

Ref : Reviewing the Implementation of the Good Friday Agreement.

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The Process of Peace

The process of peace is an inexorable dynamic at work in our society. Its movement forward in history is unstoppable. It has four key dimensions :

- Political engagement / negotiation.
- The evolution of law and order.
- Social and economic progress.
- The work of reconciliation : building and re-building relationships.

Political Negotiation

In this context the political negotiation process has gone through a number of phases :

1. Establishing the Inter-Party Talks.
2. Negotiating the Good Friday Agreement.
3. Selling the Agreement - the 'Yes' campaigns.
4. Validating the Agreement - the referendums : the British-Irish Agreement and legislation at Westminster and in the Dail.
5. Implementing the Agreement.
6. Reviewing the implementation.

The Review Process

- Step One : Agree an AIM for the review process, e.g. To secure the implementation of the Good Friday Agreement.
- Step Two : Agree on the custodians of the process.
- Step Three : Agree on a set of objectives to achieve the aim.
- Step Four : Agree the design of the process.
- Step Five : Undertake the review.
- Step Six : Utilising the outcomes of the review, implement the Good Friday Agreement.

A Closer Look at the Design of the Review - Step Four

- **Content** : agreeing the agenda items. There will be a need to avoid a re-enactment of the debate which failed to achieve an implementation of the Agreement. Rehearsing arguments about inclusive governance and decommissioning will only prove productive if either unionism or republicanism concedes ground : this is not in prospect.

There is a need to re-frame the issues for discussion in ways which increase the parties' capacities to move forward.

- **Structure** : the review process will need to be structured in a way which maintains momentum and yet allow for greater creativity.

• Protocols :

- Participation, e.g. acceptance of the aim of the review process.
- Time-table
- Maintenance / Management : a mechanism to deal with breaches or problems.
- Facilitation - the conduct of the chairman etc.
- Media

The Agenda - Possibilities

1. Integrity Each party outlines its sense of integrity, in terms of its past, present and future. The objective would be to improve understandings of what each party brought to the making of the Good Friday Agreement - their identity, sense of purpose and principles.

2. Affirming the Agreement

Each party affirms their understanding of what they signed up to when accepting the Agreement. Thus, each party could reaffirm their best intentions. It may be possible to identify principles of the Agreement, e.g. Consent; Consensuality; Ownership; Pluralism; Democracy; Non-violence.

3. Keeping Faith with the Agreement

Each party outlines how they have tried to keep faith with the Agreement and the difficulties with which they have had to contend, especially those caused by other parties.

4. The Normalisation of N. I. Society

Disarmament.
Demilitarisation.
Policing and Justice.

5. The Transition from a conflicted society to a consensual society

6. Option for the Future

- Ways to implement the Agreement.

