



# Ireland's Future

Todhchaí na hÉireann

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IRELAND'S FUTURE

**THE GOOD FRIDAY  
AGREEMENT**  
25 YEARS ON

**PLANNING FOR A NEW IRELAND**

# ‘The issue of identity has largely been resolved. You can be Irish, British or both. The issue of sovereignty remains unresolved’

Senator Frances Black is [Chair of Ireland's Future](#)



**Senator  
Frances Black**

**T**he Good Friday Agreement gave us the chance to build a peaceful, prosperous country and transform society across the island, particularly in the north.

It also provided us with the democratic and constitutional framework in which a new and united Ireland can be achieved.

Twenty five years after the agreement, we live in a very different place from 1998.

The issue of identity has largely been resolved. You can be Irish, British or both. The issue of sovereignty remains unresolved.

The sovereignty of the north will be decided in the next big referendum on

this island.

People across Ireland will vote, and people in the north will have the chance to decide if they want to remain governed by the British Government from Westminster or whether they want to govern themselves here on the island of Ireland. It will be democracy in action.

In the near future the questions about how a new, united Ireland is structured and governed will be answered.

A citizens' assembly is the first step in that process, but it is only the first step.

Ireland's Future will soon present our own ideas for the period between now and the referendum taking place at the end of this decade.

Our *Ireland 2030* document, which will be published later this year, will set out the path that must be travelled between now and the referendum date.

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# ‘The Good Friday Agreement is much more than its institutions or their absence’

**N**aturally all the emphasis is on the DUP's refusal to operate the Good Friday Agreement's institutions lamenting the void at Stormont where there should be a functioning democratic local administration. However, this concentration on the absence of the mechanics of the GFA is a failure to see the wood for the trees.

The Good Friday Agreement is much more than its institutions or their absence. First of all the GFA and its associated British-Irish Agreement and the 1998 Northern Ireland Act established what is essentially the north's constitution based on a radically altered basis.

The crucial difference is the following. The British carved the north out of Ireland by the 1920 *Government of Ireland Act* based on nineteenth century assumptions that territory constituted the basis of a state. All across Europe after World War I similar lines were drawn on maps at a series of conferences leaving minorities trapped on the wrong side of the lines. Similar thinking produced the south's 1937 constitution which claimed the territory of the north.

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Stormont institutions may come and go, but they are ephemeral. It's a fundamental mistake to regard the Stormont institutions of the Good Friday Agreement as the final settlement, the be all and end all

The radically different basis for the north's existence after 1998 is based on consent of its people and guarantees their right to self-

determination through a referendum.

The 1920 *Government of Ireland Act* the British imposed was repealed and the 1937 *Bunreacht na hÉireann* was amended to enshrine the new thinking inspiring the Good Friday agreement. This new dispensation is based on peoples' rights as opposed to government fiat. Thus the critical British-Irish agreement in the GFA states that, "it is for the people of the island of Ireland alone by agreement between the two parts of the island respectively and without external impediment to exercise their right to self-determination".

Furthermore, the new thinking buttressing the GFA guarantees equality of status and parity of esteem to all citizens no matter how diverse as opposed to the old territorial state which required allegiance to one concept of statehood and discriminated against those whose allegiance and identity lay elsewhere.

Stormont institutions may come and go, but they are ephemeral. It's a fundamental mistake to regard the Stormont institutions of the Good Friday Agreement as the final settlement, the be all and end all. What Ireland's Future stands for is the full implementation of the Good Friday Agreement, that is, the full expression of the self-determination of the Irish people in a referendum on Irish reunification. To deny that is to oppose the Good Friday Agreement.



**Dr  
Brian  
Feeney**

**“It is for the people of the island of Ireland alone by agreement between the two parts of the island respectively and without external impediment to exercise their right to self-determination.”**

- British-Irish agreement in the Good Friday Agreement

## ‘Everyone who voted in favour of the Agreement had to challenge their own political perspectives’



**Patricia MacBride**

**The absence of a sitting Assembly at Stormont has somewhat taken the shine off the 25th anniversary of the Good Friday Agreement.**

Of course, there are the set-piece events at Queen's and Stormont and a brief visit by US President Joe Biden, but as we mark a quarter century, it is worth reflecting that we are still in a peace process.

