Northern Ireland Troubles (Legacy and Reconciliation) Bill

THIRD

MARSHALLED LIST OF AMENDMENTS TO BE MOVED

IN COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE HOUSE

The amendments have been marshalled in accordance with the Instruction of 23rd November 2022, as follows –

Clauses 1 and 2
Schedule 1
Clauses 3 to 6
Schedule 2
Clauses 7 to 9
Schedule 3
Clauses 10 to 14
Schedule 4
Clauses 15 to 26
Schedules 5 and 6
Clauses 27 and 28

Schedule 7 Clauses 29 to 39 Schedules 8 and 9 Clause 40 Schedule 10 Clauses 41 and 42 Schedule 11 Clauses 43 to 52 Schedule 12 Clauses 53 to 58 Title.

[Amendments marked \bigstar are new or have been altered]

Amendment No.

Clause 18

LORD DODDS OF DUNCAIRN LORD WEIR OF BALLYHOLME LORD MORROW LORD BROWNE OF BELMONT

116 Page 16, line 35, at end insert –

- "(6A) *Condition D:* the immunity requests panel is satisfied that P is not engaged in activity that is likely to be understood by a reasonable person as precluding reconciliation.
 - (6B) For the purposes of subsection (6A), "activity" means conduct, speech or writing of any description by P which serves to publicise and promote P's disclosed conduct or glorify the commission, preparation or instigation of any Troubles-related offence.
 - (6C) For the purposes of subsection (6A), "activity" means any activity described in subsection (6B) irrespective of whether P seeks or receives financial reward."

HL Bill 37 – III

58/3

This amendment would require an individual to be disengaged from activity which would be reasonably regarded as precluding reconciliation in order to be eligible for immunity from prosecution.

- 117 Page 16, line 35, at end insert
 - "(6A) If Condition D is not met because P is found by the immunity request panel to have engaged in activity that is likely to be understood by a reasonable person as precluding reconciliation, the Chief Commissioner must direct the Commissioner for Investigations to examine whether an offence under section 1 (encouragement of terrorism) of the Terrorism Act 2006 or section (*Offence of glorifying terrorism: Northern Ireland*) of this Act may have been committed by P and submit a prosecution file to the Public Prosecution Service for consideration and direction."

Member's explanatory statement

This amendment is intended to require the Commissioner for Investigations to refer a file to the PPS when an individual is found to have engaged in activity likely to prevent reconciliation.

- 118 Page 16, line 35, at end insert
 - "(6A) *Condition D:* P has not fled the jurisdiction of any court in the United Kingdom or Ireland after being arrested or charged or being the subject of a warrant issued in connection with any Troubles-related offence."

Member's explanatory statement

This amendment is intended to prevent the grant of immunity to any person subject to active proceedings who has moved abroad to escape prosecution.

LORD BROWNE OF LADYTON BARONESS O'LOAN

119 Page 16, line 36, leave out "C" and insert "D"

Member's explanatory statement

This is a consequential amendment.

BARONESS SUTTIE BARONESS RITCHIE OF DOWNPATRICK

120 Page 16, line 39, leave out paragraphs (b) and (c)

Member's explanatory statement

This amendment is to probe the meaning of "general immunity from prosecution".

121 Page 17, line 1, leave out subsection (9)

Member's explanatory statement

This amendment is consequential on Baroness Suttie's amendment to page 16, line 39 to probe the meaning of "general immunity from prosecution".

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BARONESS O'LOAN LORD MURPHY OF TORFAEN LORD HAIN BARONESS RITCHIE OF DOWNPATRICK

122 Page 17, line 6, at end insert "arising from P's disclosed conduct."

Member's explanatory statement

This amendment in the name of Baroness O'Loan requires the description of all identified possible offences which P has disclosed.

123 Page 17, line 22, leave out "not"

Member's explanatory statement

This amendment in the name of Baroness O'Loan makes a grant of immunity from prosecution revokable.

LORD HAIN LORD CORMACK BARONESS SUTTIE BARONESS RITCHIE OF DOWNPATRICK

- Page 17, line 22, leave out "not be revoked" and insert "be granted on terms set by the ICRIR.
 - (14A) P is not eligible for immunity under this section unless P complies with such requirements as the ICRIR may impose, including
 - (a) attendance at a specified place, and
 - (b) provision of fingerprints and non-intimate samples.
 - (14B) The ICRIR may revoke immunity from prosecution if -
 - (a) P engages in any activity as set out in sections 11 to 13 of the Terrorism Act 2000,
 - (b) P is assessed by the ICRIR, in conjunction with the PSNI, to be a danger to the public,
 - (c) P approaches a victim in the case of injury or a victim's family in relation to a death without the consent of the victim or victim's family (as the case may be), or
 - (d) P seeks financial gain from the incident or incidents for which immunity has been granted."

Member's explanatory statement

This amendment gives the ICRIR discretion to impose "licence" conditions on those being granted immunity similar to early release arrangements. A breach of these conditions would not result in a return to prison since they had not been there in the first place but it could leave them open to prosecution as if immunity had not been granted.

LORD CAINE

125 Page 17, line 22, after "revoked" insert ", except by a court under section (*False statements: revocation of immunity*)."

Member's explanatory statement

This amendment is in consequence of new Clause False statements: revocation of immunity.

BARONESS O'LOAN LORD MURPHY OF TORFAEN LORD HAIN BARONESS RITCHIE OF DOWNPATRICK

126 Page 17, line 22, after "revoked" insert "if P is shown not to have complied with the requirements of subsection (3) of this section."

Member's explanatory statement

This amendment in the name of Baroness O'Loan provides the circumstances in which immunity from prosecution may be revoked.

LORD DODDS OF DUNCAIRN LORD WEIR OF BALLYHOLME LORD MORROW LORD BROWNE OF BELMONT

Page 17, line 30, at end insert –

"(16A) Nothing in this Act confers any immunity from prosecution (after immunity has been granted to P) if P commits an offence under section 1 (encouragement of terrorism) of the Terrorism Act 2006 or section (*Offence of glorifying terrorism: Northern Ireland*) of this Act."

Member's explanatory statement

This amendment is intended to clarify that the granting of immunity under this Bill does not preclude prosecution of an individual for offences of encouraging and glorifying terrorism.

