



**Brexit: Ireland's  
revenge?**

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**What Brexit means for  
Ireland**

## The last 2 candidates to the Conservative leadership race: Boris Johnson & Jeremy Hunt



160  
votes out  
of 313

*"Theresa May in pants"*

77 votes  
Voted « Remain » in 2016

**16 debates** across the UK – 160 000 Party members to decide by the end of July



Michael Gove: 75 votes (the Johnson Team accused of putting pressure on Conservatives MPs to vote for Hunt)



# Evening Standard

## BORIS RACING TOWARDS NO 10

» TOPS FIRST POLL WITH 114 VOTES —  
OVER DOUBLE CLOSEST RIVAL HUNT  
» JOHNSON'S WINNING TOTAL WOULD  
ASSURE HIM PLACE IN FINAL BALLOT

Joe Murphy, Nicholas Cecil and Kate Proctor

BORIS JOHNSON was racing towards 10 Downing Street today with a huge lead in the first ballot of the Tory leadership contest.

The former London mayor came out clear ahead in the secret ballot of 333 Conservative MPs with a haul of 114 votes — more than twice as many as

Continued on Page 4



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# BREXIT 101

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## 1. DAVID CAMERON'S LOST BET



27 May 2015: the State opening of Parliament

*“My government will **renegotiate the United Kingdom’s relationship with the European Union**. Alongside this, early legislation will be introduced to provide for **an in-out referendum on membership of the European Union**”*





David Cameron: the man behind the decision

A **risk taker** who failed to assess all the consequences of a potential Brexit

Belief the referendum would be won by the “Remain” side



# Great financial crisis Crash of 2008

"Major lead...  
also started to cut headcount...  
erty transactions turn more...

...k revised its economic  
for this year down to  
er cent. For next  
to 2 per cent.

consensus...  
9.1 per cent in 200...  
"The slowdown...  
a normal fluctuat...  
in a report yeste...  
enough eviden...  
economic dow...  
Last night...  
Chao (李超), a...  
spokesman, ...  
with

SATURDAY, OCTOBER

## Disbelief, and a punter reaches

The plunging market yesterday dealt a new blow to investors' confidence, as the government decided to inject HK\$1 million into counselling services for losers in the financial crisis.

Retail investors...  
disbelief at pr...  
Central...



The **Euro debt crisis of 2010**: public finances in half of the 16 euro zone nations at high risk of becoming unsustainable”







David Cameron: the « austerity prime minister »

Europe: the easy scapegoat

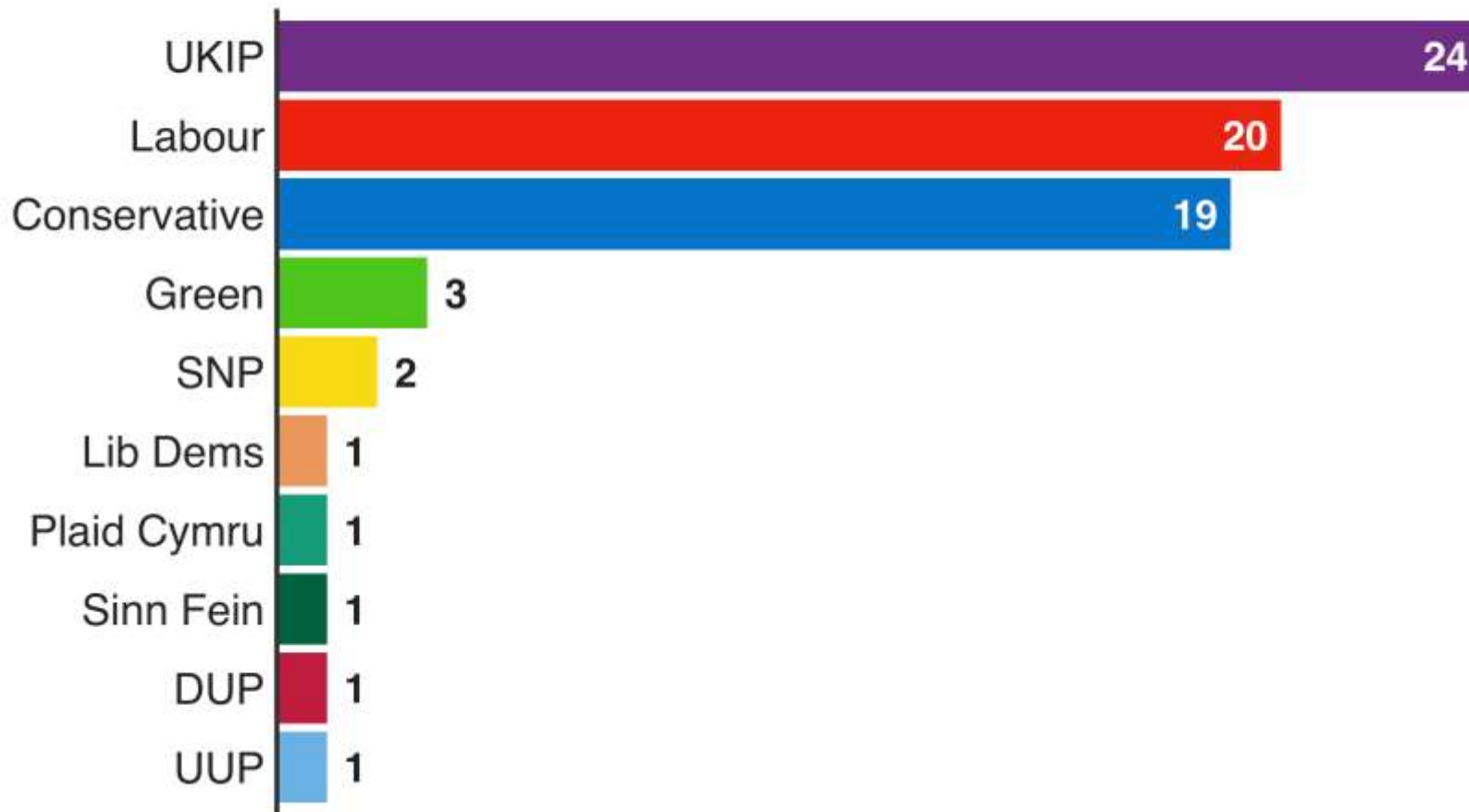


The rise of the UKIP (United Kingdom Independence Party): the topic of **immigration**



