

# 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](http://www.iiea.com))

## Introduction

The August 'break' in political activity this year saw the continuation of the brutal Russian invasion of Ukraine and the escalation of the energy, cost-of-living and climate crises. It also saw the long weeks of campaigning in the Tory Party leadership contest.

The conclusion of that contest will see the resumption of the Northern Ireland Protocol issue with the impasse in respect of enabling the Assembly and Executive to get to work still continuing and giving rise to the prospect of the statutory calling of a new Assembly election in late October. The new dispensation in London may offer some hope of a breakthrough.

## Liz Truss is the new UK Prime Minister

The UK Foreign Secretary, Liz Truss, was elected leader of the Conservative and Unionist Party on 5 September 2022, winning the party membership poll by 57.4% to 42.6% ahead of the former Chancellor of the Exchequer, Rishi Sunak. Her victory means that she becomes the third female Prime Minister, following Margaret Thatcher and Theresa May.

On 6 September 2022, Queen Elizabeth II, at Balmoral rather than Buckingham Palace for health reasons, received the formal resignation of Boris Johnson and then invited Liz Truss to form a government.

## Section One: State of Play

### Tory Leadership Campaign - Sunak versus Truss

As the Tory leadership campaign continued the Dublin Government expressed the hope that there may be a "September Window" for a new British Prime Minister to reach a deal that eases British and unionist objections to the operation of the Northern Ireland Protocol. "If a new prime minister wanted to take the initiative with the EU, a sort of reset moment, then there could be space in September." Taoiseach Micheál Martin has urged the incoming Prime Minister to give "a clear and genuine signal" that a negotiated solution is a priority.

Foreign Affairs Minister, Simon Coveney, said:

*We would like to see the change in Conservative Party leadership and the change in the Prime Minister's office as an opportunity to try and resolve some of the outstanding issues in a different way. We will work with whoever the new Prime Minister is, of course, we hope that the new Prime Minister won't pursue a strategy of breaking international law and breaking their word to Ireland and the EU.*

There are real fears in Dublin that the nature of the contest for the Conservative Party leadership may harden the position of whoever takes over in Downing Street, reducing the prospect of a reset in September and putting the new UK government on a collision course with the EU — and with Ireland caught in the middle.

Reports that the Truss camp has briefed that she is prepared to trigger Article 16 of

the Protocol within days of becoming Prime Minister have led to expressions of serious concern in Northern Ireland and Brussels. Article 16 allows either the UK or EU to suspend parts of the Protocol if they consider them to be causing economic, social, or environmental damage.

Sources in Dublin point to the fact that Liz Truss, as Foreign Secretary, is responsible for the Northern Ireland Protocol Bill's progress through parliament and that she has pursued an uncompromising position on the issue. Earlier this year, she had a fiery confrontation with Minister for Foreign Affairs Simon Coveney at a Council of Europe event in Turin, Italy, on the Protocol. Ms Truss has courted the votes of the hard Eurosceptic wing of the Tory party in recent months and has been seen as the candidate favoured by the outgoing Boris Johnson Downing Street administration.

### David Trimble RIP

David Trimble was remembered as a "man of courage and vision" following his death on 25 July 2022 at the age of 77. David Trimble led the Ulster Unionist Party (UUP) between 1995 and 2005. He played a central role in the Belfast/Good Friday Agreement negotiations and was jointly awarded the Nobel Peace Prize with John Hume. He served as NI First Minister between 1998 and 2002.

Politicians involved in the peace process over many years joined in paying tribute to David Trimble's contribution, leadership, and courage. Tony Blair spoke of his contribution as "immense, unforgettable and frankly irreplaceable" while Bertie Ahern said that if David Trimble had not entered Northern Ireland peace talks in 1997 there would have been no Good Friday Agreement.

President Michael D Higgins, Taoiseach Micheál Martin, UK Prime Minister Boris Johnson and NI Secretary Shailesh Vara were among the huge attendance at David Trimble's funeral at which the former Moderator of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, Rev Charles McMullen, who said that providence had shone its light on David Trimble and "gave him a moment."

## The Candidates on Northern Ireland Protocol Bill

The two Tory Party contenders have given scant priority to the NI Protocol debate as economic and taxation issues dominated. They visited Belfast for a low-key Party hustings. However, both candidates have set out their positions on the Protocol issue in newspaper articles and responses to queries in media interviews and at hustings.