LORD CAINE

128 Page 17, line 31, leave out "section 19" and insert "Schedule (*No immunity in certain circumstances*)"

Member's explanatory statement

This amendment is in consequence of new Schedule No immunity in certain circumstances.

LORD MURPHY OF TORFAEN BARONESS O'LOAN BARONESS RITCHIE OF DOWNPATRICK BARONESS SUTTIE

The above-named Lords give notice of their intention to oppose the Question that Clause 18 stand part of the Bill.

Member's explanatory statement

This has been tabled to facilitate a general debate around the proposed immunity scheme.

Clause 19

LORD CAINE

Lord Caine gives notice of his intention to oppose the Question that Clause 19 stand part of the Bill.

The provision made by Clause 19 is moved to the new Schedule No immunity in certain circumstances.

Clause 21

BARONESS O'LOAN LORD MURPHY OF TORFAEN LORD HAIN BARONESS RITCHIE OF DOWNPATRICK

129 Page 20, line 9, after "any" insert "investigation or"

Member's explanatory statement

This amendment is consequential upon the amendments in the name of Baroness O'Loan to Clause 2.

130 Page 20, line 12, leave out subsection (4)

Member's explanatory statement

This amendment would impose an obligation on the ICRIR to seek all information which may undermine or assist verification of P's account.

131 Page 20, line 24, leave out subsections (7) and (8)

Member's explanatory statement

These amendments would enable the Chief Commissioner to make independent decisions about the granting of immunity without having regard to guidance issued by the Secretary of State.

After Clause 22

LORD DODDS OF DUNCAIRN LORD WEIR OF BALLYHOLME LORD MORROW LORD BROWNE OF BELMONT

132 Insert the following new Clause –

"Revocation of immunity

- (1) This section applies if a person (P) has been granted immunity from prosecution for the offence under section 18, but later evidence is submitted to the immunity requests panel established under section 21 which the panel considers to be conclusive evidence that Condition D in section 18 is not met because P is, or has, engaged in activity that is likely to be understood by a reasonable person as precluding reconciliation.
- (2) This section applies if, after the immunity requests panel has ceased to operate, the Secretary of State considers that there is conclusive evidence that Condition D in section 18 is not met because P is, or has, engaged in activity that is likely to be understood by a reasonable person as precluding reconciliation.
- (3) Where subsection (1) or (2) applies, the immunity of P under this Act is revoked.

After Clause 22 - continued

(4) Where P's immunity is revoked under subsection (3), any new request for immunity by P under section 18 must not be granted by the immunity requests panel for any identified possible offence within the scope of the revoked immunity.

Member's explanatory statement

This new Clause requires the permanent revocation of immunity granted under the Bill in the event that the immunity requests panel or the Secretary of State is satisfied that an individual has engaged in activity that precludes reconciliation.

Clause 23

BARONESS O'LOAN LORD MURPHY OF TORFAEN LORD HAIN BARONESS RITCHIE OF DOWNPATRICK

133 Page 21, line 28, at beginning insert "an investigation or"

Member's explanatory statement

This amendment extends the situations in which the Commissioner for Investigations may refer relevant conduct to the Prosecutor to include investigation as well as review.

134 Page 21, line 30, at beginning insert "an investigation or"

Member's explanatory statement

This amendment is consequential upon the amendments in the name of Baroness O'Loan to Clause 2.

LORD HAIN LORD CORMACK BARONESS SUTTIE BARONESS RITCHIE OF DOWNPATRICK

135 Page 21, line 32, leave out "may" and insert "must"

Member's explanatory statement

This amendment would require the Commissioner to refer conduct to a prosecutor where the Commissioner considers that there is evidence the conduct constitutes an offence by an individual whose identity is known to the Commissioner.

LORD HAIN LORD HOGAN-HOWE BARONESS O'LOAN

Page 22, line 3, at end insert –

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"(3A) Where a Troubles-related offence or suspected offence is referred to a prosecutor, the Secretary of State must make payments or provide other resources to, or in respect of, the prosecutor in connection with any necessary investigation to decide whether to prosecute an individual.

Clause 23 - continued

- (3B) Where a decision is made to prosecute such an individual, the Secretary of State must make payments or provide other resources to, or in respect of, the prosecutor in addition to the payments or resources under subsection (3A) in connection with the prosecution.
- (3C) The amounts to be paid under subsections (3A) and (3B) may be set by regulations.
- (3D) Regulations under this section are subject to the affirmative procedure."

LORD CAINE

Page 22, line 10, leave out from "or" to end of line 12 and insert "the other harmful conduct, to which the review relates (the "main conduct"), and

(b) any other conduct that relates to, or is otherwise connected with, the main conduct,

and for this purpose other conduct is to be regarded as connected with the main conduct, in particular, if all of that conduct formed part of the same event."

Member's explanatory statement

This expands the kinds of conduct that can be referred to a prosecutor after an ICRIR review relating to a death or other harmful conduct. Other conduct related to or connected with the death or other harmful conduct can also be referred.

BARONESS O'LOAN LORD MURPHY OF TORFAEN LORD HAIN BARONESS RITCHIE OF DOWNPATRICK

138 Page 22, line 12, after "the" insert "investigation or"

Member's explanatory statement

This amendment is consequential upon the amendments in the name of Baroness O'Loan to Clause 2.

After Clause 23

LORD CAINE

139 Insert the following new Clause –

"False statements: offence

- (1) A person commits an offence by making a false statement to the ICRIR in connection with any of its functions under sections 9 to 22.
- (2) For the purposes of this section
 - (a) a person makes a false statement by
 - (i) making a statement which the person knows to be false in a material respect, or
 - (ii) recklessly making a statement which is false in a material respect;

After Clause 23 - continued

- (b) "making a statement" includes giving an account in connection with a request for immunity under section 18.
- (3) A person guilty of an offence under this section is liable
 - (a) on conviction on indictment, to imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years or a fine or both;
 - (b) on summary conviction in Northern Ireland, to imprisonment for a term not exceeding six months or a fine not exceeding the statutory maximum or both;
 - (c) on summary conviction in England and Wales, to imprisonment for a term not exceeding the general limit in a magistrates' court or a fine or both;
 - (d) on summary conviction in Scotland, to imprisonment for a term not exceeding 12 months or a fine not exceeding the statutory maximum or both.
- (4) Proceedings for an offence under this section may be instituted -
 - (a) in Northern Ireland, only by or with the consent of the Director of Public Prosecutions for Northern Ireland;
 - (b) in England and Wales, only by or with the consent of the Director of Public Prosecutions."

