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The UK Update provides up-to-date information on UK-EU, and UK-Ireland relations, bringing together relevant statements and policy positions from key players in Ireland, the UK and the EU.

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

Introduction

The new Stormont Assembly and Executive are fully active and engaged with the joint leadership of Sinn Féin's Michelle O'Neill and the DUP's Emma Little-Pengelly, setting a remarkable pace in shared, and widely welcomed, public activity.

It has been made clear that the power sharing Executive is focused on bringing forward a comprehensive Programme for Government as soon as possible. The First and Deputy First Minister told MLAs, in evidence to the Assembly's Executive Office Committee, that they were looking forward to the restoration of all strands of the Good Friday Agreement, including a resumed programme of meetings of the North South Ministerial Council.

First Minister O'Neill told the committee:

It is important that everybody feels the benefit of the policy decisions that we take. That will be reflected in the programme for government, and we are going to move at it at a sensible pace, and we are going to move at it to make sure that we get it right. That is important because this becomes our collective programme for the Executive in terms of what we are going to develop, there will be collective priorities. We have to consider all that alongside the financial challenges that we have.

Michelle O'Neill assured MLAs that in the coming weeks the programme for government would be discussed in greater detail as soon as possible. Ms O'Neill also emphasised the importance of communication with not only the Assembly, but everyone in Northern Ireland on their priorities within Stormont: "We will work to ensure it is brought forward as quickly as possible, we want that to be there so everybody is clear, not just in the Assembly but throughout Northern Ireland as to what we are working towards, what are the priorities of this government."

You can read Minister O'Neill's comments here.



Section One: State of Play

Humble Address Debate in Commons, 26 February 2024

On 26 February 2024 the House of Commons debated and approved a Humble Address¹ motion on the situation in Northern Ireland.

This Humble Address motion was proposed by the Government to reassure unionists about Northern Ireland's place in the United Kingdom. It was one of the UK Government's commitments to the DUP in the <u>Safequarding of the Union</u> deal.

The Humble Address motion read as follows:

That an Humble Address be presented to His Majesty welcoming the return of the devolved institutions in Northern Ireland, re-affirming the importance of upholding the Belfast (Good Friday) Agreement 1998 in all its strands, acknowledging the foundational importance of the Acts of Union 1800, including the economic provisions under Article 6 of those Acts, and recognising that, consistent with section 23(1) of the Northern Ireland Act 1998, executive power in Northern Ireland shall continue to be vested in His Majesty, and that joint authority is not provided for in the Belfast (Good Friday) Agreement 1998 in respect of the UK and Irish Governments.

The debate was opened by the Minister of State at the Northern Ireland Office, Steve Baker, and included responses by representatives of the Labour Party and the Scottish National Party. Ten MPs from Northern Ireland spoke, 8 from the DUP and one each from the SDLP and Alliance parties, while a number of Tory party MPs made brief interventions.

Minister of State Steve Baker's remarks to the House of Commons commended the UK government's commitment to the restoration of the institutions in Northern Ireland. He stated his hope for the successful return of the strand 2 institutions in time and that the upholding of such a three-strand approach as per the Good Friday/Belfast Agreement is of utmost importance for the functioning of governance in Northern Ireland.

The restoration of the strand 1 institutions is welcome news. I am hopeful that we will soon also see the North South Ministerial Council and other strand 2 implementation bodies returned to full operation, alongside the meetings of the British-Irish Council and the British-Irish Intergovernmental Conference that are already scheduled to take place in the coming months and which I have attended in the past. That three-stranded approach—that delicate and careful balance—honours the spirit and letter of the agreement, providing a fitting tribute to those brave men and women who, some 26 years ago, helped to deliver the agreement that is the bedrock of so much peace, stability, and progress in Northern Ireland.

Mr Baker also acknowledged the Acts of Union 1800 and its foundational importance for the positions of Northern Ireland within the UK and its internal market.

This Humble Address also rightly acknowledges the foundational importance of the Acts of Union 1800, including the economic provisions under article 6 of those Acts. The Government are clear that the new arrangements committed to in the Command Paper, including the UK internal market system, ensure the smooth flow of trade across the UK.

