



Post-Brexit Clinic

# Northern Ireland, the Windsor Framework and UK-EU Relations



15 May 2026

Prof. Katy Hayward  
Prof. Billy Melo-Araujo  
Prof. David Phinnemore

# EU-UK Relations and the Windsor Framework

Joint statement by the European Commissioner, Maroš Šefčovič and the UK Minister for the Cabinet Office, Nick Thomas-Symonds

Resilience Acts for the proper functioning of the Windsor Framework and agreed to work towards a conclusion at pace.

The co-chairs also discussed the Protocol relating to the Sovereign Base Areas in

London, 2 February 2026

The United Kingdom and the European Union are pleased to announce the finalisation of the Windsor Framework (TCA) Partnership for the Cabinet Office

These were the finalisation of the Windsor Framework (TCA) Partnership for the Cabinet Office

Withdrawal Agreement

The Joint Committee on the Withdrawal Agreement

On citizens' rights, the UK Government welcomed the to accelerate the to accelerate the They commit issues.

On the Windsor implementation and businesses since May 2025. They noted the 2026. They all protection of IT systems and p work swiftly on

The co-chairs implementation exchange of

## DE OF THE JOINT COMMITTEE ON THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE AND NORTHERN IRELAND AND THE EUROPEAN

adding a newly adopted Union

THE JOINT COMMITTEE,

Having regard to the Agreement on the Northern Ireland from the European Union (the 'Withdrawal Agreement'), and in particular

Whereas:

- (1) Article 13(4) of the Windsor Framework and Article 164(1) of the Withdrawal Agreement adding newly adopted Union acts and relevant Annexes to the Windsor Framework;
- (2) Pursuant to Article 166(2) of the Withdrawal Agreement, the Windsor Framework Committee are binding on the United Kingdom and are to implement the Windsor Framework;
- (3) Whilst Article 51 of Regulation (EU) 2024/1151 of 19 December 2024 on the approval of vehicles circulating on public roads and in accordance with Article 13(3) of the Windsor Framework;

<sup>1</sup> OJ EU L 29, 31.1.2020, p.7, ELI: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/eli/reg/2020/11/2020-01-31/oj>  
<sup>2</sup> Joint Declaration No 1/2023 of the United Kingdom and the European Union on the withdrawal of the United Kingdom from the European Union and the European Atomic Energy Community  
<sup>3</sup> OJ EU L 2025/14, 8.1.2025, ELI: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/eli/reg/2025/14/2025-01-08/oj>



### Joint Statement following the meeting of the Specialised Committee on the Implementation of the Windsor Framework

7 May 2026

The Specialised Committee on the Implementation of the Windsor Framework met in Brussels today, co-chaired by officials from the European Commission and the UK Government.

The co-chairs took stock of the implementation of the Windsor Framework since the last meeting on 3 December 2025. They reaffirmed the importance of continued work to deliver the full, timely, and faithful implementation of the Windsor Framework.

They welcomed the further progress made in the Windsor Framework's implementation across various areas and noted the remaining work to be undertaken to deliver in full the safeguards underpinning the flexibilities for the movement of goods between Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

In the sanitary and phytosanitary (SPS) area, they noted the satisfactory functioning of the SPS inspection facilities and individual labelling requirements, as well as the positive direction in the provision of information in the general SPS certificates. Progress should however continue on the remaining pending issues, including full compliance of certificates, box-level labelling, and ensuring that flexibilities are applied for compliant goods only. They also took note of the robust ongoing preparatory work for the interplay between the Windsor Framework SPS provisions and the future EU-UK SPS Agreement, which is

undertaken to fulfil the commitment from the Common Understanding<sup>1</sup> from the EU-UK Summit of 19 May 2025.

The co-chairs also took stock of the ongoing work in the area of customs. They welcomed the finalisation of the work to grant Union representatives access to all relevant UK IT systems. They noted the ongoing discussions at technical level on customs duties of business to consumer parcels. They stressed that further work to ensure that the Windsor Framework arrangements in the customs and trade area are implemented properly should also continue.

They welcomed the technical flexibilities in the functioning of the Duty Reimbursement Scheme for the benefit of Northern Ireland operators whilst maintaining the necessary protection of the Union Single Market.

The co-chairs took stock of the work of the Joint Consultative Working Group and its structured sub-groups, noting its good functioning and the usefulness of the exchange of information.

They reiterated the importance of the joint engagement with Northern Ireland stakeholders, which should continue, thus supporting the advancement of the Windsor Framework implementation.

The co-chairs also noted the conclusion of their work relating to the exchange of views on the implications of the Artificial Intelligence and Cyber Resilience Acts for the proper functioning of the Windsor Framework, in line with Article 13(4) of the Windsor Framework, following on from the delegation of that responsibility by the Withdrawal Agreement Joint Committee. They would report to the Joint Committee co-chairs on their work with a view to advancing the process foreseen under Article 13(4) of the Framework at the next Joint Committee meeting.

# Murphy Review and Scrutiny of the Windsor Framework




UK Government

Smoothing trade  
and ensuring the  
of the UK intern

The Government's response to the  
Independent Review of the  
Framework

16 December 2025



HOUSE OF LORDS

Northern Ireland Scrutiny Committee


1st Report of Session 2024–26

**Northern Ireland after  
Brexit: Strengthening  
Northern Ireland's voice  
in the context of the  
Windsor Framework**

Ordered to be printed 18 September 2025 and published 15 October 2025

Published by the Authority of the House of Lords

HL Paper 182



endent R

The Lord Carille of Berriew CBE KC  
Chair, NI Scrutiny Committee  
House of Lords  
London, SW1A 0PW

6 February 2026

Dear Lord Carille,

**STRENGTHENING NORTHERN IRELAND'S VOICE IN THE WINDSOR FRAMEWORK**

We were grateful to receive the first report of the Northern Ireland Scrutiny Committee for the 2024-26 Session, Strengthening Northern Ireland's voice in the context of the Windsor Framework. The Government welcomes this comprehensive study and the constructive proposals made by the Committee, which we have sought, in part, to account for in our response to the Independent Review of the Windsor Framework led by the Lord Murphy of Torfaen.

We have previously set out to the Committee how the Government is committed to the Windsor Framework and to protecting the UK internal market. These commitments sit hand-in-hand with each other and in our response to the Independent Review, we outlined how we would be taking action across the full set of those recommendations. As we continue this work, we will seek to prioritise the voice of Northern Ireland in these arrangements. Many of these issues were also considered by your Committee and have been picked up by a number of other organisations.

We also recognise that your report provides a lot of important detail, particularly as regards the vital role that business and civil society plays in our considerations around the Windsor Framework. The Government, and indeed the EU, have made important commitments to engagement with organisations in both of those categories to understand the Windsor Framework's impact across the range of issues that it covers, and we will continue to listen to a broad range of voices as we move forward.

We have addressed the Committee's recommendations in further detail below. Noting that a number of these overlap with Lord Murphy's Review, we have cross-referenced the Government's response to the Review in places to ensure coherence.

