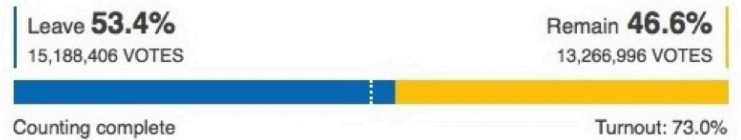


Key:

■ Majority leave
 ■ Majority remain
 ■ Tie
 Undeclared

England



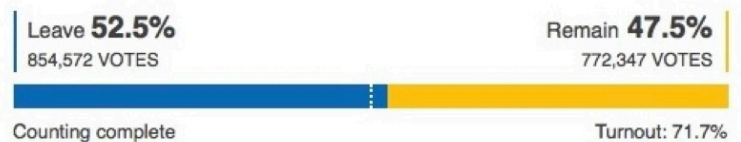
Northern Ireland



Scotland



Wales



Results of the June 2016 UK referendum: 'Should the United Kingdom remain a member of the European Union or leave the European Union?'

Source: BBC

PARALLEL HISTORIES

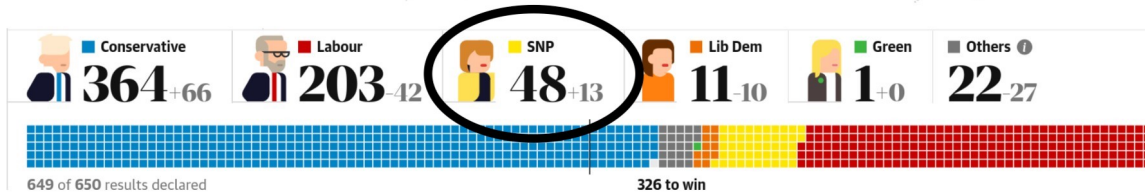
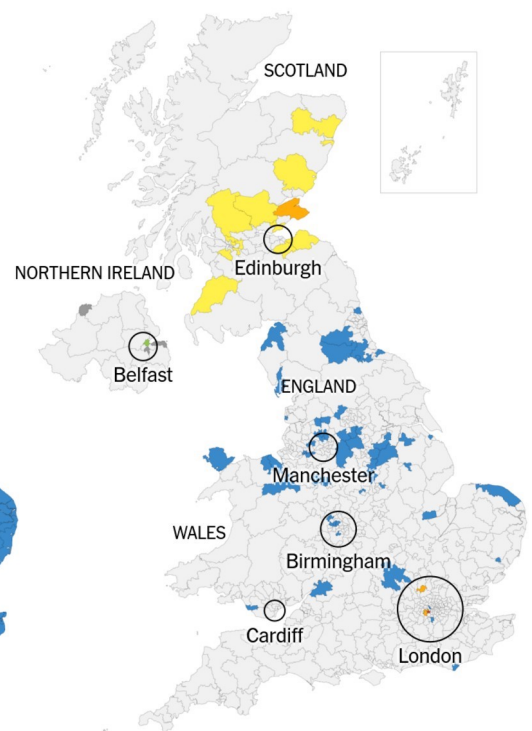
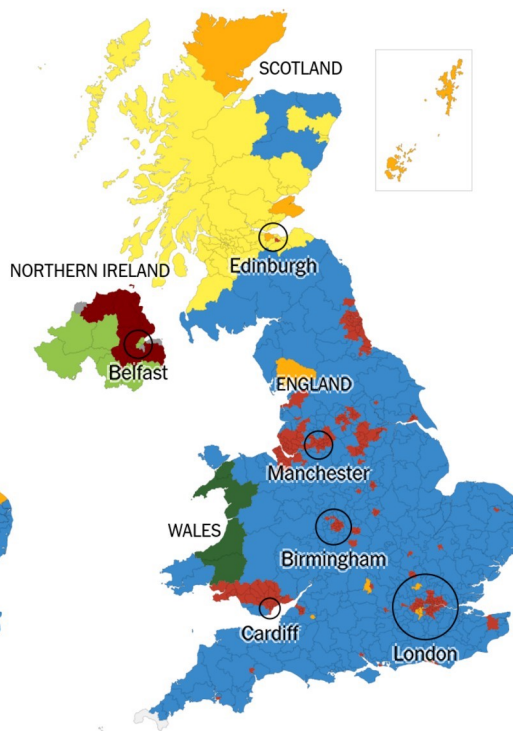
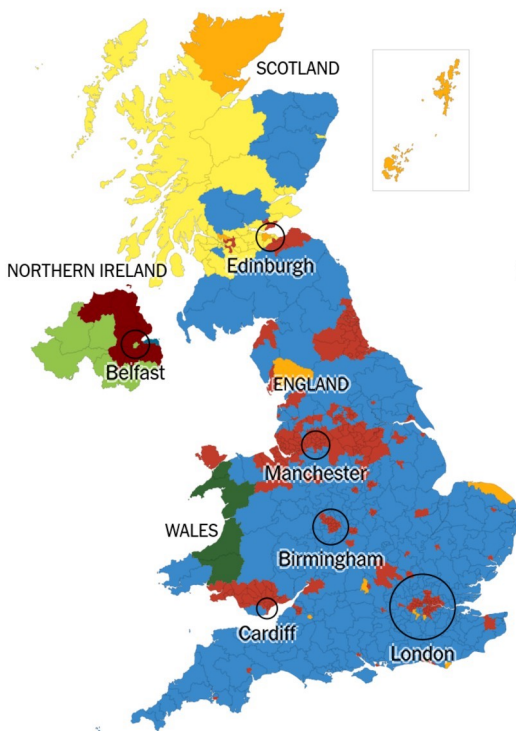
Nationalist sources

