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Bakalářská práce

“BREXIT” and Northern Ireland  
what are the possible implications?

BREXIT a Severní Irsko: Jaké jsou  
možné důsledky?

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České Budějovice  
2017

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Ve Strakonicih dne 28.12.2017

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## **Abstract**

The aim of this thesis is to describe the current issue of BREXIT and its possible economic, political and cultural consequences for Northern Ireland with a special focus on the future the border between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland as well as on possible impact on the Irish peace process

**Keywords:** BREXIT, Northern Ireland, Ireland, the European Union, the United Kingdom

## **Anotace**

Cílem této práce je popis současné otázky Brexitu a jeho potenciálních ekonomických, politických a kulturních dopadů na Severní Irsko se zvláštním zřetelem na budoucnost hranice mezi Severním Irskem a Irskou republikou stejně jako dopady na Irský mírový proces.

**Klíčová slova:** Brexit, Severní Irsko, Irsko, Evropská unie, Spojené království

## **Poděkování**

Rád bych poděkoval panu PhDr. Christopheru Koyovi, M.A., Ph.D. za trpělivost a neustálou podporu.

## **Acknowledgement**

I would like to thank to PhDr. Christopher Koy, M.A., Ph.D. for his patience and ongoing support.

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## **I. Introduction**

In the thesis, I will try to describe the development of BREXIT as it is connected to Northern Ireland up to 8<sup>th</sup> December 2017. My aim is not to describe BREXIT as a whole, for that would be (when taken into account the complexity of the process) almost impossible. The issue of Northern Ireland has especially in the last days of my research has become truly burning.

Furthermore, I will try to analyze BREXIT's Ireland effect from different points of view such as political, economic and sociological. As BREXIT is an in-progress process, no one can really predict what all the consequences will be in the end. However, I strongly believe that topic of withdrawal of the UK from the EU with a special focus on Northern Ireland is definitely worth close attention.

The main source of information for this thesis is journalism and reporting of current events, since my topic is new. The topic definitely talks about Irish history but it has been happening as the thesis has been written. Up to the finishing, the events the thesis is about are still in progress and that makes the thesis unusual.

## II. Analysis

### 2.1. Ready, Steady, BREXIT!

Great Britain has been a member of the EEC (European Economic Community), the predecessor of today's European Union since 1973. The UK's membership has been approved by the 1975 referendum.<sup>1</sup> Interesting is that in Northern Ireland electorate voted just by the slight majority to remain inside the former EEC.<sup>2</sup> Whereas in 2016 referendum was the percentage of remain votes higher.<sup>3</sup>

In recent months still, more and more difficulties and issues need to be solved. Boris Johnson recently stated that UK-Trade deal might not be fully negotiated within the period of two years.<sup>4</sup> This was the deadline originally set in the Lisbon Treaty to withdraw from the Union.<sup>5</sup> However, the Lisbon treaty states, that this period cannot be extended unless: "*the European Council, in agreement with the Member State concerned, unanimously decides to extend this period.*"<sup>6</sup>

Since no one can actually foretell how the result will really look, another state may make another possible agreement. The USA, after the inauguration of the new American president Donald Trump in January 2017 abandoned the Trans-Pacific partnership<sup>7</sup> and stated that NAFTA<sup>8</sup> needs to be renegotiated<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The 1975 Referendum. BUTLER, David and Uwe KITZINGER. *The 1975 Referendum* [online]. [quoted 2017-12-12]. ISBN 0-333 662990-3. Available at: [www.harvard-digital.co.uk/euro/](http://www.harvard-digital.co.uk/euro/)

<sup>2</sup> WHYTE, Nicholas. The Referendums of 1973 and 1975. *Northern Ireland elections* [online]. 2002 [quoted 2017-12-12]. Available at: <http://www.ark.ac.uk/elections/fref70s.htm>

<sup>3</sup> BBC. EU Referendum - Results. *Bbc.com* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-08]. Available at: [http://www.bbc.com/news/politics/eu\\_referendum/results](http://www.bbc.com/news/politics/eu_referendum/results)

<sup>4</sup> SAEED, Saim. Boris Johnson: EU trade deal may take longer than 2 years. *POLITICO.EU* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-07-09]. Available at: <http://www.politico.eu/article/boris-johnson-eu-trade-deal-may-take-longer-than-2-years/>

<sup>5</sup> *The Lisbon Treaty: Article 50.*

<sup>6</sup> *The Lisbon Treaty: Article 50.*

<sup>7</sup> PETROFF, Alanna. Trump says he wants a U.K. trade deal. Don't hold your breath. *CNN Money* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-07-09]. Available at: <http://money.cnn.com/2017/01/23/news/economy/uk-us-trade-deal-trump/>

<sup>8</sup> North American Free Trade Agreement was signed by the USA, Mexico and Canada and aimed on reduction of tariffs and improvement of relationship among those countries.

<sup>9</sup> PETROFF, Alanna. Trump says he wants a U.K. trade deal. Don't hold your breath. *CNN Money* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-07-09]. Available at: <http://money.cnn.com/2017/01/23/news/economy/uk-us-trade-deal-trump/>

while threatening China with tariffs.<sup>10 11</sup> Therefore it is obvious, that the USA will need some “old-new” trade partner. That might be Great Britain including Northern Ireland. Proof that the new American Administrative wants to negotiate a trade agreement with the UK as soon as possible while the UK also has a great interest in it is that British Prime Minister Theresa May was the first foreign visitor of the newly elected American president.<sup>12</sup>

## 2.2. Divide the Divided (Unite the United)

Among the twelve crucial points of the so-called White Paper of BREXIT is included point regarding the relationship of Great Britain with the Republic of Ireland by maintaining the Common Travel Area between the Republic of Ireland and the United Kingdom i.e Northern Ireland. In her short article, Joan Scales gives an overview of what the British- Irish Common Travel Area actually consist.<sup>13</sup> Despite the simple description of the current situation, she does not predict whether the Travel Area will continue or not. Nevertheless, she highlights one important fact, which is “that Irish people are not considered “*foreign in the UK*.”<sup>14</sup> This idea is also represented in the elaboration of point four right in the white paper.<sup>15</sup>

*“The UK and Ireland are inescapably intertwined through our shared history, culture and geography. It is a unique relationship: there are*

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<sup>10</sup>PETROFF, Alanna. Trump says he wants a U.K. trade deal. Don't hold your breath. *CNN Money* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-07-09]. Available at: <http://money.cnn.com/2017/01/23/news/economy/uk-us-trade-deal-trump/>

<sup>11</sup> After nearly a year in office, Trump has only followed through with the first of three action he has threatened and the Trans-Pacific partnership had not been completely notified anyway.

<sup>12</sup>DEWAN, Angela and Jennifer DEATON. Britain's Prime Minister May to visit Trump in Washington. *Cnn.com* [online]. [quoted 2017-07-09]. Available at: <http://edition.cnn.com/2017/01/22/europe/may-trump-uk-us-visit/>

<sup>13</sup>SCALES, Joan. Brexit holds key to future of British-Irish Common Travel Area. *Theirishtimes.com* [online]. [quoted 2017-07-10]. Available at: <http://www.irishtimes.com/business/transport-and-tourism/brexit-holds-key-to-future-of-british-irish-common-travel-area-1.2905967>

<sup>14</sup>SCALES, Joan. Brexit holds key to future of British-Irish Common Travel Area. *Theirishtimes.com* [online]. [quoted 2017-07-10]. Available at: <http://www.irishtimes.com/business/transport-and-tourism/brexit-holds-key-to-future-of-british-irish-common-travel-area-1.2905967>

<sup>15</sup>UK Government. *The United Kingdom's exit from and new partnership with the European Union* [online]. London, 2017 [quoted 2017-07-09]. ISBN 978-1-4741-4065-2. Available at: [https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/589191/The\\_United\\_Kingdoms\\_exit\\_from\\_and\\_partnership\\_with\\_the\\_EU\\_Web.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/589191/The_United_Kingdoms_exit_from_and_partnership_with_the_EU_Web.pdf)



*hundreds of thousands of Irish nationals residing in the UK and of UK nationals residing in Ireland. There are also close ties and family connections, particularly across the border between Northern Ireland and Ireland.*"<sup>16</sup>

The white paper itself was released after Scales' article was published concerning the Common Travel Area in greater detail. It should be remembered that this area was created long before both countries joined EU.<sup>17</sup>

Here arises a rather confusing problem: the land border between the Republic of Ireland and the UK will now be the border between the EU member and non-member state.<sup>18</sup> David Mulhall, the Irish Ambassador to the UK, says to this topic, that : *"EU will treat it (the UK – Irish border) as a special case."*<sup>19</sup> Mulhall also commented on fears that on the *"open borders"* would be used by EU member state citizens as a gateway to enter illegally on British soil and its labor market. According to him *"people would find it easier and cheaper to get into the UK directly via Stansted."*<sup>20</sup> Even the EU has been against the hard border itself.<sup>21</sup> The president of the European Commission Jean-Claude Juncker

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<sup>16</sup>UK Government. *The United Kingdom's exit from and new partnership with the European Union* [online]. London, 2017 [quoted 2017-07-09]. ISBN 978-1-4741-4065-2. Available at:  
[https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/589191/The\\_United\\_Kingdoms\\_exit\\_from\\_and\\_partnership\\_with\\_the\\_EU\\_Web.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/589191/The_United_Kingdoms_exit_from_and_partnership_with_the_EU_Web.pdf)

<sup>17</sup>UK Government. *The United Kingdom's exit from and new partnership with the European Union* [online]. London, 2017 [quoted 2017-07-09]. ISBN 978-1-4741-4065-2. Available at:  
[https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/589191/The\\_United\\_Kingdoms\\_exit\\_from\\_and\\_partnership\\_with\\_the\\_EU\\_Web.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/589191/The_United_Kingdoms_exit_from_and_partnership_with_the_EU_Web.pdf)

<sup>18</sup>O'TOOLE, Fintan. In the new world order created by Trump and Brexit, Ireland could be ripped apart. *The Guardian* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-01]. Available at:  
<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/feb/23/ireland-border-brexit-trump-eu>

<sup>19</sup>WINTOUR, Patrick. Irish border checks will be impossible after Brexit, says ambassador. *The Guardian* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-01]. Available at:  
<https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2017/feb/08/irish-border-checks-impossible-after-brexit-says-ambassador-daniel-mulhall>

<sup>20</sup>WINTOUR, Patrick. Irish border checks will be impossible after Brexit, says ambassador. *The Guardian* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-01]. Available at:  
<https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2017/feb/08/irish-border-checks-impossible-after-brexit-says-ambassador-daniel-mulhall>

<sup>21</sup>ELIAS, Paul. EU doesn't want hard Irish border after Brexit. *Albuquerque Journal.com* [online]. [quoted 2017-12-01]. Available at: <https://www.abqjournal.com/955967/eu-doesnt-want-hard-irish-border-after-brexit.html>

states that “*the Irish government will work closely together during the whole process of the Brexit negotiations*”<sup>22</sup>

From all of the previous expressions, it is clear that moderate politicians want to maintain the fragile peace which has been established between the Catholic Republic of Ireland and Protestant majority Northern Ireland. Two decades ago the border between these two states consisted of military checkpoints,<sup>23</sup> particularly before the Good Friday agreement in 1998.<sup>24</sup>

However, there are some voices calling for the reunification of both Irish states as well as those supporting the full UK results of the Brexit referendum. The arguments of those who would like Northern Ireland to become either an independent state or reunite with the Republic of Ireland are quite obvious: *English votes have overturned the democratic will of Northern Ireland.*<sup>25</sup> These are the words of Declan Kearney, the member of probably the most prominent party calling for the independence of Northern Ireland from the United Kingdom’s the party *Sinn Fein*. The majority of both Scotland and Northern Ireland are, according to the results of the voting, dissatisfied with the final LEAVE decision.<sup>26</sup>

The question arises whether democracy is only “*the dictatorship of many*” or if only smaller nations within the United Kingdom which are

