

# 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 25th anniversary of the Good Friday (Belfast) Agreement is rightly dominating the political and media debate and celebration with the Pope, Presidents, and all strands of political opinion in these islands recalling, commenting, forecasting, and sharing aspirations.

One theme above all has emerged in comment and commentary. Brexit.

Former US President, Bill Clinton, told RTE's Miriam O'Callaghan that, "the idea that the Good Friday Agreement weathered Brexit is a miracle, because Brexit was aimed right at the heart of the Good Friday Agreement, even if not intentionally... so that's the way it was. But the peace held, the Irish peace

held." Former US First Lady Hillary Clinton agreed, saying Brexit has been an obstacle to restoring Stormont, "It's just that Brexit set it back, to be blunt."

An *Irish Times* editorial recalled that:

*Brexit fundamentally disrupted political trust, reopening debates on whether Irish unity within the EU is preferable to Northern Ireland's devolution within the UK. The Belfast Agreement's most severe test has been how to handle these pressures, but its basic framework has proved to be resilient and legitimate.*

While RTE's Tony Connelly insisted that:

*When the Leave vote won, the UK system was utterly unprepared for the*

*impact Brexit would have on the island of Ireland and was left scrambling to reconcile what became a hard Brexit with the promise not to return to the borders of the past.*

For Connelly,

*The architects of the Good Friday Agreement...could not have dreamed that the texts they were drafting would become such a central, defining and constraining feature of the constitutional earthquake brought about by the Brexit vote in 2016. After all, one of its signatories, Tony Blair, had only just promised to put Britain at the heart of Europe.*

The controversies and divisions related to the Withdrawal Agreement, the Protocol on Ireland/Northern Ireland and the Windsor Framework are all the inevitable result of Brexit and the basis of the on-going institutional impasse in Northern Ireland. Strands One and Two of the Good Friday Agreement are subject to veto, not for the first time, while laudable efforts continue to profit from the provisions of Strand Three, bringing London and Dublin closer in pursuit of reconciliation and progress.

Four of the five Northern Ireland parties, business interests across the island, together with the UK and Irish Governments, and the EU – not to mention an incoming US President – are all awaiting the outcome of the DUP's internal debates. Public opinion is now firmly focused on the necessity of restoring power-sharing and getting on with the day-to-day business of government, not least in ensuring basic services and providing the certainty that business requires. It is worth recalling that the UK

Prime Minister, Rishi Sunak, told a Northern Ireland audience, when introducing the Windsor Framework, that:

*If we get the Executive up and running Northern Ireland is in the unbelievably special position ..in having privileged access not just to the UK home market which is the fifth biggest in the world but also the European Union single market. Nobody else has that, No one.*

## Section One: State of Play

### Biden Visit

The US President, Joe Biden, arrived in Belfast, where he begins his five-day visit to the island of Ireland, on Tuesday, 11 April 2023.

President Biden's visit to Belfast is intended to mark the "tremendous progress" made since the signing of the Good Friday Agreement 25 years ago. The White House said the President's visit will also "underscore the readiness" of the United States to support Northern Ireland's "vast economic potential to the benefit of all communities."

In a statement following the confirmation of President Biden's visit, Taoiseach Leo Varadkar said:

*Joe Biden has always been a friend of Ireland. Over many decades, and to this day, he has supported the cause of peace in Ireland and the Good Friday Agreement. He stood with us as we navigated the difficult consequences of Brexit. When we spoke recently in the White House, President Biden was clear that in celebrating the Good Friday Agreement, we should be looking ahead, not backwards.*

The UK Prime Minister, Rishi Sunak, who greeted President Biden as he stepped off Air Force One at Belfast International Airport, said that he was looking forward to welcoming the President to Northern Ireland, and commented that the Good Friday Agreement represented “a promise of a better future” to the people of Northern Ireland. He added that, as Prime Minister, it was his responsibility to “make good on that promise”.

During his visit to the island of Ireland, President Biden will also travel to Dublin – where he will be the fourth US President to address the Dáil – and his ancestral hometowns in counties Mayo and Louth. President Biden will then depart on Saturday, 15 April.