Liz Truss, as Foreign Secretary, was responsible for introducing the NI Protocol Bill, arguing that:

*In the face of EU intransigence I developed the Northern Ireland Protocol bill. It breaks the deadlock in a legal way, upholding the Belfast Good Friday Agreement and preventing the tearing apart of our precious union.*

Speaking in the House of Commons when the bill was first debated, she told MPs that due to "the grave situation in Northern Ireland", there was a "necessity to act to ensure institutions can be restored as soon as possible".

In a letter to the *Financial Times* in June, Ms Truss said the Protocol was undermining the Good Friday Agreement, had created practical problems and "a growing sense that the

rights and aspirations of some parts of the community are being undermined". She said new legislation was necessary because "all other options within the current EU mandate are currently exhausted" and she said the proposed legislation is "absolutely legal."

Speaking about the coming debate in the House of Lords. Liz Truss insisted that the Bill had a strong mandate from the House of Commons and was a priority for the government to deliver: "It might take time to get this Bill through the House of Lords but the sooner we start the sooner we will finish and I am determined to get it done as quickly as possible."

The former Chancellor, Rishi Sunak, contributed an article to the Belfast Telegraph on 12 August 2022, in which he wrote:

*If I become your next prime minister, I will restore trust, rebuild our economy and unite our great nation. Northern Ireland will be central to this plan, because it is a plan for every citizen of the UK whether you're in Belfast, Aberdeen, Leeds or Swansea. But for the people of Northern Ireland, and for businesses across the country, I have a fourth plank of my leadership pitch which I promise to you today; I will fix the Northern Ireland Protocol. And be in no doubt, under my premiership, the Northern Ireland Protocol Bill will continue to make its way through parliament and, if negotiation doesn't deliver what we need to, it will become law. I won't hesitate to take any necessary action to fulfil my responsibilities as prime minister to safeguard the rights of the people of Northern Ireland, to uphold the Good Friday Agreement, and to protect our Union.*

In May, Mr Sunak told Bloomberg that the way the Protocol was operating was posing enormous challenges to “the stability of the situation” in Northern Ireland. He said it had become a barrier to re-establishing power sharing at Stormont. Mr Sunak said the government’s preference was a negotiated settlement and added that he wanted to ensure Northern Ireland’s place in the United Kingdom was secure.

## Tory Leadership Ballots

Conservative Party MPs narrowed the options for Boris Johnson’s successor as party leader and prime minister to a choice of two candidates. Foreign Secretary Liz Truss and former Chancellor of the Exchequer Rishi Sunak were chosen after five ballots to contest the leadership - and therefore the position of Prime Minister - in a run-off vote among party members with the result to be declared on 5 September 2022. The fifth, and final, ballot of MPs saw Sunak with 137 votes, Truss with 113 and Penny Mordaunt with 105. Eight candidates had contested the initial ballot.

## Northern Ireland Protocol Bill passes Commons

The House of Commons has voted to pass the Northern Ireland Protocol Bill, rejecting all proposed amendments, and clearing the way for it to proceed to the House of Lords after the summer break. It is widely expected that the Bill will meet stiff opposition in the Lords with peers expected to support significant amendments to the Bill, sending it back to the Commons, setting up a possibly lengthy and difficult process between the two chambers.

The various Second Stage amendments – from the Labour Party, the Alliance Party, and individual Conservative MPs – were defeated

by majorities in line with the overall party positions in the House: 293-201 / 293-205 / 292-204. The Third Reading, sending the Bill to the Lords, was passed by 267-195.

The lengthy Commons exchanges featured contributions from key figures in the overall NI Protocol debate.

