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**UK at the Crossroads:
The Impact of No-Deal Brexit on the UK Future Trade with
the EU (1950s-2020)**

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for the Degree of Master of Literature and Civilisation

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Dedication

To my father

May his memory forever be a blessing

He was the best father in the world

To my mother, my sisters

And my beloved wife

Acknowledgments

I first wish to thank in much more than formal terms my supervisor Mr. Tegua Cherif for his support in this work.

I would also like to thank all the teachers of the English department in Abd Elhamid Ben Badis University of Mostaganem.

Finally I thank all those who have contributed from near or far to the realization of this modest work.

Abstract

The aim of this work is to discuss the impact of no-deal Brexit on the United Kingdom (UK) future trade with the European Union (EU). The UK was known as a Euro-sceptic country and the British people had always opposed the European institutions and the European policies. The 2016 referendum finally gave them the chance to the British people to say their opinion about the European integration. The majority express their opinion about the European integration and the majority of the voters made it clear that the UK had to leave the Union. In addition, this work also examines the reasons behind the British desire to leave the EU and the events that happened after the Brexit. The negotiations about the future relationships between the UK and the EU had been started when former British Prime Minister Theresa May triggered the Article 50. There are many options for the future trade relationship between the United Kingdom and the Bloc. If they do not sign any trade agreement before 31 December 2020, the United Kingdom will fall back on the rules of the World Trade Organisation (WTO). The UK exports and imports will be impacted after the Brexit. The UK will be regarded as a third country by the Union, and tariffs will be applied on most its exports and it will also apply tariffs on its imports from the bloc.

Key words: The United Kingdom - The European Union – Brexit - Eurosceptic, Integration – Trade - Article 50 - The World Trade Organisation

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List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

- EEA: The European Economic Area.
- EEC: The European Economic Community.
- EC: The European Council.
- ECJ: The European Court of Justice.
- ECSC: The European Coal and Steel Community.
- EFTA: The European Free Trade Association.
- EU: The European Union.
- EURATOM: The European Atomic Energy Community.
- CAP: Common Agricultural Policy.
- CETA: Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreements.
- FFTP: First-Past-The-Post.
- FTAs: Free Trade Agreements.
- GATS: The General Agreement on Trade in Services
- GATT: The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
- MFN: Most Favoured Nation.
- MPs: Member of Parliaments.
- TRIPS: Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights
- UK: The United Kingdom.
- UKIP: The United Kingdom Independence Party.
- US: The United States.
- WTO: The World Trade Organisation.
- WWII: The Second World War.

General Introduction

The idea of The European Union (EU) began after World War II as a way to promote political and economic cooperation and to avoid another major war between the European countries. The union was first welcomed by the former PM of the UK, Winston Churchill when he called for the United States of Europe in 1946 and then by the French foreign minister Rubert Schuman when he proposed creating a community for the Coal and steel industries of Europe in 1950. On the basis of this, Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and West Germany created the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) in 1951. The United Kingdom remained reluctant until 1973 when it finally became part of it.

Despite being a member of the EU, the British had never stopped from being sceptical and on 23 June 2016 they made it clear when they were given the chance to choose whether they wanted to leave or remain a part of the EU in a referendum vote. The majority of the voters voted to leave the EU and the process of leaving started under the Article 50 of Lisbon Treaty; which sets out how an European country leave the union.

The British withdrawal from the EU is an event that will mark the history of the Union. It has important and immediate economic and political consequences for the UK and the EU. In the medium and long term, the outcome of Brexit will affect the UK economy and policy.

The reasons that pushed me to choose this topic are related to the domain of British Civilisation as well as the fact that it is up-to-date and mostly because I am interested in the future relationship between the UK and the EU.

The present work revolves around the Brexit and its impact on the future trade relationships between the UK and the EU. So, our research will be based on the following questions:

- What are the reasons behind the Brexit?
- What are the consequences of the Brexit?
- What are the trade deal options for the UK after the Brexit?
- What does no-deal Brexit mean and what is its impact on the UK future trade with the bloc?

To answer these questions, the following hypotheses are put forward:

- The UK left the bloc because it wants to control its border and its trade.
- The Brexit will have negative effects on the UK future trade with the EU.
- Maybe the UK will leave the bloc with a trade agreement.
- Maybe the UK will leave the bloc without a deal and this will have negative effects on the UK future trade.

This research consists of three chapters. The first one provides background information about the EU union, the UK membership, and the Euro-scepticism in the UK. The second chapter examines the definition of the referendum, the 1975 referendum, the 2016 referendum, the reasons behind the UK withdrawal from the EU, and the key events since the 2016 referendum. Finally, the third chapter deals with the UK trade development, options for the UK's future trade relationship with the EU, and the impact of no-deal Brexit on UK future trade.

CHAPTER ONE

THE EUROPEAN UNION AND EURO-SCEPTICISM

(1950s – 1990s)

Introduction:

The European experience in cooperation and integration has developed over more than half a century until it became a political unit that included the majority of European countries. This experience is the conclusion of the unification movements between many European countries. The European Union (EU) was able to accomplish peace and unity in Europe, thanks to its institutional structure that made it a strong political and economic system. However, criticism of the European project has existed in diverse member states. Some European countries started to show doubts about this organization's policies. Those attitudes have created a powerful force against the European integration under what we call Euroscepticism.

This chapter deals with the definition of the EU, its origin, its main institutions, and its objectives. Next, it shed light on UK membership. Finally, it tackles Euroscepticism in UK, definition of Euroscepticism, its types, its phases, and the Eurosceptic parties in UK.

1. The European Union:

The EU union is an international organisation. It includes many institutions and it has many objectives i

1.1. Definition:

The EU is an international organization comprising 27 European countries and governing common economic, social, and security policies. The EU's members are Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, and Sweden. The UK left the organization in 2020 (Gabel).

MAP 1: the European Union:



Source: www.maproom.net/shop/eu-map. Access date: 15 JUN 2020

1.2.The origin of the EU:

After the World War II (WWII), several European countries want to stop the bloody war and sought closer economic, social, and political ties to achieve economic growth and peace. In 1951, the leaders of six countries — Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and West Germany — signed the Treaty of Paris, thereby, when it took effect in 1952, founding the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC). The ECSC created a free-trade area for several key economic and military resources.

In 1957, the six ECSC members signed the two Treaties of Rome that established the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom) and the European Economic Community (EEC). The EEC created a common market that the elimination of most barriers to the movement of goods, services, capital, and labour, the prohibition of most public policies or

private agreements that inhibit market competition, a common agricultural policy (CAP), and a common external trade policy.

In 1965, members of the EEC signed the Brussels Treaty, which merged the commissions of the EEC and Euratom and the High Authority of the ECSC into a single commission. It also combined the councils of the three organizations into a common Council of Ministers. The EEC, Euratom, and the ECSC — collectively referred to as the European Communities. The executives of the new communities were called commission. In 1992, members of the European Communities in Maastricht signed the Maastricht treaty which founded the European Union (EU) and established its pillar structure.

1.3. Decision-making institutions in the European Union:

Decision-making at EU level involves various European institutions, in particular:

1.3.1. The European Parliament:

It is the only multinational parliament in the world. It represents approximately 500 million people in the EU's member states and it is directly elected by them.

1.3.2. The European Council:

It is an extension of the Council of Ministers. It consists of the Heads of State or Government of the EU Member States to meet and discuss policy direction, negotiate and approve Treaty amendments, and sometimes resolve disputes between Member states over EU policy matters. It conducts its business through intergovernmental negotiations. It is seen as a necessary forum for problem solving in the EU (Warleigh 2002).

1.3.3. The European Commission:

It is the European Union's administration which represents the interests of the EU as a whole. The Commission is composed of a College of twenty Commissioners. it proposes new laws and it is the European Parliament and Council that adopt them (Warleigh 2002).

1.3.4. The aims of the EU:

The aims of the EU are¹:

1.3.4.1. Promotion of Peace, the Values of the Union and the Well-Being of Its Peoples:

Promoting peace, values and well-Being considered as central objectives behind the creation of the EU

1.3.4.1.1. Peace:

Promoting peace does not only refer to peaceful relations between the member states of the EU but also to the relations with third countries.