Member's explanatory statement

This amendment prohibits (knowingly or recklessly) providing a statement to the ICRIR that is materially false.

140 Insert the following new Clause –

"False statements: revocation of immunity

- (1) This section applies where
 - (a) a court is sentencing a person for an offence under section (*False statements: offence*),
 - (b) the offence was committed by the person in the course of requesting a grant of immunity under section 18, and
 - (c) the person was granted an immunity as a result of the request.
- (2) The court must revoke that immunity when passing sentence.
- (3) A revocation of immunity under this section
 - (a) has immediate effect;
 - (b) has effect in relation to the entire grant of the immunity, but not any other grant of immunity to that person;
 - (c) does not prevent a person making a further request for immunity under section 18 (but see Part 2 of Schedule (*No immunity in certain circumstances*) for provision about requests that overlap with revoked immunities)."

This amendment requires courts, following a conviction for the offence, in new Clause False statements: offence, of making a false statement, to revoke any immunity granted under Clause 18 if the false statement was made in the course of applying for that immunity.

Clause 24

BARONESS O'LOAN LORD MURPHY OF TORFAEN LORD HAIN BARONESS RITCHIE OF DOWNPATRICK

Page 22, line 36, at end insert –

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"although any such person may voluntarily provide information to the ICRIR."

Member's explanatory statement

This amendment provides for the voluntary provision of information to the ICRIR in circumstances in which the ICRIR is not permitted to seek such information.

142 Page 22, line 41, leave out paragraph (a)

Member's explanatory statement

This amendment would enable the provision of information for the purposes of the production of an historical record even where there is an obligation of confidentiality, though not a statutory obligation, owed by the holder of that information.

143 Page 23, line 9, after "which" insert "investigations or"

Member's explanatory statement

This amendment is consequential upon the amendments in the name of Baroness O'Loan to Clause 2.

Clause 27

BARONESS O'LOAN LORD MURPHY OF TORFAEN LORD HAIN BARONESS RITCHIE OF DOWNPATRICK

144 Page 24, line 15, at end insert "investigation or"

Member's explanatory statement

This amendment is consequential upon the amendments in the name of Baroness O'Loan to Clause 2.

Clause 31

BARONESS SMITH OF NEWNHAM

145 Page 26, line 22, leave out "negative" and insert "affirmative"

This amendment would require regulations under this Clause to be made by the affirmative procedure.

Clause 34

LORD BROWNE OF LADYTON BARONESS O'LOAN LORD MURPHY OF TORFAEN

146 Page 28, line 10, leave out "continued or"

Member's explanatory statement

This probing amendment deletes "continued or" from Clause 34(1).

LORD HAIN LORD HOGAN-HOWE **BARONESS O'LOAN**

Page 28, line 10, at end insert –

"(1A) This section does not prevent the continuation of Operation Denton, commenced in February 2020 under the overall command of former Chief Constable Jon Boutcher."

Member's explanatory statement

Operation Denton is reviewing alleged offences, including 127 alleged murders, linked to the Glenanne Gang. It is scheduled to conclude in Spring 2024. This amendment would stop this investigation from being passed to the ICRIR to complete.

Clause 35

LORD MURPHY OF TORFAEN BARONESS RITCHIE OF DOWNPATRICK

Page 28, line 29, at end insert ", but enforcement action may be taken to prevent P 148 from seeking to profit from their conduct in relation to that offence (see section (Grant of immunity: criminal memoirs etc))."

Member's explanatory statement

This amendment, which is linked to the insertion of a new Clause, makes clear that while general criminal enforcement action may not be taken against an individual who has been granted immunity, enforcement action may occur in cases where P seeks to profit from their relevant criminal conduct.

LORD DODDS OF DUNCAIRN LORD WEIR OF BALLYHOLME LORD MORROW LORD BROWNE OF BELMONT

Page 28, line 29, at end insert -

"(3) But any sentencing decision in respect of a serious offence committed by P after 10 April 1998 may take into account the panel's findings on any relevant serious Troubles-related offence committed by P."

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This amendment is intended to allow the offences for which immunity has been granted to be taken into account in sentencing for post-Troubles offences.

Clause 36

LORD CAINE

150 Page 28, line 35, leave out "only"

Member's explanatory statement

This is consequential on the other amendment of Clause 36 in the Minister's name.

151 Page 29, line 6, at end insert –

- "(2A) An ICRIR officer, or another person acting in connection with the exercise of the ICRIR's functions, may arrest or otherwise detain P in connection with the offence by P.
 - (2B) An ICRIR officer, or another person acting in connection with the exercise of the ICRIR's functions, may charge P with the offence by P; and a prosecutor may conduct criminal proceedings arising from any such charge.
 - (2C) If subsection (2) becomes applicable to the offence by P, criminal enforcement action against P in respect of the offence may no longer be taken in accordance with subsection (2A) or (2B).
 - (2D) But that does not limit the criminal enforcement action that may be taken in accordance with subsection (2) after it becomes applicable (and, in particular, action previously taken in accordance with subsection (2A) or (2B) may be continued in accordance with subsection (2)).
 - (2E) Subsections (2), (2A) and (2B) only authorise a person to take criminal enforcement action by the exercise of powers which that person has otherwise than by virtue of this section."

Member's explanatory statement

This expands the criminal enforcement action that can be taken where immunity has not been granted and where a referral to a prosecutor has not been made. It allows P to be arrested, and preserves the possibility of the ICRIR charging P with an offence.

Clause 38

LORD BROWNE OF LADYTON BARONESS O'LOAN BARONESS RITCHIE OF DOWNPATRICK

152 Page 29, line 22, leave out "or continued"

Member's explanatory statement

This amendment is consequential on the preceding amendment in the name of Lord Browne, to Clause 34.

LORD CAINE

153 Page 29, line 27, leave out "P" and insert "a person"

This removes the use of "P" to refer to a person who is being prosecuted for an offence.

