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Effective Policies to Conclude Foreign Deals:
A comparative Study Between Theresa May's
And Boris Johnson's Brexit Deals

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Requirements of the Master Degree in Literature and Civilization.

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Declaration

I declare that this dissertation is my own independent research work and free from plagiarism. All sources of information I have used are fully identified and properly acknowledged as required. Furthermore, I confirm that this work has not been previously submitted for any other degree to any other university or institution.

Dedication

I dedicate this work to my beloved parents and siblings who never left my side. They have always been there for me, providing me with love, support and guidance. I always appreciate their unconditional and unfailing encouragement and everything they have done for me.

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First and foremost, I would like to express my sincere and deepest gratitude and appreciation to my supervisor, Dr. Korichi, S., who patiently guided and supported me throughout the process of writing this dissertation. Without her valuable assistance, contribution and encouragement, this dissertation would not have seen the light. Additionally, I wish to express my profound gratitude to my family for their precious encouragement and support, from the bottom of my heart I love and thank you profusely. Finally, I would like to take this opportunity to thank my friends and all those who contributed in completing this work.

Abstract

The British exit (or the so-called Brexit) from the European Union has been the talk of the world in the few last months. The terms upon which the United Kingdom left the Union within January 2020 has gotten much attention and controversy. The withdrawal agreement was an essential part of the Euro-British negotiations. Thus, it underlines their future relationship. Therefore, the British PMs were adamant to strike a good Brexit deal with the Union and each Prime Minister was unique in his pathway to Brexit deal. This study attempts to explain the differences between the British Prime Ministers, Theresa May's and Boris Johnson's Brexit deals. Meanwhile, it highlights the terms of the British withdrawal from the European Union. This study aims to answer the question why the British Parliament rejected May's deal three times, whereas Johnson's deal was accepted straight forward. One would assume that Boris Johnson struck a completely different deal than May's, and managed to gain the support of the MPs and pass his deal while May could do neither. In order to test our assumptions, we collected our data using quantitative and qualitative methods. The quantitative method was deemed to meet the numeric data in the Euro-British relationship; whilst the qualitative method was conducted mainly to shed light on the quality of the data used. The descriptive method was also adopted to inspect the deals of the British PMs each separately. This research concluded that, unlike our assumption, Boris Johnson's deal was indeed May's deal with few slight changes that tackled the Customs Union, The Backstop and the Political Declaration. Additionally, Boris Johnson nailed the backup of the Parliament, his cabinet, and the Commons; whereas, May's government buckled from within, she could not convince even her cabinet to pass her deal.

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List of Abbreviations

AFET	The Committee on Foreign Affairs
DUP	Democratic Unionist Party
CCC	The Conference of Committee Chairs
ECC	European Coal and Steel Community
EEC	European Economic Community
EEA	European Economic Area
ECJ	European Court of Justice
EU	European Union
EC	European Council
ECJ	European Court of Justice
INTA	International Trademark Association
MP	Member of Parliament (Common abbreviation for members elected to the House of Commons in London, United Kingdom)
SEDE	The Subcommittee on Security and Defence
UK	The United Kingdom
UKIP	United Kingdom Independence Party (Anti-European Union Populist Political Party)
UKCG	United Kingdom Coordination Group
USA	The United States of America
WTO	World Trade Organisation

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General Introduction

On June 23, 2016, The United Kingdom (UK) voted to leave the European Union (EU) with a final result of 51.9 % of votes in favour of the leave campaign, paving the road for being the first country to demand departure and break ties with the EU. The UK in this political event thesaurus defined as Brexit will cease the European integration raising the question of how and on what terms the UK will exit the EU.

The terms upon which the UK had left the EU was set on a 'Brexit deal', an important withdrawal agreement signed by the UK and the EU, to put a shape on the future relationship between the two blocs. This study aims at spotlighting the Brexit crisis in an endeavour to provide a facile understanding of this pivotal event and the circumstances in which Britain demanded an exit from the Union. The researcher in this study seeks to consider and compare the Brexit deals of the PMs Theresa May and Boris Johnson, which eventually leads to comprehending the event from the referendum to the very departure on January 31st, 2020.

The researcher in this study relied on the descriptive method, which seeks to gather and analyse quantitative data on the Euro-British partnership, conduct a qualitative research to emphasis more on the quality of their future relationship and pinpoint the diversities between May's proposal Brexit deal and Johnson's Brexit deal.

A primary research question and two sub-questions were raised to direct and guide this study: The primary question is as follows: Why Johnson's Brexit deal was accepted by the Parliament over May's three proposals?

The secondary research questions are:

- What happened within the British Government after the sudden resignation of British Prime Minister David Cameron?
- To what extent is Boris Johnson's Brexit deal different from May's?

Accordingly, the following hypotheses are formulated:

- Boris Johnson succeeded in both securing the back up of other MPs and convincing them with the value of his deal while May could not.
- The British Government adopted Brexit right away and started the measures of creating a Brexit ministry to exit the EU.
- If Boris Johnson's deal was accepted over May's deal, this would imply that his deal was different with a whole other set of bills than May's.

A literature review revealed that this topic has been tackled by several books, magazines, and newspapers. The prominence of this subject is appended to the value of this research and it occurred that this study came as an addendum to other researches in the field.

The Language of Brexit: How Britain Talked Its Way Out of the European Union is a book written by Steve Buckledee by Bloomsbury Publishing, 2018. It discusses the motives of Brexit and the crucial role the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) played in guiding the Brexit campaigns. Buckledee in his book tackled the issue of immigration, and the double defeat of the British Prime Minister David Cameron in the 2016 referendum. *The Language of Brexit* contains the period of the pre-referendum till the 2017 General Elections.

In an article written in *the Guardian* newspaper, in October 17th, 2019, on the differences between Theresa May's Brexit deal and Boris Johnson's, O'Carroll, the writer, explains that Johnson's Brexit deal is essentially the old Brexit deal with a new chapter on the protocol on Ireland and Northern Ireland and a few key tweaks to the political declaration. The Irish Backstop was replaced by a full stop whereby Northern Ireland remains aligned to the EU from the end of the transition period for at least four years (O'Carroll, 2019). Additionally, in her article, O'Carroll discusses the future trade and relations between the European Union and the United Kingdom.

In the American news-based pay television channel *the CNN* in February 29th, 2020; the senior producer McGee in an article called "No-deal Brexit is back and it looks more likely than ever" argues that Brexit is not over yet. According to him, as Britain is out of the Union, new trade deals might surface between the ex- partners. In his article, McGee tackles the options Britain has to reshape new relations with the European Union. He said that the UK's goals were set straightforward; it wanted a free trade agreement with the EU similar to the one that Canada enjoys. The EU's deal with Canada is substantial; it removes the need for most (but not all) tariffs on goods traded between the two.

In a similar vein, Barnes (2020) in an article on "what happens now, after the departure took place." He deals with the timeline of Brexit and the deal of the British Prime Minister Boris Johnson with the European Union, the negotiations of the trade deals and the future co-operations with the European Union. On the security and law enforcement, according to Barnes, the UK must agree on how it is going to co-operate with the EU.

David McAllister the Chair of both the European Parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee (EPFA) and the UK Coordination Group on 17 April 2020, in *Opinion* by the Parliament Magazine, suggests that the extension of the Brexit transition is more likely to

happen due to the Coronavirus crisis. Europe was hit by surprise by the COVID-19 pandemic, which led to a crisis of unprecedented scale and speed. The European Union has acted quickly and efficiently to tackle the health and economic challenges arising from this crisis. Nevertheless, in these extraordinary times, the negotiations on the future EU-UK relationship remain a priority. The European Parliament has set up the UK Coordination Group (UKCG) (McAllister, 2020). Led by Mr. David McAllister as Chair of the Foreign Affairs Committee and further involves the Chair of the Committee on International Trade (INTA), the Chair of the Conference of Committee Chairs (CCC), the Chair of the Subcommittee on Security and Defence (SEDE) and the AFET and INTA rapporteurs as well as a representative from each political group. Mr. McAllister stated that any international agreement between EU and a third country requires the consent of the European Parliament; therefore, to guarantee this consent, the Parliament has to be involved in the process of negotiations by being regularly and fully informed. Even though, Europe is under the grip of the COVID-19 crisis, the (UKCG) is still in constant dialogue with the European Commission's UK Task Force, regularly via videoconference to exchange views on recent developments such as the content of the EU draft legal agreement for the future EU-UK partnership or the draft text proposed by the UK.

Accordingly, the importance of this research lies in the fact that Brexit is a current event. And a controversial topic to propound. The British departure from the European Union is an unprecedented incident. Britain is the first country to demand departure from the European Union after a 47 years of membership.

The framework of this study is fractionated to three cardinal chapters. The first chapter establishes a bridge between the Euro-British relationships in the past to the Referendum,

handing a simple recap of the growing Euro-scepticism in Britain. The chapter dives in the approach of the Referendum campaigns and their heated visions and the immense influence of the British media on the 2016 Referendum. The second chapter adheres more to May's Brexit deal; it scrutinizes her withdrawal agreement and proposals to secure Brexit. Additionally, it explores the content of May's agreement and political declaration. The last chapter scopes on Boris Johnson's Brexit deal; it examines his new approach to Brexit, sifting Johnson's deal in comparison to May's. The chapter embraces the Conservative Party after May's resignation, the new Brexit deal, the flexible extension to Brexit, and the final Brexit deal.

