

# 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

"It's the beginning of the Sunak era" wrote a *Guardian* columnist, as the third UK Prime Minister in 2022 took office, following the six-week chaos of Prime Minister Truss. Meanwhile, the EU, Ireland and Northern Ireland were faced with the urgent need to weigh up the impact of a new regime on the on-going Protocol impasse.

The new Prime Minister re-appointed the three Ministers working directly on Northern Ireland issues – Foreign Secretary James Cleverly, NI Secretary Chris Heaton-Harris and NI Minister Steve Baker. This was welcomed in Dublin and Brussels where initial contacts had been positive while talks at official level had started again after a delay of several months.

## Section One: State of Play

### Northern Ireland Election

After the failure of last week's Assembly effort to restore devolved government in Northern Ireland, the Northern Ireland Secretary, Chris Heaton-Harris, announced that an election will take place, but did not indicate a date for the poll:

*I do not have to call an election immediately – but I will be calling an election. I hear it when parties say that they really do not want an election at all. But nearly all of them are parties who signed up to the rules, the law, that means I need to call an election. So you'll*

*hear more from me on that particular point next week.*

Secretary Heaton-Harris then indicated that he would hold talks with the leaders of the NI parties and with Minister for Foreign Affairs Simon Coveney. His discussions with the parties will consider “next steps” including how to ensure that public services continue to run effectively.

The failure to set a date for the election fuelled speculation about a possible U-turn and led to much criticism, with the Irish News editor, Noel Doran, commenting: “It’s verging on the absurd that we’ve heard so little from him, to make such an aggressive call when he doesn’t appear to have a firm plan.”

As the Assembly was dissolved, the ten caretaker ministers in the NI Executive – from four parties, including three from the DUP – lost their jobs and day-to-day administration in Northern Ireland was passed to unelected civil servants in the ten government departments.

## **Northern Ireland Assembly Recalled – ‘A Wake for Power-Sharing’**

Earlier, on 27 October 2022, the elected members of the Northern Ireland Assembly were recalled to Stormont with a view to ending the political deadlock by electing a Speaker and reviving the Executive before the midnight deadline on 28 October. In the event, the Assembly failed to elect a Speaker as the DUP refused to agree to the move which requires cross-community agreement on devolved government.

In the Assembly debate the Sinn Fein leader, Michelle O’Neill argued that: “Jeffrey Donaldson and the DUP are in a perpetual

stand-off with the public, the majority of whom they do not speak for, or indeed represent. He stood for election yet failed to show up. This is his mess, and a failure of leadership by him and his party.”

The Ulster Unionist leader Doug Beattie said he feared the institutions might never return. “There were lots of angry voices in the chamber but they’re not as angry as the voices who are out there suffering in a cost-of-living crisis, who want the economy sorted out and who want their jobs protected.”

The Alliance Party leader Naomi Long said the Northern Secretary should pass legislation to suspend Stormont, cut MLA pay and provide Northern Ireland with a budget, while the EU and UK negotiated changes to the Protocol. “I am ashamed to be part of this circus again today. We know elections in Northern Ireland do not solve problems, they deepen the crisis.”

The SDLP’s Matthew O’Toole said today’s Assembly proceedings felt “like a wake for power-sharing”. His party did not want an election because he felt it would “stretch the elastic of public trust” in the institutions. “What they want, what they need is political institutions working for them. They don’t need boycott and abstentionism that we saw today from the DUP,” Mr O’Toole said. He said the absence of an Assembly would not influence the outcome of the Protocol negotiations, but it would make life more difficult for hard pressed families.

For the DUP Emma Little-Pengelly – in the absence of party leader Jeffrey Donaldson who has remained in his Westminster Commons seat – insisted the Northern Ireland Protocol is the barrier to reviving the Stormont Assembly.

"I think most people out there will wonder what an election will achieve. I think it is disappointing that the Secretary of State [did this], instead of working with his colleagues to try to deal with the Protocol - that's the barrier to getting the institutions restored, it's a barrier for good reason," she told BBC Radio Ulster. "We've been making the case to try and get the issues resolved for three years now, that hasn't been done. Instead of getting on and doing that the Secretary of State is pushing everyone into an election."

