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**Title:** Irish government memorandum delivered to the British government regarding the British White Paper on Northern Ireland, with specific proposals on power-sharing, the Council of Ireland, and security.

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Memorandum delivered to British Government on 15 March, 1973,  
on the instructions of the Government  
re British White Paper on Northern Ireland to be published  
in March, 1973.

#### POWER-SHARING

Power-sharing should involve not just some representation for the minority community in the executive (a sectarian concept), but participation of political groups in the executive on a basis broadly proportionate to their strength in the Assembly itself elected by P.R., subject of course to a certain minimum size. (It is suggested that the White Paper need not be specific about such matters as the size of constituencies, in respect of which fuller discussion would be desirable). A fair distribution of posts between the parties should also be assured.

It should also involve protection of human rights by means of a blocking mechanism, e.g. 75% vote, in the Assembly on any issue covered by a Bill of Rights. This Bill of Rights should be widely drawn and should include prohibition of discrimination in employment, both public and private, and in housing allocation - matters not covered by the European Convention of Human Rights in which serious gaps exist.

A mechanism may be needed to resolve deadlock in the Executive or the Assembly.

Power-sharing in the Executive should be spelt out in clear terms so that the issue is settled and not left open to further wrangling, or political controversy in Northern Ireland, which would only serve to prolong uncertainty.

#### COUNCIL OF IRELAND

Provision for a Council of Ireland, with specific, clearly-defined functions, should be included in the White Paper. This would be necessary to ensure a climate of welcome from the minority for the White Paper.

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The Council should have an executive decision-making body, comprising Ministers from the Irish Government and the Northern Ireland Executive; a deliberative body of parliamentarians, with equal numbers from both parts of Ireland; and a secretariat with permanent staff. There should of course be provision in parallel for a close Anglo-Irish relationship.

The Council's initial functions should include economic matters of common concern, which in the interest of both parts of Ireland can be best handled by such a body. In respect of such of these matters as may be agreed to be appropriate to the Council, control over development should be devolved to that body. It should also be given the special function of securing the regional development of West Ulster, (viz. the Derry/Donegal area), through a West Ulster Development Authority, which would be supervised by the Council and would have access to the EEC institutions through the Council.

Consideration should be given to a method of working akin in some respects to that of the EEC - viz. proposals for decisions to be made by the neutral Secretariat, discussed by the parliamentary organ, and decided by the Ministerial body.

Finally the Council should have power by agreement to undertake further functions on a basis that would ensure that this could happen only with the consent of a majority in Northern Ireland.

#### SECURITY.

Control of security cannot be given to the Northern Ireland Executive for the foreseeable future: to have such a power would be to place this Executive under impossible strain.

The most essential feature of future security arrangements must be that they be such as to secure acceptance by both communities, and a movement from a situation in which the British Army has to play a major role to one in which police are the main guarantors of security. This will require a restructuring of the police in Northern Ireland; the RUC in its present form will never be acceptable to the minority.