# UKIP came out on top in the last EU elections

Number of seats won in European Parliament elections in 2014

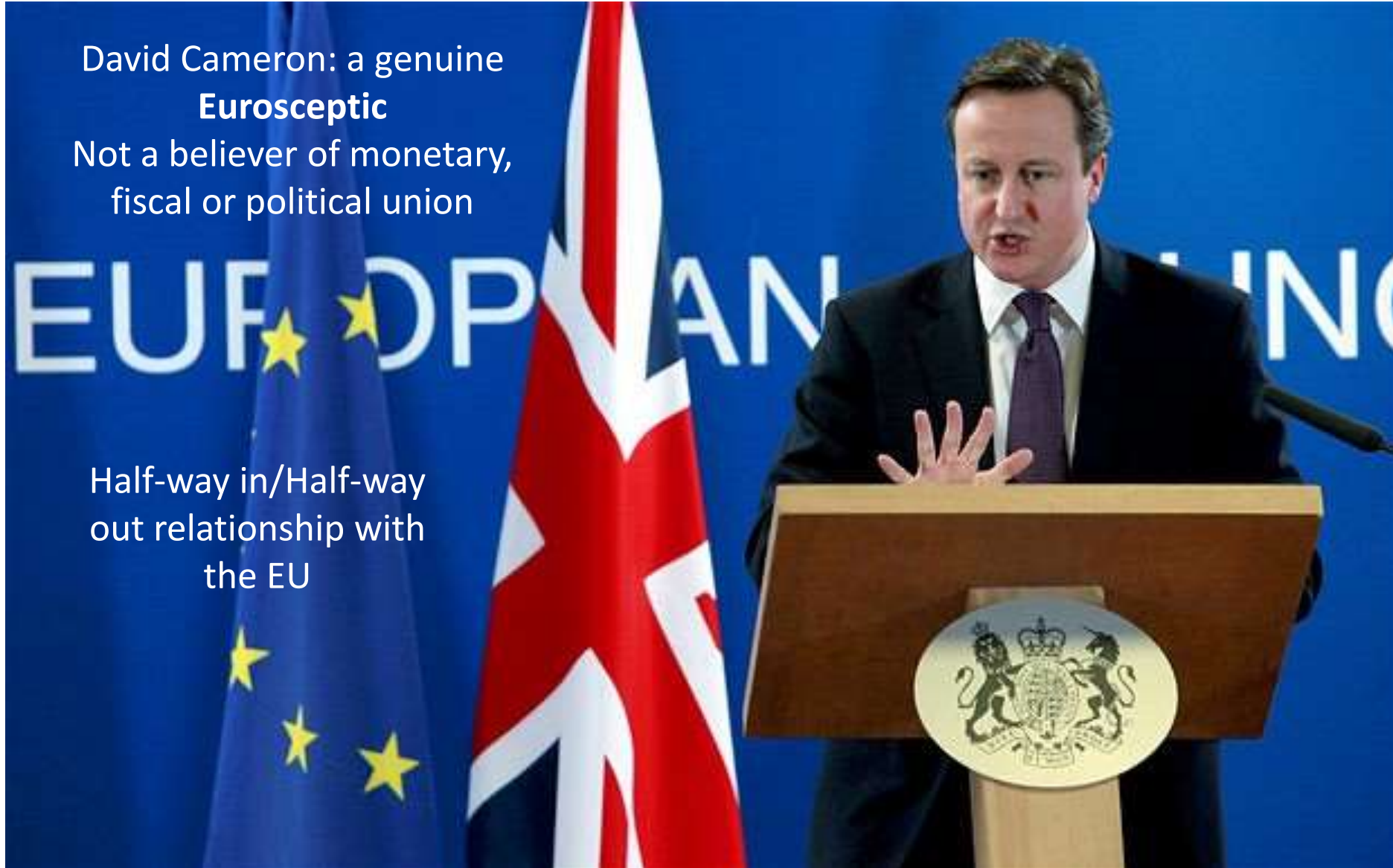


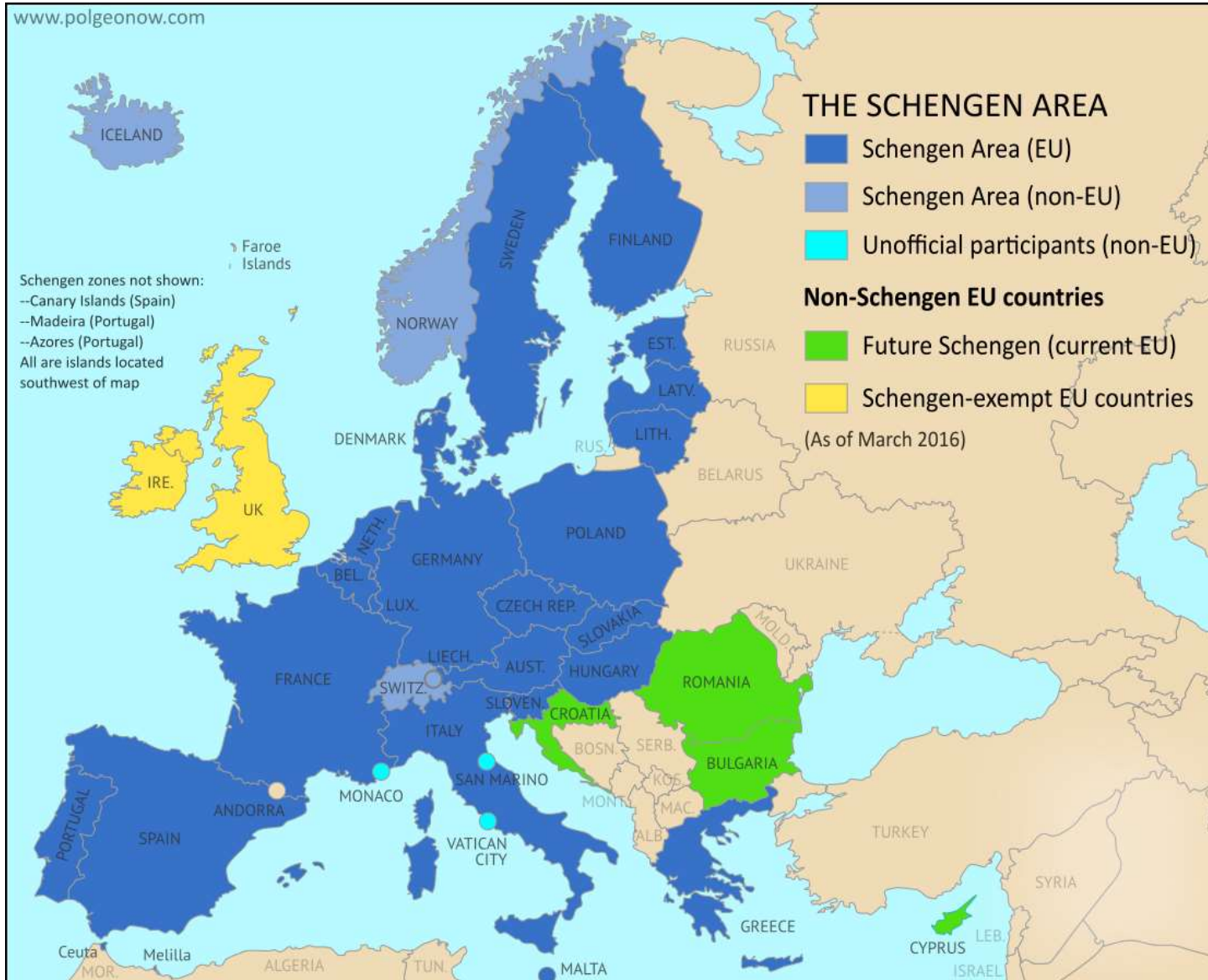
Source: European Parliament



David Cameron: a genuine  
**Eurosceptic**  
Not a believer of monetary,  
fiscal or political union

Half-way in/Half-way  
