

From: [REDACTED]
Sent: Monday, January 25, 2016 11:24 AM
To: [REDACTED]
Subject: [REDACTED] contact re Brexit / referendum and UK citizens in Ireland

[REDACTED]
Tried you there on the phone.

As flagged last week, I met with [REDACTED] on Friday for a general background chat, with some focus on Brexit [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

On the very same matter, by any chance is there a script of Dominick's remarks to the Fine Gael Ard Fheis? No doubt he said more than was written down for use as introductory remarks, but any script or even video link would be great to have.

We can talk further on this.

Hope all well otherwise,

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade

[REDACTED] | Address:
Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 80 St Stephen's Green, Dublin 2, Ireland | www.dfa.ie

From: [REDACTED]
Sent: 01 February 2016 09:54
To: Dominick Chilcott (Sensitive) <Dominick.Chilcott@fco.gov.uk>
Cc: [REDACTED]

Subject: Re: No10 readout of Mr Cameron's meeting with Donald Tusk

Dear Dominick

Thanks for the update. It looks as if you're getting there, inch by inch, but no doubt there'll be the usual negotiating ups and downs over the next fortnight. [REDACTED]

All the best

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
Department of the Taoiseach

Email: [REDACTED]
Phone: [REDACTED]
Mobile: [REDACTED]

Designated Public Official under the Regulation of Lobbying Act 2015

From: <Dominick.Chilcott@fco.gov.uk>
To: [REDACTED]
Cc: [REDACTED]

Date: 01/02/2016 09:33
Subject: No10 readout of Mr Cameron's meeting with Donald Tusk

Dear [REDACTED]

You may be interested in seeing the official readout (below) of the UK prime minister's working dinner with the president of the European Council, Donald Tusk, last night.

BEGINS

A Downing St spokesperson said:

"The Prime Minister and President of the European Council Donald Tusk had a productive working dinner tonight, going through the draft proposals for reform in each of the four areas set out by the Prime Minister.

"Much progress has been made, particularly in the last 48 hours since the Prime Minister's meeting with President of the European Commission Jean-Claude Juncker on Friday, but there is still more hard work required.

"On welfare, the Commission have tabled a text making clear that the UK's current circumstances meet the criteria for triggering the emergency brake.

This is a significant breakthrough, meaning the Prime Minister can deliver on his commitment to restrict in work benefits to EU migrants for four years.

"But there are still areas where there is more to do and both agreed it was therefore worth taking the extra time to make further progress.

"One such area is economic governance where we want to ensure the enforcement mechanism is watertight, recognising that there must be ways to escalate an issue where we have concerns. Another is abuse of free movement, where we want to see more substantive proposals including closing backdoor routes to Britain which have enabled non-EU illegal migrants to stay in Britain in recent years.

"Sherpas will meet early in Brussels tomorrow and work through the day to resolve the outstanding issues.

"In the spirit of a constructive meeting, Tusk signalled that he plans to circulate a draft text to all Member States on Tuesday."

ENDS

Separately, we have been asked to check that there is no parliamentary scrutiny issue that would prevent the Taoiseach being able to agree a deal at the February European Council (FEC), should we reach that point.

We assume that since the Dail will be dissolved and getting a deal at the FEC is a stated aim of the Taoiseach, there will be no question of a requirement for parliamentary scrutiny before the European Council and the Taoiseach will not need a particular mandate or clearance from the Dail beforehand. This, we believe, remains the case even if the decision at the FEC has legal effect. But it would be good, if you have a moment, to confirm that our understanding is correct.

With best wishes,

Dominick

DJ Chilcott

Britain's ambassador to Ireland

From: [REDACTED]
To: [REDACTED]
Cc: [REDACTED]
Date: 25/02/2016 11:17
Subject: Prime Minister's letter to the Taoiseach of Ireland, Enda Kenny TD [OFFICIAL]




[REDACTED]

Attached is a letter from the Prime Minister to the Taoiseach following the EU reform negotiations. Given that he is likely to be on the campaign trail, what would be the best way of getting this to him? [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

Many thanks
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] | British Embassy Dublin | 29 Merrion Road, Ballsbridge, Dublin
4 | Email: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] |

 @BritEmbDublin [REDACTED] | : www.gov.uk/world/ireland | Like us on 

From: [REDACTED]
Sent: 26 February 2016 13:11
To: [REDACTED]
Subject: Fwd: Lord Ashcroft focus groups Brexit in Dublin

<http://lordashcroftpolls.com/2016/02/14563/>

From: [REDACTED]
Sent: 01 March 2016 18:05
To: Dominick Chilcott (Sensitive)
Cc: [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: Meetings with the UK govt.