For the Alliance Party, Stephen Farry argued that:

*There are many motivations behind the Bill. However, the claim that it responds to the wishes of the people of Northern Ireland or the interests of the business community in Northern Ireland does not stand up to scrutiny. I remain very critical of the so-called engagement process from both the Foreign and Commonwealth and Development Office and the Northern Ireland Office. They have sought an echo chamber to reinforce their own agenda rather than consulting widely.*

Labour’s Shadow NI Secretary Peter Kyle insisted that:

*This Bill is not lawful. Of course, the right hon. Member for Maidenhead [Mrs May], the former Prime Minister, said on the Floor of the House just a few days ago that in her opinion it was unlawful. We heard from a former Attorney General in the last day of debate that he felt it was unlawful. For that reason, the Labour party believes that although we voted against the Protocol in the first place, now that it is in domestic statute and part of an international treaty, the responsible thing to do is to negotiate a way forward.*

The Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) leader, Jeffrey Donaldson, spoke of the Bill’s objectives:

Although I understand the concerns that have been raised about the practical workings of this Bill, I believe it offers a potential solution that addresses the real and genuine concerns of not only Unionists in Northern Ireland but many in the business community. Yes, some in the business community say that the Protocol works for them, but many say the opposite. We are looking for an outcome that respects Northern Ireland's place within the United Kingdom, that respects the core principles of the Belfast agreement, including the need for consensus, that removes the barriers to trade within the United Kingdom, that offers a practical solution to goods crossing into the European Union and protects the integrity of the EU's single market, and that enables business to have a real say in how those solutions are designed.

The SDLP MP, Claire Hanna, spoke directly to the DUP:

*We have put on record many times our concerns about the symbolic effect of borders, which is why we worked so hard and for so many years to ensure that there is a borderless solution. We regret that not all parties joined us in that fight. Will the right hon. Gentleman acknowledge that many of us are concerned that his party, in legitimate pursuit of the rights of those with a strong Unionist identity, utterly ignores the majority of people who support the Protocol in some form and is disregarding the majority of people in Northern Ireland—a comfortable majority—who wish the Northern Ireland Assembly to be up and running and who wish MLAs, MPs and others to find a negotiated, not a unilateral, solution to this impasse?*

Jeffrey Donaldson responded:

*I welcome the intervention from the hon. Member. It is important that she placed on record a recognition of the concerns of Unionists, but she mentioned the word "majority" at least twice, and I find that interesting. I have said on the record that even though I would have had many differences with John Hume, I came to respect and understand his very clear view that in a divided society such as Northern Ireland, consensus, not majority rule, is the way forward.*

Claire Hanna asked:

*Does the right hon. Member acknowledge that it feels duplicitous to many people for him and his colleagues to say repeatedly that the Protocol requires cross-community consent but that Brexit does not—that the Protocol means that this Bill is fine because it has a Unionist party's consent, even though all the other parties, representing a number of other traditions, do not support it?*

Jeffrey Donaldson then said:

*I have no desire whatever to replace Unionist discontentment with nationalist discontentment in Northern Ireland. I recognise that a solution to these issues must be capable of commanding broad support and of dealing with the concerns that arise, not just for Unionists. I believe we will see that the Bill is capable of addressing the concerns of the European Union and its need to protect the single market and its integrity. What it does for Unionists, however, is to respect the integrity of the UK internal market.*



On the Third Reading, the SDLP Leader, Colum Eastwood, intervened saying:

*I have heard a lot from some interesting people about the Good Friday agreement. I have always supported the Good Friday agreement, and I am delighted that so many people support it now. However, there is a nonsense at the heart of the argument that the Good Friday agreement is based on consensus. It is not; that is not possible. I sat in the Northern Ireland Assembly for almost nine years, and there was very little consensus in that place. Things got done and things got voted on, but majorities made decisions.*

*The reality for all those people who say they care about the people of Northern Ireland is that the people of Northern Ireland do not want this Bill. Their elected representatives do not want this Bill. The representatives of the business groups we have been told so much about do not want this Bill. Anybody with any sense knows that this is a blatant breaking of international law.*

## **Taoiseach at British-Irish Association Conference, Oxford, 3 September 2022**

The Taoiseach, Micheál Martin, spoke at the 50th Anniversary Conference of the British-Irish Association on 3 September 2022. He addressed the Protocol issue:

*I speak at a time of political change here, as we await the announcement on Monday of a new leader of the Conservative party and the new Prime Minister of the UK.*

*I wish them well in the challenging times ahead. I want to work in an open and*

*constructive way with the new British Prime Minister. I sincerely believe that the EU would respond positively to a serious and genuine signal from the new British Prime Minister that their priority is to reach an agreed outcome on the issues around implementation of the Protocol.*