out relationship with  
the EU







# Britain and Europe

23 January 2013 (re-election  
campaign)

1. To renegotiate the status of  
the UK within the EU
2. A referendum: *“A very simple  
in or out choice”*

The choice of a « bigger  
question »

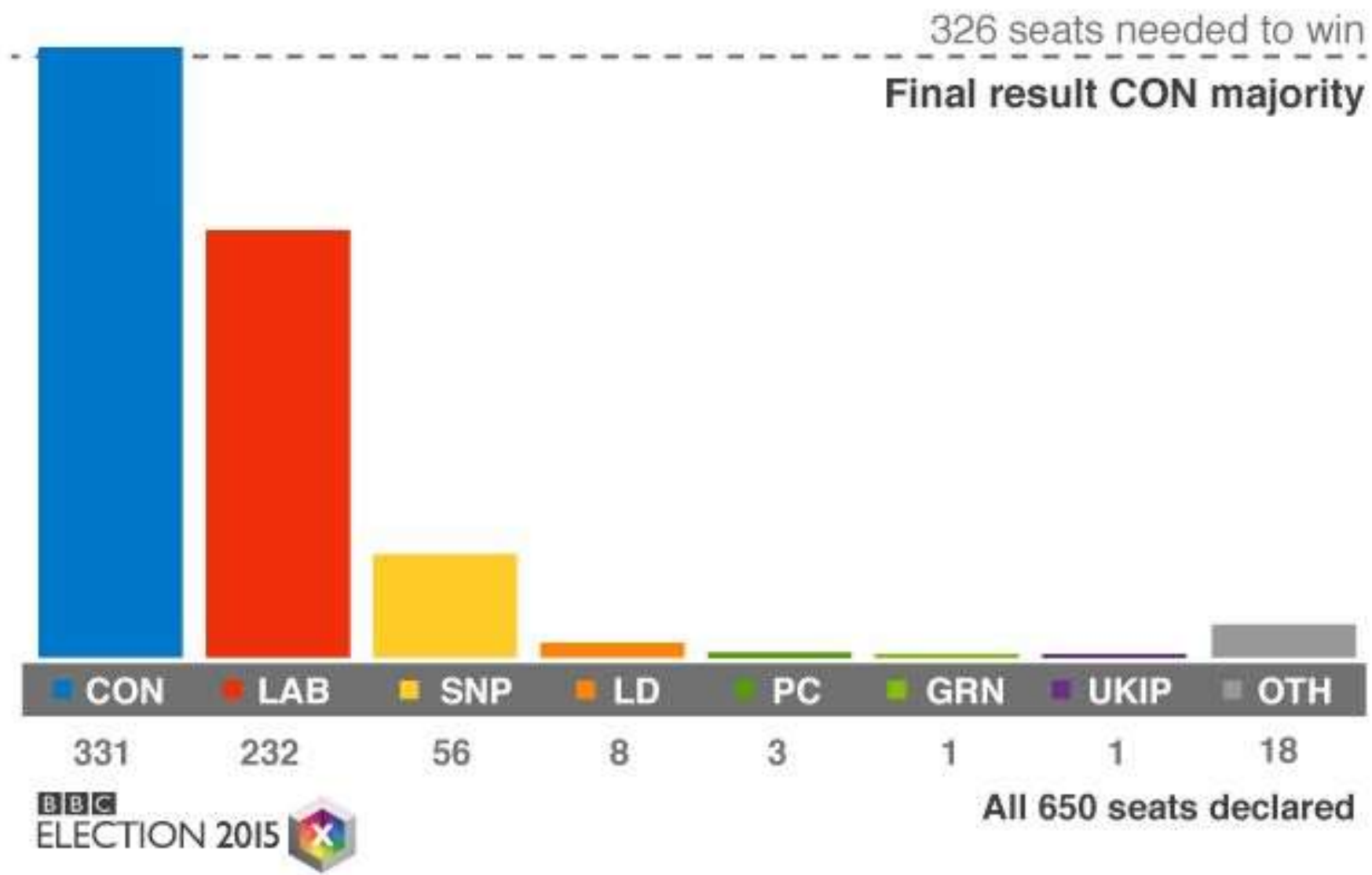
The British more likely to  
choose security and vote  
« remain »