2017 general election results

2019 results

Seats that flipped from 2017 to 2019

No change



PARALLEL HISTORIES

Nationalist sources

When in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed,--That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security.

Extract of the U.S. Declaration of Independence, 1776

The Irish War of Independence, 1919-1921



Irish Volunteers during the Irish War of Independence

Whereas the Irish people is by right a free people:

And Whereas for seven hundred years the Irish people has never ceased to repudiate and has repeatedly protested in arms against foreign usurpation:

And Whereas English rule in this country is, and always has been, based upon force and fraud and maintained by military occupation against the declared will of the people...

Now, therefore, we, the elected Representatives of the ancient Irish people in National Parliament assembled, do, in the name of the Irish nation, ratify the establishment of the Irish Republic and pledge ourselves and our people to make this declaration effective by every means at our command...

We solemnly declare foreign government in Ireland to be an invasion of our national right which we will never tolerate, and we demand the evacuation of our country by the English Garrison

Extract from the Irish Declaration of Independence, 1919

Declarative Theory of Statehood: A state becomes a state when it declares its independence

The European Union follows the 1933 Montevideo Convention definition of a state:

Article 1:

A state 'possesses the following qualifications:

- a permanent population
- a defined territory
- government
- capacity to enter into relations with the other states

Article 3:

'The political existence of the state is independent of recognition by other states.'

The Guardian



This article is more than **5 years** old

Nicola Sturgeon calls for Scottish veto on EU referendum

Incoming first minister says it would be 'democratically indefensible' for Scotland to be taken out of EU against its will

Libby Brooks

Wed 29 Oct 2014 10.52 GMT

Scotland's incoming first minister Nicola Sturgeon is calling for Scotland to have a veto over a future referendum on EU membership.

Describing the prospect of being taken out of the European Union against Scotland's will as "democratically indefensible", Sturgeon, who will succeed Alex Salmond as leader of the SNP next month, says that her party will table an amendment to any bill on an in/out referendum requiring that all four nations of the UK have to agree to withdrawal.

FINANCIAL TIMES

Queen spoke on Scottish independence after Cameron request

Former PM tells BBC he sought royal intervention ahead of 2014 referendum



Scottish First Minister Nicola Sturgeon greets the Queen in 2015 © Andy Buchanan/AFP

Robert Wright in London SEPTEMBER 19 2019



[David Cameron](#) took the rare step of soliciting a political intervention from the Queen before she made comments seen as boosting No in the 2014 Scottish independence referendum, the former prime minister told the BBC in a documentary about his political career.

In an interview for *The Cameron Years*, the first part of which is screened on Thursday, Mr Cameron described how both through his private secretary and directly he lobbied the Queen's private secretary to ask the monarch to indicate opposition to Scottish independence.

He stressed that he was not asking anything "improper or unconstitutional".

