss, the German ambassador to the EU, to his political bosses in Berlin said a range of issues not key to rebuilding from the pandemic would need to be sidelined as a result of the ongoing coronavirus pandemic in Europe.

The European Council HQ in Brussels was only able to hold one daily video conference due to a lack of facilities. The capacity to carry out work was 25% of what it would usually be. EU officials described Boris Johnson's plan to seal a deal with Brussels on the future relationship with the UK by the end of December as 'fantasy land'. It was reported that David Frost would meet Barnier next week to try to agree a new timetable and method for the talks because Barnier was still recovering from the disease after recently contracting it. Meanwhile, Boris Johnson remained in an ICU (Intensive Care Unit) after catching the disease.

On the 15th of April, following Michel Barnier and David Frost's videoconference, the two sides released a statement. Here is an extract:

'This work has been useful to identify all major areas of divergence and convergence, the two sides agreed on the need to organise further negotiating rounds in order to make real, tangible progress in the negotiations by June.'



While the transition period ends at the end of 2020, the deadline for trade talks is the 30th of June 2020. The following day, Frost (left) reiterated his stance that the transition period would not be extended, 'As we prepare for the next Rounds of negotiations, I want to reiterate the Government's position on the transition period created following our withdrawal from the EU. Transition ends on 31 December this year. We will not

ask to extend it.'

On the 20th of April, another week of videoconference negotiations begun. On the table were crucial issues of the future trade relationship, including security policy, trade rules and the contentious issue of fishing rights. However, in a progress report, Michel Barnier said that the UK had 'failed to engage substantially' in talks and that little progress had been made.

Central Topics

Fisheries



Although the fishing industry makes up just 0.1% of the UK's economy – a measly amount –, it was a key factor in Britain voting to leave the EU. It was symbolic of a plucky, independent Britain, freed from the shackles of restrictions and regulations set by other people in other places, forging its own way in the world. In reality, the UK fleet is dominated by a small number of big players, some

of them foreign-owned. Seven companies hold 51% of the UK's fishing quota, and 27 trawlers working from Scottish ports bring in half the UK's total weight in landings. Net profit in the large-scale fleet increased by 47% to €268m between 2015 and 2016, according to the most recent EU report.

In Mevagissey (a harbour in Cornwall), memories of what happened in the 1970s when Ted Heath was negotiating the UK's entry into the European common market are part of local folklore. "We were traded off, basically thrown to the wall, sacrificed for other sectors," said Trevarton, a local fisherman. Rodney Ingram, 75, who fishes inshore from a 20ft boat after a working life on and off the sea, said: "We were sold down the line, used as a bargaining chip. We gave [the Europeans] everything they wanted." When they voted to leave, they hoped to put those wrongs right. "We're hoping politicians will recognise the great injustice done to the industry back then. We believe this is a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to put it right," said Trevarton.

There are 11961 fishermen/women in the UK, 6036 UK registered vessels, 22000 people employed in serving the industry/employed in fish processing. The total value of the sector is £784 million and the value of its financial services is £132 billion. The UK exports 75% of the seafood it lands, most of it to the EU while two thirds of the fish consumed in the UK is imported.

On the 29th of January, Boris Johnson announced its plans to reclaim control over British fisheries with a law allowing the UK to decide who can fish in its waters and on what terms.

Solving Disputes



The EU expected a comprehensive trade agreement which encompassed all areas of trade and included transport, foreign policy and fishing. Therefore, it also believed that any dispute over interpretation of European Union law could only be resolved by the Court of Justice of the European Union. However, Boris Johnson had

previously firmly stated that the UK would not remain under the jurisdiction of CJEU and the UK would make its own laws after the transition period ended. However, the UK preferred a 'comprehensive free trade agreement' (like the EU's CETA agreement with Canada) that does not include fishing, security, transport or energy. These matters, the UK believes, should be covered in a separate deal where 'appropriate governance arrangements', rather than Court of Justice of the European Union, would decide.