# Article 2 – UK Supreme Court – Dillon



Easter Term  
[2026] UKSC 15  
*On appeal from: [2024] NICA 59*

## JUDGMENT

**In the matter of an application by Martina Dillon,  
John McEvoy, Brigid Hughes and Lynda McManus  
for Judicial Review (Respondents);**

**In the matter of an application by Martina Dillon,  
John McEvoy, Brigid Hughes and Lynda McManus  
for Judicial Review (Appellants) No 2**

before

**Lord Reed, President  
Lord Hodge, Deputy President  
Lord Lloyd-Jones  
Lord Hamblen  
Lord Stephens**

**JUDGMENT GIVEN ON  
7 May 2026**

**Heard on 14, 15 and 16 October 2025**

# EU-UK Common Understanding – 19 May 2025

**Security, Defence, and Development Cooperation:** Security and defence; Cooperation on maritime security and safety; Development and disaster cooperation; Health Security

**Irregular migration:** Upstream Migration; Working together on practical solutions and returns; Bolstering UK and EU border security including through law enforcement cooperation; Addressing challenges and abuses of visa policy

**Internal security and judicial cooperation:** Reinforced law enforcement and judicial cooperation in criminal matters; Judicial cooperation in civil and commercial matters; Cooperation in relation to drugs risks and threats

**Strengthening our economies while protecting our planet and its resources:** **Energy cooperation;** New technologies; Working towards a **Common SPS Area;** Working towards **linking Emission Trading Systems;** Provision of services through entry and temporary stay of natural persons for business purposes; Competition cooperation

**Putting people at the centre of the EU-UK relationship:** Youth Experience Scheme; Erasmus+; Support travel and cultural exchange; Smooth border management - eGates



FINANCIAL TIMES

Brexit + Add to myFT

# We will use EU summit to further unwind Brexit, vows Keir Starmer

UK prime minister's growth a

FINANCIAL TIMES My Account


UK foreign policy + Add to myFT

## Keir Starmer and Donald Trump

British prime minister's term national in

### Keir Starmer vows to put Britain at 'heart of Europe'

But critics say prime minister is being too timid in his post-Brexit reset of relations with the EU



Sir Keir Starmer with European Commission president Ursula von der Leyen. A UK-EU summit is expected in early July © via Reuters

George Parker in London and Andy Bounds in Brussels

Published MAY 11 2026

FINANCIAL TIMES

Brexit + Add to myFT

# Keir Starmer may want closer ties with EU – but will Brussels play ball?

PM tries to timing is po

## UK IN A CHANGING EUROPE

Making social science accessible

BLOGS

### The Prime Minister's new EU clothes



George Parker in London and Andy Bounds in Brussels

Published MAY 11 2026

572

# Sanitary and Phytosanitary Agreement – but what kind?

## Timely dynamic alignment?

Source: [European Commission](#), 2021

News story

### UK-EU SPS Agreement - Legislation in scope

To cut red tape and costs for importing and exporting with the EU, the UK will align with EU Sanitary and Phytosanitary (SPS) legislation.

From: [Department for Environment, Food & Rural Affairs](#)

Published 9 March 2026



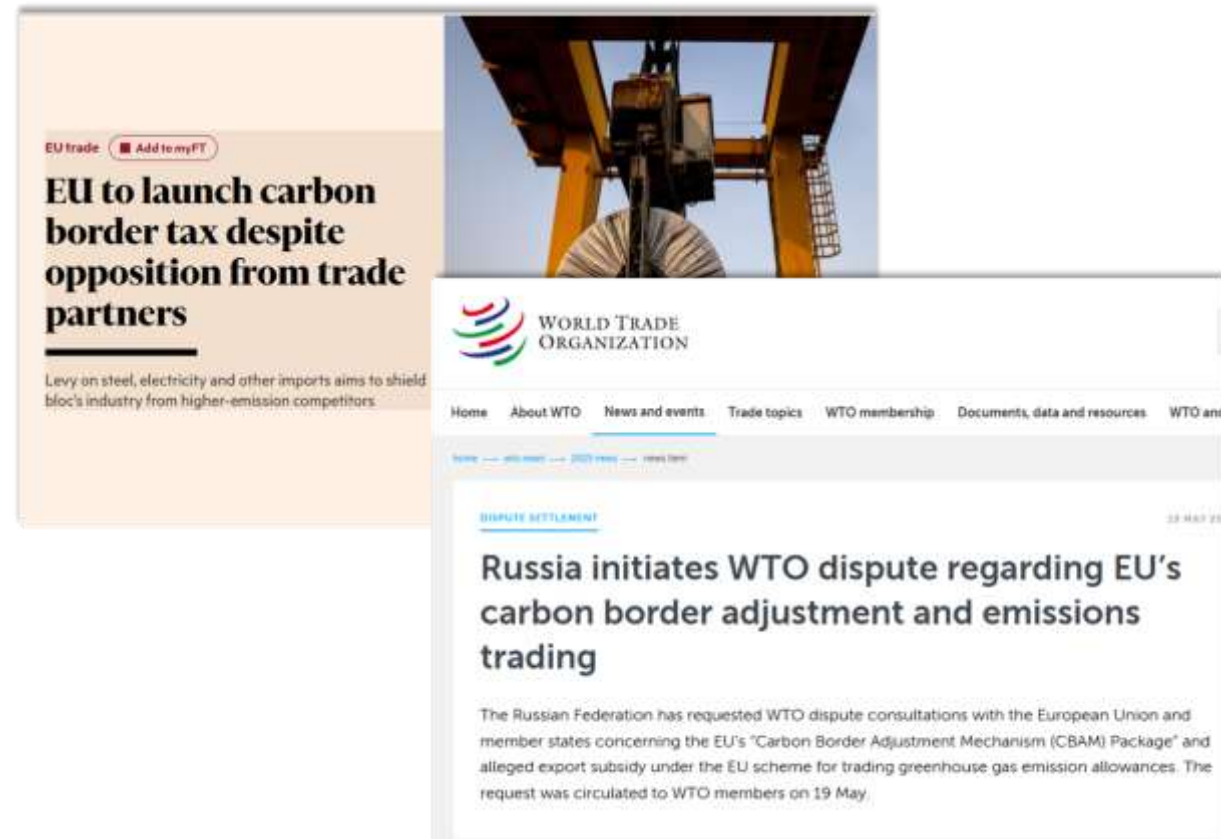
Product	EU-Switzerland style veterinary agreement					EU-New Zealand style veterinary agreement					Other authorised third countries				
	Allowed	Certificate	Frequency of border checks (% according to EU legislation)			Allowed	Certificate	Frequency of border checks (% according to EU legislation)			Allowed	Certificate	Frequency of border checks (% according to EU legislation)		
			Documentary (100%)	Identity (100%)	Physical (15-30%)			Documentary (100%)	Identity (100%)	Physical (15-30%)			Documentary (100%)	Identity (100%)	Physical (15-30%)
Live animals	Yes	Intra-EU	Borderchecks abolished			Yes	Simplified	100%	100%	100%	Yes	Standard	100%	100%	100%
Red meat	Yes	Not required	Borderchecks abolished			Yes	Simplified	100%	100%	1-10%	Yes	Standard	100%	100%	15%
Fresh minced red meat	Yes	Not required	Borderchecks abolished			Banned									
Poultry meat	Yes	Not required	Borderchecks abolished			Yes	Simplified	100%	100%	1-10%	Yes	Standard	100%	100%	100%
Minced poultry meat	Yes	Not required	Borderchecks abolished			Banned									
Fisher products	Yes	Not required	Borderchecks abolished			Yes	Simplified	100%	100%	1-10%	Yes	Standard	100%	100%	15%
Live bivalve molluscs fit for human consumption	Yes	Not required	Borderchecks abolished			Yes	Simplified	100%	100%	1-10%	Yes	Standard	100%	100%	30%
Live bivalve molluscs for purification	Yes	Not required	Borderchecks abolished			Banned									
Dairy products	Yes	Not required	Borderchecks abolished			Yes	Simplified	100%	100%	1-10%	Yes	Standard	100%	100%	30%
Composite products	Yes	Not required	Borderchecks abolished			Yes	Standard	100%	100%	15%	Yes	Standard	100%	100%	15%
Personal imports	Yes	Not required	Borderchecks abolished			Banned									
Pets non-commercial	Yes	Pet Passport	Borderchecks abolished			Yes	Standard	100%	100%	N/A	Yes	Standard	100%	100%	N/A