"Just a raising of the eyebrow even, you know, a quarter of an inch we thought would make a difference," Mr Cameron said in an interview for the second of the two-part documentary to coincide with the publication of his memoir, *On the Record*.

The programme presented no evidence that the request was passed on to the Queen. But subsequently, after a service at Crathie Church near her Scottish retreat at Balmoral, she told a well-wisher that she hoped Scots would "think very carefully about the future" before voting in the referendum. The comments were seen as helpful to the anti-independence [No campaign](#) at a time when opinion polls pointed to a very tight result.

85p

WEDNESDAY FEBRUARY 27, 2019

WWW.THENATIONAL.SCOT

THE NATIONAL

THE NEWSPAPER THAT SUPPORTS AN INDEPENDENT SCOTLAND

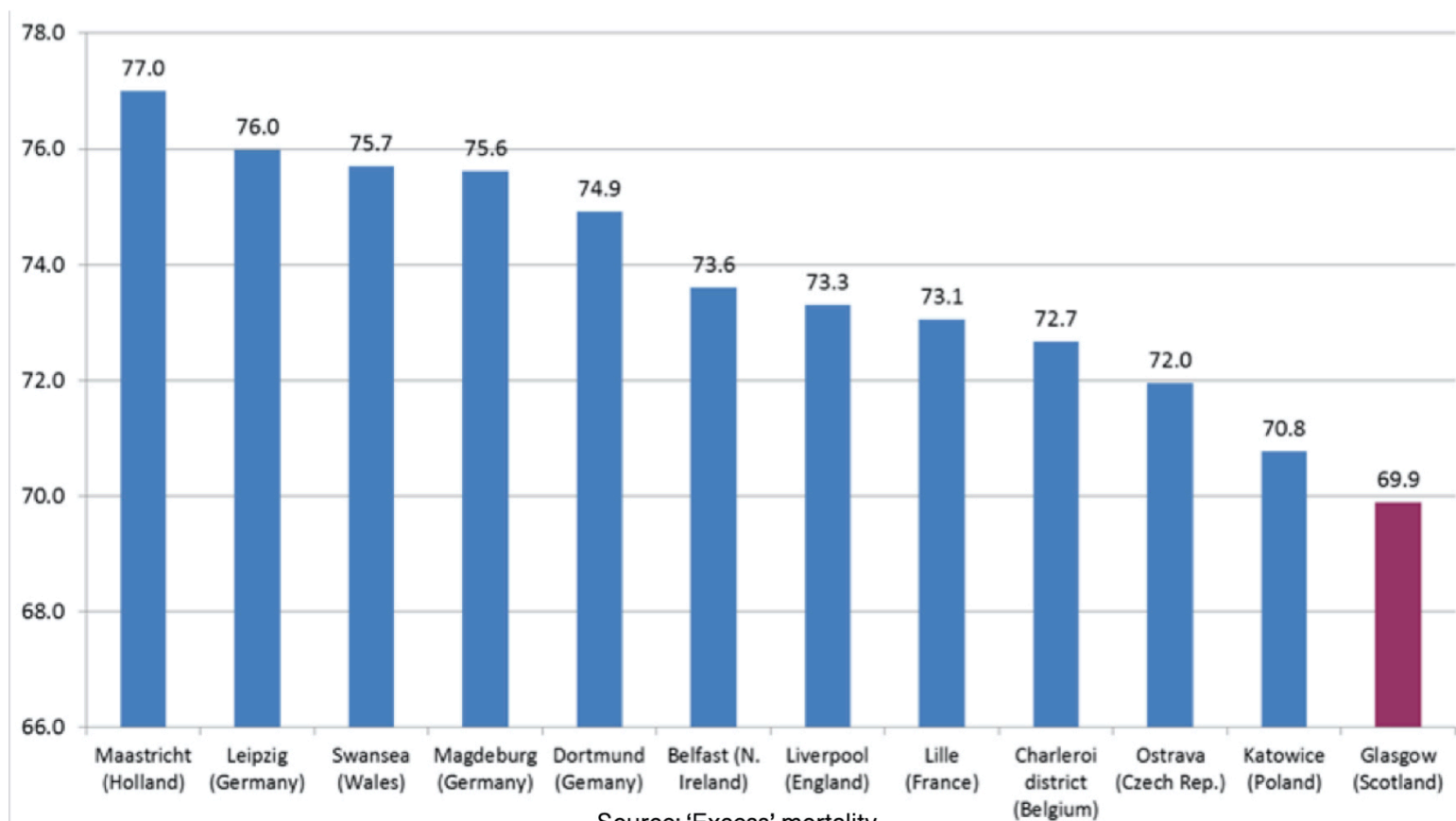
45 years ago, the UK Prime Minister received a report on the astonishing wealth of Scotland's oil. It was hushed up for decades in a bid to suppress support for independence. Today, as Westminster prepares to snatch away our children's place in Europe, for the first time in Scottish newspaper history, we're publishing it in full ...