European history has always been an enthralling topic to quest. Searching for a topic such as 'Brexit' is a fine opportunity to obtain a deeper understanding of the event, that one day will mark the European history. It aspires at contributing to the research about Brexit and adding a piece of literature that will aid other researchers to acquire an inimitable sight of that peerless juvenile and possess adequate knowledge of the event. One of the challenges that confronted me in creating this work was the lack of energy; health can be a foe at times; however, giving the chance to make it in a short time is one of the divine blessings I will always recall. For that Brexit is one special event, it is a great honour to work on such a magnificent topic.

Chapter One

A Historical Background of Brexit

"The lack of Referendum was poisoning British politics, and I put that right"

(Cameron, 2017)

Introduction

Britain's exit or Brexit was a national referendum held on 23rd June, 2016, to decide on whether Britain should remain a member of the European Union or leave (Cameron, 2017). This chapter outlines the development of the Euro-British relations till the Brexit, to help explain the British impulsions to withdraw 47 years of membership, mentioning several reasons the leave campaign exploited to draw the British people to vote for leaving the Union, such as the rooted Euro-scepticism in the British street even before joining the EU and the immigration that overburdened the Britons bringing with it the loss of jobs, crimes and so on. The irony of this chapter is that it shows you that the UK was the first country to call for a united Europe, and then, dismissed joining it; it spent fourteen years later applying to join the European Economic Community (EEC), only to call for a referendum to leave a year later. The chapter clarifies how the British Prime Minister and Leader of the Conservative Party from 2010 to 2016 David Cameron is the one who called for a Brexit referendum only to resign from his position the very next day because of Brexit.

1.1 The First Encounter 1945-1973

Britain emerged victorious from the Second World War 1939-1945 (Lacey, 2015). However, devastatingly, they were as distraught as the other European Countries. It was the first war that claimed the lives of more civilians than soldiers and witnessed the horror of the first systematic genocide in modern history with the Holocaust, the death of around 60 million soldiers and civilians (Carlton University), and “unprecedented distraction” and loss of life (Vonyo, 2019, p.01).

In 1946, at the University of Zurich, the British Prime Minister Winston Churchill¹ called the European Countries to sew on and create a kind of United States of Europe to avoid flaming conflicts or raging wars in the future. He aimed at creating the United States of Europe (USE) in parallel to the United States of America (USA), and the first step to reach that is by creating the “Council of Europe” (1946). He saw that this is the sole way to bring joy and make life worth living. A year later, by the start of the Cold War 1947, five European Countries² known later as the founding fathers of the European Union (EU, 2019), gathered in a special occasion in Brussels to sign on an economic, social, and cultural collaboration and collective self-defence treaty- the Brussels Treaty (Council of Europe, 2020).

In 1950, in an attempt to subside the past war between France and Germany, in a form of truce, the French Foreign Minister Robert Schuman³ announced a co-operation with Germany to pool coal and steel production (Hemmer, 2018, p. 19). Nonetheless, “the British were invited to participate but declined” (Stephen, 1994, p. 5). According to the political scientist Stephen George, Britain declined to join the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC); thus, it did not suit it as much as it did suit the original six members (Ibid). Additionally, The Professor John W. Young of International History at the University of Nottingham in his book *Britain and European Unity* (2000, p. 31) said that “Britain was not ready to hand one of its national industries to Europe”. The British Labour politician Herbert Morrison argued that the British cannot join the ECSC; thus, the Durham miners will not wear

¹ Sir Winston Leonard Spencer Churchill (30 November 1874 – 24 January 1965) was a British statesman, army officer, and writer. He was Prime Minister of the United Kingdom from 1940 to 1945, when he led the country to victory in the Second World War. and again from 1951 to 1955.

² The five countries are the United Kingdom, Belgium, France, Luxembourg and the Netherlands.

³ Jean-Baptiste Nicolas Robert Schuman (29 June 1886 – 4 September 1963) was a Luxembourg-born French statesman. Schuman was a Christian Democrat (MRP) and an independent political thinker and activist. Twice Prime Minister of France, a reformist Minister of Finance and a Foreign Minister, he was instrumental in building post-war European and trans-Atlantic institutions and was one of the founders of the European Union, the Council of Europe and NATO. The 1964–1965 academic year at the College of Europe was named in his honour.

it. The miners were one of the dominant industries at that time. In April 1951, the six nations⁴ signed the Treaty of Paris to establish the European Coal and Steel Community. However, Britain was a notable absentee (Gowland, Turner & Wright, 2010). The UK was not yet persuaded by handing over one of its nationalized industries.

Meanwhile, the Treaty of Rome was signed in 1957, by the original six countries to set both the European Economic Community and the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom). Once again, Britain did not join the neighbours in fears of damaging links with the Commonwealth, and its unwillingness to surrender any sovereignty or control over its own affairs, and said it still felt a responsibility towards its empire (McDowall, 1989). However, the wind changed and Britain started losing its power by the 1960s; it could not afford to stay out of Europe (Ibid). The UK applied to join the EEC twice in 1963 and 1967, and it was dismissed twice by the French President Charles De Gaulle⁵, on the ground that: “Britain is insular, maritime, bound up by its trade, its markets, its food supplies with the most varied and often the most distant countries;” this would impede what he called a ‘truly European Europe’ (Pylas, 2020). The French President warned other EEC members from Britain saying that they had ‘deep-seated hostility’ to European integration that could bring about the end of what was then referred to as the ‘common market;’ Eventually, in 1973 Britain could join and become a member of the EEC, after De Gaulle’s retirement (Ibid). Macmillan⁶’s act to join the EEC was faced by an intense debate within his Conservative Party, which resulted in a split between Euro-sceptics and Euro-supporters. The interesting thing is that Britain applied

⁴ On 18 April 1951, the Treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) was signed in Paris by Robert Schuman for France, Konrad Adenauer for the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), Paul van Zeeland and Joseph Meurice for Belgium, Count Carlo Sforza for Italy, Joseph Bech for Luxembourg and Dirk Stikker and Jan van den Brink for the Netherlands.

⁵ Charles André Joseph Marie de Gaulle (French pronunciation: 22 November 1890 – 9 November 1970) was a French army officer and statesman who led the Free French Forces against Nazi Germany in World War II, and chaired the Provisional Government of the French Republic from 1944 to 1946 in order to re-establish democracy in France.

⁶ Maurice Harold Macmillan, 1st Earl of Stockton (10 February 1894 – 29 December 1986) was a British Conservative politician who served as Prime Minister of the United Kingdom from 1957 to 1963.

to join the EEC under a Conservative Government; 41 years later, David Cameron another Conservative Prime Minister called the Brexit Referendum (Hemmer, 2018).

1.2 The Growth of Euro-scepticism

The British have never been terribly popular members of the European Union. Long before they joined, many continentals thought them too different to be constructive members of what was then EEC, the European Economic Community (Grant, 2011). Although trade with Europe increased remarkably, after the joining, most British continued to feel that they had not had any economic benefit from Europe (McDowall, 1989, p.168). The leader of the Labour Party from 1955 to 1963 Hugh Gaitskell⁷ is one of the Euro-sceptics; he commented on Britain's joining the EEC: it is "the end of Britain as an independent European state, the end of a thousand years of history." (Gaitskell, 1973) In 1974, Labour Prime Minister Harold Wilson⁸ had promised to put the issue of membership to the people after renegotiation of Britain's membership terms (Helm, 2016). A year after, the first national referendum, Wilson's government asked the British people whether to stay in the EEC or leave. As the leader of the opposition, Margaret Thatcher⁹ defended passionately in favour of Britain remaining in Europe; the referendum resulted in a heavy win for staying in (Walsh, 2016).

The Labour cabinet came together, after the Referendum; however, its Euro-sceptics did so with trepidation (Helm, 2016). The pro-Europe home secretary, Roy Jenkins¹⁰, commenting on the 1975 Referendum: "It puts the uncertainty behind us. It commits Britain to Europe; it commits us to play an active, constructive, and enthusiastic role in it." Tony

⁷ Hugh Todd Naylor Gaitskell CBE (9 April 1906 – 18 January 1963) was a British politician who served as Leader of the Labour Party from 1955 until his death in 1963

⁸ James Harold Wilson, Baron Wilson of Rievaulx (11 March 1916 – 24 May 1995), was a British Labour politician who served as Prime Minister of the United Kingdom from 1964 to 1970 and 1974 to 1976.

⁹ Margaret Hilda Thatcher, Baroness Thatcher Roberts; 13 October 1925 – 8 April 2013) was a British stateswoman who served as Prime Minister of the United Kingdom from 1979 to 1990 and Leader of the Conservative Party from 1975 to 1990.

¹⁰ Roy Harris Jenkins, Baron Jenkins of Hillhead, (11 November 1920 – 5 January 2003) was a British politician who served as President of the European Commission from 1977 to 1981

Benn¹¹, the anti-EEC industry secretary, on his part said that: “When the British people speak, everyone, including members of parliament, should tremble before their decision and that’s certainly the spirit with which I accept the result of the referendum” (Agencies, 2014, p. 01).

Four years later, Margaret Thatcher became the Prime Minister; she signed the Single European Act¹² in 1986. Yet, her unconditional support to the European Project came to an end. The Prime Minister, the Iron Lady, Thatcher 11 years in Downing Street were marked by growing opposition to European integration that contributed heavily to her downfall (Pylas, 2020), especially after her famous rebate with the EU in 1988; she said that they were not asking any country of the Union for money, but simply they wanted their own money back (Thatcher, 1988). Eventually, she had won the budget rebate after hours of debating and arguing with the other EEC members (Marr, 2016).