LORD DODDS OF DUNCAIRN LORD WEIR OF BALLYHOLME LORD MORROW LORD BROWNE OF BELMONT

Page 29, line 30, at end insert –

- "(3A) For the purposes of subsection (3), a criminal prosecution of P is to be treated as having begun when a file relating to the criminal investigation into P's conduct has already been submitted to the Public Prosecution Service on or before the day that section 33 comes into force.
 - (3B) But if no prosecution of P is directed on the basis of the file submitted to the Public Prosecution Service for Northern Ireland, the case relating to P must be returned to the ICRIR for investigation in accordance with this Part."

Member's explanatory statement

The purpose of this amendment is to treat a public prosecution as having begun when the file is passed to the Public Prosecution Service for Northern Ireland.

Clause 39

LORD BROWNE OF LADYTON BARONESS O'LOAN BARONESS RITCHIE OF DOWNPATRICK LORD MURPHY OF TORFAEN

155 Page 30, line 5, leave out subsection (1)

Member's explanatory statement

This probing amendment deletes subsection 39(1) from the Bill.

LORD BROWNE OF LADYTON

155A Page 30, line 5, leave out from "after" to "may" in line 6 and insert "17 May 2022"

Member's explanatory statement

This amendment is consequential on the amendment in the name of Lord Browne of Ladyton at page 41, line 4.

LORD BROWNE OF LADYTON BARONESS O'LOAN LORD MURPHY OF TORFAEN

156 Page 30, line 8, leave out "on or" and insert "from three years"

Member's explanatory statement

This probing amendment ensures that a Troubles related civil action can be brought up to three years after the coming into force of Clause 39.

LORD BROWNE OF LADYTON BARONESS O'LOAN

157 Page 30, line 32, leave out subsection (7)

	<i>Member's explanatory statement</i> <i>This amendment is consequential upon a previous amendment in the name of Lord Browne to</i> <i>Clause 39.</i>
158	Page 30, line 38, leave out "(1) or"
	<i>Member's explanatory statement</i> This amendment is consequential upon a previous amendment in the name of Lord Browne to Clause 39.
159	Page 30, line 38, leave out "continued, or"
	<i>Member's explanatory statement</i> These amendments are consequential upon a previous amendment in the name of Lord Browne.
160	Page 30, line 40, leave out "continued or"
	<i>Member's explanatory statement</i> These amendments are consequential upon a previous amendment in the name of Lord Browne.
161	Page 30, line 43, leave out "continued or"
	<i>Member's explanatory statement</i> These amendments are consequential upon a previous amendment in the name of Lord Browne.
	BARONESS O'LOAN LORD MURPHY OF TORFAEN
	LORD HAIN BARONESS RITCHIE OF DOWNPATRICK

The above-named Lords give notice of their intention to oppose the Question that Clause 39 stand part of the Bill.

Member's explanatory statement

This amendment would delete the removal of all rights of civil action from those who have been bereaved or affected by the Troubles.

Schedule 9

LORD BROWNE OF LADYTON

161A Page 78, leave out lines 19 and 20 and insert "17 May 2022"

Member's explanatory statement

This amendment is consequential on the amendment in the name of Lord Browne of Ladyton at page 41, line 4.

161B Page 79, line 20, leave out from "after" to "including" on line 21 and insert "17 May 2022"

This amendment is consequential on the amendment in the name of Lord Browne of Ladyton at page 41, line 4.

Clause 40

BARONESS O'LOAN LORD MURPHY OF TORFAEN LORD HAIN BARONESS RITCHIE OF DOWNPATRICK

The above-named Lords give notice of their intention to oppose the Question that Clause 40 stand part of the Bill.

Member's explanatory statement

This amendment would delete the removal of all existing and future inquests, investigations and inquiries into the deaths resulting directly from The Troubles.

Clause 41

LORD CAINE

- Page 33, line 18, at end insert 162
 - "(2A) On and after the day on which section 41 of the Northern Ireland Troubles (Legacy and Reconciliation) Act 2023 comes into force, the Ombudsman-
 - (a) is not to begin any formal investigation of a matter, and
 - (b) is to cease any formal investigation of a matter begun before that day,

insofar as the matter relates to conduct forming part of the Troubles."

Member's explanatory statement

This prevents the Police Ombudsman for Northern Ireland from beginning, or continuing, to investigate matters that relate to conduct forming part of the Troubles. That limitation on investigation is in addition to the limitation on dealing with complaints (already covered by Clause 41).

Page 33, line 18, at end insert –

- "(2B) This section does not prevent the Ombudsman from carrying out a criminal investigation of a Troubles-related offence if -
 - (a) a public prosecution of a person for the offence had been begun before the day on which section 34 of the Northern Ireland Troubles (Legacy and Reconciliation) Act 2023 comes into force, and
 - (b) the criminal investigation is carried out for the purposes of that prosecution.
- (2C) For the purposes of subsection (2B)
 - (a) "public prosecution" means any prosecution other than a private prosecution;
 - (b) a public prosecution of a person for an offence is "begun" when a prosecutor makes the decision to prosecute that person for that offence."

This ensures that activity of the Ombudsman which constitutes a criminal investigation can continue where a prosecution of a person has begun before commencement. (This exception from the effect of Clause 41 is the same as the exception from the effect of Clause 34 set out in *Clause 38(3).)*

164 Page 33, line 21, at end insert –

> "formal investigation" means an investigation under section 56 (whether resulting from a referral to the Ombudsman, or a decision by the Ombudsman, under section 55).""

Member's explanatory statement

This is consequential on the amendment in the Minister's name which prevents the Police Ombudsman for Northern Ireland from beginning, or continuing, to investigate matters that relate to conduct forming part of the Troubles.

Page 33, line 21, at end insert –

- "(2) In section 28A of the Police Reform Act 2002 (application of complaints and misconduct provisions to matters occurring before 1 April 2004), after subsection (6) insert -
 - "(6A) On and after the day on which section 41 of the Northern Ireland Troubles (Legacy and Reconciliation) Act 2023 comes into force, this section –
 - (a) ceases to apply to a pre-commencement matter or a matter to which subsection (5) applies (if the direction under subsection (1) or (4) relating to the matter was given before that day), or
 - (b) does not apply to a pre-commencement matter or matter to which subsection (5) applies (if the direction under subsection (1) or (4) relating to the matter is given on or after that day),

insofar as the matter relates to conduct forming part of the Troubles.

