

**Ref:** A Third Scenario for the Peace Process in 1999.

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The Peace Process could be viewed as moving into one of two obvious scenarios in the weeks ahead.

**First Scenario:** A Deal on Decommissioning - the Agreement holds.

**Second Scenario:** No Deal on Decommissioning - the Agreement collapses.

If the second scenario becomes a likely possibility, it would be useful to consider the following:

**Third Scenario:** No Deal on Decommissioning - the Agreement stalls.

### **Re-defining the Impasse**

In this scenario, the pro-Agreement parties (including the UDP) would, at some point, put their hands up to the public and acknowledge that they had failed to over-come a 'design fault' in the Good Friday Agreement. This fault would be that the issue of decommissioning had been addressed in terms which left unionist and republican interpretations fundamentally at variance with each other. The pro-Agreement parties would, however, state their consensus on the unacceptability of collapsing the Agreement. They would state their confidence that the referendum result and their respective electoral mandates compelled them to continue the search for consensus. They would, therefore, commit themselves to the following.

Maintain a dynamic of political progress by establishing an **Interim Period** until the end of October, 1999, to enable two broad activities to happen.

1. A series of **Assembly Hearings**, one on each of the departmental port-folios of the proposed Executive. Each hearing would enable Assembly members to engage with each other and with significant outsiders on the respective themes. They would, therefore, begin to break the ground in preparation for future governance on these social and economic matters. Each hearing would be chaired by an individual earmarked for possible appointment to the Executive.



2. A cross-party **Working Group on Normalisation** of society in Northern Ireland.

The working group would further address the de-commissioning issue. It would enable unionists to continue to press for the normalisation, via decommissioning, of parties associated with paramilitarism. It would enable such parties to press for the normalisation of society so that, from their point of view, the conditions for de-militarisation could be created.

**Re-framing the Issues**

Currently, exchanges between unionists and republicans on the subject of de-commissioning have become positional, repetitive and sterile. To enable a more creative and productive dialogue to take place, there is a need to re-frame the issues. For example:

- (i) **Honouring the Agreement.** Each side could be asked to set out clearly how they intend to honour the Good Friday Agreement and how they expect others to do so.
- (ii) **Integrity.** Each side could articulate the essence or characteristics of their integrity as unionists, republicans, nationalists. Any movement forward must take account of each side's sense of integrity.
- (iii) **Best-Intentions.** Each side could state their best intentions when they signed the Agreement.
- (iv) **Worst Fears.** Each side could articulate their worst fears in signing the Agreement.
- (iv) **Dilemmas.** All sides could agree on a number of dilemmas which each would face with any compromise aimed at forward movement.
- (vi) **Further Endeavour.** Each side could stipulate specific actions which they would undertake in order to assist the eventual implementation of the Agreement.

The Working Group would present a report to the Assembly in November, 1999, outlining its deliberations on the above issues and presenting an overall conclusion for the Assembly's approval.



Definition - put all together -

S. study  
Redefine (bully neg. & diff. kind of message)

Redefine the problem <sup>pragmatic</sup> with positivity & possibility.

Reshape → generate options.  
Establish principles

No. of things simultaneously / holistic

Importance of decommissioning being addressed rather than <sup>decided</sup> deduced

Peace process = different levels

Not reduced to thinking about decommissioning.

All event focused concessions made by Republicans

Event Led.

- Foreign Election, going into talks
- Agreement → Stormont
- Unionist PM.

lobbied Stew  
is empty handed but attempt to Reshape

Know each other's position  
Don't know each other

Acting out

Process → mut. on prisoners / policing

Unionist - look for a sign of conversion - change of behaviour -

People reached agreement but shortcomings

Degree of consensus instead of conflict issues  
↳ decomm.

Unionists will shadow

Danger of patching - bigger problem for future.

Not dialogue of extremes → centrist debate → parties who aren't struggling → put out consensual view of what can be protected.

Not walk away - maintain a sense of political dynamic

Decomm. addressed in a more creative way.

2 sub cultures  
↓  
Enter the other sub-cultures  
↓  
loss of integrity.