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<sup>22</sup>ELIAS, Paul. EU doesn’t want hard Irish border after Brexit. *Albuquerque Journal.com* [online]. [quoted 2017-12-01]. Available at: <https://www.abqjournal.com/955967/eu-doesnt-want-hard-irish-border-after-brexit.html>

<sup>23</sup>JOSEPH, Anthony, Gerri PEEV and Larisa BROWN. Sinn Fein calls for a referendum on Irish reunification as the Brexit vote leaves Ireland facing a new era of border controls. *Dailymail.co.uk* [online]. 2016 [quoted 2017-12-01]. Available at: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3657960/Sinn-Fein-calls-referendum-Irish-reunification-Brexit.html>

<sup>24</sup>The full text of the Good Friday Agreement available here: *The Good Friday Agreement*. In: . Belfast, 1998. Also available at: [http://www.wesleyjohnston.com/users/ireland/today/good\\_friday/full\\_text.html](http://www.wesleyjohnston.com/users/ireland/today/good_friday/full_text.html)

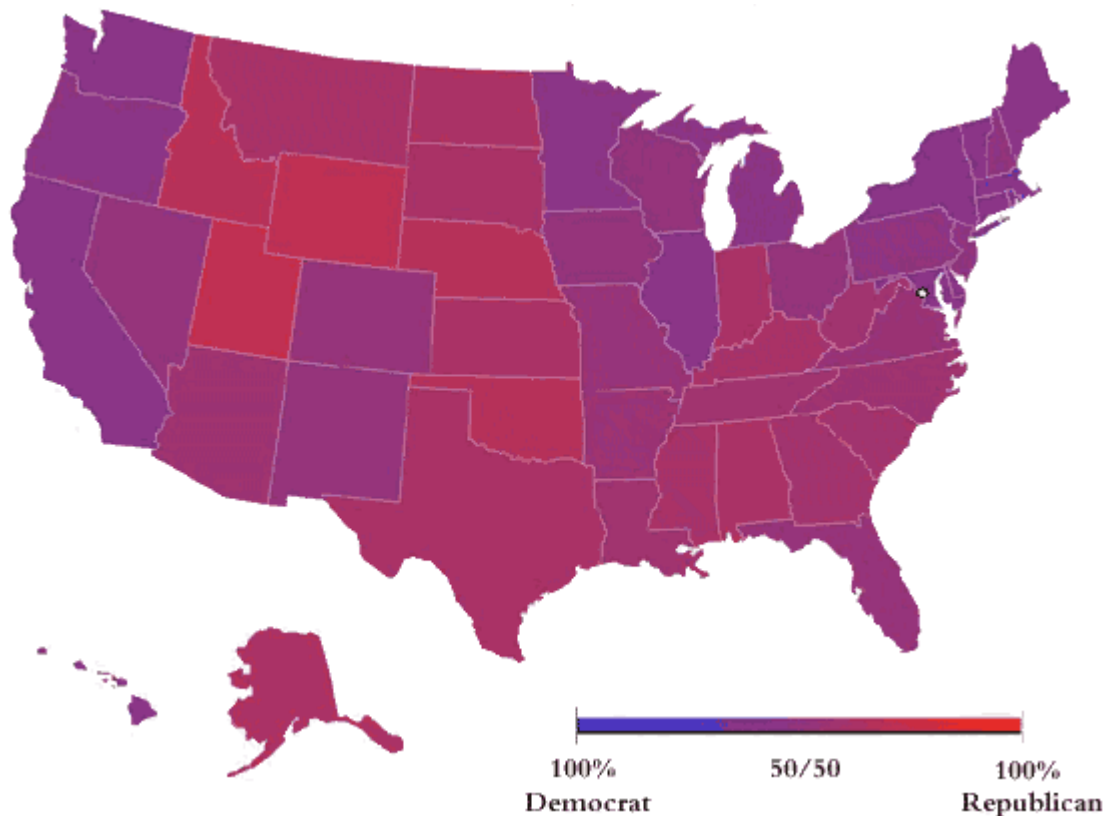
<sup>25</sup>AL JAZEERA AND AGENCIES. Brexit: Scotland and N Ireland reconsider ties to UK. *Aljazeera.com* [online]. 2016 [quoted 2017-12-01]. Available at: <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/06/brexit-scotland-ireland-reconsider-ties-uk-160624130431341.html>

<sup>26</sup>AL JAZEERA AND AGENCIES. Brexit: Scotland and N Ireland reconsider ties to UK. *Aljazeera.com* [online]. 2016 [quoted 2017-12-01]. Available at: <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/06/brexit-scotland-ireland-reconsider-ties-uk-160624130431341.html>

represented by Scotland and Northern Ireland have a right to self-determination again.

### 2.3. Retro versus Metro

Many have compared the BREXIT voting results as a possibility to use the analogy to the USA presidential election, where “*rural voters*” tended to vote for the Republican candidate whereas “*metro*” majority population states inclined to the democratic one.



The source of the picture: [webpages.uidaho.edu](http://webpages.uidaho.edu)<sup>27</sup>

In the UK, it is possible to observe that rural parts of the country are focused on either industry, such as the Black country or agriculture, voted to exit the EU. Living in the UK is comparable to the USA regarding the wealth and education level of each region.

<sup>27</sup> The source of the picture: [WEBPAGES.UIDAHO.EDU/NGIER/RETRO.HTM](http://WEBPAGES.UIDAHO.EDU/NGIER/RETRO.HTM). Bluered. In: *Webpages.uidaho.edu* [online]. [quoted 2017-12-01]. Available at: <http://www.webpages.uidaho.edu/ngier/retro.htm>

## 2.4. Tariff-free access to the world's largest consumer market<sup>28</sup>

Nevertheless, with substantial majorities Northern Ireland as well as Scotland voted to remain in the EU. It is observed that agriculture in Northern Ireland is still heavily dependent on EU subsidies.<sup>29</sup> Moreover, Ireland is strongly dependent on foreign investors who are interested in Northern Ireland partly because it right now has a stronger approach towards the common European market. Additionally, inhabitants of Northern Ireland are native speakers of English.<sup>30</sup> This means a greater opportunity in business trade for the Republic of Ireland, which will have both conditions whereas the Northern Ireland, if remaining a part of the UK, would lose access to the common European Market. Hence, the Republic of Ireland will be the only English-speaking nation in the EU after BREXIT happens.<sup>31</sup>

This concerns especially banks, which are now located in London. Another reason that motivates them are the quite low taxes in the Republic of Ireland. For example, the corporation tax rate is just 12.5 percent.<sup>32</sup>

## 2.5. Who Runs Away Wins?

What was described concerning banks in the previous paragraph became official in July 2017. Ireland applied as the country to host the European Banking Authority (EBA) as well as the European Medicine Agency.<sup>33</sup> However, these are the official EU authorities. The much more significant issue is definitely to arise when taking into account many private companies, desiring to remain

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<sup>28</sup> MCDONNELL, Frances. Brexit: Northern Ireland businesses are in turmoil over uncertain future. *Theirishtimes.com* [online]. 2016 [quoted 2017-12-01]. Available at: <https://www.irishtimes.com/business/economy/brexit-northern-ireland-businesses-are-in-turmoil-over-uncertain-future-1.2705575>

<sup>29</sup>The video: MATTHES, Georg. Northern Ireland still dependent on EU subsidies. In: *Dw.com* [online]. [quoted 2017-12-01]. Available at: <http://www.dw.com/en/northern-ireland-still-dependent-on-eu-subsidies/av-1934987>

<sup>30</sup>KEARNEY, Vincent. EU referendum: What will leave vote mean for Northern Ireland? *Bbc.com* [online]. 2016 [quoted 2017-12-01]. Available at: <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-northern-ireland-36621101>

<sup>31</sup>MCDONALD, Henry. *Dozens of UK banks and financial firms 'looking at moving to Ireland'* [online]. 2016 [quoted 2017-12-01]. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/dec/25/uk-banks-financial-firms-moving-ireland>

<sup>32</sup>MCDONALD, Henry. *Dozens of UK banks and financial firms 'looking at moving to Ireland'* [online]. 2016 [quoted 2017-12-01]. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/dec/25/uk-banks-financial-firms-moving-ireland>

<sup>33</sup>CONSILIUM.EUROPA.EU. 23 cities offer to host UK-based EU agencies. *Consilium.europa.eu* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-01]. Available at: <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2017/08/01/uk-based-eu-agencies/#>

inside the Common European Market. For example, EasyJet Airlines, which will start a separate airline in Vienna for the post-BREXIT era.<sup>34</sup> Nevertheless, as an English-speaking and remaining country in the EU is Ireland still one of the most-discussed potential locations where to move to for multinational corporation which want to fully remain inside the common European market.

## 2.6. Soft versus Hard Brexit

Soft Brexit, unlike Hard Brexit, is intent on remaining inside the European common market<sup>35</sup> as well as keeping the all the “four freedoms” of movement inside the EU which consists of free movements of persons, goods, capital, and services.<sup>36</sup> Yet, especially free migration within the EU is the issue which conservatives in the British Government openly wanted to regulate.<sup>37</sup> During the G20 summit in Hangzhou, Prime Minister May stated that the current free movement of EU citizens into the UK would be a red line in future negotiations with the EU.<sup>38</sup>

Another topic of BREXIT is a withdrawal from the jurisdiction of the European Court of Justice. However, in the end, the legal divorce might not be so easy and might end-up in a situation, when a lawsuit with the UK participating on one side, will result in no British judges so there will be no possibility to proceed according to the actual law.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>34</sup>CALDER, Simon. EasyJet is setting up a separate European airline in Vienna ready for BREXIT. *Independent.co.uk* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-01]. Available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/travel/news-and-advice/easyjet-europe-headquarters-vienna-brexite-luton-london-stelios-budget-airline-uk-leave-eu-a7840461.html>

<sup>35</sup>MARTIN, Ben. Chancellor confirms UK will leave EU customs union and single market. *Telegraph.co.uk* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-01]. Available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/business/2017/06/18/chancellor-confirms-uk-will-leave-eu-customs-union-single-market/>

<sup>36</sup>FOSTER, Alice. Brexit: What are the ‘four freedoms’ of the European Union? *Express.co.uk* [online]. 2016 [quoted 2017-12-01]. Available at: <https://www.express.co.uk/news/politics/684968/EU-four-freedoms-what-freedom-of-movement-goods-capital-services-workers-European-Union>

<sup>37</sup>JAMES, William, Kate HOLTON and William SCHOMBERG. UK's May: wants government control on migration, points system open to abuse. : *reuters.com* [online]. 2016 [quoted 2017-12-01]. Available at: <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-g20-china-may-immigration-idUSKCN11B1GP>

<sup>38</sup>BBC. Immigration: May rejects points-based system for EU nationals. *BBC.com* [online]. 2016 [quoted 2017-12-01]. Available at: <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-37271420>

<sup>39</sup>BARNARD, Catherine. Farewell to the ECJ? We may end up obeying laws but having no say them. *Theguardian.com* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-01]. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/aug/19/ecj-farewell-brexite-european-union-surrendering-influence>

## 2.7. To Leave the Single Market, or the Customs Union or to Leave Them All?

The difference between these two types, soft and hard BREXIT lies in a fact, that the single market includes the movement of both goods, a trade issue and people, a labour issue. However, the customs union is an area, where no tariffs are imposed on any EU goods.<sup>40</sup> After the British snap election, rumors circulated that May's Tory government is inclined towards the softer version of Brexit. These rumors were diminished by Philip Hammond himself, who stated that the UK is leaving both Custom union and the free trade area.<sup>41</sup> However, Hammond has been calling upon avoiding “*dangerous cliff edges*” as well as transitional arrangements.<sup>42</sup> In Hammond’s words "They (the voters) did vote to leave the EU. And we will leave the EU. But it must be done in a way that works for Britain.”<sup>43</sup>

## 2.8. Uncertainty and the “economic “no-go” Zones

The position of the stakeholders on each side of the UK and the EU have become more or less clear. However, what does the common Northern Irish inhabitants and businessmen think about the situation? For instance, the Ulster Bank, the largest bank in Northern Ireland, warns the public of the possible creation of “*economic no-go zones*” caused by the uncertainty connected to BREXIT negotiations.<sup>44</sup> In that case, foreign investments might be reduced