- (6B) In subsection (6A) "conduct forming part of the Troubles" has the same meaning as in the Northern Ireland Troubles (Legacy and Reconciliation) Act 2023 (see section 1 of that Act)."
- (3) After section 47 of the Police, Public Order and Criminal Justice (Scotland) Act 2006 insert -

"47A Complaint or investigation relating to Northern Ireland Troubles

- (1) On and after the day on which section 41 of the Northern Ireland Troubles (Legacy and Reconciliation) Act 2023 comes into force, this Part-
 - (a) ceases to apply to a complaint or investigation (if the complaint was made, or investigation was begun, before that day), or
 - (b) does not apply to a complaint or investigation (if the complaint is made, or investigation is to begin, on or after that day),

insofar as the complaint or investigation relates to conduct forming part of the Troubles.

Clause 41 - continued

(2) In this section "conduct forming part of the Troubles" has the same meaning as in the Northern Ireland Troubles (Legacy and Reconciliation) Act 2023 (see section 1 of that Act).""

Member's explanatory statement

This extends Clause 41 so that the legislation dealing with police complaints in England, Wales and Scotland also does not apply to complaints relating to the Troubles.

After Clause 42

LORD HAIN LORD HOGAN-HOWE BARONESS O'LOAN

166 Insert the following new Clause –

"Amendment of the Code for Prosecutors for Troubles-related offences

In section 37 of the Justice (Northern Ireland) Act 2002 (Code for Prosecutors), after subsection (3) insert—

- "(3A) The code must ensure that the views, interests and well-being of victims, and of the families of deceased victims, are considered when determining whether criminal proceedings should be instituted for a Troubles-related offence.
- (3B) In relation to a Troubles-related offence the code must take account of -
 - (a) the likelihood of the accused re-offending,
 - (b) the time elapsed since the offence,
 - (c) the volume and seriousness of the crime, and
 - (d) the character and behaviour of the accused since offending.""

LORD MURPHY OF TORFAEN BARONESS O'LOAN

BARONESS RITCHIE OF DOWNPATRICK

7 Insert the following new Clause –

"Grant of immunity: criminal memoirs etc

- (1) A person (P) who has under section 18 been granted immunity from prosecution for an offence may not seek to profit from their conduct in relation to that offence.
- (2) The Coroners and Justice Act 2009 is amended as follows.
- (3) In section 156 (qualifying offenders), in sub-paragraph (3)(b)(i) at end insert "or, in relation to section 159(1)(aa), a citizen of Ireland who would qualify to be a United Kingdom national".
- (4) In section 159 (relevant offences), after paragraph (1)(a) insert
 - "(aa) a serious Troubles-related offence in relation to which P has been granted immunity from prosecution under section 18 of the Northern Ireland Troubles (Legacy and Reconciliation) Act 2023,".

After Clause 42 - continued

- (5) The Secretary of State may, after consulting the First Minister and deputy First Minister if practicable, make regulations to prohibit the exploitation for profit of Troubles-related offences by any individual granted immunity under section 18.
- (6) Regulations under subsection (5) may further amend the Coroners and Justice Act 2009 and make any necessary provision to amend any relevant primary or secondary legislation in order to prohibit the exploitation for profit of Troubles-related offences by any individual granted immunity under section 18.
- (7) Regulations under this section are subject to affirmative procedure."

Member's explanatory statement

This new Clause would prevent a person who has been granted immunity from prosecution for a historic offence from seeking to profit from that criminal conduct, for example through the publication of criminal memoirs.

Schedule 11

LORD CAINE

Page 85, leave out lines 22 and 23 and insert –

"(6A) An offence is a qualifying offence if –

- (a) subsection (7) or (7A) applies to the offence, and
- (b) the prisoner was convicted of the offence -
 - (i) before the day on which section 18(1) of the Northern Ireland Troubles (Legacy and Reconciliation) Act 2023 came into force, or
 - (ii) on or after that day by virtue of a public prosecution begun before that day.
- (6B) For the purposes of subsection (6A)
 - (a) "public prosecution" means any prosecution other than a private prosecution;
 - (b) a public prosecution of a person for an offence is "begun" when a prosecutor makes the decision to prosecute that person for that offence.""

Member's explanatory statement

This will prevent a prisoner from being released under the Northern Ireland (Sentences) Act 1998 if the prisoner is convicted after the ICRIR's power to grant immunity from prosecution becomes exercisable (and so could have avoided conviction by obtaining immunity).

Page 86, line 9, leave out "it" and insert "the offence, and

(b) the prisoner was convicted of the offence –

- (i) before the day on which section 18(1) of the Northern Ireland Troubles (Legacy and Reconciliation) Act 2023 came into force, or
- (ii) on or after that day by virtue of a public prosecution begun before that day.
- (A2) For the purposes of sub-paragraph (A1) –

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Schedule 11 - continued

- (a) "public prosecution" means any prosecution other than a private prosecution;
- (b) a public prosecution of a person for an offence is "begun" when a prosecutor makes the decision to prosecute that person for that offence."

Member's explanatory statement

This will prevent a prisoner from being released under the Northern Ireland (Sentences) Act 1998 if the prisoner is convicted after the ICRIR's power to grant immunity from prosecution becomes exercisable (and so could have avoided conviction by obtaining immunity).

170 Page 86, line 30, leave out paragraphs 4 and 5

Member's explanatory statement

This removes some of the amendments proposed to the Northern Ireland (Sentences) Act 1998. Those amendments would have allowed prisoners to be released (a) if sentenced to less than 5 years' imprisonment; and (b) without the need to serve a minimum period in prison.

Clause 43

BARONESS O'LOAN LORD MURPHY OF TORFAEN LORD HAIN BARONESS RITCHIE OF DOWNPATRICK

171 Page 33, line 35, after "collections" insert "and such collections are preserved"

Member's explanatory statement

This amendment would require the preservation of existing oral history records.

Clause 44

LORD DODDS OF DUNCAIRN LORD WEIR OF BALLYHOLME LORD MORROW LORD BROWNE OF BELMONT

172 Page 35, line 25, at end insert –

"(2A) The designated persons have an overarching duty to ensure that no memorialisation activities glorify the commission or preparation of Troubles-related offences."