Financial Services

EU officials do not wish to negotiate a trade deal that includes financial services. The European Union believes that negotiating a trade deal that includes financial services would take two years. A European Union official has said, 'Trade is easy, you check stuff at the border. Services, especially financial services, are a whole other game. You need common rules, and a common arbiter whenever there's a legal disagreement.' However, the UK is in favour of a deal that incorporates financial services, with financial services accounting for 6.9% of UK gross domestic product in 2018, maintaining access to European clients for the City of London is paramount. The UK needs to convince the financial services sector that it remains a predictable and stable environment in which to work.

Security and Law Enforcement



The EU said it was aiming for a 'comprehensive' deal but has also said a non-EU nation cannot expect to receive the tight arrangement of an EU-member state. The crime-fighting agreement would end immediately if the UK chose to quit the European convention on human rights. The UK government has asked for fast exchange of criminal records, DNA and fingerprints, as well as information sharing on

criminal suspects, as it wants to replicate existing EU databases and programmes. The UK is not seeking to join the EU police agency Europol, nor EU law enforcement agency Eurojust, but wants to work with both. The UK also wants to sign an extradition agreement to replace the European arrest warrant. However, on the 5th of March, Boris Johnson said he would never sign up to human rights protections in any Brexit trade deal with the EU.

There are still more trade talks to occur...

What's next?

This section will cover the impacts of Brexit on the UK, if we will ever rejoin the EU and the ongoing coronavirus's pandemic's impact on Brexit.

Impacts of Brexit on the UK

Universities

Leaving the EU would mean loss of research funding from EU sources, loss of students from other EU member states, the impact on the ability of universities to hire academic staff from EU member states and the impact on the ability of UK students to study abroad.

Polls say 83% of British scientists oppose Brexit. Many have spoken out: in March, all 159 Fellows of the Royal Society at the University of Cambridge called the move 'a disaster for British science' mainly because it would stop young scientists from migrating freely within Europe. A report by the House of Lords reported in April 2016 that 'the overwhelming balance of opinion from the UK science community' opposed Brexit.

Between 2007 and 2013, the UK paid 5.4 billion euros into the EU research budget but got 8.8 billion euros back in grants. Currently the UK is part of the ERA (European Research Area) and the UK is likely to want to remain a member.

Passports



Since March 2020, the UK Government has been issuing iconic deep blue (the colour before the UK joined the EU) passports while the EU retains its burgundy passports. Those who currently use burgundy UK passports can continue to use them until they expire. On the left is the new UK passport. On the right is the old, pre-EU, UK passport. Priti Patel, the Home Secretary, said, 'Leaving the European Union gave us a unique opportunity to restore our national identity and forge a

new path in the world. By returning to the iconic blue and gold design, the British passport will once again be entwined with our national identity and I cannot wait to travel on one.'

The new passport will also be the most technologically advanced British passport ever, with a raft of new and updated security features, including a hard-wearing, super-strength polycarbonate data page, which contains innovative technologies embedded into the document, to keep personal data secure.

Irish Border

Since 2005, there have been no checkpoints in place between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland. The border had once been dotted with British military checkpoints, and their removal was a huge moment in the peace process that followed the violence of the Troubles. Today, the only way

you know you have crossed from one country to the next is a change in road signs from miles- to kilometres-per-hour due to both countries being in the EU.



After Brexit, the border between Northern Ireland (part of the UK) and the Republic of Ireland (part of the EU) will become the only UK–EU land border. The original proposal was for Northern Ireland alone to remain in the EU Single Market and Customs Union. The Democratic Unionist Party (DUP)

opposed this, believing it threatened the unity of the UK because it would mean a border down the Irish sea and give Northern Ireland a different special status to the rest of the EU. Theresa May then agreed to keep the whole UK in the Customs Union, should it come into effect. When Boris Johnson became Prime Minister, he promised to remove the backstop from the withdrawal agreement and replace it with "alternative arrangements". In October 2019, the UK government and EU agreed on new arrangements for Northern Ireland in a revised withdrawal agreement that was also accepted by Parliament.

