

5AM REFERENDUM SPECIAL

Daily Mail

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DAILY NEWSPAPER OF THE YEAR 65p



Overjoyed: A jubilant Nigel Farage in London early today celebrating the stunning victory for the Leave campaign

WE'RE OUT!

■ **After 43 years
UK freed from
shackles of EU**

■ **PM in crisis as
voters reject
Project Fear**

■ **Leave surge
sends pound to
a 31-year low**

A HUGE revolt by Middle England last night gave a stunning victory to Brexit.

On a massive turnout, there was a historic rejection of Brussels in safe Tory seats and Labour working-class heartlands as Leave scored an astonishing success.

The pound fluctuated wildly before plunging to a 31-year low as traders reacted to the shock news. In Japan

By **James Slack, Daniel Martin and Jason Groves**

shares were in freefall. In key English areas including Birmingham, the North East, Dorset, Essex, Hertfordshire, Kent and the North West there was a massive protest against the London-based political class.

At 4.40am, the BBC and ITV declared Leave had won – reversing the decision in 1975 to commit to the Brussels club. The

rejection of Project Fear came despite months of doom-mongering by the Prime Minister and raised questions about whether he can survive.

Labour immediately called for him to consider his position. When the polls closed the chances of Britain quitting were rated at barely 10 per cent.

UKIP leader Nigel Farage declared 'independence day'.

In South Wales, a string of areas fell to Leave including Swansea, Newport, Neath-Port Talbot and Merthyr Tydfil.

In swathes of East Anglia and the West Midlands the trend was overwhelmingly to Leave. Sheffield, where the arch Europhile Nick Clegg's constituency is based, voted Out in a shock result.

In Bromsgrove, where the MP is former Eurosceptic turned Remain campaigner Business Secretary Sajid Javid, Leave claimed another victory.

The Remain camp hit back by recording a string of resounding successes in

Turn to Page 2

"All the News
That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

Late Edition

Today, partly sunny, seasonable warmth, high 83. Tonight, clear, mild, high 64. Tomorrow, mostly sunny, a warm afternoon, high 86. Weather map is on Page A38.

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NEW YORK, FRIDAY, JUNE 24, 2016

\$2.50

BRITISH STUN WORLD WITH VOTE TO LEAVE E.U. SPLIT COURT STIFLES OBAMA ON IMMIGRATION

A 9-Word Ruling Erases a Shield for Millions

By ADAM LIPTAK
and MICHAEL D. SHEAR

WASHINGTON — The Supreme Court announced on Thursday that it had deadlocked in a case challenging President Obama's immigration plan, effectively ending what Mr. Obama had hoped would become one of his central legacies. The program would have shielded as many as five million undocumented immigrants from deportation and allowed them to legally work in the United States.

The 4-4 tie, which left in place an appeals court ruling blocking the plan, amplified the contentious election-year debate over the nation's immigration policy and presidential power.

When the Supreme Court agreed to hear the case in January, it seemed poised to issue a major ruling on presidential power. That did not materialize, but the court's action, which established no precedent and included no reasoning, was nonetheless perhaps its most important statement this term.

The decision was just nine words long: "The judgment is affirmed by an equally divided court."

But its consequences will be vast, said Walter Dellinger, who was acting solicitor general in the Clinton administration. "Seldom have the hopes of so many been crushed by so few words," he said.

Speaking at the White House, Mr. Obama described the ruling as a deep disappointment for immigrants who would not be able to emerge from the threat of deportation for at least the balance of his term.

"Today's decision is frustrating to those who seek to grow our economy and bring a rationality to our immigration system," he said before heading to the West Coast for a two-day trip. "It is heartbreaking for the millions of immi-

Continued on Page A14

Justices Uphold Race-Aware Admissions

By ADAM LIPTAK

WASHINGTON — The Supreme Court on Thursday rejected a challenge to a race-conscious admissions program at the University of Texas at Austin, handing supporters of affirmative action a major victory.

The decision, *Fisher v. University of Texas*, No. 14-883, concerned an unusual program and contained a warning to other universities that not all affirmative action programs will pass constitutional muster. But the ruling's basic message was that admissions officials may continue to consider race as one factor among many in ensuring a diverse student body.

