

BREXIT BRIEF

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The Brief seeks to provide up-to-date information on the progress and content of the UK-EU negotiations, and bring together relevant statements and policy positions from key players in Ireland, the UK and the EU.

The Brief is part of a wider communications programme covering the work of the IIEA's UK Project Group – including commentaries, speeches, texts and event reports – which are highlighted on the Institute's website. (www.iiea.com)

Introduction

The Christmas / New Year period saw the fractious Protocol debate set aside for the annual breaks and the word itself replaced in the headlines of public discourse by 'Omicron'.

The reopening of the EU-UK discussions will see the new UK interlocuter, Foreign Secretary Liz Truss, facing Maroš Šefčovič. The Foreign Secretary is seen as a leading contender for the Tory leadership should the Boris Johnson era come to an end and observers will watch to see whether she chooses confrontation – to appeal to the Brexiteer wing of the party – or compromise – to meet the growing public distaste with what a recent European Council on Foreign Relations called the “perennial fights of a permanent Brexit.”

Foreign Affairs Minister Simon Coveney told *The Financial Times* that negotiations between the UK and Brussels over the Protocol on Ireland/Northern Ireland should not drag on past February. “We all know that we need to bring this discussion and negotiation to an end. We have elections in Northern Ireland in May. Those elections will begin in earnest really from the end of February. So, this can't drift on for months”, he stated. Meanwhile, the British Chambers of Commerce has called for the UK government and the EU to “calm down the rhetoric and stop acting like they are fighting.”

An editorial in *The Irish Times* highlighted an important moment in the understanding of the background to our current relationships and engagements:

The annual release of official documents by the National Archives has taken on a special significance this year as it encompasses almost an entire decade, from 1991 to 1998. The British moved to a 20-year release of state papers some years ago and the Irish system is now catching up.

The latest release covers the evolution of the peace process from the very early tentative moves by Charles Haughey in his final year in office, through the key developments undertaken Albert Reynolds and on to its conclusion by Bertie Ahern in the shape of the Belfast Agreement. The vast array of documents now in the public domain provide insights into how the Irish leaders dealt with their British counterparts beginning with Margaret Thatcher and going on through John Major and Tony Blair.

A *Guardian* headline – “Time to stockpile olives?” – has pointed to the reality that the New Year sees the coming into force of what it described as “new and burdensome Brexit rules and regulations affecting imports to Great Britain from the EU.” Britain’s small businesses have warned that trade with the EU is likely to be “permanently damaged” after new customs checks take effect. The TUC general secretary, Frances O’Grady, commented that “with goods coming into the UK facing new paperwork we could see further supply chain chaos, potentially hitting jobs in affected sectors. Government must invest in the infrastructure and jobs we need now to prevent further disruption”. Significantly, the UK Government has delayed the introduction of post-Brexit checks on Irish exports to the UK, due on Saturday, 1 January 2022, while the Protocol talks continue.

Section One: State of Play

Prime Minister Johnson on Brexit in 2022

On Friday, 31 December 2021, Prime Minister Boris Johnson issued a Statement headed “Prime Minister pledges to build on Brexit achievements in 2022.” Saturday 1 January 2022 marked the one-year anniversary of UK-EU Trade and Cooperation Agreement (TCA). The TCA is the world’s largest zero tariff, zero-quota free trade deal to date. It allows businesses in Britain to trade freely with EU Member States while also being able to seize new trading opportunities with countries around the world. The UK Government has said it hopes to use the TCA to continue to trade freely with the EU all whilst having the freedom to form their own rules and regulations and forging trade deals elsewhere. Since the agreement was signed, the Government has sought to capitalise on new freedoms by cutting red tape for businesses, reforming EU rules and regulations and boosting trade abroad to create new jobs here in the UK.

In 2022 Whitehall staff have been tasked with implementing the recommendations of the Taskforce for Regulatory Reform, Innovation and Growth, led by Sir Iain Duncan Smith. Officials are currently reviewing thousands of individual EU regulations to ensure they benefit people and businesses in the UK. Laws which do not meet this test will be reformed or repealed. Work is taking place to create a better framework ensuring that the UK is at the leading edge of science and technology in areas such as Artificial Intelligence, transport, data rights, sustainable agriculture and medical devices.