1.3.4.1.2. Values of the union:

It makes clear that the values set out in the article are not only concepts or ideas underlying the political system and action of the Union and its member states, but that they are legally binding objectives.

1.3.4.1.3. Well-Being of the Union's Peoples:

This term “well-being” is new in the primary law of the EU. It has to be understood in a broader sense than the formerly used expression “standard of living». The aim to promote the well-being of the peoples comes nearer to the goal to raise “the standard of living and quality of life”.

1.3.4.2. An Area of Freedom, Security and Justice:

This term had already been used before the Constitutional Treaty and the Treaty of Lisbon. It means that the Union places the individual at the heart of its activities by establishing the citizenship of the Union and by creating an area of freedom, security and justice.

1. www.eur-lex.europa.eu/eli/treaty/char_2012/oj. Access date: 10 Jun 2020.

1.3.4.3. Economic, Ecological, Social and Cultural Principles:

Sustainable development based on balanced economic growth and price stability, a highly competitive market economy with full employment and social progress, and environmental protection.

1.3.4.3.1. The single market, Sustainable Development of Europe, Social Market Economy and Scientific and Technological Advance:

The concept of the single market or (the internal market) was developed in the 1980s and introduced into primary Community law. The internal market should complete the “common market” by removing all the remaining obstacles. It comprises an area without internal frontiers in which the free movement of goods, persons, services and capital is ensured. It aims for fair and equal treatment and opportunities for all market participants.

Sustainable development was elaborated in a more general sense by the International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources and the World Commission on Environment and Development. It implies meeting the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.

The term “social market economy” refers to a model of regulatory policy aiming at combining, on the basis of a competitive economy, the free initiative with social progress which particularly is ensured by the performance of market economy. It relies upon the creative forces of a competitive economy, but attributes an important role to the State in creating and enforcing the necessary rules which guarantee fair play.

The promotion of scientific and technological advance can be seen in the context of the Lisbon strategy which puts emphasis on a “knowledge-based economy” and the creation of a “European Area of Research and Innovation”. At the same time, it indicates that the ecological orientation of the EU does not imply hostility towards technological advances. However, the competence of the EU in the area of research and technology policy remains mainly in the definition and implementation of stimulating programmes which must not prevent member states from exercising their competences.

1.3.4.3.2. Social Objectives:

The social principles range from “classical” Community rights or principles, such as equality between women and men, to new directive principles like the solidarity between generations. Only a low normative content can be derived from the principle of social justice which is newly introduced in the EU primary law and refers to the distribution of opportunities and other benefits and to the institutions set up for its implementation.

1.3.4.3.3. Cohesion and Solidarity within the Union:

The principle of solidarity based on the insight of the mutual dependence of the members of a community and the idea of mutual assistance. It has been a guiding principle of European integration since the French foreign minister Robert Schuman declared in 1950 that Europe will be built “through concrete achievements which first create a de facto solidarity. With the Treaty of Lisbon, solidarity is explicitly mentioned as an element of the canon of the societal values in the EU too. Furthermore, solidarity becomes an axiological guideline for the relations between generations.

1.3.4.3.4. Respect of Cultural and Linguistic Diversity and Protection of the Cultural Heritage:

The obligation to respect cultural and linguistic diversity is equally set out in the article and the fact that the article declares the texts of the Treaty in 23 languages as being equally authentic is a visible manifestation of this approach.

2. The UK membership of the EU:

Despite the fact that UK supports the idea of creating the European Community (EC), it was not among the founding fathers of the union. In 1951 The UK declines an invitation to join European Coal and Still Community (ECSC). In 1961 Britain applied for membership of the EEC under Conservative PM Harold Macmillan but it was rejected by French President Charles de Gaulle. He was afraid that UK membership would weaken the French voice within Europe. He also feared that close relations between UK and United States (US) would lead to the United States increasing its influence in Europe. Charles de Gaulle also vetoed a second

application from Britain in 1969. In 1973, The UK makes a third – and successful – application, this time under Conservative PM Edward Heath. Joining alongside Britain are Denmark and Ireland. In 1975, The UK holds a referendum to confirm its continuing membership of the EEC. The British people vote to stay in. In 1992, The Maastricht Treaty is signed, creating the European Union. It also sets the foundations for the single currency, and establishes cooperation in foreign and security policy. These stages were the most relevant moments in the history of the UK membership of EU (The Guardian 2016).

3. British Euro-scepticism:

The UK was known as a Eurosceptic country since its joining the EU. The British had always doubts toward the EU project. This phenomenon has four major phases as identified by Baker.

3.1. Definition:

The concept of Euro-scepticism was defined by Taggart (1998) as “the opposition and doubt to the process of the European integration”. It means that the rejection of the EU project, performed by political actors (Ulan 2015).

There are two types of Euro-scepticism. The first one is the hard Euroscepticism. It is where there is a principled opposition to the EU and European integration. It can be seen in parties who think that their countries should withdraw from EU project. The second one is the soft Euroscepticism. It is where there is not a principled objection to European integration but where concerns on one (or a number) of policy areas lead to the opposition of the EU (Szczerbiac and Taggart 2008).

3.2 The phases of British Euro-scepticism:

Baker identifies four distinct phases of British Euro-scepticism.

The first phase is between the end of the Second World War and the parliamentary ratification of Britain’s entry into the EEC in 1972. In this period, Euroscepticism was the conventional wisdom amongst the British political elite. By 1972, such intellectual and political hegemony had been lost. Nevertheless, the pragmatic economic rationale presented for membership failed to undermine Euroscepticism. The second phase then followed until

the 1975 referendum in which Eurosceptic vainly fought a rearguard action to secure Britain’s exit from the EEC through a ‘no’ vote in the referendum on Labour’s renegotiated terms of membership. The third phase started in 1975 until 1988 in which, following the outcome of the referendum and despite developments within the Labour Party, Euroscepticism became a much more latent feature of British politics. The fourth phase of Euroscepticism began in the late 1980s. In this period, Euroscepticism became fundamental to the contemporary configuration of British politics and general elections. The issues of sovereignty and national identity have become central to Eurosceptic concerns. This phase noticed the growth of Euroscepticism within the Conservative Party and the creation of new Eurosceptic minor parties (Baker et al 2008).

3.3 Euro-scepticism and the British party systems:

As we mentioned before The Euro-scepticism became feature of the British politics. The political parties had been divided between a hard Eurosceptic parties and a soft Eurosceptic parties (see table 1).

Table 1: The political parties with Hard and Soft Euroscepticism in UK, 2002:

Euroscepticism	Hard	Soft
UK Parties	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • UK Independence Party • Socialist Labour Party • British National Party 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Green Party • Conservative Party • Scottish Socialist Party • Socialist Alliance • Democratic Unionist Party

Source: Baker et Al 2008

According to Baker, the UK Independence Party, the Socialist labour Party, and the British National Party are hard Eurosceptic parties. However, the Green Party, the Conservative

Party, the Scottish Socialist Party, the Socialist Alliance, and the Democratic Unionist Party are soft Eurosceptic.

Conclusion:

The idea of integration came to achieve peace between all members and to promote political, economic and social objectives. Normally, all these objectives are benefits for all European member states but in fact many members have doubts against the EU project. These doubts contributed to the emergence of the term Euroscepticism. As a result, many members want to withdrawal from the Union especially the United Kingdom. So, why Britain decided to withdrawal from the Union and what are the reasons behind this decision?

CHAPTER TWO: THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE UK FROM THE EU (1970s-2020)

Introduction:

On June 23rd 2016, the whole world had its eyes on UK, anxious to know whether or not the British people would vote for the "Brexit" which stands for the end of the United Kingdom membership in the European Union. After weeks of campaigns, 51.9% of the British people wanted their country to leave the European Union.

In 31 January 2020, the UK left the EU. Negotiations at agreeing the new relationship were always intended to be held after Brexit day during the period of transition. During the transition the UK still follows EU rules and the trade between the two is the same as before. The transition period end on 31 December 2020.

