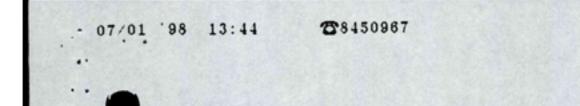
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Multi-Party Talks: Heads/Elements of a Possible Agreement

Constitutional positions

1. Balanced change, based on commitment to the principle of consent in all its aspects by both British and Irish Governments and including changes to Articles 2 and 3 of the Irish Constitution and a new British Constitutional Act.

Institutions

2. There will be new institutions across the three Strands, as follows:

Northern Ireland

There would be democratically elected institutions in Northern Ireland.

In practice, this could involve a Northern Ireland Assembly, elected by a system of proportional representation and exercising devolved executive and legislative responsibility over at least the responsibilities of the six Northern Ireland Departments. There would be arrangements for carrying out executive and administrative functions, either through a cabinet-style Executive or through the Chairmen of Assembly committees. There would be provisions to ensure that these institutions operate on the basis of cross-community agreement, with checks and balances to protect the interests of both communities.

Wider Relationships

These will replace the Anglo-Irish Agreement, will establish closer cooperation and enhanced relationships on these islands and will operate under an Anglo-Irish Intergovernmental Council which will meet twice a year at Head of Government level on the European Union Summit model.

There will also be structures as follows:

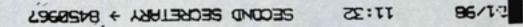
(i) North/South

There will be institutions through which co-operation and common action on the island on matters of mutual concern and interest to the benefit of all will be structured.

In practice these will also operate on the European Union model to bring

together those with executive responsibilities in Northern Ireland and the Irish Government. Each side will remain accountable to, and act within the mandate of, the Northern Ireland Assembly and the Irish Parliament, respectively. All decisions will be by agreement between the two sides, North and South. There will be a general North/South Ministerial Council and there will be sectoral or functional North/South Ministerial Councils. On the basis of policies agreed by both sides in these sectoral or functional





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Councils there will be a number [say ten] executive agencies to implement those policies at an all-island level [together, if agreed, with agencies that will harmonise]. The Councils and the agencies will in turn also be accountable to the elected institutions in their respective jurisdictions and would act in accordance with the arrangements for collective responsibility existing there.

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(ii) British/Irish

There would be institutions through which co-operation and consequential action between the British and Irish Governments and within the two islands will be structured on matters of mutual concern and interest, both generally and in regard to Northern Ireland.

In practice there would be a British-Irish Council at Secretary of State level to deal with the totality of relationships, including the British and Irish Governments, the Northern Ireland administration, and representatives of devolved institutions in the rest of the UK.

There will also be standing Intergovernmental machinery (between the Irish and British Governments) covering non-devolved issues of mutual interest, with which representatives of devolved institutions there would be associated.

Rights, Justice, Prisoners and other Confidence Issues

Rights

There would be provisions to safeguard the rights of both communities in 3. Northern Ireland and address equality and justice issues by way of agreement on arrangements for the comprehensive, systematic and effective protection of fundamental human, civil, political, social, economic and cultural rights.

In practice this could involve a tailor-made Bill of Rights for Northern Ireland, supplementing the provisions of the European Convention in such areas as collective rights, non-discrimination and emergency provisions, with new arrangements for monitoring and enforcement, perhaps through a special Standing Commission. Any necessary and appropriate steps to ensure an equivalent level of rights protection in the South would also be taken.

Justice and Policing

Arrangements and commitments would be agreed in regard to reform in the policing

and justice areas.

In practice this could involve the establishment of a representative and independent commission with the task of bringing forward within a specified timeframe comprehensive proposals, within an agreed framework of principles.



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Prisoners

A broad understanding on a programme of action in regard to the prisoners issue would be a necessary element of a settlement.

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In practice the release dates of all prisoners meeting certain broad criteria would be reviewed within a specified and limited timescale. While each case would have to be considered on its merits, it is envisaged that the vast majority of prisoners qualifying for review would be released within a specified and limited period after the achievement of agreement.

Confidence Issues

There would be agreement on the measures necessary to establish a normal peaceful society.

In practice, this would involve a commitment on the part of the British Government ro reduce troop levels, and to dismantle special security installations. As outlined above, there would also be policing reform.

There would also be a commitment to the decommissioning of illegally-held arms within a fixed timeframe following the reaching of agreement.

The pattern and extent of legally-held weapons would also be examined.

Equality Issues

There would be agreement that all aspects of the settlement, and of the subsequent operation of the institutions and arrangements established under it, would be informed by the principles of equality of treatment, opportunity and advantage, freedom from discrimination for all, and just and equal treatment for the aspirations, identity and ethos of both communities.

The practical implications of these principles for a range of specific issues, including the Irish language, would be urgently considered within an agreed timeframe and resolved to the satisfaction of the parties.