How Scotland's future was stolen

Today: Buy an extra copy and give it to someone who hasn't made up their mind about independence

Scotland's comparatively poor health record in the Union: Average male life expectancy in European cities



Source: 'Excess' mortality

in Scotland and Glasgow: context & evidence report by David Walsh, Glasgow Centre for Population Health

PARALLEL HISTORIES

Nationalist sources

I do not think that a Frenchman could have come to Scotland at any time without being sensible of a special emotion. Scarcely can he set foot in this ancient and glorious land before he finds countless natural affinities between your country and ours dating from the very earliest times. In the same moment, awareness of the thousand links, still living and cherished, of the Franco-Scottish Alliance, the oldest alliance in the world, leaps to his mind...

This friendship and understanding which Frenchmen have found in Scotland throughout history are to-day more precious than ever. Undoubtedly, they are mingled at the present time with the joint aims, efforts, and ideals which go to make up the alliance between France and Great Britain. But I think I can say, without giving cause for offence, that although mingled, they are not lost in the mingling, and they retain their special character, just as in a bouquet a single flower still keeps its own perfume and colour.

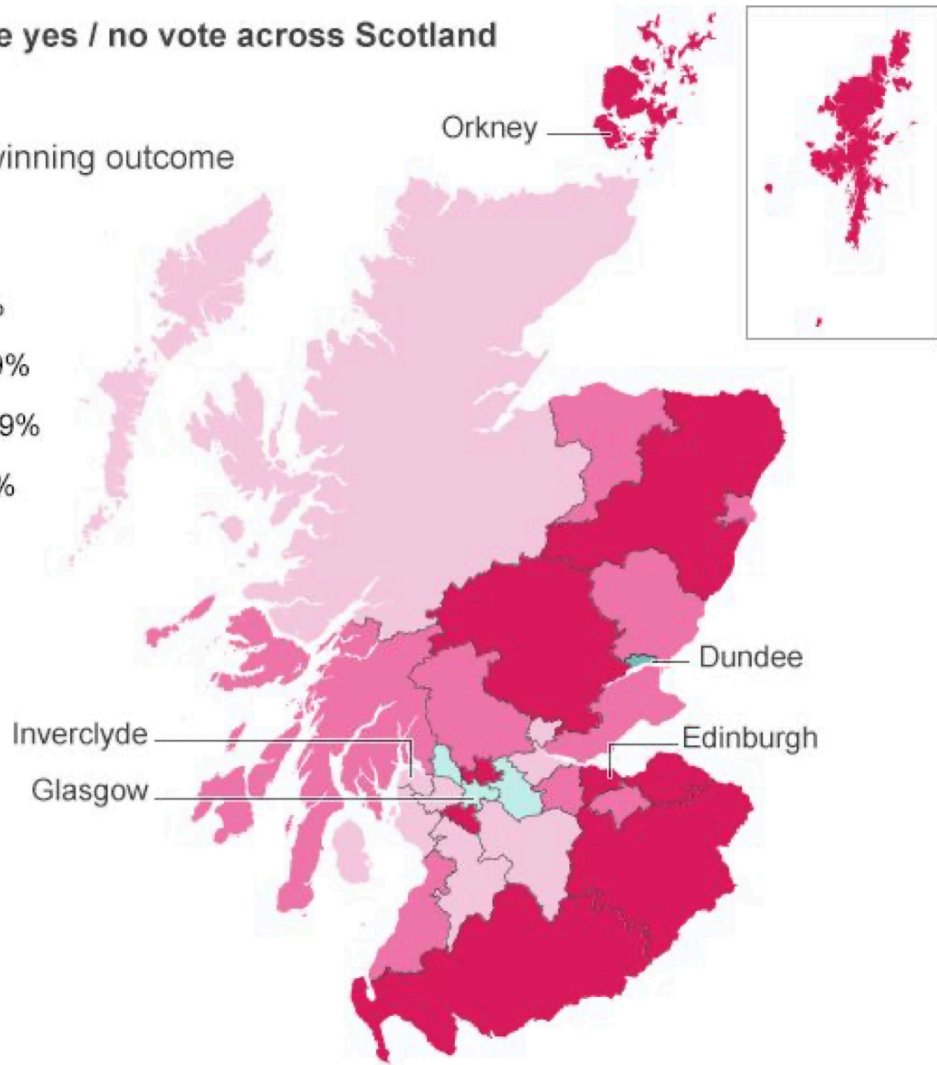
Speech given by General De Gaulle, Leader of Free France, at Edinburgh, 23rd June 1942