The European Union was established when the Maastricht Treaty¹³ came into force in 1993 (Craig, De Burca, 2011). Prime Minister John Major’s government almost collapsed in 1993 over signing the Maastricht Treaty; some of his euro-sceptic cabinet lawmakers and MPs who did not accept the European integration that the Treaty represented voted against him in a no-confidence vote (Robinson, 1993). Major survived the vote; however, the same euro-scepticism kept Britain from adopting the single currency when it was launched in 1999 (Hutton, 2020), the EU policies aim to ensure the free movement of people, goods, services, and capital within the internal market (“EU Single Market,” 2007). This integration resulted in the rise of the Euro-sceptic UK Independence Party in 1991 (UKIP), which had a crucial

¹¹ Anthony Neil Wedgwood Benn (3 April 1925 – 14 March 2014) was a British politician, writer and diarist who served as a Cabinet minister in the 1960s and 1970s. A member of the Labour Party, he was Member of Parliament for Bristol South East and Chesterfield respectively between 1950 and 2001

¹² The Single European Act (SEA) was the first major revision of the 1957 Treaty of Rome. The Act set the European Community, an objective of establishing a single market by 31 December 1992, and codified European Political Cooperation, the forerunner of the European Union’s Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). It was signed at Luxembourg on 17 February 1986, and at The Hague on 28 February 1986.

¹³ The Maastricht Treaty, concluded in 1992 between the twelve Member States of the European Communities, is the foundation treaty of the European Union (EU). Formally the Treaty on European Union it announced "a new stage in the process of European integration chiefly in provisions for a shared European citizenship, for the eventual introduction of a single currency, and (with less precision) for common foreign and security policies.

role in guiding Britain out of the EU, the influence of UKIP is fundamental to understand the dynamics of British politics both before and since the Brexit vote (Morillas, 2017).

As Table 1 implies, remain votes exceed the withdraw votes over for two decades.

This table shows how unexpected the results of the 2016 Referendum were.

Table 1. Attitudes towards Britain’s Membership of the EU, 1983-2015

Years	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1989	1990	1991	1992	1997	2014	2015
Continue	53%	48%	56%	61%	63%	68%	76%	77%	72%	54%	57%	60%
Withdraw	42%	45%	38%	33%	32%	26%	19%	17%	22%	28%	35%	30%
Unweighted sample size	1761	1675	1804	3100	2847	3029	2797	1445	2855	1355	971	1105

Source: 1992: British Election Study (Natcen Social Research, 2014, p. 4)

The table shows that the 2016 referendum results were unforeseen. The British people were with “remain” for two decades. The stay in EU votes was above scale from 1983 to 2015; whereas, “withdraw” supporters did not even reach 50% in all the samples taken. A year before the referendum the results were with the remainder with 60% from an 1105 sample size.

1.3 The Leading Campaigns to Brexit

In 2013, Britain’s Prime Minister David Cameron promised that if his Conservative Party won elections, he would hold a referendum on whether the UK should remain in the EU or leave (Kirby, 2020); in his words, Cameron (2017) stated, “The lack of referendum was poisoning British politics, and I put that right.” When Douglas Carswell¹⁴ and Mark

¹⁴ John Douglas Wilson Carswell (born 3 May 1971) is a British former Member of Parliament who in 2014 became the first elected MP for the UK Independence Party (UKIP),[1] representing Clacton

Reckless¹⁵ defected in 2014, UKIP became a den for the Conservative Euro-sceptics, playing a major role both in winning over the Conservatives in the Referendum and stressing the Prime Minister to let the people decide on whether to stay in the EU or leave (Lynch, 2016). Ultimately, The British Government allowed the people to have a say, after the anti-EU the UK Independence Party (UKIP) won 13% of the vote in the 2015 general election; before the vote, the UK was the second-biggest EU country by economic output and the third-largest by population, after Germany and France (Hutton, 2020).

Campaigning in the United Kingdom European Union membership referendum began unofficially on 20 February 2016; when Prime Minister David Cameron formally announced under the terms of the EU Referendum Act that a referendum would be held on the issue of the United Kingdom's membership of the EU ("EU Referendum," 2016). The official campaign period for the 2016 referendum ran from 15 April 2016 until the day of the poll on 23 June 2016 ("the EU Referendum Act," 2020). Ministers immediately divided up into the leave and remain camps as the campaigns got underway in earnest ("EU Referendum", 2016); Prime Minister David Cameron, Labour Party leader Jeremy Corbyn¹⁶, Former Prime Ministers Tony Blair¹⁷ and John Major supported staying in; so did George Osborne¹⁸, the U.K.'s chancellor of the exchequer, a Conservative, who warned the country would become "permanently poorer," with its economy shrinking by 6 per cent if it left the bloc (Calamur, 2016).

¹⁵ Mark John Reckless (born 6 December 1970) is a British Brexit Party politician has served as Member of the National Assembly for Wales (AM) for South Wales East since 2016.

¹⁶ Jeremy Bernard Corbyn (/ˈkɔːrbɪn/; born 26 May 1949) is a British politician serving as Leader of the Labour Party and Leader of the Opposition since 2015. Corbyn has been the Member of Parliament (MP) for Islington North since 1983.[3] Ideologically, he identifies as a democratic socialist.[4]

¹⁷ Anthony Charles Lynton Blair (born 6 May 1953) is a British politician who served as Prime Minister of the United Kingdom from 1997 to 2007 and Leader of the Labour Party from 1994 to 2007.

¹⁸ George Gideon Oliver Osborne[a] CH (born Gideon Oliver Osborne; 23 May 1971) is a British newspaper editor and former Conservative Party politician, who was Member of Parliament (MP) for Tatton from June 2001 until he stood down on 3 May 2017. He served as Chancellor of the Exchequer under Prime Minister David Cameron from 2010 to 2016.

However, Boris Johnson, the former London mayor who belongs to the same Conservative Party as Osborne and Cameron, and who was a potential rival to Cameron for the party's leadership, was an advocate of leaving. Likewise Kate Hoey, a prominent Labour lawmaker, and the U.K. Independence Party, the right-wing political group has a similar stand as Boris Johnson (Calamur, 2016).

The Brexit campaigners utilised their distress about immigration to gain the upper hand over Europe's political elite, surmounting the alternative in which Britain might face fallout from Brexit on trade and the economy. They have argued that the EU was transforming into one super-state that is utterly integrated (Hutton, 2020). The EU referendum debate had known an unyielding focus on immigration issues, the economy and national sovereignty (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2016). Nigel Farage¹⁹ the Brexit Party leader had stood in front of a billboard that was set on a bus manufactured in Germany that said "Breaking Point," the poster read "The EU has failed us" (Kirby, 2020, p. 01). See appendix..(p. 53).

1.4 Referendum 2016

The mass media played a significant role during the 2016 campaigns. It was the ultimate tool the representatives of the two sides used to sway the vote and win the battle for public opinion. "Leave" campaigners employed a classic KISS (Keep it simple stupid) strategy, an unsubtle, comprehensible message that cut through the voters' mind 'Take Back Control' (Berry, 2016). Whilst, 'remain' campaign lacked a simple message that would urge the public to adopt their case and give their voices. The leave campaign emphasised on the word 'control' to draw the attention of the street and win their cause (Gibbon, 2016).

¹⁹Nigel Paul Farage (/ˈfærɑːʒ/[5] born 3 April 1964)[6] is a British politician and broadcaster. He has been leader of the Brexit Party since 2019, and served as Member of the European Parliament (MEP) for South East England from 1999 until the United Kingdom's exit from the EU in 2020.

In a June 2016 referendum, the British shocked the world by voting to leave the bloc they had joined in 1973 (Hutton, 2020). On Thursday 23 June, 2016, the EU referendum took place and the people of the United Kingdom voted to leave the European Union (GOV. UK, 2016); the “leave” camp won the day by 1. 269. 501 votes around 51.9% of the population; in contrast, the “remain” camp achieved only 48.1% of the population (“Financial Times ”, 2016). The European Union (EU) had described the Referendum as an ‘unprecedented situation’, in which the European Commission President Jean-Claude Juncker²⁰ had stated that they were expecting the UK’s Government to give effect and honour the decision the British people voted for as early as possible, warning them that any delay could have its consequences. At last, he concluded his speech by a hope for a close partnership in the future with the UK (US election, 2016). Likewise, the European Council President Donald Tusk²¹, had a defensive stance over the comparison Boris Johnson had made, the latter compared the EU’s aims to the ones of Hitler; he said that both Hitler²² and Napoleon²³ had failed at the unification of Europe and the EU was “an attempt to do this by different methods”, Donald Tusk said that he could not ‘remain silent’ and described that interjection with ‘absurdity’ that should be ignored if it was not said by one of the public figures of the UK. He also commented on the Euro-British status that the sole alternative left for the Union was ‘political chaos’ (Brexit, 2016, p. 01).

²⁰ **Jean-Claude Juncker** (Luxembourgish; born 9 December 1954) is a Luxembourg politician, who served as President of the European Commission from 2014 to 2019 and as the 23rd Prime Minister of Luxembourg from 1995 to 2013. He was also the Minister for Finances from 1989 to 2009.