## Taoiseach on Sunak Appointment

Taoiseach Micheál Martin issued a Statement on Rishi Sunak's appointment as Prime Minister:

*I wish to congratulate Rishi Sunak on his appointment today as Prime Minister of the United Kingdom. The close relationship between our two countries is built on shared history, deep cultural and economic ties, and strong people-to-people links. Our shared responsibility as joint stewards of the Good Friday Agreement, working together in partnership, is vital to support peace and prosperity in Northern Ireland, particularly now in the absence of a properly functioning Assembly and Executive. Building on work already underway, there is a real opportunity for the EU and UK to find jointly agreed solutions on the issues pertaining to the Protocol, and I urge Prime Minister Sunak to move quickly to substantive engagement with the EU on that basis. I am committed to a strong and deep British-Irish relationship and I look*

*forward to early engagement with Prime Minister Sunak on the important issues we face on these islands and globally.*

## Taoiseach- Sunak Conversation, 26 October 2022

The new British Prime Minister and the Taoiseach spoke for the first time by phone on 26 October 2022. The UK Government issued a Statement:

*The leaders agreed on the vital importance of a strong relationship between the UK and Ireland and expressed their determination to build on that friendship in the coming months. The Prime Minister welcomed Ireland's ongoing support for Ukraine, and the leaders agreed on the importance of continued international unity in the face of Putin's aggression.*

*Discussing the Northern Ireland Protocol, the Prime Minister set out that his preference remained a negotiated outcome and hoped all parties would approach the current challenges with pragmatism and goodwill. The leaders agreed on the urgent need for a functioning executive in Northern Ireland. Both undertook to continue discussions in the coming weeks and months.*

The Taoiseach tweeted that he had a "good conversation" with Mr Sunak, and that they "[D]iscussed cooperation on Ukraine and ongoing developments in Northern Ireland." They also "agreed on importance of EU-UK negotiations to find agreed solutions on the Protocol".

Mr Sunak also spoke with European Commission President Ursula von der Leyen, who called it a “very good phone call”. She tweeted: “The EU and UK are strategic partners. Looking forward to working on crucial issues such as Russia’s war on Ukraine and climate change. And on finding joint solutions under the Northern Ireland Protocol on IE/NI that will provide stability and predictability.”

Mr Sunak received immediate messages from the leaders of the Northern Ireland unionist parties – DUP, UUP, TUV – congratulating him on his election and demanding action on the Protocol. The UUP leader, Doug Beattie, wrote that “The UK is desperate for a strong and stable Government which will focus on doing what’s right for all four corners of our nation.”

## Stormont Impasse Continues

Having been re-appointed by Prime Minister Sunak as Northern Ireland Secretary Chris Heaton-Harris held talks with the North’s political parties in an effort to break the deadlock which has left Northern Ireland without a functioning Assembly since the May election. On his re-appointment, he had tweeted: “My priority is for Northern Ireland’s political leaders to come together and restore the Executive. The people of Northern Ireland deserve a fully functioning devolved government so I understand the public’s frustration. However, if the parties will not reform I will call an election.”

Following his meetings with the parties, the NI Secretary played down the prospects for a breakthrough. Asked by the BBC if he had “seen any movement from the parties” he replied “I can’t say I have” but added that he was “ever hopeful”.

## Direct Rule / Joint Authority Controversy

Controversy has arisen over the suggestion by Sinn Fein and SDLP speakers that, if there is no functioning Assembly after the forthcoming election, a form of ‘joint partnership’ or ‘joint authority’, involving the London and Dublin governments, might be put in place. This idea produced immediate and strenuous rejection from unionist and loyalist circles. The DUP’s Jeffrey Donaldson stated that “The Irish Government needs to hear this loud and clear – unionists will never accept joint authority.”

The Irish Government has not spoken of ‘joint authority’ but, in saying that there can be no return to direct rule by London, made reference to the provisions of the Good Friday Agreement for “meaningful engagement” between the British and Irish Governments in the absence of a devolved government at Stormont.

The Taoiseach spoke in Dáil Éireann, 26 October 2022:

*First of all, we want the institutions restored, and I make that plea to the DUP. The Good Friday Agreement provides for meetings of the British-Irish Intergovernmental Conference to promote bilateral co-operation on matters of mutual interest and to consider non-devolved Northern Ireland matters. It makes provision for the Irish Government to put forward views and proposals, recognising the Irish Government’s special interest in Northern Ireland. That is in recognition of that special interest we have. In the event there is a sustained period with no functioning of the Northern Ireland Executive or the assembly, there cannot be a return to the direct rule arrangements of the past.*

*The Government will fully pursue its consultative role under the Good Friday Agreement. That is the position, and we will exhaust every possibility within that framework if there is a sustained period of absence of the Executive or the assembly.*

The UK Government rejected any suggestion of joint authority for Northern Ireland, saying that it was not being considered. "The UK government is absolutely clear that the consent principle governs the constitutional position of Northern Ireland. We will not countenance any arrangements that are inconsistent with that principle."