In the concluding section of the Statement, Prime Minister Boris Johnson said:

A year ago today we entered our new relationship with the EU through the world's biggest ever zero-tariff, zero-quota free trade deal - the UK-EU Trade and Cooperation Agreement. That was just the start – our mission since has been to maximise the benefits of Brexit so that we can thrive as a modern, dynamic and independent country.

We've replaced free movement with a points-based immigration system. We've secured the fastest vaccine rollout anywhere in Europe last year by avoiding sluggish EU processes. And from Singapore to Switzerland, we've negotiated ambitious free trade deals to boost jobs and investment here at home.

But that's not all. From simplifying the EU's mind-bogglingly complex beer and wine duties to proudly restoring the crown stamp onto the side of pint glasses, we're cutting back on EU red tape and bureaucracy and restoring common sense to our rulebook. The job isn't finished and we must keep up the momentum. In the year ahead my government will go further and faster to deliver on the promise of Brexit and take advantage of the enormous potential that our new freedoms bring.

Foreign Secretary Truss Appointed UK Lead Negotiator

On Sunday, 19 December 2021 UK Foreign Secretary Liz Truss assumed Ministerial responsibility for the Northern Ireland Protocol within the UK Government following

Lord Frost's resignation from Cabinet. As a result, she becomes the UK new Co-Chair of the Partnership Council and the Joint Committee. Chris Heaton-Harris MP was appointed Minister of State for Europe, deputising for the Foreign Secretary on EU matters as necessary.

The EU Commission Vice-President Maroš Šefčovič commented on the changes:

I take note of the appointment of Liz Truss as co-chair of the EU/GB Joint Committee and Partnership Council. My team and I will continue to cooperate with the UK in the same constructive spirit on all important tasks ahead including the Protocol on Ireland/Northern Ireland.

On taking up her new responsibilities, Liz Truss said she wanted to "urgently resolve" the UK-EU dispute over post-Brexit trading relations in Northern Ireland. She stressed the need to move on to allow both sides to focus on global challenges and spoke of unleashing the potential of the UK-EU relationship, blighted by post-Brexit feuding. "We want a constructive relationship with the EU, underpinned by trade and our shared belief in freedom and democracy", she said.

Maroš Šefčovič responded by tweet:

Reached out to Liz Truss to discuss EUGB relations particularly the Ireland/Northern Ireland Protocol. I'm committed to continue working towards a conclusive understanding with the UK on practical solutions for NI stakeholders. The EU's position is known. Our goal: stability and predictability.

Also on Tuesday, 21 December 2021, the Foreign Secretary held the first meeting of her new EU team. She commented on her

conversation with Vice-President Šefčovič, indicating firmly that the UK position had not changed:

We must pick up the pace on talks in the New Year. Our preference remains to reach an agreed solution. If this does not happen, we remain prepared to trigger Article 16 safeguards to deal with the very real problems faced in Northern Ireland and to protect the Belfast Agreement in all its dimensions.

A source, quoted in *The Telegraph*, said that Liz Truss had “sent a clear message to the EU” similar to those of Margaret Thatcher “who refused to climb down in her negotiations with Brussels”.

Lord Frost Resignation

On the night of Saturday, 18 December 2021, Lord David Frost resigned with immediate effect from his role as Minister of State at the Cabinet Office. Having held the post since Monday, 1 March 2021, he was the top UK Government official responsible for the implementation of the Withdrawal Agreement and the Protocol. His resignation letter to the Prime Minister cited his concerns the Government’s handling of the COVID-19 pandemic as the reason for his departure. However, his letter also raised concerns over the “direction of travel” with respect to the UK’s post-Brexit future. He subsequently denied that he has ever disagreed with the Prime Minister on Brexit policy. Lord Frost wrote to Prime Minister Boris Johnson:

I have led our EU exit process for the two and half years since you became Prime Minister. In those years we have restored the UK’s freedom and independence as a country and begun the process of building

a new relationship with the EU. That will be a long-term task. That is why we agreed earlier this month that I would move on in January and hand over the baton to others to manage our future relationship with the EU. It is disappointing that this plan has become public this evening and in the circumstances I think it is right for me to write to step down with immediate effect.

Brexit is now secure. The challenge for the Government now is to deliver on the opportunities it gives us. You know my concerns about the current direction of travel. I hope we will move as fast as possible to where we need to get to: a lightly regulated, low-tax, entrepreneurial economy, at the cutting edge of modern science and economic change. Three hundred years of history show that countries which take that route grow and prosper, and I am confident we will too.