²¹ **Donald Franciszek Tusk** (born 22 April 1957) is a Polish politician, who was the President of the European Council from 2014 to 2019

²² **Adolf Hitler** (20 April 1889 – 30 April 1945) was a German politician and leader of the Nazi Party (*Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei*; NSDAP). He rose to power as the chancellor of Germany in 1933 and then as *Führer* in 1934. During his dictatorship from 1933 to 1945, he initiated World War II in Europe by invading Poland on 1 September 1939. He was closely involved in military operations throughout the war and was central to the perpetration of the Holocaust

²³ **Napoleone di Buonaparte 15 August 1769 – 5 May 1821** was a French statesman and military leader who became notorious as an artillery commander during the French Revolution. He led many successful campaigns during the French Revolutionary Wars and was Emperor of the French as **Napoleon I** from 1804 until 1814 and again briefly in 1815 during the Hundred Days

Almost half of the voters aged between 18 and 24 were devastated when the Referendum results came out, according to polls conducted for the London School of Economics. Hence, they will lose their rights as EU citizens when the UK would leave the EU. Almost 78% of these students said that they would miss the right of free sovereignty, to be able to live in any part of the EU they would like, the liberty of mobility to either work or study abroad would be missed by 77% of young people; 72% would miss having an EU passport, and 55% would miss EU symbols such as the EU flag. Around 10% of the youth said that they were more likely to relocate abroad as a result of Brexit (Helm, 2016). The British people wanted change; they were eager to take back control over their country from the EU; the breeze of the bright future ahead is what they voted for (Moore, 2016).

Conclusion

This chapter highlighted the development of the Euro-British relationship throughout the 47 years of membership. It demonstrated the oscillated stance the UK had towards the EU, stating the important stations in the Euro-British relationships had passed, to elucidate how Brexit was a culmination of three decades of Euro-scepticism cloaking a nation in its suffocating embrace as described by Shipman (2020). Besides, this chapter provided a brief overview of the English Campaigns that led to elections, stressing on their views toward a future without the Union and their strong arguments to leave the EU. Moreover, it represented the key role the mass media had in guiding the Brexit campaigns; how a curt simple message had a great impact on the results of the 2016 national referendum. Furthermore, this chapter gave a set of opinions of public figures, politicians commenting on this unique event and how it will affect them.

Chapter Two

Theresa May and Brexit 2016-2019

Introduction

“As we leave the European Union, we will forge a bold, new, positive role for ourselves in the world,” said the Prime Minister and Leader of the Conservative Party Theresa May (2016); she stepped to the leadership of the cabinet with fresh hopes and promises. This chapter inspects the turn of events after the 2016 Referendum. It stresses on Theresa May’s Brexit Deal, and the challenges she faced during her days as leader of the Conservatives. It also gives sight to her withdrawal agreement with the EU, the Chequers plan, and the Backstop. This chapter investigates the reasons for May’s failure in both delivering a suitable deal to the British people and her resignation.

2.1 The Beginning of Brexit

Prime Minister David Cameron had been forced to step down from the Conservative leadership by October 2016, after the results of the Referendum, in June 2016 (EU Referendum, 2016); Cameron, in his resignation speech said that “a fresh leadership was needed to guide Brexit”. Theresa May won more than half of MPs' votes in the British General Elections, making her the new British Prime Minister and Leader of the Conservative Party (Boyle, Wilkinson, et al, 2016). May’s first speech was filled with a profound passion to follow the inheritance of her predecessor David Cameron; she promised the British people with a populist tone that she will continue in that "true legacy" of social justice (McKenzie, Mclaughlin, 2016). The Conservative Party leader spoke directly to the poor, black and white working-class residents as well as women, youth and those with mental health issues, saying that: “The government I lead will be driven not by the interests of a privileged few, but by yours” (McKenzie, Mclaughlin, 2016, p. 01).

The European Commission had appointed the Former French Minister Michel Barnier²⁴, a witty negotiator, to start the negotiations with the UK over Brexit, providing that Article 50²⁵ was triggered (Brexit, 2016). Mr Barnier had worked with his British opposite number, Brexit minister David Davis²⁶ who was at the forefront of the campaign to leave the EU. However, by November 3rd, as an attempt to frustrate Brexit, and reveal May's broad negotiating aims, the British Government could not trigger Article 50 of the Lisbon Treaty²⁷ without Parliamentary approval; thus, Parliament alone had had the power to trigger Brexit by notifying Brussels of the UK's intention to leave the European Union (Bowcott, Elgot, 2016). David Davis, the Brexit Secretary, acknowledged that, saying that the judges had laid out what they could not do, and not the contrary; he had assured the British people that they were presuming what required an act of parliament and therefore both Commons and Lords; Davis argued that that the ruling as it stood meant the UK's departure from the EU would require the consent of both MPs and peers through an act of parliament (Mason, Stewart, 2016).

2.2 Post Brexit Transition 2017

British Prime Minister Theresa May had said that not reaching a deal with the European Union by the end of the transition would be better than concluding a bad exit deal for Britain; 'no deal is better than a bad deal'. She warned the 27 leaders of the other members not to try to punish the Britons for voting to leave (Staff, 2017); She stated that some voices

²⁴ Michel Bernard Barnier (born 9 January 1951) is a French politician serving as the European Commission's Head of Task Force for Relations with the United Kingdom (UK Task Force/UKTF) since November 2019. He previously served as Chief Negotiator - Task Force for the Preparation and Conduct of the Negotiations with the United Kingdom under Article 50 TEU (Task Force 50/TF50) from October 2016 to November 2019

²⁵ Article 50 of the Treaty on European Union (TEU) states that "Any Member State may decide to withdraw from the Union in accordance with its own constitutional requirements".

²⁶ David Michael Davis MP (born 23 December 1948) is a British Conservative Party politician who served as Secretary of State for Exiting the European Union from July 2016 to July 2018 and has served as Member of Parliament (MP) for Haltemprice and Howden since 1997

²⁷ The Treaty of Lisbon (initially known as the Reform Treaty) is an international agreement that amends the two treaties which form the constitutional basis of the European Union (EU). The Treaty of Lisbon was signed by the EU member states on 13 December 2007, and entered into force on 1 December 2009

were calling for a punitive deal, that punishes Britain and discourages other countries from taking the same path; she further claimed that: ‘it would be an act of calamitous self-harm for the countries of Europe and it would not be the act of a friend’, making it crystal clear that Britain intended to remain a good friend and neighbour to Europe (May, 2017).

The United Kingdom had begun the formal Brexit negotiation process by the end of March 2017; the Prime Minister Theresa May said: “ We are going to be a fully independent, sovereign country; a country that is no longer part of a political union with supranational institutions that can override national parliaments and courts” (May, 2017). By the end of March 2017, the Prime Minister signed a letter in which she triggered the Article 50 to be sent later to the European Council President, Donald Tusk²⁸, setting the timeline for Brexit in two years where the negotiations with the EU would take place in May or June (Brexit, 2017). This was followed by a statement from Mrs May to the House of Commons, where she said: “now is the moment for the country to come together” (Brexit, 2017).

The United Kingdom had officially begun the formal process of leaving the EU. Other European leaders have predicted that Brexit would tear Britain apart, with wrangling over shared assets, finances and the future of trade (Petroff, 2017). Top EU negotiator, Michel Barnier, had warned that Britain might face severe disruption to air traffic, nuclear fuel shortages, and delays in moving goods across the channel if an agreement on Brexit could not be reached (Mckenzie, 2016). The Brexit negotiations, thus, involved two stages. The first phase concluded with withdrawal Agreement and Political Declaration on a framework for the future relationship; it covered the citizens’ rights, the means to avoid a hard border on the island of Ireland, and UK’s financial settlement. The second phase, however, would put emphasis more on settling the UK’s withdrawal from the EU (Perez-Solorzano, 2017). As a

²⁸ Donald Franciszek Tusk born 22 April 1957) is a Polish politician, who was the President of the European Council from 2014 to 2019

member state of EU, UK made annual contributions to EU budget. The divorce bill is the amount UK had agreed to pay in settlement of its outstanding liabilities when it left EU; the EU Commission President Jean-Claude Juncker, from 2014 to 2019, had said that Britain will need to pay roughly £50 billion (\$63 billion) as it leaves (Owen, 2020).

Prime Minister Theresa May did not have enough supporters in her old cabinet. Therefore, she had called for an early election to try to ameliorate her negotiation positions on Brexit. Yet, unfortunately, Britain's Conservatives have lost their majority in a blink which resulted in 'a hung parliament' (General Election, 2017). Whereas, the opposition was the victor gaining over thirty-two seats; the Labour leader Jeremy Corbyn urged her to resign after the results of the election, but she said her party would "ensure" stability in the UK. Nonetheless, the results were seen as utter humiliation for PM Theresa May; thus, she had tried this election in hopes to strengthen her hand in talks with the EU on Brexit, yet she failed (UK Election, 2017).

Correspondingly, Labour leader Jeremy Corbyn²⁹ said that: "If there was a message from tonight's results, it would have been this: the prime minister called this election because she wanted a mandate. Well, the mandate she had got was lost Conservative seats, lost votes, lost support, and lost confidence," urging her to resign. "I would have thought that's enough to go and make way for a government that will be truly representative of all of the people of this country," he added. Yet, the prime minister did not plan to quit saying that "At this time more than anything else, this country needs a period of stability"(UK Election, 2017, p.01).

²⁹ Jeremy Bernard Corbyn (/ˈkɔːrbɪn/; born 26 May 1949) is a British politician who served as Leader of the Labour Party and Leader of the Opposition from 2015 to 2020.