Cameron comfortably re-elected in 2015







Cameron's strategy: to put pressure on European partners and negotiate a new deal



**February 2016:** agreement with the EU allowing the UK to temporarily control some migrations



## David Cameron: the apprentice-sorcerer



The questions of **immigration, free movement & identity**  
**underestimated** (an obsession for the right wing of the PC party)

David Cameron: an Eurosceptic  
Highly critical of the EU

Not the best qualified to defend the  
“remain” option

Growing fracture within the PC party  
Pro vs. anti EU







## A divided Labor Party

Jeremy Corbyn and the left wing of the Labor Party's ambiguous position over Brexit

Labor Party not campaigning strongly for "Remain"





# Let's take back control



Vote Leave



Vote Leave



#TakeControl



Vote Leave

The Pro-Brexit  
camp: an efficient,  
yet **deceiving**  
campaign





# BREAKING POINT

The EU has failed us all

We must break free of the EU and take back control of



## The EU is letting in more and more countries

- The EU started as 9 countries – it's now 28
- Croatia, Romania and Bulgaria have joined since 2007

**The EU will continue to grow.**  
**The next countries set to join are:**

Albania: 2.8 million  
Macedonia: 2.1 million  
Montenegro: 0.6 million  
Serbia: 7.2 million  
Turkey: 76.0 million





23 June 2016

# UK Votes Leave



Turnout  72.2%

Rejected ballots  26,033

BBC

## 24 June: David Cameron's resignation



## 11 July: Theresa May Prime Minister





# Brexit

## *Soft*

**UK STRIKES A DEAL**  
UK negotiates a similar deal  
to Norway

**ACCESS TO SINGLE MARKET**  
Retain free trade access with  
EU countries

**FREE MOVEMENT OF  
LABOUR**  
EU nationals continue being  
able to work & live in the UK –  
no work permit needed

**EU BUDGET**  
Contributes to the EU budget

## *Hard*

**UK ESTABLISHES A  
RELATIONSHIP**

UK establishes a relationship  
with the EU on WTO agreement  
terms

**NO ACCESS TO SINGLE MARKET**  
UK loses single market access,  
no longer has to pay into the EU  
budget.

**CONTROLLED IMMIGRATION**  
UK can set its own policy for EU  
migrants.

**EU BUDGET FREE**  
No contribution to EU budget

From *“Brexit means Brexit and we are going to make a success of it”* to...

*“A long and difficult process of negotiations between the UK and the EU...”*

Brexit is a **divorce** and a separation: nobody can win



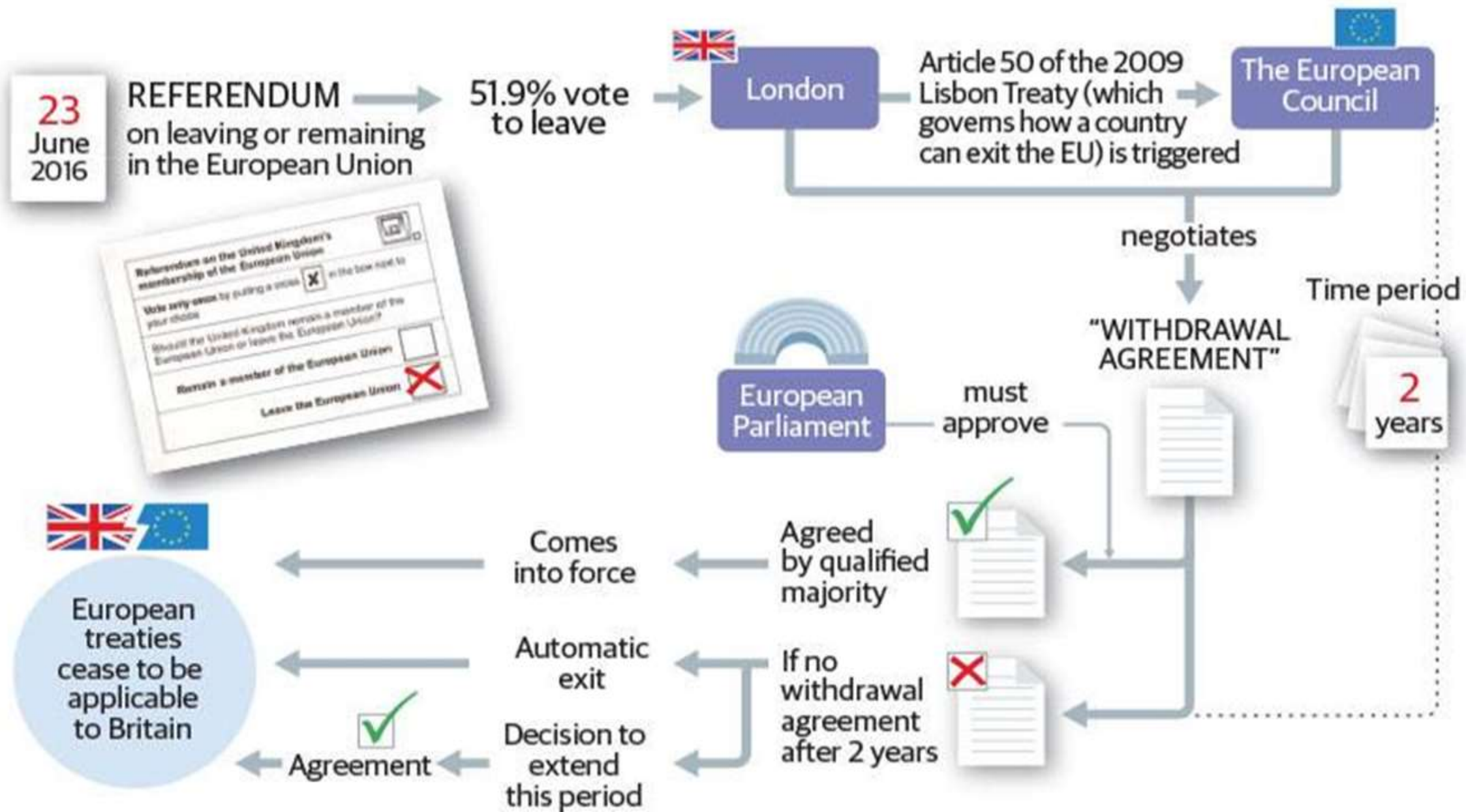
29 June: EU summit – EU leaders united (a first!) – Fear of the EU imploding