PARALLEL HISTORIES

Strength of the yes / no vote across Scotland

Vote share of winning outcome

- No 60%+
- No 55 - 59.9%
- No 50.1 - 54.9%
- Yes 50.1 - 54.9%
- Yes 55 - 59.9%
- Yes 60%+



Results from the 2014
Scottish Referendum:
'Should Scotland be an
independent country?'

Source: BBC

PARALLEL HISTORIES



10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

14 January 2020

THE PRIME MINISTER

Dear Nicola,

Thank you for your correspondence of 19 December 2019.

I have carefully considered and noted the arguments set out for a transfer of power from the UK Parliament to the Scottish Parliament to allow for further independence referendums.

You and your predecessor made a personal promise that the 2014 Independence Referendum was a “once in a generation” vote. The people of Scotland voted decisively on that promise to keep our United Kingdom together, a result which both the Scottish and UK Governments committed to respect in the Edinburgh Agreement.

The UK Government will continue to uphold the democratic decision of the Scottish people and the promise that you made to them. For that reason, I cannot agree to any request for a transfer of power that would lead to further independence referendums.

Another independence referendum would continue the political stagnation that Scotland has seen for the last decade, with Scottish schools, hospitals and jobs again left behind because of a campaign to separate the UK.

It is time that we all worked to bring the whole of the United Kingdom together and unleash the potential of this great country.

Yours ever,
Boris

The Right Honourable Nicola Sturgeon MSP

PARALLEL HISTORIES

Speech by Gordon Brown, 17/9/2014, on the eve of the Scottish Referendum:

At last, the world is hearing the voices of the real people of Scotland.

The silent majority will be silent no more. And our patriotic vision, proud of our Scottish identity, proud of our distinctive Scottish institutions, proud of the Scottish Parliament that we, not the Nationalist party, created.

And proud, and proud, that with the powers of the Parliament we can guarantee that the National Health Service will be in public hands, universal, free at the point of need, as long and as ever as the people of Scotland want it.

And proud also, and proud also, that we are increasing the powers of that Parliament – faster, safer, better, friendlier change than ever the Nationalists could propose. And proud too that we co-operate and share, indeed we Scots led the way in co-operating, sharing across the United Kingdom – common defence, common currency, common and shared rights from the UK pension to the UK minimum wage, from each according to his ability to contribute, to each according to his needs, and that is the best principle that can govern the life of our country today.

And our patriotic vision up against a nationalist vision that has only one aim in mind: to break every single constitutional and political link with our friends, neighbours and friends in the United Kingdom and we will not have this...