The Prime Minister replied:

I was very sorry to receive it given everything you have achieved and contributed to this government for which I am very grateful. I particularly want to pay tribute to your unique contribution towards getting Brexit done. First as my EU Sherpa...then, as the chief negotiator to secure the Trade and Cooperation Agreement which fully restored the UK’s sovereignty...

Crucially you have helped highlight and sought to address the destabilising impact the current operation of the Northern Ireland Protocol is having on communities in Northern Ireland, which is undermining the Belfast (Good Friday) Agreement and the territorial integrity of this country.

The immediate reaction in Dublin was summed up by Tánaiste Leo Varadkar who said the Government will “try to work with whoever’s there.” The Government had tried to work with whoever is in those key positions, to build relationships. Liz Truss is Simon Coveney’s counterpart...so that work has already started I suppose.”

Lord Frost’s departure came about as talks between the EU and UK remained difficult. Briefings in London suggested that the Johnson administration was no longer seeking all of the changes to the Protocol so strongly advocated by Lord Frost. An *RTÉ* report spoke of policy changes in respect of the overall governance of the Withdrawal Agreement – playing down demands about the role of the European Court of Justice and “how the two sides would resolve dispute and manage divergence by the UK from existing EU rules and standards” – and simply concentrating on changes to ease the flow of goods into Northern Ireland. Lord Frost pushed back against these briefings.

The eighth meeting on the Protocol between the chief negotiators took place by video link on Friday, 10 December 2021. The meeting again failed to produce a breakthrough, but commitments to redouble efforts before Christmas were made and reflected in the subsequent tweeted statements. This was to be the final in-person meeting between both Lord Frost and Vice-President Šefčovič.

Lord Frost tweeted the following:

Maroš Šefčovič and I met by video today to wrap up this week’s talks process about the Northern Ireland Protocol. We have made further limited progress on medicines, but we have not reached agreement. I underlined the need for

movement on all the difficult issues created by the Protocol, including customs, agri-food rules, subsidy policy, VAT / excise, & governance including the Court of Justice. We will not find a durable solution that does not deal with all these problems. Intensive talks will continue this coming week. Maroš Šefčovič and I will talk twice to steer the process in the hope of making worthwhile progress towards agreed solutions before Christmas.”

Commission Vice President Maroš Šefčovič tweeted:

Met David Frost to discuss package of solutions for NI. It’s crunch time for medicines, with the EU Commission ready to amend EU legislation, We continue to work hard to turn our proposals into real benefits for all communities in NI. Next week we’ll speak on 15 and 17 December.

Frost – Šefčovič Discussion, 16 December 2021

Lord Frost and Maroš Šefčovič ultimately reconvened on Thursday, 16 December 2021. No joint statement followed their discussion which had included significant exchanges on the issue of medicine supplies in Northern Ireland.

Vice President Šefčovič issued a Statement on Friday, 17 December 2021:

It has been an eventful year in EU-UK relations, with a special focus on implementing the two essential agreements, which frame our post-Brexit partnership.

Although they were both negotiated in fine detail and agreed by both sides, we

have seen a number of issues arise since then – many being the consequence of the type of Brexit the United Kingdom chose. This is especially true for the Protocol on Ireland / Northern Ireland.

With David Frost, we will resume our talks in January with the view to reaching a conclusive understanding with the UK. For my part, I remain committed to continue paying full attention to the implementation of the Protocol, listening to and engaging with Northern Irish stakeholders – from political leaders to businesses and a cross-section of civic society.

Ladies and gentlemen, I stood here one year ago to the day, welcoming solutions which would ensure that the Protocol became operational in time. Today is a further demonstration of the EU's unwavering commitment to stability and predictability for citizens and businesses in Northern Ireland. And I urge the UK government to reciprocate our efforts.

The EU and the UK are partners with shared values and shared global challenges – so it is time to change gear and bring our partnership to the level on which it belongs.

Lord Frost tweeted the following statement:

"I have spoken to Maroš Šefčovič today and I have now issued a statement on the state of play in the talks on the Northern Ireland Protocol. The negotiations will resume early in the New Year." The Statement covered a wide range of issues

"It is now widely accepted by all parties that the current operation of this Protocol does not fully support these objectives

and that changes are needed if the current situation is to improve. It is clear, including from recent polling, that a large majority across Northern Ireland shares that perspective.