## Taoiseach on NI Institutions

The Taoiseach, Leo Varadkar, has told RTÉ Radio’s *This Week* programme that he does not want to put a “fake deadline” on the restoration of the Northern Ireland institutions, but he indicated that the Executive and the Assembly might be restored in the not distant future. He commented that political parties in Northern Ireland, along with the UK and Irish governments, continued to engage without having set out a formal timeline.

The Taoiseach added that his preference would have been to see Stormont restored in time for the 25th anniversary of the Good Friday Agreement, and that he would also like to see the Windsor Framework implemented. He continued:

*What I’m keen to do is build a common position between the Irish Government and the British government. And I think if we can get that in place and get that agreed, that increases the chances for us having success in the North.*

The Taoiseach further expressed his view that any review of the Good Friday Agreement should not take place until after the Northern Ireland institutions were restored, something he hoped might happen in the next few months – while also recognising that the approaching local elections and marching season may make this more difficult.

Calls for a review of the terms of the Good Friday Agreement have come from the Alliance Party in particular, as it grows increasingly frustrated with its position outside the binary provisions of the Agreement. Alliance argues that business and community interests “have grown weary of a minority being allowed to hamstring democratic government” and that consequently, “If the DUP continue to boycott power-sharing then the rules of engagement must be revised.”

## The Tánaiste on the GFA, Abbey Theatre 2 April 2023

The Tánaiste, Micheál Martin, spoke at a commemorative event marking 25 years of the Good Friday Agreement hosted by the Abbey Theatre in Dublin on Sunday, 2 April 2023. The Tánaiste spoke of the importance of working towards reconciliation in Northern Ireland, and called for the restoration of the Northern Ireland institutions:

*We have peace. But we are not yet fully reconciled. That was our motivation in establishing the Shared Island initiative, to find new ways of working and living together in this place we all call home. We have more to do to deliver on the fresh start the Agreement promised. We will do this by staying true to the essential principles of the Good Friday Agreement, to its elegant balancing of the traditions on this island.*

*Principles of inclusion, consent, parity of esteem, and the protection of human rights are the bedrock on which politics in Northern Ireland is built. And, at a time when the devolved institutions are not being allowed deliver for people of Northern Ireland, these are the principles that will allow politics to work again, with the Good Friday Agreement as our guide. There are many different perspectives within this theatre this evening. But we are all united, I believe, in wanting the best for the people of Ireland, for the people of Northern Ireland and for relationships across these islands. And we are in a vastly better place than we were in 1998.*

## **House of Commons Debate on Good Friday Agreement**

On 30 March 2023, the House of Commons held a formal debate on the 25th Anniversary of the Good Friday Agreement. The debate was opened by the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, Chris Heaton-Harris MP, who recognised the Agreement had ushered in an enduring period of relative peace to Northern Ireland, which, he said, the UK Government is committed to maintaining. He also praised the new Windsor Framework, which he said represented the Government's commitment to the Good Friday Agreement:

*It falls on all our shoulders and on those of all politicians across the United Kingdom, especially in Northern Ireland, to continue to build on the peace process and the Belfast/Good Friday agreement and what it stands for today, and to do so deep into the future, because it is so important. As we have seen this week, with the rise in the threat level of Northern Ireland-related terrorism in Northern Ireland, we cannot take anything for granted.*

*It is precisely because of the UK Government's steadfast commitment both to the Belfast/Good Friday agreement and to Northern Ireland's place in our Union that we have, through listening to and heeding the concerns among the people of Northern Ireland about the Protocol, replaced it with the new Windsor Framework, which makes fundamental amendments to it. The framework restores the delicate balance struck by the agreement and addresses problems with the Protocol by removing the Irish sea border for UK goods, with a new green lane and UK internal market scheme for businesses trading from Great Britain to Northern Ireland, removing costs, paperwork and checks. Just as importantly, it gives the people of Northern Ireland a veto over new laws that apply there, in the form of the Stormont Brake.*

The Shadow NI Secretary, Peter Kyle MP, responded by saying that the Good Friday Agreement had made Northern Ireland a better place, but also expressed concern at how frequently the Northern Ireland institutions have been collapsed over the past 25 years:

*We believe that the Agreement, and the agreements that followed, have made Northern Ireland a better place, and we stand by them. A quarter of a century has gone by, and while the Agreement has challenges, they should not distract from what it has delivered. As a result of the Belfast/Good Friday Agreement, people in Northern Ireland are now masters of their own destiny. The fact that that achievement was delivered through democratic means, not violence, partly explains why it endures and inspires reverence to this day. The rights and*