When George Mitchell announced that a historic deal had been agreed between the political parties on that long Good Friday in 1998, he said that the agreement by itself did not guarantee peace or political stability or reconciliation. He acknowledged that the agreement deferred a number of major issues to the future and in the intervening years, many of those issues such as policing and justice have been tackled.

One of the key elements of the Agreement was that it stated explicitly that the different political objectives of republicans and unionists were both valid and it anticipated that people would continue to advocate for their respective positions through democratic and peaceful means.

It took a lot of heavy lifting by politicians and negotiators to get to the place where there

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Amidst all of the back-slapping and reminiscing and passing out of medals for work that's still in progress, as I contemplate the significance of the last 25 years, it is evident that it was the people who voted Yes in those referendums who showed the greatest courage

was a document that was circulated to every home on the island of Ireland which was put to a referendum on May 23 1998. It was perhaps the first time that many families sat down and discussed together the type of society they

wanted and began to envisage a future that was positive and peaceful.

Amidst all of the back-slapping and reminiscing and passing out of medals for work that's still in progress, as I contemplate the significance of the last 25 years, it is evident that it was the people who voted Yes in those referendums who showed the greatest courage.

Everyone who voted in favour of the Agreement had to challenge their own political perspectives. It was a big ask for the people of the Republic of Ireland to agree to changing the constitution to remove the territorial claim to the six counties. In voting yes, nationalists and republicans had to acknowledge that Northern Ireland was part of the United Kingdom and unionists, in turn, had to accept that the north's place in that United Kingdom was conditional.

Whilst we find ourselves once again in political mothballs at Stormont, it would be easy to ask what it is we are celebrating. The answer is straightforward – an imperfect peace is better than war.

Twenty-five years ago, the people of this island agreed that, knowing there would be hard work and compromise ahead. It is that hope and desire for better which has done so much more for building relationships and breaking down barriers than any piece of legislation ever can. And that's why May 23 will be the day where I celebrate just how far we have come.

## ‘The only way to build trust is to bring people together, build relationships and respect each other's opinions’

**Minister Neale Richmond TD Fine Gael**

**This past fortnight has, rightly, seen an intense period of reflection and commemoration about a period of time that brought unbridled hope to so many across this island, across these islands.**

Despite the current political impasse and the various struggles along the way; it is undisputed that the past 25 years since the Good Friday Agreement have been so much better than the 25 years that went before it. For those of us in the south, we have been able to look at the north as being defined by so much more than the troubles. It has become a far more open and accessible place. But despite such progress, too many in the

south are slow to engage with their northern counterparts, to break down the invisible borders and to build new relationships. That must change. If the past 25 years have taught us anything, it is that trust is the bedrock of political relationships. The only way to build trust is to bring people together, build relationships and respect each other's opinions. The GFA institutions are designed to do this and we have an obligation to prioritise them.

Now is the time that political leaders across these islands must reenergise their obligations to these institutions. That starts with the establishment of an Executive based on the election results of last May, soon followed by early and complete meetings of the British Irish Council and North South Ministerial Councils.

It is my deeply held personal aspiration that we will see our island reunited

as a single state within the European Union in the not so distant future. The GFA gives me and anyone on this island the right to work towards that aspiration and to vote for it in due course. However, to achieve that and to get ourselves on that constitutional path, much preparatory work needs to be done on an individual and collective level. Work that many people have started, particularly through Ireland's Future.

However, whatever one's constitutional ambitions are for this island, for these islands, there is a necessity to make Northern Ireland work and to make it work now. Make it work politically, socially, culturally and economically for all the people, not just for those one agrees with.

Political leaders today must show the same courage and vision as those of 25 years ago by coming back together and meeting their obligations.



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# 'The ultimate triumph of peace is Irish unity' - Mary Lou McDonald TD

Sinn Féin's President adds how 'we owe it to today's generation to reclaim the spirit and endeavour of 1998'



**Mary Lou McDonald TD**  
President Sinn Féin

**T**wenty-five years after its achievement, the Good Friday Agreement remains the light on the hill for all our people. It stands as a historic success in peacemaking that has reverberated, not only here in Ireland, but throughout the world. It remains an internationally acclaimed blueprint for the resolving of even the most intractable of conflicts.