2.3 May's Chequers Plan

The Chequers Plan was tabled by British Prime Minister Theresa May at Chequers, the prime minister's country retreat north-west of London, and agreed by her cabinet in early July 2018 (Carswell, 2018). It is a similar arrangement to the one Norway enjoys with the bloc, 'a free trade area for goods'; in other words, UK will be outside EU but inside the European Economic Area (EEA), to avoid 'friction at the Border' (ibid). The plan, officially named as "The Future Relationship between the United Kingdom (UK) and the European Union (EU)", detailed how that May would see the UK's trading relationship with the EU working after Britain formally would leave the economic bloc in March 2019 (Carswell, 2018). It had entitled that the UK would remain closely tied to Brussels on goods, agriculture and security with the maintaining of "a common rulebook" (Tariq, Adu, 2018). This rulebook would have restricted the UK's ability to strike trade deals with countries such as the US, for whom securing market access for American farmers would be a big prize (Dale, 2018). The Chequers Plan or the Soft Brexit Agreement³⁰ Theresa May's UK-Free Trade Area includes:

1. "Common rulebook" would keep British producers bound by EU rules on goods including farmers.
2. Parliament would oversee these rules - but deciding not to abide by them would have "consequences".
3. Joint UK-EU "Joint Committee" to oversee and rule on disputes but these would be settled based on more than 40 years of EU laws.
4. Britain to effectively stay in the EU's customs union described as a "combined customs territory", to avoid a hard border with Ireland.

³⁰ Soft Brexit encompasses any deal that involves retaining membership in the European Single Market and at least some free movement of people according to European Economic Area(EEA) rules Theresa May's "Chequers agreement" embraced some aspects of a "soft" Brexit

5. Britain to be responsible for collecting EU tariffs and implementing EU trade policy for goods passing through the UK.

6. Britain to leave EU rules for services, with banks losing crucial EU passporting rights that allow them to sell their services across Europe (Tariq, Adu, 2018).

Immigration, another fundamental key issue in the Euro-British negotiations, the PM May's cabinet had addressed; the cabinet promised to put an end to EU free movement rules, and would offer instead, a "mobility framework" for tourists, students and workers, which could have potentially replicated some existing arrangements (Barker, 2018). Altogether, the plan would have given the UK free trade policy, with the ability to set its own non-EU tariffs and to reach separate trade deals. It also promised to end the role of the ECJ³¹ in UK affairs; such a deal would have ended the automatic free movement of people into the UK from the EU including a "mobility framework" that would have allowed an easy movement for work or study (Walker, 2018).

However, The Prime Minister had faced a feral opposition when representing her premiership on her Chequers deal for a fluid exit from the European Union; within her own cabinet, where the opposition have been intending to vote against it in the Commons (Tariq, Adu, 2018). Theresa May's attempt to influence her 'Hard Brexiteer' cabinet into adopting a new vision for a softer Brexit backfired had prompted the resignation of the Minister in charge of her negotiations Mr. David Davis and Foreign Secretary Boris Johnson (Barker, 2018). Davis had said that he did not 'believe' in the plan; he admonished that the Chequers could mean Britain had never left the single market and customs union, and would still be in the EU's grip. He argued that adhering to EU rules could have left Britain's "fingers caught in this mangle." London former Mayor, Johnson, had taken a fierce stance over the plan, saying

³¹ The **European Court of Justice (ECJ)**, French: *Cour de Justice européenne*), formally just the **Court of Justice**, is the supreme court of the European Union in matters of European Union law.

that the plan “wrapped a suicide vest” around the British constitution and “handed the detonator” to Brussels; he had called on May to “chuck Chequers” (Carswell, 2018). Yet, May unyieldingly determined that only her plan could assure there would be no hard border between the two parts of Ireland (Grant, 2018).

EU leaders had considered the four freedoms services, capital and labour inseparable, giving that the UK could have “cherrypicked” parts of the single market without accepting free movement of people (Grant, 2018). Brussels had feared that the UK businesses could have been given an unjust advantage over their EU competitors if the ‘cherrypick’ was on the table. EU had also been troubled about a none-EU country controlling its borders and collecting tariffs on its behalf, without the supremacy of the European Court of Justice (EEJ) (Carswell, 2018). The EU’s chief negotiator Barnier had warned that there would still have been a “risk of failure” in the Brexit negotiations as Brussels continued to reject Britain’s proposals on avoiding a hard border in Ireland (O’Caroll, 2018, p. 01).

2.4 Irish Border Backstop

As a matter of fact, the border that separates Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland had been a foundation stone in the Brexit negotiations all the way. It was and still is a matter of an immense political, security and diplomatic sensitivity in Ireland (O’Caroll, 2018). The controversial “backstop” emerged when the UK and EU had agreed that no matter what the results of the Brexit negotiations were, there would be no new physical checks or infrastructure at the frontier (Campbel, 2019). The Backstop was a fundamental part of the draft withdrawal agreement negotiated between Theresa May’s government and the EU. It was meant to be “a last resort to keep an open border on the island of Ireland whatever happened in the Brexit negotiations” (BBC, 2019). Under the draft withdrawal agreement, the

UK could have entered a “transition period” after Brexit timetabled to be 31 October, 2019 (Roland, Panjwani, 2019).

Ireland’s Deputy Prime Minister, Simon Coveney³², had urged the British Government to make tangible progress on the backstop issue even if it was not final by June, 2018; thus, if the Irish people have not witnessed a radical change, they would have started asking some serious questions. He had said that the Irish border was one of the biggest challenges with the most political commitment in Euro-British negotiations (Smyth, 2018). Theresa May had responded that no British Prime Minister could ever have agreed to the EU’s “backstop” option for Northern Ireland, which would have required the UK to participate in a “common regulatory area” with the EU (Ibid).

2.5 May’s Resignation

“A significant number of colleagues cast a vote against me and I have listened to what they said,” May had told the press in front of 10 Downing Street on Wednesday, December 12th, 2018. A set of 48 Conservative members of parliament (MPs) had submitted letters of no-confidence in May’s leadership to the Chairman of a prominent group of Conservative backbench, calling the ‘1922 Committee’³³ (Ellyatt, 2018). Prime Minister Theresa May had survived that vote with a majority of 83 seats; yet, she did not survive the heavy split within her cabinet (Lynos, 2018). May had emerged from 10 Downing Street after the result to say that her party had a “renewed mission,” of “delivering the Brexit that people voted for, bringing the country back together and building a Britain that truly works for everyone” (Stewart, 2018, p. 01). Regardless of winning that vote meant her leadership could not be challenged for another year; therefore, she had to fight hard for convincing not only her own

³² Simon Coveney (born 16 June 1972) is an Irish Fine Gael politician who has served as Minister for Foreign Affairs and Minister for Defence since June 2020 and Deputy Leader of Fine Gael since June 2017.

³³ The 1922 Committee, formally known as the Conservative Private Members' Committee is the parliamentary group of the Conservative Party in the UK House of Commons.

Party MPs but those among the opposition, to support the Brexit deal she had struck with Europe (Ellyatt, 2018).

The Labour leader, Jeremy Corbyn, had said that: “That night’s vote made no difference to the lives of their people,” urging the prime minister to “bring her dismal deal back to the House of Common so parliament can take back control.” He had accused her of “losing control of events” and “disregarding” MPs (Brexit, 2018, p. 01). Although, Prime Minister Theresa May had cancelled the January 15th, 2019 decisive vote on her Brexit deal so she could go to Brussels and ask for few adjustments (Brexit, 2019), she was drastically defeated on her Brexit deal losing by 230 votes, which had made history as the biggest ever government’ defeat on the floor of the House of Commons (The Independence, 2019). After, May’s disastrous loss in the Election, the UK Parliament gave her the mandate to go back to Brussels to look for “an Alternative Arrangement” to the Irish Border Backstop; Mrs May had said that the Backstop would be ephemeral and, if triggered, would only last for “the shortest possible period”; so, she went to Brussels in hopes of earning more back up to her deal and seeking for “new reassurances from EU leaders” (Brexit, 2019).

For the second time in a row, on 12 March 2019, May’s Withdrawal Agreement and Political Framework for leaving the EU without a deal had been rejected by the Parliament by 149 votes; the results had shown that if the British Government did not settle for a ratified deal by both the House of Commons and the EU 27, the UK would leave the EU with no deal (UK Parliament, 2019). After the vote, the Prime Minister had said that: “The legal default in UK and EU law remains that the UK will leave the EU without a deal unless something else is agreed. The onus is now on every one of us in this House to find out what that is. The options before us are the same as they always have been.” May had affirmed that the House would be given a chance that day to vote on seeking an extension to Article 50. However, she warned that the EU was not obliged to grant such a request without “a clear purpose” for the delay

(UK Parliament, 2019). Forced by the Parliament, May had asked the EU for an extension from March 29 until June 30 to guarantee her deal was accepted by MPs and passed into the law (Brexit, 2019); the prime minister said that she would represent her Brexit plan to the Commons for the third time, and if it was passed the delay would allow time to implement it. If it was rejected again, parliament would have to decide how to proceed (Walker, 2019). EU Council President Donald Tusk asserted that the extension, requested by the Prime Minister May, was possible, offering two alternative extensions: May 22 if the deal was passed and April 12 if it was not (Brexit, 2019).

Labour Leader Mr Corbyn told the Prime Minister May her plan had been rejected decisively twice, and she was “ploughing on, with an unachievable, unsupported deal.” He said: “Surely after two big rejections by the House, she must have noticed there isn’t much support for the deal that she negotiated?” He asked the Prime Minister: “She told the house the EU would only allow an extension to article 50 if there was a clear purpose. She’s travelling to Brussels tomorrow morning to meet the EU leaders. What is her clear purpose?” She responded to him saying that: “The outcome of a long extension could be endless hours and days of this house carrying on contemplating its navel on Europe and failing to address the issues that matter to their constituents. Moreover, “This house has indulged itself on Europe for too long. It is time for this house to determine that it will deliver on Brexit for the British people. That is what the British people deserve they deserve better than this house has given them so far” (Brexit, 2019, p. 01).