This chapter is going to talk about the referendum, its meaning, the referendum of 1975, the Brexit meaning and its time line, the 2016 referendum result, the reasons behind the UK withdrawal from the EU, and the key event since the 2016 referendum.

1. The referendum:

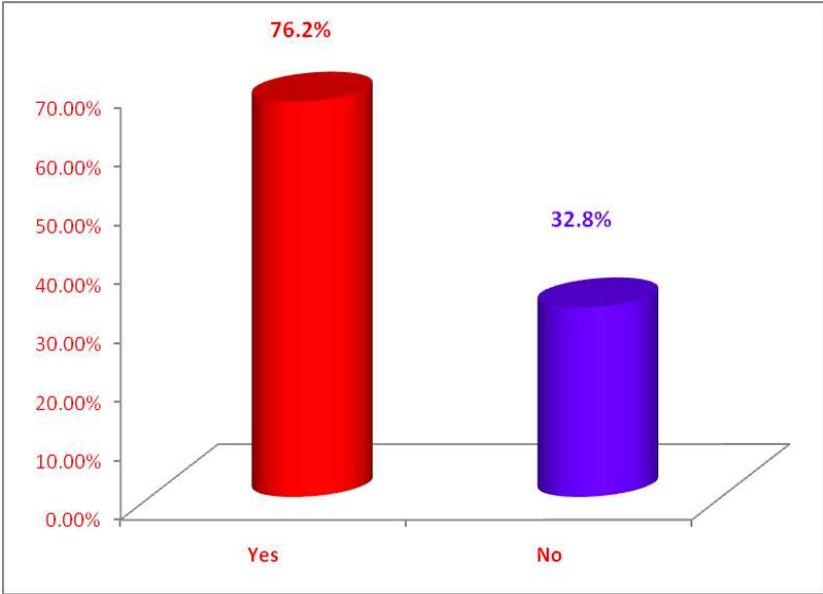
Referendum is a direct vote on a particular proposal or question. Sometimes, it may result in adopting a new law, or a change of constitution or government of that country (Lamond and Reid 2017).

The UK has only ever had three national referendums, in 1975, when Harold Wilson called a referendum on the revised terms of what was then called the Common Market, 2011's vote on replacing the first-past-the-post (FPTP) system for state elections with a variant of proportional representation and most recently the second EU membership referendum in 2016 (Lamond and Reid 2017).

2. The referendum of 1975:

In June 1975, UK saw the first referendum. The electorate were asked, 'Do you think that the United Kingdom should stay in the European Community (the Common Market)?' Seventeen million voted "Yes" and eight million voted "No" (Butler 1996).

Figure 1: The EEC membership referendum of 1975 in the United Kingdom:



Source: www.statista.com/statistics/1043098/eec-referendum-result. Access date: 20 July 2020

3. The Brexit:

The Brexit is the British withdrawal from the EU and there are many events that led to this divorce.

3.1. Definition:

- The word "Brexit" is a combination of the word "Britain" and "exit". A similar word creation, "Grexit", was first introduced by the press for the possible exit of Greece out of the EU. This was now changed into "Brexit" to refer to the UK withdrawal from EU (BBC 2018).

- The Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary defined Brexit as a noun “used to refer to the departure of the United Kingdom from the European Union”

3.2. Brexit time line:

The main events that lead to the referendum of 2016 are (Walker 2020):

- **23 January 2013:** Prime Minister David Cameron discusses the future of the European Union and declares he is in favour of an in-out referendum in the future.
- **14 April 2015:** The Conservative Party pledges: “Real change in our relationship with the European Union” and commits to “hold an in-out referendum on our membership of the EU before the end of 2017”.
- **25-26 June 2015:** The Prime Minister sets out his plans for an in-out referendum in a meeting of the European Council. It is the first step in the negotiation process and the European Council (EC) agrees to return to the issue in December.
- **22 February 2016:** The Prime Minister announces the EU referendum date – 23 June 2016 – after securing a deal on Britain's membership of the EU. In the House of Commons, David Cameron makes a statement on the UK’s new special status in the EU and announces the date of the referendum.
- **23 June 2016:** The UK holds a referendum on its membership of the EU. The question posed to the electorate: “Should the United Kingdom remain a member of the European Union or leave the European Union?”

3.3. The referendum of 2016:

In 23 June 2016, the electorate were asked, ‘Should the united Kingdom remain a member of the European Union or leave the European Union?’ (Wasowicz 2017).

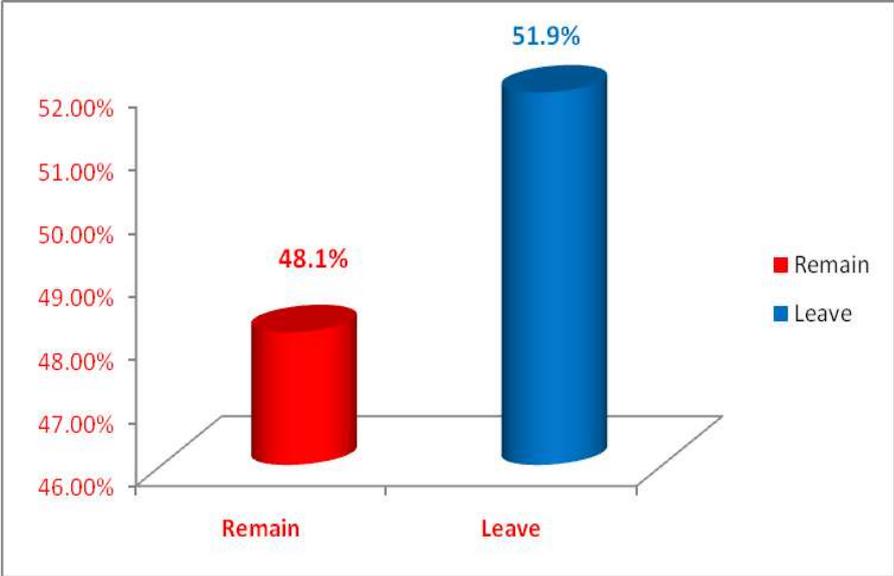
The result was very close. Overall, 48.1 per cent of British voters wanted to stay in the EU. However, nearly 51.9 per cent voted to leave the union (The electoral commission 2019).

Figure 2: 2016 EU Referendum Ballot Paper:

Referendum on the United Kingdom's membership of the European Union	
Vote only once by putting a cross <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> in the box next to your choice	
Should the United Kingdom remain a member of the European Union or leave the European Union?	
Remain a member of the European Union	<input type="checkbox"/>
Leave the European Union	<input type="checkbox"/>

Source: www.blogs.lse.ac.uk/brexit/2017/05/17/the-brexit-referendum-question-was-flawed-in-its-design. Access date: 17 July 2020

Figure 3: The result of 2016 referendum.



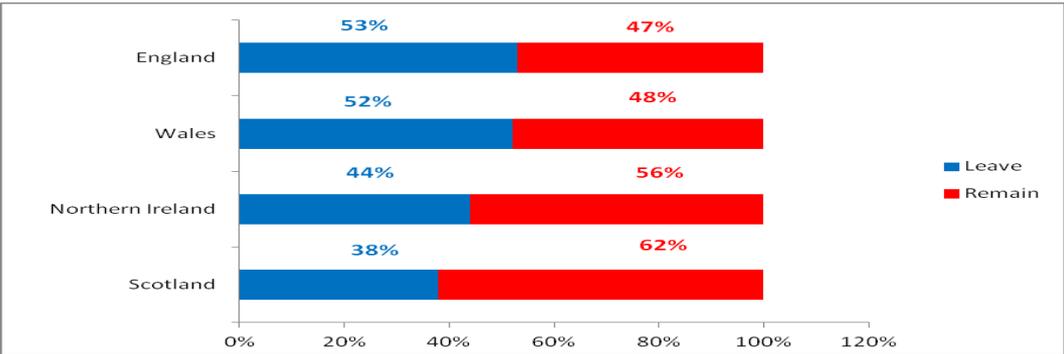
Source: www.statista.com/statistics/570118/eu-referendum-results/. Access date: 17 July 2020.

