



JHUMUNC

THE JOHNS HOPKINS MODEL UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE

BREXIT: HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT (2018)

Chaired by Fabiana Corsi Mendez

Session XXIII

Brexit: Her Majesty's Government (2018)

Topic A: Britain's Exit from the European Union

Topic B: Establishing the Leadership of the Conservative Party

Committee Overview

Welcome to Her Majesty's Government! As a member of this committee, you serve as a representative of Queen, country, and above all, Theresa May. In 2016, the United Kingdom (UK) voted to leave the European Union (EU), triggering Article 50 of the Lisbon Treaty—a process colloquially known as Brexit. Since David Cameron stepped down as Prime Minister and Theresa May took his place, she has been faced with the leonine task of achieving a clean, efficient Brexit that satisfies all sides: Parliament, the European Union, and the public.

We now welcome you as a part of that effort. From Conservative Party leadership to advisors and aides from 10 Downing Street, the members gathered in this committee are a unique combination of individuals with the Prime Minister's ear. We begin our meetings on July 10, 2018, exactly one day after a series of massive resignations and dismissals from Party leadership. With a multitude of fresh faces and a grueling task ahead, Her Majesty's Government must prove itself by securing the best Brexit deal possible and protecting Theresa May's position as Prime Minister in the process.

This committee will be acting as a joint committee with Brexit: House of Commons (2018). With this in mind, crisis updates and in-committee events will directly affect both committees, and several

members will have special powers of Parliamentary Procedure to facilitate the interaction between both groups. While the focus of Parliament will be to create a comprehensive Brexit plan on their terms, Her Majesty's Government will have to directly address active updates to the situation, from negotiations with the European Council to domestic insurgencies.

The United Kingdom can only hope that its call to leave the EU (though the strength of this mandate is also subject to debate) can be answered through swift and decisive action. It is on your shoulders, then, to use your resources, knowledge of statecraft, and negotiation skills to deliver what was promised.

Parliamentary Procedure

This committee will follow standard rules of Parliamentary Procedure for crisis committees, with exceptions at the chair's discretion. However, some modifications to typical committee procedures have been designed for the joint committees, as are detailed below. Some of these actions must be triggered by a directive that is passed by a majority vote.

The Prime Minister's Questions

For every return to committee session after a suspension, the Parliamentary Private Secretary to the Prime Minister is expected to represent the committee before the House of Commons. This committee member will be able to lead a ten-minute question and answer session with Parliament, during which the House of Commons may ask any questions regarding the activities of the committee, whether dealing with Brexit or beyond. The Conservative Party Chair may also attend if the committee has a press release or message to Parliament, which must be approved through a majority vote by the entire committee.

Notes to Parliament

In the interest of avoiding major disruptions to debate in the House of Commons, we ask that delegates do not write individual notes to Members of Parliament (MPs) as crisis notes. However, the committee still has options to communicate with the rest of the party: through a directive in which HM's Government chooses to take decisive action that affects Parliament, through a press release or policy suggestion that is approved by a majority of the committee, or through a joint crisis note at the strict discretion of the chair and staff.



Delegate Biographies:

David Lidington

Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster

Sir David Lidington has served as Member of Parliament (MP) for Aylesbury since 1992 and was promoted to Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster in January 2018.¹ While his duties as Chancellor are slight and primarily ceremonial,² Lidington is widely considered to be Theresa May's unofficial Deputy Prime Minister.³ However, he has publicly insisted that he has no desire to succeed May as Prime Minister. Lidington is a close ally and friend of May's, following her both in voting Remain during the original Brexit referendum and again in working with the Conservative Party toward the Brexit mandate.⁴

Tim Barrow

Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom to the European Union

Sir Tim Barrow was appointed by May's administration as Permanent Representative to the European Union in 2017, following the resignation of Sir Ivan Rogers from the post in the wake of the Brexit referendum.⁵ Barrow, a well-seasoned diplomat, will be primarily responsible for representing the interests of the United Kingdom before the European Council, including personal communication with Donald Tusk, its president.

Dominic Raab

Secretary of State for Exiting the European Union

Dominic Raab is a newly appointed Secretary of State for Exiting the European Union, following the widely publicized and controversial resignation of David Davis.⁶ Raab, MP for Esher and Walton and outspoken Brexiteer during the referendum, has plenty to prove in his new position – he is now primarily responsible for overseeing all Brexit negotiations with the European Union.⁷ Raab, following his appointment, will need to step out of the shadow of his successor and ensure that he gains the respect of fellow bureaucrats in Brussels.

Brandon Lewis

Conservative Party Chair

Brandon Lewis, MP for Great Yarmouth, was recently appointed to Chairman of the Conservative Party by Theresa May, following the resignation of his predecessor, Patrick McLoughlin.⁸ Though Lewis does not carry McLoughlin's legacy of the disappointing 2017 elections, he must now act as May's main form of influence over all Conservative Party members, including Parliament. For the purposes of this committee, Mr. Lewis will be able to contact Conservative MPs in the House of Commons through notes, receive updates on the progress of Parliament, and attend the Prime Minister's Questions with Ms. Kennedy to deliver a press release or message to Parliament

¹ Jacobson, Seth, "Mr Europe' David Lidington: the man who could replace May," *The Guardian*, March 24, 2019.

² "The Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster." *The Duchy of Lancaster*, ed. 2019.

³ Jacobson, Seth, "Mr Europe' David Lidington: the man who could replace May," *The Guardian*, March 24, 2019.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Bennetts, Marc, "Tim Barrow, invisible ambassador," *POLITICO*, January 13, 2017.

⁶ France-Presse, Agence, "Who is Dominic Raab, the 'karate kid' chosen as UK foreign secretary?," *South China Morning Post*, July 25, 2019.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ Crerar, Peppa, "Where do Theresa May's ministers stand on Brexit?," *The Guardian*, November 12, 2018.

from HM's Government. During the referendum, Lewis was an open Remainer.⁹

Olly Robbins

Chief Negotiator for Exiting the European Union
Europe Advisor

A senior civil servant, Olly Robbins has served under four Prime Ministers under notably high-ranking Cabinet positions, a fact that has come under media scrutiny since his appointment as Chief Negotiator under Theresa May. Robbins is acknowledged as having the ear—and full trust—of members of the highest echelon of the British government, not least the Prime Minister herself.¹⁰ This has led to Robbins becoming suspected in a dual light by conspiracy theorists, both as May's *consigliere*, and as the orchestrator of a secret, anti-Brexit "establishment plot."¹¹ Regardless of the whispers about him, Robbins is still responsible for all Brexit negotiations with the European Council and brings the key voice of an experienced Europe Advisor and national security expert to the role.¹²

Seema Kennedy

Parliamentary Private Secretary to the Prime Minister

Seema Kennedy, the MP for South Ribble, is May's only Parliamentary Private Secretary as of the start date of the committee. A Remainer during the Brexit referendum, Kennedy is committed to representing the will of her constituents and maintaining loyalty to her party.¹³ For the purposes of this committee, Ms. Kennedy will personally answer the questions of Parliament every session as part of the Prime Minister's Questions. She will have discretion over the information that she wishes to share with both Parliament and the Cabinet.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Watts, Nicholas, "Is Olly Robbins the 'real' Brexit secretary?", *BBC*, January 23, 2018.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ "Seema Kennedy," GOV.UK, ed. 2019.

¹⁴ Crerar, Peppa, "Where do Theresa May's ministers stand on Brexit?", *The Guardian*, November 12, 2018.

