

Hillsborough Declaration highlights importance of mutuality and need for choreography, it goes on to highlight actions amounting to movement from paramilitaries (SGF being specifically mentioned). Decommissioning is not about decommissioning – what is the issue about in reality.

Gesture required of UUP is that they carry some responsibility for what has happened over the past 30 years. This is in keeping with GFA – all parties have role to play; accepting blame, not allocating it.

This proposal is based on a number of assumptions:

- The Belfast Agreement does not link the formation of the executive to decommissioning.
- All parties have, however, subscribed to the principle that all paramilitary armed should be decommissioned by May 2000.
- Forging peace cannot be reduced to a technical-legal task
- That all parties carry some culpability for the conflict and that they all have a responsibility to atone for the past and work constructively for the future.

And is underscored by a number of principles:

The parties reaffirm their commitment

- To exclusively democratic and peaceful means of resolving differences on political issues
- To work in good faith to ensure the success of each and every one of the arrangements to be established under the Belfast Agreement.
- To honour those who have died or been injured, and their families by dedicating ourselves to the achievement of reconciliation, tolerance and mutual trust, and to the protection and vindication of the human rights of all.

The parties assert (recognise)

- That full implementation of the Belfast Agreement results in a new political order in Northern Ireland
- That the post-Agreement state is thus legitimate and can demand the right to exercise the monopoly of violence subject to the measurable and real enactment of equal citizenship and human rights norms.
- The absolute necessity in Northern Ireland is to ensure that political decision in the future are made without hint of domination

The parties accept

- That all parties bear some responsibility for the wrongs of the past
- That great hurt has been caused to both individuals and communities as a result of the conflict.

The parties to the Belfast Agreement (hereinafter "the parties") recognise the widespread desire, within Northern Ireland, throughout Ireland and Britain and internationally, for an urgent end to the impasse over arms decommissioning and the formation of the Executive, as envisaged in the Agreement.

The parties believe that the purpose of the Belfast Agreement which received overwhelming popular support in the referenda of 22 May 1998 is the achievement of a democracy which conforms fully with universal democratic norms, through institutions which are appropriate to the specific historic and political conditions which pertain and have pertained in Northern Ireland.

The parties agree that democracy is the replacement of the argument of force by the force of argument within a community of political equals. This entails that no party should appear to threaten to resort to force and that no grounds for suspicion remains that formal democratic procedures are a vehicle for exclusion.

 The parties agree that all political dialogue in a democracy must take place without hint or threat of domination. The history of Northern Ireland is such that people in many quarters believe that attempts to dominate them have been endemic. In recognition of this context, all parties reaffirm their commitment to the principle of consent as contained within the Belfast Agreement. Furthermore, they recognise the consensual decision-making procedures as outlined in the Agreement as the sole legitimate mechanisms for making political decisions in Northern Ireland.

The parties agree that the Agreement and the subsequent referenda establish and define the sole legitimate structures of state within Northern Ireland and its relationships within the United Kingdom and within the island of Ireland, as well as the mechanisms by which these structures may be changed.

The parties agree that in democratic societies, the state exercises the monopoly of legitimate force. It may only apply such force as is absolutely necessary consistent with international human rights norms. The structures and exercise of both criminal justice and policing must be consistent with both conditions. The parties further agree that the use of violence to any ends outside these norms contradicts the spirit and intent of the Agreement.

The parties agree that all parties must demonstrate in deed as well as word, their commitment to these principles outlined in the agreement. The parties reaffirm their endorsement of the provisions of the Belfast Agreement addressing policing, criminal justice and decommissioning. Without prejudice to the independent commissions, the parties agree that future policing arrangements in Northern Ireland must make visible progress towards full conformity with the democratic principles outlined above and with the principles of the Agreement. In recognition of the historic context of Northern Ireland, the parties agree that the establishment of a policing service which enjoys the confidence of all citizens is a universal interest. The parties further endorse a vision of policing which is routinely unarmed.

The parties agree that it is incumbent on all those who threaten or have threatened the use of violence at any level, progressively and measurably to improve the quality of

their adherence to the norms of non-violence to the satisfaction of all. In this context the parties seek forthwith a declaration from all paramilitary groups on cease-fire, that their cease-fires will now included a renunciation of killing for any purpose whatsoever. The parties look forward to the disarmament of all paramilitary groups.

The parties are confident that such a genuinely peaceful scenario can be fully achieved under the Agreement. In the interim, all the institutions of democratic government are also established, These include the Executive Committee, the North-South Ministerial Council and the British-Irish Council.

The parties recognise that restraining progress on either decommissioning or devolution, treating one as a bargaining chip against the other, can only perpetuate a stalemate in which neither is achieved and which the parties are determined to end. Both objectives are mutually reinforcing elements in the vision of peace and democracy to which the people of Ireland, north and south, have given their consent.

Parties recognise that disarmament will not and event that will happen overnight. It is a longer process.

Pro-Agreement parties should be invited to make public declarations that they will seek to resolve all outstanding differences over the implementation of the Agreement through a process of negotiation conducted in accordance with the principle of sufficient consensus (triple lock , as in the talks?)

The parties entitled to seats in the Executive should commit themselves to drawing up a programme for government as a demonstration of their determination to move forward together at the earliest possible moment.

The parties should commit themselves to the formation of the Executive as soon as practicably possible.

A public pledge should be sought from paramilitary organisations that they will not seek to replenish their existing stocks of weapons.

Want to see all paramilitary organisations speaking for themselves, and indicate support for the full implementation of the Belfast Agreement, and the 3 principles agreed by all parties on June 25<sup>th</sup>.

Risk-taking in the context of a peace process is not appeasement.

The Agreement does not allow for decommissioning to happen outside the context of its implementation. [Responsibility for achieving decommissioning – does lie with all political parties because decomm can only be achieved in “the context of the implementation of the overall settlement”

All parties need to accept that they have a role to play in achieving decommissioning – even (and especially ) those who do not have a link with paramilitaries.

Decommissioning is both symbolic and practical. Symbolic first, then practical?  
Practical involves discussion of both legally and illegally held weapons

All paramilitary organisations on cease-fire should agree to appoint representatives to the IICD.

All paramilitary organisations on cease-fire should agree to provide inventory of their weapons.

The possibility of representatives of paramilitary organisations on cease-fire meeting to discuss the drawing up of a schedule for the process of decommissioning on a mutually agreed basis should be explored.

What's the sanction???? Or what's the certainty – timetable??  
All parties agree to accept IICD's assessment on decommissioning progress, both heretofore and in future

Event → Process  
↳ Designation

Way Forward  
↳

Reactive → Decommission

What can be done

① Allies

② +  
Guarantees — Third party

↳ Exclusion

↳ Resignation

↳

Declaration of Intent

10 questions from General.  
(see DeChastelain's report.)

- ① True & abject remorse
- ② No first strike
- ③ Ceasing all hostilities
- ④ .

Deeds ←