The Framework Document

carefull drafted essay in statecraft

Last week Dr Brendan O'Leary examined the British government's proposals for new Northern structures contained in the Framework Document. This week he looks at the 'flexible blueprint' of the joint Irish-British proposals

HE JOINT text of the British and Irish Governments' A New Tramework for Agreement, document merit extensive consideration: first, its political theory; secondly, its sketch of future North-South and East-West institutions, and finally, its problems and silences.

Pramemork for Agreement, as a carefully drafted essay a stateralt. More essay a stateralt when the signature of the signature of the state of the processes; that of the processes; that of the uspended three strand alks, initiated in 1991 and alted in 1992, and that of eacemaking, formalised in he Joint Declaration of 933 (para 7).

The proposals are not a gid blueprint, but we may the proposals are not a nigit blueprint, but we may the proposals are not a first and the proposals of the political parties of the North as a basis for the proposals of the proposals of the proposals of the two serious togeth. There features of the proposals are not a propos The two governments stress that consent and agreement are the operative values, and that in democratic and peaceful methods are the means behind their proposals. The principle of self-determination is re-endorsed using the words of the Joint Declaration.

"The British government recognize that it is for the pople of Ireland alone, by agreement between the two parts respectively and without external impediment, to exercise their right of self-determination on the basis of consent, freely and concurrently proposed.

Political theory of double protection

Ireland, if that is their wish; the Irish Government accept that the democratic right of self-determination by the people of Ireland as a whole must be achieved and exercised with and subject to the agreement and consent of a majority of the people of Northern Ireland "(para 18)

o governments
Irish self-determiut affirm that its
is to be based on
of two majorities,

and that therefore a majority in Northern Ireland will decide whether it rehand will decide with the Union or joins the Republic.
Each government proposes to change its respective constitutional legislation (the UK's Government of Ireland Act and Articles 2 and 3 of the Irish Constitution) to reflect this agreement, but only as part if debrader settlement is intended to book majoritarianism what Sinn Filin calls the unionist veto — in three

First, the proposed inter-nal arrangements, dis-cussed last week, provide northern nationalists with the capacity to veto majority dominance— either through the collec-



Dr Brendan O'Leary is Reader in Political Science at the London School of Economics and Political Science. He is also advisor to Marjorie Mowlam, British Labour Party spokeswoman on the North. His most recent book, Explaining Northern Ireland, co-authored with John McGarry, is published by Basil Blackwell in April.

tive Presidency or through the requirements for weighted majorities in the Assembly.

Assembly, the establishment of a Charter or Covenant of Rights in both oparts of Ireland would provide what I call 'double in protection'. Entrenching fundamental human rights which equally protect the current alion-in a unified freland, will protect both traditions from majoritarian tyranny. The two Governments are encouraging reciprocity. Irish nationalists with the same rights (now and in the future) which northern nationalists with the same rights (now and in the future) which northern nationalists with the same rights (now and in the future) which northern haltonalists whould presently enjoy now. The purpose is to make existing UK sovereignty over the North, and any future Irish sovereignty over the North, and any future Irish sovereignty over the North, and any future Irish sovereignty over the North-South and East-West institutions are designed to satisfy the current inhority's aspirations by establishing a significant Irish dimension, and to give them overarching protection through the Inter-Governmental Conference.

Institutions: North-South

As we all know a new North-South body is pro-posed. It would operate by agreement between North-ern and Southern repre-sentatives, and would have

(1) an embryonic Irish federal level of government across the island (as nauonalists hope);

The body could discharge or oversee executive, harmonising or consultative functions which the two governments would initially delegate, but which could be supplemented by agreement between the North and the South, and the body would have the right to propose its own expansion.

The two governments fall short of specifying exactly

a range of functions bilaterally overseen by committee chairs in the North and Ministers from Dáil Éireann.

As with the Trinity it has the advantage that believers can choose which of the three aspects they most wish to worship. However, profound disputes are likely to arise about which of the three aspects to or should be dominant.

East-West Structures

Under a new agreement the standing Inter-Govern-mental Conference estab-

the text they 'llustrate' virtually every conceivable aspect of public policy apart from foreign affairs and security. what functions they have in mind, but clearly they anticipate the delegation of European Union matters, especially those of a 'cross-Border or Island-wide' nature (para 26), and in the text they 'llustrate' virtually every conceivable

Within the functions devolved to Northern Ireland the British government declares that it has no limits of its own to impose on the nature of the functions which could be delegated to a North-South body — which clearly leaves it open to unionists to propose whatever limits they deem fit However, the North-South body is to be established and maintained by the two parliaments (Westminster and the Oireachtas), not by the northern Assembly.