Phillip Hammond

Chancellor of the Exchequer

Phillip Hammond is the longtime MP for Runnymede and Weybridge and a May appointee as Chancellor of the Exchequer. While he was a Remainer during the referendum, Hammond ultimately agreed with May's directive to respect the result of the vote, but remains insistent upon protecting the British economy, jobs, and national security.¹⁴ He is firmly against a no-deal Brexit and is critiqued by his colleagues for his insistence upon caution in Brexit negotiations.¹⁵ As Chancellor of the Exchequer, Hammond is responsible for all financial matters of the United Kingdom. His budgets have often gleaned resistance from his fellow Conservative Party members, leading to increasing accusations of being a "Europhile."¹⁶

Gavin Barwell

Downing Street Chief of Staff

Gavin Barwell was appointed Theresa May's Chief of Staff shortly after losing his seat in the House of Commons during the infamous 2017 general elections. This also followed the resignations of both former Chiefs of Staff, also a direct consequence of the 2017 elections. As Chief of Staff, his number one goal is to protect the interests of the Prime Minister through a variety of roles, including hiring and firing non-elected staff and controlling the flow of information between the Prime Minister and the rest of Her Majesty's Government.¹⁷

¹⁵ Salles, Alain and Charrel, Marie, "Philip Hammond : "Londres veut garder une relation proche avec l'UE", *Le Monde*, July 28, 2017.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Dickinson, Annabelle, "Teresa May's Mr. Nice Guy," *POLITICO*, July 19, 2017.

Sajid Javid

Secretary of State for the Home Department

Sajid Javid is the MP for Bromsgrove and Home Secretary under Theresa May. In 2016, Javid participated in a losing ticket for the Conservative Party leadership, throwing his support behind Stephen Crabb in hopes of becoming Chancellor of the Exchequer. He would later say that he was surprised that May didn't sack him after her victory, instead adding him to the Party leadership as Secretary of State for Communities. Since then, Javid has been building his way up government, with many assuming that he is seeking to work his way to the very top. His positions on Brexit have been varied, from being a prominent Euroskeptic to supporting Remain during the campaign, to displaying strong suspicion of soft Brexiters in the face of negotiations.¹⁸

Jeremy Hunt

Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs

Jeremy Hunt is the MP for South West Surrey and the new Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs after the controversial resignation of Boris Johnson from the Conservative leadership. Hunt, originally a Remainer during the referendum, publicly turned to support Brexit in 2017.¹⁹ As Secretary, his job is to establish relations with foreign powers and protect British interests abroad. The majority of May's foreign allies communicate with the Prime Minister through Mr. Hunt.

¹⁸ Crerar, Peppa, "Where do Theresa May's ministers stand on Brexit?", *The Guardian*, November 12, 2018.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

Penny Mourdant

Secretary of State for International Development

Penny Mourdant is the MP for Portsmouth North and Secretary of State for International Development under May. During the referendum, she was one of the more prominent members of the Leave campaign.²⁰ As Secretary, her role is to encourage development overseas, especially in developing countries, through foreign aid.

Gavin Williamson

Secretary of State for Defense

Gavin Williamson is the MP for South Staffordshire. He became Theresa May's parliamentary campaign manager when David Cameron stepped down as Prime Minister and has served as part of her party leadership ever since. As Secretary of State for Defense, Williamson heads the Ministry of Defense, the headquarters for the British Armed Forces. He was publicly a Remainer during the 2016 referendum.²¹

David Gauke

*Secretary of State for Justice
Lord Chancellor*

David Gauke is the MP for South West Hertfordshire and Lord Chancellor of Her Majesty's Government. As an appointee of the Queen, Gauke serves a variety of symbolic and practical purposes in British government; above all, he is responsible for overseeing and protecting the independence of the courts. As Secretary of State for Justice, the conjunctive office, this role makes him a primary advisor on legal affairs to the Prime Minister.²² Gauke is a longstanding Conservative and has been loud about his dissent to a no-deal Brexit, as well as his support for a soft Brexit.²³

²¹ Ibid.

²² "The Lord Chancellor," parliament.uk, ed. 2007.

²³ Crerar, Peppa, "Where do Theresa May's ministers stand on Brexit?", *The Guardian*, November 12, 2018.

Chris Grayling

Secretary of State for Transport

Chris Grayling is the MP for Epsom and Ewell, the former Leader of the House of Commons, and current Secretary of State for Transport under Theresa May. Though his new position has not been formally announced to the public and will be released on 14 July 2018, he has begun to sit in on committee sessions early. Grayling is a strong supporter of May, having led her campaign for Prime Minister alongside Gavin Williamson.²⁴ A vocal Brexiteer, Grayling is known—and frequently ridiculed—by the press as one of the most optimistic about the prospect of leaving the European Union.²⁵

Matt Hancock

Secretary of State for Health and Social Care

Matt Hancock is MP for West Suffolk. Though a Remainer during the referendum, Hancock has been committed to a speedy Brexit.²⁶ As a recent appointee to the leadership of the Department of Health and Social Care, Hancock is tasked with overseeing the National Health Service (NHS). The NHS was notably involved as a major force in the Brexit referendum, when Brexiteers promised that funds saved on taxes to the EU would be funneled directly into health.²⁷ Hancock acts as the main voice of the public's health in the committee, as well as the first line of defense for the public's concerns over NHS funding.

David Mundell

Secretary of State for Scotland

David Mundell is the MP for Dumfriesshire, Clydesdale, and Tweeddale in Scotland. As Secretary of State for Scotland, his role is twofold: Mundell must represent Scottish interests to the committee, while also

representing the interests of the committee to Scotland.²⁸ With the controversial position of Scotland in the Brexit vote and rising calls for a referendum on independence, Mundell must take great care in deciding where his loyalties will lie. During the referendum, Mundell was a Remainer.²⁹

Alun Cairns

Secretary of State for Wales

Alun Cairns is MP for the Vale of Glamorgan and the primary voice of Wales in the committee. Although a Remainer during the referendum,³⁰ Cairns is notably the representative of the only other part of the United Kingdom—aside from England—that voted Leave.³¹ Cairns, though popular in the Vale of Glamorgan, is largely unpopular in the rest of Wales,³² and may struggle with his communication with the government and people of Wales if his popularity continues to decrease with Brexit proceedings.

Karen Bradley

Secretary of State for Northern Ireland

Karen Bradley is MP for Staffordshire Moorlands and representative of Northern Ireland for HM's Government. As Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, Bradley must carefully walk the line between representing the interests of the May ministry to the Northern Irish and representing the interests of the Northern Irish before the committee. She has an especially interesting position after the referendum: Northern Ireland, like Scotland, voted Remain and is also the country most affected by the backstop problem.³³ Since the referendum, many worries have plagued Northern Ireland—anxieties over potential

²⁴ Mueller, Benjamin, "How Does He Survive? The Curious Case of 'Failing Grayling'", *The New York Times*, March 3, 2019.

²⁵ Crerar, Peppa, "Where do Theresa May's ministers stand on Brexit?", *The Guardian*, November 12, 2018.

²⁶ Greenhalgh, Laura, "Matt Hancock appointed new UK health secretary," *POLITICO*, July 9, 2018.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Kelly, Deirdre, "David Mundell: The Remainer Johnson did not want to keep," *BBC*, July 24, 2019.

²⁹ Crerar, Peppa, "Where do Theresa May's ministers stand on Brexit?", *The Guardian*, November 12, 2018.

³⁰ Crerar, Peppa, "Where do Theresa May's ministers stand on Brexit?", *The Guardian*, November 12, 2018.

³¹ Grylls, George, "The Vale of Glamorgan has called the last nine elections — how will it vote in 2019?," *New Statesman America*, November 22, 2019.

³² Ibid.

³³ Amadeo, Kimberly, "Brexit Consequences for the UK, the EU, and the United States," *The Balance*, June 25, 2018.

independence, the possible dissolution of an open border with Ireland, and even the re-ignition of The Troubles, which led to the deaths of thousands in the 1990s.³⁴

Liam Fox

Secretary of State for International Trade

Liam Fox is MP for North Somerset and the first-ever Secretary of State for International Trade. His position was created in the wake of the Referendum in order to craft new trade agreements for an economically independent United Kingdom.³⁵ As Secretary, Fox will have to develop the trade agreements for the post-Brexit UK and deliver these to Parliament. A staunch Euroskeptic, Fox was a prominent Leaver, though this may have burned bridges in Brussels over his long Parliamentary career.³⁶

Martin Callanan

Minister of State for Exiting the European Union

Martin Callanan is a former member of the European Parliament for North East England and the third Minister for Exiting the European Union. As a life peer in the House of Lords, Callanan is uniquely positioned in the committee as having a variety of contacts, both domestically and abroad, that may be leveraged in service of the Prime Minister's goals.³⁷ However, Callanan must be careful to maintain a balance between the interests of his contacts and potential helpers as well—all the while, ensuring that Brexit negotiations are as smooth as possible.