There has been some progress, but not as much, and not as quickly as we had hoped. Although we have worked with the proposals put forward by the Commission in mid-October, they do not solve the problems, and even in some aspects take us back from the current unsatisfactory status quo.

Overall, with the potential exception of medicines, I do not believe that the negotiations are yet close to delivering outcomes which can genuinely solve the problems presented by the Protocol. The EU's proposals only cover certain areas and would not do enough to ease the burdens faced by people in Northern Ireland; or to create the conditions for genuinely cross-community support.

Our preference would be to reach a comprehensive solution dealing with all the issues. However, given the gravity and urgency of the difficulties, we have been prepared to consider an interim agreement as a first step to deal with the most acute problems, including trade frictions, subsidy control, and governance. Such an agreement would still leave many underlying strains unresolved, for example those caused by diverging UK and EU rules over time. It would therefore be inherently provisional by nature and would accordingly need to include mechanisms for addressing outstanding issues and resolving new concerns as they arise. The UK has proposed a number of

possible ways forward, but regrettably it has not so far been possible to make progress even on what the core elements of an interim agreement might be.

It is disappointing that it has not been possible to reach either a comprehensive or worthwhile interim agreement this year. A solution needs to be found urgently early next year. For as long as there is no agreed solution, we remain ready to use the Article 16 safeguard mechanism if that is the only way to protect the prosperity and stability of Northern Ireland and its people.

Šefčovič on Medicines in Northern Ireland

On Friday, 17 December 2021 Commission Vice President Šefčovič issued a Statement on the specific issue of the long-term supply of medicines from Great Britain to Northern Ireland:

I just held my last meeting with David Frost this year on the EU's package of far-reaching proposals to smooth the implementation of the Protocol. I also spoke to leaders of the different political parties representing the communities of Northern Ireland.

And it gives me great pleasure to deliver today on one of the key pieces of our package – the supply of medicines to Northern Ireland.

During my visit to Northern Ireland in September, I promised to do whatever it takes to ensure a long-lasting solution on medicines, all the more so in light of the current pandemic. I kept my word – and today, the Commission is delivering in the

form of a legislative proposal, ensuring that everyone in Northern Ireland has access to the same medicines at the same time as in the rest of the United Kingdom.

The European Commission, on Friday, 17 December 2021, issued a statement indicating that it had “put forward proposals to ensure the continued long-term supply of medicines from Great Britain to Northern Ireland”. “In the context of the Protocol on Ireland/ Northern Ireland this means that the same medicines will continue to be available in Northern Ireland at the same time as in the rest of the United Kingdom, while specific conditions ensure that UK-authorised medicines do not enter the Single Market” it added.

On Thursday, 16 December 2021, in his last remarks to the House of Lords as Chief Negotiator, Lord Frost made reference to the medicines issue:

My Lords, there has been a lot of discussion of my negotiating strategy over the last two and a half years. The fact that we achieved the broadest, most wide-ranging and most comprehensive trade and co-operation agreement ever reached is testimony to my wish to achieve partnership with the EU. On the issue of medicines, we continue to be in discussion with the EU on this subject, and I will talk again to Maroš Šefčovič tomorrow. I am not convinced that we are going to reach agreement on it by the end of the year, but we will try. Of course, it is a national priority that medicines should be available in Northern Ireland, as they are everywhere else in the UK.

DUP – Continuing Campaign

The Democratic Unionist Party (DUP), through its leader, Sir Jeffrey Donaldson, has continued its insistence that there will be “major implications” at Stormont if the London Government fails to act urgently on the Protocol issue by setting a formal deadline to end negotiations with Brussels. Sir Jeffrey went on to say the following:

We need a clear date now, we need a clear timeline in which there is an expectation of real progress or the government takes the action that is necessary. January is going to be an absolutely crucial month.” Commenting on the arrival of Liz Truss as Chief Negotiator, Jeffrey Donaldson said that “it is crucial that Liz Truss moves this process forward quickly and that we get real and meaningful progress.