The decision, by a 4-to-3 vote, was unexpected. Justice Anthony M. Kennedy, the author of the majority opinion, has long been skeptical of race-sensitive programs and had never before voted to uphold an affirmative action plan. He dissented in the last major affirmative action case.

Supporters of affirmative action hailed the decision as a landmark.

"No decision since *Brown v. Board of Education* has been as important as *Fisher* will prove to be in the long history of racial inclusion and educational diversity," said Laurence H. Tribe, a law professor at Harvard, referring to the Supreme Court's 1954 decision striking down segregated public schools.

Roger Clegg, the president of the Center for Equal Opportunity, which supports colorblind policies, said the decision, though disappointing, was only a temporary setback.

"The court's decision leaves plenty of room for future challenges to racial preference policies at other schools," he said. "The struggle goes on."

President Obama hailed the decision. "I'm pleased that the Su-

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WHITE HOUSE President Obama called the Supreme Court's immigration decision "heartbreaking."



SUPREME COURT Supporters of Mr. Obama's immigration plan after the court's 4-4 deadlock.



CAPITOL HILL Representative John Lewis of Georgia, left, who led a sit-in for gun control.

3 Separate, Equal and Dysfunctional Branches

WASHINGTON — The continuing breakdown in Washington's ability to govern seemed to spread like a contagion Thursday through all three branches of government.

The dysfunction somehow managed to reach new levels. The Supreme Court, left short-handed by a Republican refusal to act on President Obama's nominee in the final year of his presidency, deadlocked on a major immigration case. The inaction validated a lower court finding against the

administration's attempt to allow millions of unauthorized immigrants to live legally in the United States.

Mr. Obama, who sought to address the nation's immigration crisis through his executive powers because of a persistent impasse on Capitol Hill, was unable to achieve one of his major goals — which pleased Republicans but left the president angry and disappointed.

Democrats ended a raucous 25-hour protest on the House floor, failing to gain a vote on gun safety issues but exulting in the attention they received via a

breakout social media campaign that threw the House rule book out the Capitol's neoclassical windows. Republican leaders accused Democrats of trying to capitalize on the Orlando, Fla., shooting while destroying the decorum of the House.

The decision by Democrats to act out in the House was just the latest attempt to upend the political status quo in a year distinguished by political disruption, from Donald J. Trump rattling the Republican establishment to Senator Bernie Sanders — the democratic socialist who made

Continued on Page A12

'Brexit' Outcome Rattles Fiscal Markets

By SEWELL CHAN

LONDON — Britain has voted to leave the European Union, a historic decision sure to reshape the nation's place in the world, rattle the Continent and rock political establishments throughout the West.

With all but a handful of the country's cities and towns reporting Friday morning, the Leave campaign held a 52 percent to 48 percent lead. The BBC called the race for the Leave campaign shortly before 4:45 a.m., with 13.1 million votes having been counted in favor of leaving and 12.2 million in favor of remaining.

The value of the British pound plummeted as financial markets absorbed the news.

Despite opinion polls ahead of the referendum on Thursday that showed either side in a position to win, the outcome nonetheless stunned much of Britain, Europe and the trans-Atlantic alliance, highlighting the power of anti-elitist, populist and nationalist sentiment at a time of economic and cultural dislocation.

"Dare to dream that the dawn is breaking on an independent United Kingdom," Nigel Farage, the leader of the U.K. Independence Party, one of the primary forces behind the push for a referendum on leaving the European Union, told cheering supporters just after 4 a.m.

Britain will become the first country to leave the 28-member bloc, which has been increasingly weighed down by its failures to deal fully with a succession of crises, from the financial collapse of 2008 to a resurgent Russia and the massive influx of migrants last year.

The result left Prime Minister David Cameron's government in a bind.