*identities of all parts of communities are protected, whether they choose to define themselves as British, Irish or both. People overwhelmingly voted for the Agreement, giving it a lasting democratic legitimacy.*

*We should treat Northern Ireland and its people as a valued part of our Union. Our ambitions for Northern Ireland should match those that we have for the rest of the United Kingdom. When devolution is up and running again, it should not mean disengagement from Westminster. It is deeply worrying that power sharing has collapsed for so much of the last 25 years. The solution is to ensure that parties always have, and feel that they have, more agency from participating in Stormont than from being outside of it. No party should ever have to collapse it to get noticed.*

The Alliance Party MP, Stephen Farry MP, praised the Good Friday Agreement while also commenting on the implications of Brexit for Northern Ireland:

*I will not dwell too much on Brexit, but it is relevant to the debate. I often say that Northern Ireland can only really work through sharing and interdependence. For that, we have needed open free borders to balance north-south and east-west flows, alongside internal power sharing. Brexit poses a challenge in that regard. There is no perfect solution to mitigating its impact, but I believe that the original protocol provided a soft landing for us. I welcome the Windsor framework in providing an even softer landing for Northern Ireland from those particular challenges. There are still no guarantees that it will work for Northern Ireland. We have to keep ploughing on and address ongoing issues as they*

*come along, but I believe we are now in a much better place.*

## **Northern Ireland Terrorism threat level raised.**

MI5 has raised the terrorism threat level in Northern Ireland from "Northern Ireland Related Terrorism" from substantial to severe, meaning an attack is highly likely. On 28 March 2023, the Northern Ireland Secretary, Christ Heaton-Harris MP, told the House of Commons:

*Over the last 25 years, Northern Ireland has transformed into a peaceful society. The Belfast (Good Friday) Agreement demonstrates how peaceful and democratic politics improve society. However, a small number of people remain determined to cause harm to our communities through acts of politically motivated violence.*

*In recent months, we have seen an increase in levels of activity relating to Northern Ireland Related Terrorism, which has targeted police officers serving their communities and also put at risk the lives of children and other members of the public. These attacks have no support, as demonstrated by the reaction to the abhorrent attempted murder of DCI Caldwell. The political future of Northern Ireland rests with the democratic will of the people and not the violent actions of the few. Together we will ensure there is no return to the violence of the past.*

## **Good Friday Anniversary Conference**

The Irish Minister of State for European Affairs, Peter Burke TD, together with the UK Minister for Europe, Leo Docherty MP,



jointly opened a conference on 27 March 2023 marking the 25th anniversary of the Good Friday Agreement. The Conference was attended by the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, Chris Heaton-Harris MP.

Entitled '25 Years on – Global and Local Reflections on the Good Friday Agreement', the Conference was organised by the Embassy of Ireland in London and the Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office, supported by the Northern Ireland Office. The Conference explored the how transformation of relationships across these islands was made possible by the Good Friday Agreement. It celebrated the work of those who made the Agreement possible, highlighted the support of international partners, and looked ahead to the next phase of peace-building.

Speaking after the Conference, Minister Burke stated:

*Today's event recognised the leadership that brought about the Good Friday Agreement. It highlighted that peace was made possible by brave leadership in Northern Ireland, by the Irish and UK Governments working in partnership, by steadfast friends and supporters internationally, and by the people of Northern Ireland. We cannot and do not take the gains made in the last 25 years for granted, nor do we underestimate our responsibility as a co-guarantor of the Agreement to build on the dividends of peace.*

## **Tánaiste Micheál Martin on the Windsor Framework**

The Tánaiste and Minister for Foreign Affairs and Defence, Micheál Martin, was a guest speaker at the Belfast Chamber Annual

President's Lunch on 6 April 2023. In his wide-ranging remarks, he spoke in support of the new Windsor Framework, which he said presented an opportunity to develop Northern Irish business and to improve EU-UK relations:

*The Windsor Framework, agreed through a genuine partnership, between the EU and the UK, is the comprehensive response to the real life, practical concerns raised by businesses and people in Northern Ireland. The Windsor Framework is also an opportunity to re-energise the British-Irish relationship, which was so crucial to the achievement of the Agreement in 1998 and in the process before and since. We are undoubtedly stronger addressing shared challenges together. The successful implementation of the Framework is also an opportunity to open up a new chapter in EU-UK relations at a time of pressing global concerns.*