The final part of this Humble Address relates to the constitutional status of Northern Ireland. As Unionists, it is important that this Government emphasise how much Northern Ireland's place within the United

^{1.} a Humble Address, in UK parliamentary procedure is a communication from one of the Houses of the Parliament of the United Kingdom to the monarch.

Kingdom is valued and respected, both in law and in practice. Nevertheless, our appreciation of Northern Ireland within the UK is set in the context of respecting the core principles and relationships at the heart of the Belfast/Good Friday agreement.

The Minister of State emphasised the principle of consent in the Good Friday/Belfast Agreement and the importance of upholding governance from the Institutions in Northern Ireland:

At the heart of that agreement is the principle of consent. That means that Northern Ireland will remain an integral part of the United Kingdom, with the Acts of Union and the economic rights under article 6 properly respected and protected in law and with the sovereignty of Parliament undiminished, ruling out joint authority between London and Dublin, which we will not countenance.

Our exit from the EU should not mean that co-operation and friendship are diminished. Rather, it compels us all to work harder to invest in and strengthen all the relationships that are important to the peoples within these islands and across Europe. Our independent status should in no way diminish our friendship.

The Labour Party Shadow Northern Ireland Secretary, Hilary Benn, responded to Mr Baker, highlighting that: "This is our first opportunity as a House to welcome the return of devolved government."

Mr Benn began by wishing members of the Executive and the Assembly well in their new roles, in what the UK government hope will be a "constructive" and "productive" Administration. The Shadow Secretary also reiterated the importance of upholding the Northern Ireland Institutions and the promises set out in the Good Friday/Belfast Agreement.

Let us be frank, however. I hope people will also recognise that never again should Northern Ireland find itself without its Assembly and its devolved Government.

It is also right that we reaffirm our support for the Good Friday agreement in all its strands and dimensions. It is important for us to do so because the agreement made possible the considerable progress we have seen in Northern Ireland, including the establishment of power sharing. That reaffirming is also needed because there was a perception that some of the language in the recent Command Paper was not wholly in keeping with the spirit of shared commitment.

Finally, Mr Benn returned to Mr Baker's point about strand three of the Good Friday/Belfast Agreement and stressed the importance of the good relationship between those institutes.

I turn to the last part of the Humble Address, which is simply talking about facts. It states the fact that this House retains the right to legislate in respect of Northern Ireland, and it is simply a fact that the Good Friday agreement and the Northern Ireland Act 1998 do not provide for joint authority with the Irish Government over what happens inside Northern Ireland. That is also acknowledged by the Irish Government. But, at the same time—I welcome what the Minister said—we must do all we can to foster and strengthen the shared institutions established under strand 3 of the Good Friday agreement, not least because we have made most progress on this difficult matter when we have had a close working relationship with the Irish Government.

Richard Thompson from the Scottish National Party commented on East-West relations between Scotland and Northern Ireland and their continued support for the institutions as stated in the Good Friday/Belfast Agreement:

Within the agreement, one of the areas that leaps out is the East-West Council to deal with matters of business, education, and culture across that east-west axis. Even from the perspective of a hard-bitten Scottish nationalist much like myself, that opens up a great deal of useful space potentially to share and develop all that we have in common, all that we continue to have in common, and all that we will have in

common, and which will endure regardless of wherever our respective constitutional journeys happen to conclude in future.

In conclusion, we on the SNP Benches wish the people of Northern Ireland and their institutions well. We look forward to seeing their politicians and those institutions playing a full role in those bodies, be they north, south, east, or west, and to seeing the Good Friday agreement move forward in all its strands.

The DUP leader, Sir Jeffrey Donaldson spoke favourably about the "common approach to recognising the settled will of the people of Northern Ireland, which is that we should remain part of the United Kingdom." However, he did note that others can also pursue "their aspirations by peaceful and democratic means." Sir Jeffrey made reference to Northern Ireland's place in the Union, and the changing landscape that unionists are now working in to create a new and prosperous Northern Ireland.

It is the first time in almost 27 years in this House that I have heard great clarity spoken about the Government's approach to Northern Ireland and their desire to value Northern Ireland's place within the United Kingdom and, for as long as it is the will of the people of Northern Ireland, about binding our Union together more strongly so that it delivers for everyone. That is what we are in the business of doing, and it is delivering for all the people of Northern Ireland.