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<sup>40</sup>KENNEDY, Simon. How Does U.K. Want to Trade With EU Post-Brexit?: QuickTake Q&A. *Bloomberg.org* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-01]. Available at: <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2017-01-17/how-does-u-k-want-to-trade-with-eu-post-brexit-quicktake-q-a>

<sup>41</sup>MARTIN, Ben. Chancellor confirms UK will leave EU customs union and single market. *Telegraph.co.uk* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-01]. Available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/business/2017/06/18/chancellor-confirms-uk-will-leave-eu-customs-union-single-market/>

<sup>42</sup>MCGUINNESS, Alan. Chancellor Philip Hammond warns: We must avoid Brexit 'cliff edge'. *Skynews.com* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-01]. Available at: <https://news.sky.com/story/chancellor-philip-hammond-warns-we-must-avoid-brexit-cliff-edge-10920994>

<sup>43</sup>MCGUINNESS, Alan. Chancellor Philip Hammond warns: We must avoid Brexit 'cliff edge'. *Skynews.com* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-01]. Available at: <https://news.sky.com/story/chancellor-philip-hammond-warns-we-must-avoid-brexit-cliff-edge-10920994>

<sup>44</sup>HUMPHRIES, Conor and Amanda FERGUSON, FAULCONBRIDGE, Guy and Peter GRAFF, ed. Brexit vote makes united Ireland suddenly thinkable. *Reuters.com* [online]. 2016 [quoted 2017-12-01]. Available at: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-britain-eu-nireland/brexit-vote-makes-united-ireland-suddenly-thinkable-idUSKCN0ZJ0E2>

which will definitely lead towards higher unemployment, resulting in lower buying power and the vicious cycle of economic depression.

BREXIT, despite quite a large consensus against it in Northern Ireland, is going to happen<sup>45</sup> and the great uncertainty about the future is arising in the inhabitants of both side of the new EU-Irish border.<sup>46</sup> There actually exist three issues to be discussed before negotiations could move to trade. These three points consist of financial settlement, EU inhabitants' rights in the UK and last but not least the Northern Irish border.<sup>47</sup>

## 2.9. Frictionless and Seamless Border?

Among Hammond's three points for a "*Brexit for Britain*" belongs except for the free trade agreement and the aforementioned "avoiding dangerous cliffs" also the *open and free-flowing* Irish border.<sup>48</sup> That issue of maintaining peace on the Irish island belongs to one of the crucial priorities of the current British government is proved by the fact that Theresa May is considering replacing the EU funds, (which will not be available anymore after March 2019), by British government funding.<sup>49</sup> Moreover, the importance of so-called PEACE funding is stated even on the Northern Ireland and Ireland position paper.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> MCDONNELL, Frances. Brexit: Northern Ireland businesses are in turmoil over uncertain future: No one knows what the result will ultimately mean for firms in the province. *Irishtimes.com* [online]. 2016 [quoted 2017-12-01]. Available at: <https://www.irishtimes.com/business/economy/brexit-northern-ireland-businesses-are-in-turmoil-over-uncertain-future-1.2705575>

<sup>46</sup> MCDONNELL, Frances. Brexit: Northern Ireland businesses are in turmoil over uncertain future: No one knows what the result will ultimately mean for firms in the province. *Irishtimes.com* [online]. 2016 [quoted 2017-12-01]. Available at: <https://www.irishtimes.com/business/economy/brexit-northern-ireland-businesses-are-in-turmoil-over-uncertain-future-1.2705575>

<sup>47</sup> RANKIN, Jennifer. EU's Brexit negotiator tells UK to speed up and 'get serious'. *Theguardian.com* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-01]. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2017/aug/28/michel-barnier-concerned-about-brexit-talks-progress-third-round>

<sup>48</sup> MCGUINNESS, Alan. Chancellor Philip Hammond warns: We must avoid Brexit 'cliff edge'. *Skynews.com* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-01]. Available at: <https://news.sky.com/story/chancellor-philip-hammond-warns-we-must-avoid-brexit-cliff-edge-10920994>

<sup>49</sup> GRAHAM, Ian. UK Says to Consider Replacing EU Peace Funds for Northern Ireland. *Usnews.com* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-01]. Available at: <https://www.usnews.com/news/world/articles/2017-08-16/uk-could-continue-eu-peace-funding-for-northern-ireland-after-brexit-may-says>

<sup>50</sup> HM GOVERNMENT. *Northern Ireland and Ireland POSITION PAPER*. In: . Also available at : [https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/638135/6.37\\_03\\_DEXEU\\_Northern\\_Ireland\\_and\\_Ireland\\_INTERACTIVE.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/638135/6.37_03_DEXEU_Northern_Ireland_and_Ireland_INTERACTIVE.pdf)

Northern Ireland was one of the largest recipients of EU subsidies,<sup>51</sup> which might be one of the reasons why the majority of the population in Northern Ireland voted to remain.<sup>52</sup>

The current position of the British government plans for the border to be controlled by the use of smart technology as well as police spot checks.<sup>53</sup> Leo Varadkar, the current Irish Prime Minister, urged Theresa May to abandon the „*hard BREXIT*” approach. In other words, he demanded the UK to stay in the EU customs union, for them a guarded border would become redundant in that case.<sup>54</sup> It is crucial to remember that the original border did not exist only because of the customs issue, but more importantly because of the threat of terrorism.<sup>55</sup> Any kind of border would, on the one hand, slow down the economy and on the other hand, could crucially endanger the continuity of the peace process.<sup>56</sup> Both British and EU negotiators should keep in mind the fact that business exchange annually between the UK and Ireland is 13.6 billion pounds and 9.1 billion of pounds another way around.<sup>57</sup> One should not forget about

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<sup>51</sup>GRAHAM, Ian. UK Says to Consider Replacing EU Peace Funds for Northern Ireland. *Usnews.com* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-01]. Available at: <https://www.usnews.com/news/world/articles/2017-08-16/uk-could-continue-eu-peace-funding-for-northern-ireland-after-brex-it-may-says>

<sup>52</sup>BBC. EU referendum: Northern Ireland votes to Remain. *Bbc.com* [online]. 2016 [quoted 2017-12-01]. Available at: <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-northern-ireland-36614443>

<sup>53</sup>MERRICK, Rob. Theresa May 'to insist on Northern Ireland border checks post-Brexit' in move likely to anger the Republic: New 'position paper' is expected to stick to Britain's current plan to use smart technology and spot checks – which Dublin opposes. *Independent.co.uk* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-01]. Available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/theresa-may-leo-varadkar-customs-union-single-market-dublin-irish-sea-trading-border-a7890061.html>

<sup>54</sup>MERRICK, Rob. Theresa May 'to insist on Northern Ireland border checks post-Brexit' in move likely to anger the Republic. *Independent.co.uk* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-02]. Available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/theresa-may-leo-varadkar-customs-union-single-market-dublin-irish-sea-trading-border-a7890061.html>

<sup>55</sup>BLEVINS, David. Position paper rules out customs posts on the Irish border. *Skynews.com* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-02]. Available at: <https://news.sky.com/story/uk-plans-frictionless-post-brex-it-border-with-ireland-10989736>

<sup>56</sup>GILCHRIST, Karen. UK defends 'frictionless' post-Brexit Irish border as mutually beneficial. *Cnbc.com* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-02]. Available at: <https://www.cnbc.com/2017/08/16/uk-defends-frictionless-post-brex-it-irish-border-as-mutually-beneficial.html>

<sup>57</sup>GILCHRIST, Karen. UK defends 'frictionless' post-Brexit Irish border as mutually beneficial. *Cnbc.com* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-02]. Available at: <https://www.cnbc.com/2017/08/16/uk-defends-frictionless-post-brex-it-irish-border-as-mutually-beneficial.html>



between 23,000 and 30,000 workers who commute across the border every day.<sup>58</sup> These people cross the border more than once a day.

Despite the effort to establish the aforementioned “seamless and frictionless” border, there will probably have to some kind of checks between an EU member and a non-EU member state. No one has been talking about the hard border with a military presence and machine guns aiming at another side of the border. However, if some border between the EU and Northern Ireland will exist, there must be some checkpoints where customs will be charged on goods<sup>59</sup> and passport control like Norway and Sweden currently have on their border.

## 2.10. „There is always a road when there is a will“ ....?<sup>60</sup>

These are the words that Michael Barnier proclaimed during his visit to the current non-existent British-Irish border in May 2017. The question, however, is whether there really can be found enough will on both sides? For the UK would, of course, get the most benefits to control migration on its border and still keep access to the common market. This approach has been called “*a la carte*” because it means simply just picking what the state needs from the benefits of the EU and leaving out either what it disagrees with such as payments to the EU.

The decline of this approach from the EU came close after the BREXIT referendum from the European Council president (and the former prime minister of Poland) Donald Tusk, who stated that:

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<sup>58</sup> O'CARROLL, Lisa. How does the Irish border affect the Brexit talks? *Theguardian.com* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-02]. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2017/jun/21/how-does-the-irish-border-affect-the-brex-it-talks>

<sup>59</sup> O'CARROLL, Lisa. How does the Irish border affect the Brexit talks? *Theguardian.com* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-02]. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2017/jun/21/how-does-the-irish-border-affect-the-brex-it-talks>

<sup>60</sup> The EU negotiator Michael Barnier on the Irish/ northern Irish border in May 2017 quoted for example here: BBC.COM. Brexit Irish border answer can be found - EU's Barnier. *Bbc.com* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-02]. Available at: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-39889292>

*Leaders made it crystal clear that access to the single market requires acceptance of all four freedoms - including freedom of movement... There will be no single market a la carte.*<sup>61</sup>

## **2.11. The Border Under the Sea?**

Unlike the British government's hi-tech vision, another proposed solution is about to use natural conditions. According to Irish Prime Minister Varadkar the currently proposed hi-tech land border will not work and may endanger the current fragile peace.<sup>62</sup> That is why there have been rumors about establishing the borderline in the Irish Sea.<sup>63</sup> This idea was denied by Varadkar himself.

*“What we're not going to do is to design a border for the Brexiteers because they're the ones who want a border. It's up to them to say what it is, say how it would work and first of all convince their own people, their own voters that this is actually a good idea. As far as this government is concerned there shouldn't be an economic border. We don't want one.”*<sup>64</sup>

Obviously, the Irish Taoiseach does not intend to help the British government solve their current burning issue. This question of making an Irish-Irish border has nationalist overtones and in fact would hinder one island, one nation policy.

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<sup>61</sup> COOPER, Charlie. Brexit: UK cannot have 'single market a la carte', say EU leaders. *Independent.co.uk* [online]. 2016 [quoted 2017-12-02]. Available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/brexit-uk-cannot-have-single-market-a-la-carte-say-eu-leaders-a7109141.html>

<sup>62</sup> VALE, Jon. Ireland 'demanding sea border with UK after Brexit'. *Independent.co.uk* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-02]. Available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/ireland-demand-sea-border-with-uk-brexit-leo-varadkar-a7863986.html>

<sup>63</sup> VALE, Jon. Ireland 'demanding sea border with UK after Brexit'. *Independent.co.uk* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-02]. Available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/ireland-demand-sea-border-with-uk-brexit-leo-varadkar-a7863986.html>

<sup>64</sup> PRESS ASSOCIATION. Ireland 'will not design a border for the Brexiteers', says taoiseach. *Theguardian.com* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-02]. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/jul/28/taoiseach-leo-varadkar-ireland-not-design-border-brexiteers>

## 2.12. “Fruitful debate” and a “high degree of convergence.”<sup>65</sup>

“*The Irish border question*” was the only one from the three basic issues in which negotiators allegedly made some progress during the third round of BREXIT negotiations. A round ended on 31<sup>st</sup> of August 2017. During the ensuing press conference, Britain’s BREXIT minister David Davis stated that there was “*some concrete progress*”<sup>66</sup> while Barnier considered the discussions as “*fruitful.*”<sup>67</sup> Unfortunately, the public did not get a chance to obtain further details. However, in light of the preceding process, the future of the CTA (The Common Travel Area)<sup>68</sup> between the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland might not be as dark and as frantic. Such was the idea of having the border under the Irish Sea.

