

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- Agreement. (1998). *The Belfast Agreement (Good Friday Agreement)*. Her Majesty's Stationery Office.
<https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/the-belfast-agreement>
- BBC News. (2021). *NI port staff withdrawn amid threats to checks workers*. BBC News.
<https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-northern-ireland-55896732>
- Bodin, J. (1992). *On sovereignty: Four chapters from the Six Books of the Commonwealth* (J. H. Franklin, Trans. & Ed.). Cambridge University Press. (Original work published 1576)
- Centre for European Reform. (2022). *UK science and technology after Brexit: How to fix it*.
<https://www.cer.eu/publications/archive/policy-brief/2022/uk-science-and-technology-after-brexit>
- Chayes, A., & Chayes, A. H. (1995). *The new sovereignty: Compliance with international regulatory agreements*. Harvard University Press.
- Copeland, P., & Maccaferri, M. (2025). Carving up the territorial integrity of the United Kingdom and blaming the European Union for it: The United Kingdom's narration of Northern Ireland's post-Brexit trading status. *The British Journal of Politics and International*

Relations, 27(4), 1546–1566.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/13691481241303274>

Craig, P., & de Búrca, G. (2015). *EU law: Text, cases, and materials* (6th ed.). Oxford University Press.

Creswell, J. W., & Poth, C. N. (2018). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches* (4th ed.). Sage Publications.

Department of Health and Social Care. (2024). *Windsor Framework arrangements for the supply of medicines into Northern Ireland: Impact assessment*. HM Government.
https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukia/2024/21/pdfs/ukia_20240021_en.pdf

Echo Live. (2023, April 25). Framework will ensure North's consumers get same goods as rest of UK, says EU chief. *Echo Live*.
<https://www.echolive.ie/nationalnews/arid-41124865.html>

Electoral Commission. (2016). *EU referendum results and turnout*.
<https://www.electoralcommission.org.uk/who-we-are-and-what-we-do/elections-and-referendums/past-elections-and-referendums/eu-referendum>

European Commission. (2020). *The Protocol on Ireland and Northern Ireland explained*.
<https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/policies/eu-uk-after-referendum/the-protocol-on-ireland-and-northern-ireland-explained/>

European Commission. (2021). *EU-UK Trade and Cooperation Agreement*.

https://commission.europa.eu/strategy-and-policy/relations-non-eu-countries/relations-united-kingdom/eu-uk-trade-and-cooperation-agreement_en

European Commission. (2023). *United Kingdom joins Horizon Europe programme*. European Commission.

European Parliament Research Service. (2020). *UK Internal Market Bill and the Withdrawal Agreement* (PE 659.359). EPRS.
[https://www.europarl.europa.eu/thinktank/en/document/EPRS_BRI\(2020\)659359](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/thinktank/en/document/EPRS_BRI(2020)659359)

Gravey, V., Melo Araujo, B., & Whitten, L.-C. (2023). *Written evidence to the House of Lords European Affairs Committee on the Windsor Framework*. UK Parliament.
<https://committees.parliament.uk/writtenevidence/120898/html/>

Guardian. (2022, May 20). Pelosi warns changes to Northern Ireland Protocol could affect US trade deal with Britain. *The Guardian*.
<https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2022/may/20/pelosi-warns-changes-to-northern-ireland-protocol-could-affect-us-trade-deal-with-britain>

Hansard, House of Lords. (2023, March 29). *Windsor Framework (Democratic Scrutiny) Regulations 2023* [Parliamentary debate]. UK Parliament.

[https://hansard.parliament.uk/lords/2023-03-29/debates/83653E86-7B2F-4534-B2B5-425F81BDBAC3/WindsorFramework\(DemocraticScrutiny\)Regulations2023](https://hansard.parliament.uk/lords/2023-03-29/debates/83653E86-7B2F-4534-B2B5-425F81BDBAC3/WindsorFramework(DemocraticScrutiny)Regulations2023)

HM Government. (2021). *Global Britain in a competitive age: The Integrated Review of Security, Defence, Development and Foreign Policy*.

<https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/global-britain-in-a-competitive-age-the-integrated-review-of-security-defence-development-and-foreign-policy>

HM Government. (2023a). *The Atlantic Declaration: A framework for a twenty-first century U.S.–UK economic partnership*.

<https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/the-atlantic-declaration/the-atlantic-declaration>

HM Government. (2023b). *Initial assessment of impact – Proposed EU regulation on welfare of dogs and cats* (Annex C, Windsor Framework). Department of Agriculture, Environment and Rural Affairs (DAERA) / Defra.

HM Government. (2023c). *The Windsor Framework: A new way forward*

(Command Paper CP 806).

https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/1138989/The_Windsor_Framework_a_new_way_forward.pdf

HM Government. (2023d). *The Windsor Framework: Legal texts*.

<https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/the-windsor-framework-legal-texts>

HM Government. (2024). *Windsor Framework SPS Compliance Protocol:*

Northern Ireland Retail Movement Scheme (NIRMS) [Updated September 2024].