## Taoiseach in Belfast

Taoiseach Micheál Martin travelled to Belfast on 17 October 2022 for a series of meetings with the leaders of the Northern Ireland Parties. He described the talks as "useful and open".

Speaking after his meeting with the Taoiseach the DUP Leader, Jeffrey Donaldson, said he felt the Irish Government had developed a better understanding of unionist concerns about the Protocol and shared the view that "we're not looking here at some kind of a quick fix, that we need to deal with the Protocol issues comprehensively." The Alliance leader, Naomi Long, questioned "what purpose" would be served by a winter election. For the SDLP leader, Colum Eastwood, the DUP was "sitting out pretending they're having some influence on the protocol negotiations".

The Taoiseach told Belfast media that all elected representatives have a responsibility to "take the cult of the gun out of politics" once and for all. He was speaking in the context of controversial incidents involving alleged pro-

IRA chanting. Everyone should be clear that "there was no merit" to the IRA's campaign and warned that those who seek to justify it are "poisoning" politics on the island.

## NI Protocol Bill /House of Lords Committee Stage

The Northern Ireland Protocol Bill has reached its Committee Stage in the House of Lords where Labour peers and other critics of the measure are pursuing a series of amendments designed to "scupper" it. Labour's shadow Cabinet Minister in the Lords, Jenny Chapman, has described the Bill as "an abomination, undermining the UK's hard-won reputation as a responsible, trustworthy partner."

The Government is proceeding with the Bill's passage through Parliament while continuing with the technical EU-UK negotiation process. The Committee Stage commenced on 25 October and will continue in November.

Meanwhile, the House of Lords Constitution Committee has concluded that the Bill, in its current form potentially puts the UK in breach of international law and, if passed in breach of the UK's international obligations, could undermine the rule of law.

In the initial Lords Committee debate a number of contributions outlined the key objections to the Bill.

The former Northern Ireland Secretary, Lord Peter Hain, said:

*I am desperately worried that the Government's decisions over Northern Ireland following Brexit are reversing the progress made since the 1998*

*Good Friday agreement and this Bill is continuing that sad and disturbing pattern. Have all the main Northern Irish political parties and businesses been properly consulted and their views taken into account by the Government over this Bill? No. The policy is being driven by one party, and one party alone: the DUP. I do not attack it for that. It is entitled to press its view; I have many friends in the DUP and they speak up fearlessly for their cause and are entitled to do so. This is not an attack on them; it is a criticism of the Government because they are not right to give the DUP an effective veto among all the parties. Without majority support in Northern Ireland, this Bill risks being yet another thing this UK Government do to Northern Ireland, rather than with Northern Ireland.*

*Pushing ahead with the legislation could exacerbate social tensions in Northern Ireland and fuel further, damaging instability in that part of the UK. With negotiations under way with the EU and increased opportunities for a negotiated outcome, because I believe all the mood music suggests that that is the case, surely your Lordships' House would be right to delay the passage of a Bill which breaks international law, at least before Report stage.*

*Is anyone seriously arguing that finding acceptable solutions to the problems triggered by the protocol is harder than finding the solutions that were found through the 1998 Good Friday agreement and the 2006 St Andrews agreement? Most thought neither of those agreements would ever happen, yet they did. This is easy compared to*

*those two agreements, to be frank. The problem is eminently soluble by serious negotiation, give and take, and understanding of the different interests at stake. The EU should understand the interests of unionists, who feel threatened, and the British Government should understand and take into account the views of the majority of parties.*

*I end by saying that negotiations require trust to be built and time; they require ministerial grip to find political solutions, as has been done time and again in Northern Ireland and other arenas. I have negotiated on behalf of the British Government in a number of different areas—the United Nations, the EU and Northern Ireland. We need less dogma and more flexibility. This Bill is getting in the way of that.*

The former UK diplomat. Lord Kerr, argued:

*You cannot make a silk purse out of a sow's ear, and this is a pig of a Bill. The powers it confers on government using these powers is simply not compatible with how this country views its commitments. We do not tear up treaties. That is the point of principle; that is the matter of honour. A deal is a deal is a deal: pacta sunt servanda. we have a new Prime Minister and a new Administration, a chance to turn over a new leaf, to bring back honour, to make our word again our bond and to negotiate in good faith with the EU on the practical implementation of our mutual obligations under the protocol. I am sure that Mr Sunak is an honourable man—it would be tactless to say, "like Brutus". I hope he will now choose not to pursue*

*this Bill. It would be the right thing to do, and it would also be the sensible thing to do, because negotiations cannot succeed while this blunderbuss is on the table and because I believe that this House will, if it has to, vote the Bill down.*

The former SDLP leader, Baroness Margaret Ritchie said:

*I believe that resolutions have to be found by negotiation and not through unilateral actions such as this Bill. The protection of the GFA in all its parts is a real and reliable standard for us. We have only to look at the North/South Ministerial Council, that was also stood down by the DUP's non-participation. It had certain solutions to deal with the protocol, because the solutions are of a technical nature that can be resolved through the protocol.*

*The people in Newry and Belfast told us they wanted a joint UK-EU negotiated solution. They want economic and political certainty. The uncertainty that currently exists does not lend itself to political progress, political development or good economic development. Many people we spoke to found benefits in the protocol in increased trade. They do not want a trade war, and they do not want any further political, economic or business difficulty. They want the new Prime Minister to act now and act jointly with the Taoiseach.*

## Section Two: The Evolving Debate

### Warning Letter from Loyalist Groups

The main loyalist paramilitary groups – including the UDA, UVF and RHC – have issued a letter (via the Loyalist Communities Council LCC) to the leaders of the unionist/loyalist parties, warning of tensions within the loyalist communities: “As the threat of an election looms, we feel it important to re-iterate our view that there can be no weakening or ‘backsliding’ on the clear and unambiguous commitments made to our community by political unionism in relation to the Protocol and its impact upon the political and peace process.”

The letter suggests that those with influence in loyalist communities would be unable to control violence should it erupt on the streets. And it states that visits by Irish ministers “continue to inflame anger” in loyalist communities.

An exclusive *Belfast Telegraph* report has indicated that a loyalist attack on a government target in the Republic was called off at the last minute after the Northern Ireland Office confirmed that no plans existed for joint authority if a political settlement was not reached.

The UUP leader, Doug Beattie has warned that paramilitaries ending their ceasefires would “create misery” for ordinary working people in their communities. The UUP totally rejects any notion of moving back to pre-ceasefire days and will resist anyone who seeks to take us back there.”

## ESRI Paper, 19 October 2022

On 19 October 2022, the ESRI published a paper "How has Brexit changed EU-UK trade flows?" which attracted considerable interest and comment. The paper was accompanied by the following useful summary:

*Research released today (19 October 2022) by the ESRI shows reductions in UK to EU goods trade by 16% and trade from the EU to UK by 20% relative to the scenario in which Brexit had not occurred. The comparison scenario is that trade with the UK should have been expected to grow at a similar pace to that of the same products being traded with other EU partner countries around the world. Although goods trade between the EU and UK recovered most of its previous level in value terms following the sharp fall in the early months of 2021, this recovery leaves it well below the levels that would have been expected if it had performed on a comparable level with other trade partners.*

*The findings of the research show that measuring the impact of Brexit on UK-EU trade can give varied results depending on the data source and comparison group used. An important question in the estimation of how much Brexit affected EU-UK trade is "compared to what?" Global exports of goods from the UK have been growing slowly. This may have been partially a result of Brexit spillover effects on supply chains. The impact of Brexit on EU-UK trade, therefore, does not appear as large if compared to UK trade with the rest of the world as it does when compared to the faster-growing performance of EU trade.*

*The research also examines in detail how some changes to the collection of trade statistics by Eurostat could have impacted previous estimates of the size of the Brexit effect. The most accurate result comes from a combined set of UK and EU data sources to minimise the effect of these technical changes.*