Nevertheless, according to Michael Barnier except for the Irish issue, “*no decisive progress*” has been made on topics of the UK divorce bill and citizens’ rights.<sup>69</sup>

## 2.13. An Unexpected Pyrrhic Victory

Almost everyone was surprised when in April 2016 Theresa May called the snap general election. The surprise was huge mainly because of the fact that Mrs. May previously declined the possibility of calling an election earlier than in a regular period.<sup>70</sup> She wanted to strengthen her mandate for the BREXIT

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<sup>65</sup> DE LA BAUME, Maïa and Quentin ARIÈS. Brexit talks round 3 — what we learned. *Poliitico.eu* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-02]. Available at: [https://www.politico.eu/article/brexit-talks-round-3-what-we-learned/?utm\\_content=buffer7587c&utm\\_medium=social&utm\\_source=facebook.com&utm\\_campaign=buffer](https://www.politico.eu/article/brexit-talks-round-3-what-we-learned/?utm_content=buffer7587c&utm_medium=social&utm_source=facebook.com&utm_campaign=buffer)

<sup>66</sup> MACDONALD, Alastair, Gabriela BACZYNSKA, Jan STRUPCZEWSKI and Philip BLENKINSOP, KING, Larry, ed. EU’s Barnier says Brexit talks far from shifting to future ties. *Reuters.com* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-02]. Available at: <https://ca.reuters.com/article/topNews/idCAKCN1BB0TG-OCATP>

<sup>67</sup> DE LA BAUME, Maïa and Quentin ARIÈS. Brexit talks round 3 — what we learned. *Poliitico.eu* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-02]. Available at: [https://www.politico.eu/article/brexit-talks-round-3-what-we-learned/?utm\\_content=buffer7587c&utm\\_medium=social&utm\\_source=facebook.com&utm\\_campaign=buffer](https://www.politico.eu/article/brexit-talks-round-3-what-we-learned/?utm_content=buffer7587c&utm_medium=social&utm_source=facebook.com&utm_campaign=buffer)

<sup>68</sup> MCGUINNESS, Terry and Melanie GOWER. The Common Travel Area and the special status of Irish nationals in UK law. *Parliament.uk* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-02]. Available at: <http://researchbriefings.parliament.uk/ResearchBriefing/Summary/CBP-7661>

<sup>69</sup> GILCHRIST, Karen. No ‘decisive progress’ in third round of Brexit talks, top EU negotiator says. *Cnbc.com* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-02]. Available at: <https://www.cnbc.com/2017/08/31/no-decisive-progress-in-third-round-of-brexit-talks-top-eu-negotiator-says.html>

<sup>70</sup> BOYLE, Danny a Jack MAIDMENT. Theresa May announces snap general election on June 8 to ‘make a success of Brexit’. *Telegraph.co.uk* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-02].

negotiations.<sup>71</sup> However, the actual result did not boost her position at all but substantially weakened her.

In the election, Conservatives lost 13 seats, while their biggest competitor Labour party led by Jeremy Corbyn gained 32 seats more than before the election. The overall result was 318 seats for Conservatives and 262 for the Labour party.<sup>72</sup> Despite the fact that the Conservatives still have more seats than Labour, the result of the election was sometimes referred to as a catastrophe,<sup>73</sup> because May had lost an overall majority in the House of Commons which consist of 650 seats. In other words, Theresa May's conservatives had "suffered the victory."

#### **2.14. The marriage of reason?**

Despite the fact that conservatives actually won the general snap election they could not be satisfied with the result. It was especially problematic because Labour was so divided and unprepared for the election. It became obvious that there had to develop some kind of cooperation with another political subject.

Mrs. May decided to team-up with Northern Ireland's right-wing Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) which got 10 seats and achieved a 2 seat increase since the last election.<sup>74</sup> The DUP describes themselves in the following words:

*"Our vision is to maintain and enhance Northern Ireland's constitutional position within the United Kingdom, achieving long-term political stability to deliver a peaceful and prosperous future for our people."*<sup>75</sup>

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Available at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/04/18/breaking-theresa-may-make-statement-downing-street-1115am1/>

<sup>71</sup> PIPER, Elizabeth, Kylie MACLELLAN a William JAMES. British PM May calls for early election to strengthen Brexit hand. *Reuters.com* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-02]. Available at: <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-britain-eu-may/british-pm-may-calls-for-early-election-to-strengthen-brexit-hand-idUSKBN17K0V4>

<sup>72</sup> THE GUARDIAN. UK election 2017: full results. *Theguardian.com* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-02]. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/ng-interactive/2017/jun/08/live-uk-election-results-in-full-2017>

<sup>73</sup> THE SPECTATOR. Catastrophe for the Conservatives as Theresa May blows her majority. *TheSpectator.co.uk* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-02]. Available at: <https://blogs.spectator.co.uk/2017/06/spectators-general-election-live-blog/>

<sup>74</sup> THE GUARDIAN. UK election 2017: full results. *Theguardian.com* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-02]. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/ng-interactive/2017/jun/08/live-uk-election-results-in-full-2017>

<sup>75</sup> Our Vision. *Mydup.com* [online]. The year of publication did not found [quoted 2017-12-02]. Available at: <http://www.mydup.com/about-us>

The Conservatives and the DUP signed an agreement to support the government in parliament. The agreement itself is not a coalition agreement, but the only agreement for support on a particular issue.

The first sentence of the agreement highlights “*strengthening and enhancing the Union*” (of the United Kingdom, not the European Union) as well as supporting plans for BREXIT.<sup>76</sup> The short document is naturally also focused on Northern Ireland. Agriculture plays the biggest role in the text.<sup>77</sup> Agriculture funds have always belonged to one of the essential pillars of the EU budget and there have been worries about what will happen with these funds after BREXIT. In particular, who will replace so-called CAP funding (the Common Agriculture policy)<sup>78</sup> since as a non-member country, the UK as a whole will not have the right to obtain EU agriculture subsidies anymore. Over 38,000 Northern Irish farmers were getting around 349 million pounds every year from the EU.<sup>79</sup> Both the DUP and the Conservatives are aware of the importance of agriculture. That is why they proclaim to put emphasis on Northern Irish agriculture during the BREXIT talks.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> *Confidence and Supply Agreement between the Conservative and Unionist Party and the Democratic Unionist Party*. In: . gov.uk, 2017. Also available at : [https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/621794/Confidence\\_and\\_Supply\\_Agreement\\_between\\_the\\_Conservative\\_Party\\_and\\_the\\_DUP.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/621794/Confidence_and_Supply_Agreement_between_the_Conservative_Party_and_the_DUP.pdf)

<sup>77</sup> *Confidence and Supply Agreement between the Conservative and Unionist Party and the Democratic Unionist Party*. In: . gov.uk, 2017. Also available at : [https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/621794/Confidence\\_and\\_Supply\\_Agreement\\_between\\_the\\_Conservative\\_Party\\_and\\_the\\_DUP.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/621794/Confidence_and_Supply_Agreement_between_the_Conservative_Party_and_the_DUP.pdf)[https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/621794/Confidence\\_and\\_Supply\\_Agreement\\_between\\_the\\_Conservative\\_Party\\_and\\_the\\_DUP.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/621794/Confidence_and_Supply_Agreement_between_the_Conservative_Party_and_the_DUP.pdf)

<sup>78</sup> *Funding opportunities under the Common Agricultural Policy* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-03]. Available at: [https://ec.europa.eu/agriculture/cap-funding/funding-opportunities\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/agriculture/cap-funding/funding-opportunities_en)

<sup>79</sup> TORNEY, Kathryn. How much the EU funds Northern Ireland agriculture. *Nicva.org* [online]. The year of publishing was not found [quoted 2017-12-03]. Available at: <http://data.nicva.org/article/how-much-eu-funds-northern-ireland-agriculture>

<sup>80</sup> *Confidence and Supply Agreement between the Conservative and Unionist Party and the Democratic Unionist Party*. In: . gov.uk, 2017. Also available at: [https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/621794/Confidence\\_and\\_Supply\\_Agreement\\_between\\_the\\_Conservative\\_Party\\_and\\_the\\_DUP.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/621794/Confidence_and_Supply_Agreement_between_the_Conservative_Party_and_the_DUP.pdf)

## 2.15. 1 Billion Pounds and Some Small Change

One billion pounds, exactly such amount of money was negotiated by DUP for Northern Ireland.<sup>81</sup> The money will be spent on education, infrastructure, health and social investments.<sup>82</sup> Apart from this amount another 500 million pounds was earlier agreed which will be allocated to housing and education.<sup>83</sup> Arlene Foster commented on the deal as follows:

*“Some who sought to undermine us from the start said that we would selfishly pursue party interests in our discussions with the Conservative party. Instead, we secured a financial package worth £1.5bn that is intended to boost our economy, rebuild our infrastructure, help reform our NHS and will be to the benefit of everyone, everywhere in Northern Ireland.”<sup>84</sup>*

An interesting fact is that even before this massive negotiated gift, public spending per person was higher in Northern Ireland than in England. The difference between England’s 8,800 pounds and Northern Ireland’s 11 000 pounds per person was exactly 2,200 pounds.<sup>85</sup> This division of money is called the Barnett formula and it is based on population rather than on the real needs of England, Wales, Scotland or Northern Ireland. However, this formula has no legal binding but is only a convention.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> BBC.COM. £1bn for Northern Ireland dominates the headlines. *Bbc.com* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-03]. Available at: <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-northern-ireland-40414485>

<sup>82</sup> CAMPBELL, John. DUP-Tory deal: Where is the money going to be spent? *BBC.com* [online]. [quoted 2017-12-03]. Available at: <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-northern-ireland-40402184>

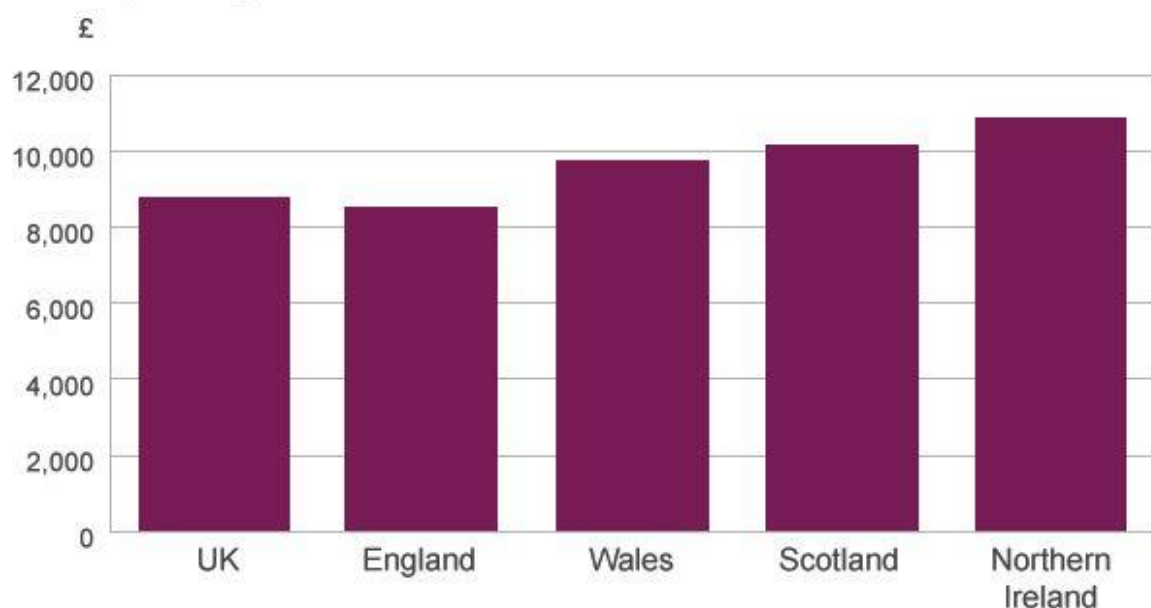
<sup>83</sup> CAMPBELL, John. DUP-Tory deal: Where is the money going to be spent? *BBC.com* [online]. [quoted 2017-12-03]. Available at: <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-northern-ireland-40402184>

<sup>84</sup> MCDONALD, Henry. Arlene Foster says she does not think Irish language is threat to union. *Theguardian.com* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-03]. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2017/aug/31/arlene-foster-irish-language-union-dup>

<sup>85</sup> ASTHANA, Anushka, Henry MCDONALD a Severin CARRELL. Theresa May faces backlash from Scotland and Wales over £1bn Tory-DUP deal. *Theguardian.com* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-03]. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2017/jun/26/tories-and-the-dup-reach-deal-to-prop-up-minority-government>

<sup>86</sup> BOUSSIE, Irina. What is the Barnett formula? *BBC.COM* [online]. 2016 [quoted 2017-12-03]. Available at: <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-northern-ireland-38077948>

### Public spending per head, 2012-13



Source: HM Treasury (excludes spending on behalf of UK as a whole, e.g. on defence or debt interest)

The source of the graph<sup>87</sup>

The reactions on the Conservative - DUP agreement came almost immediately. For instance, *Sinn Fein* claimed that the DUP-Conservative agreement “threatens peace in Northern Ireland.”<sup>88</sup> This reaction highlights a crucial problem.