# Emission Trading Scheme Linkage

## Carbon Pricing Structure

- Cap-and-trade approach
- Border carbon adjustment to address carbon leakage
- Domestic carbon prices on imported products in covered sectors
- Northern Ireland

## Beyond Europe



The image shows two overlapping screenshots. The top-left screenshot is a news article snippet with a light orange background. It features a sub-header 'EU trade' with a red 'Add to myFT' button. The main headline reads 'EU to launch carbon border tax despite opposition from trade partners'. Below the headline, a sub-headline states: 'Levy on steel, electricity and other imports aims to shield bloc's industry from higher-emission competitors'. The top-right screenshot is a webpage from the World Trade Organization (WTO). It features the WTO logo and a navigation menu with links for 'Home', 'About WTO', 'News and events', 'Trade topics', 'WTO membership', 'Documents, data and resources', and 'WTO and...'. The main content area is titled 'DISPUTE SETTLEMENT' and contains the headline 'Russia initiates WTO dispute regarding EU's carbon border adjustment and emissions trading'. The date '22 MAY 2023' is visible in the top right corner of this section. The introductory text below the headline reads: 'The Russian Federation has requested WTO dispute consultations with the European Union and member states concerning the EU's "Carbon Border Adjustment Mechanism (CBAM) Package" and alleged export subsidy under the EU scheme for trading greenhouse gas emission allowances. The request was circulated to WTO members on 19 May.'

# Electricity



Loose  
Coupling

Market  
Coupling

# Closing thoughts

No transition.  
Again?

Future  
Directions

Democratic  
Legitimacy



**Post-Brexit Governance NI**

# Testing the Temperature XV

**LucidTalk/QUB poll, 17-20 April 2026**

Responses: 2,107 (sample 1050 modelled responses)

Margin of error +/- 2.3% at 95% confidence

Report available via:

<https://www.qub.ac.uk/sites/post-brexit-governance-ni/ProjectPublications/OpinionPolling/>

Contacts:

Prof Katy Hayward

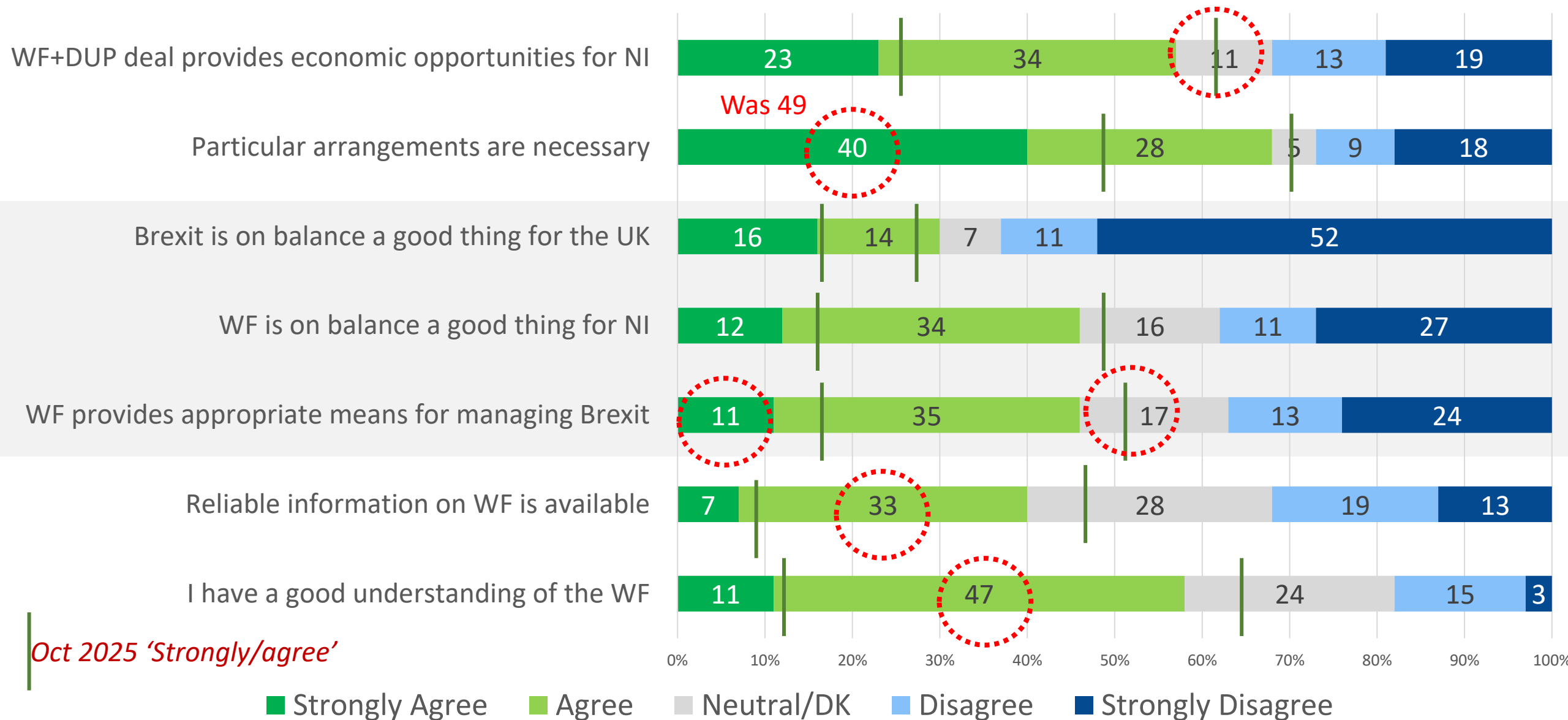
[k.hayward@qub.ac.uk](mailto:k.hayward@qub.ac.uk)

Prof. David Phinnemore

[d.Phinnemore@qub.ac.uk](mailto:d.Phinnemore@qub.ac.uk)

*We are grateful to support from the Schools of History, Anthropology, Philosophy & Politics [HAPP] and Social Sciences, Education & Social Work [SSESW] in Queen's University Belfast for making this poll possible.*