# BRITAIN TO LEAVE THE EU: WHAT HAPPENS NEXT?

The official British divorce from Europe would take at least two years



13 March 2017: Theresa May invokes article 50 – Negotiations can begin



Absence of preparation inside the UK system



The consequences of Brexit: a surprise for the British establishment – The “Irish question” seen as a separate issue





The **1998 Good Friday Agreement**: a new status for Northern Ireland

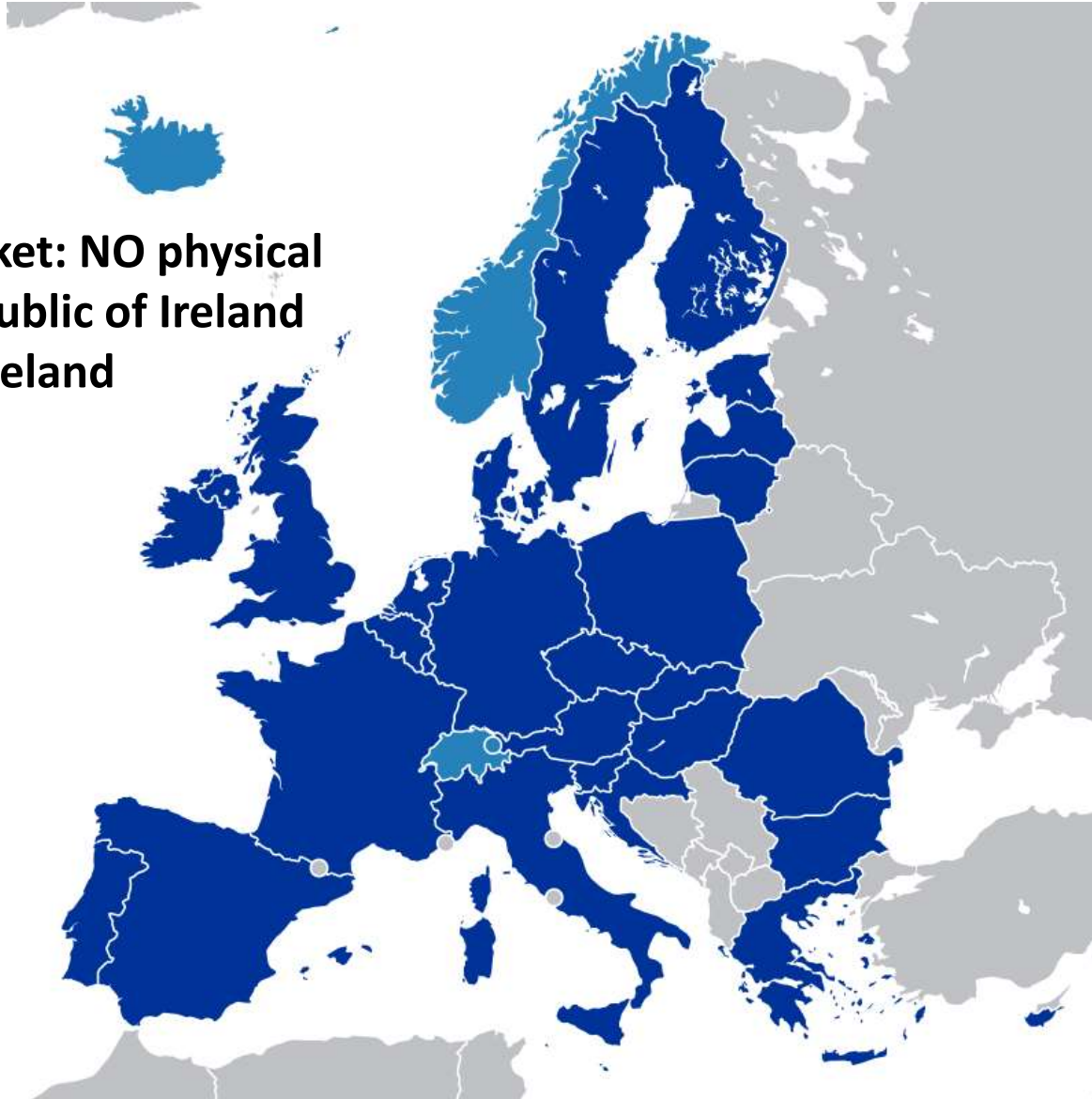
A **devolved government** in which Unionists and Nationalists **to share power**

**The mutual promise** (Brussels, Dublin & London) never to reinstate a hard border between the Republic & Northern Ireland

**The new status supported by the EU** (financial aids & the Single Market)



**The European Single Market: NO physical  
border between the Republic of Ireland  
and Northern Ireland**



## The pro-Brexit camp: the repudiation of the EU as a simple act of British sovereignty

Brexit: to leave the Single Market and the Customs Union = **to recreate the UK's only land border**