*We also look across EU member states using this hybrid data approach and find that Brexit has led to a significant decline in trade with the UK in almost all cases although by varying magnitudes. For most countries across the EU, the size of the impact is broadly similar for both export and imports. Ireland stands out as having had a particularly large reduction in imports from the UK relative to its other international trade patterns. Exports from Ireland to the UK, on the other hand, continue to perform in line with those of other markets with no notable impact to date of Brexit on the total levels traded. As the paper uses data for the UK as a whole, the increased trade between Ireland and Northern Ireland may play a role in this outcome. The research does not examine if there is variation across product types that may have had some firms experience reductions in exports to the UK and services trade was not examined due to more limited data availability.*

*While our results highlight the importance of the appropriate comparison group in assessing the impact of Brexit, this leaves open for future research the question of whether the patterns of relatively slow UK export growth to the rest of the world and more rapid import growth can*



*themselves be attributed a Brexit effect, perhaps via changing supply chains.*

## QUB / Lucid Talk Poll

Support among voters in Northern Ireland for the Protocol on Ireland/Northern Ireland remains steady, a new opinion poll conducted by Lucid Talk on behalf of Queen's University, has revealed.

But concerns about the effect it is having on political stability remain high, with people having strongly opposing views about it across a range of issues.

The polling was conducted from 7-10 October 2022 from a weighted sample of 1,499 respondents and is the sixth in a series of polls conducted for researchers at Queen's as part of a three-year Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC), part of UK Research and Innovation (UKRI), funded research project. This is the only polling in Northern Ireland dedicated to the topic of the Protocol which has been running at regular intervals since the Protocol entered into force.

A majority of respondents (54%) currently view the Protocol with grace periods as being appropriate for managing the impact of Brexit on Northern Ireland but 34% disagree. Most oppose unilateral action by the UK Government on the Protocol and three-quarters (71%) think that a UK-EU negotiated settlement to the outstanding issues is preferable. Under half (46%) are optimistic about the prospects for UK-EU talks (34% are not optimistic).

The most positive views of the Protocol in Northern Ireland are in relation to its economic consequences. 53% of respondents see the current impact of the Protocol on Northern Ireland's economy as positive, and 63% think that the Protocol offers unique

economic opportunities which could benefit Northern Ireland.

In contrast, the greatest concerns are for its political implications – with 62% seeing the Protocol as having a negative impact on political stability; 60% see a negative impact on British-Irish relations. The proportion thinking that the Protocol has a negative impact on Northern Ireland's constitutional place in the United Kingdom is 49%; 47% think it negatively affects Northern Ireland's position in the UK internal market.

## Debate on Brexit

The chaotic events of the past few months in Westminster have produced a significant reopening of the debate on the 2016 Brexit vote and on the reality of post-Brexit Britain.

A brief look at a range of recent press headlines indicates the direction of much political and economic assessment of the results of six years of Brexit. In *The Guardian*, Timothy Garton Ash writes that "It's the beginning of the Sunak era – and the end of Britain's Brexitist delusions", while from a different political position *The Telegraph* headlines Jeremy Warners's commentary: "Project Fear was right all long." *The Belfast Telegraph* carries the result of a poll by the Tony Blair Institute which reports that "74% in NI say economy negatively impacted by Brexit." Again, *The Guardian* features the comments of longtime Tory supporting billionaire businessman, Guy Hands, calling on the Government to start renegotiating Brexit and stating that otherwise the British economy was "frankly doomed." *RTE's* Brussels Editor, Tony Connelly, asks "Is the Brexit Ideology running out of road?" while the *Irish Times* columnist, and former diplomat, Bobby McDonagh argues that "UK's current economic mayhem is directly linked to Brexit myths."

## Section Three: Background Material and Further Reading

### Background Material

**Merrion Street** Taoiseach Micheal Martin on Appointment of PM Rishi Sunak, 25 October 2022. [https://merrionstreet.ie/en/news-room/news/taoiseach\\_michel\\_martin\\_on\\_appointment\\_of\\_prime\\_minister\\_rishi\\_sunak.175066.shortcut.html](https://merrionstreet.ie/en/news-room/news/taoiseach_michel_martin_on_appointment_of_prime_minister_rishi_sunak.175066.shortcut.html)

**GOV.UK** PM call with Taoiseach Micheal Martin, 26 October 2022. <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/pm-call-with-taoiseach-micheal-martin-26-october-2022>

**ESRI** How has Brexit changed EU-UK trade flows?, October 2022. <https://www.esri.ie/publications/how-has-brexite-changed-eu-uk-trade-flows>