Hundreds of thousands of protesters, as put by Mueller (2019), had marched through London on March 23, 2019, as a last try to avoid the bitter split from the European Union (see appendix 2, p. 57). The Prime Minister Theresa May had told her MPs on March 27 “I know there is a desire for a new approach and new leadership...I will not stand in the way of that.” Prime Minister Theresa May had made one last attempt to end the chaos, in which the

country fell in after the decision to leave EU, by promising to resign if Parliament would pass her deal (Perrigo, 2019). Unfortunately, the Government had lost a third meaningful vote by the MPs on Brexit deal in the Parliament on 29 March, by a major of 58 votes against May's deal (Stewart, Elgot, 2019). Labour Leader Jeremy Corbyn had urged the Prime Minister to step from her position, triggering General Elections; he had also pushed his MPs to reject the deal, warning them that it would lead to a "blindfold Brexit"³⁴. Even her Northern Irish allies, the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP)³⁵, had opposed her deal and continued to insist that its arrangements for the Irish border were unacceptable (Euractiv, 2019).

European Union leaders at a special summit on April 10 have approved May's request for a Brexit extension. In this concern, Donald Tusk the President of the European Council said that : "A flexible extension of the UK's membership, until October 31, the UK could leave the EU earlier if it passed the divorce deal" (European Council, 2019); the UK had taken parts in the European Parliament Elections, obliged to do so, as it was still an EU member; nonetheless, the Prime Minister Theresa May's MPs had pressured her step down from the Party leadership opposing to her attempt to resurrect her Brexit deal that they had already rejected three times (Ellyatt, 2019). May responded by vowing to resign by the 7th of June until a new leader would be in place (Stewart, Mason & Walker, 2019).

Conclusion

After the sudden resignation of Prime Minister David Cameron, Theresa May took charge of delivering Brexit. This chapter surveyed the progress of the 'Withdrawal Agreement and Political Declaration Draft' May suggested to EU 27 and Parliament. The proposal or as it

³⁴ A Blindfold Brexit is a scenario where the UK leaves the EU without clarity on the terms of a future trade deal. EU and British negotiators would then have until 31 December 2020 to sign off on a future trade deal, during which time the UK would effectively remain a member of the EU, but with no voting rights.

³⁵ The Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) is a unionist political party in Northern Ireland favouring British identity. It was founded in 1971 during the Troubles by Ian Paisley, who led the party for the next 37 years

so-called the Chequers plan consisted of bills which Prime Minister placed to define the future Euro-British relationship. May's soft Brexit proposal did not appease many; its essential issues were the Backstop which unleashed a blazing debate within the British Parliament, the customs union with the EU, border checks, and the free trade deal that prevents the UK from striking future deals with different countries. These issues ignited a vehement opposition from all the sides Brussels, the opposite parties, and even May's Conservative MPs. That was what speeded the process of her of her fallout from the Conservative leadership, opening the gate of Downing Street to another Prime Minister and leader of the Conservative Party.

Chapter Three

Boris Johnson' Final Deal 2019-2020

Introduction

“It is, and will always remain, a matter of deep regret to me that I have not been able to deliver Brexit”, Theresa May argued in her resignation speech (2019). This chapter contemplates the circumstances in which the English Government delivered Brexit; it provides an understanding of the progress of Boris Johnson Conservative leadership; scrutinizing the diversities between May’s draft and Johnson’s final deal.

3.1 Boris Johnson the New Prime Minister

The former foreign secretary and mayor of London Boris Johnson had smoothly surpassed Jeremy Hunt in the contest among Conservative Party members to subrogate Theresa May (Colson, 2019). He was eager to step his political game and had a profound interest to lead his country. In a Turnout of 87.4% among 159.320 party members, Johnson won 66% of the votes 92.153, to Hunt’s 46.656 (Stewart, 2019). He (2019) said after the result had come out, “today, at this pivotal moment in our history, we again have to reconcile two noble sets of instincts – between the deep desire for friendship and free trade and mutual support and security and defence between Britain and our European partners; and the simultaneous desire, equally heartfelt, for democratic self-government in this country.” Mr Johnson said that he would “get Brexit done by 31 October” with a “new spirit of can-do.” Johnson was determined to leave the European Union on 31 October, with or without a deal; he was willing to take the risk of proroguing parliament rather than postpone Brexit once again (Stewart, 2019).

On August 19th, Prime Minister Boris Johnson issued a formal plea to EU to omit the Irish Backstop, saying that it was “simply unviable” and “cannot form part of an agreed Withdrawal Agreement” (Murphy, 2019). He added that it was “anti-democratic” and “would endanger the peace process in Northern Ireland” (2019). Nonetheless, it was rejected and

brought a veiled criticism of UK's Prime Minister for not presenting "realistic alternatives" by European Council President Donald Tusk (Fox, 2019). Later on, Tusk confirmed the former Prime Minister reasoning toward the Backstop, saying that "it is an insurance to avoid a hard border on the island of Ireland unless and until another alternative is found. Those against the backstop and not proposing realistic alternatives in fact support re-establishing a border, even if they do not admit it" (2019). In 2019, Johnson suggested that the backstop should be replaced with "alternative arrangements" to avoid a hard border on the island of Ireland. He also had proposed that the UK was ready to make "commitments" to give confidence that there would be no hard border if the new system was not ready before the end of the two-year transition period that would follow the UK's formal exit from the EU; however, he did not offer any specific proposals (Fox, 2019, p. 01). The Backstop as it was agreed upon in May's draft would mean Britain committing to obey EU customs union rules indefinitely unless "alternative arrangements"; it also could be found to prevent smuggling without resorting to border checks (Murphy, 2019). The EU had made it clear that neither the Backstop nor the withdrawal agreement finalised with Theresa May were up for negotiations, and warned that if the UK left without a deal, there would be no transition period (Fox, 2019).

In an attempt to smoothly pass his Brexit deal, Prime Minister Boris Johnson had advised to Queen Elizabeth to prorogue the UK Parliament for five weeks (BBC, 2019), which she eventually had approved and gave consent to. Johnson had declared right after that, that "A Queen's Speech would take place after the suspension, on 14 October, to outline his 'very exciting agenda'." (Manvendra, 2019, p. 01) The Speaker of House of Commons John Bercow³⁶ did not approve of what the Prime Minister did; he said that it was a "constitutional outrage...however it is dressed up, it is blindingly obvious that the purpose of suspending Parliament now would be to stop MP debating Brexit and performing its duty in shaping a

³⁶ John Simon Bercow (born 19 January 1963) is a British politician who served as Speaker of the House of Commons from 2009 to 2019, and as Member of Parliament (MP) for Buckingham between 1997 and 2019.

course for the country” (BBC, 2019). Regardless, the Prime Minister did not stop at proroguing the Parliament only, but he severely expelled whoever did not approve his strategy of driving the UK towards an exit from the EU by 31st of October with or without a deal himself. On September 3rd, he ousted 21 rebel conservative MPs protesters (Britton, Kottasova, 2019). Mr Johnson had written to MPs to outline his plan, adding: “There will be a significant Brexit legislative programme to get through but that should be no excuse for a lack of ambition!”; furthermore he added that he would rather be "dead in a ditch" than ask for another Brexit extension (Proctor, Walker, 2019, p. 01). Johnson was persistent that the UK would leave the EU with or without a deal (BBC, 2019). Scotland's First Minister Nicola Sturgeon urged the MPs to ally sooner than ever to stand to Johnson's plan, saying that: “that day would go down in history as a dark one indeed for UK democracy”, accusing Johnson that he was not doing “democracy but rather a dictatorship” (BBC, 2019).

3.2 The Benn Bill

Hilary Benn³⁷, Alistair Burt³⁸ and other MPs had published the European Union Withdrawal Bill; it was a part of a legislative strategy to prevent (or at least to delay) the UK's departure from the European Union in the absence of a ratified withdrawal agreement (Cowie, 2019). As it had been presented by Mr Benn, the Bill had ensured that the Prime Minister's decisions were blocked. He said that:

The purpose of the bill was to avoid a ‘no-deal departure,’ as well as giving the Government time either to secure a new agreement with the European Union at the European Council or seek Parliament's specific consent to leave the EU without a deal; if neither of these two conditions have been met... then the Prime Minister must send a letter to the president of the European Council requesting an Article 50 extension until 31 January 2020. (Qtd. in Stow, 2019, p. 01)

³⁷ Hilary James Wedgwood Benn MP (born 26 November 1953) is a British Labour Party politician who has been the Member of Parliament (MP) for Leeds Central since a by-election in 1999.

³⁸ Alistair James Hendrie Burt (born 25 May 1955) is a British politician who served as Member of Parliament (MP) for North East Bedfordshire from 2001 until 2019

In other words, under the terms of the Benn Act, the Government must seek a three-month extension to the deadline if the deal was not supported by Parliament by 19 October (Schofield, 2019). By the 24th of September, the Supreme Court had ruled the prorogation unlawful. The Court's president, Lady Hale³⁹, said that: “the suspension had the effect of frustrating or preventing the ability of Parliament to carry out its constitutional functions without reasonable justification” (‘Institute for Government, 2019, p. 01).

3.3 A New Brexit Deal

“What we need to do is to move on. And the way to do that is to get Brexit done on October 31,” Boris Johnson Leader of The Conservative Party told BBC television in Manchester, northwest England, where the Party conference was taking place. He opened his party conference with a new slogan, which is “Get Brexit Done” (BBC, 2019). Hence, a new Brexit plan was sent to Brussels that included (Adler, 2019, p. 02):

- Northern Ireland would leave the EU's customs union alongside the rest of the UK, at the start of 2021, but with the consent of politicians in the Northern Ireland Assembly; it would continue to apply EU legislation relating to agricultural and other products what the PM calls an "all-island regulatory zone".
- This arrangement could, in theory, continue indefinitely, 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.