# Opinion of the Windsor Framework

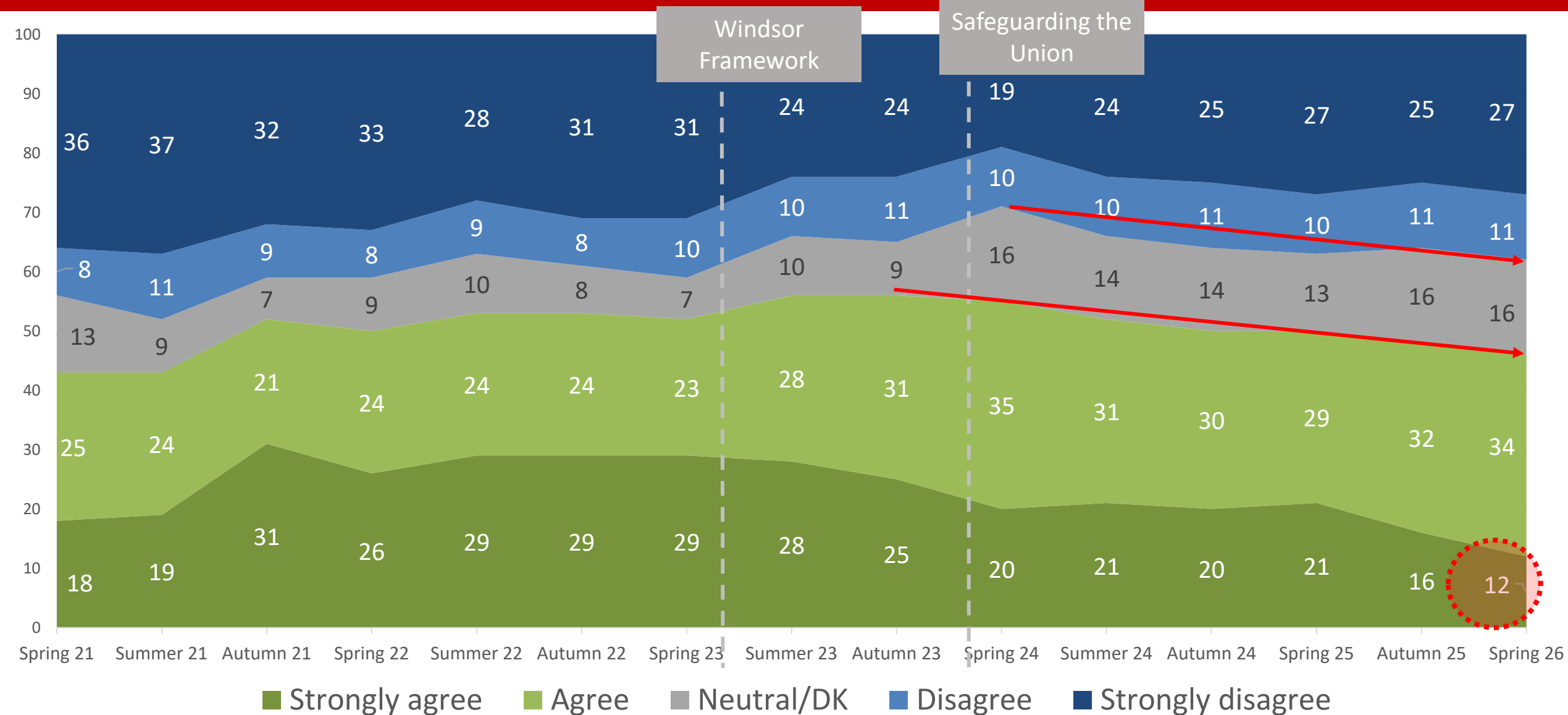


Testing the Temperature XV- What do NI Voters Think about the Protocol/Windsor Framework 17-20 April. Weighted Sample: 1,050

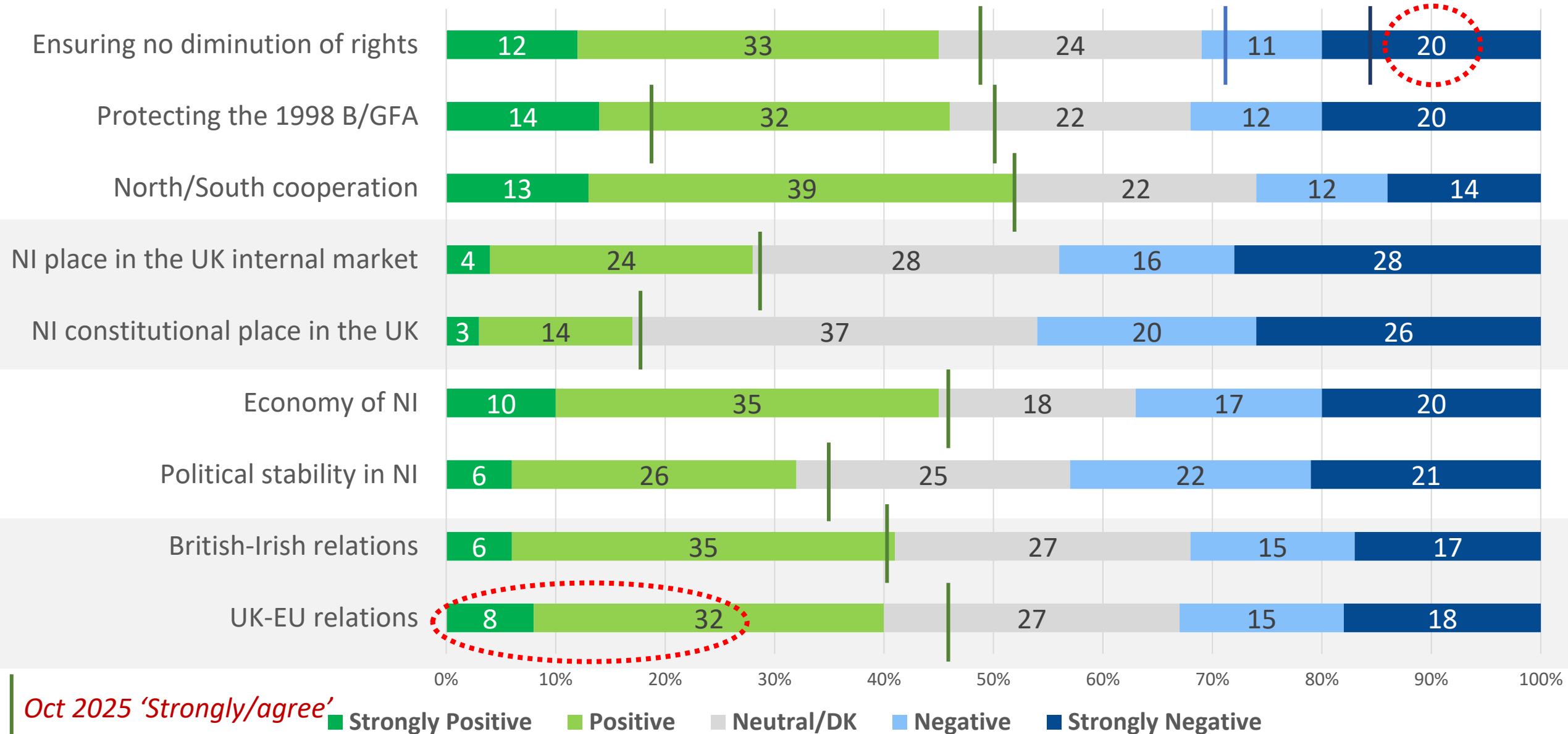
<https://www.qub.ac.uk/sites/post-brexit-governance-ni/ProjectPublications/OpinionPolling/>

# 'Protocol/Windsor Framework is on balance a good thing for Northern Ireland'

(March 2021 – April 2026)