The Agreement ended the conflict in Ireland. It ended three decades of hurt, suffering and loss, and opened the pathway to a new future that many believed was impossible. The achievement of the Good Friday Agreement is a gift from courageous peacemakers to this generation to protect and advance. In the spring of 1998, political and community leaders, from

all sides, overcame bitter division. They strove to truly see each other. They sought to see themselves in their opponents.

Then, they reached out the hand of understanding, trust, and partnership. They reached for a better tomorrow.

The test of leadership is to make things better for our children. The Good Friday Agreement generation has grown up free of conflict, in a vastly different world full of hope and opportunity.

Twenty-five years on, we are again challenged with this test. We owe it to today's generation to reclaim the spirit and endeavour of 1998.

To make progress happen.

It is in this spirit that I urge the DUP to join with Sinn Féin, and other parties, to restore the political institutions.

We can make politics work for everyone.

That is what Martin McGuinness did. It was what Ian Paisley did, and this generation must make power sharing work once more.

We can deliver an Executive for all. Ireland is changing. We are all called upon to help shape the future together. Ireland's

most promising future is found in reunification. The ultimate triumph of peace is Irish unity.

This future belongs to everyone.

The unity conversation belongs

equally to the Unionist

community. Your perspectives, ideas, and ideas matter. Your heritage, culture, and history matter.

We seek not only unity, but the achievement of a nation home for all the people of Ireland.

The next steps on the journey must be the establishment of a Citizens' Assembly.

Such a forum would allow for the mapping out of an inclusive vision of the future that is welcoming Unionists as equal citizens in a new Ireland. It would provide a basis for planned democratic constitutional change.

The Good Friday Agreement shows there is no limit to what we can achieve when we come together in the spirit of hope and generosity. It now falls to this generation to write the next chapter of opportunity, optimism, and progress. We can move forward in the belief that there is no 'them.'

There is only 'us.' Us, who call Ireland home.



**Colum Eastwood MP**  
Leader SDLP

## 'I remember the hope of the time because it was my first experience of political activism'

**I** am part of a generation of people who are immensely grateful for the peace we now enjoy but who look around at the society we've created since the Good Friday Agreement and ask, 'what's next?'

Like so many others, I remember the hope and optimism of April 1998. It felt like we were all part of a real revolution in the long history of our island. Finally, after decades of conflict which succeeded centuries of violence, the people of Ireland came together and, in the greatest demonstration of democratic consent ever to take place in our history, said that it was over. We would choose a new future together. I remember the hope of the time because it was my first experience of political activism as a 14-year-old growing up in Derry. I knocked doors

with the Yes campaign and asked my neighbours to vote for a different kind of future for my generation. And while what we have now is so much better than where we were then, the truth is that it wasn't supposed to be like this.

500,000 people waiting for hospital treatment. 10,000 families declared homeless. Thousands of children leaving school without good GCSEs. That's not the future we were promised, and it shouldn't be one that we're happy to live with. Devolved government, for all its limitations, has given us the power to shape a better future. And I sincerely want the Assembly and Executive back. But the hard truth is that devolution is a limited vector for change. Rearranging public services within the confines of six northern counties and with the limitation of a shrinking London subvention is a losing game. The reason so many of us believe in a new future as part of a new Ireland is because it is the biggest and boldest idea for fundamentally reordering our society in the best interests of all our people.

For us, this isn't about righting some ancient wrong. Our vision of the future is rooted in the belief that a better society is reachable.

That the journey to a new Ireland offers the greatest opportunity to reconcile the people who share this island. That real societal transformation and economic ambition ultimately relies on a fundamental change in how we fund our public services and run our economy. Transformation at that scale is only likely to come via a long term reimagining of our society in a new Ireland. And of course, that future should be at home in the European Union, delivering opportunity for everyone – no one who seriously believes in that goal can sit on the fence of this debate.

25 years ago, we delivered a real revolution in Irish politics. I believe that we are on the cusp of another revolution right now. One that secures peace and delivers prosperity.