Continued on Page A6

MARKETS REACT The "Brexit" results could lead to turmoil for the global economy. PAGE A8

All shook up

Social media and the advertising revolution — BIG READ, PAGE 11

Perils of populism

The rise of intolerance, division and celebrated ignorance — PHILIP STEPHENS, PAGE 13



Business of tennis

The next kings and queens of the court — SEPARATE SECTION

Tory Brexiters urge Cameron to stay regardless of vote result

Pro-Leave MPs sign letter to Downing St • Pound jumps as Farage predicts Remain win



GEORGE PARKER AND KATE ELLEN

Two-thirds of Tory MPs who campaigned against David Cameron in the EU referendum wrote to Downing Street last night calling for the prime minister to remain in his job regardless of the outcome of yesterday's historic vote.

The move to lift off any early challenge to Mr Cameron's leadership came as Nigel Farage predicted that Britain had voted narrowly to remain in the EU, after the polls closed in a vote set to decide the country's place in the world.

The pound jumped on the UK's leader's comments along with a poll suggesting that Remain would win, hitting \$1.56, its highest level since December, reflecting confidence in the City that Britain would stay in the EU. Sterling had hit a 2016 high against the dollar during the day, at one point up 1.6 per cent to \$1.4947, but later relinquished some of that advance.

The gesture of support for the prime minister should bolster his position through the difficult period after the result is what has been a deeply divisive contest over Britain's future relationship with Europe.

A total of 161 MPs who supported the Vote Leave campaign sent their letter to Downing Street shortly after the polls closed. The signatories included Leader of the House Chris Grayling, junior secretary Michael Gove and former London mayor Boris Johnson.

"Thank you for giving the British people a choice of destiny," the letter said. "Whatever the British people decide, you have both a mandate and a duty to continue leading the nation [and] implementing our manifesto."



Chelsea pensioners going to vote in London yesterday

With turnout reported to be very high, Mr Farage suggested moments after polls closed at 10pm that he feared his dream of Brexit had been dashed.

"It looks like Remain will edge it," he told Sky News before any votes had been counted. A YouGov poll conducted on the day at the same time gave Remain a 52-point to 48-point lead.

But the result was far from assured as Mr Farage spoke out. Other leading figures in the Leave camp refused to concede defeat. Two polls published on the eve of the vote gave Leave a lead. High turnout rates reported in Labour areas could prove helpful to the Remain side.

Mr Cameron was reported to be "cautiously optimistic" that he would succeed in his gamble in putting Britain's future in the EU to a referendum and

financial markets yesterday priced in a Remain vote.

Late in the day, Vote Leave, the official campaign advocating a British exit from the EU, sent an email to supporters citing high turnout in Scotland and London and urging its voters to head to the polls before they closed at 10pm.

London and Scotland are both regarded as Remain strongholds, in contrast to swathes of the Midlands and northern England, where weather was clear throughout the day.

Mary McAleer, Scotland's chief counting officer, said that turnout in Scotland could end up being between 70 per cent and 80 per cent — or possibly even higher — based on voting activity during the day and postal vote tallies.

Mr Cameron's future as prime minister was likely to hang on whether he persuaded Britain to extend its 45-year membership of the EU.

A Leave vote would not only change Britain's place in the world, but would be a severe blow to the project of European unity. It would also signify a big victory for anti-establishment, populist movements across the world.

Yesterday's poll was only the third UK-wide referendum. The other two both produced a vote for the status quo: in 1975 Britain decided to stay in the EU and in 2011 it opted to stick with its first-past-the-post system of electing MPs.

Philip Stephens page 13

Short View page 17

Markets pages 50-52

Briefing

• **Merrill Lynch penalty amid crackdown**
Regulators have launched a crackdown after Bank of America's broker-dealer arm agreed to pay \$415m and admitted wrongdoing to settle charges that it failed to safeguard customer assets. — PAGE 17

• **UK population rises to 65.1m**
Record net migration into the UK of 335,600 made up the biggest share of the increase, while natural population growth, the difference between births and deaths, hit its lowest level in nine years. — PAGE 14

• **Labour fails to back steel pensions plan**
Labour has stopped short of backing a plan aimed at saving steelworkers' jobs by watering down their pensions, throwing up a potential obstacle to efforts to resolve the industry crisis. — PAGE 4