If there were a no-deal Brexit, the UK government announced that it would not have performed customs checks at the Irish border and acknowledged that might have presented a smuggling risk. The former European Commission President, Jean-Claude Juncker, said if there was a no-deal Brexit the Republic of Ireland would have had to implement border checks on the EU's behalf.

French Border



The UK and France have previously affirmed that they both remain committed to the Le Touquet Agreement – which established French border controls in Britain and UK controls in Calais (also known as juxtaposed controls). The UK government is already thought to have spent more than £100 million on security in the area over the past four years, and officials said the number of illegal

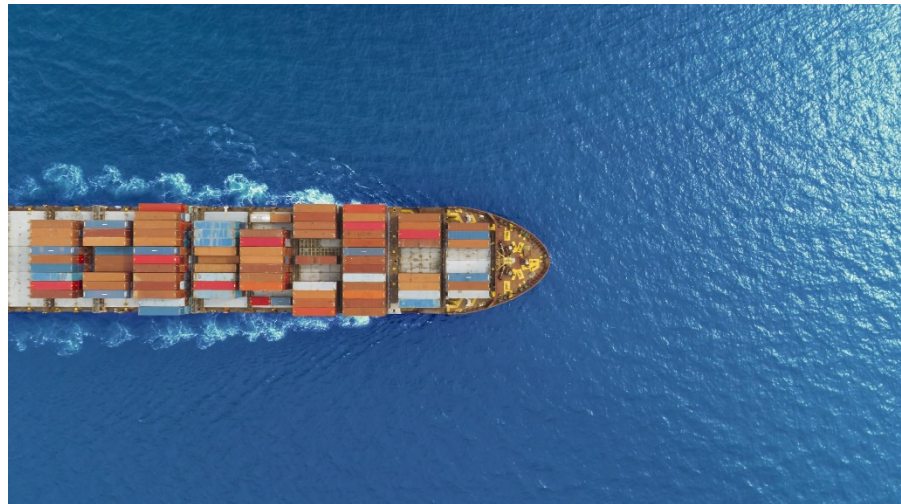
attempts to enter the UK fell from 80,000 in 2015 to just over 30,000 last from 2017 to 2018. Other juxtaposed border controls are in operation at Eurostar stations in France and Belgium. French Public Action and Accounts Minister, Gerald Darmanin created a new 'smart border' which would

scan trucks' licence plates and automatically link them to shipping documents filled out online by exporters.

On arrival in Calais, trucks will either be waved through to take the Channel tunnel or a ferry to Britain, or be required to undergo physical checks, depending on what type of goods they are carrying or if authorities believe they may be smuggling or carrying counterfeit goods. He also promised there will not be, 'dozens and dozens of kilometres of queues in Calais'. France is spending €50 million on expanding port infrastructure and plans to recruit 700 more customs staff by the end of 2020.

EU-UK Customs

On the 10th of February 2020, Michael Gove, the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (who does not have a specific role but has seniority over other Secretaries of State), told businesses that trade with Europe they need to prepare for 'significant change' with 'inevitable' border



checks for "almost everybody" who imports from the EU from next year. At a Cabinet Office event in central London on the 3rd of February 2020, he told businesses' representatives:

'You have to accept we will need some friction. We will minimise it, but it is an inevitability of our departure...I don't underestimate the fact that this is a significant change, but we have time now to make that change.'

He also warned representatives at the event (which was titled 'Preparing Our Border for the Future Relationship') that it could take five years to get a smart border involving online processes up and running and said businesses had to be ready for the change next January, whatever the outcome of the trade talks. Michael Gove said there would be checks on food and goods of animal origin, plus customs declarations and mandatory safety and security certificates required for all imports.

Economic Effects



Immediate

According to one study, the referendum result had pushed up UK inflation by 1.7 percentage points in 2017, leading to an annual cost of £404 for the average British household. More data obtained after the 2016 In/Out Referendum pushed up UK inflation by 2.9%, which amounts to annual costs of £870 for the average UK household. 2018 studies predicted that the



economic expenses of Brexit were 2.1% to 2.5%. In 2017, a study by the *Financial Times* estimated the result of the referendum on June the 23rd had reduced national British income by between 0.6% and 1.3%. Brexit is a major and growing source of uncertainty for firms.