*Most importantly, however, the Framework is an opportunity for Northern Ireland. Your message, supported by other stakeholders in civic society, by political representatives, by consumers, was clear and consistent. Northern Ireland needs stability and certainty. The Windsor Framework provides this. It will allow Northern Ireland business to continue to access the EU Single Market. It protects Northern Ireland's place in the UK internal market, ensuring that the same food and medicines will be available here in Belfast as in Birmingham. And it gives Northern Ireland's political representatives and stakeholders a greater say in how the arrangements will apply in the future. This unique access to both markets is a massive*

*opportunity - to attract investment, create jobs, provide stability and grow the economy. I believe this opportunity needs to be firmly grasped.*

*Now that the Framework has been formally adopted by the EU and the UK, it is important that it is implemented in good faith and can start delivering for people in Northern Ireland. The endorsement of the Windsor Framework should provide momentum towards early restoration of all institutions of the Good Friday Agreement. It is incontrovertible that the people of Northern Ireland are best served by their elected representatives returning to the Assembly, forming an Executive and operating fully the North South Ministerial Council. This should happen without delay.*

## **UUP Leader predicts DUP return to Stormont in May**

The UUP leader, Doug Beattie, has said he believes the DUP will re-enter the Stormont Assembly and Executive in May, following the local government elections, "What I think is, they will go back in, because I think they realise it's good for unionists to be in and have a voice and be able to challenge the government."

DUP MLA, Emma Little-Pengelly, commented that the party wanted to restore Stormont, but that the DUP's focus was on "getting the right foundations to ensure stable government." She continued, "The reality is a house built on sand cannot stand, it will be weakened, and therefore we have to get this right. That is why we are taking careful time and consideration of these matters. We want to get the right deal and a fair deal."

DUP Leader, Sir Jeffrey Donaldson, has indicated that the consultative panel established by the DUP to assess the Windsor Framework has completed its work and that the party leadership would take time to consider its findings.

## **Government 'Retreat' on Retained EU Law Bill**

*The Observer* reported on 9 April 2023 that the UK Government was retreating from the controversial retained EU Law Bill which would see thousands of EU laws and regulations that were retained after Brexit scrapped by the end of the year. Critics of the proposed legislation had argued that it could undermine the Windsor Framework by producing "unmanaged divergence" between Britain and the EU.

According to *The Observer*, plans to hold the report stage of the Bill in the Lords after Easter have been dropped, apparently to avoid controversy in the run-up to the May local elections in England. While the Bill was supported by hard-line Brexiteers, "... the extent of opposition to it from business, environmental groups, unions and Brussels has left ministers with no option but to consider delay, and moving to a scaled-down and less hurried version." *The Observer* reported that senior figures in Brussels had cautioned that a divergence of standards between the UK and the EU could create the conditions for a potential trade war.

While the UK Government insists that it is committed to the Retained EU Law Bill, the Business and Trade Secretary, Kemi Badenoch MP, is apparently considering producing a list of retained EU laws that could be abolished with the least controversy and presenting this symbolic move as a

delivering Brexit. It is reported that, within the UK Civil Service, the quiet belief is that the "sunset clause" under which the retained EU laws apply will be extended and the Bill will likely never come into force.

## Section Two: The Evolving Debate

### NI Civil servants call for form of Direct Rule

*The Belfast Telegraph* has revealed the contents of a communication from the FDA – the trade union representing senior civil servants in Northern Ireland – to the Northern Ireland Secretary, Chris Heaton-Harris MP, on the impasse in administration arising from the DUP veto on the restoration of the Assembly and Executive. The FDA has called on Mr Heaton-Harris to provide "ministerial direction" to the Civil Service, which *The Belfast Telegraph* says amounts to a veiled request for a form of direct rule from an NIO minister. It is reported that the FDA has informed Mr. Heaton Harris that a form of direct rule is needed within weeks if power-sharing is not urgently restored, as civil servants can no longer take major and controversial decisions around cuts to public services.