• **Court blow for Obama on immigration**
The US president has suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the supreme court that will leave the next US president to decide whether to deport or protect millions of immigrants. — PAGE 20

• **France engulfed by fresh protests**
Unions back to the streets of Paris and other French cities to protest against labour reforms in a sign of the worsening social climate and political quagmire ensnaring President François Hollande. — PAGE 8

• **RBS fails to launch Williams & Glyn sale**
Royal Bank of Scotland has failed to launch the sale of Williams & Glyn in the first half of the year as planned, as technology complications deal a blow to preparations to privatise the lender. — PAGE 12

• **Maersk fires chief and weighs break-up**
Denmark's AP Møller Maersk has replaced chief executive Nils Andersen with shipping head Søren Skou and launched a sweeping strategic review. Its shares rose 12 per cent after the news. — PAGE 10

Datawatch



City watchdogs on high alert over expected post-poll trading frenzy

CAROLINE BINKHAM — FINANCIAL REGULATION CORRESPONDENT

Financial regulators have put banks and brokers under increased scrutiny ahead of today's trading day in anticipation of frenzied market reactions to the EU referendum result.

The Financial Conduct Authority has put financial groups on notice about "potential conduct risks" — including giving some customers preferential treatment as orders stack up in what are expected to be highly volatile markets.

In response to the alert, banks have imposed extra restrictions and risk limits for traders in the asset classes they operate in, and warned staff their conversations would be closely monitored.

"The risks around treating customers fairly and market abuse are the same that firms face every day, but any large

swings in the market would just magnify those risks," said Guy Wilkes, a former FCA enforcement official now at the law firm Mayer Brown.

In the week leading up to the vote, London markets have seen some of their most volatile swings since the 2008 crisis, with sterling working from near lows for 2016 against the dollar to highs for the year yesterday. One measure of volatility surpassed records set during the crisis, before easing.

Bankers said they had been in constant contact with regulators about preparations for today, with some detailing expanded capacity to deal with volumes up to 30 times regular trading.

Some banks put additional restrictions in place even before the results were known. Barclays stopped accepting stop-loss foreign exchange orders — a trigger to buy or sell at a specific price

— on its Bary electronic platforms and transferred them to voice brokers because of increased volatility.

The FCA has been quizzing firms in the past fortnight about contingency plans. "The FCA is aware that firms will be positioning to hedge or make profits from extreme volatility but are looking for them to ensure that in doing so their behaviour in the markets is orderly," said Tim Aron, a former regulator at Arnold & Porter, the law firm.

But the FCA is also concerned that any large movements in the markets could prompt misconduct, according to people briefed on the watchdog's thinking.

One scenario of concern to the FCA is of "tired and wired" traders forced to work long hours over the course of the referendum day and the morning.

Additional reporting by Laura Noonan, Martin Arnold and Richard Baskden



Piled high ballot papers reveal a nation divided

Britain has seldom looked more divided than it has in the EU vote. People in London and Scotland turned out in large numbers to deliver a clear message that they wanted to remain in the EU and its huge single market. But, in the old industrial centres of the north, the small towns of the Midlands and the faded seaside resorts, the ballot papers were stacked high in favour of Leave — rejecting an establishment that had let them down.

Mind the gap — PAGE 1

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World Markets

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Friday, June 24, 2016 65P

HISTORIC 5AM EDITION
Referendum shock as
Leave head for victory



WE'RE OUT

» Britain votes to quit the EU » Pound goes into freefall



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Glastonbury
A guide for the over-45s Times2

Britain's Brexit revolt

● Huge gains for Leave campaign in referendum ● Nail-biting finish as Farage warns genie 'out of bottle'

Francis Elliott Political Editor
Sam Coates Deputy Political Editor

David Cameron was banking this morning that Remain strongholds would spare him a humiliating defeat in the EU referendum after better than expected results for Brexit in Labour's heartlands.

Newcastle upon Tyne, deemed one of the most Remain-leaning of the 382 counting areas, provided the first real indication of the night. Although Remain won, the very narrow margin of below 1 per cent was much less than had been predicted.