Dominick,

No problem – will look into these.

I suspect there won't be many confirmed meetings due to our election (and indeed its result...) but I'll find out.

The BIC Summit in Glasgow is scheduled for 16/17 June, just a week before polling day. Latest we're hearing from Scotland is that they're tempted to proceed with it, but it's early days and the leaders of the various administrations (plus perhaps the UK government representative, depending on who it is) have differing views as we know.

[REDACTED]

Will stay in touch.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade

[REDACTED] | Email: [REDACTED] | Address:
Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 80 St Stephen's Green, Dublin 2, Ireland | www.dfa.ie

From: Dominick.Chilcott@fco.gov.uk [mailto:Dominick.Chilcott@fco.gov.uk]
Sent: 01 March 2016 17:58
To: [REDACTED]
Cc: [REDACTED]
Subject: Meetings with the UK govt.

Dear [REDACTED]

I'm afraid I have another question related to the UK referendum on which I should be glad of your assistance.

Do you know how many meetings there are in the diary – up to the end of July - between ministers in the Irish government and ministers in the British government?

It's possible – even likely – that we will schedule the annual summit before the summer.

Our ministers will attend the British-Irish Council in Scotland (is there a date for the next meeting?). And, of course, there will be the usual EU Council meetings in Brussels and Luxembourg.

Anymore?

Have I missed out anything? I am not aware of plans for meetings between Ms Villiers and Mr Flanagan. But I guess these will come back into play once the shape of the next government here comes more into focus?

With best wishes,

Dominick

From: [REDACTED]

Sent: 24 March 2016 15:25

To: [REDACTED]

Subject: Fw: EU referendum: Provincial England versus London and the Celts - Peter Kellner's latest commentary

[REDACTED]
Department of the Taoiseach

Email: [REDACTED]

Phone: [REDACTED]

Mobile: [REDACTED]

Designated Public Official under the Regulation of Lobbying Act 2015

From: [REDACTED]

To: <Dominick.Chilcott@fco.gov.uk>

Date: 24/03/2016 15:22

Subject: Re: FW: EU referendum: Provincial England versus London and the Celts - Peter Kellner's latest commentary

Dear Dominick

Many thanks for sending me this quite fascinating analysis. It's really striking how differently the various groups approach the issue when at the same time overall opinion seems so finely balanced.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

I hope you have a good Easter - I may see you at the GPO on Sunday.

All the very best and see you soon

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Department of the Taoiseach

Email: [REDACTED]

Phone: [REDACTED]

Mobile: [REDACTED]

Designated Public Official under the Regulation of Lobbying Act 2015

From: [REDACTED]

To: [REDACTED]

Cc: [REDACTED]

Date: 24/03/2016 12:47

Subject: FW: EU referendum: Provincial England versus London and the Celts - Peter Kellner's latest commentary

Dear [REDACTED]

In case you haven't seen it, I attach the latest commentary from Peter Kellner about attitudes in the UK to our membership of the EU. No-one does intelligent interpretation of polling better in the UK than YouGov. This is a very big sample – 16,000 people.

I am copying this to other colleagues and friends who may be interested in Mr Kellner's findings.

With best wishes,

Dominick

From: YouGov [<mailto:marketing@yougov.com>]

Sent: 24 March 2016 12:28

To: Dominick Chilcott (Sensitive)

Subject: EU referendum: Provincial England versus London and the Celts - Peter Kellner's latest commentary

SHARE

EU referendum: Provincial England versus London and the Celts

Voter stereotypes are often wrong. Forget Mondeo Man and Worcester Women: there was – is – nothing special about them. On most issues, different groups vary less than might be imagined. On taxation, say, or the health service, or welfare reform, there is a large overlap in the views of Mail and Guardian readers, young and old voters, university graduates and those with few qualifications – even Ukip supporters and Liberal Democrats.