Commission Vice President Maroš Šefčovič engaged with to the Seanad Special Committee on the Withdrawal of the UK from the EU by video link on 15 November 2021. He spoke of his discussions with parties and groups in Northern Ireland:

I appreciate the Senator’s questions. As he rightly pointed out, we based our package of proposals for 13 October on extensive discussions with Northern Irish representatives. We are in regular contact with business leaders on a technical level, but I also make sure that I try to talk to them every four to six weeks, and now our contacts are even more intense.

What I hear from them is a call for the EU and the UK to resolve our differences, to give legal clarity to business leaders and to make sure that we will provide for stability

and predictability in Northern Ireland. They see that as the best contribution we can make to peace, reconciliation and to the future of Northern Ireland. They are increasingly aware of the opportunity of businesses in Northern Ireland to access the Single Market. We are getting clear inquiries about possible investment in Northern Ireland, and about setting up shops and distribution hubs in Northern Ireland. To be in both very important markets at the same time is indeed a unique opportunity.

Section Two: The Evolving Debate

Statement by Jim Allister, TUV leader, 14 December 2021

The Traditional Unionist Voice (TUV) Leader issued a Statement on the Protocol on Friday, 14 December 2021:

There is a whiff of further betrayal of unionism in the air over the Northern Ireland Protocol, with reported briefings of the UK government weakening of resolve. There may yet be a heavy price to pay for giving Boris Johnson the benefit of the doubt in the autumn when threats of action faded away.

The belief that if the Protocol beds in unionists will come to terms with it is driving inaction by London. Of course, the protocol is economically disastrous, but it is its constitutional dislocation which really counts. The Irish Sea border is not just an inconvenience it is a visible manifestation of Great Britain now being a ‘third country’ while we are absorbed day by day into an economic all-Ireland.

Since Stormont is a lynchpin in the implementation of the Union-dismantling protocol, we are past the point of needing to face up to the folly of continuing to sustain that which is perfecting our constitutional destruction. By reason of its dominant position, the DUP carries the primary obligation to act now to waken up the UK government to the choices it faces.

Lord Ashcroft Poll- Majority would vote to remain in UK

An online poll of more than 3,000 voters in Northern Ireland found that the majority – 54 per cent - would vote to remain in the United Kingdom if a referendum on the issue were held in the near future. However, a majority said they thought a referendum ten years from now would see a vote in favour of a united Ireland.

Ashcroft Polls held a number of Focus Group discussions on the issue of Irish unity which saw many participants express nervousness about the prospect of a border poll, including some who favoured unity in principle. “They tended to think that a referendum would be divisive, re-awakening tensions rather than resolving them, and that a return to violence would be more than likely”, the report noted. Participants “as a whole were more likely to think that prices, housing costs, tax rates and unemployment would be higher in a united Ireland than that they would be lower, while public spending and welfare benefits were more likely to be lower. Business investment was thought more likely to be higher in a united Ireland”.

Some 67% of voters – including 34% of Unionists – said they thought Brexit had made Irish unification in the foreseeable future more likely.

Opinium Brexit Survey

A survey by *Opinium* for the *Observer* reveals that, a year after the UK left the EU, more than six out of ten voters believe that Brexit has either gone badly or worse than they expected.

The survey, which came a week after Lord Frost’s departure from the Johnson Government, also found that 42% of those who voted Leave in the 2016 referendum had a negative view of how Brexit had turned out to date. It highlighted that 26% of Leave supporters were concerned that Brexit had gone worse than they expected and a further 16% said that they had expected it to go badly and had been proved right. Turning to those who had voted to remain in the European Union, 86% said that Brexit had gone badly or worse than they expected. No more than 14% of all voters said that Brexit had gone better than expected.

Opinium spokesperson, Adam Drummond, commented that the most striking finding of the Brexit anniversary survey was that Leave voters were now “more hesitant” about the positive aspects of the move than previously:

For most of the Brexit process any time you’d ask a question that could be boiled down to ‘is Brexit good or bad?’ you’d have all of the Remainers saying ‘bad’ and all of the Leavers saying ‘good’ and these would cancel each other out. Now what we’re seeing is a significant minority of Leavers saying that things are going badly or at least worse than they expected.