In the next significant result Sunderland voted overwhelmingly for Leave, with 61 per cent of the vote compared with 39 per cent for Remain. The pattern was repeated elsewhere, suggesting Labour had failed to persuade its traditional supporters to reject Brexit.

Labour sources were continuing to predict bigger than expected wins in Remain strongholds such as London and Scotland, however. But turnouts in the capital, which had bad weather for much of the day, appeared to be below average, sparking fears that it might not deliver enough votes to outweigh the revolt among mostly poorer voters.

The pound, which hit a high for this year as polling booths closed, suffered its third biggest fall after the 2008 crash and Black Wednesday, when the initial results spooked a thin market.

The night had begun well for Remain as a YouGov survey conducted for Sky News suggested that 52 per cent had voted to stay in the EU and 48 per cent for Brexit.

Another opinion poll released after voting closed gave Remain an eight-point lead on 54 per cent, with Leave on 46 per cent. The Ipsos Mori survey was conducted over two days, concluding yesterday. The FTSE 100 index closed up 76.9 points at 6338.1, a two-month high as traders bet on a Remain result.

Campaigners reported "exceptionally high" numbers of voters in almost all regions with the final turnout expected comfortably to surpass the 66.1 per cent who voted at last year's general election.

Very high levels of turnout in Leave areas suggested that the Brexit campaign had mobilised sections of the electorate in a popular revolt against the political and financial



Leave supporters celebrate their first win after taking 61 per cent of the vote in Sunderland, well above the predicted margin

Tory MPs launch bid to save Cameron

Sam Coates

Infighting and political positioning had already begun last night as both Tory and Labour figures sought to ready themselves for a closer than expected result.

A group of Tory MPs released a letter urging David Cameron to stay, although pressure was growing on George Osborne to consider his position as chancellor.

On the Labour side calls resurfaced for Jeremy Corbyn to step down as leader after a number of the party's traditional strongholds ignored the Labour position and voted overwhelmingly for Leave.

The letter from 86 Tory MPs, which said that the prime minister had a "duty to stay on", gave Mr Cameron's chances of remaining in Downing Street a significant boost.

It means that almost two thirds of those who opposed the prime minister in the referendum have joined an immediate effort to shore up his position.

However, many MPs privately believe this only applies if there is a vote to remain.

A total of 52 Tory MPs did not sign the letter, although some said that they had not been asked. Among those who refused to sign was Owen Paterson, the former cabinet minister. Iain Duncan Smith said that he was not asked.

Steve Baker, co-chairman of Conservatives for Britain and organiser of a letter from 65 Brexit-supporting Tory MPs last week denouncing George Osborne for his threats of an emergency budget, told the BBC that there was "no chance of colleagues combining" to move against the prime minister. He removed his name from the letter shoring up Mr Cameron as it was being prepared last week but declared last night that he was happy to see the prime minister continue.

However, Mr Baker refused to say

IN THE NEWS

BHS Bahamas flights

The former bankrupt who bought BHS from Sir Philip Green tried to buy flights to the Bahamas on the company budget before it collapsed, an MP inquiry heard. **Page 11**

Sex slave 'ransoms'

The British clergyman known as the Vicar of Baghdad has been suspended by his charity over allegations of involvement in payments to buy back sex slaves seized by Isis. **Page 17**

Gun control revolt

An American civil rights hero sparked a revolt by Democrats against the refusal of Congress to accept tighter gun control laws, triggering the longest sit-in on Capitol Hill. **Page 34**

Tesco turnaround

The chief executive of Tesco claimed that the supermarket's turnaround was bearing fruit as it posted two consecutive quarters of growth for the first time in five years. **Pages 42-43**

Rooney optimistic

England have closed the gap on the best teams in Europe and should get beyond the quarter-finals of Euro 2016, Wayne Rooney, the team captain, said. **Sport, page 80**





EU, this is close: Concerned Britain Stronger in Europe supporters watch results come in at London's Royal Festival Hall

HEADING TOWARDS A BREXIT

- Leave scores victories across the UK
- Pound falls to lowest value in 31 years
- Farage declares: New dawn is breaking

by AIDAN RADNEDGE

BRITAIN looked to be on its way out of the EU early today as the Leave campaign scored victory.