Philip Rycroft

Permanent Secretary at the Department for Exiting the European Union

As Permanent Secretary, Philip Rycroft is tasked with the day-to-day function of the Department for Exiting the European Union. Rycroft, a seasoned politician, must shoulder the responsibilities of leading the charge for Brexit with other members of the committee, but he also has the most oversight power over individual civil servants in the department.³⁸

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Crilly, Rob, "Pro-Brexit politician Liam Fox could be Britain's next ambassador to Washington," *The Washington Examiner*, July 23, 2019.

³⁶ Crerar, Peppa, "Where do Theresa May's ministers stand on Brexit?," *The Guardian*, November 12, 2018.

³⁷ "Life Peers," parliament.uk.

³⁸ "About Us," Department for Exiting the European Union, GOV.UK.



Topic A:

Britain's Exit from the European Union

Introduction

“Brexit” is a term that has dominated international news cycles and casual conversation since 2016. The concept is simple: a mashup of the words “Britain” and “exit”, Brexit describes the withdrawal of the United Kingdom from the European Union. The actual practice of leaving the EU—and the social, political, and economic conflicts that Brexit has engendered—are not.

In June 2016, then-Prime Minister David Cameron chose to answer the long-standing question of Britain’s status within the European Union once and for all. The UK held a public referendum, a public vote in which all voting-age citizens could participate, to determine whether the public wanted to stay in or leave the EU. Of course, the public voted to leave by a narrow margin of 4%—52% to 48%—with wide variations across the nations within the UK, with England and Wales narrowly voting to leave and Scotland and Northern Ireland voting by wider margins to stay.³⁹

Since the referendum, the battle for a clean Brexit has not been easy. Despite the best efforts of Theresa May’s government to negotiate with the top brass of the EU, Britain has failed to meet the posted deadlines for Brexit. Though Parliament voted to trigger Article 50 of the Lisbon Treaty and move forward with Brexit, it has rejected every subsequent proposal from the government.⁴⁰ Members of Parliament

associated with the Conservative Party have even splintered into smaller pro-Brexit political parties, spurring the Tory leadership to “withdraw the whip,” or eject them from the party. Even the result of the referendum has been subject to open debate by the public, with some regarding the pro-leave campaigns as disingenuous and others calling for a second referendum. Therefore, in seeking the best possible deal for Brexit, Theresa May and her cabinet will have to engage in a harrowing political battle to protect its mandate, unify Parliament, and ensure the future of the United Kingdom.

Britain and the European Union

Even before Brexit, the relationship between the EU and the United Kingdom has been ambivalent at best. The UK did not join the European Economic Community (EEC) until 1973. As the European bloc began to push for greater homogeneity among European states, including a common currency (the Euro) and the borderless Schengen Area, the UK, along with the Republic of Ireland in the case of Schengen and the Kingdom of Denmark in the case of the Euro area, negotiated opt-outs for both.⁴¹ Those who were suspicious of the European Union—dubbed “Euroskeptics” or “Brexiters”—did not come from any singular political party: separation from the EU was supported by elements across the

³⁹ Wheeler, Brian; Seddon, Paul, and Morris, Richard, “Brexit: All you need to know about the UK leaving the EU”, *BBC News*, May 10, 2019.

⁴⁰ Khetani-Shah, Sanya and Deutsch, Jillian, “Brexit timeline: From referendum to EU exit”, *POLITICO*, March 26, 2019.

⁴¹ McBride, James, “What Brexit Means,” Council on Foreign Relations, January 16, 2019.

British political spectrum. In the same vein, “Europhiles” or “Remainers” (those who wished to remain and even celebrated British membership in the EU) spanned parties as well, including David Cameron and, during the referendum, Theresa May.⁴²

By 2016, the referendum’s official campaign organizations, “Britain Stronger in Europe” (Remain) and “Vote Leave” (Leave), had created their clearest arguments for and against Brexit over the strongest anxieties surrounding the relationship between Britain and the European Union: immigration and economic stability. Please bear in mind that these topics, while central, should not be considered the entire scope of the concerns leading up to Brexit.

Immigration

Since 1973, Euroskeptics have argued that the European Union’s regulations frequently undermined British sovereignty and interests. Immigration law, in particular, dominated much of the imagination of the Leave campaign, as it centered around the critique of the open borders of the European Union, free migration of EU citizens, and the movement of refugees and asylum-seekers through EU countries. Vote Leave summarized these issues through its slogan “Take Back Control,” a dire, if mendacious, warning that continued membership in the EU would strip Britain of its power to exercise controls over its own borders and immigration.⁴³

By the time of the referendum, the number of EU migrants living in the UK had

tripled from one million to over three million in eleven years,⁴⁴ attracted by Britain’s low unemployment rate, a booming economy, and especially the diminished restrictions on Central and Eastern European migration implemented in 2004.⁴⁵ This generated concerns among British citizens, who feared the large influx of migrants from a socioeconomic standpoint. Economically, though the arrival of skilled workers and students was welcomed, the Brexiteers focused on unskilled workers and asylum seekers; a segment of Euroskeptic voters argue against the changes to the demography, culture, and traditions of British society ostensibly catalyzed by migrants.⁴⁶

Anxiety over intra-European migration were exacerbated by the threat of terrorism. A major point of contention across European countries has been the question of Syrian refugees, whose arrival in large numbers starting in 2015 inaugurated an image of a European Union unable or unwilling to properly allocate them among member states, or allow those states to easily refuse them upon arrival.⁴⁷ EU membership also subjects Britain to the jurisdiction of the European Convention on Human Rights, which places the extradition of Islamic terrorists into the hands of the European Court of Justice (ECJ) rather than the British Home Department.⁴⁸ Terror attacks in Brussels and Paris only added to the fear, leaving voters wondering whether the UK was safe while free movement across the European Union existed. Vote Leave directly touched on this matter, claiming

42 Parker, George and Cocco, Frederica, “How battle over Brexit crosses traditional party lines,” *Financial Times*, June 2, 2016.

43 Hobolt, Sara B., “The Brexit vote: a divided nation, a divided continent,” *Journal of European Public Policy* 23, no. 9 (2016): 1259-1277.

44 McBride, James, “What Brexit Means,” Council on Foreign Relations, January 16, 2019.

45 Ford, Robert and Goodwin, Matthew, “Britain After Brexit: A Nation Divided,” *Journal of Democracy* 28, no. 1 (2017): 17-30.

46 Ibid.

47 Outhwaite, William, “Migration Crisis and “Brexit”,” In *The Oxford Handbook of Migration Crises*, 93-110, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019.

48 Greer, Steven, “Implications of Brexit for the European Convention on Human Rights,” *E-International Relations*. July 27, 2017.

that an expansion of the EU to include Turkey could extend the right of free movement to up to eighty million Turks.⁴⁹ Together, the confluence of these fears was transmogrified into a narrative that Britain needed to exercise more careful control over its migration law, without the interference of European politicians that were neither chosen by nor affiliated with, British citizens. Obversely, Remainers argued that leaving the EU would only leave Britain more vulnerable, as Brexit would leave British intelligence out of the Union's existing security cooperation and sharing of intelligence data between states.⁵⁰

The British Economy

Where the Leave camp largely focused their arguments on the potential perils of uncontrolled migration, Remain instead argued that Britain would be in greater peril if it chose to leave the economic safety of the European Union. The Remainers pointed out the close ties between the UK and EU in terms of investments, trade, and financial services. While a member state of the European bloc, British firms pay no tariffs and endure no border checks or restrictions vis-à-vis the acquisition of goods and materials from other EU-based firms. Furthermore, at the time of the referendum (and even now), the UK lacks the infrastructure necessary to transition incoming goods from the rest of the EU from the seamless trade of the past to the necessary processing and customs checks it gives all other imports. Across the English Channel, British goods and services would face heavy restrictions, and even

while they are renegotiated, delays in trade deals between the UK and EU could result in massive losses to firms on both ends.⁵¹ At the core of the Remainers' argument was the idea of Brexit as a "leap into the dark,"⁵² reminding the public—and Euroskeptic politicians—that no one could truly predict the consequences of leaving the European Union in a completely different global market to that of 1973.