³⁹ **Brenda Marjorie Hale, Baroness Hale of Richmond** (born 31 January 1945), also known as **Lady Hale**, is a British judge who served as President of the Supreme Court of the United Kingdom from 2017 to 2020, and serves as a member of the House of Lords as a Lord Temporal

- These checks should take place away from the border itself, at business premises or at "other points in the supply chain."

Boris Johnson's proposal was widely criticised. Labour MP Hilary Benn, Chairman of the Commons Brexit Committee, in 2019, called the proposals "worse than Theresa May's". He said that: "How will it help peace and stability in Northern Ireland if every four years there is a divisive debate about whether to follow UK or EU rules?" (Snow, 2019, p. 01). The European Commission had rejected this plan three days later; European Council President Donald Tusk said that the EU was "open but still unconvinced" about the plan, and would "stand fully behind Ireland" ("Digital Desk", 2019, p. 01). The European Commission further asserted that there were "problematic points" in the UK's proposal and "further work is needed." Additionally, the main Brexit-focused group at the European Parliament viewed the plans "in their current form" did not represent a deal MEPs could ratify. "The proposals do not address the real issues that need to be resolved if the backstop were to be removed," the group added, in 2019 (Qtd. in Ibid).

However, Swedish Prime Minister Stefan Lofven⁴⁰ had said that, despite "question marks" over the proposals, they represented a "good start for negotiations." In a similar vein, the EU's chief Brexit negotiator, Michel Barnier, had also said he would be in a better position to judge possible future negotiations with the UK once he had spoken to his UK counterpart, David Frost⁴¹ (Boffey, Rankin, 2019, p. 01). The UK government hoped to start a period of intense negotiations to reach a final agreement at an EU summit on 17 October (Adler, 2019).

⁴⁰ Kjell Stefan Löfven (Swedish pronunciation: [ˈstɛːfan lœˈvɛːn]; officially *Löfvén*; born 21 July 1957) is a Swedish politician serving as Prime Minister of Sweden since 2014 and Leader of the Swedish Social Democratic Party since 2012

⁴¹ David George Hamilton Frost, Baron Frost, (born 21 February 1965), is a British Special Adviser and former British civil servant serving as the Prime Minister's Europe Adviser and Chief Negotiator of Task Force Europe at the Cabinet Office. He previously served as Special Adviser to Boris Johnson when he was Foreign Secretary

Even though the British Prime Minister Boris Johnson's proposal was greeted with rejection, he kept insisting on a 'his deal or no deal'. The EU Council President Donald Tusk accused him of playing a "stupid blame game." He added: "You don't want a deal, you don't want an extension, you don't want to revoke, quo vadis?" using the Latin phrase for "Where are you going?" (Qtd. in Payne, 2019, p. 01). Labour's shadow Brexit secretary, Keir Starmer, had said that:

It was yet another cynical attempt by Number 10 to sabotage the negotiations said in a statement ...Boris Johnson will never take responsibility for his own failure to put forward a credible deal. His strategy from day one has been for a No Deal Brexit.

(Qtd. in Boffey, Stewart & Walker, 2019, p. 01)

On October the tenth, **year**, Prime Minister Boris Johnson and his Irish counterpart Leo Varadkar⁴² agreed they can "see a pathway to a possible deal." (Sparrow, 2019) After the meeting, Mr Varadkar told reporters the talks were at a "very sensitive stage" but were "very positive and very promising." He further added that he was then "convinced" the UK wanted an agreement, saying that: "I do see a pathway towards an agreement in the coming weeks." However, the issues remained over "consent and democracy" and ensuring there would be no custom border, Mr Varadkar had added "It remains our position that there can't be a hard border between north and south." (Kuenssberg, 2019, p. 01)

3.4 Flexension to Brexit

Ireland's Tanaiste (Deputy Prime Minister) Mr Simon Coveney⁴³ declared in 2019 that: "There might be a possible Brexit deal it could have been that week even, but we are not there yet" (Euronews, 2019, p. 01). Ahead of Brussels Summited a deal that would replace the

⁴² Leo Eric Varadkar (/və' rædkər/ və-RAD-kər; born 18 January 1979) is an Irish Fine Gael politician and physician who has served as Tánaiste and Minister for Enterprise, Trade and Employment since June 2020 and Leader of Fine Gael since June 2017.

⁴³ **Simon Coveney** (born 16 June 1972) is an Irish Fine Gael politician who has served as Minister for Foreign Affairs and Minister for Defence since June 2020 and Deputy Leader of Fine Gael since June 2017.

Irish Border Backstop, following a compromise which saw the UK made concessions over Northern Ireland (Kuenssberg, 2019). The new protocol had replaced the Backstop in Theresa May's proposal, with a set of bills that had covered: The UK would be no longer a part of EU's customs union, which means that the UK will be free to seek its own trade deals with other countries such as the USA, whereas Northern Ireland (which stays in the UK) will stay in the EU's customs union but belongs to UK's custom territory; in regards, the taxes will only have to be paid on goods being moved from Great Britain to Northern Ireland if those products are considered "at-risk" of then being transported into the Republic of Ireland (BBC, 2019). Another adjustment involved the consent of Northern Ireland: at the end of the transition period there will be a vote in which they will decide whether to keep this customs arrangement or default to "existing" WTO rules (Ní Aodha, 2019). The last modification touched the political declaration or as it so-called 'level-playing field' it pursued a base level of standards for labour rights, the environment, tax and state aid rules diverged from the EU's rules; it was a statement of intent rather than a binding commitment (Evans, 2019).

Meanwhile, on October nineteenth, British MPs voted to withhold their approval for the deal until laws implementing Brexit in place and passed all the necessary legislation. Consequently, Mr Johnson was obliged to seek another Brexit extension from the EU (Heffer, 2019). Labour leader Jeremy Corbyn told Mr Johnson that:

He must comply with the law...He can no longer use the threat of a no-deal crash out to blackmail members to support his sell-out deal... Labour is not prepared to sell out the communities that we represent. We are not prepared to sell out their future...And we believe that, ultimately, the people must have the final say on Brexit which actually only the Labour Party is offering (Qtd. in Stewart, 2019, p. 01).

The EU27 had agreed to offer the UK a Brexit extension until January 31st; they were confident that London would give the green light to the extension over the next few hours; the

offer was formally approved the next day by UK (Rios, 2019). The PM Boris Johnson had told the MPs that the extension would put an end to years of “deadlock, dither and delay,” he had also said that his priority was to “get Brexit done;” promising to seek “common ground” and to approach politics with a “new and generous spirit” after the rancour of recent years (Brexit, 2019, p. 01).

3.5 Final Divorce Deal

The UK’s general elections were set on the 12th of December. They were convincingly won by Boris Johnson’s conservatives, who were forecast to win 368 seats, their biggest majority since 1987 handing him a clear mandate to “get Brexit done” (Catt, 2019, p. 01). The Conservatives argued that: “there would be a minor cabinet reshuffle at Downing Street on Monday, and that Mr Johnson's Brexit Withdrawal Agreement Bill would be put back before MPs in a vote on Friday”. With his new majority, it was more likely that the bill would pass, paving the way for Britain's exit from the EU on 31 January (UK General Elections, 2019, p. 01).

Eventually, on January 23rd, the Prime Minister Boris Johnson’s Brexit deal had become law after it received royal assent from the Queen; he commented after the bill was passed in Parliament: “At times it felt like we would never cross the Brexit finish line, but we've done it...Now we can put the rancour and division of the past three years behind us and focus on delivering a bright, exciting future,” (Mason, 2020, p. 01). The House of Lords passed the European Union (Withdrawal Agreement) Bill on 22 January, and it was then signed into law by Queen Elizabeth. The European Parliament approved the withdrawal agreement on 29 January (BBC, 2019). An eleven months transition phase has begun running to December 31st, 2020; in which Mr Johnson will work to renegotiate a new deal with the

EU during that transition period, with trade and migration among the top issues on the table (Brexit, 2019).

Conclusion

This chapter inspected Boris Johnson's Brexit deal. It intended to provide a clear understanding of the differences between the old and the new withdrawal agreement. The chapter illustrated the content and the terms in which the UK left the EU. It also exposed that the final deal is initially the first one with changes that included the backstop, the customs union, the consent and the political declaration. The chapter revealed that Boris Johnson's deal intended to shatter the EU control over Britain; it allowed Britain to struck deals with different countries, as well as it abolished the free movements in the UK. Johnson's deal basically altered the controversial points in May's proposal.

General Conclusion

This work aimed at examining the major differences between Theresa May Brexit Deal and Boris Johnson Brexit Deal. It sought and highlighted the British Government attempts to negotiate the UK's exit deal from the EU. In order to keep a chronicle order and gain sight of the events accompanied Brexit, a quantitative and qualitative data corpus of Newspaper articles and News channels' articles that matched our objectives were selected. And to analyse these data the descriptive method was adopted to ensure portraying the event as it is.