Let me say this, with great respect, to my colleagues, not on these Benches but out there in wider Unionism, many of them detractors of us in the DUP—those who attack my party and the stand that we are taking, because we recognise that building a prosperous Northern Ireland that works for everyone is the key to securing the Union for the future. Let me say to those who are a minority in Unionism, but who still live in the days of the 1970s when Unionism had an inbuilt majority, that Northern Ireland is changing. Its demographics are changing. We need only look at the results of recent polling to see that.

Unionism has to recognise that among younger people, support for the Union is not as strong as it is among more senior citizens in Northern Ireland. Our task is to persuade our young people, the next generation, that the Union works for them.

DUP MP Sammy Wilson introduced a sceptical viewpoint about the Humble Address and made the bold statement that the Windsor Framework must be removed if Northern Ireland remains as an integral part of the United Kingdom.

When we have a Humble Address, it is right that we scrutinise, ask questions, and raise issues about what exactly is meant by the promises made to His Majesty and the people of Northern Ireland. Sadly, I do not believe that what has been said or the promises that have already been made address the issues. If we are going to address the issue of keeping Northern Ireland firmly within the United Kingdom, the Windsor framework has to go, and the principle of consent has to be restored. The people of Northern Ireland and elected representatives in Northern Ireland must have the ability to make the laws that they are elected to make.

Colum Eastwood MP, leader of the SDLP, made a brief intervention: "This Humble Address reads like a love letter to the DUP—I just caution the DUP not to get too comfortable, because I am not sure that it will be a forever love."

The full debate in the House of Commons can be read here.

Good Friday/Belfast Agreement Reform Debate Continues

The question of reform of the Good Friday/Belfast Agreement to deal with the veto provisions, which have seen the Stormont institutions closed down for long periods over the past decade, has been discussed by a number of significant players from Belfast, Dublin and London.

Tánaiste Micheal Martin spoke at the 2024 Alliance Conference outlining a number of questions to be addressed. Those questions were: "Are we prepared to stand over a situation where a single party can not only block a policy decision, but can prevent the very operation of a democratic Assembly? Not to mention a power-sharing Executive, and practical North-South cooperation in established areas of work?"

The Tánaiste referenced the Alliance Party's answers to some of these questions but also made it clear that cross-party cooperation on these issues is essential.

It is important that we remember and understand that what can look from one perspective to be a block, or a veto is a crucial safeguard to another. A key question therefore is how to ensure confidence that any change is perceived to be in the common good, and not sectoral interest.

As I have said, I believe it is time for that conversation to start. And it is time for us to collectively move it forward, structured in a way that respects the fundamentals of the Good Friday Agreement—but allowing its institutions adapt and evolve in sensible and equitable ways.

I am determined that the Irish Government I jointly lead will not be found wanting when it comes to making up for that lost time, or in any constructive, shared discussion brought forward by any community or quarter in Northern Ireland.

The full address can be read here.

Freya McClements and Seanín Graham wrote in the *Irish Times* about Naomi Long, Alliance Party Leader, addressing the conference. Her main points included the role of the UK Government in reforming the Northern Ireland Institutions and the potential for another collapse of the Executive if the power to collapse it is retained.

She said she wanted to "approach this new mandate with optimism, to have confidence that the last collapse was the last collapse" but it was a "warning against complacency" that neither the First Minister nor Deputy First Minister would give a firm commitment, when called up on to do so by the SDLP, that they would not use their power to collapse the Executive again. "The only possible reason for those parties to argue that they should retain the power to collapse the institutions is if they intend to either use that power or use the threat of using it to control the Executive," she said. The party has long called for the reform of the Northern institutions to make them more sustainable and prevent future collapse. However, last month the UK government ruled this out, saying in response to a Westminster report recommending an overhaul of the rules governing power sharing, that reform of the Agreement was not being considered "at this time" and "voices from the UK or Irish governments should not be at the forefront of any calls for reform". Criticising this stance, Ms Long said that despite the "open door" on this issue offered by Alliance, the Northern Secretary had not only declined to take it, "but seemed keen to lock it up again and throw away the key".

The full Irish Times article can read here.