Confident predictions of an easy referendum win for Remain were shattered when Sunderland voted out by a huge 30,000 margin. The pound



suffered a record fall to its lowest value since 1985 as marginal areas across the country also backed Brexit. Ukip's leader Nigel Farage declared:

'We dare to dream that the dawn is breaking on an independent United Kingdom.'

However, the Remain camp was hoping support in Scotland and the capital could swing the vote its way. In the London boroughs of Islington

Continued on Page 2



Out to party: Brexit supporters celebrate a landslide in Sunderland **picture: kae**

■ **Conspiracy! Voters urged to use pens NOT pencils** ■ **Gran's dressing down for 'patriotic dress'** Pages 4-5

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preview

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Cameron faces fight for survival as Britain sets course for Brexit

4.45am edition

- Pound plunges by 9% to lowest level since 1985
- Farage claims victory as leave stretches ahead
- Tory leave MPs pledge to back PM come what may

Anushka Asthana
Ben Quinn
Dan Milmo

David Cameron was facing recriminations this morning as Britain appeared to be on the brink of voting to leave the EU, triggering chaos in the currency markets, including the biggest ever one day fall in sterling.

The value of the pound fell by 9% as the financial markets prepared for a Brexit economic shock potentially greater than Black Wednesday in 1992.

Ukip's leader, Nigel Farage, declared victory to jubilant supporters shortly after 4am. "If the predictions now are right this will be a victory for real people, a victory for ordinary people, a victory for decent people. We have fought against the multinationals, against the big merchant banks, against big politics, against lies, corruption and deceit ... and today honesty and decency and belief in nation I think now is going to win."

"We will have done it without having to fight, without a single bullet having been fired," he said, calling it the country's "independence day"

There was a tense mood in Downing Street while Labour remain campaigners



Stronger In supporters react with dismay as they hear results at London's Royal Festival Hall Photograph: Rob Stothard/PA

broke down in tears, saying people were "scared and confused".

Jeremy Cook, chief economist and head of currency strategy at WorldFirst, said: "Sterling has collapsed ... It can go a lot further as well." The pound was trading at \$1.35, its lowest level since 1985.

Cameron is expected to address the country from Downing Street this morning. He had earlier received the support of 86 Conservative MPs who have campaigned for out, including Boris Johnson, Michael Gove and Chris Grayling, who said it was his "mandate and a duty to continue implementing the party's 2015 manifesto".

But Labour's shadow foreign secretary, Hilary Benn, said he could not see how the prime minister could remain in position.

Jeremy Corbyn, who is also facing recriminations and the possibility of a leadership challenge, will declare Britain a "divided country" and also indicate that the prime minister will need to consider



Inside
How Britain went to the polls -
and what might happen next
Pages 2-7 →

his position. The Labour leader will say the expected result demonstrates a split between areas of high deprivation, where people feel left behind, and other areas.

A senior Labour source said there was an urgent need to address the concerns of working class communities, including over immigration and public services. But he also argued that areas with the highest levels of immigration voted to remain, suggesting the issue was more complex.

Senior Tories called for calm. Graham Brady, one of the most important figures in uniting the party because of his leadership of the key 1922 backbench committee, said: "The debate over Britain's relationship with the EU is a vitally important

Continued on page 3 →

THE Sun

Friday, June 24, 2016

BRITAIN'S BEST-SELLING PAPER 50p thesun.co.uk

6AM LATEST

OUT
52%

IN
48%

● **Britain**
waking to
an EU exit

By TOM NEWTON DUNN, Political Editor
BRITAIN was this morning on the brink of leaving the EU after a historic referendum vote for Brexit stunned the world.
At 6am Leave had around 52 per cent of the vote to Remain's 48 per cent — giving the Out campaign a lead deemed too large to catch.
Leave's Nigel Farage felt confident enough to give a victory speech, saying: "Let 23 June go down in history as our independence day."
More than 30 million people voted, the highest
Continued on Page Two

● **Leave**
claims win
in huge poll



SEE EU LATER!

NATION'S BIG BREXFAST: SEE PAGES 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 & 9