*Brexit marked a fundamental change in the EU-UK relationship, and the type of Brexit chosen by the British Government has meant that the trading relationships on these islands have been fundamentally altered.*

*That made finding a new set of arrangements – one that would not, and could not be, a return to the trading arrangements that operated before Brexit – absolutely imperative.*

*The Protocol is the hard-won compromise between the UK and the EU designed to address the consequences of the UK's departure from the EU, while avoiding a hard border on the island of Ireland and protecting the integrity of the single market. It was agreed by the UK Government, ratified by Westminster and enacted into UK law.*

*I am deeply concerned about the British Government's legislation which would unilaterally undo core elements of the Northern Ireland Protocol. Concerned by what it means for the partnership approach we want to see between the EU and the UK; concerned by the wider message it sends about a rules-based international order; and, most of all, concerned because it is neither in the interests of the people of Northern Ireland nor what they want.*

*Unilateral action on the Protocol and on legacy is at odds with the spirit of partnership that is needed to underpin the Good Friday Agreement. It is testing and fraying the partnership between us.*

*The EU recognises that there have been genuine difficulties with aspects of the implementation of the Protocol. But we need to address these together. The EU has listened very carefully to the concerns of people in Northern Ireland.*

*It has already put forward practical proposals and I want to take a moment to thank Vice President Šefčovič for his very strong, engaged and constructive leadership of these efforts, and for his remarks last night. I believe there is a path to an agreed way forward on outstanding issues regarding the Protocol if we keep our focus on addressing the real problems that affect people in Northern Ireland and on identifying pragmatic and operational solutions. Only an agreed outcome between the EU and the UK will provide a durable solution and much needed legal and economic certainty for business and the people of Northern Ireland. The benefits of doing so are clear. The risks of not doing so are significant.*

## **Šefčovič Warning on Protocol Bill**

On 2 September 2022 the EU Commission Vice-President, Maroš Šefčovič, spoke at the British-Irish Conference in Oxford, devoting a key section of his remarks to the Protocol issue:

*Protecting the peace process in Northern Ireland has been a central aim for the EU throughout the Brexit journey. The Protocol on Ireland/Northern Ireland*

*represents the best way we could find to achieve that aim together with the UK, in response to the type of Brexit chosen by the UK government. The Protocol, an integral part of the Withdrawal Agreement, protects the 1998 Good Friday (Belfast) Agreement in all its dimensions, avoids a hard border on the island of Ireland, while also protecting the integrity of the EU Single Market.*

*The Protocol also creates countless opportunities for Northern Ireland thanks to the unique access that its businesses continue to have to the EU Single Market for goods. These are tangible benefits. Based on our extensive engagement with a wide range of stakeholders in Northern Ireland, the Commission put forward last October far-reaching proposals addressing issues raised by people and businesses. We have sketched out our proposals in great detail before the summer in order to show that they can be implemented quickly.*

*These proposals are about simplifying and facilitating trade and are therefore in stark contrast with, for instance, the dual regulatory regime advocated by the UK. In addition, they are not a "take it or leave it" offer, as we believe that only joint solutions can work. These proposals have however never been seriously picked up by my counterparts. In short, they were dismissed without consideration. The UK has not even engaged in any meaningful discussions with us since February.*

*Instead, we are now faced with the UK government's continuing determination to push forward the Northern Ireland Protocol Bill, set to disapply core elements of the Protocol. This unilateral*

*action is naturally of great concern to the EU. It is not for the UK government alone to change our bilateral agreement and modify the conditions under which goods can enter the EU's Single Market and reach our consumers. This is simply legally and politically inconceivable. This clear breach of international law is extremely damaging to mutual trust and respect between the EU and the UK.*

*Pursuing the Bill – in the face of abundant criticism in the UK and further afield – also means deep uncertainty. Because Northern Ireland now enjoys and is benefitting from its unique access to the EU's Single Market. The UK would surely not want to take further measures that would call these opportunities into question.*

*Only joint solutions can create the legal certainty and predictability that people and businesses in Northern Ireland need and deserve. I am convinced that with political will and commitment, we can still explore the full potential of our far-reaching proposals and find a way forward. This call to the UK government to engage with us has been clear for over a year. And it still stands – also vis-à-vis the incoming UK Prime Minister and government.*