Member's explanatory statement

This amendment is intended to ensure that designated persons responsible for making recommendations about the initiation and carrying out of relevant memorialisation activities are under a duty to prevent the glorification of Troubles-related offences.

173 Page 35, line 28, at end insert –

"(3A) The designated persons must take into account the interests and concerns of victims of the Troubles in the preparation of the memorialisation strategy.

Clause 44 - continued

(3B) "Victims of the Troubles" do not include any person P who has received immunity under this Act and whose physical or mental harm was caused by Troubles-related conduct in which P participated unlawfully."

Member's explanatory statement

This amendment is intended to ensure that only innocent victims are included as victims in the memorialisation strategy under this Act.

LORD GODSON LORD BEW LORD EMPEY BARONESS HOEY

174 Page 35, line 34, at end insert –

"(ba) how relevant memorialisation activities currently, or will in the future, promote a culture of anti-sectarianism;"

Member's explanatory statement

This addition for Clause 44 strengthens the objectives of reconciliation and relevance.

Clause 46

BARONESS HOEY

174A Page 37, line 13, at end insert "of the gay and lesbian community's experience of those events, and"

Member's explanatory statement

This addition to subsection (6) ensures that the experience of the gay community in Northern Ireland during the Troubles, including decriminalisation, is recorded and assessed.

After Clause 46

LORD GODSON

174B Insert the following new Clause –

"Public history of the Troubles

- (1) Within six months of this Act being passed, the Secretary of State must commission a public history of the Troubles ('the public history').
- (2) The public history must take account of the lessons of the Government's official history programme commenced in 1908, the official histories published by the Foreign, Commonwealth & Development Office and the Ministry of Defence as well as the advice given by Sir Joe Pilling and Bill Hamilton in 'Reports on Future Plans for the Government's Official History Programme 2009'.
- (3) In commissioning the public history, the Secretary of State must seek to achieve the objectives set out in subsections (4) to (7) in relation to the public history.
- (4) The public history should be completed and published within three years of its commissioning.

After Clause 46 - continued

- (5) The public history should be made widely available in the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland in print (hardback and paperback) as well as digital formats at a price which is affordable for the ordinary reading public.
- (6) The public history should not be undertaken as part of the Official History Programme but as part of the legacy programme, along the lines of a departmental history such as those produced in the past by the the Foreign, Commonwealth & Development Office and the Ministry of Defence.
- (7) The public history must consider in particular the inclusion of
 - (a) a security history of the Troubles;
 - (b) a social history of sectarian dispute and ethnic hostility in Northern Ireland;
 - (c) a political history of attempts to provide for the governance of Northern Ireland;
 - (d) an account of the contribution and involvement of the Republic of Ireland;
 - (e) an analysis of whether and how the key players followed and abided by their stated principles and purposes.
- (8) The Secretary of State, or a person commissioned to oversee the public history, must consider whether there should be appointed two or more public historians and the level of research and researcher support to be made available to them in order to achieve the objectives set out in this section.
- (9) The Secretary of State must consider the question of official records, following the precedents set by the Saville Inquiry
 - (a) whether the public historians will have access to all documents;
 - (b) the release programme for documents including the temporary or permanent retention of documents;
 - (c) that redactions are made as necessary.
- (10) The Secretary of State must consider on what terms the public historians should approach retired persons in the public service for interviews.
- (11) The public historians must produce regular reports to the Secretary of State on their recommendations for the public release of official documents related to the issues addressed and covered by the public history, including a final report that summarises the recommendations of the public historians.
- (12) The Secretary of State must take into account the recommendations of the public historians on the public release of documents, in general and as regards specific documents, as part of a programme of opening up the Troubles related archives to the public.
- (13) The Secretary of State must ensure that sufficient funding for the public history is provided so that the Secretary of State and the public historians are able to achieve the objectives established by this section."

This new Clause requires the Secretary of State to commission a public history of the Troubles, taking into account lessons from the Government's official history programme and departmental histories, to decide the scale of resource to be applied and requiring the Secretary of State to decide the terms of access to official documents and access to retired officials. This *Clause requires the Secretary of State to take into account recommendations from the public* historians as to the public release of documents related to the Troubles.

Clause 49

LORD GODSON LORD BEW LORD EMPEY **BARONESS HOEY**

Page 38, line 40, at end insert –

"(c) the need to ensure that the membership of the advisory forum is not dominated by any particular political outlook or ideology."

Member's explanatory statement

This and another amendment to Clause 49 seek to improve the working of the advisory forum by ensuring a wide academic spectrum of opinion is represented, which takes proper account of the historical record.

176 Page 38, line 40, at end insert –

"(2A) In discharging the duty under subsection (2)(a), the designated persons must have regard to the historical record produced under section 24."

Member's explanatory statement

This and another amendment to Clause 49 seek to improve the working of the advisory forum by ensuring a wide academic spectrum of opinion is represented, which takes proper account of the historical record.

After Clause 51

LORD DODDS OF DUNCAIRN LORD WEIR OF BALLYHOLME LORD MORROW LORD BROWNE OF BELMONT

Insert the following new Clause -

"Offence of glorifying terrorism: Northern Ireland

- (1) This section applies to a statement that is likely to be understood by a reasonable person as a direct or indirect encouragement or other inducement to some or all of the members of the public in Northern Ireland, to the commission, preparation or instigation of acts of terrorism.
- (2) A person P commits an offence if
 - (a) P publishes a statement to which this section applies or causes another to publish such a statement; and
 - (b) at the time P publishes it or causes it to be published, P-