In the weeks leading up to Brexit, popular predictions of a "leave" vote included deep financial turmoil for the UK in the subsequent months to the referendum. This proved somewhat correct: immediately subsequent to June 2016, the valuation of British sterling plummeted by 10%, the inflation rate accelerated, and business investments for the fiscal year decelerated.⁵³ Pro-Brexit economists, however, argue that this shock to the economy was merely short-term, and that the money saved by the UK in taxes to the European Union—estimated at £10B annually during the height of the Leave campaign—will make up for the losses. However, the considerable delay in Brexit since the referendum negates this argument; by 2017, the United Kingdom had lost £9B in public finances without having left the EU and continued to lose money through 2018,⁵⁴ while the UK continues to push past each Brexit deadline set by Brussels.

A key aspect of the financial losses lies in future decisions to be made by the UK in how it can approach Brexit. A "soft" Brexit is defined as a plan that would keep the UK closely tied with Europe, while a "hard" Brexit shifts Britain away from the

49 Outhwaite, William, "Migration Crisis and "Brexit"," In *The Oxford Handbook of Migration Crises*, 93-110, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019.

50 McBride, James, "What Brexit Means," Council on Foreign Relations, January 16, 2019.

51 Tilford, Simon, "A No-Deal Brexit Will Destroy the British Economy," *Foreign Policy*, October 2, 2018.

52 McBride, James, "What Brexit Means," Council on Foreign Relations, January 16, 2019.

53 Giles, Chris, "The real price of Brexit begins to emerge," *Financial Times*, December 18, 2017.

54 Ibid.

rules, regulations, and tariffs of the EU, and a “no deal” Brexit is simply the withdrawal of the UK from the EU with no trade negotiations in place.⁵⁵ At present, though she initially seemed to promise a harder Brexit, Theresa May’s negotiations with the European Council have taken a softer approach, leaving the UK in a customs union with the EU while leaving trade without tariffs or requiring additional infrastructure. However, each soft Brexit plan has failed in Parliament, where Euroskeptics argue that the key caveat to the deals—a transitional period during which Britain must comply with EU law and ECJ rulings, while losing the ability to vote on or create these laws⁵⁶—makes the UK a “vassal state.”⁵⁷ Despite the insistence of Parliament, the UK’s economy continues to suffer under the uncertainty of Brexit negotiations, while others argue that Britain lacks the economic power to wear down the European Council in negotiations for a hard Brexit.⁵⁸

But what are the consequences of a hard or a no deal Brexit? The Bank of England’s predictions are dire and illustrate a “1970s-style shock,”⁵⁹ including massive hits to the goods and services sectors of the British economy, a steep decline in the value of the pound, higher interest rates, the collapse of the property market, and substantial hits to financial investment in the UK due to its uncertain economic future.⁶⁰ However, others stress that in a 15-year period, the continued growth of the British economy would soften the short-term effects of Brexit.⁶¹

55 J.P., “The Economist explains: How a soft Brexit differs from a hard one,” *The Economist*, June 25, 2018.

56 Amadeo, Kimberly, “Brexit Consequences for the UK, the EU, and the United States,” *The Balance*, June 25, 2018.

57 J.P., “The Economist explains: How a soft Brexit differs from a hard one,” *The Economist*, June 25, 2018.

58 Amadeo, Kimberly, “Brexit Consequences for the UK, the EU, and the United States,” *The Balance*, June 25, 2018.

59 Yueh, Linda, “The Economic Impact Of Brexit And What It Means For Financial Stability,” *Forbes*, November 28, 2018.

New Issues with Brexit

From these volatile central issues of the Brexit campaigns, it is unsurprising that new controversies—and new problems—would accompany Brexit in action. After the “Leave” vote, Prime Minister David Cameron announced his resignation and was replaced by Theresa May as leader of the Conservative Party. Though a Remainer during the Brexit campaigns, May promised that she would deliver Brexit, as the referendum indicated a mandate to do so.⁶² However, Brexit has proved to be more complicated than only matters of immigration and taxes paid to the European Union; new issues have complicated the process of leaving the EU: the conflicts between “hard”, “soft”, and “no deal” Brexiteers (as discussed above), the dissent of Scotland and Northern Ireland to Brexit, and especially, the border between Ireland and Northern Ireland.

Though Theresa May has continued to negotiate with the European Council, she has faced considerable conflicts back home, where members of Parliament war on the best way to leave the EU—or, indeed, whether to leave it at all. In the face of the controversies and financial losses to the UK, members of Parliament and the public have even called for a second referendum on Brexit, which is now predicted to return a “Remain” vote to overturn the previous decision.⁶³

Scotland

60 Tilford, Simon, “A No-Deal Brexit Will Destroy the British Economy,” *Foreign Policy*, October 2, 2018.

61 Yueh, Linda, “The Economic Impact Of Brexit And What It Means For Financial Stability,” *Forbes*, November 28, 2018.

62 Khetani-Shah, Sanya and Deutsch, Jillian, “Brexit timeline: From referendum to EU exit”, *POLITICO*, March 26, 2019.

63 Castle, Stephen, “Brexit, Explained: Not a Brit? Not a Problem! Here’s What It All Means,” *The New York Times*, November 15, 2018.

Much of the controversy came from the demographic breakdown of the Brexit votes: Leave won 53.4% to 46.6% in England and by 52.5% to 47.5% in Wales, but lost by a narrow margin in Northern Ireland, where 44.2% voted Leave, and a very wide margin in Scotland, where only 38% voted Leave, while 62% voted Remain.⁶⁴

The overwhelming victory of Remain in Scotland presented an unexpected dissonance between Scotland and the rest of the United Kingdom, which has since led to predictions that Brexit might lead to the breakup of the UK. In response to the vote, the Scottish National Party (SNP) has since voted against the invocation of Article 50 – the clause in the Lisbon Treaty that allows the UK to begin procedures to exit the EU⁶⁵ – and insisted that proceeding with Brexit would “remove Scotland from the European Union against its will.”⁶⁶ Though Scotland voted against independence from the UK in 2014, two years before Brexit, members of the Scottish Parliament and First Minister Nicola Sturgeon have called for a second referendum on Scottish independence.⁶⁷ Such a referendum would have to be approved by Theresa May’s government in London; thus far, she has rejected the notion of a second referendum.

The Backstop

Although Remain also won in Northern Ireland, no threats of an independence referendum have been made by the Northern Irish government. Despite this, it has still proved to be the Achilles’ Heel of current Brexit negotiations, due to the border between the Republic of Ireland

and Northern Ireland. The Good Friday agreement, ratified in 1998, demilitarized the border between the two states, which ended over 30 years of sectarian violence between Catholics and Protestants (also dubbed “The Troubles”).⁶⁸ The agreement was hinged on an open border which guaranteed open trade and free transportation between the two; with a hard or no-deal Brexit, the border security between Ireland and the UK would have to be renegotiated, and thousands of commuters might suddenly face customs and border patrols on the way to work or school.⁶⁹ Some even fear that a closed border could reignite The Troubles over political or economic disagreements between Ireland and an emancipated Northern Ireland,⁷⁰ leading to Theresa May’s insistence that any Brexit deal includes a soft border agreement with the Irish Republic.