Sinn Féin MLA and Economics Minister in the restored Executive, Conor Murphy, has indicated that the party "is up for reforming the Stormont institutions to remove the ability of one party to collapse power sharing." Conor Murphy said Sinn Féin recognised that the veto was a "continued problem" and was keen to find agreement with other parties to reform the structures. He said the Stormont's Assembly and Executive Review Committee was the appropriate forum to initiate the process and "test the mettle" of other parties in regard to making changes to aspects of the Good Friday Agreement. During the Humble Address debate in the House of Commons the Alliance Party MP Stephen Farry, and Minister of State Steve Baker addressed the GFA reform question. The below is an excerpt from the debate:

Stephen Farry MP:

I am grateful to the Minister. His remark about ensuring that this works for all our citizens has sparked me to life. Will he set out the Government's approach to reform of the institutions? As he knows, the Northern Ireland Affairs Committee produced a comprehensive report on the issue, which to date the Government have simply said that they "note". There is still a risk that the institutions will collapse, and the same reasons that allowed them to collapse in the past are still there. Hopefully they will not collapse, but that is the danger. Will he assure us that he and his colleagues will work closely with the Irish Government and the parties in Northern Ireland to ensure a proper examination of the rules on the institutions, to ensure that we do not end up in the same mess that we have had twice over the past seven years?

Minister of State, Steve Baker:

Our position is very clear that any change must come from the parties in Northern Ireland. That is not to say we are uninterested—I have personally been through an exercise of considering all the possible reforms that there could be. At the end of that lengthy exercise, I concluded that no plan for reform of the institutions and their operation would work if it was driven by yours truly. It is essential that this conversation comes from the parties in Northern Ireland. I do not doubt that we will wish to note and take interest in such a conversation, but it is for the hon. Gentleman and his colleagues, who are well represented on the opposition Benches, to move such a conversation forward. That is not something that the UK Government will be driving forward. It is vital that the new Executive now have the space to get on with governing Northern Ireland and doing what is very much needed.

Goldman Sachs Report on UK Economy and Brexit

Economists at the Goldman Sachs Group have produced a detailed report which compared the country's performance to similar nations since the referendum in 2016. It concluded that the UK's decision to leave the European Union shrank the British economy by reducing growth and spurring higher inflation. The *Irish Times'* Joe Easton discussed the report.

The article outlined the key findings of the Report, which showed the UK's real GDP has underperformed by about 5%. According to the economists, factors that have contributed to this include reduced international trade, weak business investment and a drop in migrants coming from Britain's largest trade partner: "The evidence points to a significant long-run output cost of Brexit. The UK has significantly underperformed other advanced economies since the 2016 EU referendum."

The *Irish Times* article summarised the report's conclusions, which highlighted the economic impacts of Brexit on a national, local, and household scale. Goldman Sach's conclusion is broadly in line with other estimates of the impact of Brexit. The UK's official fiscal Office for Budget Responsibility reported in 2023 that the UK's exit from the EU was likely to reduce economic output by 4%. A Bank of England expert further argued that Brexit had cost every British household £1,000 (€1,175) on average. The Goldman Sachs' study compared the UK's post-Brexit economy to a hypothetical model of one that never left the EU. Under performance was blamed on trade drop, lowered investment, and labour market impacts of the decision to leave the EU - UK market. According to the report, total imports and exports are roughly 15% lower than in comparable countries, due to higher trade barriers with the E.U. and the resulting shift in supply chains.

Read The Irish Times article here.

Irish Opinion Poll

The Irish Times reported on the recent *Irish Times/Ipsos B&A* poll which showed that Sinn Féin support has decreased to 28%, its lowest level of support in three years. The *Irish Times* articles highlights that this may skew support in the next general election.

Support for Sinn Féin has dropped according to the latest Irish Times/Ipsos B&A opinion poll, with the party falling to its lowest level in three years. The results see Sinn Féin support at 28 per cent, a six-point drop since the most recent poll in September.

With a general election due within the next year the results of the poll will give concern to Sinn Féin, which has been seen for a long time as favourite to lead the next government. The poll results cast significant doubt on such assumptions. While maintaining a clear lead over both Fine Gael and Fianna Fáil, their latest standing is as low as the party has been since just after the last general election.

The article does, however, clarify that the opinion poll does not show an increase in support for Fianna Fáil or Fine Gael. The overall results show slight increase in support for the Green Party and for the Social Democrats. It should be noted that this opinion poll was carried out before the resignation of Taoiseach Leo Varadkar as leader of Fine Gael.