So what is the nature of the North-South body? It might be simultaneously three things, rather like the mystery of the Trinity:

(11) a set of intergovernmental arrangements between sovereign
states decitated to rational
co-operation (which many
unionists can accept); and

(111) an embryonic Euro-federal level of gov-ernment across the island.

committed the British government to develop North-South institutions come what may, so unions ists might as well start negotiating in their own interests.

The Inter-Governmental to Conference will promote, support and underwrite the anticipated agreement of the anticipated agreement of the anticipated agreement of the anticipated agreement of the substitution of the verb to underwrite must beam to sign and accept liability for. The two governments, as with the existing Conference, will agree a procedure to resolve the differences between them (para 46).

This passage, which has been insufficiently remarked upon, appears to indicate a British willing ness to accept mediation when it is in dispute with the Irish Government—and of indicate a British willing ness to accept mediation on the status quo.

Paragraph 47 is the one with the Irish Government and a default mechanism: If the internal airangements in the North accased to operate the British Government in the North ceased to operate the British Government in the North ceased to operate the British Government in the North ceased to operate the British Government in the North ceased to operate the British Government in the North ceased to operate the British Government in the North ceased to operate the British Government in the North ceased to operate the British Government in the North ceased to operate the British Government in the North ceased to operate the British Government in the North ceased to operate the British Government in the North ceased to operate the British Government in the North South body would be maintained. The text has at least two meanings. It may simply be proposing an agreed of a default mechanism which unionists are invited to accept or to negotiate away. It may additionally spell a latent treat to unionists: the Joint Declaration has

lished by the Anglo-Irish Agreement of 1985 will be maintained, though it will not discuss matters devolved to Northern Ireland — except where the continuing responsibilities of the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland are involved (paras 44-45). This passage may be significant because judicial matters, which are not technically within the Secretary of State's brief, may not be open to Inter-Governmental Conference, though clearly all aspects of security will (at least until this function is devolved).

Problematic Silences

The two documents contain enormous food for political hought, and political indigestion. They are the most far-reaching and intelligent texts yet produced by the two governments and let us hope they lead to fruitful negotiations. However, I will finish by pointing to three awkward stiences. First, the two texts are vague and arguably incommission that the producing and the finter-Governmental Conference would have no formal capacity to consider judicial appointments, or even the workings of the pudicial system. Any significant relivention of treland, especially one built around providing identical productions, North and South, requires explicit proposals to protect the same human and collective rights, and arguand collective rights, and arguand effective thirf-party intervention would be institutional.

Secondly, apart from the Secondly, apart from the Secondly, apart from the difference of the second second

make two reasonable inferences. If there is no resumption of war there is no resumption of war there will also be no return to the status quo ante. What would emerge instead would be direct rule with green guidance; a British commitment to 'rigorous impartiatity' and 'parity of esteem in the conduct of public policy; renewed inter-governmental co-operation (including mediation and arbitration procedures to resolve differences between London and Dublish); and the incorporation of elected northern nationalists and all quangoes, including North-south quangoes.

Direct rule with green guidance would continue until a new set of cross-community negotiations delivered a balanced constitutional settlement, or alternatively, until demographic and electoral reliange delivered a united ireland

HOW MIGHT A CARVE UP WORK?

Brendan O'Leary apologies for sending the wrong calculations in his article last week - he can office the bled haste of composition for the errors.

The table illustrating the d'Hondie rule should have read as follows, with the numbers in brackets representing chairs in the order in which they should be allocated: sending the wrong calculations in his article last week - he can for the errors.

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Rule 1, D'Hondt	Hond:					
divisors	Sinn Fein	SDLP	Alliance	UUP	DUR	Others
_	11(6)	23(2)	7(10)	31(1)	15(<u>4</u>)	w
2	5.5	11 S(S)		15.5(3)	7.5(9)	
<u>~</u>		7.7(8)		10.3(7)		
TOTAL	-		-		7	>

illustrating the Sainte-Lague rule, by contrast, should have read as follows

Forumatily, the corrected tables make the point I wanted to make much better! Sinn Fein, the DUP and the Allance Party would do better out of the Sanne-Lague rule, that is they would get committee chairs in a better order, whereas the UUP and the SDLP will do better out of the d'Hondi rule, the rule used in European Parlament