*Further unilateral action may give the impression to many in the EU that the UK leadership is not that interested in cooperation with the EU. For my part, I stand ready to work intensively and constructively with any new UK interlocutor to find a common solution within the Protocol. The EU will never leave the table. Because as John Hume said: "When people are divided, the only solution is agreement.*

## **Former NI Secretary Shailesh Vara at British-Irish Association**

The former NI Secretary addressed the Conference on the Protocol question:

*However, there are real issues with how the Protocol is currently operating. Those issues increase cost and complexity, and reduce choice regardless of someone's views on the constitutional position of Northern Ireland. We are determined to fix those problems, through negotiation and agreement with the EU if at all possible, and thus to deliver stability for businesses and citizens across Northern Ireland. But with legislation if we cannot.*

*Our aim with the legislation on the Northern Ireland Protocol is to put in place an insurance policy so that we can ensure we have a way of resolving the issues with the Protocol. Like all insurance policies, they are better if they're not invoked but we must bring about a resolution.*

*There is also a bigger picture here. We need to get back to finding some common understanding and a relationship of trust between friends and neighbours with a spirit of good intent and a willingness to make things better.*

*I therefore urge all Parties, in the strongest possible terms, to work together to form an Executive and address the issues that matter most to people. There are people in Northern Ireland right now who are suffering. Some don't know how they are going to put food on the table for their families and themselves. I believe it is the duty of their elected representatives*



*to ensure there is an Executive and Assembly up and running so they can start spending the money that is waiting to be spent.*

*The New Decade, New Approach agreement provided a lengthy period for politicians in Northern Ireland to restore functioning devolved institutions. But let me be clear, if the Parties do not make full use of that time to earnestly engage to restore a fully functioning Executive, then I will have to call an election at the end of October. This is not something that the people of Northern Ireland want or need, especially given the present economic circumstances. What people want is a fully functioning Executive, taking decisive action to tackle the cost of living crisis, improve healthcare, improve education and drive the economy to its full potential.*

## **House of Lords Committee: Follow-up Report on Protocol**

The House of Lords Sub-Committee on the Protocol on Ireland/Northern Ireland published a follow-up report on the impact of the Protocol on 27 July 2022.

*The report concluded that the Protocol is having a 'feast or famine' economic impact, whereby businesses able to take advantage of North-South trade benefit, while those reliant on East-West trade lose out. Businesses put forward to the Committee a range of mitigations and solutions, several of which are reflected in the various UK and EU proposals. The Committee concluded that "a renewed commitment by the UK and EU, together with the Northern Ireland political parties and stakeholders, and*

*the Irish Government, to rebuild trust and dialogue and to repair damaged relationships is urgently needed if the problems Brexit and the Protocol have presented for Northern Ireland are to be addressed."*

The Committee Chair, Lord Jay, said:

*In our report of July 2021 we stressed the need for dialogue to resolve the issues arising under the Protocol in the interests of the people of Northern Ireland. It is a matter of deep regret that, in the intervening twelve months, the state of political dialogue in relation to the Protocol has deteriorated further. As one of our witnesses told us, those who negotiated the Belfast/Good Friday Agreement were able to do so because of their ability to appreciate the perspectives of others and willingness to work together and take risks to achieve a common goal despite historic differences. Such a courageous approach I needed now.*

## **Former Secretary of State on Protocol**

The former NI Secretary, Shailesh Vara, has caused controversy by claiming that "everyone I have spoken to says the Protocol is not working" and by insisting that problems with the Protocol can be fixed by the NI Protocol Bill. The statement was immediately challenged by both business groups and representatives of political parties. A majority of Assembly members have stated their firm opposition to the Bill.

Shailesh Vara told the British-Irish Association Conference in Oxford that he would have to call an Assembly election in October if the parties cannot agree to elect a Speaker and form an Executive to deal with the cost-of-

living crisis facing the people of Northern Ireland. He has however been since replaced as Secretary of State for Northern Ireland by Chris Heaton-Harris under Prime Minister Truss on 7 September 2022.

## DUP Veto Speaker Choice for Third Time

A third attempt to restore the Stormont power-sharing institutions failed on 3 August 2022 when the DUP blocked the nomination of a Speaker and Deputy Speaker. The recall of MLAs arose from a motion tabled by the SDLP – in its role as official opposition- on the cost-of-living crisis. Mike Nesbitt (UUP) and Patsy McGlone (SDLP) were nominated for the Speaker role.