A November 2018 study discovered that the share of firms responding that Brexit

was one of the top drivers of uncertainty rose from 35% in August 2016 to almost 40% in August-October 2017, while the share of companies considering Brexit not important in the same period fell from 27% to 16%. Firms also expect lower sales and exports and higher costs. A study by Nicholas Bloom (Professor of Economics at Stanford University), Scarlet Chen (PhD Candidate in Economics at Stanford University) and Paul Mizen (Professor of Monetary Economics and Director of the Centre for Finance, Credit and Macroeconomics) found that, on average, businesses expected Brexit to eventually reduce their sales by around 2.5%. There was also a net negative expected effect on exports, while unit costs, labour costs and financing costs were expected to increase. The pound dropped by 10% immediately after the referendum result.

Short Term

Brexit will have negative short-term consequences including:

- Uncertainty about the U.K.'s future trading relationship with the EU will hit business confidence, trade and investment. And this has clear negative implications for business travel.
- Investor confidence will be hit too, so firms expect to see a period of volatility in financial markets.
- If the UK leaves with a free trade deal with the EU, 5% of national income will be lost. However, this is unlikely considering the UK's stance against extensions and the lack of progress made so far.
- If the UK does not leave with a free trade deal, 8% of national income will be lost.



Long Term

There is near-unanimous agreement between all economists that Brexit will have a negative impact on the UK's economy. According to most economists, EU membership has a strong positive effect on trade and as



a result the UK's trade would be worse off if it left the EU. In 2016, surveys of economists unveiled enormous consensus that leaving the European Union would reduce the UK's real per-capita income level.

Brexit will inevitably lead to the erection of new trade barriers to the exchange of goods, services, and people with the remaining 27 member states. An autumn 2017 study by Prof Thomas Sampson (Professor of Economics at the London School of Economics) found that plausible estimates of the costs of Brexit range from 1 to 10 percent of UK per capita income. The study found that costs would be lower if Britain stays in the European Single Market following Brexit; however, Boris Johnson has previously repeated that the UK would not remain part of the single market after the transition period ended. A 2016 study by the Initiative on Global Markets found that 86% of economists believed that, due to the referendum on June the 23rd's result, the UK's real per-capita income level is likely to be lower a decade from now than it would have been otherwise. Economists surveyed included many from prestigious institutes including Harvard University, Imperial College London, LSE, UCL, Stanford, Oxford and Yale. According to a study by University of Cambridge economists, under a hard Brexit where the UK reverts to WTO rules, one-third of UK exports to the EU would be tariff-free, one-quarter would face high trade barriers and other exports risk tariffs in the range of 1–10%. A 2017 study found that 'almost all UK regions are systematically more vulnerable to Brexit than regions in any other country.' A 2017 study examining the economic impact of Brexit-induced reductions in migration found that there would likely be a significant negative impact on UK GDP per capita and GDP.

Energy

The Energy Industries Council found that, after Brexit, the UK would be likely to have less influence over EU energy regulation but would be able to adopt a different, potentially lighter, framework for its energy policies. Continued access to the IEM (the internal energy market, part of the EU) is a key priority for the UK Government in its Brexit negotiations. This would allow the country to continue to take advantage of various benefits associated with the IEM including increased security of supply, market coupling, cross-border balancing and capacity market integration.



Concerns about the possible impact of Brexit on the energy industry were voiced by several institutions, including the trade association Energy UK and Durham Energy Institute (DEI). Energy UK, an energy industry trade association, believes that Brexit could lead to higher energy bills for consumers, among other potential problems caused by leaving the EU. DEI

warned that the UK's energy industry might be vulnerable to shortages, particularly since it might struggle to meet demands on power and heat using its domestic supply. Fluctuating international energy supply could also put it further at risk. Currently, the UK imports 5% of its electricity and 12% of its gas supply via the IEM. Also, 21% of the UK's power is generated by nuclear reactors. Leaving the EU is also likely to make it harder for the UK to reach its legally binding goal of decarbonisation only using renewable energy by 2050. Consumers would likely feel the effects on the UK's energy sector through an increase in tariffs and taxes.