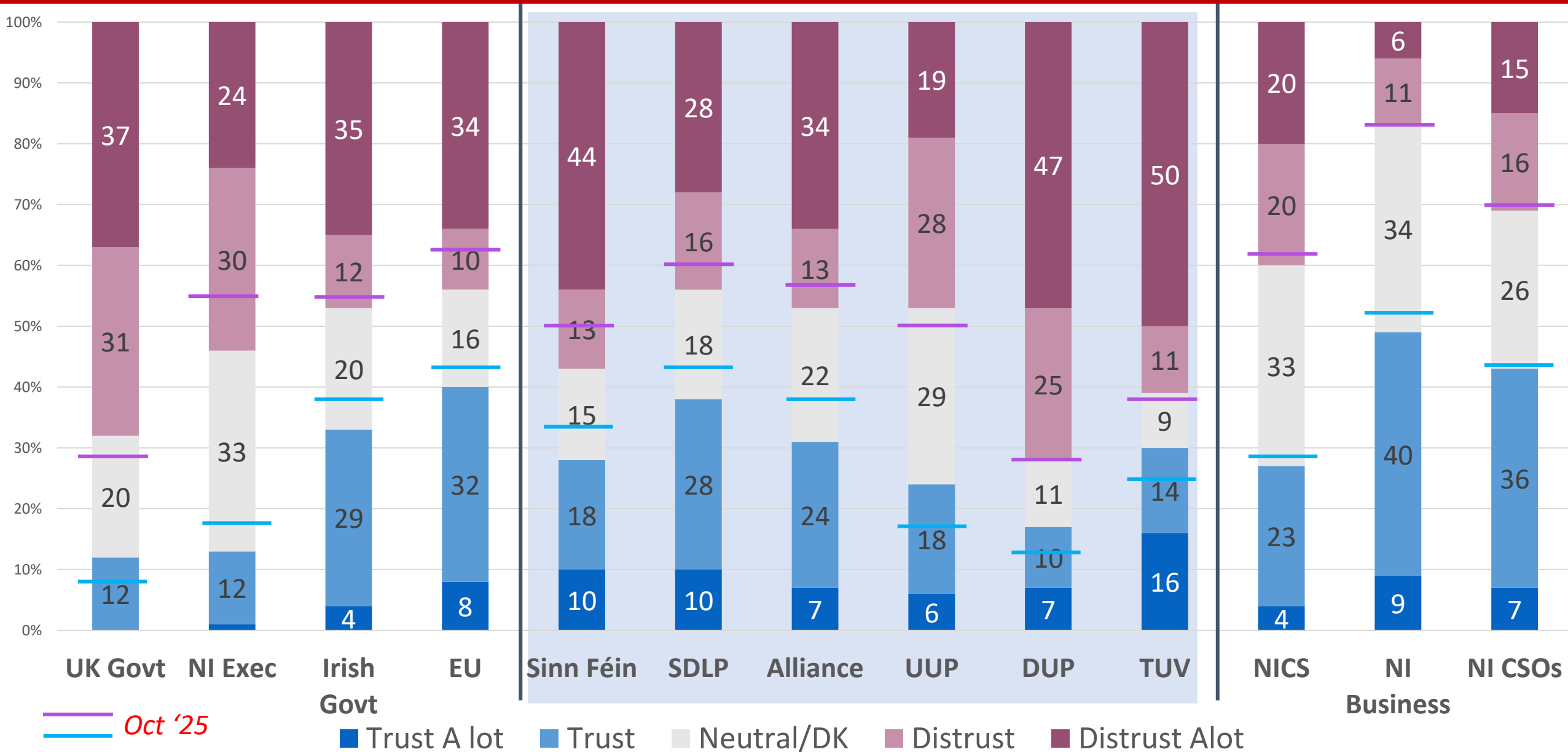
# Perceived Impact of the Protocol/Windsor Framework



Testing the Temperature XV - What do NI Voters Think about the Protocol/Windsor Framework, 17-20 April. Weighted Sample: 1,050

<https://www.qub.ac.uk/sites/post-brexit-governance-ni/ProjectPublications/OpinionPolling/>

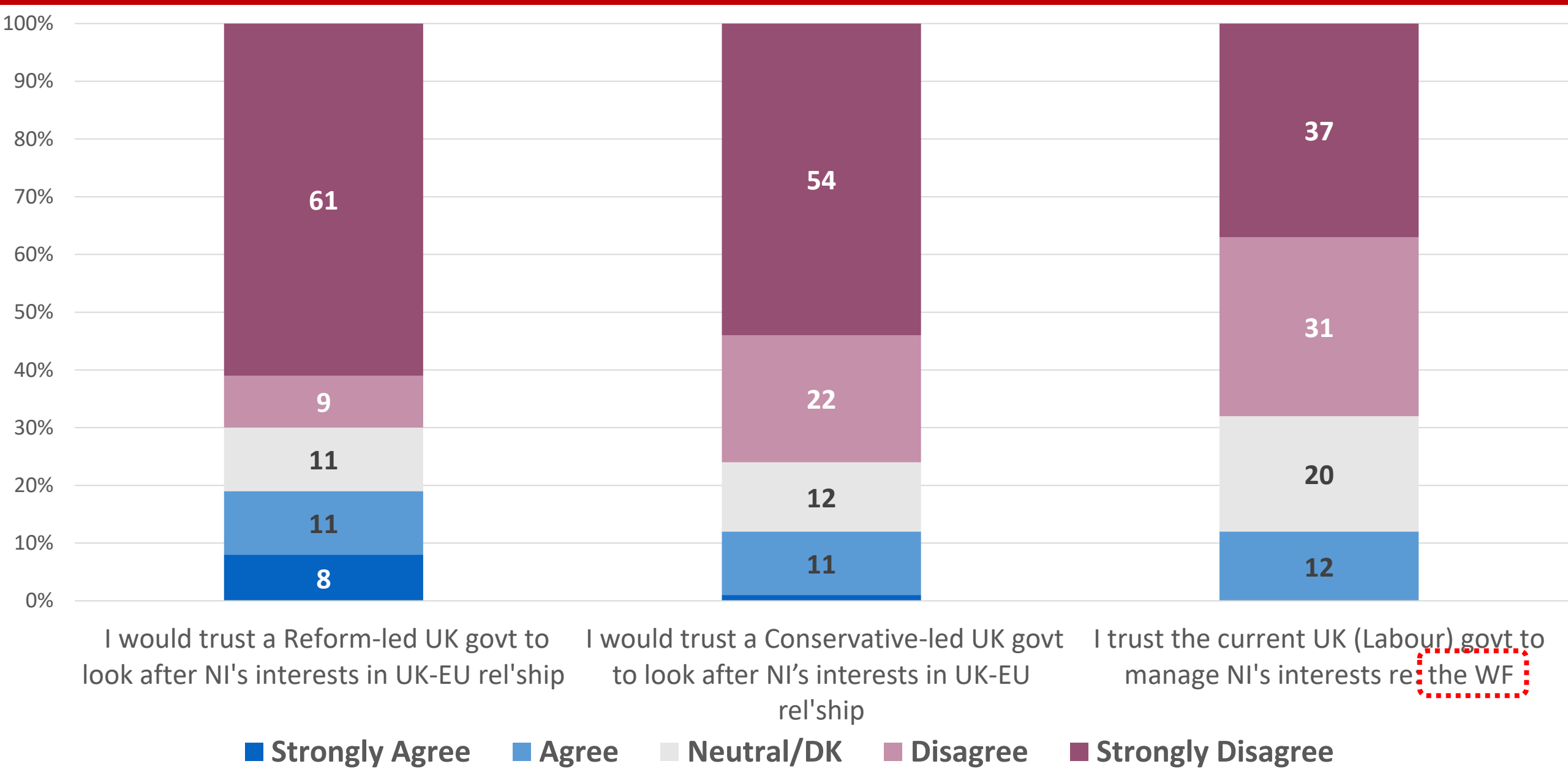
# Trust in Managing NI Interests in Relation to the Windsor Framework (%)