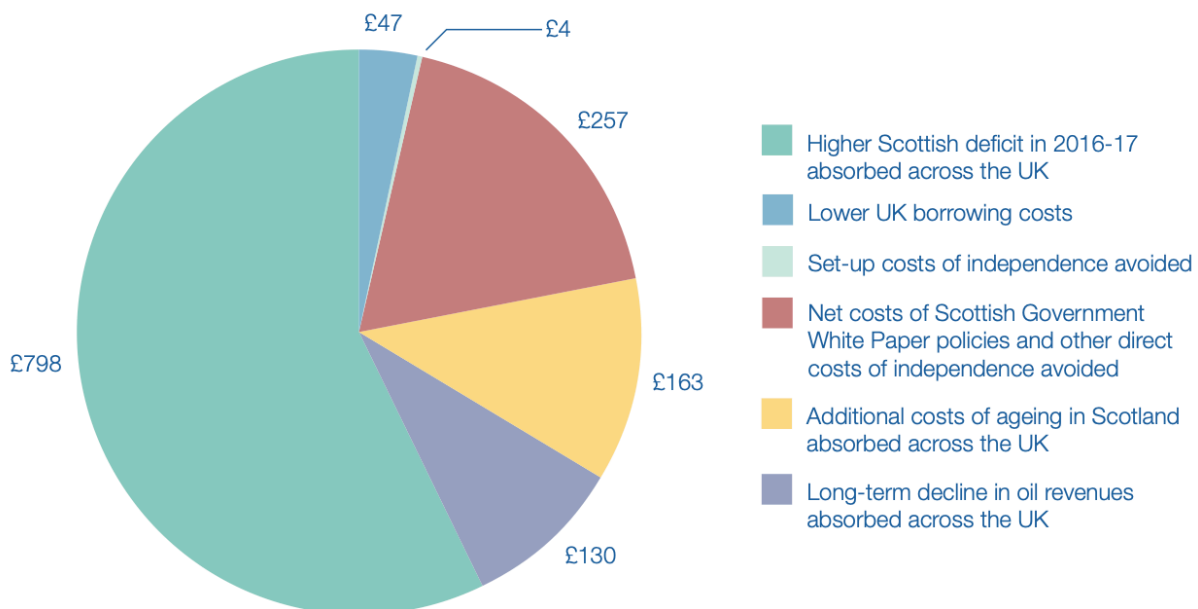
We fought two world wars together. And there is not a cemetery in Europe that does not have Scots, English, Welsh, and Irish lying side-by-side. And when young men were injured in these wars, they didn't look to each other and ask whether you were Scots or English, they came to each other's aid because we were part of a common cause.

And we not, and we not only, we not only won these wars together, we built the peace together, we built the health service together, we built the welfare state together, we will build the future together. And what we have built together by sacrificing and sharing, let no narrow nationalism split asunder ever.

The UK Dividend

3.3 As part of the UK, Scotland can continue to have a lower tax burden or higher spending than it would have under independence. This UK Dividend is estimated to be worth £1,400 per person in Scotland in each year from 2016/17 onwards.

The UK Dividend of £1,400 per person in Scotland explained



Source: HM Treasury calculations, consistent with Chart 2.C in *Scotland Analysis: Fiscal policy and sustainability*. Numbers do not sum due to rounding.

The Telegraph

🏠 > News > Politics

Independent Scotland 'would be forced to dump pound on day one for its own floating currency'



Professor Ronald MacDonald, research professor of macroeconomics and international finance at Glasgow University's Adam Smith Business School CREDIT: UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW

Follow ▼

By **Simon Johnson**, SCOTTISH POLITICAL EDITOR

21 APRIL 2019 • 10:00PM

Scotland would be forced to dump the pound for its own free-floating currency immediately after independence, the country's most eminent macroeconomist has warned as he denounced the "poor" plans produced by both sides of an SNP battle over the issue.