3.3.1. Brexit vote by nation:

In terms of national voting, England had the largest margin of victory for leave, with those voting to leave coming to 53% versus remains' vote share of 47%. Wales also had a majority

of leave voters. Northern Ireland and Scotland, in contrast, had large remain majorities. In Northern Ireland, 44% of voters vote to leave and 56% of voters vote to remain. In Scotland, 38% of voters vote to leave and 62% of voters vote to remain (Britton and Goubergen 2019).

Figure 4: Brexit vote by nation

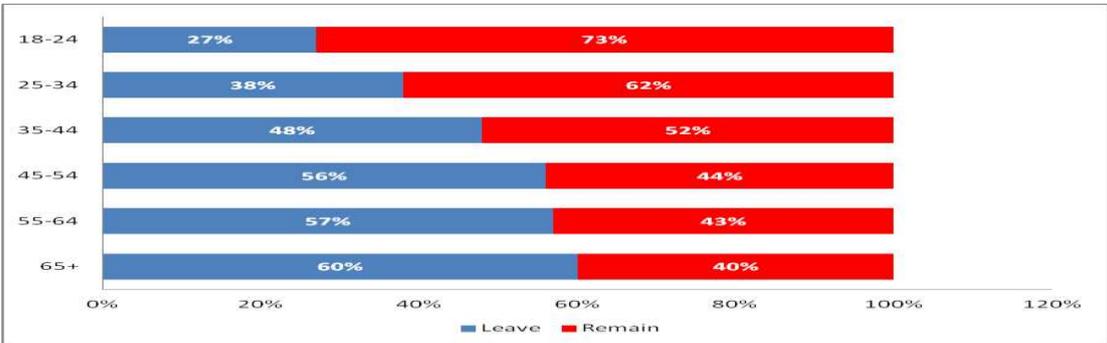


Source : www.statista.com/statistics/568701/brexit-results-by-nation. Access date: 20 July 2020

3.3.2. Brexit vote by age group:

In general, older voters were more likely to have voted Leave, while younger voters were more likely to have voted Remain. 60% of those aged 65+ voted to leave, however 40% of them voted to remain. 57% of those in 55-64 age group voted to leave and 43% of the voted to remain. 56% of those in 45-54 age group voted to leave and the rest of the voted to remain. The majority of voters between 18to 35 years old voted to remain in the EU (Britton and Goubergen 2019).

Figure 5: Brexit by age group:



Source: www.statista.com/statistics/520954/brexit-votes-by-age. Access date: 20 July 2020

3.4. Why Britain vote to leave EU:

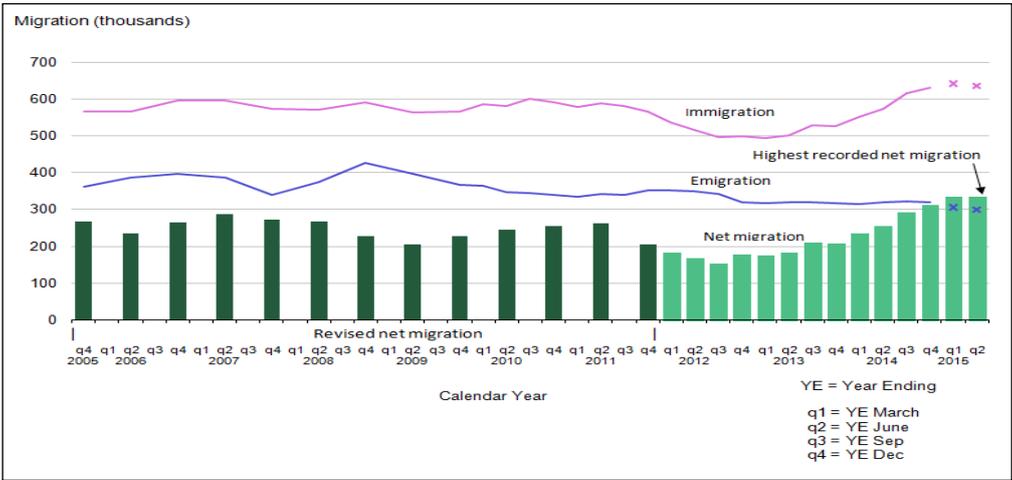
There are many reasons behind the UK withdrawal from the EU:

3.4.1. Immigration:

Immigration is one of the issues that occupied British people’s minds. In their end of year survey, 63 per cent of the electorate selected immigration as the most pressing issues facing Britain. Despite the fact that the British people had long felt anxious about immigration and its negative impacts, this concern had grown after 2004 when increasing numbers of workers from EU member states in Central and Eastern Europe started to arrive in the country. By the end of 2015, only a few months before the referendum, net migration had reached a record level of 336,000. The majority of British people felt that this was too much.

Public anxiety over immigration also was stimulated by United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) at the end of 2015. They said that immigration was having negative effects on domestic workers. And this view appeared to be legitimized by the Bank of England report. The analysis suggested that rising immigration could drive down wages for low- skilled British workers (Clarke et al 2017).

Figure 6: Long-Term International Migration, UK, 2005 to 2015:



Source: www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/internationalmigration/bulletins/migrationstatisticsquarterlyreport/2015-08-27. Access date: 16 November 2020

3.4.2. Refugee:

Refugee crisis is another factor behind the British withdrawal from EU. In 2015 a major refugee crisis had erupted on the European continent, sparking anxiety about the number of refugees trying to enter the EU. It was estimated that more than 100,000 people a month entered Europe by sea. The debates started about the ability of Western governments to control immigration, secure their borders and protect citizens from terrorism (Clarke et al 2017).

3.4.3. Terrorism:

The increase in terrorist attacks in some European countries recently prompted the British citizen to think that separation from the EU will stop the open border agreement, which may prevent the advent of terrorists to Britain. The link between security and migration had been underscored by a string of terrorist attacks, including in Paris in November 2015, which resulted in the deaths of 130 people. The attacks came less than a year after Islamist terrorists had forced their way into the offices of the Charlie Hebdo magazine and killed 11 people. It was later reported that several attackers had passed through Hungary alongside refugees. Two months later, multiple women at New Year celebrations in Cologne had been sexually assaulted by groups of migrants and asylum-seekers (Clarke et al 2017).

3.4.4. The China Factor:

The failure of the EU to deal with Chinese unwillingness to comply with WTO standards and apply robust trade defence measures in response has had a damaging effect on industrial employment across Europe. Unfortunately, the European working classes feel like they are abandoned by the European elites. This sense of abandonment also played a part in the willingness of working class communities across the UK to come out and vote to leave the EU (Riley and Ghilès 2016).

3.4.5. Media and Politics:

Britain's history differs from that of its European neighbours. It was never a supporter of the European ideal. It joined the EU because there did not seem to be any other option. The British political class and media played an anti-EU game. They made up stories on the horrors

of the EU on the front pages of newspapers. It was difficult to reverse forty years of negative media coverage in a four month referendum campaign (Riley and Ghilès 2016).

3.5. The key event since the referendum of 2016:

3.5. 1. David Cameron Resignation:

In 2010, the general election saw the Conservative party form a coalition government with the Liberal Democrats. David Cameron, aged just 43, became the youngest Prime Minister since 1812.

In his first speech, he said: “I came into politics because I love this country, I think its best days still lie ahead and I believe deeply in public service, and I think the service our country needs right now is to face up to our really big challenges, to confront our problems, to take difficult decisions, to lead people through those difficult decisions so that together we can reach better times ahead.”

In 2015, he led the Conservatives to their first parliamentary majority since 1992 and he promised a referendum on Britain’s EU membership.

In the third referendum, on Britain relationship with the EU, David Cameron led the campaign for the UK to remain in the EU. In 23rd June 2016, the British people voted to leave the EU and following this historic decision, he resigned as Prime Minister of the UK and leader of the Conservative Party. In September 2016, he resigned as a Member of Parliament. David Cameron will now be remembered as the leader who enabled his country’s fateful departure from the EU (Worley 2016).