Peace in Northern Ireland has only existed 20 years since the signing of the Good Friday Agreement and it is still somewhat fragile. The Conservatives might have deliberately or unintentionally destabilized the whole Irish island in exchange for the support of the government on the question of BREXIT. In addition to that, it should not be forgotten that majority of people in Northern Ireland voted to remain in the EU.<sup>89</sup> The DUP is, in fact, acting against the wishes of the majority of voters in their own country. Of course, a one billion pound cheque is a strong argument, but is it worth the possible destabilization of the

<sup>87</sup> BOUSSIE, Irina. What is the Barnett formula? *BBC.COM* [online]. 2016 [quoted 2017-12-03]. Available at: <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-northern-ireland-38077948>

<sup>88</sup> FERGUSON, Amanda a Padraic HALPIN, SMOUT, Alistair, ed. Sinn Fein says DUP, May deal a 'blank cheque' for damaging Brexit. *Reuters.com* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-03]. Available at: <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-britain-politics-sinnfein/sinn-fein-says-dup-may-deal-a-blank-cheque-for-damaging-brexid-idUSKBN19H1PE>

<sup>89</sup> BBC. EU referendum: Northern Ireland votes to Remain. *BBC.com* [online]. 2016 [quoted 2017-12-03]. Available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-northern-ireland-36614443>

whole region? The contra-argument might be that thanks to this agreement, Northern Irish concerns will be heard more. However, will it be Northern Ireland or just its one party, supporting a minority opinion on the most important political question of the new century?

On the other hand, it is essential to underscore that the DUP-Conservative agreement is not a coalition. It is merely supported by the BREXIT negotiation as well as for the extremely generous Northern Irish monetary policy.<sup>90</sup>

The reactions came not only from other factions Northern Ireland but mainly from other countries of the United Kingdom which are outraged mainly by the fact that the money is no longer to be distributed in accordance with the Barnett formula.<sup>91</sup> The Labour leader Jeremy Corbin inquired about the source of a 1 billion “gift” for Northern Ireland<sup>92</sup> as well as concerns about the DUP approach to same-sex marriage.<sup>93</sup>

## 2.16. There is Not Only Northern Ireland

It seems like Theresa May will have to take into account one more issue and that is the opinion of the Republic of Ireland as a rightful member of the European Union. The Irish Republic is naturally concerned about the situation on its Irish Island. The main interest of the Irish government is the protection of the Good Friday Agreement.<sup>94</sup> However, it appears positive that the issue of

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<sup>90</sup> *Confidence and Supply Agreement between the Conservative and Unionist Party and the Democratic Unionist Party*. In: . gov.uk, 2017. Also available at : [https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/621794/Confidence\\_and\\_Supply\\_Agreement\\_between\\_the\\_Conservative\\_Party\\_and\\_the\\_DUP.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/621794/Confidence_and_Supply_Agreement_between_the_Conservative_Party_and_the_DUP.pdf)

<sup>91</sup> ASTHANA, Anushka, Henry MCDONALD a Severin CARRELL. Theresa May faces backlash from Scotland and Wales over £1bn Tory-DUP deal. *Theguardian.com* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-03]. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2017/jun/26/tories-and-the-dup-reach-deal-to-prop-up-minority-government>

<sup>92</sup> ASTHANA, Anushka, Henry MCDONALD a Severin CARRELL. Theresa May faces backlash from Scotland and Wales over £1bn Tory-DUP deal. *Theguardian.com* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-03]. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2017/jun/26/tories-and-the-dup-reach-deal-to-prop-up-minority-government>

<sup>93</sup> JOHN, Tara. U.K.'s Theresa May Strikes Deal With Northern Irish Party to Support Minority Government. *Time.com* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-03]. Available at: <http://time.com/4832541/theresa-may-dup-conservatives-minority-government-parliament/>

<sup>94</sup> MCDONALD, Karl. Ireland won't sign any Brexit deal unless Good Friday Agreement is protected. *Inews.co.uk* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-03]. Available at: <https://inews.co.uk/essentials/news/politics/ireland-wont-sign-brexit-deal-unless-good-friday-agreement-protected/>



Northern Irish-Irish border was the only one where the progress had been made after the third round of BREXIT talks.

### 2.17. A Dead Woman Walking

Is Theresa May really a “*dead woman walking*” (as she was called by the former chancellor in David Cameron’s cabinet George Osborne.)<sup>95</sup> He also added that “*It’s just how long she’s gonna remain on the death row.*”<sup>96</sup> Now it is obvious that May overestimated her popularity when asking for a mandate “*as big as Macron’s to negotiate BREXIT properly.*”<sup>97</sup> The results forced her into a position, in which her mandate is definitely much weaker than before it.

### 2.18. 'I got us into this mess and I'm going to get us out of it'<sup>98</sup>

From the quotation above it is obvious that if Theresa May lacks anything, it is not self-confidence. On the other hand, British really expect from their prime minister to behave modestly. Nevertheless, she is in charge of leadership in a party which was still 16 percent ahead of their largest competitor – the Labour Party. An interesting graph from June 2017 indicates that Theresa May is even less popular than her own party among voters, while the increase in the popularity of Labour leader Jeremy Corbin is almost as steep as her fall.<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> OSBORNE, George. General election 2017: 'May is dead woman walking' - Osborne. *BBC.com* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-03]. Available at: <http://www.bbc.com/news/av/uk-politics-40237776/general-election-2017-may-is-dead-woman-walking-osborne>

<sup>96</sup> OSBORNE, George. General election 2017: 'May is dead woman walking' - Osborne. *BBC.com* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-03]. Available at: <http://www.bbc.com/news/av/uk-politics-40237776/general-election-2017-may-is-dead-woman-walking-osborne>

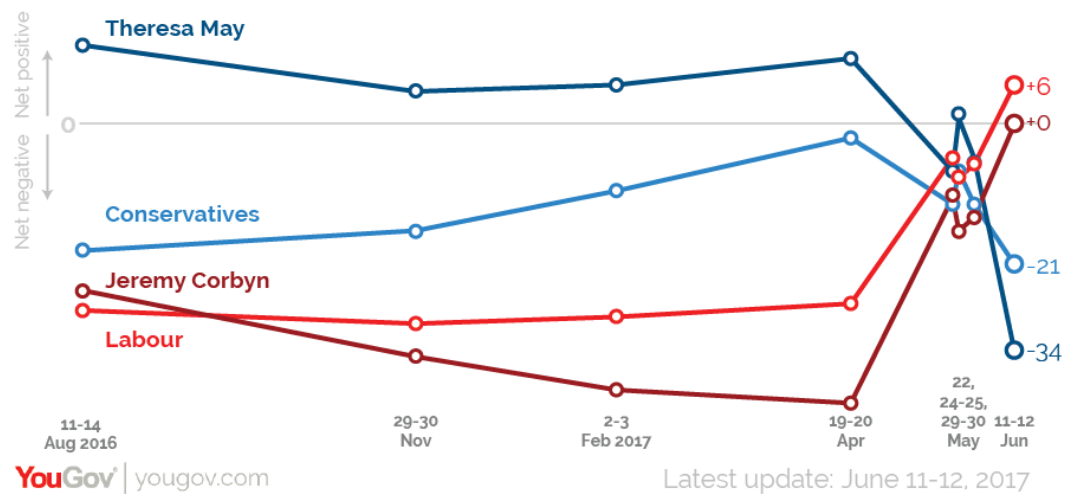
<sup>97</sup> STONE, Jon. Theresa May says she needs a mandate as big as Macron's to negotiate Brexit properly. *Independent.co.uk* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-03]. Available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/theresa-may-macron-mandate-brexit-latest-french-elections-results-uk-snap-election-june-date-a7724001.html>

<sup>98</sup> ASTHANA, Anushka a Jessica ELGOT. May tells Tory MPs: 'I got us into this mess and I'm going to get us out of it'. *Theguardian.com* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-03]. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2017/jun/12/may-tells-tory-mps-1922-committee-i-got-us-into-this-mess-and-im-going-to-get-us-out-of-it>

<sup>99</sup> PECK, Tom. Theresa May is now almost as unpopular as pre-campaign Jeremy Corbyn, finds YouGov poll. *Independent.co.uk* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-03]. Available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/theresa-may-jeremy-corbyn-less-popular-election-2017-campaign-leader-conservative-labour-poll-yougov-a7792006.html>

## Favourability ratings

Do you have a favourable or unfavourable opinion of the following...? (net %)



The source of the graph – yougov.co.uk<sup>100</sup>

Another issue is the expected fall in popularity among members of her own party. No one would be happy because of losing his or her seat in Parliament when the plan was to strengthen the mandate for BREXIT negotiations. However, May stated that “*She was very concerned about people who have lost their seats. The party is going to help them, some of them are in dire financial situations.*”<sup>101</sup> It is clear, that from the moment of a Pyrrhic victory in the election she will be under greater pressure from both the DUP and her own party. Overall, her mandate is definitely not as “as big as Macron’s.”<sup>102</sup>

### 2.19. Arlene Foster Then and Now

Arlene Foster “*has always been known as a strong advocate for unionism.*”<sup>103</sup> These introductory words on the official DUP are no surprise.

<sup>100</sup> YOUNGOV.COM. Theresa May is now almost as unpopular as pre-campaign Corbyn. In: *Yougov.co.uk* [online]. [quoted 2017-12-03]. Available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/theresa-may-jeremy-corbyn-less-popular-election-2017-campaign-leader-conservative-labour-poll-yougov-a7792006.html>

<sup>101</sup> ASTHANA, Anushka a Jessica ELGOT. May tells Tory MPs: 'I got us into this mess and I'm going to get us out of it'. *Theguardian.com* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-03]. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2017/jun/12/may-tells-tory-mps-1922-committee-i-got-us-into-this-mess-and-im-going-to-get-us-out-of-it>

<sup>102</sup> STONE, Jon. Theresa May says she needs a mandate as big as Macron's to negotiate Brexit properly. *Independent.co.uk* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-03]. Available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/theresa-may-macron-mandate-brexit-latest-french-elections-results-uk-snap-election-june-date-a7724001.html>

<sup>103</sup> MYDUP.COM. Rt. Hon. Arlene Foster. *Mydup.com* [online]. The year of publication did not found [quoted 2017-12-03]. Available at: <http://www.mydup.com/who-we-are/arlene-foster>

Foster studied law and worked as a solicitor for several years.<sup>104</sup> She had witnessed the terrorism when her father was injured by the IRA and there was a bomb attack on a bus in which she traveled.<sup>105</sup> An admirer of Margaret Thatcher, she stated that Thatcher was the one “*who divided opinion but defined leadership.*”<sup>106</sup>

Despite the amount of money that she brought to Northern Ireland. There is still local opposition against her mainly on a side of Irish nationalists who are overwhelmingly Catholic. For instance, Social Democratic and Labour party leader Colum Eastwood said that she: „*has been the biggest gift for Sinn Fein in years.*“<sup>107</sup> However, the majority of voters in Northern Ireland, a Protestant majority country did not want BREXIT, while the current policy of their first minister is to help the government in London to leave EU.