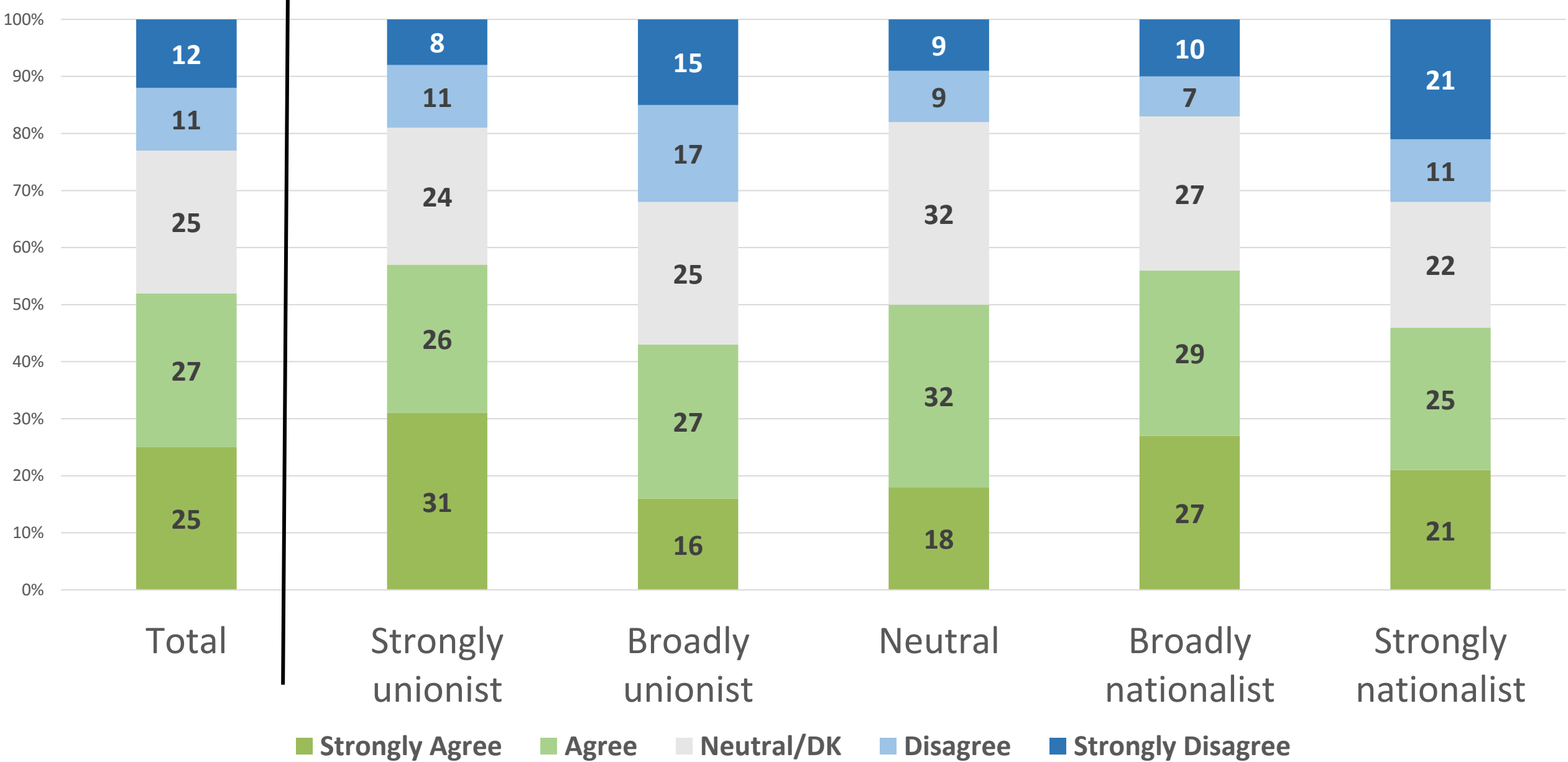
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# Trust in current and possible UK Governments re: NI interests & UK/EU



# My Brexit-related identity (i.e. Leaver or Remainer) is very important to me

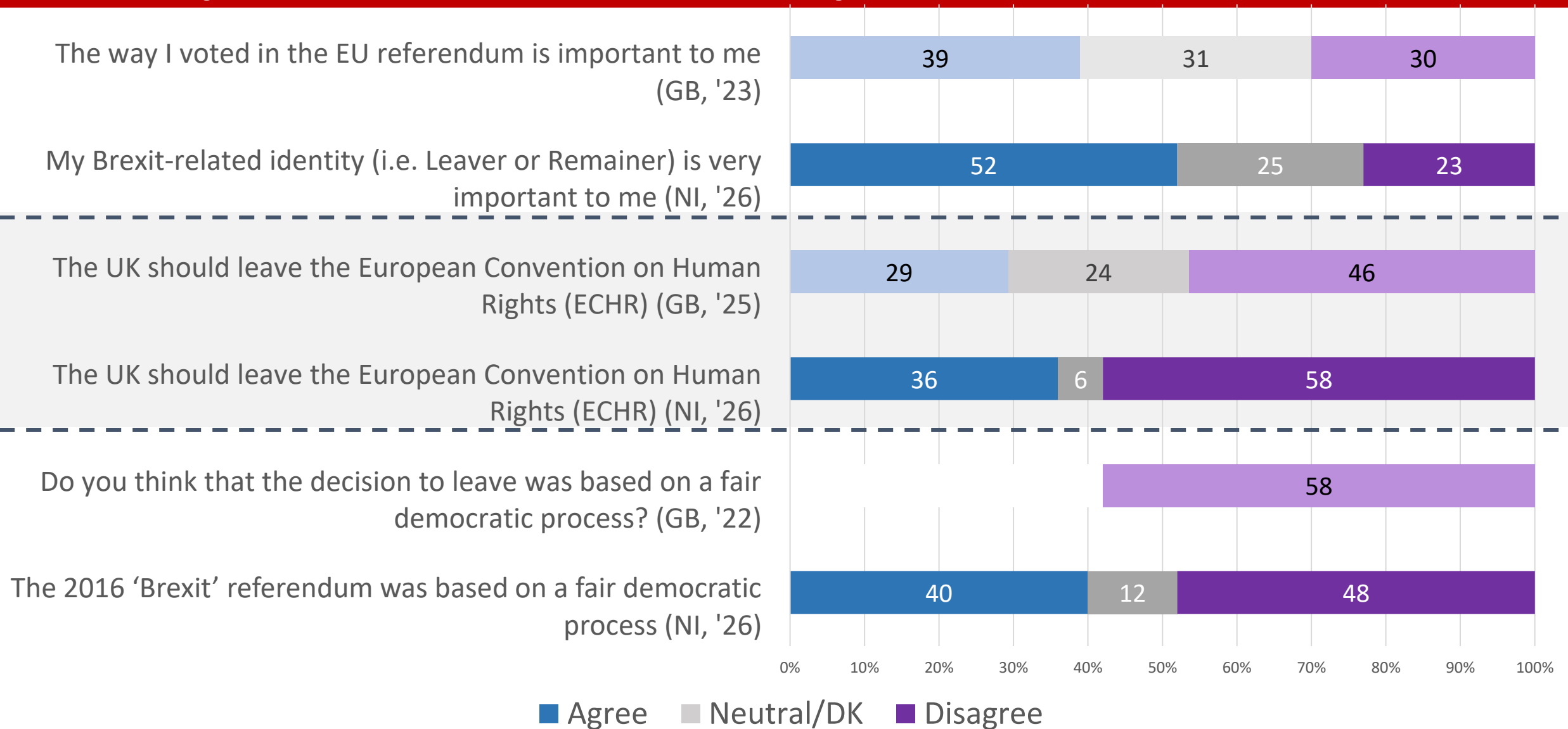


NI: Testing the Temperature XV- What do NI Voters Think about the Protocol/Windsor Framework, 17-20 April 2026. Weighted Sample: 1,050