That is the opportunity we're faced with. The challenge is to grasp it for all our people.



**25 years ago, we delivered a real revolution in Irish politics. I believe that we are on the cusp of another revolution right now. One that secures peace and delivers prosperity**

## ‘The spirit and consent-based principles of the Good Friday Agreement must remain our guiding inspiration’

**T**wenty-five years since the historic Good Friday Agreement, we celebrate the achievement of political giants like John Hume, Mo Mowlam and others. Their bravery, and that of so many across all communities, north and south, enabled a peace process which seemed impossible for many decades. Today, we must restate our commitment to build upon their work.

In recent years, we have seen the cruel murder of so many individuals, including that of the journalist Lyra McKee. The ambition of the architects of the Good Friday Agreement was greater than the political stasis and unrest which continues to imperil hard-earned peace in Northern Ireland.

The deadlock in Stormont must come to an end so that parliamentary democrats in the north can get back to work. It is the community which loses out with prolonged political

deadlock. There must be space for all sides to articulate their views, but the institutions of Northern Ireland must be allowed to function as they should. As a Connollyite republican, I believe that Labour – and the labour movement more broadly – have a crucial role to play in shaping the debate around the next phase in developing constitutional frameworks on this island.

For us in Labour, unification means a unity of people before any unity of territory. We consider that a huge amount of careful preparatory work must be done in both jurisdictions on this island in advance of the holding of any referendum on unification; in order to ensure that people on both sides of the Border are clear on what it is they would be voting on; and in order that any new constitutional settlement would be accepted by all communities on the island. We must learn from the mistakes of Brexit, in order to avoid dangerous division or

undermining of the peace process. The spirit and consent-based principles of the Good Friday Agreement must remain our guiding inspiration. Even to get to the point of holding a referendum on unification, an all-island citizens’ assembly, approved by the Stormont Assembly as well as the Oireachtas, must first be constituted, building on a process of consultation, to include White Paper and Green Paper mechanisms. As we mark this important anniversary, we might reflect that our collective task is a serious one which will require patience and consideration. It will involve profound change across the island. It will necessitate finding a way to accommodate differences and diversity. And it will involve, if we are to be successful, engagement by all sectors of society, including the trade union and labour movement, to ensure fairness and equality for all on the island of Ireland.



**Ivana Bacik TD**  
 Leader Labour Party

“ We consider that a huge amount of careful preparatory work must be done in both jurisdictions on this island in advance of the holding of any referendum on unification

## ‘Internationally, Ireland is viewed as having a fascinating past. It also has a fascinating future. No one should fear or feel threatened by discussing that future’



**Jim O'Callaghan TD**  
 Fianna Fáil

**U**nquestionably, the 25 years since the Agreement have been better for the people of Northern Ireland, and indeed the Republic, than the 30 preceding years. The removal of violence from politics in the north has not just resulted in hundreds of people being alive today who otherwise would needlessly have been killed, but also has confirmed that political objectives can only be pursued peacefully through discussion and compromise.

People on this island have many different political objectives. One prominent objective is Reunification; another

is continuation of the Union. These objectives are driven, to a large extent, by heritage and history. But heritage and history, although an integral part of our identities, are not good guides for the future. The political objective that the vast majority of people on the island share is to see an improvement in the lives, welfare and prospects of all citizens or subjects.

The extraordinary changes that have taken place in Northern Ireland over the past 25 years should not obscure the similarly extraordinary changes that have taken place in the Republic. Notwithstanding ongoing challenges in housing and health, the south has become a much wealthier, culturally diverse and tolerant society than it was in the previous century. The main driver of this change has been foreign direct investment and membership of the EU, particularly the single market. Irish independence has become a recognised success.

The people of both jurisdictions want

to see continuing improvements in their lives. This may be achievable by continuation of the status quo. But it also may be achievable and more successful by considering a different approach that recognises the damage that was inflicted on all groups by partition and the prospects that may arise from its removal. There is no homogenous view on what a unified Ireland would look like and it certainly will not conform to traditional visions. But it would provide a mechanism for the people of Ireland to mould their own future. No one group will design that mould; but it will be cast for the future not the past.