## **2.20. “the last thing the UK government wants”<sup>108</sup>**

These words stated by Boris Johnson during his first visit to the Republic of Ireland as foreign secretary of May’s government. In accordance with the previous quote, it seems that Theresa May is willing to do anything to avoid the hard border scenario. However, Leo Varadkar, current Irish Taoiseach, demands to have this guarantee written out by May’s government.<sup>109</sup> Varadkar gained

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<sup>104</sup> MYALL, Steve. Who is Arlene Foster? DUP leader survived IRA bomb on her school bus and cites Thatcher and Queen as role models. *Mirror.co.uk* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-03]. Available at: <http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/politics/who-arlene-foster-dup-leader-10591432>

<sup>105</sup> MYALL, Steve. Who is Arlene Foster? DUP leader survived IRA bomb on her school bus and cites Thatcher and Queen as role models. *Mirror.co.uk* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-03]. Available at: <http://www.mirror.co.uk/news/politics/who-arlene-foster-dup-leader-10591432>

<sup>106</sup> MORIARTY, Gerry. Thatcher a major influence on my leadership, says Arlene Foster. *IrishTimes.com* [online]. 2016 [quoted 2017-12-03]. Available at: <https://www.irishtimes.com/news/politics/thatcher-a-major-influence-on-my-leadership-says-arlene-foster-1.2658081>

<sup>107</sup> KELPIE, Colm. 'Arlene Foster has been the biggest gift for Sinn Féin in years'. *Independent.ie* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-03]. Available at: <https://www.independent.ie/business/brexit/arlene-foster-has-been-the-biggest-gift-for-sinn-fin-in-years-36097856.html>

<sup>108</sup> ELGOT, Jessie. Ireland threatens to block progress of Brexit talks over border issue. *TheGuardian.com* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-05]. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2017/nov/17/irish-pm-brexit-backing-politicians-did-not-think-things-through>

<sup>109</sup> ELGOT, Jessie. Ireland threatens to block progress of Brexit talks over border issue. *TheGuardian.com* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-05]. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2017/nov/17/irish-pm-brexit-backing-politicians-did-not-think-things-through>

strong support from the European Council president Donald Tusk, who stated that: “*If the UK offer is unacceptable for Ireland, it will also be unacceptable for the EU.*”<sup>110</sup> As the Northern Irish-Irish border is one of the points that is needed to be solved in order to achieve some kind of BREXIT deal between the UK and EU. The Republic of Ireland is now in the position of force with the rest of EU standing solidly behind the Irish Republic position.

Why should this be an issue in the situation when May’s administrative claims that it has absolutely no interest in re-establish the hard border again? The stakeholder, who is made out of this at-first-glance simple issue a Gordian knot and which carries the power of being able to decide about May’s existence as a prime minister, is DUP.

### 2.21. “Project fear”? <sup>111</sup>

These two words from a unionist and pro-Brexiter Ian Paisley Junior’s official Twitter account connected with re-sharing BBC’s text concerning Tony Blair’s opinion on the possible outcomes of BREXIT for the peace process on the Irish Island<sup>112</sup> seem to be fully describing the current tension. Paisley also highlighted himself by a quote aimed towards the British government that: “*pussyfooting needs to stop*”<sup>113</sup> and that: “*the UK should use fisheries deal to punish Ireland.*”<sup>114</sup> He even labeled the behavior of the Republic of Ireland as “*disgraceful.*”<sup>115</sup> Among Paisley’s other statements belongs this one: „*All of us,*

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<sup>110</sup>COWBURN, Ashley. EU will refuse UK's Brexit demands if Ireland is not happy with plans for border, says Donald Tusk. *Independent.co.uk* [online]. [quoted 2017-12-05]. Available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/brexit-donald-tusk-ireland-uk-offer-eu-britain-leo-varadkar-a8087556.html>

<sup>111</sup>PAISLEY, Ian. Ian Paisley TWITTER. In: *TWITTER.com* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-05]. Available at: <https://twitter.com/ianpaisleym/status/937290409197391877>

<sup>112</sup>BBC.COM. Tony Blair: Brexit puts NI peace process at risk. *Bbc.com* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-05]. Available at: <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-42213623>

<sup>113</sup>HUGHES, Brendan. Brexit: DUP's Ian Paisley condemned for 'shake Dublin's cage' call. *Theirishnews.com* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-05]. Available at: <http://www.irishnews.com/news/2017/11/30/news/brexit-dup-s-ian-paisley-condemned-for-shake-dublin-s-cage-call-1200065/>

<sup>114</sup>BELFAST TELEGRAPH DIGITAL. Paisley says UK should use fisheries deal to punish Ireland. *Belfasttelegraph.co.uk* [online]. [quoted 2017-12-05]. Available at: <https://www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk/news/republic-of-ireland/paisley-says-uk-should-use-fisheries-deal-to-punish-ireland-36364394.htm>

<sup>115</sup>BELFAST TELEGRAPH DIGITAL. Paisley says UK should use fisheries deal to punish Ireland. *Belfasttelegraph.co.uk* [online]. [quoted 2017-12-05]. Available at: <https://www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk/news/republic-of-ireland/paisley-says-uk-should-use-fisheries-deal-to-punish-ireland-36364394.htm>

every constituent part, Northern Ireland, Scotland, Wales and England, are leaving the EU.”<sup>116</sup> That was a reaction to M.E.P Guy Verhofstadt’s idea from September 2017 in which he had posed the whole idea that Irish Island might remain inside the customs union.<sup>117</sup> It would actually mean that BREXIT would be “pure” because Northern Ireland as a part of the UK would partly remain inside the EU customs union. Theresa May stated that she wants a “clean BREXIT”<sup>118</sup> including the leaving of the EU customs union.<sup>119</sup>

However, Paisley does not stand in his crusade alone. DUP MP’s also threatened Prime Minister May that if: “Northern Ireland is treated differently than the rest of the UK they (The UK government) can’t rely on our vote.”<sup>120</sup> DUP simply does not want Northern Ireland somewhere in between EU and the UK. They see the future of the whole UK outside EU as it was decided by voters. The issue is that the majority of voters in Northern Ireland wanted to remain inside EU,<sup>121</sup> but they are actually represented in the UK government by the party that sees the future of Northern Ireland outside the EU.<sup>122</sup> Theresa May, however, remains the person standing between two powerful sides. The first one represented by DUP may simply end her career as a prime minister whereas the

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<sup>116</sup>THE IRISH NEWS. Ian Paisley warns Republic of Ireland not to 'undermine our sovereign integrity'. *Irishnews.com* [online]. [quoted 2017-12-05]. Available at: <http://www.irishnews.com/news/brexit/2017/11/30/news/brexit-border-deal-predicted-within-weeks-1200339/>

<sup>117</sup>MCDONALD, Henry. Northern Ireland could stay in customs union after Brexit – Verhofstadt. *Theguardian.com* [online]. [quoted 2017-12-05]. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2017/sep/20/northern-ireland-stay-customs-union-after-brexit-verhofstadt>

<sup>118</sup>READING, Nick. May confirms break from single market and customs union. *Citigate Dewe Rogerson* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-08]. Available at: <http://www.citigatedewerogerson.com/may-confirms-break-from-single-market-and-customs-union/>

<sup>119</sup>READING, Nick. May confirms break from single market and customs union. *Citigate Dewe Rogerson* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-08]. Available at: <http://www.citigatedewerogerson.com/may-confirms-break-from-single-market-and-customs-union/>

<sup>120</sup>MERRICK, Rob. DUP threatens to pull support from Theresa May's government if she backs down over post-Brexit Irish border. *Independent.co.uk* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-08]. Available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/dup-theresa-may-tory-deal-ireland-border-brexit-irish-border-northern-ireland-a8085046.html>

<sup>121</sup>BBC. EU Referendum - Results. *Bbc.com* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-08]. Available at: [http://www.bbc.com/news/politics/eu\\_referendum/results](http://www.bbc.com/news/politics/eu_referendum/results)

<sup>122</sup>BELFASTTELEGRAPH.CO.UK. DUP confirms it will campaign for Brexit in Leave/Remain referendum. *Belfasttelegraph.co.uk* [online]. 2016 [quoted 2017-12-08]. Available at: <https://www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk/news/northern-ireland/dup-confirms-it-will-campaign-for-brexit-in-leaveremain-referendum-34470806.html>

other side personalized by the Republic of Ireland with the support of EU might have the power to deadlock the whole BREXIT negotiations which could lead to the UK leaving the EU without any agreement. This situation would be definitely more harmful to one state led by a government with a tight majority than for community of 27 countries.

Needles to mention, Theresa May got herself into this situation single-handedly by calling a snap election and subsequently by signing “*the tolerance agreement*” with DUP.

## 2.22. Divide the United

A logical result of the politically escalated situation is the polarization of society.<sup>123</sup> For instance, in a case that BREXIT would lead to the hard border 52 percent of respondents would support Ireland as a part of the UK, and only 27 percent would vote for the unification of Ireland.<sup>124</sup> At first sight, these numbers might lead to the opinion that DUP represents the slight majority of voters. What is important to state is the keyword in case of the hard border scenario.

The business exchange between Northern Ireland and Ireland is 34 percent of the whole Northern Irish trade.<sup>125</sup> In case of the hard border, this number would be definitely lower which would certainly result in worse economic conditions and an overall economic decline for both sides. That is only the economic dimension of the issue.

## 2.23. Has the Time Come for United Ireland?

Another important stakeholder is *Sinn Fein*, whose interest mainly includes the idea of united Ireland. Nowadays the odds seem to be on their side more than ever before. Majority of Northern Irish inhabitants voted to remain

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<sup>123</sup> HAYWARD, Katy. *BORDERING ON BREXIT: Views from Local Communities in the Central Border Region of Ireland / Northern Ireland* [online]. Belfast: Centre for International Borders Research, Queen’s University Belfast, 2017 [quoted 2017-12-08]. Available at: <https://www.qub.ac.uk/brexit/Brexitfilestore/Fileupload,780606,en.pdf>

<sup>124</sup> TONGE, Jon. Survey: Voters polarised on same-sex marriage, Brexit, an Irish Language Act in Northern Ireland. *Belfasttelegraph.co.uk* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-08]. Available at: <https://www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk/news/northern-ireland/survey-voters-polarised-on-samesex-marriage-brexit-an-irish-language-act-in-northern-ireland-35974992.html>

<sup>125</sup> SERHAN, Yasmeen. Northern Ireland Could Be Brexit’s Biggest Casualty. *Theatlantic.com* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-08]. Available at: <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2017/12/northern-ireland-is-falling-between-the-cracks/546875/>

inside the EU. *Sinn Fein* used the recent controversial referendum about the Catalanian independence as an argument for the referendum about brand-new united Ireland.<sup>126</sup> Except for predictable opinion clash between *Sinn Fein* and DUP about the status of Northern Ireland, DUP sees the future of Northern Ireland only inside the post-BREXIT UK, whereas *Sinn Fein* strives for unification with the Republic of Ireland.

## 2.24. Practice What You Preach

Besides the geopolitical disagreements between those two parties, there are also clashes about human rights issues. For instance, DUP calls upon the UK laws to “forget” about the equal marriage.<sup>127</sup> despite the fact, that Northern Ireland still remains a part of the UK it does not, (as the only UK member) approve of legalizing same-sex marriage<sup>128</sup> and the conservative DUP is not about to change this status quo anytime in near future.