**NORTHERN  
IRELAND**

**UNITED  
KINGDOM**

DUBLIN

**IRELAND**

LONDON

The EU to support the Republic of Ireland on the border with Northern Ireland





## A United Kingdom more divided than ever

The peace in Northern  
Ireland in jeopardy

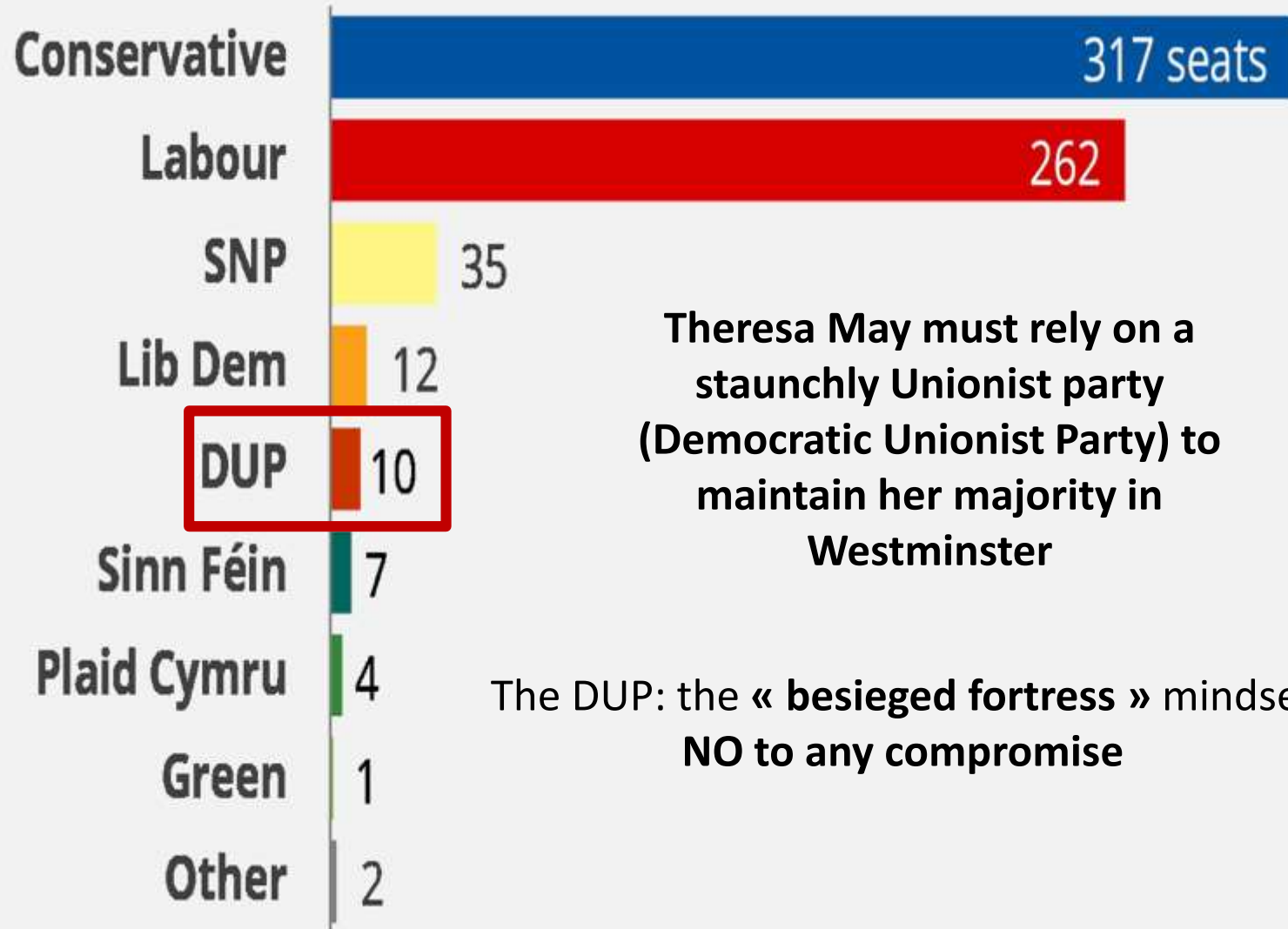
Scotland tempted by a second  
referendum on independence