Europe is different. A special analysis for Prospect of recent YouGov surveys uncovers unusually deep divisions in public attitudes. For once the differences do match the stereotypes. There is a huge contrast between the kinds of people wanting Britain to stay in the EU and those wanting Brexit.

A separate survey, for Prospect, explores the roots of this division. It finds that voters on both sides agree that Britain's economic problems are still severe. What divides them is what has caused these problems. But it is a measure of the downbeat mood of the nation as the referendum approaches that, given a choice of 14 EU countries in which to live, including the UK, most of us would pick one of the other 13.

Let's start with the basic in-out numbers. YouGov questioned more than 16,000 people during the two weeks following the agreement between David Cameron and the rest of the EU heads of government on changes to Britain's terms of membership. A sample this size allows us to look at sub-groups with some confidence. Overall, our sample splits 50-50 among those who take sides. We detected a modest shift from a slight majority for Brexit at the start of the fortnight to a slight lead in the second week for remaining in the EU. But, overall, neither side has a decisive advantage.

The graphic shows what we found. At one end of the spectrum, 91 per cent of Guardian readers want Britain to remain in the EU, while 97 per cent of Ukip supporters want Brexit. Apart from Ukip, the supporters of all the other significant opposition parties are strongly

pro-EU, with 75-80 per cent saying they will vote for staying in. Conservative voters divide 56-44 per cent for Brexit; however, there are signs that the Prime Minister is beginning to win some of them round to the "remain" camp.

How voters line up on the EU	Remain %	Leave %	Remain lead
"Remain" lead 10 points or more	%	%	%
Guardian readers	91	9	82
Green Party supporters	80	20	60
Lib Dem supporters	79	21	58
SNP voters	75	25	50
Labour supporters	75	25	50
Age 18 - 29	73	27	46
University graduates	70	30	40
Northern Ireland*	65	35	30
Scotland	63	37	26
Times readers	62	38	24
Age 30-39	62	38	24
AB social class	62	38	24
London	58	42	16
Highest educational qualification A level or equivalent	58	42	16
C1 social class	55	45	10
Wales	55	45	10
Gap less than 10 points			
North East England	51	49	2
Women	51	49	2
Men	50	50	0
ALL	50	50	0
North West England	49	51	-2

South East England	49	51	-2
South West England	49	51	-2
Age 40 - 49	48	52	-4
Mirror/ Record readers	46	54	-8
"Leave" lead 10 points or more			
Age 50 - 59	45	55	-10
Yorkshire and Humberside	45	55	-10
East Anglia	45	55	-10
West Midlands	44	56	-12
Conservative supporters	44	56	-12
Telegraph readers	41	59	-18
East Midlands	41	59	-18
C2 social class	40	60	-20
DE social class	37	63	-26
Age 60+	37	63	-26
Highest educational qualification GCSE or lower	32	68	-36
Sun readers	29	71	-42
Mail readers	27	73	-46
Express readers	23	77	-54
Ukip	3	97	-94

*Survey in Northern Ireland conducted by LucidTalk; all other data comes from YouGov

One curious, and possibly significant, finding concerns the don't knows, omitted from our graphic. As many as 21 per cent of Conservatives say they have yet to make up their mind – far more than the supporters of Labour (14 per cent), Lib Dem (12 per cent) or Ukip (4 per cent). This is unusual. Normally, Conservative supporters are less likely to say “don't know” to questions on public policy. But today, there are two million of them who are torn between the two sides. In a close race they could well be decisive. Will they end up loyal to their party leader and cast a risk-averse vote for continued membership of the EU – or will dislike of Brussels and the appeal of Boris Johnson and other leading Tories propel them to a vote for Brexit?

On the other side of the party fence, the turnout of Labour voters matters hugely. They currently comprise 47 per cent of all pro-EU voters. If Jeremy Corbyn's reluctance to campaign enthusiastically for the party's long-established policy causes a significant number of Labour supporters to stay at home, this could be fatal for the pro-EU cause.

Indeed, differential turnout could well decide the outcome. Look at the age divide. Voters under 30 divide 73-27 per cent for "in", while the over 60s divide 63-37 per cent for "out". As turnout tends to be much higher among older than younger electors, this is good news for the "out" campaign(s).