**QUB / Lucid Talk** Opinion Poll for Queen's University, October 2022. <https://www.qub.ac.uk/News/Allnews/featured-research/ProtocolOpinionPanelPoll6.html>

**Irish Times** Northern Ireland Secretary to hold talks with Stormont party leaders. *IT*, 31 October 2022. <https://www.irishtimes.com/politics/2022/10/31/northern-ireland-secretary-to-hold-talks-with-stormont-party-leaders/>

**Irish Times** DUP urges London to 'double down' on efforts to end protocol impasse rather than having fresh NI election. *IT*, 31 October 2022. <https://www.irishtimes.com/politics/2022/10/30/election-wont-fix-stormont-impasse-until-ni-protocol-is-resolved-says-donaldson/>

**RTE** Tony Connelly: Once more with feeling: Rishi Sunak and the NI Protocol. *RTE*, 29 October 2022. <https://www.rte.ie/news/analysis-and-comment/2022/1029/1332115-sunak-protocol/>

**The Guardian** Groundhog Day: why another Northern Ireland election looks like insanity. *Guardian*, 28 October 2022. <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2022/oct/28/northern-ireland-elections-voters-groundhog-day-polls-dup-sinn-fein>

**Politico** Northern Ireland Assembly dies in 'wake for power-sharing'. *Politico*, 27 October 2022. <https://www.politico.eu/article/assembly-dup-power-sharing-northern-ireland-protocol/>

**RTE** Northern Ireland election looms as MLAs fail to elect Speaker. *RTE*, 27 October 2022. <https://www.rte.ie/news/ireland/2022/1026/1331642-ni-assembly/>

**Politico** Bad Friday for Northern Ireland as ULK confirms unwanted election – but when? *Politico*, 28 October 2022. <https://www.politico.eu/article/northern-ireland-uk-confirm-unwanted-election-stormont-democratic-unionists-sinn-fein-chris-heaton-harris/>

**BBC** Brexit: Northern Ireland Protocol bill continues amid election uncertainty. *BBC*, 31 October 2022. <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-northern-ireland-63447261>

**RTE** Vincent Kearney: Northern Secretary blinks in stand-off with DUP. *RTE*, 28 October 2022. <https://www.rte.ie/news/analysis-and-comment/2022/1028/1332054-assembly-analysis/>

**Irish Times** Northern Ireland's stifled devolution may spawn some form of direct rule. *IT*, 28 October 2022. <https://www.irishtimes.com/politics/2022/10/28/northern-irelands-stifled-devolution-may-spawn-some-form-of-direct-rule/>

**Irish Times** Lack of devolved government could expand Irish role in Northern Ireland Taoiseach says. *IT*, 28 October 2022. <https://www.irishtimes.com/politics/2022/10/27/oneill-accuses-donaldson-of-leaving-stormont-at-mercy-of-dysfunctional-tory-government/>

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**Irish News** Doug Beattie warns of 'misery' facing loyalist communities if UVF/UDA ceasefires fail. *Irish News*, 31 October 2022. <https://www.irishnews.com/news/northernirelandnews/2022/10/31/news/beattie-warns-of-misery-facing-loyalist-communities-if-uvf-uda-ceasefires-fail-2880330/>

**RTE** Martin and Sunak agree 'urgent need' for Assembly. *RTE*, 26 October 2022. <https://www.rte.ie/news/ulster/2022/10/26/1331452-ni-politics/>

**RTE** 'Regrettable' people in NI could be facing another election – Tanaiste. *RTE*, 27 October 2022. <https://www.rte.ie/news/ireland/2022/10/26/1331642-ni-assembly/>

**Irish Times** Robinson tells DUP to stand firm on NI protocol as elections loom. *IT*, 27 October 2022. <https://www.irishtimes.com/world/uk/2022/10/27/robinson-tells-dup-to-stand-firm-on-ni-protocol-as-elections-loom/>

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**RTE** Northern Ireland needs Executive to deal with cost of living, says Taoiseach. *RTE*, 17 October 2022. <https://www.rte.ie/news/politics/2022/10/16/1329579-taoiseach-stormont/>

**RTE** Is the Brexit ideology running out of road? *RTE*, 16 October 2022. <https://www.rte.ie/news/analysis-and-comment/2022/10/15/1329374-politics-analysis-john-kilraine/>

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