Agriculture

After the United Kingdom leaves the European Union, the UK will no longer be a part of CAP – the Common Agricultural Policy, which gives farmers in the EU financial support and was introduced in the EU in 1962, before the UK joined. The CAP is one of the big EU programmes, with a total budget of just under €60 billion. However, the UK



receives far less than it contributes. After Brexit, the UK agriculture will be operating outside of the EU's CAP. The CAP currently provides nearly £4 billion of support annually to farmers across the UK as well as providing market safety nets.

On the 17th of January 2020, the UK Government announced a new Agriculture Bill which sets out how farmers and land managers in England will instead receive “public money for public goods”, such as better air and water quality, higher animal welfare standards, improved access to the

countryside or measures to reduce flooding. A statement from DEFRA (Department for Environment Food and Rural Affairs) and the Secretary of State for the Environment, Theresa Villiers declared:

A future where farmers are properly supported to farm more innovatively and protect the environment is a step closer today following the introduction of the Agriculture Bill.

The landmark legislation introduced today will provide a boost to the industry after years of inefficient and overly bureaucratic policy dictated to farmers by the EU.

The UK Government has also said that it is seeking a flexible migration policy overall and wants to ensure 'access to seasonal agricultural labour'. A new pilot scheme would allow recruitment of some 2,500 non-EU migrants to work in agriculture each year from Spring 2019 to December 2020. The UK produces some 60% of the food it consumes so is quite reliant on trade to maintain food supplies. The UK imported some £46 billion of food, feed and drink in 2017 and exported some £22 billion worth.

The four biggest farm unions in the UK – the Ulster Farmers' Union, the NFU, NFU Scotland and NFU Cymru - urged politicians to avoid leaving the EU without a deal. They said it could have 'severe impacts' on farm businesses, the food industry and a 'fragile' rural economy.

Fisheries



After Brexit, the UK will leave the Common Fisheries Policy (CFP) that lets all EU countries fish within 12 nautical miles of the UK coast. Many in the industry have criticised the CFP. 93% of them felt that leaving the EU

would increase the fortunes of their industry, with 77% believing that Brexit would be an opportunity to catch more fish. If the UK leaves the EU with no trade deal or a trade deal that does not involve the UK's fisheries, then the UK will become an independent coastal state and will have its own Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ), extending 200 nautical miles from its coast.

Even in a no deal scenario, the UK does not get to have its waters to itself. The much banded about phrase 'independent coastal state' suggests the UK will have unprecedented freedom, but this

comes with significant obligations. Many of the fish stocks in the UK's exclusive economic zone (EEZ) are shared.

This means the UK would still have to cooperate with the EU, and other coastal states (such as Norway and the Faroe Islands) in managing those stocks. Also, given that the UK fishing fleet currently lacks the necessary capacity to catch all the fish in the UK EEZ, it would still likely have to permit foreign vessels access to catch any surplus fish stocks.

After Brexit, it will be up to the UK to decide who fishes in UK waters. This system could be organized in the same way as Norway, which issues permits every year for the EU fleet to catch species ranging from cod to herring in their waters. Brussels holds talks with Oslo each year to discuss and negotiate these fishing rights.

However, if the UK does not allow the EU to fish in UK waters the EU may not allow the UK to sell its seafood produce on the EU's market or may impose heavy tariffs.

Health

A March 2019 study found that 'all forms of Brexit are bad for Health' but a no-deal Brexit would have been the worst result. Almost 30 million people in the UK have a European Health Insurance Card (EHIC) which allows the individual to



access state-provided medical treatment across EU countries as well as in Norway, Switzerland and Liechtenstein. Unless there is an agreement on health care services, the UK's citizens' EHIC cards will become useless.

One in twenty NHS workers come from the EU, and in 2017 the NHS lost 2385 nurses and midwives from the EU. The Department of Health and Social Care stated in August 2019 that it had taken steps to ensure the supply of medicines and medical products remains uninterrupted after Brexit.