An open border with Ireland, however, would require the United Kingdom to remain a party to the European customs union until the EU and UK can agree on a solution to the Irish border conundrum – a major point of leverage for the European Council.⁷¹ This would require that the UK remain bound by certain trade rules of the EU without the ability to vote upon these measures as a member of the European Union, a compromise that many members of Parliament cannot accept. Likewise, the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) of Northern Ireland – a critical faction of Parliament which provides ten additional seats to May’s Conservative bloc – disagrees with the idea of more European Union rules

⁶⁴ Wheeler, Brian; Seddon, Paul, and Morris, Richard, “Brexit: All you need to know about the UK leaving the EU”, *BBC News*, May 10, 2019.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ “What is SNP’s Plan for Brexit?” *The Scottish National Party*, 2019.

⁶⁷ McBride, James, “What Brexit Means,” Council on Foreign Relations, January 16, 2019.

⁶⁸ Amadeo, Kimberly, “Brexit Consequences for the UK, the EU, and the United States,” *The Balance*, June 25, 2018.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ Castle, Stephen., “Brexit, Explained: Not a Brit? Not a Problem! Here’s What It All Means,” *The New York Times*, November 15, 2018.

⁷¹ J.P., “The Economist explains: How a soft Brexit differs from a hard one,” *The Economist*, June 25, 2018.

being imposed on Northern Ireland than any other part of the UK,⁷² while the SNP questions why Scotland cannot be afforded the same closeness to the European Union as Northern Ireland.

UKIP

The national discussion on Brexit produced shifts in British trade, international relations, and largely, politics. Though the party was established in 1991 as a Euroskeptic political faction, the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) rose to prominence in 2015 with a sharply pro-Leave, anti-immigration platform, prompting David Cameron to start the referendum process in 2016.⁷³ UKIP, under leader Nigel Farage, proceeded to win the most seats of any party in the European Council. Though Farage would later leave the party and UKIP would lose in most of the local and general elections of 2017, it represented an early foray into single-issue Brexit parties, which siphoned votes from the Conservatives.⁷⁴ Theresa May and her Cabinet must be wary of future coalitions forming, which could lead to the loss of Conservative seats in the House of Commons or even the withdrawal of current MPs to join a new party.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Ford, Robert and Goodwin, Matthew, "Britain After Brexit: A Nation Divided," *Journal of Democracy* 28, no. 1 (2017): 17-30.

⁷⁴ McBride, James, "What Brexit Means," Council on Foreign Relations, January 16, 2019.

Questions to Consider

1. *How can the Cabinet successfully negotiate Brexit?*

The Cabinet must focus its efforts on multiple fronts to successfully negotiate Brexit. First, it will have to decide whether it wants a hard, soft, or no-deal Brexit. They will then have to attempt to discuss these terms with the European Council and attempt to reach a deal sweet enough to pass along to the House of Commons for approval.

2. *What leverage is held by the European Union?*

The European Union currently controls the trade and border agreements that the UK has followed since 1973. The Cabinet must negotiate with the European Council if they wish to reach an agreement on the backstop and future trade with EU members. It is in the best interest of the EU to keep the UK as a member of a customs union; however, exiting the Union will remove the UK's ability to vote in EU elections and have a voice in the legislative process.

3. *What leverage is held by the United Kingdom?*

The United Kingdom is one of the more powerful economies of the European Union and has a certain amount of leverage with their side of the backstop (Northern Ireland). The UK may also make use of powerful allies overseas that sympathize with their populist cause.

4. *Does May still have a mandate to push Brexit?*

Many members of the public and the House of Commons are calling for a second referendum on Brexit, due to unforeseen economic and social consequences of the vote. However, the Cabinet must remember that the choice to hold a second referendum may further threaten the unity of the UK or portray Theresa May's government as weak to the public, to Parliament, and to the European Council.

5. *How does approval for Brexit break down across the United Kingdom?*

Scotland – and the SNP – remain staunchly pro-Remain, while many members of the Conservative and Labour parties moved to Leave. This may be due to the perceived mandate afforded them by the narrow Leave victories in England and Wales, though their opinions could be swayed by a second referendum on Brexit. The independent parties of the UK vary in their Brexit stances, though the coalitions for Northern Ireland, Scotland, and Wales seem to favor Remain.

Conclusion

As a whole, Brexit is a complex and multifaceted issue that the United Kingdom must face down. To find a universally – or at least generally – suitable solution to the problem is a daunting task; there are many ways to do Brexit, but few that will suit Parliament, the European Council, the Cabinet, and the public. Her Majesty's Government, under Theresa May's leadership, is tasked by the public to find a solution anyway.

The Cabinet will have to work as a team throughout the committee to negotiate Brexit deals with the European Council, while Parliament debates and creates its own Brexit policy. The Cabinet will have the opportunity to present Parliament with their plans, in hopes that they will accept a suitable deal. The Cabinet must acknowledge the concerns of the different factions of government: the SNP's Remain

stance, the backstop issue with Northern Ireland, the newly forming Brexit parties, and the fear of Euroskeptics of becoming a vassal state to the EU.

Any choice made by the Cabinet in regard to Brexit will have consequences. The economic and social facets of Brexit cannot be ignored, especially as the British economy continues to plummet and the British pound continues to lose value.

As a final note, this background guide is only meant to shape the direction of your research and offer a brief "crash course" on Brexit. Though many of the biggest issues and concerns with Brexit have been touched upon, the complex issues that make it up extend far beyond the information discussed here. In your policy solutions to these problems, we will look favorably upon a creative approach that is designed to make the Brexit transition as smooth as possible.



Topic B:

Establishing the Leadership of the Conservative Party

Introduction

Beyond the logistical challenge of producing a satisfying solution to Brexit, the referendum has produced considerable waves in British politics in the years since. The Conservative Party alone has faced substantial changes since the results were announced: David Cameron chose to vacate his post as Prime Minister after the public voted Leave,⁷⁵ and Theresa May has faced opposition from all parties—including her own—for every Brexit plan she has introduced to Parliament.

By July 2018, May's leadership faces danger on all sides: from Labour, a party which seeks to regain a majority in the House of Commons; from outside parties, especially those representing Scotland and Northern Ireland, which each have particularly high stakes in Brexit negotiations; and from her own party, as members of her Cabinet resign from office in a public display of near-mutiny.⁷⁶

In order to ensure a smooth transition into Brexit, the nation needs strong, well-defined, and shrewd leadership. To this end, Her Majesty's Government must decide what to do in order to secure Theresa May at the helm of this unprecedented break—if May is even the most suitable leader for the task at hand.

Theresa May's Premiership *Public Popularity and Article 50*

Selected by the Conservative Party to replace David Cameron as prime minister following the Brexit referendum, Theresa May was a widely popular leader during the early months of her premiership. February 2017 polls indicated that May was more popular with the British public than professional footballer David Beckham,⁷⁷ and a majority of the British public supported the government's Brexit plans.⁷⁸

On March 29, 2017, May officially invoked Article 50, the formal mechanism allowing the United Kingdom to begin its withdrawal process from the European Union. While Ms. May chose to trigger Article 50 with relative haste in order to placate so-called "Leavers" calling for a speedy departure process, May's decision was met with considerable criticism. Critics noted that Article 50's two-year deadline for leaving the EU (which can only be extended by unanimous agreement among member states) made it unwise for Britain to start the proverbial countdown clock without adopting a government-wide negotiation strategy, as precious time could be squandered. In fact, these criticisms largely held true as internal cabinet divisions over the length and nature of the Brexit transition period caused formal negotiations with the

⁷⁵ Amadeo, Kimberly, "Brexit Consequences for the UK, the EU, and the United States," *The Balance*, June 25, 2018.

⁷⁶ Staunton, Denis, "May stands firm on soft Brexit amid resignations and Tory turmoil," *The Irish Times*, July 10, 2018.

⁷⁷ Agerholm, Harriet, "Theresa May 'more popular than David Beckham,'" *Independent*, February 11, 2017.

⁷⁸ Kroet, Cynthia, "Support for Theresa May's Brexit strategy increasing poll," *Politico*, February 6, 2017.