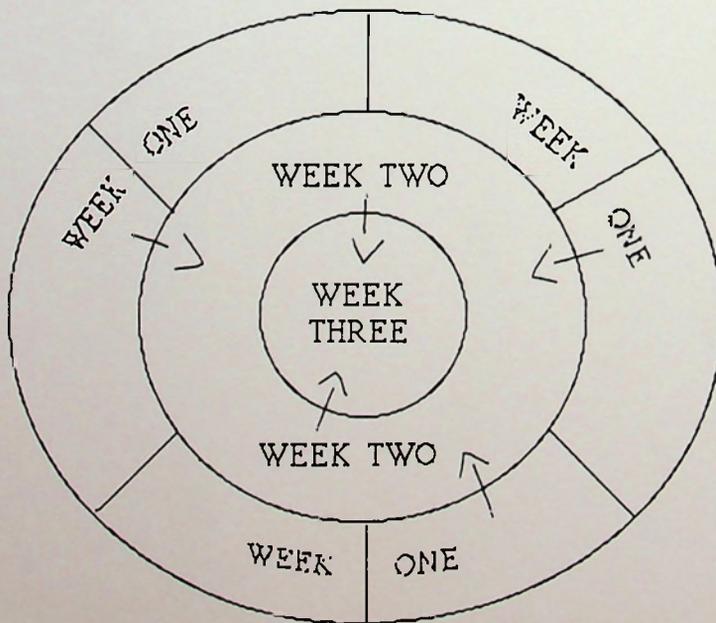
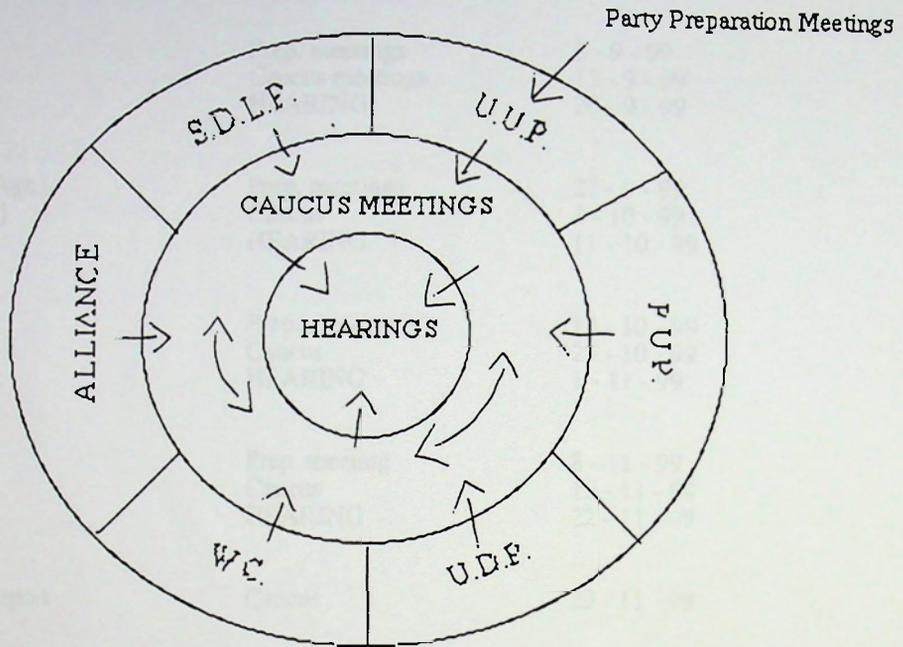
The Format of Dialogue

- Prep. Meetings - internal party meetings, with each party addressing the same questions.
- Caucus Meetings - between representatives of each party.
- Hearings - chaired by the Chairman of the Review, with engagement between representatives of each party, in the presence of other Assembly members (from participating parties).
- Accords - each hearing would produce an Accord which would detail points of agreement and points of enduring disagreement.

The Review Report

Based on the Accords, party representatives would produce a report for debate in the Assembly. The report would outline ways forward.

The Format of Dialogue



TIMETABLE

SUBJECT	FORMAT	WEEK BEGINNING
Integrity	Prep. meetings	6 - 9 - 99
	Caucus meetings	13 - 9 - 99
	HEARING	20 - 9 - 99
Affirming the Agt. } Keeping Faith }	Prep. meetings	27 - 9 - 99
	Caucus	4 - 10 - 99
	HEARING	11 - 10 - 99
Normalisation	Prep. meetings	18 - 10 - 99
	Caucus	25 - 10 - 99
	HEARING	1 - 11 - 99
Transition	Prep. meeting	8 - 11 - 99
	Caucus	15 - 11 - 99
	HEARING	22 - 11 - 99
Collating the Report	Caucus	29 - 11 - 99
Plenary Debate	Assembly	6 - 12 - 99

Discussion Points

1. Among the Pro-Agreement parties, there are four different sub-cultures :

Unionism ; loyalism ; nationalism ; republicanism.

2. The Agreement is a meeting place for each of these traditions. However, for the most part, it has been treated like a cross-roads, with each party shouting across at each other, rather than stepping out to a common place.
3. Unionists are firm about their integrity as democrats.

Upon what is this integrity based?

What is their democratic inheritance?

What is N. Ireland's democratic pedigree?

In reality, we have always had a gun tradition.