Law

After Brexit, UK institutions have the final say over the laws that apply in the UK, although the United Kingdom will still have to follow EU law during the transition period. Under the European Union (Withdrawal) Act 2018, EU law becomes UK law as 'retained EU law'. After Brexit, the British parliament (and the devolved legislatures) can decide which elements of that law to keep, amend or

repeal. Furthermore, UK courts will no longer be bound by the judgments of the Court of Justice of the European Union after Brexit. However, the CJEU's case law (past legal decisions which courts use to solve current cases) will still apply to UK courts although not the Supreme Court of the United Kingdom.

Immigration



Leaving the European Union (EU) will allow the UK to 'take back control' of aspects of migration policy previously determined by EU law. The Government will be able to restrict EU immigration in a way that has not been possible for decades.

The UK government intends to replace it with a new system. The government's 2018 white paper proposes a 'skills-based immigration system' that prioritizes skilled migrants, limits the length of time low-skilled migrants can work in the UK, and applies a stricter criminality threshold. EU and EEA citizens already living in the UK can continue living there after Brexit by applying to the EU Settlement Scheme, which began in March 2019. Irish citizens will not have to apply to the scheme. Here are the government's plans briefly:

- Everyone will be required to obtain permission if they want to come to the UK to work or study.
- There will be no cap on the numbers of skilled workers but there will be a target of reducing immigration to below 100,000 per year.
- Those who enter under the new system will have no access to public funds.
- This will not be a route to permanent settlement unless those who wish to permanently settle meet the specified skill threshold.
- Student visa routes will be opened to EU, EEA and Swiss citizens.
- The new system will be introduced from 2021.

Scotland

Shortly after the result of the Brexit Referendum, Nicola Sturgeon, Scotland's first minister, said that a new referendum on independence in Scotland was 'highly likely' now that Britain had voted to leave the European Union. It had suggested this in its manifesto. Nicola Sturgeon has said Scotland may not rejoin the European Union if she wins a second



independence referendum but could instead apply to join the European free trade area. Sturgeon also said a 'phased' return to the EU may be needed. It is almost certain there will be another referendum on Scottish independence. The question is when. Time is on the side of the Scottish

National Party (SNP) because they know that younger voters tend to favour independence. However, Boris Johnson has said he will not allow a second independence referendum while he is PM. Nicola Sturgeon described the position of blocking another independence referendum as 'unsustainable'.

Security and Defence

Right now, police can tap into EU databases to check on the people they encounter at border crossings and during traffic stops. European security officials credit that information-sharing, which increased significantly after terrorist attacks in 2015, with helping to foil major new plots. British law enforcement officials consulted one crime-stopping database, the Schengen Information System, 539 million times in 2017.

The EU does not have exclusive law-making powers in defence, but member states do work together on several defence-related issues, including research on defence technologies and joint military deployments.

However, NATO remains the main organisation for military co-operation in Europe, and further.

How does EU defence co-operation currently work?



Member states take part in military co-operation and defence programmes via the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP). It was set up to allow EU member states to combine their security efforts

should the requirement arise. Inside the CSDP, member states *optionally* pool money and resources to achieve common agreed targets, including:

- Humanitarian and rescue missions
- Joint disarmament operations
- Preventing war and keeping peace
- Crisis management
- Stabilisation after conflict
- Military advice and assistance

The European Defence Agency (EDA) is an agency, formed as part of the CSDP. Currently, 26 countries – all EU Member States minus Denmark – participate in EDA. According to the EDA's website, the EDA:

EDA acts as a catalyst, promotes collaborations, launches new initiatives and introduces solutions to improve defence capabilities. It is the place where Member States willing to develop capabilities in cooperation do so. It is also a key facilitator in developing the capabilities necessary to underpin the Common Security and Defence Policy of the Union.

Most of the initiatives carried out through the CSDP are civilian, as opposed to military missions, meaning they use non-military personnel and/or tools.

Missions undertaken by the EU include:

- European Union Force Althea, supporting the Dayton Agreement in Bosnia Herzegovina.
- European Union Naval Force Atalanta, to combat piracy off the Horn of Africa.
- Operation Sophia, which identified and disposed of vessels used for people trafficking in the Mediterranean.