<https://www.qub.ac.uk/sites/post-brexit-governance-ni/ProjectPublications/OpinionPolling/>



# Opinion on Brexit/UK-EU compared between NI and GB



GB '23: More In Common, 15-19 June 2023. Weighted Sample: c.2,000 (<https://www.moreincommon.org.uk/blog/seven-year-itch-why-leavers-passion-might-be-fading>)

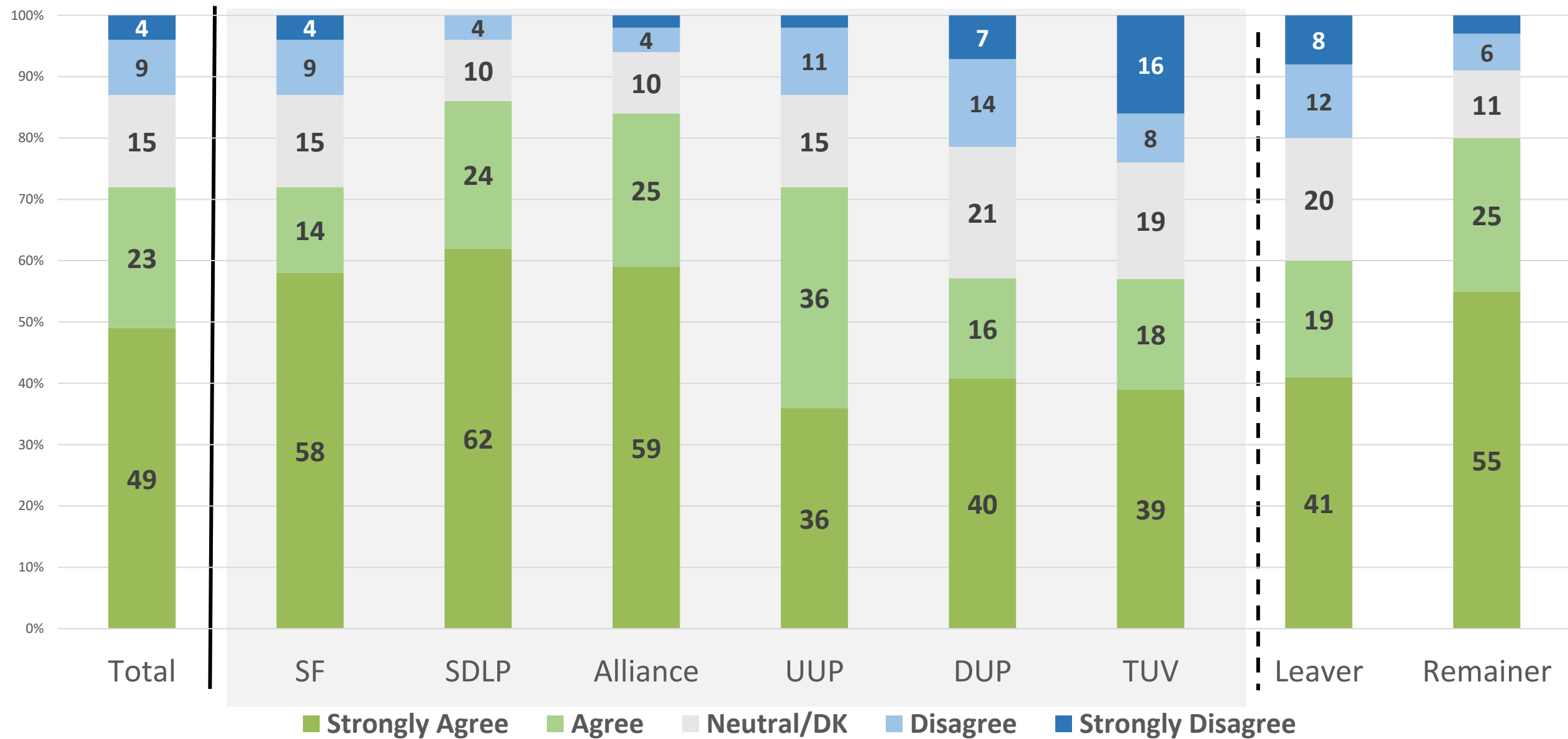
GB '25: YouGov, 6-7 October 2025, Weighted Sample: 2,052 (<https://yougov.com/en-gb/articles/53134-what-do-britons-really-think-about-leaving-the-echr>)

GB '22: YouGov, Hobolt and Tilley (<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/01402382.2023.2168945>)

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(<https://www.qub.ac.uk/sites/post-brexit-governance-ni/ProjectPublications/OpinionPolling/>)

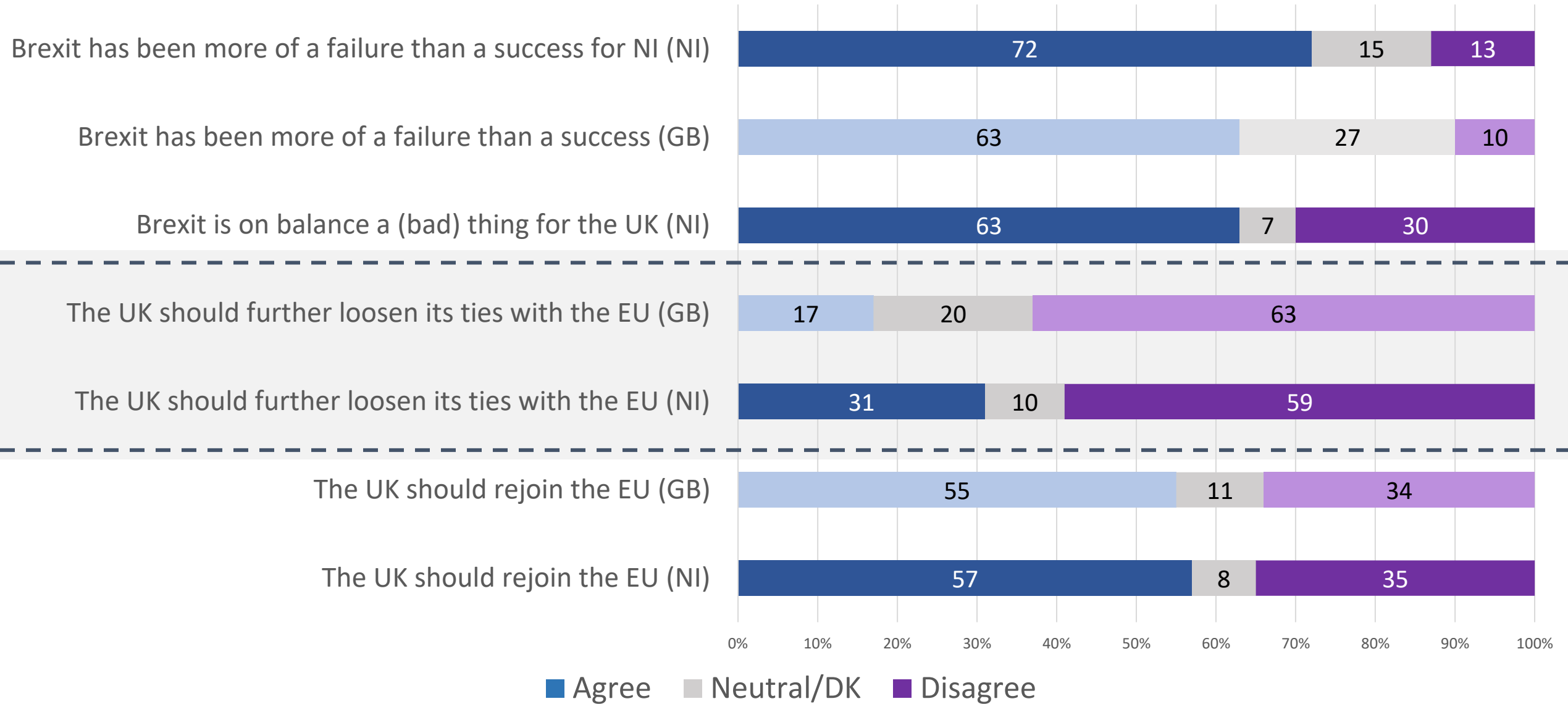
# Brexit has been more of a failure than a success for Northern Ireland