**A majority at Westminster: the key to success**  
Deal negotiated with EU to be ratified



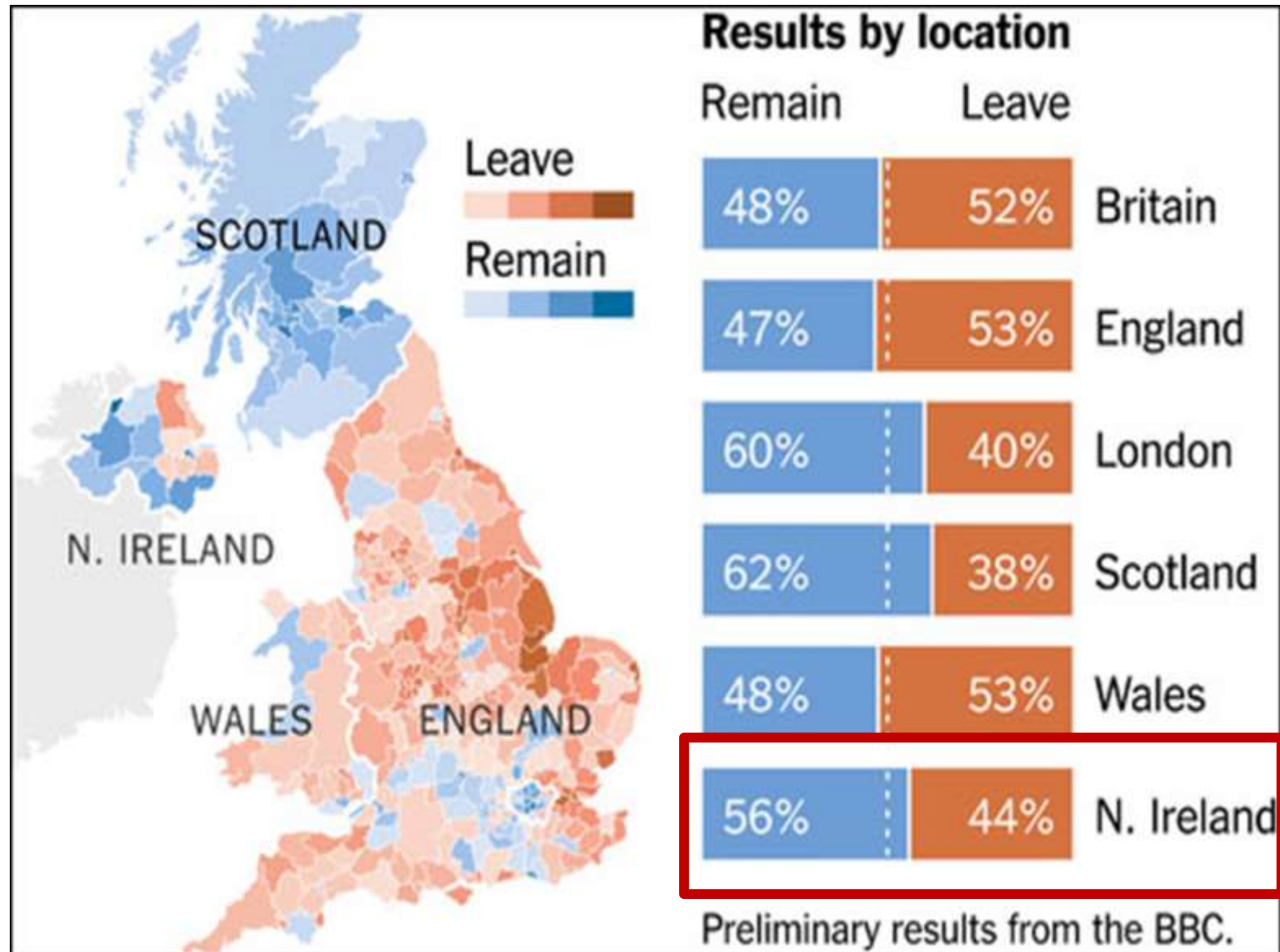
**GENERAL ELECTION  
8 JUNE 2017**



Theresa May must rely on a staunchly Unionist party (Democratic Unionist Party) to maintain her majority in Westminster

The DUP: the « **besieged fortress** » mindset  
**NO** to any compromise







85% of Catholics voted Remain compared  
to only 40% of Protestants

Likely more Catholics than Protestants in Northern Ireland by the centenary of the foundation of the state (2021)