On the other hand, *Sinn Fein* takes the same sex marriage as well as the rights of Irish speakers as a condition for entering to the Northern Irish government.<sup>129</sup> However, since January 2017 Northern Ireland is without its own regional government, which could not be considered any good for its inhabitants while the tension between the two parties is growing stronger, any kind of a breakthrough on the Northern Irish home political scene is less and less expected.

## 2.25. Let’s Vote One More Time

Charles Tannock, a conservative member of the European Parliament has raised an idea of a brand-new referendum, in which the citizens of Northern Ireland could decide whether they want to remain inside the EU single market

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<sup>126</sup> KERR, Chloe. Sinn Fein blasted for using Catalonia referendum to demand united Ireland vote. *Express.co.uk* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-08]. Available at: <https://www.express.co.uk/news/politics/868776/catalonia-sinn-fein-gerry-adams-irelandv>

<sup>127</sup> VESEY-BYRNE, Joe. DUP leader calls for Northern Ireland to follow UK laws. Forgets about equal marriage. *Indy1000.com* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-08]. Available at: <https://www.indy100.com/article/arlene-foster-dup-northern-ireland-same-sex-marriage-equal-8076376>

<sup>128</sup> FENTON, Siobhan. 'My love isn't second-class': the struggle for marriage equality in Northern Ireland. *Theguardian.com* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-08]. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/inequality/2017/oct/19/my-love-isnt-second-class-struggle-marriage-equality-northern-ireland-dup>

<sup>129</sup> KELLY, Ben. Give the Brexiteers what they want – it’s time for a united Ireland. *Independent.co.uk* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-08]. Available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/voices/north-south-united-ireland-reunification-referendum-dup-support-brexit-border-a8077941.html>

and customs union or not.<sup>130</sup> He claimed that “*the [ referendum is] the only way to solve this democratically,*”<sup>181</sup>

However, his opinions were not supported by the British government’s minister for Brexit Walker, who claimed that „*the Government had been “very clear” that the result of the Brexit referendum applied across the whole UK.*”<sup>132</sup> Therefore, it is clear that another referendum is very likely not going to happen.

## **2.26. Is Northern Ireland Going to be the *Primus Inter Pares***

Nicola Sturgeon, the Scottish Prime Minister, reacted on allegedly leaked agreement between the UK and EU, which reportedly includes the solution that Northern Ireland will stay inside the EU customs union.<sup>133</sup> Sturgeon quoted that Scotland should also be given an opportunity to *effectively stay in the single market.*<sup>184</sup> According to Joan McAlpine: „*there are 134,000 jobs on the line.*”<sup>135</sup> In other words, this amount of jobs is put at risk when talking about the hard BREXIT scenario just in Scotland. It is, therefore, obvious that the planned future special status of Northern Ireland might not be enthusiastically accepted by in this case Scotland, who also voted to remain in the EU even in a bigger proportion in favor of remaining than Northern Ireland voters did.<sup>136</sup>

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<sup>130</sup> CAMPBELL, John. Tory calls for NI referendum on EU customs union. *Bbc.com* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-08]. Available at: <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-northern-ireland-42156724>

<sup>131</sup> CAMPBELL, John. Tory calls for NI referendum on EU customs union. *Bbc.com* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-08]. Available at: <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-northern-ireland-42156724>

<sup>132</sup> STONE, Jon. Hold second referendum on keeping Northern Ireland in EU customs union, Tory MEP suggests. *Independent.co.uk* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-08]. Available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/brexit-northern-ireland-border-irish-customs-union-ports-move-remain-charles-tannock-a8082656.html>

<sup>133</sup> BUCHAN, Lizzy. Brexit: Nicola Sturgeon says Scotland should be allowed to 'stay in EU single market' if Northern Ireland can. *Independent.co.uk* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-08]. Available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/brexit-nicola-sturgeon-scotland-northern-ireland-eu-single-market-customs-union-snp-border-a8090881.html>

<sup>134</sup> BUCHAN, Lizzy. Brexit: Nicola Sturgeon says Scotland should be allowed to 'stay in EU single market' if Northern Ireland can. *Independent.co.uk* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-08]. Available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/brexit-nicola-sturgeon-scotland-northern-ireland-eu-single-market-customs-union-snp-border-a8090881.html>

<sup>135</sup> MCCALL, Chris. 134,000 jobs in Scotland tied to European trade, report finds. *The scotsman* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-12]. Available at: <https://www.scotsman.com/news/politics/134-000-jobs-in-scotland-tied-to-european-trade-report-finds-1-4626358>

<sup>136</sup> BBC. EU Referendum - Results. *Bbc.com* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-08]. Available at: [http://www.bbc.com/news/politics/eu\\_referendum/results](http://www.bbc.com/news/politics/eu_referendum/results)



Moreover, the very similar response came from the representatives of other territories, in which the majority of voters voted to remain in EU. For instance, London mayor Sadiq Khan stated on his twitter account about the possible decision “*Huge ramifications for London if Theresa May has conceded that it's possible for part of the UK to remain within the single market & customs union after Brexit.*”<sup>137</sup>

The Welsh first minister Carwyn Jones stated that: “*We cannot allow different parts of the UK to be more favorably treated than others. If one part of the UK is granted continued participation in the Single Market & Customs Union, then we fully expect to be made the same offer.*”<sup>138</sup>

The topic of inequality seems to arise again. It is not so difficult to understand the special characteristics of Northern Ireland. However, it is definitely hard for the other parts of the UK to be treated as second-class countries. The Barnett formula was distributing more money per head to Northern Ireland before the DUP – Tory deal. After signing it, additional income in the form of 1 billion pounds for Northern Ireland came.

Is not the higher amount of money justified by the fragile peace process on the Irish Island? One thing is obvious: there are the equal UK countries and then there are the more equal ones, to paraphrase George Orwell. May’s government is now under pressure from various sides including the EU, DUP, her own party and other parts of the country, which voted to remain in the EU and demand at least a bit similar conditions and treatment as is given to Northern Ireland.

## **2.27. Is Money Always in the First Place?**

There is a variety of reasons why the UK government should be interested in the Northern Irish border. Starting with their current partner DUP, continuing through the experience of bloody civil war and ending in the current

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<sup>137</sup> JONES, Carwyn. Carwyn Jones 7:17 - 4. 12. 2017. In: *Twitter.com* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-09]. Available at: [https://twitter.com/fmwales/status/937702359458775040?ref\\_src=twsrc%5Etfw&ref\\_url=https%3A%2F%2Fid-24678840201243096983.ampproject.net%2F1510956201635%2Fframe.html](https://twitter.com/fmwales/status/937702359458775040?ref_src=twsrc%5Etfw&ref_url=https%3A%2F%2Fid-24678840201243096983.ampproject.net%2F1510956201635%2Fframe.html)

<sup>138</sup> JONES, Carwyn. Carwyn Jones 7:17 - 4. 12. 2017. In: *Twitter.com* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-09]. Available at: [https://twitter.com/fmwales/status/937702359458775040?ref\\_src=twsrc%5Etfw&ref\\_url=https%3A%2F%2Fid-24678840201243096983.ampproject.net%2F1510956201635%2Fframe.html](https://twitter.com/fmwales/status/937702359458775040?ref_src=twsrc%5Etfw&ref_url=https%3A%2F%2Fid-24678840201243096983.ampproject.net%2F1510956201635%2Fframe.html)

talks with the European Union. Unless the three issues are solved, the EU will not move to the business talks.<sup>139</sup> The first issue is a problematic issue of Irish – Northern Irish border, the second consists of the EU citizen rights in the UK after BREXIT and vice versa, the third issue is the so-called divorce bill.<sup>140</sup>

It is no secret that the post-BREXIT economic deals are considered a crucial by not only the British side but by some EU member states as well.<sup>141</sup> David Davis – the main British BREXIT negotiator – highlighted the huge impact which includes Germany and France and noticed that there are countries such as “*Denmark, the Netherlands, Spain, Italy, and Poland do want to move on*”<sup>142</sup>

This statement has to be perceived in the light of the fact that May’s government would like to deal with problematic issues as soon as possible and entered the crucial business part quickly.

Only time will show whether will the citizens of the both Northern Ireland and Ireland profit from this extraordinary attention. However, economic stability belongs to one of the essential conditions of keeping the fragile peace on the Irish island.

## **2.28. The Divorce Bill**

With money is connected another crucial issue of the first stage of BREXIT negotiations. That is a so-called EU divorce bill.<sup>143</sup> It constitutes the amount of money which the UK will have pay to the EU budget to cover UK’s

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<sup>139</sup> BBC.COM. Brexit: UK divorce bill offer worth up to 50bn euros. *Bbc.com* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-09]. Available at: <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-42161346>

<sup>140</sup> BBC.COM. Brexit: UK divorce bill offer worth up to 50bn euros. *Bbc.com* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-09]. Available at: <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-42161346>

<sup>141</sup> SAEED, Saim and Zoya SHEFTALOVICH. David Davis: Some EU countries want to move on to post-Brexit trade talks. *Politico.eu* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-09]. Available at: <https://www.politico.eu/article/david-davis-some-eu-countries-want-to-move-on-to-post-brexit-trade-talks/>

<sup>142</sup> SAEED, Saim and Zoya SHEFTALOVICH. David Davis: Some EU countries want to move on to post-Brexit trade talks. *Politico.eu* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-09]. Available at: <https://www.politico.eu/article/david-davis-some-eu-countries-want-to-move-on-to-post-brexit-trade-talks/>

<sup>143</sup> INSTITUTEFORGOVERNMENT.ORG.UK. The EU divorce bill. *Instituteforgovernment.org.uk* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-09]. Available at: <https://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/explainers/eu-divorce-bill>

liabilities to EU.<sup>144</sup> Once the UK leaves the EU, the UK will not contribute to the EU budget anymore.<sup>145</sup> In the Conservatives and Unionist party manifesto from 2017<sup>146</sup> Theresa May has hinted the possibility of “reasonable payments.”<sup>147</sup> On the other hand, there is proclaimed, that: “the days of Britain making vast annual contributions to the European Union will end.”<sup>148</sup>

The divorce bill will be below 40bn pounds, as it is stated in the article of Independent.<sup>149</sup> However, despite the all bigger or smaller disagreements about the final number, it seems obvious that the Northern Irish – Irish border will still be the most complex and most problematic issue.

## 2.29. Unilateral Change the Belfast Agreement?<sup>150</sup>

*“The Republic of Ireland government is trying to unilaterally change the Belfast agreement without our impact and without our consent.”<sup>151</sup>*

This reaction of Arlene Foster that were stated at the press conference after she has been confronted with the draft of an agreement about the Northern Irish – Irish borderline in early December.

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<sup>144</sup> INSTITUTEFORGOVERNMENT.ORG.UK. The EU divorce bill.

*Instituteforgovernment.org.uk* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-09]. Available at: <https://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/explainers/eu-divorce-bill>

<sup>145</sup> INSTITUTEFORGOVERNMENT.ORG.UK. The EU divorce bill.