3.5.2. Theresa May becomes PM:

After David Cameron resignation, May was elected as the leader of conservative Party in 15 July 2016. She became the UK’s second PM after Margaret Thatcher. She began the process of withdrawing the UK from the EU, triggering Article 50 in March 2017 (Wallenfeldt 2020).

3.5.3. Article 50:

Article 50 is the only legal mechanism for a member state of the EU to leave. It was created as a part of the treaty of Lisbon. It sets out the steps a country needs to go through to withdraw from the membership of the EU. Only the UK Government can decide to trigger the article. The decision could be made by the PM alone, either orally at a meeting or in writing. In 29 March 2019, UK invokes Article 50 of the Treaty of the EU and the negotiations began between the UK and the EU (Kenton 2020).

3.5.4. Theresa May resignation:

Mrs May had been struggling to get support from parliament for the legislation needed to implement the deal she had agreed with the EU on how the UK would leave the bloc. Her deal was rejected three times by the parliament. She made another attempt to convince members of parliaments (MPs) to support her EU Withdrawal Agreement Bill and she offered a vote on whether to hold a second referendum, if the bill was passed. It seems like her offer was the final straw for many MPs. In 24 May 2019, Mrs May announced her resignation (Wallenfeldt 2020).

3.5.5. Boris Johnson becomes new PM:

Boris Johnson who was the leading spokesman for the leave campaign in the national referendum became the UK's new PM in 24 July 2019. He beat Jeremy Hunt in the race to become the leader of the conservative Party. One of the big issues that Mr Johnson need to concentrate on is sorting out Brexit. He promised to leave the EU without a deal if the exit agreement with the EU was not altered to his satisfaction. By October Johnson was able to renegotiate agreement with the EU with a plan to keep Northern Ireland aligned with the EU for at least four years from the end of the transition period. He asked the EU for an extension of the deadline. The deadline was rest for 31 January 2020 (The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica 2020).

3.5.6. The UK left the EU:

In 31 January 2020, the UK left the EU with a deal called withdrawal agreement. Its purpose was to set out a process to allow the UK to leave the EU smoothly as possible. Negotiations at agreeing the new relationship were always intended to be held after Brexit day during the period of transition. During the transition the UK still follows EU rules and the trade between the two is the same as before. The transition period end on 31 December 2020. If there is no trade deal by that time, the UK will automatically drop out of the EU's main trading arrangements. Then t riffs and border checks would be applied to UK goods travelling to the EU under the rules of the World Trade Organisation (WTO) (BBC 2020).

Conclusion:

On June 2016, the British people decided to leave the EU. Few days after the referendum, David Cameron resigned from his position as PM and Theresa May became the new PM and leader of the conservative Party. She triggered the article 50 and started the divorce of the UK from the EU. After three times of rejecting her deal with the EU, May announced her resignation and Boris Johnson became the new PM. finally, after four years from the referendum, the UK left the EU and the transition period has started. The intention is to give the UK and EU time to negotiate a trade deal and put in place the necessary measures to implement the new arrangements. In 31 December 2020 the transition period will end. So, what are the deal options for the future relationships between the UK and the EU and how can No-Deal Brexit affect the UK future trade with the EU?

CHAPTER THREE:

THE IMPACT OF NO-DEAL BREXIT ON THE UK FUTURE TRADE (2018-2020)

Introduction:

The EEC had been created in 1957 to eliminate trade barriers and allow a common trade policy across its member states under what we call “The single market”. It was also intended to reduce tensions that had arisen up during World War II and to avoid war. By the late 1950s, Britain had fallen into a despondent mood of national “declinism”, and the UK’s leaders began knocking on Europe’s doors, believing that joining the trade bloc would ‘remedy’ the country’s economic failures and increase its international political influence. Now, the UK left the EU and the negotiations about the UK future relationships with the EU had started. 31 December 2020 is the deadline for the transition period. If it ends without agreement, the UK will leave the bloc without deal.

In this chapter, we will discuss: UK trade development, Options for the UK’s future trade relationship with the EU and finally, the impact of no deal Brexit on UK future trade.

1. UK Trade Development:

The UK is the eleventh largest exporter in the world. However, it was the eighth largest exporter in the world in 1980. During the period of its membership, UK trade volumes with the EU have increased because of the EU’s expansion in membership over this period (Whyman et al 2017). In 2018, The UK exported £291 billion of goods and services to other EU member states. However, goods and services imports from the EU were worth £357 billion, 53% of all UK imports. The UK had a trade deficit of -£66 billion with the EU but a surplus of £29 billion with non-EU countries. The UK recorded a deficit in goods with both the EU and non-EU countries, but a trade surplus in services with both the EU and non-EU countries. The EU accounted for 50% of UK goods exports and 40% of services exports; 54%

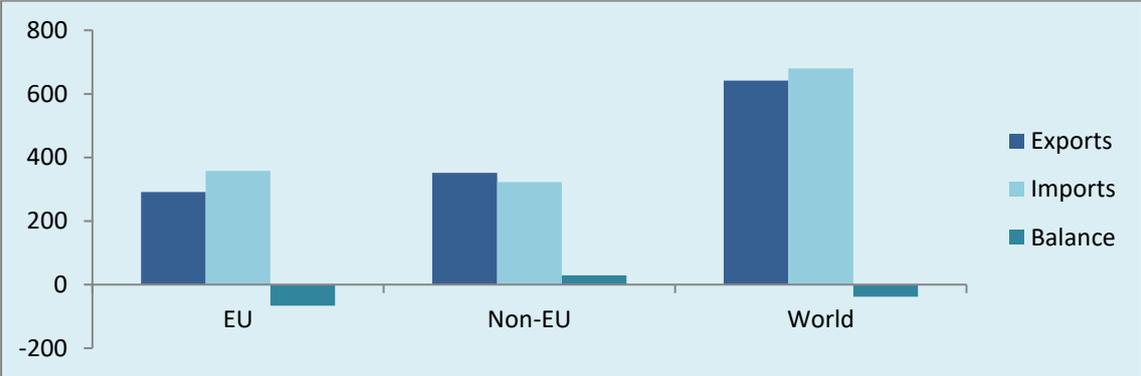
of imported goods and 48% of imported services were imported from the EU (see table 3.1 and Fig 3.1).

Table2: The UK trade with the EU and non-EU countries 2018:

	Exports £ (%)	Imports £ (%)	Balance £ (%)
EU	291.0 (45.3%)	357.4 (52.6%)	-66.4
Non-EU	351.2 (54.7%)	322.6 (47.4%)	28.7
Total	642.2 (100%)	680.0 (100%)	-37.7

Source: Statistics on UK-EU trade 2019

Figure 7: UK trade with EU and non-EU countries 2018:



Source: Statistics on UK-EU trade 2019

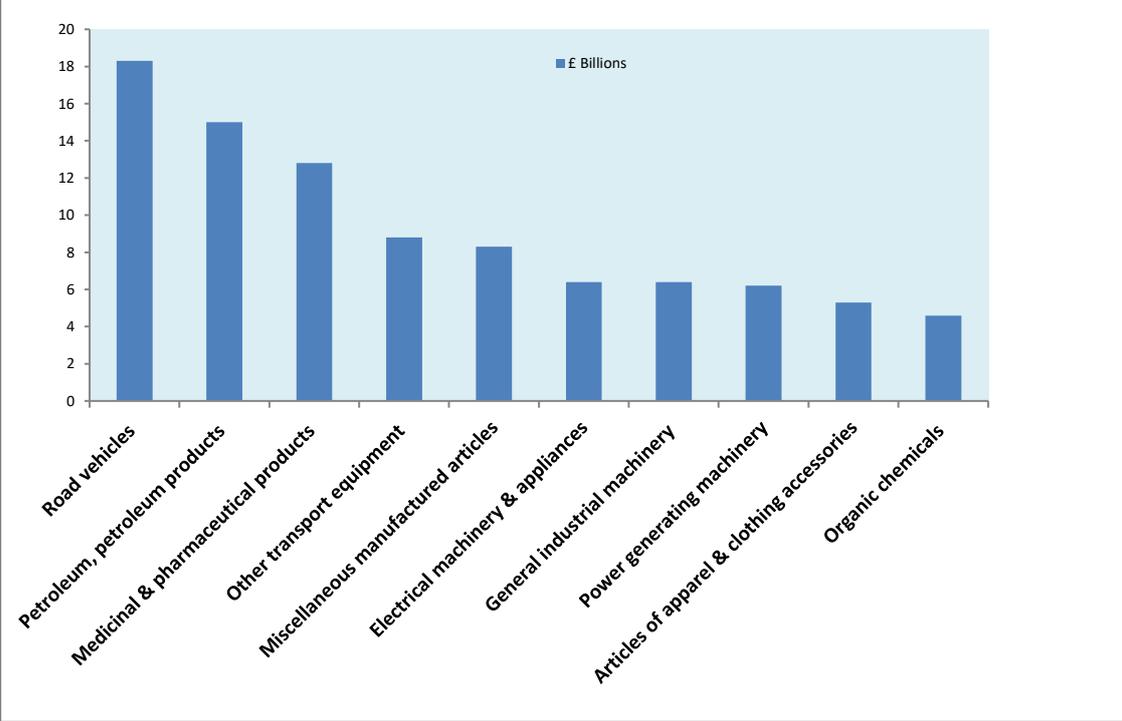
1.1 UK Trade in Goods:

Since 1999, The UK trade in goods with the EU recorded a deficit every year (Ward 2019).

1.1.1 UK Goods Exports to the EU:

In 2018, petroleum and petroleum products were the UK’s single largest export to the EU, valued at £21 billion. It represents 12% of all UK goods exports to the EU. Other British goods exports to the EU included road vehicles, valued at £17 billion and medicinal and pharmaceutical products valued at £11 billion (see fig 3.2).

Figure 8: Top 10 UK goods exports to the EU, 2018:

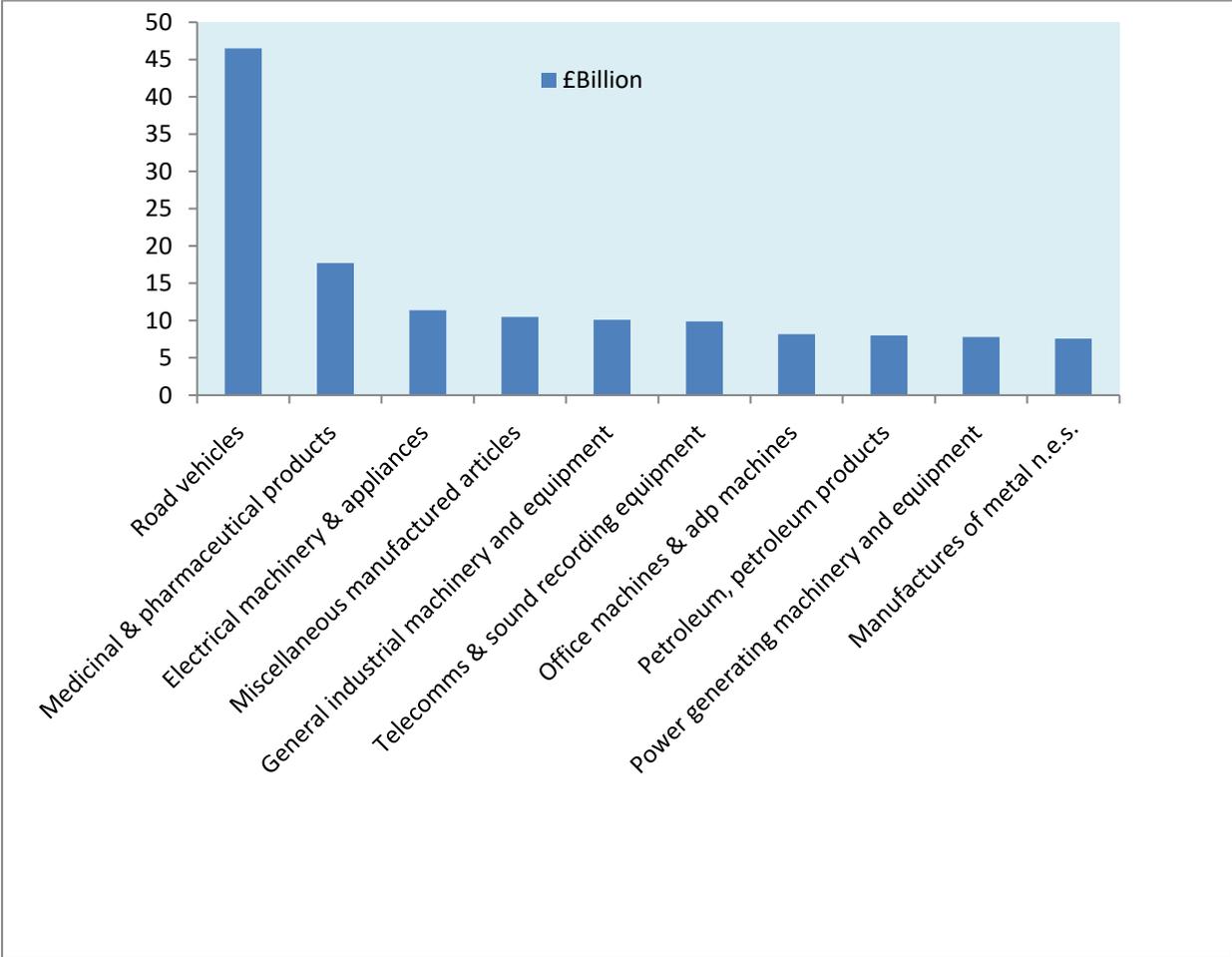


Source: Statistics on UK-EU trade 2019

1.1.2 UK Goods Imports from the EU:

In 2018, road vehicles were the UK’s single largest import from the EU, valued at £47 billion which represents 17% of all UK goods imports from the EU and 43% of all UK imports of road vehicles. Other British goods imports from the EU included medicinal and pharmaceutical products, valued at £18 billion, electrical machinery and appliances valued at £11 billion and miscellaneous manufactured articles valued £10.5 billion (see fig 3.3).

Figure 9: Top 10 UK goods imports from the EU, 2018:



Source: Statistics on UK-EU trade 2019

1.2 Trade in Services:

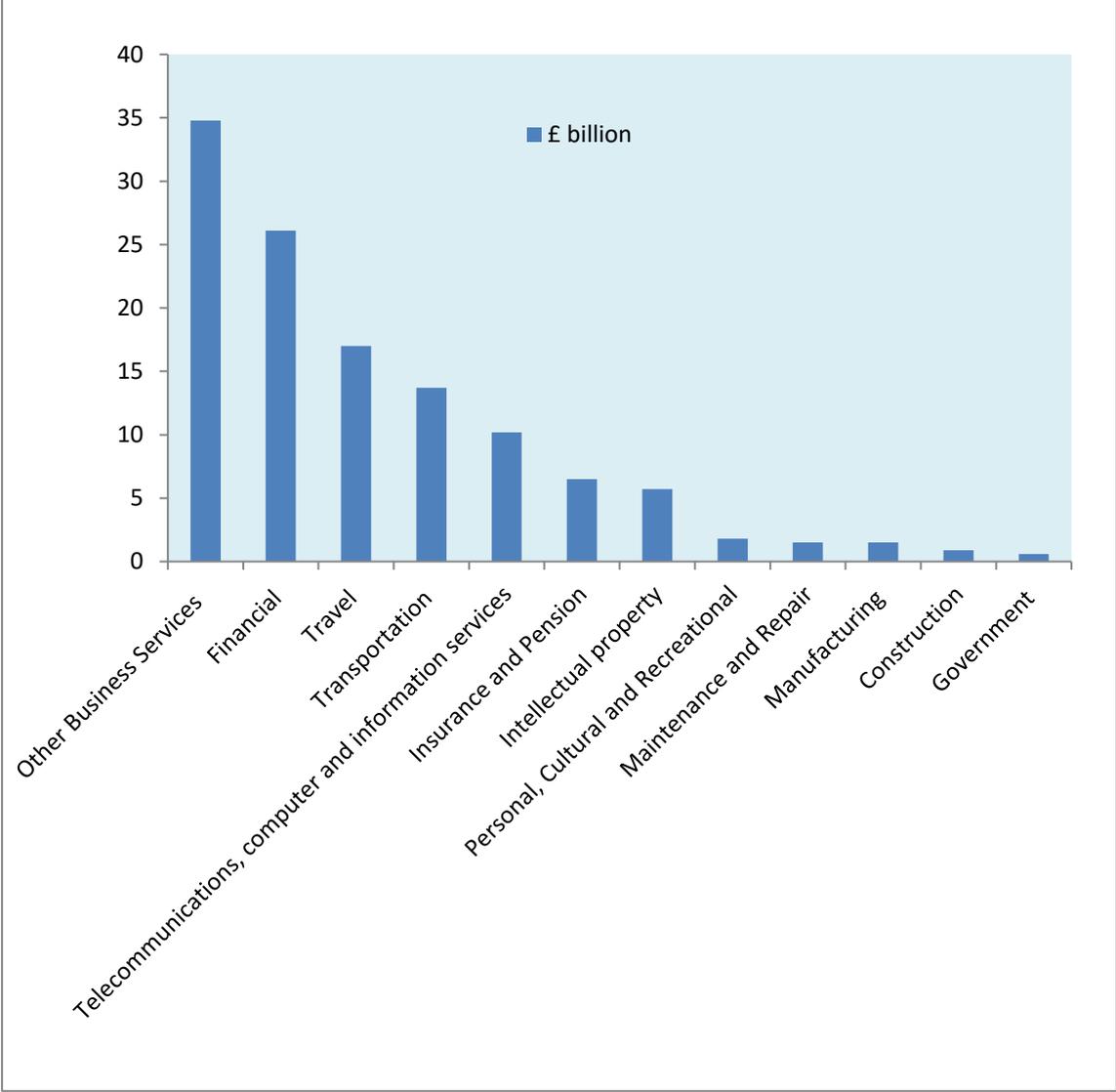
The UK has recorded a trade surplus in services with the European Union every year since 2005 (Ward 2019).

1.2.1 UK Service Exports to the EU, 2018:

In 2018, the UK’s largest service export to the EU was “other business services”, valued at £35 billion which represented 29% of all UK service exports to the EU. It includes legal, accounting, advertising, research and development, architectural, engineering and other professional and technical services. Taken as a bloc, the EU accounted for 36% of UK exports of other business services, making it the UK’s largest export market for other business services. Other British service exports to the EU included financial services, valued at £26

billion, travel services exports to the EU valued at £17 billion and transportation services exports valued at £13 billion (see fig 3.4).

Figure 10: UK service exports to the EU, 2018:



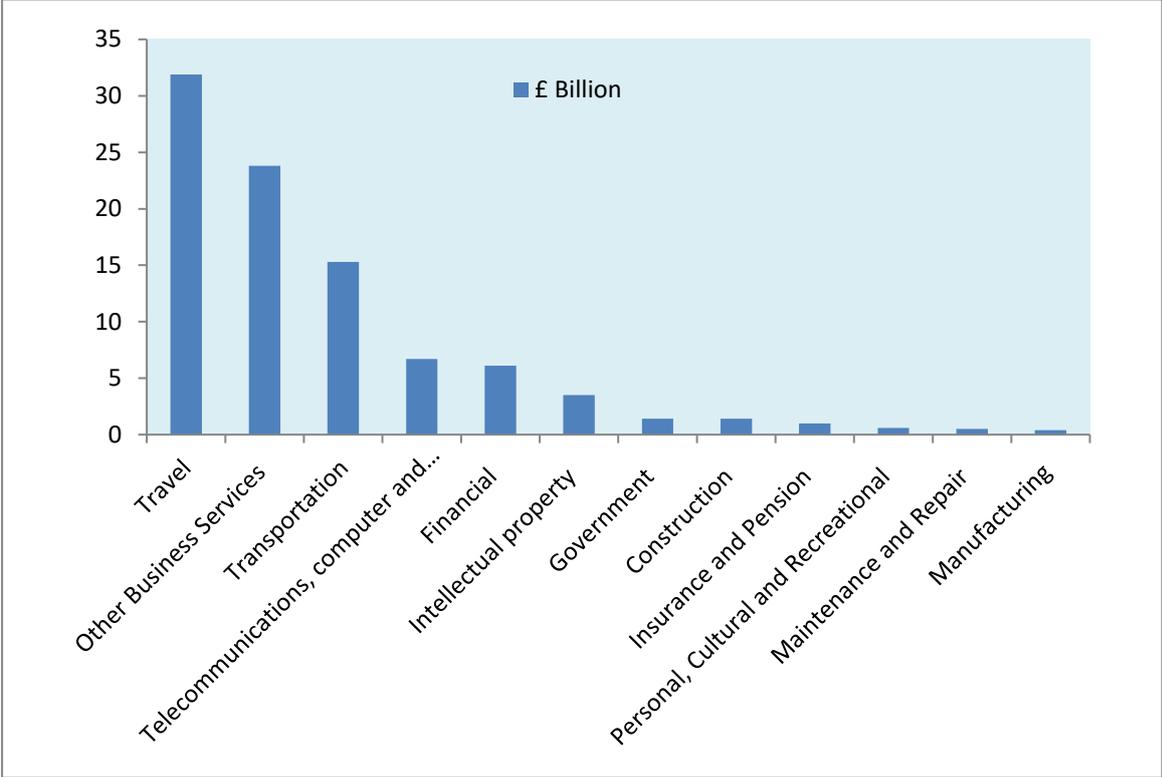
Source: Statistics on UK-EU trade 2019

1.2.2 UK Service Imports to the EU, 2018:

In 2018, the UK’s travel services import from the EU made up 35% of UK service imports from the EU. They include services provided by hotels and restaurants, travel agencies and tour operators and will include services consumed by a resident of one country in another. The EU accounted for 61% of UK travel service imports, making it the UK’s largest source of imported travel services. Other Business Services made up 25.7% of UK service imports from

the EU, transportation services made up 16.6% of UK service imports from the EU and Telecommunications, computer and information services are the 4th largest service imports from the EU (See fig 3.5).

Figure 11: UK service imports from the EU, 2018:



Source: Statistics on UK-EU trade 2019

2. The UK’s future trade relationship with the EU:

The UK has leaved the European Union, attention has turned to what is the future trade relationship with the EU might look like. There are several options for the UK's future trade relationship with the EU.

2.1. A free trade deal definition:

The aim of free trade deal is to encourage trade in goods and service by eliminating tariffs and quotas (Edgingtong 2020).

2.2. Options for the UK's future trade relationship with the EU:

If the UK will leave the bloc with an agreement, the UK's future trade would take one of the following deal options:

2.2.1. United Kingdom (current model):

Membership of the Single Market in goods and the Customs Union means no barriers are applied to the movement of goods between the UK and EU countries. UK companies have the right to establish companies to provide services in other member states. Financial services firms based in the UK also have the right to provide services and the European citizens are free to live and work anywhere within the EU area.

The UK pays a 'membership fee' to the EU, which supports a number of EU policies and programmes. The UK receives funding from these programmes and a rebate on its net contribution. Some EU law, including regulations, has direct effect in the UK without the need for UK legislation. EU directives are legally binding but member states must pass their own laws to put them into practice. EU law has supremacy over UK law.

The UK is represented in all of the EU institutions which take decisions and approve laws that apply to the UK. This includes the European Commission, the European Council and the European Parliament.

As a member of the Customs Union, the UK is not allowed to negotiate other bilateral trade deals. It is part of the EU's existing free trade agreements (FTAs) with 56 countries, which provide better access to markets outside of the EU (Munro and White 2016).

2.2.2. Norway Model (EEA):

The European Economic Area (EEA) agreement provides considerable access to the Single Market in industrial goods – with some restrictions on some products. There are customs checks between Norway and EU member states. Companies based in EEA member states have the right to establish companies to provide services in other member states. These rights apply to a wide range of sectors including retail and business services. Financial services firms based in EEA member states also have the right to provide services. Norway is

required to allow free movement of people within the EU and EEA areas because It is part of the border-free Schengen area.