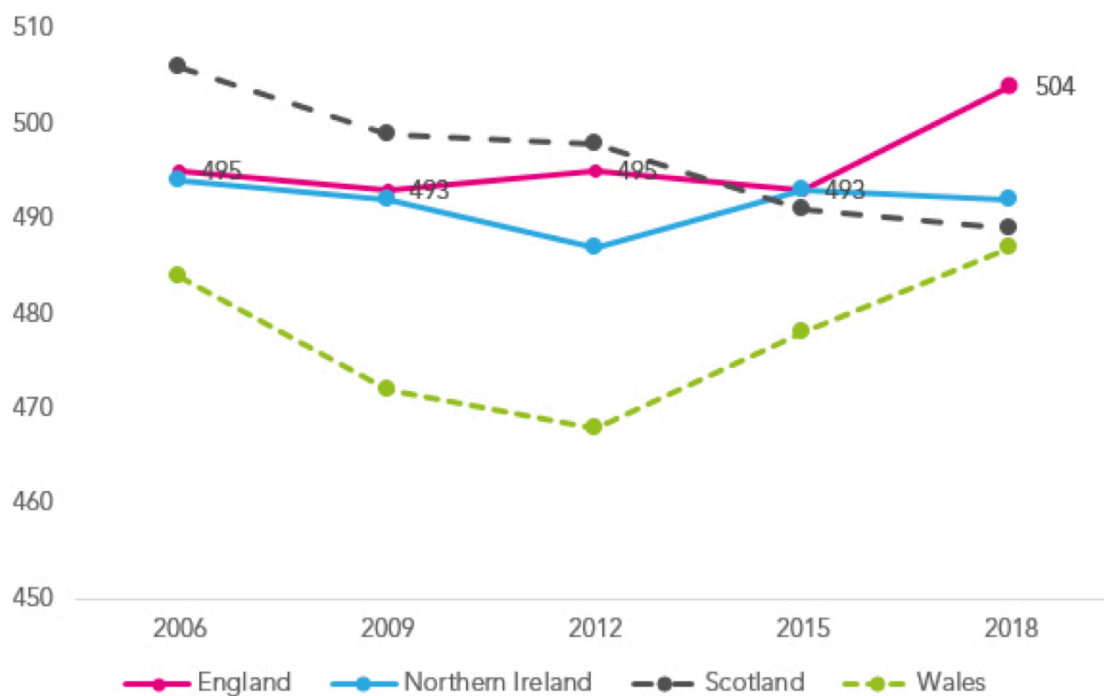
Professor Ronald MacDonald, research professor of macroeconomics and international finance at Glasgow University's Adam Smith Business School, told the Telegraph a separate currency not linked to sterling would be needed to pay off the country's £16 billion balance of payments deficit.

He said the Scottish Government could not practically keep the pound on a temporary basis after independence, as proposed by Nicola Sturgeon, as it would lack the currency reserves required immediately after separation to keep clearing the balance of payments.

The latest official figures show a balance of payments deficit of 10 per cent of GDP. This means Scotland imports more goods, services and capital than it exports and a separate Scottish Government would be responsible for funding the gap.