However, the opinion poll does not give evidence of any substantial comeback for either for either Fianna Fáil or Fine Gael. The gains instead have gone to the smaller parties, including the Greens, who see support grow from 3 per cent to 5 per cent. The Social Democrats also see support increase by two points, to 4 per cent.

The overall results for the state of the parties, when undecided voters and those unlikely to vote are excluded, is as follows: Sinn Féin 28 per cent (down six); Fianna Fáil 20 per cent (no change); Fine Gael 19 per cent (up one); Green Party 5 per cent (up two); Labour 4 per cent (up one); and Independents/others 25 per cent (up three).

Read the full article and results of the poll here.

YouGov UK Opinion Poll

In the UK, the *YouGov/Times* voting intention poll conducted prior to the results of the controversial Rochdale byelection, shows the Conservatives on 20% (unchanged from the previous poll on 20-21 February) and Labour 46% (also unchanged).

Elsewhere, the Liberal Democrats have 7% of the vote (-2), Greens 7% (no change), and Reform UK 14% (+1). This is Reform UK's highest vote intention share to date, with the party currently taking 21% of those who voted Conservative in 2019. The Tories are holding on to just 35% of their previous voters, with 12% going to Labour and 20% unsure.

The *BBC* commented on the state of politics and the prospect of increased support for the Conservatives following tax cuts:

Conservative MPs will be hoping that the tax cuts announced in the Budget will please voters and have an impact on the polls. At last year's autumn statement, Chancellor Jeremy Hunt cut the main rate of National Insurance for employees from 12% to 10%. Now he's gone further with an additional cut to 8% and he also cut the rate for self-employed people. He hopes this will help to boost economic growth but also restore his party's fortunes. However, we've had data since the first cut showing the UK economy has slipped into a recession. And there's been no change at all to the Conservative Party's polling performance on the BBC poll tracker - they're still on 24% which is the same as on 22 November, the date of the autumn statement.



In reference to the Ipsos opinion poll from 4 March 2024, it was noted that support for the Conservatives was down to 20%:

[...] the lowest-ever figure for the party in the Ipsos series which stretches all the way back to 1978. Perhaps we will begin to see an impact when workers start to feel the effect of the cuts in their take home pay. That's certainly what many Conservative MPs are looking to see. But do we know that this is what voters want right now if it means less money available for public services? It's hard to say because the evidence is mixed.

Section Two: The Evolving Debate

Chris Heaton Harris on UK Budget

The Northern Ireland Secretary, Chris Heaton Harris, issued a lengthy statement following the Budget statement of Chancellor Jeremy Hunt.

The Chancellor had argued that the UK economy was turning a corner, with inflation expected to fall over coming months, wages consistently rising faster than prices and better growth than European neighbours. He sought to capitalise on this progress, sticking to plan of putting £620 a year back into the pocket of workers in Northern Ireland thanks to changes at Autumn Statement and a second National Insurance tax cut in April for over 800,000 working people in Northern Ireland. The Budget provided that the Northern Ireland Executive will receive around £100 million additional funding through the Barnett formula, on top of the significant £3.3 billion spending settlement already announced.

Today's Budget underlines the UK Government's commitment to Northern Ireland and to the Union. I welcome the additional Barnett funding of £100 million for 2024-25, which is on top of the significant £3.3 billion spending settlement. This will provide a further boost to the Executive's spending power to invest in its own priorities. I am delighted with the Chancellor's announcement of over £1 billion of new tax reliefs for creative industries across the UK, which is great news for Northern Ireland where creative Industries have already contributed over £1 billion GVA to the NI economy, and this will further support Northern Ireland's opportunities for growth particularly in the creative and digital industries.

You can read Chris Heaton Harris' full statement here.

SDLP in Opposition Action

The new Stormont Opposition leader Matthew O'Toole has made his first formal move in the restored Assembly by proposing three motions calling for a commitment to reform the institutions in the Programme for Government and for the establishment of an ad hoc committee to consider legislation to prevent any further collapse of the institution.