NI: Testing the Temperature XV- What do NI Voters Think about the Protocol/Windsor Framework, 17-20 April 2026. Weighted Sample: 1,050

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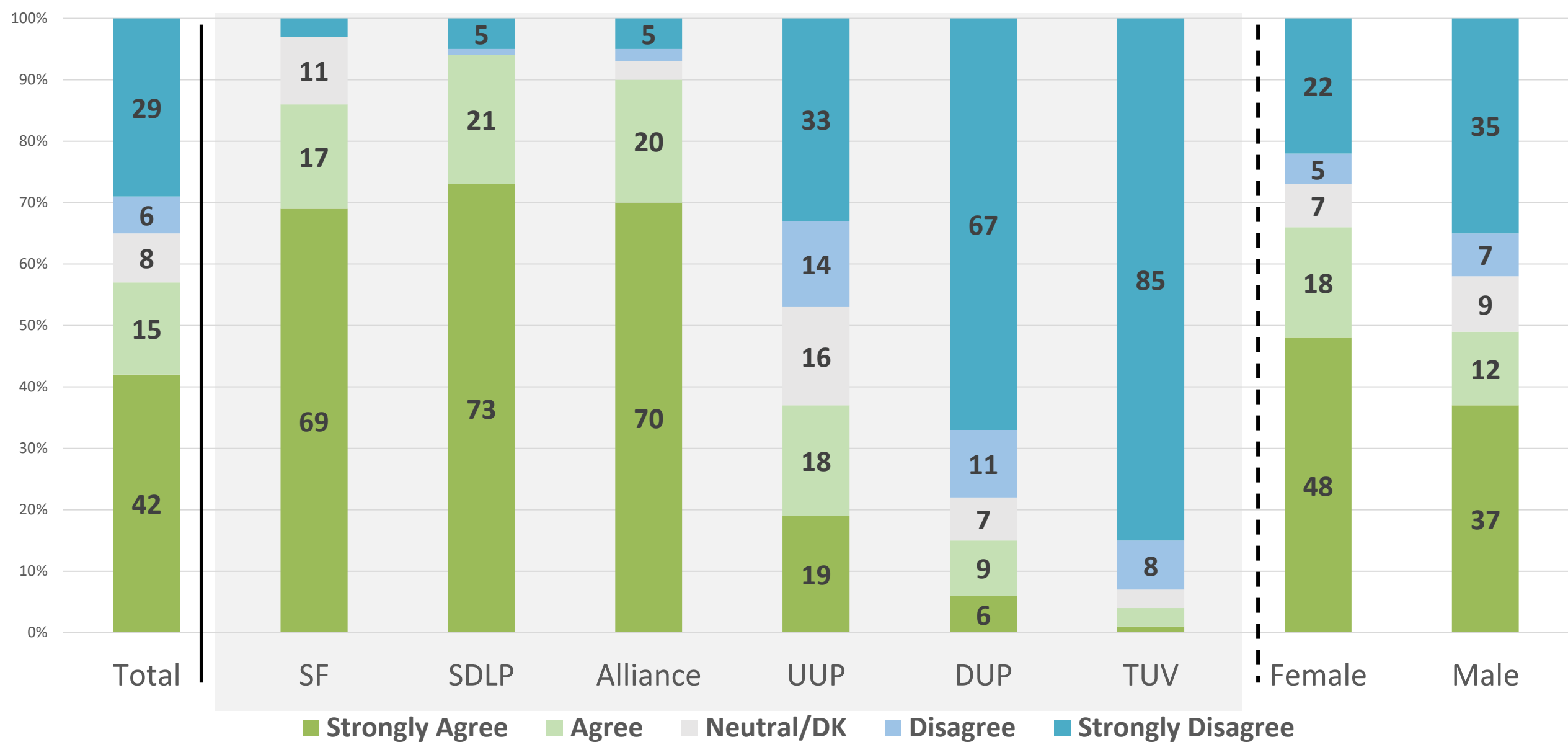


GB: YouGov Brexit Survey, 22-23 February 2026. Weighted Sample: 2,080 ([https://d3nkl3psvxpe9.cloudfront.net/documents/Internal\\_BrexitResults\\_260223.pdf](https://d3nkl3psvxpe9.cloudfront.net/documents/Internal_BrexitResults_260223.pdf))

NI: Testing the Temperature XV- What do NI Voters Think about the Protocol/Windsor Framework, 17-20 April 2026. Weighted Sample: 1,050

(<https://www.qub.ac.uk/sites/post-brexit-governance-ni/ProjectPublications/OpinionPolling/>)

# The UK should rejoin the EU



NI: Testing the Temperature XV- What do NI Voters Think about the Protocol/Windsor Framework, 17-20 April 2026. Weighted Sample: 1,050

<https://www.qub.ac.uk/sites/post-brexit-governance-ni/ProjectPublications/OpinionPolling/>



**Post-Brexit Governance NI**

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# What's Ahead for Northern Ireland with the Windsor Framework?

<b>2026</b>	July	<i>Second EU-UK Summit</i>
	?	<i>UK-EU SPS + ETS Agreements</i>
<b>2027</b>	?	<i>UK-EU Electricity Agreement</i>
	May	<i>NI Assembly Election</i>
<b>2028</b>	Dec	Democratic Consent Vote

## Ongoing

- Amendments and Replacements to EU acts – NI Assembly Democratic Scrutiny Committee... potential for Stormont Brake
- Addition of new EU acts to Windsor Framework – require agreement of UK, possible need for Applicability Motion in NI Assembly



Post-Brexit Clinic

# Northern Ireland, the Windsor Framework and UK-EU Relations



15 May 2026

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