Westminster a long way from Northern Ireland

A poll commissioned by *UK in a Changing Europe* has revealed a significant gap between Northern Ireland public opinion and the views of

Westminster MPs. When asked if the Protocol is “on balance a good thing” for Northern Ireland, 52% of the public said it was, compared to just 25% of Labour MPs and 23% of Conservative MPs. Asked if the Protocol “provides appropriate means for managing the effects of Brexit in Northern Ireland” 52% of the Northern Ireland public agreed but just 26% of Labour and 17% of Conservatives agreed.

UK in a Changing Europe’s Senior Fellow, Katy Hayward, commented the following:

There has always been something of a democratic deficit when it comes to Northern Ireland’s representation in Westminster, mainly because there are no Labour or Conservative MPs among the 18 from Northern Ireland (and no prospect of there being any). So the influence that public opinion in Northern Ireland has on the views of the vast majority of MPs is inevitably very limited. Nevertheless, on a matter that has so much implication and is of such importance for people in Northern Ireland, it might be hoped that their opinions on the protocol are viewed as something other than insignificant.

Labour Party Changes

Peter Kyle MP, the former Shadow Schools Minister, has been appointed Shadow Secretary of State for Northern Ireland in a wide-ranging Shadow Cabinet reshuffle carried out by the Labour Party Leader Sir Keir Starmer. He made his first intervention as Shadow Secretary of State, questioning the Secretary of State, Brandon Lewis, on the Legacy issue.

Mr Kyle replaced Louise Haigh, who was moved to become Shadow Transport Secretary. In a social media post, Louise Haigh said that she had not been moved because of her recent interview in which she argued that the Labour

Party should adopt a neutral stance in any referendum on Irish unity. She commented that it had been an honour “to have worked with the handful of people in Westminster who care about Northern Ireland. Northern Ireland deserves real commitment and advocacy, so often lacking from London.”

The Chairman of the Commons Northern Ireland Affairs Committee, Simon Hoare, said that Louise Haigh had been a “first class” Shadow Secretary – “tough, principled, astute, fearless”. The SDLP Leader, Colum Eastwood, commented that “very rarely does a British politician really get the North - Louise got it and always advocated for a sensible approach from London”.

In the reshuffle Tonia Antoniazzi MP was appointed Shadow Minister for Northern Ireland, replacing Alex Davies-Jones.

Loyalist Warning

David Campbell, chairman of the Loyalist Communities Council, has warned the UK Government that it could well be “playing with fire” over the Protocol. The Council brings together long-standing Ulster Defence Association, Red Hand Commando and Progressive Unionist Party and Ulster Volunteer Force figures.

David Campbell’s statement, on Wednesday, 19 December 2021, which was described as ‘personal’, reads as follows:

I am concerned that there will now be further delays in replacing the NI Protocol and also worried that HMG may be tempted to soften their approach. Many of us have given time and space for these negotiations on the basis of Lord Frost’s briefings. HMG and the EU need

to recognise that giving time and space is not a sign of our weakening our position. The breaches of the Belfast Agreement must be repaired. This means no border infrastructure and unfettered GB-NI trade and no EU judicial sovereignty over Northern Ireland. Any resiling from this will be playing with fire.

Government Objection to UK Border Plan

The Government has indicated that it will communicate concerns and objections to London about the *Nationality and Borders Bill* under which non-Irish EU citizens living in the Republic will have to apply online for pre-travel clearance to cross the Border. They will be required to apply for a US-style visa waiver – Electronic Travel Authorisation (ETA) – before entering the UK including when crossing the land border. In the House of Commons debate on the Bill the Alliance Party MP, Stephen Farry, argued that “this adds extra layers of bureaucracy and creates new legal risk and jeopardy for people crossing on land journeys into Northern Ireland”.

Civil Service and ‘Brexit’

Whitehall civil servants have received a ‘Style Guide’ which advises them to avoid using the word ‘Brexit’ and to refer instead to ‘31 December 2020’. Officials should only use the word when “providing historical context” and are advised to refer to the date on which the UK left the EU. The Guide also instructs civil servants to avoid the term ‘transition period’ but to use the dates during which Britain negotiated its departure from the EU – ‘before 31 December 2020’ rather than ‘during the transition period’ and ‘after 1 January 2021 instead of ‘after the transition period’”.

Section Three: Background Material and Further Reading

Background Material

GOV.UK Prime Minister pledges to build on Brexit achievements in 2022, 31 December 2021. <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/prime-minister-pledges-to-build-on-brexit-achievements-in-2022>

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