After Clause 51 - continued

- (i) intends members of the public in Northern Ireland to be directly or indirectly encouraged or otherwise induced by the statement to commit, prepare or instigate acts of terrorism; or
- (ii) is reckless as to whether members of the public in Northern Ireland will be directly or indirectly encouraged or otherwise induced by the statement to commit, prepare or instigate such acts.
- (3) For the purposes of this section, statements that are likely to be understood by a reasonable person as indirectly encouraging the commission or preparation of acts of terrorism include every statement which—
 - (a) glorifies the commission or preparation in the past of Troubles-related offences; and
 - (b) is a statement from which members of the public in Northern Ireland could reasonably be expected to infer that what is being glorified is being glorified as conduct that should be emulated by them in existing circumstances.
- (4) For the purposes of this section the questions how a statement is likely to be understood and what members of the public in Northern Ireland could reasonably be expected to infer from it must be determined having regard both—
 - (a) to the contents of the statement as a whole; and
 - (b) to the circumstances and manner of its publication.
- (5) It is irrelevant for the purposes of subsections (1) to (3)
 - (a) whether anything mentioned in those subsections relates to the commission, preparation or instigation of one or more particular acts of terrorism, of acts of terrorism of a particular description or of acts of terrorism generally; and
 - (b) whether any person is in fact encouraged or induced by the statement to commit, prepare or instigate any such act.
- (6) In proceedings for an offence under this section against a person P in whose case it is not proved that P intended the statement directly or indirectly to encourage or otherwise induce the commission, preparation or instigation of acts of terrorism it is a defence for P to show
 - (a) that the statement neither expressed P's views nor had P's endorsement; and
 - (b) that it was clear, in all the circumstances of the statement's publication, that it did not express P's views and did not have P's endorsement.
- (7) A person guilty of an offence under this section is liable
 - (a) on conviction on indictment, to imprisonment for a term not exceeding 15 years, or to a fine, or to both;
 - (b) on summary conviction in England and Wales, to imprisonment for a term not exceeding 6 months or to a fine not exceeding the statutory maximum, or to both;
 - (c) on summary conviction in Scotland or Northern Ireland, to imprisonment for a term not exceeding 6 months or to a fine not exceeding the statutory maximum, or to both.

After Clause 51 - continued

(8) In considering sentencing for an offence under this section, the court must take into consideration as an aggravating factor any immunity granted to P under this Act."

Member's explanatory statement

This new clause, based on section 1 of the Terrorism Act 2006, establishes an offence of glorifying terrorism in Northern Ireland and makes having received immunity under this Bill an aggravating factor in sentencing.

Clause 52

LORD BROWNE OF LADYTON BARONESS O'LOAN

178 Page 40, line 37, leave out subsection (8)

Member's explanatory statement

This amendment deletes subsection 52(8).

LORD BROWNE OF LADYTON

178A Page 41, line 4, leave out subsection (c)

Member's explanatory statement

Subsection (8) refers to "the actual date of the First Reading". The actual date of the First Reading was 17th May 2022 and therefore the formula proposed in Clause 52(8)(c) is unnecessary if the bill is otherwise amended to refer to 17th May 2022.

Schedule 12

LORD CAINE

- 179 Page 89, line 8, at end insert
 - "2A After section 60ZC of the Police (Northern Ireland) Act 1998 insert –

"60ZD The Independent Commission for Reconciliation and Information Recovery

- (1) An agreement for the establishment in relation to ICRIR officers of procedures corresponding or similar to any of those established by virtue of this Part may, with the approval of the Secretary of State, be made between the Ombudsman and the ICRIR.
- (2) Where no such procedures are in force in relation to the ICRIR, the Secretary of State may by order establish such procedures.
- (3) An agreement under this section may at any time be varied or terminated with the approval of the Secretary of State.
- (4) Before making an order under this section the Secretary of State must consult
 - (a) the Ombudsman; and
 - (b) the ICRIR.
- (5) Nothing in any other statutory provision prevents the ICRIR from carrying into effect procedures established by virtue of this section.

Schedule 12 - continued

- (6) No such procedures shall have effect in relation to anything done by an ICRIR officer outside Northern Ireland.
- (7) In this section –

"ICRIR" means the Independent Commission for Reconciliation and Information Recovery; "ICRIR officer" has the same meaning as in the Northern Ireland Troubles (Legacy and Reconciliation) Act 2023.""

Member's explanatory statement

This enables the Police Ombudsman for Northern Ireland to have jurisdiction over ICRIR officers.

180 Page 89, line 16, leave out paragraph 4

Member's explanatory statement

This removes the amendment of the Regulation of Investigatory Powers Act 2000 (which would have made the ICRIR subject to the jurisdiction of the Investigatory Powers Tribunal, something no longer needed as the ICRIR will no longer have investigatory powers by virtue of amendment in the Minister's name to leave out paragraph 6(3) of Schedule 12).

181 Page 89, line 29, at end insert –

"5A After section 26E of the Police Reform Act 2002 insert-

"26F The Independent Commission for Reconciliation and **Information Recovery**

- (1) The Director General and the ICRIR may enter into an agreement for the establishment, in relation to ICRIR officers, of procedures corresponding or similar to those provided for by or under this Part.
- (2) Where no such agreement is in force, the Secretary of State may by regulations establish such procedures.
- (3) An agreement under this section must not be made, varied or terminated except with the approval of the Secretary of State.
- (4) Before making regulations under this section the Secretary of State must consult -
 - (a) the Director General; and
 - (b) the ICRIR.
- (5) Nothing in any other statutory provision prevents the ICRIR from carrying into effect procedures established by virtue of this section.
- (6) An agreement or regulations under this section may contain provision for enabling the Director General to bring and present, or otherwise participate or intervene in, any proceedings that are identified by the agreement as disciplinary proceedings in relation to ICRIR officers.
- (7) Procedures established in accordance with an agreement under this section, or by regulations under this section, have no effect in relation to anything done outside England and Wales by any ICRIR officer.
- (8) In this section –

Schedule 12 - continued

"ICRIR" means the Independent Commission for Reconciliation and Information Recovery;

"ICRIR officer" has the same meaning as in the Northern Ireland Troubles (Legacy and Reconciliation) Act 2023."