EU to be held up for months following the invocation of Article 50.⁷⁹

Call and Campaign for a Snap Election

In April 2017, Theresa May stunned her Tory colleagues by calling for a snap general election to be held in June, seeking to strengthen her hand in Brexit negotiations.⁸⁰ Although only a month prior she opposed a new election due to the uncertainty it would create, Ms. May was convinced by the expectation that a sizable defeat for the deeply unpopular Labour Party and an increased Conservative majority would sideline Euroskeptics in her party insisting on a “hard” Brexit.⁸¹

Amid expectations of a decisive victory, May squandered considerable political capital in the run-up to the election. Although the election was framed by Ms. May as a means for demonstrating public support for Brexit, the debate was largely framed around domestic issues.⁸² The Tory (Conservative Party) platform was heavily criticized by opponents for a key policy proposal: individuals who would require elder care at the end of their lives would be expected to pay for it in assets after death, a proposal which opponents described as a “dementia tax.”⁸³ Furthermore, May chose to call an election while Brexit negotiations were underway and, more controversially, while refusing to allow a second Scottish referendum on independence. This was seen as a form of hypocrisy and emboldened the Scottish National Party in their opposition.⁸⁴ In May 2017, the Prime Minister refused to

take part in a BBC television debate, and had her Home Secretary Amber Rudd act as a surrogate, despite the fact that Rudd’s father had passed away two days prior, a move which the British public disparaged as arrogant and the Labour Party used as political fuel.⁸⁵

Electoral Disaster and a DUP Deal

In a shocking upset that was described by pundits as a “humiliation” for the Prime Minister, the Conservatives lost their majority in the House of Commons, losing 13 seats to put their total at 318 (eight seats short of an overall majority of 326). As a result, Ms. May was forced to partner with an outside party in order for the Tories to form a governing majority, eventually reaching an agreement with the Northern Irish Democratic Unionist Party (DUP).⁸⁶

In order to secure the DUP’s 10 MPs as votes for the Tory bloc, Ms. May negotiated a confidence and supply arrangement with DUP representatives. Per this agreement, the DUP agreed to support the Tories on key votes regarding Brexit, security, and budgets. In exchange, May promised an extra £1 billion of funding for Northern Ireland. Some Conservative MPs criticized May’s deal with the DUP, due to the Northern Irish party’s staunch opposition to abortion and same-sex marriage.⁸⁷

79 Eaton, George, “It’s even clearer that the UK triggered Article 5 too early,” *New Statesman*, October 10, 2017.

80 Parker, George, Mance, Henry, and Pickard, Jim, “Theresa May calls snap election in bid to strengthen hand in Brexit talks,” *Financial Times*, April 18, 2017.

81 Ibid.

82 Tamkin, Emily, “Theresa May’s Snap Election Gamble Seems to Have Backfired,” June 8, 2018, *Foreign Policy*.

83 Ibid.

84 Ibid.

85 Watts, Joe, “Theresa May branded ‘weak’ for refusing to take part in BBC election debate,” *Independent*, May 31, 2017.

86 Booth, William, Adam, Karla, and Hughes, Laura. “Theresa May Packs Her Bags, Her Legacy Dominated by Failure: History may Not be Kind to this Prime Minister,” *The Washington Post*, July 18, 2019.

87 McCormack, Jayne, “Q&A: A guide to the DUP-Tory deal one year on,” *BBC News*, June 26, 2018.

Brexit and Tory Strife

Stalled Negotiations and Public Setbacks

The weakness of Theresa May's negotiating posture following the 2017 snap election was on full display during ensuing negotiations with the EU. During December 2017 negotiations with EU representatives, Ms. May was confident that an agreement was within reach to avoid a hard Irish border, which would allow both sides to move to the next phase of Brexit negotiations. During a lunch with European Commission president Jean-Claude Juncker, however, Ms. May was forced to pause talks to take a phone call from DUP leader Arlene Foster. Foster informed Ms. May that the DUP could not support May's proposal to keep Northern Ireland aligned with EU laws. Concurrently, Tory Brexiters in London informed the Prime Minister's chief of staff that they were in support of the DUP's position. Although EU diplomats waited for two hours for a meeting that was scheduled to follow May and Juncker's lunch, the diplomats were sent home as it became clear that talks had collapsed and that there would be no deal.⁸⁸

Theresa May's standing with the British public sharply declined following the 2017 snap election. Although Ms. May's approval ratings once surpassed former Prime Ministers Margaret Thatcher and Tony Blair at their peak, by January 2018, only one-third of the British public approved of her job performance.⁸⁹

88 Boffey, Daniel, Rankin, Jennifer, and Asthana, Anushka, "May's weakness exposed as DUP derails Brexit progress," *The Guardian*, December 5, 2017.

89 Shackle, Samira, "British PM Theresa May struggles on amid Brexit uncertainty," *DW*, January 8, 2018.

Tense Negotiations and Tory Discord

Theresa May was able to reach an initial agreement with the European Union to move to stage two of Brexit talks by agreeing to avoid a "hard" border in Ireland, setting the mechanism to calculate Britain's "divorce bill" from the EU, and by establishing judicial protocols to protect European citizens residing in Britain and British citizens residing in Europe. However, with the Tories still reeling from their electoral defeat and the European Union determined to make an example out of Britain for attempting to leave, Ms. May faced considerable challenges ahead.⁹⁰

In March 2018, the EU's chief negotiator Michel Barnier attempted to shock his British counterparts into action by releasing the European Union's one-sided draft of a withdrawal treaty. The draft, which contained provisions for a new customs union between the EU and Northern Ireland as a fallback option, was coldly received by London, with May stating that "No UK prime minister could ever agree to it."⁹¹

Considerable discord within Theresa May's cabinet intensified as Brexit negotiations continued to develop. Although Ms. May had publicly stated that a "no deal" Brexit was preferable to a bad deal, she was publicly contradicted by Chancellor Philip Hammond, who stated that it would be a waste of taxpayers' money to divert funds towards preparations for a "no deal" Brexit. Some Brexiteers such as Foreign Secretary Boris Johnson even openly supported the idea of a "no deal" departure. Labour's shadow Cabinet Office minister,

90 Erlanger, Steven, "Brexit talks clear hurdle and are headed for an even harder phase," *New York Times* December 9, 2017.

91 Mctague, Tom, and Cooper, Charlie, "Theresa May's last chance to stop Brexit talks turning toxic," *Politico*, March 1, 2018.

Jon Trickett, described May's cabinet as "wholly divided."⁹²

The divisions within Ms. May's cabinet were further laid bare when in May 2018 it rejected her favored option of a customs partnership with the EU. Boris Johnson, one of the cabinet members who opposed May's customs partnership, even went so far as to describe it as a "crazy system."⁹³

Chequers Plan and Cabinet Resignations

On July 6, 2018, Theresa May convened the cabinet at her country residence, Chequers, to establish a collective position regarding future Brexit negotiations.⁹⁴ The resulting plan, which came to be known as the "Chequers agreement," provided for a "soft Brexit" that would establish a so-called facilitated customs agreement. Through the usage of a "common rulebook" that would match EU standards on food and goods,⁹⁵ the UK would be able to apply domestic tariffs and trade policies on imported goods, and their EU equivalents for goods intended for the EU. Furthermore, the Chequers plan would allow the UK to avoid a hard border with Ireland.⁹⁶

The presentation of the Chequers plan was quickly followed by a succession of high-profile resignations from Ms. May's cabinet. Foreign Minister Boris Johnson and Brexit secretary David Davis, both high-profile Brexiteers, left the cabinet over concerns that the Chequers agreement would leave Britain beholden to European Union regulations. On his resignation,

Johnson stated that the Chequers agreement would leave Britain with "the status of colony."⁹⁷

Many Euroskeptic MPs were particularly alarmed about the prospect of the UK potentially remaining subject to EU rules. Upon receiving indications that backbench Tory Brexiteers would vote against the Chequers plan, May indicated that she would not make any changes to the proposal.⁹⁸ In this committee, delegates will need to thoroughly consider the ramifications of parliamentary and public reactions to the Chequers plan.