### Orange Order Position Paper, 25 March 2023

Following the publication of the Windsor Framework, the Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland stated that it would consult with its membership, political representatives, government, and business interests. The Orange Order measured the content of the Framework against its publicly stated opposition to the Northern Ireland Protocol. On 25 March 2023, a Position Paper was issued in which the Orange Order stated its

opposition to the Framework, on the grounds that the deal separates Northern Ireland from Great Britain and "subjects" Northern Irish citizens to EU law. The Position Paper states:

*Many aspects of the Windsor Framework have been oversold. The proposed Green Lane is not a frictionless border. Substantial levels of bureaucracy which will disadvantage traders, hauliers and consumers remain and trade is clearly not unfettered as within Great Britain. If it were, there would be no need for a Green Lane.*

*The Windsor Framework continues to treat Northern Ireland as a place apart within the United Kingdom and equal citizenship has not been restored. Article 6 of the Act of Union remains in suspension and as such, Northern Ireland continues to be a 'semi-detached' part of the economic Union the Act created.*

...

*The Windsor Framework does not address our other fundamental concern in that Northern Ireland citizens are still subject to laws made by Europe, and therefore subject to European Courts. In order to resolve this matter, EU laws and in turn, the ECJ should only apply to NI goods manufactured for export to the EU.*

...

*We believe there is still unity in purpose within Unionism, in that all parties continue to oppose the two fundamental issues that remain from the Protocol – namely the Irish Sea Border and the non-selective imposition of EU law on Northern Ireland.*



*Like the Unionist political parties, we want these issues resolved so we can continue to work to make a Northern Ireland a better place for all. However, given the seriousness of the concerns outlined above, the Grand Lodge voted unanimously not to support a return to the Stormont Executive until there is substantial and tangible progress which resolves these fundamental issues.*

## Irish News on NI Budget

On 29 March 2023, an Editorial in The Irish News dealt with the serious implications of the DUP's refusal to return to Stormont for the Northern Ireland budget, which faces a challenging start to the new financial year. The Irish News reports that Departments are facing a 6.4 per cent real terms cut, which will affect public. The Editorial continued:

*Sir Robert Chote, who chairs the independent public finance scrutiny body, has painted a bleak picture of the immediate future: no ministerial leadership at Stormont, no agreed budget allocations to work from, a "tough financial environment" as pay increases and inflation remain elevated, and the need to repay the Treasury £300 million which was required to cover part of an overspend built up before the executive collapsed and the caretaker ministers left office.*

*...Years of inertia and disagreement mean the executive also has a dismal track record of managing our money, to the detriment of our public services. The inability to press on with much-needed health and social care reform – an instance where Stormont dysfunction and foot-dragging is harming the public's wellbeing – is perhaps the most egregious example.*

The Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, Chris Heaton-Harris, summed up the situation as follows: "Years of financial mismanagement have left Northern Ireland's finances on an unsustainable footing". This blunt assessment led The Irish News Editorial to conclude: "As things stand, unless the DUP does the right thing and ends its wholly illogical boycott, it will be the secretary of state who swings the axe."

## New Opinion Poll on Windsor Framework

A new *Lucid Talk* poll for Queen's University Belfast shows that a clear majority – 69 per cent – of voters in Northern Ireland believe the Windsor Framework could bring economic benefits. Furthermore, 66 per cent of respondents believe that the Stormont Executive should be reconstituted. These positive views are particularly prevalent among women and younger people. A significant minority remain opposed to the Framework with 23 per cent saying they will only vote for candidates who favour scrapping the NI Protocol and the Framework. A view shared across voters of all backgrounds is that the UK and EU should engage more with Northern Ireland stakeholders and politicians when it comes to implementation of the new deal.

Professor David Phinnemore of the School of History at Queen's commented:

*With the Windsor Framework more voters in Northern Ireland have become accepting or supportive of the Protocol. A clear majority believe genuine efforts have been made to address concerns raised and see potential economic benefits. This is the case across much of the political spectrum from 'slight unionist' to 'strong nationalist'.*

## Section Three: Background Material and Further Reading

### Background Material

**Department of Foreign Affairs** Remarks by Tánaiste Micheál Martin at Belfast Chamber Annual President's Lunch, 6 April 2023. <https://www.dfa.ie/news-and-media/press-releases/press-release-archive/2023/april/remarks-by-tanaiste-micheal-martin---belfast-chamber-annual-presidents-lunch.php>