On the other hand, university graduates (70-30 per cent for "in") and people in the professional and managerial AB social class (62-38 per cent) tend to be more assiduous voters than those with GCSEs at most (68-32 per cent for "out") and semi and unskilled DE workers (63-37 per cent). So, overall, it is not clear which side, if either, will end up doing better if, say, the turnout is 70 per cent rather than 60 per cent.

If the overall result is very close, then the geography of the vote could have big implications for the UK's future, whichever side wins. London, Scotland and Wales all currently have clear majorities for "in". So does Northern Ireland, according to a recent poll by LucidTalk. (YouGov does not conduct political polls in Ulster.) Although unionists divide three-to-one for Brexit, fully 88 per cent of nationalists (and also Alliance and Green supporters) who take sides want to stay in the EU.

Taking the UK as a whole, the aggregate figures are striking: together, London, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland divide 60-40 per cent for staying in the EU, while provincial England – that is, all the English regions outside London – divide 53-47 per cent for Brexit.

Much has rightly been made of a backlash north of the border should Scotland be forced out of the EU by the votes of provincial England; but maybe some thought should be given to the consequence of a narrow "in" majority, in which provincial England is thwarted by a coalition of Londoners and Celts.

One final point from our aggregate analysis. For many years, Rupert Murdoch has been adroit at sensing the mood of his papers' readers, and siding with them. On this occasion, our figures send him a mixed signal, with Sun readers backing Brexit by 71-29 per cent, but Times readers, by 62-38 per cent, taking a pro-EU stance. Could Mr Murdoch's two London papers end up on opposite sides – just as the London and Scottish editions of the Sun advocated different parties in last year's general election?

Now to the attitudes that underpin the in-out division of public opinion. The referendum takes place in the eighth year of austerity politics. Political scientists, unlike those who study physics, biology and chemistry, are unable to do control experiments. If only we could measure public opinion in a separate referendum at the same time in a parallel universe in which Britain is booming after eight years of steadily rising prosperity. Sadly we can't. We must do what we can with the data that is available.

For this survey we started to explore the impact of austerity politics on the referendum by asking people how big they thought were the "underlying problems" facing Britain's economy. Last month, I showed how, at a personal level, optimism is on the rise. Voters are increasingly confident about the future prospects of themselves and their family. But our latest survey shows that this has more to do with people feeling better able to navigate troubled waters, rather than the waters themselves calming down. By six-to-one, we think Britain's fundamental problems are "very" or "fairly" big rather than "very or fairly" small. As significant is the fact that the views of "in" and "out" voters are much the same. So it's not that pro-EU voters are more optimistic than fans of Brexit.

However, our next question did uncover huge differences between the two sides. We listed ten possible causes of our economic problems and asked people to say which two or three they blame most. The top three picked by the "in" voters are completely different from the three picked by "out" voters:

- For “in” voters, the top three are: British banks, the Conservative-led government since 2010 and growing inequality.
- For “out” voters they are: EU rules and regulations, immigrants willing to work for low wages and the last Labour government.

These findings suggest that voters are becoming increasingly polarised, not just between “in” and “out” or Left and Right, but between two different conceptions of how Britain got into the condition it is in and, therefore, how to escape to a better future.

At the heart of those differences is a simple fact: the top two blame-targets for Brexiteers are outside factors (Brussels and immigrants), while the top three blame-targets for Europhiles are all internal factors. This accords with other YouGov research down the years. Most voters who strongly oppose the EU are also want to pull up the drawbridge between Britain and the rest of the world – not just by stopping the flow of immigrants but also, for example, ending overseas aid. Some leading advocates of Brexit, such as David Davis and Douglas Carswell, preach an alternative internationalism to EU membership, rather than a retreat into isolationism. But few voters want to leave the EU in order to pursue a more open and generous relationship with the rest of the world.

It is not just that “leave” voters are wary of the lands beyond our shores; they also reject a commonly-made argument about Britain's global influence. We tested four statements about the EU – two positive and two negative – and asked people whether they agreed or disagreed. The statement that polarise voters more than any other was: “Britain has more influence in the world as a member of the EU than it would have outside it”. Eighty-two per cent of “remain” voters agree; the same number of “leave” voters disagree.