⁹² Morris, Nigel, "Cabinet rift over getting Britain ready for a Brexit 'no deal'," *I News*, October 11, 2017.

⁹³ Morris, Nigel, "Boris Johnson shatters cabinet unity, calls Theresa May's custom union plan 'crazy,'" *I News*, May 8, 2018.

⁹⁴ Walker, Peter, "What the cabinet has agreed at Chequers Brexit meeting," *The Guardian*, July 6, 2018.

⁹⁵ Tapper, James, et. al., "Theresa May faces Tory anger over soft Brexit proposal," *The Guardian*, July 7, 2018.

⁹⁶ Walker, Peter, "What the cabinet has agreed at Chequers Brexit meeting," *The Guardian*, July 6, 2018.

⁹⁷ Staunton, Denis, "May stands firm on soft Brexit amid resignations and Tory turmoil," *The Irish Times*, July 10, 2018.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

Questions to Consider

1. Will remaining Cabinet members support the Chequers agreement, or will a new or modified Brexit plan emerge?

Given the recent resignations of two - Cabinet members in opposition to the Chequers agreement, all remaining Cabinet members must determine whether they wish to continue to stand by this plan. Support for the Chequers agreement would indicate a preference towards a “softer” Brexit structured around a customs agreement. Cabinet members in favor of a harder Brexit must determine whether they wish to resign, lobby for a new or modified alternative to the Chequers plan, or work to execute the Prime Minister’s preferred plan in good faith.

2. How will Cabinet members use their portfolio powers to influence public opinion?

Once the Cabinet decides how it wishes to proceed on a Brexit approach, each Cabinet member must evaluate the unique assets at her or his disposal that she/he can leverage towards a preferred policy outcome. For example, the Secretary of Foreign Affairs can utilize overseas contacts to develop foreign support for a certain policy outcome. Cabinet members must also make the decision as to whether they wish to utilize their portfolio powers to build up their personal domestic supporter base. If Cabinet members decide to utilize this route, they must be careful to ensure that their motives and loyalty to the Prime Minister and their fellow colleagues do not come into question.

3. Do the Tories wish to continue their parliamentary alliance with the DUP, or pursue new coalition opportunities?

Following the 2017 snap election, Theresa May negotiated an agreement with the Democratic Unionist Party to form a governing majority. Considering the difficulties that the Tories have faced accommodating the DUP’s desires in Brexit negotiations, the Cabinet must determine whether it desires to continue the alliance or to pursue new opportunities. In order to form a governing majority, at least 326 votes are required. If a new alliance is pursued, Cabinet members must keep in mind the parochial interests of each new potential coalition partner and how to satisfy them. The current composition of the major parties in the House of Commons is as follows: Conservative Party (317), DUP (10), Labour Party (262), Scottish National Party (35) and Liberal Democrats (12). Cabinet members may also choose to attempt to persuade off different subsections of the opposition to defect.

4. Should Theresa May continue to serve as Prime Minister?

The Cabinet must determine whether it continues to support Theresa May as the head of the Conservative Party. Given the recent succession of high-profile Cabinet resignations, a decision must be made as to whether the Prime Minister retains the confidence of the Tories. In order to remove a sitting Prime Minister from the Conservative Party, a vote of no confidence is required. A vote of confidence within the Conservative Party can only be triggered if a minimum of 15 percent of the party’s MPs write letters demanding one.

5. How will the Cabinet work to ensure the cohesion and unity of the Conservative Party?

The Conservative Party is in a state of fracture; while some MPs support Theresa May's efforts to pursue a "soft" Brexit, others wish to pursue a "hard" or a "no-deal" solution. The Cabinet must work together to ensure that the Tories remain unified in the face of a vocal Labour opposition, and from voices within the party seeking to undermine negotiations or even to facilitate the creation of new political parties. Whether the Cabinet decides to stand behind Prime Minister May or to pursue new leadership opportunities, maintaining internal cohesion is paramount to continuing talks with the EU from a position of strength.

Conclusion

The task of establishing and unifying the leadership structure of the Conservative Party is an imperative step towards pursuing a Brexit strategy that is comprehensive, concise, and places Britain on a strong negotiating foothold. With a Tory coalition deeply divided on whether to pursue a “hard” Brexit, a “soft” Brexit, or a no-deal Brexit, the members of Her Majesty’s Cabinet must determine whether Theresa May is the right voice to lead the Party in its efforts, and must determine the steps they’ll need to take to ensure a unified governing coalition.

In this committee, Cabinet members will have the opportunity to debate and advocate for what type of approach they wish to emphasize in Brexit negotiations, form strategic alliances with partners both within Parliament and outside in civil society, and decide whether to mobilize public opinion towards the pursuit of new leadership or other strategic goals.

As some of the Prime Minister’s most critical confidants, members of Her Majesty’s Cabinet must approach this body with a sense of humility towards the tremendous influence that they will wield in shaping a development that has the opportunity to fundamentally upend British (and indeed continental and global), economic and societal order.

Once again, this background guide is by no means exhaustive and is only meant to further your understanding of Theresa May’s past attempts at negotiations with the European Union, and the evolution of her relations with Conservative Party and the public. In determining the direction of your research, we encourage you to seek solutions that go far beyond the information proposed here. In order to establish a firm direction for the Conservative Party’s leadership, delegates will need to be inventive, persuasive, and firm in their convictions.

Bibliography

“About Us,” Department for Exiting the European Union, GOV.UK.

<https://www.gov.uk/government/organisations/department-for-exiting-the-european-union/about>

Agerholm, Harriet. “Theresa May ‘more popular than David Beckham,’” *Independent*, February 11, 2017, <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/theresa-may-david-beckham-brexit-who-is-more-popular-a7574841.html>

Amadeo, Kimberly. “Brexit Consequences for the UK, the EU, and the United States.” *The Balance*, June 25, 2018. <https://www.thebalance.com/brexit-consequences-4062999>

Bennetts, Marc. “Tim Barrow, invisible ambassador.” *POLITICO*, January 13, 2017. <https://www.politico.eu/article/tim-barrow-invisible-ambassador-russia-eu-diplomacy-brexit/>

Boffey, Daniel, Jennifer Rankin, and Anushka Asthana, “May’s weakness exposed as DUP derails Brexit progress,” *The Guardian*, December 5, 2017. <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2017/dec/04/juncker-and-may-fail-to-reach-brexit-deal-amid-dup-doubts-over-irish-border>

Booth, William, Karla Adam and Laura Hughes. “Theresa May Packs Her Bags, Her Legacy Dominated by Failure: History may Not be Kind to this Prime Minister.” *The Washington Post*, July 18, 2019. https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/europe/theresa-may-packs-her-bags-her-legacy-dominated-by-failure/2019/07/18/7f2dedb0-a7fe-11e9-8733-48c87235f396_story.html?noredirect=on&utm_term=.5736f52f5833

Castle, Stephen. “Brexit, Explained: Not a Brit? Not a Problem! Here’s What It All Means.” *The New York Times*, November 15, 2018. <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/11/15/world/europe/brexit-uk.html>.

Crerar, Peppa. “Where do Theresa May’s ministers stand on Brexit?” *The Guardian*, November 12, 2018. <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2018/nov/12/where-do-theresa-mays-ministers-stand-on-brexit>

Crilly, Rob, “Pro-Brexit politician Liam Fox could be Britain's next ambassador to

Washington," *The Washington Examiner*, July 23, 2019.

<https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/news/pro-brexit-politician-liam-fox-could-be-britains-next-ambassador-to-washington>

Eaton, George. "It's even clearer that the UK triggered Article 50 too early," *New Statesman*, October 10, 2017, <https://www.newstatesman.com/politics/uk/2017/10/its-ever-clearer-uk-triggered-article-50-too-early>

Erlanger, Steven. "Brexit talks clear hurdle and are headed for an even harder phase," *New York Times* December 9, 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/12/08/world/europe/brexit-uk-eu.html>

Ford, Robert and Goodwin, Matthew. "Britain After Brexit: A Nation Divided." *Journal of Democracy* 28, no. 1 (2017): 17-30.