Norway makes a significant contribution to the EU budget including research programmes and education. Under the terms of the EEA agreement, all EEA members must automatically implement all EU rules concerning the Single Market.

EEA members have the right to be consulted on laws and regulations under the EEA agreement but there are limited channels for formal influence.

Under this option UK will have the right to conclude its own bilateral free trade agreements with non-EU member states. It can also negotiate free trade agreements as part of the European Free Trade Association (Munro and White 2016).

2.2.3. Switzerland Model (EFTA):

EFTA membership allows access to the Single Market in all non-agricultural goods. There are customs checks between Switzerland and EU member states.

These agreements provide limited access to the market in services. Switzerland's set of bilateral agreements do not cover some sectors, including financial services.

These agreements have also a Free Movement of Persons, removing barriers to accessing the Single Market.

EFTA membership does not require contributions to the EU budget. Contributes to the EU budget to cover regional funding as well as the costs of programmes it participates in – such as research programmes.

Switzerland is not formally bound by rulings of The European Court of Justice (ECJ), although in some areas (such as civil aviation) ECJ rulings do apply.

Switzerland has no formal right to be consulted on EU legislation and very limited informal influence over them. Switzerland is not represented as a member within EU institutions.

Switzerland has the right to conclude its own bilateral free trade agreements with non-EU member states. It can also negotiate free trade agreements as part of the European Free Trade Association (Munro and White 2016).

2.2.4. Canada Model (CETA):

The Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA) will phase out duties and tariffs on the majority of goods: 98% of EU goods will enter Canada free of tariffs and duties. While most quotas will be removed, Canada will have to accept EU quotas on some agricultural produce.

CETA will increase Canadian firms' access to the EU market in services, but not all sectors are included. There is no obligation to accept free movement of people and no contributions to the EU budget.

Exporters must comply with EU rules and regulations when exporting to the Single Market. Canada is not subject to ECJ rulings.

Canada has no formal ability to influence EU laws or regulations. It is free to negotiate and agree trade deals with other countries (Munro and White 2016).

3. Impact of No-Deal Brexit on UK Future Trade:

The UK is now in a transition period with the EU until 31 December 2020. It is still following EU rules and trade stays the same. The transition was designed to give both sides a bit of time to negotiate a future trade agreement. But if there is no trade deal by 31 December, the UK would automatically fall back on the rules of the World Trade Organization (WTO) (Casalicchio 2020).

3.1. The World Trade Organisation (WTO):

The WTO is the place where countries negotiate the rules of international trade - there are 164 members and if they don't have free-trade agreements with each other, they trade under basic "WTO rules". WTO members must give each other the same trading terms as those they have granted to their most-favoured trading partner¹.

1. www.wto.org/english/thewto_e/whatis_e/whatis_e.htm

3.2. The two key principles of WTO law:

The key principle under WTO law is trading without discrimination which takes two forms: the most-favoured nation (MFN) principle and national treatment¹.

3.2.1. Most-favoured nation principle:

It means that countries cannot discriminate between their trading partners. The country has to do the same for all the WTO members. If state A grants state B a favour, that same favour must be granted to all other WTO member states. This principle is the first article of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), and the second article of the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS), and the fourth article of the Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS).

3.2.2. The national treatment principle:

The imported and local goods should be treated equally. It means that once goods have entered the territory of another state they must be treated in the same way as national goods. This includes also services, trademarks, copyrights, and patents.

3.3. Consequences of trading under WTO rules:

Trading under WTO rules alone is an option. It would provide the UK with a degree of choice in respect of unilateral actions that could be taken.

3.3.1 Trading in Goods:

Trading under WTO rules alone would mean that UK exports to the EU inevitably faced EU tariffs. Each member must apply the same tariffs to all (unless they have a Free Trade Agreement). There is no automatic provision for preferential access to the EU Single Market: unless a FTA is agreed, the EU must impose a common external tariff on exports from Non-EU member states. The UK has already notified the WTO that it will apply the EU's most-favoured nation (MFN) tariffs once it leaves the EU and there is no disagreement on that at the WTO (Wolff 2019).

1. Principles of trading system: www.wto.org/english/thewto_e/whatis_e/tif_e/fact2_e.htm. Access date: 5 September 2020.

Table 3: Tariffs applicable to the top five trade items in case of a no-deal Brexit.

Products	Average tariffs applied under WTO MFN rules
Road vehicles	10%
Medical and pharmaceutical	0%
General industrial machinery & equipment	1.8%
Electrical machinery	2.5%
Misc. manufactured articles	2.3%

Source: Wolff 2019

In some areas the tariffs can be significant. In the dairy/agricultural-food sector, it can be up to 40 per cent. In the automotive sector, it can be 10 per cent. The UK motor industry will face a £4.5 billion tariff cost for cars. That will put UK manufactures in bad position (House of Common 2017).

The no-deal Brexit will affect also the British agriculture. Farm incomes would fall on average by €17,000(per year) (House of Common 2017).

3.3.2. Trading in Services:

Services represent 46 per cent of The UK exports. The UK is viewed as a world leader of many services and activities. It is clear that any change in the terms of trade with the EU will affect the UK services sector. By the end of the transition period, if the UK fails to reach an agreement with the EU, it will be considered as a third country and the trade with the bloc will fall under the rules of WTO (Jozepa et al 2019).

The WTO General Agreement on Trade in Services offers less access to overseas markets than EEA or EFTA membership. To provide services in other countries you will need to follow the terms set out in the legislation of the host country. This includes commitments that the host country applies to all WTO members (Munro and White 2016).

3.3.3. Overall impact:

Under the WTO rules, trade between the UK and EU will fall between 17 and 29 per cent and Gross Domestic Product (GDP) by between 2.6–3.1 per cent”. Comparing with 2016 prices, this would amount to a loss of between £48.6 billion and £58 billion (House of Commons 2017).

Conclusion:

On 31 December 2020, the transition period will end and UK will leave the bloc. UK will have to follow new rules to deal with the EU from 1st January 2021. This will affect the UK future trade. UK has many options to deal with the EU. It can choose between the Norway model (EEA), Switzerland model (EFTA), and Canada model. However, the time is running out and maybe the UK will leave the bloc without agreement. If the UK leaves the EU single market and customs union without agreement, it will fall back on the rules of The World Trade Organisation (WTO). Trading under WTO alone will affect UK imports and exports of goods and services and the UK GDP will fall by at least 2.6 per cent.

General Conclusion

After the Second World War, many European countries seek for a way to stop the war. The creation of the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1975 was the perfect solution for them. This was able to promote peace and unity in Europe. Upon the creation of the European Union, the EEC was incorporated into it and became the European Community (EC).

The UK joined the EU on 1 January 1973. The relationship between Britain and the EU was described as awkward. It was a result of the British public Scepticism of lack of enthusiasm towards the European integration process.

On 23rd June 2016, a referendum about should the United Kingdom remain a member of EU or leave it was held. The majority of the British voted to leave the union. After the resignation of David Cameron, Theresa May triggered the article 50 and start the transition period. The UK will remain a member of the EU until the end of this period.

The transition period will end on 31 December 2020. During this period the UK and the EU will negotiate their future relationship. Free Trade Deal is one of the objectives of these negotiations. The UK wants to be able to trade with the EU without tariffs, quotas or other barriers after the transition. If UK and EU negotiations fail to agree and implement a trade deal by 1 January 2021 and no transition extension is agreed the UK trade with the EU under the World Trade Organisation (WTO) terms.

The no-deal Brexit will affect the UK future trade. Trading under WTO terms means that the UK exports and imports in goods will face tariffs. Many sectors will be affected under the WTO rules, such as automotive sector, agricultural sector, etc. the farm incomes alone will lose €17,000(per year). To provide services in other European countries, the UK will need to follow the terms set out in the legislation of the host European country. And also if a European country wants to provide in the UK it will need to follow the UK terms.

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