The DUP leader, Jeffrey Donaldson, indicated that the party is unable to provide a timetable for a return to normal business at Stormont until the new UK Prime Minister is in office and provides clarity on the enactment of the Northern Ireland Protocol Bill. The SDLP Assembly leader, Matthew O’Toole, asked “Are the DUP seriously saying we don’t need a government, that hundreds of millions of pounds can sit unspent at Stormont while people go without support while the cost-of-living crisis bites.”

Minister of State at the NI Office, Conor Burns, has argued that “the DUP should be back in government now. The Protocol is a foreign policy negotiation between the government of the UK and the European Commission. We will sort the Protocol regardless of whether the DUP are in government or not, because it needs to be fixed, it needs to get on a sustainable, cross-community platform of support.”

## Section Two: The Evolving Debate

### Motion of Confidence in HM Government 18 July 2022

The House of Commons debated a Motion of Confidence in the Government in the aftermath of the statement of resignation by the former Prime Minister, Boris Johnson. The Government won the Commons vote by 349 to 238. Boris Johnson concluded his contribution to the Debate:

*We got Brexit done. And although the rejoiners and the revengers were left plotting and planning and biding their time*

*We took back control of our money, we took back control of our borders and we installed a points-based system for immigration. We took back control of our laws. We on this side of the House took back the sovereign right of the British people to determine their own laws and their own future in Parliament, and for that I say to colleagues on the Government Benches: your place in history is secure.*

*I say to the Leader of the Opposition: it will never be forgotten that 48 times he tried to overturn the will of the people—48 times he tried to strike down the biggest expression of popular will. It will be remembered in the history of this country. Be in no doubt that if he were ever to come to power with his hopeless coalition of Liberal Democrats and Scottish nationalists, he would try to do so again, at the drop of a hat.*

*Some people will say, as I leave office, that this is the end of Brexit. Listen to the*

*deathly hush on the Opposition Benches! The Leader of the Opposition and the deep state will prevail in their plot to haul us back into alignment with the EU as a prelude to our eventual return. We on this side of the House will prove them wrong, won't we?*

## Business Consortium on EU-UK impasse

The NI Business Brexit Working Group – including the CBI, NI Chamber of Commerce, and the Ulster Farmers' Union – has told the EU and UK that urgent agreement is needed on the NI Protocol. Arguing that there was a need to make practical progress on the issues of controls on goods moving from Great Britain to Northern Ireland, the Working Group also warned against the unilateral adoption of the NI Protocol Bill and stated that its proposal for an “all-encompassing dual regulatory regime” would “create a myriad of reputational, legal and commercial risks.”

## Latest Opinion Polling

The latest *LucidTalk* poll for the *Belfast Telegraph*, shows Sinn Féin at 30% with the DUP on 24%. The Alliance Party is on 16%, the UUP on 11%, SDLP on 7% and TUV on 6%. The Alliance Party leader, Naomi Long, at 46% is the most popular party leader, with the Sinn Féin leader, Michelle O'Neill on 40% and DUP leader, Jeffrey Donaldson on no more than 27%.

Support for the NI Protocol is rising with a clear majority viewing it as appropriate for managing the impact of Brexit. Three-quarters of respondents want to see a negotiated settlement with almost 60% saying that the Government is unjustified in taking unilateral action in the form of the NI Protocol Bill.

## Section Three: Background Material and Further Reading

### Background Material

**Hansard** Parliamentary Debates, 13 July 2022. <https://hansard.parliament.uk/commons/2022-07-13>

**GOV.IE** Speech by the Taoiseach Micheál Martin at the British-Irish Association Conference, 3 September 2022. <https://www.gov.ie/ga/oraid/276bd-speech-by-the-taoiseach-micheal-martin-td-at-the-british-irish-association-conference-pembroke-college/>

**European Commission.** Speech by European Commission Vice-President Šefčovič at the British-Irish Association Conference, 2 September 2022. [https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/SPEECH\\_22\\_5303](https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/SPEECH_22_5303)