PARALLEL HISTORIES

Average PISA maths scores over time

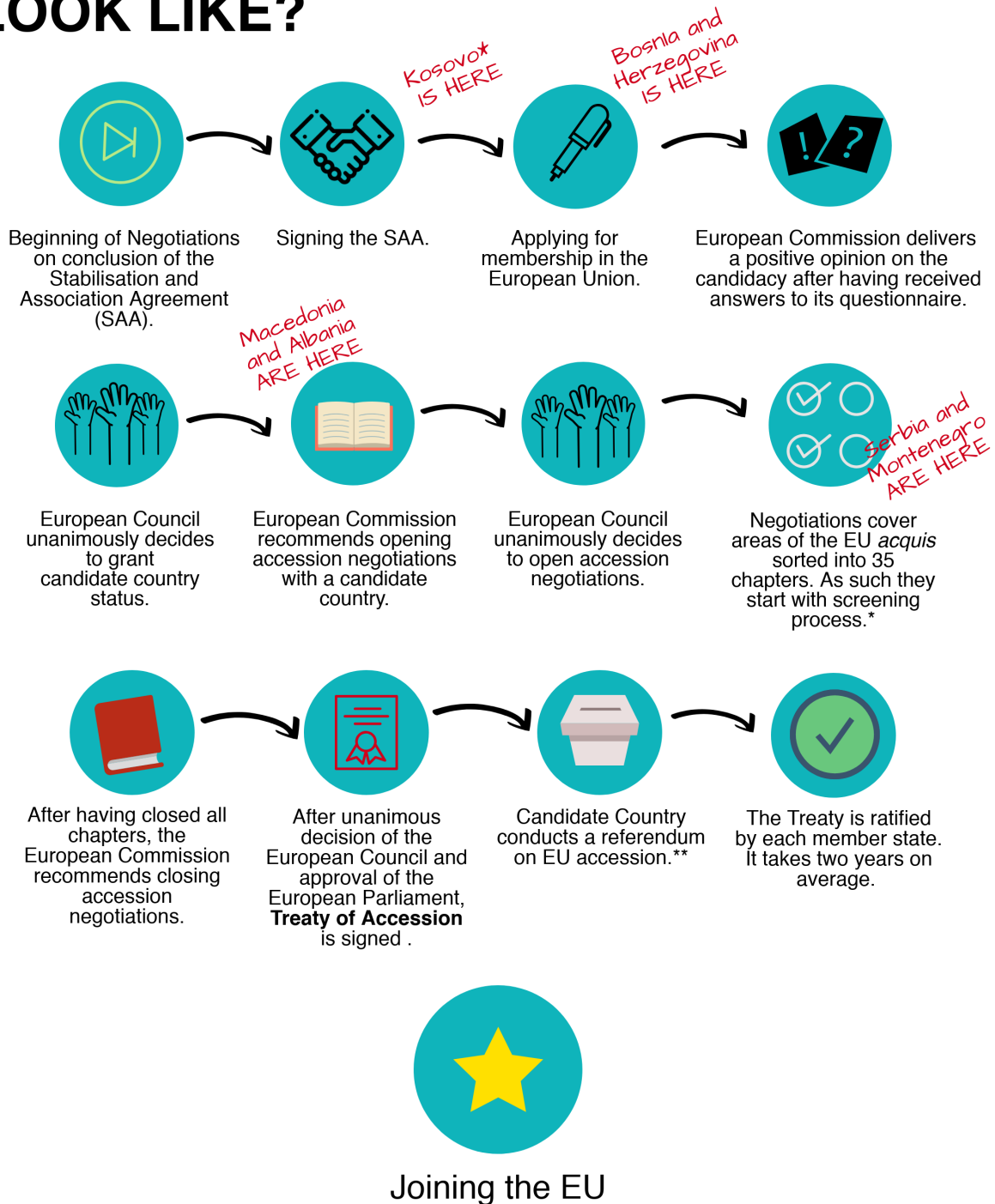


PISA is the OECD's Programme for International Student Assessment.

The SNP gained power in the Scottish government in 2007. Education is included in the Scottish government's powers.

PARALLEL HISTORIES

ROAD TOWARDS THE EU: HOW DOES IT LOOK LIKE?



* Screening represents a process of analysing and evaluating the degree of harmonisation of legislation of a country in question with the EU *acquis*, intended for preparation of the membership negotiations.

** A referendum on EU membership is not by fact necessary. Whether it will be put in place or not depends on the constitutional setting of the candidate country in question. Serbia will have a referendum as it is required by Serbia's constitution.

PARALLEL HISTORIES

Stranger still is the SNP's relationship with Europe. The party has traditionally included both Little Scotlanders who hanker after rugged independence and supranationalists who want to realign Scotland in interdependence with other larger entities. There was a marked imperialist tinge to the early history of Scottish nationalism; the British Empire should be revamped, it was argued, with Scotland enjoying dominion status or a fuller partnership with England in a genuinely Anglo-Scottish Empire. But many nationalists were anti-statist small-town liberals with a loathing for centralised bureaucracy. These attitudes were in the ascendant in the party at the time of the 1975 referendum on continued British membership of the Common Market, when the SNP campaigned to get out. Things changed in the 1980s with the arrival of Jim Sillars, a former Labour MP, who rebranded the SNP as a non-separatist Europhile party committed to 'independence in Europe'. Reassuringly for anxious Scots, worried about going it alone, the SNP has since the late 1980s represented a comfort-blanket nationalism: national autonomy within the safe confines of the EU. However, Sillars, who became the party's deputy leader, now complains the SNP is 'blinded' by Europhilia, and has begun to campaign for Brexit as a staging post to full independence.

Colin Kidd, Scottish historian, 'After the Referendum', [London Review of Books](#), 18 February 2016

PARALLEL HISTORIES

The American Civil War 1861-65



Union soldiers in trenches during
the Chancellorsville campaign,
Virginia, May 1863

**We here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died
in vain—that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth
of freedom—and that government of the people, by the
people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.**

Abraham Lincoln in the Gettysburg
Address, 19th November 1863



Constitutive Theory of Statehood: Recognition by other states is necessary to become a state

The Covenant of the League of Nations

Article 1:

Any fully self-governing State, Dominion or Colony...may become a Member of the League if its admission is agreed by two-thirds of the Assembly, provided that it shall give effective guarantees of its sincere intention to observe its international obligations, and shall accept such regulations as may be prescribed by the League in regard to its military, naval and air forces and armaments.

The Charter of the United Nations

Chapter II: Article 4:

1. Members in the United Nations is open to all other peace-loving states which accept the obligations contained in the present Charter and, in the judgment of the Organization, are able and willing to carry out these obligations.
2. The admission of any such state to membership in the United Nations will be effected by a decision of the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council.