Internationally, Ireland is viewed as having a fascinating past. It also has a fascinating future. No one should fear or feel threatened by discussing that future. The dominant political objective must be to improve that future for all citizens or subjects. That objective can be achieved whilst respecting history and cherishing different heritages.

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# 'Real progress has been made, and we are determined to see it continue'



**Gerry Murphy**  
Assistant General  
Secretary ICTU

**ICTU reflects upon the 25th anniversary of the Belfast/ Good Friday Agreement**

Speaking on behalf of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions, which represents over 800,000 people in 40 unions on the island of Ireland, Assistant General Secretary Gerry Murphy observed that: ICTU maintained from the 1960s to 1998 and now, the long-held policy of NIC-ICTU:

- **The right to live free from violence, intimidation, sectarianism and discrimination**
- **The right to well-paid employment**
- **The right to adequate housing, health and education services**
- **The right to advocate political change through peaceful means**

The roles of trade unions in the Agreement was acknowledged by Mo Mowlam at the 1998 TUC conference where she praised "the unions for playing a key role in bringing about change in Northern Ireland", and that ICTU had "made an invaluable contribution to the achievement of an outstanding Yes vote in the May referendum".

In turn, we acknowledge the friendship and support we have received from trade unionists in England, Scotland and Wales, as well as the wider EU.

This was particularly important in highlighting the threat Brexit posed to the Agreement during the 2016 referendum campaign.

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**Congress still believes that the values and principles of the Agreement are precious and that the best tribute to the Agreement is to complete it**

Likewise, the creation of North-South bodies fostered a deeper civic and social engagement across the border which deepened the co-operation and mutual understanding among trade unionists across this island. Real progress has been made, and we are determined to see it continue.

Congress still believes that the values and principles of the Agreement are precious and that the best tribute to the Agreement is to complete it.

There has been too many disappointments with the promise inherent in the Agreement:

- **The Civic Forum was underfunded, then marginalised, now forgotten**
- **The Single Equality Act has been mothballed**
- **The Bill of Rights was obstructed, misrepresented and finally blocked**

Other progressive possibilities were undone by neoliberal 'reforms' which cost much, achieved little and were themselves mothballed, such as privatizing NI Water and cutting Corporation Tax.

Meaningful reforms to public services could have been achieved in the spirit of partnership which embodied the Agreement, but each step forward was knocked back by budget squeezes, political crises and the regular suspensions of the B/GFA institutions, not to mention extraneous shocks from the 2008 financial crisis, to the war in Ukraine, and most challenging of all, Brexit.

This challenge will have to be overcome, and we hope sense will prevail and the same willingness to take political risk will echo from 1998 until 2023 and beyond.

# 'A love story, a wake, a renewal of vows'

**A love story. I was 21 when the Good Friday Agreement took its first shaky steps.**

Me, the daughter of peaceniks, an Irish identifying Protestant dissenter who already inhabited both/and world the Agreement made real.

I set aside my exam prep in Dublin, and jumped on a bus home to vote with a bursting heart.

Yes to all this. Yes to laying down arms, to sharing power, expanding rights and equalities. The hope and promise of the Agreement has shaped my entire adult life. I am still in love with the optimism of this political moment, all its flawed and brave champions.

Awake. 24 years later and I am glued to the tv when the Northern Ireland Assembly folds, yet again, in October 2022. This time it lands differently. It feels like a wake.

There is bleakness etched in the MLAs faces. I am not sure if the institutions will be back. I wonder what will happen if they do come back, such is our post-Brexit paralysis. Fifteen months later, we slide deeper into system collapse each day.

The stagnation is not abstract.

It devastates lives. We are losing people. It compounds trauma.

It germinates a hopelessness which is not good for democracy.

And this is where I sit, on the 25th anniversary of the Good Friday Agreement. In dissonance. In both deep gratitude and numb exhaustion. Gently surveying the broken pieces, unsure if they can be stuck back together.