**GOV.UK** Speech by NI Secretary Shailesh Vara at the British-Irish Association Conference, 2 September 2022. <https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/secretary-of-state-speech-to-2022-british-irish-association-conference>

**Hansard** Parliamentary Debates, 18-19 - 20 July 2022. <https://hansard.parliament.uk/commons/2022-07-20/debates/https://hansard.parliament.uk/commons/2022-07-19>

<https://hansard.parliament.uk/commons/2022-07-18/debates/>

**House of Lords** Report from the Sub-Committee on the Protocol on Ireland/Northern Ireland: Follow-up report, July 2022. <https://committees.parliament.uk/committee/520/protocol-on-irelandnorthern-ireland-subcommittee/news/172280/uk-and-eu-urged-to-reset-dialogue-on-the-protocol-to-rebuild-trust-and-damaged-relationships/>

**Irish Times** Taoiseach urges next UK Pm for 'genuine signal' negotiated protocol settlement a priority. *IT*, 4 September 2022. <https://www.irishtimes.com/politics/2022/09/03/taoiseach-urges-next-uk-pm-for-genuine-signal-negotiated-protocol-settlement-a-priority/>

**Belfast Telegraph** Suzanne Breen DUP will get their wish with Liz Truss but big calls lie ahead. *Belfast Telegraph*, 4 September 2022. <https://www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk/opinion/columnists/suzanne-breen/dup-will-get-their-wish-with-truss-but-big-calls-lie-ahead-41959264.html>

**Irish Times** Denis Staunton: Truss poised to plunge UK into deeper division on accession to Tory leadership. *IT*, 2 September 2022. <https://www.irishtimes.com/world/uk/2022/09/02/truss-poised-to-plunge-uk-into-deeper-division-on-accession-to-tory-leadership/>

**Irish Times** Pat Leahy: Little optimism that Liz Truss will improve UK relations with Ireland or EU. *IT*, 3 September 2022. <https://www.irishtimes.com/opinion/2022/09/03/pat-leahy-little-optimism-that-liz-truss-will-improve-uk-relations-with-ireland-and-eu/>

**The Guardian** EU warns next PM unilateral action on Brexit deal is of 'great concern'. *Guardian*, 2 September 2022. <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2022/sep/02/eu-warns-next-uk-pm-unilateral-action-over-brexit-deal-is-of-great-concern>

**Politico** Liz Truss' first big parliamentary battle? Brexit (Of Course). *Politico*, 31 August 2022. <https://www.politico.eu/article/liz-truss-first-parliamentary-battle-brexit-northern-ireland-protocol/>

**Irish Times** Editorial: The Irish Times view On the Northern Ireland protocol: mixed messages. *IT*, 29 August 2022. <https://www.irishtimes.com/opinion/editorials/2022/08/29/the-irish-times-view-on-the-northern-ireland-protocol-mixed-messages/>

**Irish Times** Dublin eyes 'September window' for NI protocol deal with new British Prime Minister. *IT*, 22 July 2022. <https://www.irishtimes.com/politics/2022/07/21/dublin-eyes-september-window-for-ni-protocol-deal-with-new-british-prime-minister/>

**Belfast Telegraph** Liz Truss could suspend NI Protocol within ten days of becoming PM, government sources brief. *Belfast Telegraph*, 26 August 2022. <https://www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk/news/politics/liz-truss-could-suspend-ni-protocol-within-ten-days-of-becoming-pm-government-sources-brief-41938624.html>

**RTE** EU awaits change in UK leadership before moving on NI Protocol – Coveney. *RTE*, 21 July 2022. <https://www.rte.ie/news/ireland/2022/0721/1311457-ni-politics/>

**RTE** President, Taoiseach attend Trimble funeral in Co Antrim. *RTE*, 1 August 2022. <https://www.rte.ie/news/2022/0731/1313261-david-trimble-funeral/>

**Newsletter** Tony Blair and Bertie Ahern among peace process era leaders paying tribute to Trimble. *Newsletter*, 25 July 2022. <https://www.newsletter.co.uk/news/politics/tony-blair-and-bertie-ahern-among-peace-process-era-leaders-paying-tribute-to-trimble-3781598>

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## Further Reading

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**Michael Holmes, Kathryn Simpson (eds)** Ireland and the European Union. Manchester UP

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