How does the UK's defence capability compare to other EU nations?

The UK is arguably the EU's strongest defence power. It is one of only two member states possessing 'full-spectrum' military capabilities (including a nuclear deterrent) and is one of only six member states meeting the NATO target of spending 2% of gross domestic product on defence.

The UK also holds a permanent seat on the UN Security Council and has the largest military budget within the EU.

How will security co-operation between the UK and the EU look after Brexit?

Even if the UK chose to leave the CDSP, there would still be other ways it could contribute to and influence security and defence in Europe. The former head of the British Army, General Sir Mike Jackson, has said that the impact from departing the EU, 'is more of a policing and judicial matter rather than a military matter. The military dimension is provided by NATO.'

The bigger impact will be on the UK's defence industry: outside of the single market, UK companies will find it much harder to participate in European defence projects, and to access European funds.

Should

Will the UK rejoin the EU?

Theoretically, the door to re-joining the EU would still be open; however, it would take a new more Europe-friendly generation in the UK who would want to join the EU and a new membership deal might not be as good as the previous one. The UK would have to satisfy the criteria for joining the



EU, although given its previous membership this is unlikely to be particularly problematic.

It is very unlikely that the UK would be able to secure the same terms it had before, including the large number of opt-outs it enjoys in relation to EU law and policy. Usually when a state joins the EU it must accept all EU legislation and is expected to adopt the euro. The UK could attempt to negotiate an opt-out to the single currency, but the European Union would not treat the UK any differently to other newly joining states in relation to these basic expectations of membership. The UK was mainly able to opt-out of the Euro because it joined the EU before the Euro was introduced.

If the UK re-joined the EU, the UK would find itself having to accept a lot of things it currently opts out of. Many of these opt-outs were secured for the UK because, as a member of the EU, it had a veto on major treaty changes.

What impact will the coronavirus pandemic have on Brexit?



Given the COVID-19 pandemic, it is increasingly likely the government will need to extend the trade talks timeline or risk additional economic shocks because it is now even more difficult to negotiate a trade agreement. Without a trade agreement, the economy would suffer even more because of the pandemic and less trade. The only way to combat that would be to extend the transition period

so that there is more time for the negotiations. Under the Withdrawal Agreement negotiated by Boris Johnson, the transition period could be extended by up to 2 years. However, the Government has repeated that it will not extend the transition period.

Sir Ed Davey, acting co-leader of the Liberal Democrats, said the government's refusal to extend the transition period was 'deeply irresponsible'. He claimed that the government had failed 'to recognise the severity of the coronavirus crisis faced by the UK and countries across the EU' according to the BBC.

One reason the Government may have refused is due to fears of paying billions of pounds into a 'coronavirus aid fund' to help EU countries struggling during the pandemic, especially while the UK is struggling to help itself. A UK negotiator has said that it would be 'clearly not in the national interest' to pay into an EU budget in this way adding 'we need to spend money on our own needs in our own way'.

Meanwhile, key sticking points still exist in trade talks. Michel Barnier has said that there needs to be 'tangible progress' to reach an agreement by the end of June. Most trade deals can take up to six years to negotiate, and the pandemic has made these discussions even more challenging. David

McAllister, the European Parliament UK trade coordinator, said: 'We are under enormous time pressure and the UK government is determined not to ask for an extension of the transition period.'

Nearly a fifth of all small and medium-sized businesses in the UK are unlikely to get the cash they need to survive the next four weeks, despite unprecedented government support. Parliament's committee on exiting the EU has also said that, 'a no deal Brexit would lead to severe disruption, pose a fundamental risk to the competitiveness of key sectors of the UK's economy and put many jobs and livelihoods at risk'. Coronavirus has deeply affected small firms especially (small businesses employ 23 million people – about half the workforce) in the UK and a no-deal Brexit would make that even worse. However, if Boris Johnson chooses to extend the transition period, then this would be less likely.

Would it have been better for the UK to remain in/leave the EU and to what extent?