- 5B (1) Article 4 of the Police, Public Order and Criminal Justice (Scotland) Act 2006 (Consequential Provisions and Modifications) Order 2007 (S.I. 2007/1098) (agreements to establish complaints procedures) is amended as follows.
 - (2) After paragraph (4) insert
 - "(4A) The Commissioner and the ICIRIR may enter into an agreement to establish and maintain procedures which correspond to or are similar to those contained in Chapter 2 of Part 1 of the Act in relation to complaints made about the acts or omissions of the ICRIR and ICRIR officers."
 - (3) In paragraph (7), after sub-paragraph (d) insert
 - "(e) any statement made by a person who is, or has been, an ICRIR officer about the terms and conditions of their service;".
 - (4) In paragraph (14), after sub-paragraph (b) insert
 - "(c) "ICRIR" means the Independent Commission for Reconciliation and Information Recovery;
 - (d) "ICRIR officer" has the same meaning as in the Northern Ireland Troubles (Legacy and Reconciliation) Act 2023."
- 5C(1) The Police and Fire Reform (Scotland) Act 2012 (Consequential Provisions and Modifications) Order 2013 (S.I. 2013/602) is amended as follows.
 - (2) In article 3 (agreements to investigate serious incidents), after paragraph (17) insert
 - "(17A) The Commissioner and the Independent Commission for Reconciliation and Information Recovery (the "ICRIR") may enter into an agreement for the Commissioner to investigate and report, where requested to do so by the ICRIR, on any serious incident involving the ICRIR.
 - (17B) A "serious incident involving the ICRIR" has the same meaning as a "serious incident involving the police" in section 41B of the 2006 Act except that "a person serving with the police" means an ICRIR officer (which has the same meaning as in the Northern Ireland Troubles (Legacy and Reconciliation) Act 2023)."
 - (3) In article 4 (investigation of crimes and deaths), after sub-paragraph (h) insert
 - "(i) an ICRIR officer (which has the same meaning as in the Northern Ireland Troubles (Legacy and Reconciliation) Act 2023).""

Member's explanatory statement

This enables the Independent Office for Police Conduct (in England and Wales) and the Police Investigations and Review Commissioner (in Scotland) to have jurisdiction over ICRIR officers.

182 Page 89, line 33, leave out from "subsection" to "a" in line 35 and insert "(4), after paragraph (d) insert –

"(e)"

Member's explanatory statement

This changes the amendment of section 58 of the Investigatory Powers Act 2016 so that it operates on section 58(4) rather than on section 58(2).

183 Page 89, line 40, leave out sub-paragraph (3)

Member's explanatory statement

This removes the amendment of Schedule 4 to the Investigatory Powers Act 2016 (which would have made the ICRIR a "relevant public authority" for the purposes of Part 3 of that Act and enabled it to use investigatory powers).

184 Page 90, line 14, at end insert –

"7A In section 379 of the Sentencing Act 2020, in the table in subsection (1), at the appropriate place insert –

"Northern Ireland Troubles (Legacy and Reconciliation) Act 2023

<pre>section(False statements: revocation of immunity)</pre>		making of false statements''''
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Clause 54

BARONESS O'LOAN LORD MURPHY OF TORFAEN LORD HAIN BARONESS RITCHIE OF DOWNPATRICK

185

Page 43, line 7, column 2, at end insert –

"the Director General of the National Crime Agency."

Member's explanatory statement

This amendment would add the Director General of the NCA to the list of those described as "chief officers" for the purposes of the Bill.

LORD CAINE

186 Page 43, line 16, at end insert –

"deputy First	The deputy First
Minister"	Minister in Northern Ireland."

Clause 54 - continued

Member's explanatory statement This defines the expression "deputy First Minister" for the purposes of the Bill.

BARONESS O'LOAN LORD MURPHY OF TORFAEN LORD HAIN BARONESS RITCHIE OF DOWNPATRICK

187 Page 43, line 21, column 2, after "of" insert "an investigation or"

Member's explanatory statement

This amendment is consequential upon the amendments in the name of Baroness O'Loan to Clause 2.

188 Page 43, line 22, column 2, after "or" insert "an investigation or"

Member's explanatory statement This amendment is consequential upon the amendments in the name of Baroness O'Loan to Clause 2.

LORD CAINE

189 Page 43, line 23, at end insert –

"financial year"	This has the
	meaning given in section 2(9)."

Member's explanatory statement

This amends the table of definitions to include the definition of "financial year" that is added to the Bill by the amendments of Clause 2 in the Minister's name.

190 Page 43, line 23, at end insert –

"First Minister	The First
	Minister in Northern Ireland."

Member's explanatory statement

This defines the expression "First Minister" for the purposes of the Bill.

BARONESS O'LOAN LORD MURPHY OF TORFAEN LORD HAIN BARONESS RITCHIE OF DOWNPATRICK

191 Page 45, leave out lines 18 to 20

Member's explanatory statement

This amendment removes "the Security Service; the Secret Intelligence Service; GCHQ" from the list of relevant authorities.

192 Page 45, line 27, column 1, after "for" insert "an investigation or"

Member's explanatory statement

This amendment is consequential upon the amendments in the name of Baroness O'Loan to Clause 2.

193 Page 45, line 27, column 2 after "for" insert "an investigation or"

Member's explanatory statement

This amendment is consequential upon the amendments in the name of Baroness O'Loan to Clause 2.

LORD CAINE

194 Page 45, line 30, column 2, leave out from "which" to first "the" in line 32 and insert "(if contained in a Bill for an Act of the Northern Ireland Assembly) would result in the Bill requiring"

Member's explanatory statement

This changes the definition of "reserved provision" to reflect the fact that section 8(b) of the Northern Ireland Act 1998 requires consent to a Bill for an Act (rather than to the Act itself).

BARONESS O'LOAN LORD MURPHY OF TORFAEN LORD HAIN BARONESS RITCHIE OF DOWNPATRICK

195 Page 45, line 35, column 1, at beginning insert "investigation or"

Member's explanatory statement

This amendment is consequential upon the amendments in the name of Baroness O'Loan to Clause 2.

196 Page 45, line 35, column 2, after "out" insert "investigations or"

Member's explanatory statement

This amendment is consequential upon the amendments in the name of Baroness O'Loan to Clause 2.

197 Page 46, line 21, at end insert –

"Special relevant	The Security
authority	Service; the Secret Intelligence Service;
	GCHQ"

Member's explanatory statement

This amendment removes "the Security Service; the Secret Intelligence Service; GCHQ" from the list of relevant authorities and creates a separate category of "special relevant authority" on which different obligations are imposed.

Clause 57

LORD MURPHY OF TORFAEN

198 Page 47, line 34, at end insert ", but such day or days must not be beyond the end of the period of two years beginning with the day on which this Act is passed"

Member's explanatory statement

This amendment is to probe the Government's intended implementation timetable for Parts 2 and 4 of the Bill.

Northern Ireland Troubles (Legacy and Reconciliation) Bill

THIRD MARSHALLED LIST OF AMENDMENTS TO BE MOVED IN COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE HOUSE

27 March 2023