**GOV.UK** Prime Minister: We must fulfil the promise of the Good Friday Agreement, 9 April 2023. <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/prime-minister-we-must-fulfil-the-promise-of-the-good-friday-agreement>

**GOV.UK** Northern Ireland-related Terrorism threat level raised, 28 March 2023. <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/northern-ireland-related-terrorism-threat-level-raised>

**Hansard** House of Commons; Debate on Belfast/Good Friday Agreement 25th Anniversary, 30 March 2023. <https://hansard.parliament.uk/commons/2023-03-30/debates/A6BDC67A-9AC1-45D0-8F88-E4152CCE26EE/BelfastGoodFridayAgreement25ThAnniversary>

**Department of Foreign Affairs** Reflection by the Tánaiste on the Good Friday Agreement, Abbey Theatre, 2 April 2023. <https://www.dfa.ie/news-and-media/speeches/speeches-archive/2023/april/reflection-by-the-tanaiste-on-the-good-friday-agreement-abbey-theatre-2-april-2023.php>

**Department of Foreign Affairs** Minister of State marks 25th anniversary of Good Friday Agreement, 28 March 2023. <https://www.dfa.ie/news-and-media/press-releases/press-release-archive/2023/march/minister-of-state-marks-25th-anniversary-of-good-friday-agreement.php>

**Orange Order Lodge of Ireland** Position Paper on Windsor Framework, 25 March 2023. <https://www.goli.org.uk/post/grand-orange-lodge-of-ireland-position-paper-on-windsor-framework>

**RTÉ News** US President Joe Biden's Irish visit to begin in Belfast on 11 April. *RTE*, 30 March 2023. <https://www.rte.ie/news/2023/0330/1367300-biden-visit/>

**RTÉ News** Clinton believes it's a miracle Good Friday deal survived Brexit. *RTE*, 5 April 2023. <https://www.rte.ie/news/primetime/2023/0404/1374252-clinton-good-friday-brexit/>

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**Belfast Telegraph** Majority of people want Stormont back after Windsor Framework deal, QUB poll shows. *Belfast Telegraph*, 5 April 2023. <https://www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk/news/politics/majority-of-people-want-stormont-back-after-windsor-framework-deal-qub-poll-shows/1210034725.html>

**Irish Times** The Irish Times views on the Belfast Agreement; An indispensable framework. *IT*, 7 April 2023. <https://www.irishtimes.com/opinion/editorials/2023/04/06/the-irish-times-view-on-the-belfast-agreement-an-indispensable-framework/>

**RTÉ News** Tony Connelly: Good Friday Disagreement: Brexit and the meaning of peace, *RTE*, 8 April 2023. <https://www.rte.ie/news/analysis-and-comment/2023/0408/1375820-brexit-good-friday-agreement/>

**The Irish Times** Irish Times View on the Windsor Framework: EU and UK right to push ahead. *IT*, 26 March 2023. <https://www.irishtimes.com/opinion/editorials/2023/03/26/the-irish-times-view-on-the-windsor-framework-eu-and-uk-right-to-push-ahead/>

**The Guardian** The Guardian view on Northern Ireland: Violence in a political vacuum. *Guardian*, 30 March 2023. <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2023/mar/30/the-guardian-view-on-northern-ireland-violence-in-a-political-vacuum>

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**The Irish Times** Alex Kane: A route exists for DUP leader Jeffrey Donaldson to go back into the NI Assembly. *IT*, 30 March 2023. <https://www.irishtimes.com/opinion/2023/03/20/a-route-exists-for-dup-leader-jeffrey-donaldson-to-go-back-into-the-ni-assembly/>

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**The Irish News** Alex Kane: The 1998 peace/political process is nearer to collapse than most people realise. *Irish News*, 30 March 2023. <https://www.irishnews.com/opinion/columnists/2023/03/31/news/alex-kane-the-1998-peace-political-process-is-closer-to-collapse-than-most-people-realise-3173474/>

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**BBC News** UK Shared Prosperity Fund not a replacement for EU money, says Mencap. *BBC*, 3 April 2023. <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-northern-ireland-65154315>

**BBC News** Windsor Framework: Plan to scrap EU laws could undermine NI deal, says report. *BBC*, 2 April 2023. <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-northern-ireland-65138005>

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## Further Reading

**Graham Walker & James Greer.** Ties that Bind? Irish Academic Press



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