Given all these findings, our next question produced a surprise, to me at least. We listed fourteen EU member states and asked people where they would most like to live if they could be guaranteed to maintain their standard of living. Among the public as a whole, just 39 per cent said the UK; 51 per cent said one of the other 13 countries (with Spain the most popular). Those figures are striking enough. However, I expected a big difference between the two sides in the referendum, with pro-EU voters far more likely to fancy living abroad than those eager to reassert British sovereignty. In fact, the difference is modest, with only slightly more “out” voters wanting to stay in the UK (35 per cent) than “in” voters (45 per cent).

On this, the big differences concern age rather than attitudes to the EU. By almost two-to-one, voters under 30 would rather live elsewhere in Europe than stay here, while most people over 60 want to remain in the UK.

What is it about the rest of the EU that appeals to so many people? We asked people which country was best at doing nine different things, and listed the seven member states on which we reckoned most people would have views. Britain outscored the combined total of its six rivals on three: having the most generous welfare system (50 per cent said the UK; 23 per cent said one of the other six countries); the best relations between people from different backgrounds and ethnic groups (32 per cent; 22 per cent); and having the best democratic system (31 per cent; 24 per cent).

On the other hand, Britain lagged behind other countries on standard of living (Germany and Sweden have higher scores); the best transport system (Germany); and having the hardest-working manual workers (Poland and, again, Germany). In each case there were more don't knows than normal. However it is clear that many people have a downbeat – or, if you prefer, realistic – view of the state of Britain today.

That may help to explain why so many people would fancy emigrating to the continent if they could be sure of maintaining their living standards. But it doesn't explain where they want to go. For the three most popular destinations (Spain, France and Italy) all have very low scores when we ask people which is best at doing various things. It looks as if sunshine trumps democracy, economic strength, public services, community relations – and whether we want to leave the EU.

Yet in one sense, perceptions of different countries DO influence attitudes to EU membership. By far the biggest difference between the two sides concerns welfare systems. As many as 66 per cent of "out" voters say Britain's is the most generous, with Sweden (just seven per cent) a very distant second. Among "in" voters, the scores for the two countries are: Britain 37 per cent, Sweden 24 per cent. It's hard to avoid the conclusion that this particular issue provokes feelings not just of national pride, but of a widespread feeling that Britain is a soft touch.

A variety of conclusions may be drawn from our survey; and I doubt we would all agree on what they are. But one big theme emerges. For a great many voters, the side they will end up taking in the referendum will concern not just the terms of the Prime Minister's agreement with his fellow EU leaders, or the details of our future trading arrangements. It will be a verdict the kind of country we have become and how we got here.

This analysis appears in the April issue of Prospect.

Peter Kellner is President of YouGov

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[See all of Peter Kellner's commentaries on our website](#)

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From: [REDACTED]

Sent: 02 June 2016 21:51

To: [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

Subject: Fwd: You need to watch this video - there's a surprise at the end!

In case not otherwise seen....

Sent from my iPhone

Begin forwarded message:

From: [REDACTED]

Date: 2 June 2016 20:56:32 IST

To: [REDACTED]

Subject: Fwd: You need to watch this video - there's a surprise at the end!

Friends please see this attachment - all of the people who made it did it all pro-bono this week for a very important reason - they passionately want the maximum possible turnout in the imminent UK Referendum and they obviously want to see the UK Remain in the EU.

If you agree with them, please simply forward the message to your connections with a similar re-send request to all who can help maximise registration and the actual voting on the day.

Sincere thanks

[REDACTED]

----- Forwarded message -----

From: [REDACTED]

Date: Thursday 2 June 2016

Subject: You need to watch this video - there's a surprise at the end!

To: [REDACTED]

Will you help us share our new video? We all know somebody who needs to see it.

[View this email in your browser](#)

Hello,

We've just put up a video that I'd love for you to help us share. We all know plenty of Irish here in the UK who have a vote in this vitally important decision.

Once you sit down and think about it I'm sure you can think of plenty.

Have a go yourself, see how many you can think of and tag them under the video. If we're going to reach as many people as possible I need you to help us share it too.

Make sure you watch it to the end for an extra special guest who we are delighted to have the support of.

Thanks!

Rob

Promoted by Matthew Fulton on behalf of the European Movement.

336-338 Southbank House, Black Prince Road, SE1 7SJ

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