There are multiple main factors which decide whether the UK would be better off to remain or leave the EU. For example, trade, research, security, tourism, immigration, energy and travel lean towards



remaining in the EU, but Agriculture and Fishing lean towards leaving the EU. Some factors are also affected by others because, for example, the cost of membership of the EU is very expensive but the benefits of being in the EU are worth far more.

Trade leans towards remaining in the EU and is the biggest argument for remaining in the EU. The UK can negotiate trade and investment deals more effectively as part of a larger economic bloc. The UK economy benefits massively from access to the single market – the world's largest free trade zone. Foreign businesses would be less likely to invest in Britain if it did not ensure full access to the EU single market. If we did not have a trade deal with the EU, the UK would fall under World Trade Organisation (WTO) and imports and exports would be subject to heavy tariffs. This is one of the biggest benefits of being part of the EU. However, trade with the EU is a declining share of Britain's total as other, global economies grow faster, and we would be free to negotiate trade deals of our own. Businesses could be freed from much unnecessary and costly regulation. Despite trade with other fast-growing global economies, 49% of all UK trade is with the EU and 11% of all trade is with countries which have trade deals with the EU, like Canada and Norway.

Agriculture and fishing are a large part of the argument for leaving the EU. The UK also receives money from the Common Agriculture Policy, which is the EU's largest area of spending – although its share of the budget is falling. EU subsidies account for 50% of British farm incomes and many UK farmers would be forced to go out of business without CAP. However, the UK receive far less from CAP than it pays in and farmers could benefit from receiving *all* the money the UK spends on CAP instead of just a portion. But 73% of UK farming exports go to the EU and without the single market it would be more difficult to sell produce and produce could be subject to tariffs. It was the EU that forced France and Germany to lift their bans on British beef after the BSE crisis had ended. The two countries had not lifted the ban even after the crisis was over, and it was the EU that took legal action against the two countries. However, the Common Fisheries Policy has devastated the fishing industry because it grants EU countries to fish in other EU countries' water (12 nautical miles from the coast). Out of the EU, UK fishers could have a larger portion of the catch from its coast.

Security leans mainly towards remaining in the EU, although less than trade. Inside of the EU, the UK can access EU crime databases. British law enforcement officials consulted one crime-stopping database, the Schengen Information System, 539 million times in 2017. The European Arrest Warrant has returned over 1,000 criminals to face justice in the UK. Europol membership allows the UK to share intelligence and fight cross-border crime. Although many Eurosceptics would argue that free movement makes it easier for terrorists to come into the UK, Europol membership outweighs that because EU crime databases help police to identify those who could potentially commit a crime. EU crime databases also allow the UK to identify potential criminals from non-EU countries.

Tourism and travel leans towards remaining in the EU. Inside of the EU, flights to Europe are far cheaper and quicker as there are less checks in immigration. Using mobile data in the EU is only the same rate as what you would normally pay due to being in the EU, outside you would have to pay larger rates or potentially be unable to use your data at all. The European Health Insurance Card gives EU members access to state health services on the same terms as locals whichever country they are in. The card can be used within the wider European Economic Area (EEA), which includes the 28 EU countries as well as Iceland, Liechtenstein and Norway. Leaving the EU would not have any benefits on tourism or travelling to the EU.

Immigration was one of the most emotive topics for voters in the EU referendum. Although immigration benefits the economy, sovereignty is a large part of it. Freedom of movement benefits the British economy. There is no more red tape preventing employers getting cheap or appropriately skilled labour quickly. This has made the UK more competitive at home and globally. However, immigrants take a toll on public services. High immigration has driven down wages for British workers – a main argument for leaving the EU – but only having British workers would mean the UK would be less competitive as higher skilled workers (even if they are foreign) would benefit employers and businesses. Immigration was one of the main reasons people voted to *leave* the EU, even though it is good for the economy.

In conclusion, it would have most likely been better for the UK to remain in the EU. However, the question is why did the UK vote to leave the EU if the EU is good? A big part was sovereignty.

The end of my project (but not the end of the Brexit saga)