HM Revenue & Customs. (2020). *UK trade in goods statistics: Northern Ireland*.

House of Commons Library. (2023). *The Windsor Framework*. UK Parliament.

<https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/research-briefings/cbp-9736/>

House of Commons Library. (2025). *Statistics on UK trade with the EU* (CBP-7851). UK Parliament.

<https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/research-briefings/cbp-7851/>

House of Lords European Affairs Committee. (2022). *Northern Ireland: International trade and the Windsor Framework*. UK Parliament.

<https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/ld5803/ldselect/ldeuaff/237/23703.htm>

Institute for Government. (2023a). *Disputes under the Withdrawal Agreement*.

<https://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/article/explainer/disputes-under-withdrawal-agreement>

Institute for Government. (2023b). *The options for the UK's trading relationship with the EU*.

<https://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/explainer/options-uks-trading-relationship-eu>

Institute for Government. (2023c). *The Windsor Framework*.

<https://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/explainer/windsor-framework>

InterTradeIreland. (2019). *Annual report and accounts 2019*.

<https://intertradeireland.com>

Irish Times. (2020). Pelosi warns 'no chance' of US–UK trade deal passing

Congress if Brexit law breached. *The Irish Times*.

<https://www.irishtimes.com/news/politics/pelosi-warns-no-chance-of-us-uk-trade-deal-passing-congress-if-brexit-law-breached-1.4350920>

Keohane, R. O. (1984). *After hegemony: Cooperation and discord in the world political economy*. Princeton University Press.

Keohane, R. O., & Nye, J. S. (2012). *Power and interdependence* (4th ed.). Longman.

Krasner, S. D. (1999). *Sovereignty: Organized hypocrisy*. Princeton University Press.

McCrudden, C. (2024). The origins of 'civil rights and religious liberties' in the Belfast-Good Friday Agreement. *Northern Ireland Legal*

Quarterly, 75(3), 443–487.

<https://doi.org/10.53386/nlq.v75iS1.1168>

McKittrick, D., Kelters, S., Feeney, B., Thornton, C., & McVea, D. (2004).

Lost lives: The stories of the men, women and children who died as a result of the Northern Ireland troubles. Mainstream Publishing.

Murphy, Lord of Torfaen. (2025). *Independent review of the Windsor*

Framework. HM Government.

<https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/independent-review-of-the-windsor-framework-report>

Northern Ireland Office. (2025). *Government response to the Independent*

Review of the Windsor Framework. HM Government.

Office for National Statistics. (2023). *UK trade in goods, year in review: 2022*.

<https://www.ons.gov.uk/economy/nationalaccounts/balanceofpayments/articles/uktradeingoodsyarinreview/2022>

Phinnemore, D., Hayward, K., & Whitten, L. C. (2023, May 2). *The*

Windsor Framework: Written evidence submitted to the House of Lords European Affairs Sub-Committee on the Protocol on Ireland/Northern Ireland (IWF0023). House of Lords.

<https://committees.parliament.uk/writtenevidence/120901/pdf/>

Science/AAAS. (2022). U.K. set to abandon Europe's top science funding

program, go it alone. *Science*.

<https://www.science.org/content/article/u-k-set-abandon-europe-s-top-science-funding-program-go-it-alone>

Science/AAAS. (2023). U.K. finally rejoins Horizon Europe research funding scheme. *Science*.

<https://www.science.org/content/article/uk-finally-rejoins-horizon-europe-research-funding-scheme>

Sowels, N. (2024). The changing post-Brexit UK-EU relationship and rules-based global governance. *Global Policy*, 15(S8), 63–68.

<https://doi.org/10.1111/1758-5899.13400>

Supreme Court of the United Kingdom. (2023). *R (on the application of Allister and others) v Secretary of State for Northern Ireland* [2023] UKSC 5.

<https://www.supremecourt.uk/cases/uksc-2022-0086.html>

UK Government & European Commission. (2025). *Joint political declaration on a UK–EU sanitary and phytosanitary agreement*. HM Government.

UK in a Changing Europe. (2023). *UK–EU regulatory divergence tracker: 7th edition* (May 2023). King's College London.
<https://ukandeu.ac.uk/research-papers/regulatory-divergence-tracker-7th-edition/>

UK in a Changing Europe. (2024). *Regulatory divergence and the Windsor Framework*. King's College London.

<https://ukandeu.ac.uk/explainers/regulatory-divergence-and-the-windsor-framework/>

Vattel, E. de. (2008). *The law of nations* (B. Kapossy & R. Whatmore, Eds.). Liberty Fund. (Original work published 1758)

Ward, A. (2022, May 17). Breaching international law comes at a price. *Chatham House*.
<https://www.chathamhouse.org/2022/05/breaching-international-law-comes-price>

Whitten, L. C., & Phinnemore, D. (2025). New regulatory scaffolding for the United Kingdom: Brexit, devolution and the Windsor Framework. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/13691481251396869>