2011 census

Protestant 48%

Catholic 45%





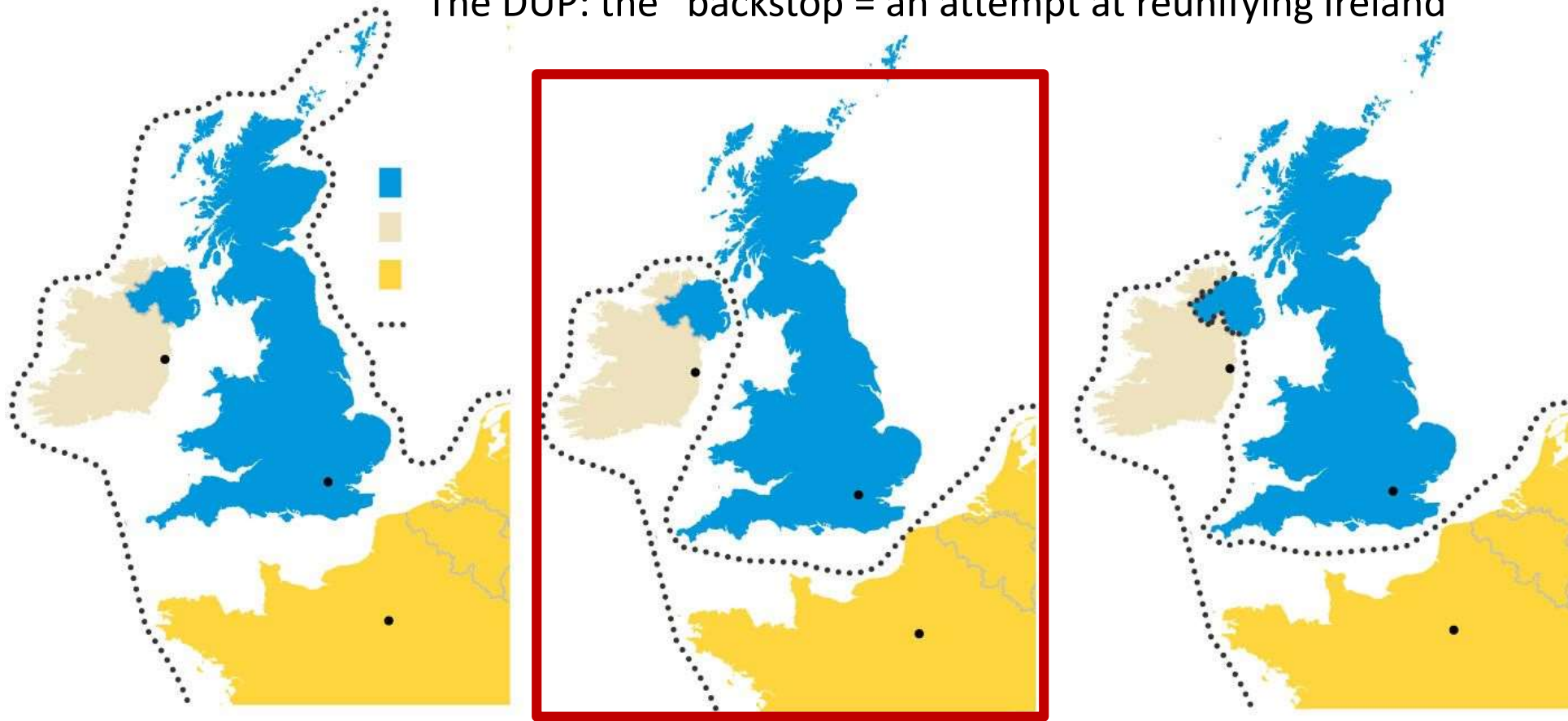
Catholic 44%

Protestant 40%

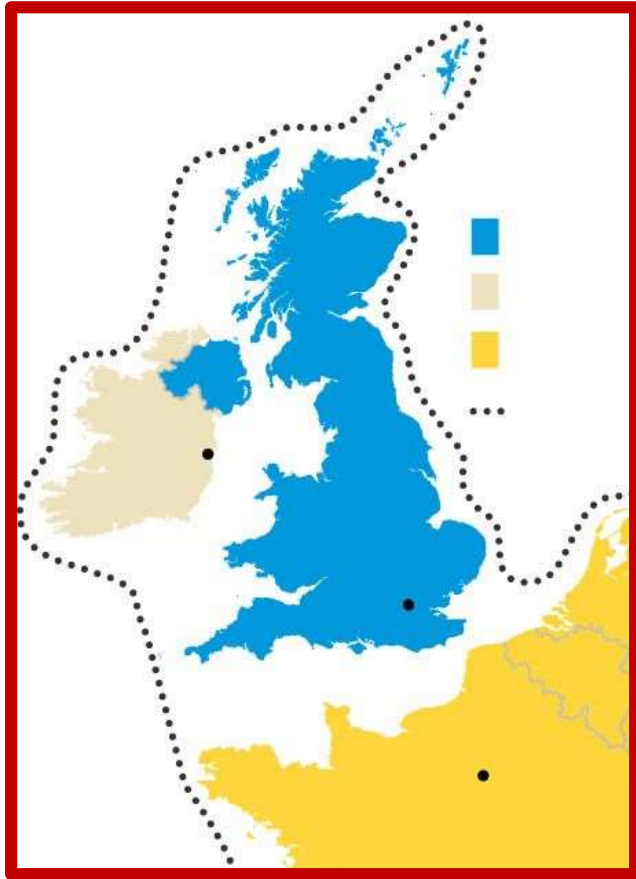
Other 16%

Source: 2016 Labour Force Survey

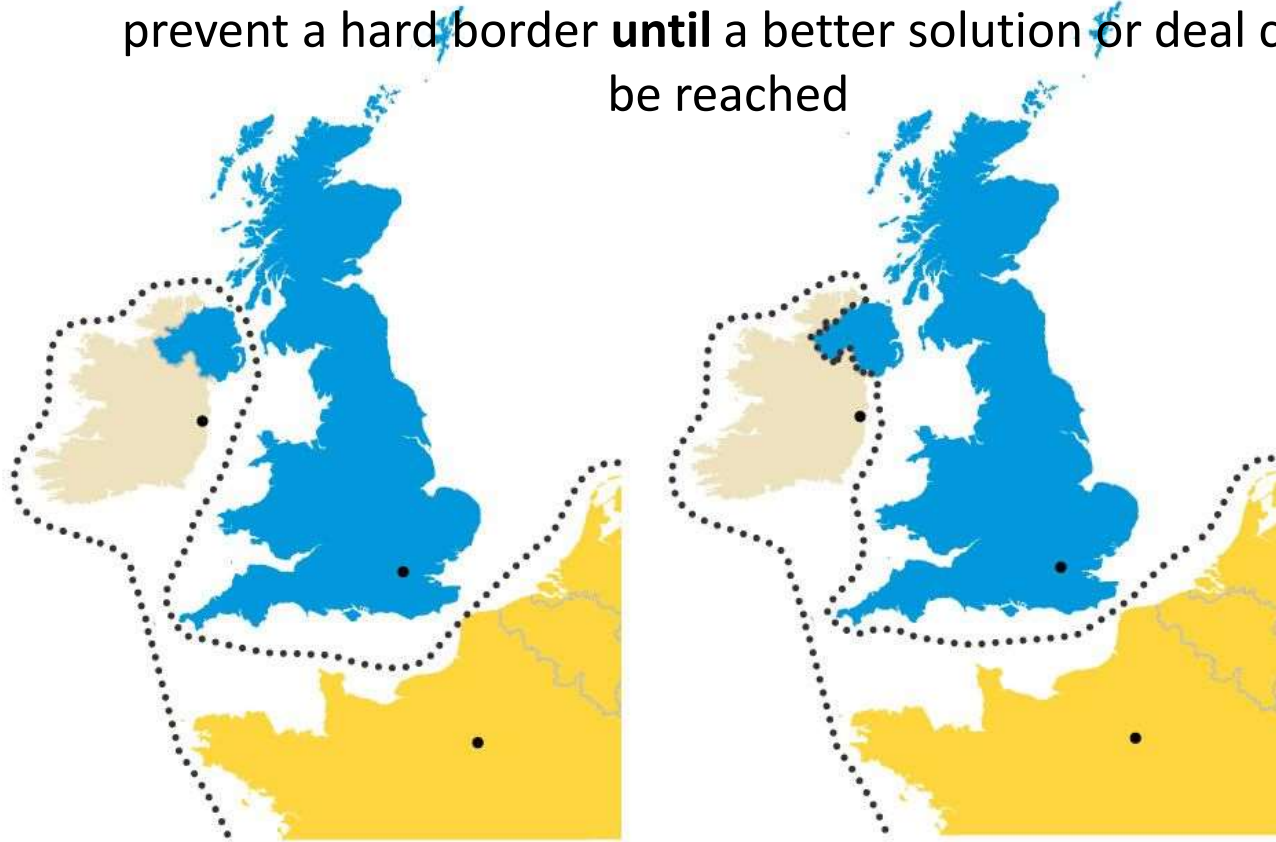
The DUP: the “backstop” = an attempt at reunifying Ireland



**The (temporary) solution – A backup plan: to maintain Northern Ireland within the Single Market**  
**The “backstop” – The hard border to be shifted to the Irish Sea**



The EU's position: **an arrangement of indefinite length** to prevent a hard border **until** a better solution or deal can be reached



**Theresa May's proposal: the UK to remain part of the Single Market/Customs Union for a limited time after Brexit (until 2020 or 2022)**



**Brexit deal rejected 3 times – Hardliners: to renegotiate the agreement (NO backstop or binding end date or alternative arrangement)**



## Theresa May's resignation





Boris Johnson (“Bojo”):  
divorce with EU will  
happen no matter what  
on October 31<sup>st</sup>

**Option 1:** to negotiate a new  
agreement with the EU  
(unlikely)

**Option 2:** Brexit without a  
deal



Irish PM Leo Varadkar: a no-deal Brexit to force Dublin to protect the EU's Single Market



The return of a hard border with Northern Ireland?