This research was due to answer a fatal question that would clear the ambiguity of a key part of Brexit “Why Boris Johnson’s Brexit deal was accepted over May’s three proposals?” and the secondary research question “What happened within the British Government after the sudden resignation of British Prime Minister David Cameron?” and “To what extent is Boris Johnson’s Brexit deal different from May’s?” We assumed that Boris Johnson’s Brexit deal was totally different from May’s and that he could secure the support of the MPs to pass his deal in the Parliament, when May could not. The two questions have been inspected and analysed in details throughout the study. The content covered in the three chapters revolved around the comparison between the PMs Brexit deals. The results found in this study showed that the Euro-British partnership was more intertwined than one way. It explored that the British Euro-sceptic stance was initial even before the Union was established, it showed that Brexit was an inevitable turn of events; thus, Britain at the first place did not join the EU willingly but obliged by the 1960’s crisis. Then when things grew bright the UK demanded an exit several times but “remain” campaign won until 2016 Referendum. This work provided a deep comprehension of the Brexit campaigns and their arguments either to remain in the EU or depart, giving few glimpses of the potent role of media during those crucial times; illustrating the power of words in swaying minds.

This research offered a glance at UK's first withdrawal agreement, Theresa May's arrangement insured citizen's rights, a two years transition period, a backstop to avoid a hard border in the Island of Ireland and a 'divorce bill.' On the financial side, the Chequers plan set the future of trade and finance with the Union. It allowed the UK to stay in EU's customs union which technically would forbid it from striking deals with different countries; as well as, creating a 'common rulebook' that would bind the UK to the EU in good and agriculture. Moreover, the deal ended free movement between the EU and the UK and offered instead a 'mobility framework' easy movement for work. Altogether, this study conveyed May's adamant insistence and failure in her pathway to Brexit paving the way to another Prime Minister to grasp Brexit. This work threw light on Boris Johnson Conservative leadership unveiling the differences among May's deal and Johnson's. The first thing Johnson did after the debut of his negotiations with the Union was pleading with the EU to discard the backstop; howbeit, the Union declined his plea. Boris Johnson's pathway to Brexit was forceful and rigid; he stirred the objection of many MPs, expelling protesters to suspending the Parliament. It divulged the final Brexit deal, the terms upon which the UK left the EU. Primarily, Johnson's deal is May's deal with few changes. Citizen's rights, the divorce bill, and the transition period were the things that did not change; whereas, the Backstop was replaced. The UK will not belong to the EU's customs union; wherein, the Northern Ireland will stay in the EU's customs union but will belong to the UK's customs territory. This arrangement is temporary; the Northern Ireland will have a vote at the end of the transition period on whether to keep this plan going or not. In addition to the political declaration where the Prime Minister created a base level for standards to ensure state aid rules are not used by either to boost their own companies.

Overall, the research findings did not align with the Main hypothesis of this study. Boris Johnson's deal was initially May's deal with radical changes. However, they did get

along with the secondary hypothesis; thus, The British Government directly adopted Brexit and created Brexit Ministry, and it was indeed the lack of support that buckled May's Government. The results of this research are however suggesting further studies of the transition period, the after Brexit, and Europe during Covid-19 pandemic.

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Appendices

Appendix 1



Nigel Farage Unveils the Party's New EU Referendum

(poster on June 16, 2016. Jack Taylor/Getty Images p.22. Retrieved from:

<https://www.vox.com/2020/1/31/21083573/brexit-news-boris-johnson-timeline-eu-uk>

Appendix 2



Marchers on Saturday said they were reaching for a way out of the bleak political landscape in Parliament. Credit... Dan Kitwood/Getty Images p.34

Retrieved from: <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/23/world/europe/brexit-march-london.html>

Appendix 3



A petition calling to cancel Brexit had racked up more than 4.2 million signatures on Parliament's website by Saturday. Credit...Niklas Halle'N/Agence France-Presse — Getty Images.

Retrieved from: <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/23/world/europe/brexit-march-london.html>

Appendix 4



Alexander Boris Johnson (born 19 June 1964) is a British politician, author, and former journalist who has served as Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and Leader of the Conservative Party since 2019. He was Foreign Secretary from 2016 to 2018 and Mayor of London from 2008 to 2016. Johnson was Member of Parliament (MP) for Henley from 2001 to 2008 and has been MP for Uxbridge and South Ruislip since 2015. Ideologically, he identifies as a one-nation conservative. Retrieved on 2020, from: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Boris_Johnson.

Appendix 4



Theresa Mary May, Lady May^[3] (/təˈriːzə/^[4] *née* Brasier; born 1 October 1956) is a British politician who served as Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and Leader of the Conservative Party from 2016 to 2019. May served as Home Secretary from 2010 to 2016 and has been Member of Parliament (MP) for Maidenhead in Berkshire since 1997. Ideologically, she identifies herself as a one-nation conservative. Retrieved on 2020, from: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Theresa_May.

ملخص

كان خروج بريطانيا (أو ما يسمى بالبريكست) من الاتحاد الأوروبي حديث العالم ني الأشرم الؤلؤلة الماضية إذ حظيت الشروط التي بموجبها غادرت المملكة المتحدة الاتحاد في يناير 2020 باهتمام كبير وجدل واسع مؤخرا حيث كانت انؤؤبة الانسحاب جزئيا أساسيا من المفاوضات الأوروبية البريطانية. وبالتالي، فإنها تؤكد طبيعة عالؤهم المسؤؤلة ولهذا السبب، كان رؤساء الوزراء البريطانيون مصرؤن على إبرام صئؤة جيدة مع الاتحاد بشأن خروج بريطانيا من الاتحاد الأوروبي، وكان كل رئيس وزراء نريؤا في منهجه للوصول إلى صئؤة خروج بريطانيا من الاتحاد الأوروبي. نتحول هذه الدراسة شرح الائتافات بين كل من رؤساء وزراء بريطانيا، نيرؤا ماي وبورؤس جونسون بشأن خروج بريطانيا من الاتحاد الأوروبي. وفي غضون ذلك، يسلط الضوء على شروط الانسحاب البريطاني من الاتحاد الأوروبي إذ نهدف هذه الدراسة إلى الإجابة عن التساؤل: لماذا رفض البرلمان البريطاني صئؤة ماي نالئ مرات بينما تم قبول صئؤة جونسون بشكل مباشر. قد ينترض المرء أن بورؤس جونسون أبرم صئؤة مئئئة نماؤا عن صئؤة ماي، ونمكن من الحصول على دعم النواب ونمرير صئؤة بينما لم نستطع ماي القؤيم بأي منهما. ومن أجل اختبار فرضياتنا، قؤنا بجمع بياناتنا باستخدام الأساليب الكؤمة والنوعية نؤا تم انبهاج الطرؤة الكؤمة لمطابؤة البيانات الرقؤية في العالؤة الأوروبية-البريطانية؛ في حين تم انبهاج الطرؤة الكؤمة بشكل أساسي لتسليط الضوء على جودة البيانات المستخدمة، وقد تم أيضا اعئاد الطرؤة الوصئية بؤؤة فحص صئؤت رؤساء الوزراء البريطانيؤن كل على حدة. خلص هذا البحث إلى أنه-على عكس افتراضنا-كانت صئؤة بورؤس جونسون بالنعل ممائلة لصئؤة ماي مع بعض البؤؤرات الطئبة التي عالجت الاتحاد الجمركي، والوقف الخفي والعلان السياسي. بالإضافة إلى ذلك، زال بورؤس جونسون بدعم البرلمان ووزارؤه ومجلس العموم؛ في حين أن حكومة ماي انهارت من الداخل إذ لم نستطع حتى إقناع مجلس وزارؤها بتمرير الصئؤة.

الكلمات البئئاحية: خروج بريطانيا من الاتحاد الأوروبي (بريكست)، نيرؤا ماي، بورؤس جونسون، العالقات البريطانية الأوروبية

Résumé

La sortie britannique (ou le soi-disant Brexit) de l'Union européenne a fait parler le monde ces derniers mois. Les conditions dans lesquelles le Royaume-Uni a quitté l'Union en janvier 2020 ont récemment suscité beaucoup d'attention et de controverse. L'accord de retrait était un élément essentiel des négociations euro-britanniques. Ainsi, il souligne leur future relation. Par conséquent, les PM britanniques ont insisté pour conclure un bon accord sur le Brexit avec l'Union et chaque Premier ministre était unique dans sa voie vers l'accord sur le Brexit. Cette étude tente d'expliquer les différences entre les premiers ministres britanniques, les accords de Brexit de Theresa May et Boris Johnson. Pendant ce temps, il met en évidence les conditions du retrait britannique de l'Union européenne. Cette étude vise à répondre à la question de savoir pourquoi le Parlement britannique a rejeté l'accord de May à trois reprises alors que l'accord de Johnson a été accepté directement. On pourrait supposer que Boris Johnson a conclu un accord complètement différent de celui de May et a réussi à gagner le soutien des députés et à passer son accord alors que May ne pouvait faire ni l'un ni l'autre. Afin de tester nos hypothèses, nous avons collecté nos données à l'aide de méthodes quantitatives et qualitatives. La méthode quantitative a été jugée conforme aux données numériques dans la relation euro-britannique ; tandis que la méthode qualitative a été menée principalement pour éclairer la qualité des données utilisées. La méthode descriptive a également été adoptée pour inspecter séparément les transactions des PM britanniques. Cette recherche a conclu que, contrairement à notre hypothèse, l'accord de Boris Johnson était en effet l'accord de May avec quelques légers changements qui concernaient l'union douanière, le Backstop et la déclaration politique. De plus, Boris Johnson a cloué la sauvegarde du Parlement, de son cabinet et des Communes ; alors que le gouvernement de May a fléchi de l'intérieur, elle n'a pas pu convaincre même son cabinet d'adopter son accord.

Mots clés : Brexit, Theresa May, Boris Johnson, relations Royaume-Uni-Euro