Mr O'Toole described the motions as:

[a] real test of how serious all parties are about, not just the principle, but delivering on reform [...] We're not just setting out aspirations. This is about actually getting binding commitments and a process in place to stop Stormont ever collapsing again. Reforming the rules so that veto cannot be used to collapse government again.

According to Mr O'Toole, polling shows a vast majority of people in Northern Ireland want to see Stormont reformed.

We can't have a situation where one party can collapse the institutions, whatever the issue that they are aggrieved about, and there will be issues that are difficult, that parties need to be robust about. We acknowledge that, inclusive government is difficult, but you can't accept the idea that in 2024 that we can go on with this toxic cycle of collapse and restoration. We can't allow that to happen again.



London Mayor Sadiq Khan on European Union

The Observer has reported that London's Labour Mayor Sadiq Khan has called for young people to be able to move freely to and from the EU for the first time since Brexit in order to lessen the economic and cultural damage caused by the UK's decision to leave the European Union.

The mayor's conversation with *The Observer* has been characterised as one of the most pro-European interventions by a senior Labour politician since the 2016 referendum, Sadiq Khan argued for either a "bespoke youth mobility" agreement with the 27 EU countries, or early changes to post-Brexit visa rules that currently restrict travel and the ability to work in other European countries.

His remarks have been interpreted as suggesting that the Labour Party, with Sadiq Khan as its leading candidate, will run a notably pro-European, anti-Brexit campaign for the mayoral elections in the capital in May. While not advocating the UK rejoining the EU, Sadiq Khan has previously called for a "pragmatic debate" on whether the UK should rejoin the single market and customs union when the terms of the Brexit deal come up for discussion again in 2025.

The Observer indicated its understanding that the office of Labour leader Keir Starmer, who opposed Brexit but has since been reluctant to criticise it for fear of offending Labour voters who backed leaving the EU, was informed of Khan's comments and did not try to block them.

Joe Kennedy on Investment in Northern Ireland

The US special envoy to Northern Ireland, Joe Kennedy III, has described the restoration of the Stormont Assembly as "hugely positive", arguing that political stability is "critically important" to US firms seeking to invest hundreds of millions of dollars.

Mr Kennedy spoke of the success of the US business delegation visit to Belfast in October 2023 which demonstrated a willingness on the part of American firms, including Coca-Cola and leading investment funds, to invest in Northern Ireland. Northern Ireland is a place where US businesses have invested in new cutting-edge studio sets to launch the next generation of films and video games and is the number one destination in the world for cybersecurity with "extraordinary universities."

You can read the full Irish Times article here.

The Real Pressure on Jeffrey Donaldson

According to Suzanne Breen from the *Belfast Telegraph*: "Jamie Bryson is back talking big. Sir Jeffrey Donaldson may think he's ahead in the battle for hearts and minds of unionist voters, but the loyalist insists the fight is far from concluded."

Ms Breen discussed last month's *LucidTalk* poll, acknowledging that 75% of DUP voters support Sir Jeffrey's package deal agreed with the UK government.

An election is likely eight months away, and the DUP leader will be aiming to either convert that remaining quarter, or at least convince them to vote for his party despite their reservations. Much depends on what Sir Jeffrey's internal opponents do. So far, their criticism has been very legalistic and technical. It hasn't struck a chord with unionist grassroots, and it's been aired in empty parliamentary chambers, not in TV studios or the streets of Northern Ireland.

It appears that the likes of Sammy Wilson, Ian Paisley, Carla Lockhart, Paul Girvan, Nigel Dodds, and Maurice Morrow et al, not Jamie Bryson, are the ones who have the real power to turn up the temperature on the DUP leader if they want to.

Read the full Belfast Telegraph article here.



Section Three: Background Material and Further Reading

Background Material

Irish Times Editorial. Anti-semitism and islamophobia in UK politics: deep-seated problems. IT, 27 February 2024. https://www.irishtimes.com/opinion/editorials/2024/02/27/the-irish-times-view-on-anti-semitism-and-islamophobia-in-uk-politics-deep-seated-problems-of-racism-and-xenophobia/

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The Guardian Sadiq Khan: 'Free young people from Brexit work and travel ban', 20 January 2024. https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2024/jan/20/sadiq-khan-free-young-people-from-brexit-work-and-travel-ban

Further Reading

Phil Burton-Cartledge The Party's Over Verso

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