*Instituteforgovernment.org.uk* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-09]. Available at: <https://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/explainers/eu-divorce-bill>

<sup>146</sup> CONSERVATIVES. *FORWARD, TOGETHER Our Plan for a Stronger Britain and a Prosperous Future* [online]. London, 2017 [quoted 2017-12-09]. Available at: <https://s3.eu-west-2.amazonaws.com/manifesto2017/Manifesto2017.pdf> page 36

<sup>147</sup> CONSERVATIVES. *FORWARD, TOGETHER Our Plan for a Stronger Britain and a Prosperous Future* [online]. London, 2017 [quoted 2017-12-09]. Available at: <https://s3.eu-west-2.amazonaws.com/manifesto2017/Manifesto2017.pdf> page 36

<sup>148</sup> CONSERVATIVES. *FORWARD, TOGETHER Our Plan for a Stronger Britain and a Prosperous Future* [online]. London, 2017 [quoted 2017-12-09]. Available at: <https://s3.eu-west-2.amazonaws.com/manifesto2017/Manifesto2017.pdf> page 36

<sup>149</sup> STONE, Jon. Brexit: Theresa May agrees to pay £39bn divorce bill to the EU. *Independent.co.uk* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-27]. Available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/brexit-divorce-bill-financial-settlement-39-billion-theresa-may-juncker-agreement-northern-ireland-a8099076.html>

<sup>150</sup> ROBERTS, Rachel. Brexit: What just happened? All you need to know about the day that could bring down Theresa May. *Independent.co.uk* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-09]. Available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/brexit-what-happened-theresa-may-dup-ireland-border-wales-scotland-london-corbyn-election-explained-a8092036.html>

<sup>151</sup> ROBERTS, Rachel. Brexit: What just happened? All you need to know about the day that could bring down Theresa May. *Independent.co.uk* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-09]. Available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/brexit-what-happened-theresa-may-dup-ireland-border-wales-scotland-london-corbyn-election-explained-a8092036.html>

According to the *Irish Times*, the agreement about the Northern Irish – Irish problem had been already negotiated on Monday 4<sup>th</sup> of December.<sup>152</sup> However, during the lunch between Theresa May and Jean-Claude Juncker, Theresa May had a call with Arlene Foster, who canceled the possible signing of the Agreement.<sup>153</sup>

Some kind of agreement is, however, expected before the EU summit, which will take place from 14<sup>th</sup> to 15<sup>th</sup> December. The negotiators extended the deadline until Friday 8<sup>th</sup> December.<sup>154</sup> It crucial not to forget that more than this agreement has to be also approved by all the 27 member states of EU only one week earlier. In a case that there will be an agreement to approve, they are ready.<sup>155</sup>

### **2.30. The “coalition of chaos”?<sup>156</sup>**

The headline is a reaction of Keir Starmer the labor member of Parliament.<sup>157</sup> It is, of course, logical to hear statements against the ruling government from a member of an opposition party. However, the fact that Theresa May and her government might not be the one in the strongest position right now deserves to be highlighted.

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<sup>152</sup> LEAHY, Pat. Borderline chaos: How the deal was brokered – and then broken. *Irishtimes.com* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-09]. Available at: <https://www.irishtimes.com/news/politics/borderline-chaos-how-the-deal-was-brokered-and-then-broken-1.3315708>

<sup>153</sup> LEAHY, Pat. Borderline chaos: How the deal was brokered – and then broken. *Irishtimes.com* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-09]. Available at: <https://www.irishtimes.com/news/politics/borderline-chaos-how-the-deal-was-brokered-and-then-broken-1.3315708>

<sup>154</sup> BOFFEY, Daniel, Jennifer RANKIN a Anushka ASTHANA. May's weakness exposed as DUP derails Brexit progress. *Theguardian.com* [online]. [quoted 2017-12-09]. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2017/dec/04/juncker-and-may-fail-to-reach-brexit-deal-amid-dup-doubts-over-irish-border>

<sup>155</sup> BOFFEY, Daniel, Jennifer RANKIN a Anushka ASTHANA. May's weakness exposed as DUP derails Brexit progress. *Theguardian.com* [online]. [quoted 2017-12-09]. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2017/dec/04/juncker-and-may-fail-to-reach-brexit-deal-amid-dup-doubts-over-irish-border>

<sup>156</sup> MERRICK, Rob. Brexit latest: Theresa May's hopes of rescuing EU negotiations hit fresh setback as DUP talks are delayed. *Independent.co.uk* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-09]. Available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/brexit-latest-theresa-may-dup-ireland-border-eu-talks-setback-arlene-foster-updates-a8093826.html>

<sup>157</sup> BLACK, Gillian. Keir Starmer About. *Keirstarmer.com* [online]. The date of publication was not found [quoted 2017-12-09]. Available at: <http://www.keirstarmer.com/about>

Naturally, representing the other point of view UKIP leader Nigel Farage supported Arlene Foster's decision to reject the draft of the agreement.<sup>158</sup> When Nigel Farage was asked about his solution to the current situation he replied:

*"I will tell you quite simply; what the UK government should have done is to say we are unconditionally offering a free trade deal to continue with Ireland and we're going to the WTO who will back us up and support that because that's their job is to promote ease of trade."*<sup>159</sup>

In the same interview, he also stated that the UK lacks leadership,<sup>160</sup> which is definitely another remark against Prime Minister May.

### 2.31. A Song for Europe?<sup>161</sup> The agreement

As the Monday 4<sup>th</sup> December may have been one of the most humiliating days of Theresa May's political career and the situation seems to be deadlocked on Monday. The breakthrough came on Friday 8<sup>th</sup> December. On this date, the joint report concerning the progress of phase 1 of negotiations between EU and the UK was released.<sup>162</sup> The crucial part is the article number 49,<sup>163</sup> which emphasizes the importance of avoiding the hard border on one hand,<sup>164</sup> but most importantly set the responsibility for the British side on the other. Because in case that there will be no UK-EU agreement, the UK will *propose specific solutions*.<sup>165</sup>

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<sup>158</sup> BOFFEY, Daniel, Jennifer RANKIN and Anushka ASTHANA. May's weakness exposed as DUP derails Brexit progress. *Theguardian.com* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-09]. Available at: May's weakness exposed as DUP derails Brexit progress

<sup>159</sup> LBC.CO.UK. *Nigel Farage: My Simple Response To The Irish Border Question* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-09]. Available at: <http://www.lbc.co.uk/radio/presenters/nigel-farage/nigel-farage-simple-response-irish-border-question/>

<sup>160</sup> LBC.CO.UK. *Nigel Farage: My Simple Response To The Irish Border Question* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-09]. Available at: <http://www.lbc.co.uk/radio/presenters/nigel-farage/nigel-farage-simple-response-irish-border-question/>

<sup>161</sup> MACKAY Andrew, MACKAY Andrew Edwin, FERRY Bryan: *A song for Europe*. 1973, The album Stranded

<sup>162</sup> *TF50 (2017) 19 – Commission to EU 27*. In: . 2017. Also available at : [https://ec.europa.eu/commission/sites/beta-political/files/joint\\_report.pdf](https://ec.europa.eu/commission/sites/beta-political/files/joint_report.pdf)

<sup>163</sup> *TF50 (2017) 19 – Commission to EU 27*. In: . 2017. Also available at : [https://ec.europa.eu/commission/sites/beta-political/files/joint\\_report.pdf](https://ec.europa.eu/commission/sites/beta-political/files/joint_report.pdf) article 49

<sup>164</sup> *TF50 (2017) 19 – Commission to EU 27*. In: . 2017. Also available at : [https://ec.europa.eu/commission/sites/beta-political/files/joint\\_report.pdf](https://ec.europa.eu/commission/sites/beta-political/files/joint_report.pdf) article 49

<sup>165</sup> *TF50 (2017) 19 – Commission to EU 27*. In: . 2017. Also available at : [https://ec.europa.eu/commission/sites/beta-political/files/joint\\_report.pdf](https://ec.europa.eu/commission/sites/beta-political/files/joint_report.pdf) article 49

The paper expects the eventual success some UK-EU trade agreement, however, it takes into consideration the possibility of not signing it on time. In that case, UK government is responsible for finding a solution, in other words in case anything in further negotiations goes wrong, the UK will have to cut the Gordian knot concerning the Northern Irish question. Nevertheless, the British geopolitical situation may change many times until or if the time for solving the issue comes. By this agreement, the problem seems to be more postponed than solved. However, it has opened the road towards the future talks about Europe after a Brexit referendum.

### III. The conclusion - One island, two countries

In present time no one surely knows how the BREXIT negotiations will go on and when they will end. What may remain for the citizens of Northern Ireland is the interesting results of democracy. The majority of Northern Irish citizens has decided to stay in the EU. However, they had been overruled by a slight majority of citizens of the whole Great Britain.<sup>166</sup> Right now, they are represented by a party, which got only ten seats in the House of Commons. However, these seem to have the same power as three hundred MPs.

Unlike Scotland, which also voted to remain in the EU, the Irish island has experience with civil war throughout the twentieth century. It is particularly the Irish island, which was birthplace to the “*godfather of modern terrorism*” Michael Collins. Unfortunately, the problem of terrorism is something the Irish Island is familiar with. The times of civil war seemed to be gone, but not forgotten.

However, the current situation where the interests of DUP and its clash with the Taoiseach of the Republic of Ireland may light the flame again. Some so-called ordinary people tend to not be interested in politics until politics of exclusion changes their life. The situation in Westminster, Stormont, Dublin or Brussels will be more in favor of this or that interest. The main goal should be the protection of peace and economic stability on the Island.

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<sup>166</sup> BBC. EU Referendum - Results. *Bbc.com* [online]. 2017 [quoted 2017-12-08]. Available at: [http://www.bbc.com/news/politics/eu\\_referendum/results](http://www.bbc.com/news/politics/eu_referendum/results)

I have tried to describe the development of the situation concern Northern Ireland and possible future scenarios. In the final days of writing my thesis, lots of new twists appeared and the position of Northern Ireland might be a reason for prolonging the talks or the UK leaving the EU without a negotiated deal.

Since the process when a member state leaves the EU is happening for the first time, no one can surely say who will be the final winner and might happen that there will be no loser. Only time will tell whose opinion was more or less right. In each case, that we are all spectators of history in making.

#### IV. Summary

Cílem této práce je popsat a analyzovat proces vystoupení Velké Británie z Evropské Unie zvaný Brexit a možné důsledky pro Severní Irsko, které je součástí Spojeného království. V referendu o vystoupení z Evropské unie většina voličů v Severním Irsku hlasovala pro setrvání, nicméně celkový výsledek ve všech částech Spojeného království nakonec zněl pro vystoupení.

První kapitoly jsou zaměřeny na detaily kolem referenda a na bezprostřední reakce po jehož skončení. Dále pak popisují teoretický rozdíl mezi možnými variantami Brexitu, opět se zaměřením na Severní Irsko.

Mezi další zvraty ve vývoji patřilo svolání předčasných voleb ve Velké Británii. Podle premiérky Theresy Mayové mělo být hlavní cílem posílení jejího mandátu pro vyjednávání odchodu Velké Británie z Evropské unie. Volby ale nakonec dopadly reálným oslabením její pozice. Mayová se nakonec rozhodla uzavřít smlouvu o toleranci se Severoirskými unionisty, stranou DUP.

Na tyto události rovněž kladu ve svojí práci důraz. Jelikož DUP prosazuje názor, že Severní Irsko má z Evropské unie vystoupit spolu se zbytkem Velké Británie, tedy názor, který nebyl v referendu na území Severního Irsku většinový.

V práci je tento paradox popisován, stejně tak jako situace, do které se Theresa Mayová sama dostala.

Problém, jenž se nakonec ukázal jako jeden z nejpálčivějších, byla otázka hranice mezi Severním Irskem a Irskou republikou, protože by se jednalo o vnější hranici Evropské unie. Do již tak komplikované situace vstoupila právě republika Irsko, která odmítá konvenční pozemní hranici na ostrově. V tomto názoru byla podpořena Evropskou unií.

Samotné události by nebyly tak dramatické, nejednalo-li by se o ostrov, na kterém ještě před dvaceti lety zuřila občanská válka a jeho vztahy s Londýnem nebyly vždy nějakým způsobem napjaté. Theresa Mayová se tedy ocitla v pasti. Vyřešením otázky irské pozemní hranice, si Evropská unie podmiňovala další postup v jednáních o Brexitu.



Ke konci práce je popsáno zdánlivé dojednání dohody mezi Velkou Británií a Evropskou unií. A to jak její zrušení na poslední chvíli, tak i opětovné vyjednání. Stejně tak názory a predikce možného vývoje situace.

Proces Brexitu je velmi komplikovaný právě tím, že se jedná o první událost svého druhu. Tedy první vystoupení z Evropské Unie, které se může stát referenčním pro další státy, jež by mohly chtít následovat cestu, po níž se Velká Británie vydala. Stejně tak ale nastavuje zrcadlo Evropské unii jakožto dobrovolně vzniklému celku.

V práci je zastoupeno co nejvíce různých názorů, ať už se jedná o politiky, novináře, nebo jen osoby, které mají k tématu, co říci.

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