France-Press, Agence. "Who is Dominic Raab, the 'karate kid' chosen as UK foreign secretary?" *South China Morning Post*, July 25, 2019. <https://www.scmp.com/news/world/europe/article/3020051/who-dominic-raab-karate-kid-chosen-uk-foreign-secretary>

Giles, Chris. "The real price of Brexit begins to emerge." *Financial Times*, December 18, 2017. <https://www.ft.com/content/e3b29230-db5f-11e7-a039-c64b1c09b482>.

Greenhalgh, Laura. "Matt Hancock appointed new UK health secretary." *POLITICO*, July 9, 2018. <https://www.politico.eu/article/matt-hancock-appointed-new-uk-health-secretary/>

Greer, Steven. "Implications of Brexit for the European Convention on Human Rights." *E-International Relations*. July 27, 2017. <https://www.e-ir.info/2017/07/27/implications-of-brexit-for-the-european-convention-on-human-rights/>.

Grylls, George. "The Vale of Glamorgan has called the last nine elections – how will it vote in 2019?" *New Statesman America*, November 22, 2019. <https://www.newstatesman.com/politics/uk/2019/11/vale-glamorgan-has-called-last-nine-elections-how-will-it-vote-2019>

Hobolt, Sara B. "The Brexit vote: a divided nation, a divided continent." *Journal of European Public Policy* 23, no. 9 (2016): 1259-1277. doi: 10.1080/13501763.2016.1225785

- Jacobson, Seth. "‘Mr Europe’ David Lidington: the man who could replace May," *The Guardian*, March 24, 2019. <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2019/mar/24/mr-europe-david-lidington-the-obscure-remainer-who-could-replace-may>
- J.P. "The Economist explains: How a soft Brexit differs from a hard one." *The Economist*, June 25, 2018. <https://www.economist.com/the-economist-explains/2018/06/25/how-a-soft-brexit-differs-from-a-hard-one>
- Kelly, Deirdre. "David Mundell: The Remainer Johnson did not want to keep." *BBC*, July 24, 2019. <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-scotland-politics-46200816>
- Khetani-Shah, Sanya and Deutsch, Jillian. "Brexit timeline: From referendum to EU exit." *POLITICO*, March 26, 2019. <https://www.politico.eu/pro/brexit-timeline-from-referendum-to-eu-exit-archive-2017/>
- Kroet, Cynthia. "Support for Theresa May’s Brexit strategy increasing: poll," *Politico*, February 6, 2017, <https://www.politico.eu/article/support-for-theresa-mays-brexit-strategy-increasing-poll-article-50/>
- "Life Peers," parliament.uk. <https://www.parliament.uk/site-information/glossary/life-peers/>
- McBride, James. "What Brexit Means." Council on Foreign Relations. January 16, 2019. <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/what-brexit-means>.
- McCormack, Jayne. "Q&A: A guide to the DUP-Tory deal one year on," *BBC News*, June 26, 2018, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-northern-ireland-politics-44397110>
- McTague, Tom and Charlie Cooper, "Theresa May’s last chance to stop Brexit talks turning toxic," *Politico*, March 1, 2018, <https://www.politico.eu/article/theresa-may-michel-barnier-last-chance-to-stop-brexit-talks-turning-toxic/>
- Morris, Nigel. "Boris Johnson shatters cabinet unity, calls Theresa May’s custom union plan ‘crazy.’" *I News*, May 8, 2018, <https://inews.co.uk/news/brexit/boris-johnson-theresa-may-brexit-customs-union-crazy/>
- Morris, Nigel. "Cabinet rift over getting Britain ready for a Brexit ‘no deal.’" *I News*, October 11, 2017, <https://inews.co.uk/news/uk/cabinet-rift-getting-britain-ready-brexit-no-deal/>

- Mueller, Benjamin. "How Does He Survive? The Curious Case of 'Failing Grayling.'" *The New York Times*, March 3, 2019. <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/03/world/europe/grayling-ferries-uk.html>
- Outhwaite, William. "Migration Crisis and "Brexit"." In *The Oxford Handbook of Migration Crises*, 93-110. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019.
- Parker, George and Cocco, Frederica. "How battle over Brexit crosses traditional party lines." *Financial Times*, June 2, 2016. <https://www.ft.com/content/32414e3e-2804-11e6-8b18-91555f2f4fde>
- Parker, George, Henry Mance, and Jim Pickard, "Theresa May calls snap election in bid to strengthen hand in Brexit talks," *Financial Times*, April 18, 2017, <https://www.ft.com/content/21e1e2ec-241b-11e7-8691-d5f7e0cd0a16>
- Salles, Alain and Charrel, Marie. "Philip Hammond : "Londres veut garder une relation proche avec l'UE"." *Le Monde*, July 28, 2017. https://www.lemonde.fr/referendum-sur-le-brexit/article/2017/07/28/londres-veut-garder-une-relation-proche-avec-l-ue_5165984_4872498.html
- "Seema Kennedy." GOV.UK, ed. 2019. <https://www.gov.uk/government/people/seema-kennedy>
- Shackle, Samira. "British PM Theresa May struggles on amid Brexit uncertainty," *DW*, January 8, 2018, <https://www.dw.com/en/british-pm-theresa-may-struggles-on-amid-brexit-uncertainty/a-42026025>
- Staunton, Denis. "May stands firm on soft Brexit amid resignations and Tory turmoil," *The Irish Times*, July 10, 2018, <https://www.irishtimes.com/news/world/uk/may-stands-firm-on-soft-brexit-amid-resignations-and-tory-turmoil-1.3559450>
- Tamkin, Emily. "Theresa May's Snap Election Gamble Seems to Have Backfired," June 8, 2018, *Foreign Policy*, <https://foreignpolicy-com.proxy1.library.jhu.edu/2017/06/08/theresa-mays-snap-election-gamble-seems-to-have-backfired/>
- Tapper, James, Dan Sabbagh, Jessica Elgot, and Peter Walker, "Theresa May faces Tory anger over soft Brexit proposal," *The Guardian*, July 7, 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2018/jul/06/theresa-may-secures-approval-from-cabinet-to-negotiate-soft-brexit>

- “The Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.” *The Duchy of Lancaster*, ed. 2019.
<https://www.duchyoflancaster.co.uk/about-the-duchy/our-people/chancellor-of-the-duchy-of-lancaster/>
- “The Lord Chancellor.” *parliament.uk*, ed. 2007. <https://www.parliament.uk/about/mps-and-lords/principal/lord-chancellor/>
- Tilford, Simon. “A No-Deal Brexit Will Destroy the British Economy.” *Foreign Policy*, October 2, 2018. <https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/10/02/a-no-deal-brex-it-will-destroy-the-british-economy/>.
- Walker, Peter. “What the cabinet has agreed at Chequers Brexit meeting,” *The Guardian*, July 6, 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2018/jul/06/what-the-cabinet-has-agreed-at-chequers-brex-it-meeting>
- Watts, Joe. “Theresa May branded ‘weak’ for refusing to take part in BBC election debate,” *Independent*, May 31, 2017, <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/election-debate-theresa-may-refuse-take-part-criticism-weak-leader-bbc-a7766206.html>
- Watts, Nicholas. “Is Olly Robbins the ‘real’ Brexit secretary?” *BBC*, January 23, 2018. <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-42777986>
- “What is SNP’s Plan for Brexit?” *The Scottish National Party*. 2019. <https://www.snp.org/policies/what-is-the-snp-plan-for-brex-it/>
- Wheeler, Brian; Seddon, Paul, and Morris, Richard. “Brexit: All you need to know about the UK leaving the EU.” *BBC News*, May 10, 2019. <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-32810887>.
- Yueh, Linda. “The Economic Impact Of Brexit And What It Means For Financial Stability.” *Forbes*, November 28, 2018. <https://www.forbes.com/sites/lbsbusinessstrategyreview/2018/11/28/the-economic-impact-of-brex-it-and-what-it-means-for-financial-stability/#302725a5383e>