A renewal of vows. The things I want for the future are simple, in a way. I want to grow old in Co Down in peace with

my neighbours, in all of our diverse identities and loyalties. I want to have a voice as a citizen in a vibrant democracy. A democracy that is able to tend to the real problems in our lives. To our barren ecologies and inequalities. Maybe reunification is up to the task. Maybe it isn't. But I will pull up a chair to creative democratic conversation, wherever I can find it. The 1998 Agreement allowed us to grow like seedlings towards each other's light. We found tentative solidarities. For 25 years, we have placed hope in our neighbours. But our diversity has outgrown the pot the Agreement planted us in. We must be as audaciously honest and ambitious as the Agreement's architects. Invite evolution.

I renew my vows to this process without hesitation.



**Claire Mitchell**

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**I want to grow old in Co Down in peace with my neighbours, in all of our diverse identities and loyalties. I want to have a voice as a citizen in a vibrant democracy**

# ‘There is so much for us to celebrate, but we must move on to the next stepping stone’



**Andréa Murphy**

**M**y eldest child was born in November 1994. My second child in December 1998.

The next three children were born in the Good Friday Agreement's wake. Incoming tides of optimism, outgoing tides of challenge surrounded them as military barracks were dismantled and a new policing body was installed. They were thankfully oblivious to the context of these big moments in their little lives.

The son of the Good Friday Agreement made his transition in the first year of the non-11 Plus.

His stress at the age of ten was unforgivable with neither past papers, nor past example to follow. A victim of someone else's policies and a system of educational privilege as a Dublin woman I can't understand let alone explain.

All of these children, now adults, went to gaelscoileanna.

They have seen their language treated as second class hot potato and a political victory.

They just chat with their mates and express themselves more easily as gaeilge – there are more words for how they feel in this language that is denied

“ There is so much for us to celebrate but more to discuss. Our children's rights to cultural expression, education, housing, and prosperity

equality. Brexit has created uncertainty for all of them. The middle son goes to college in the south.

Jumping post-Brexit hoops to apply and fund requires the skills of accountancy and negotiation, which none of those from down the road 100 miles ever contemplate.

He can feel like a stranger in that part of his own country.

All of us hold passports as Irish citizens, but somehow we live with less rights.

The Good Friday Agreement ended, for the most part, our violent conflict, yet in our home the conflict of achieving truth and justice for the loved and missing members of the family surround us every day.

Irish citizenship with equal rights was promised to us as we cast our votes

with pride in May 1998.

It was how we told ourselves and our children we could progress into the 21st century.

Human rights were considered non-negotiable at those negotiating tables, yet we have spent 25 years negotiating their implementation, with the increasingly malign and self-interested influence of London diminishing our island's Peace Agreement's potential and creating perpetual crisis from the denial of identity, and rights.

There is so much for us to celebrate but more to discuss.

Our children's rights to cultural expression, education, housing, and prosperity.

That will only happen on this island.

Together. Let's move to the next stepping stone in front of us.

# ‘In a truly shared island we can achieve remarkable things’

**W**e must talk about the constitutional question and what it means to answer it well. There are those who complain that this region is obsessed, but they are wrong.

The island of Ireland continues its bad habit of evasion and avoidance.

You will be as tired as I am of deflection and delay. It never seems to be the right time, or even worse, we are told that legitimate aims are divisive.

How odd it would be if the 25th anniversary of the Good Friday Agreement perpetuates this pattern.

Why? Because at heart the Agreement is a constitutional compromise where status remains open. Foundational and fundamental promises were made, and they must be kept.

If people want to leave the Union with Britain, they are permitted, as a matter of right. Brexit combines with political and demographic trends to focus minds. People may well be given this choice

sooner than many expect.

Are you prepared if this happens? It is hardly a radical proposition. You cannot avoid asking people forever.

It seems fair then to do the planning in advance, so that a better sense of what voting for or against change will mean.

This is a chance to participate in a conversation about shaping a new and united Ireland.

Who would not want to be part of that?

We know, of course, there are many who will be anxious about engagement.

That is understandable. How might we then reframe dialogue as an invitation? If the terms we use get in the way, must we retain them?

How wonderful it would be if we could draw out hopes, aspirations, and dreams in the face of those who thrive on anger, fear, and hate. Imagine if we created spaces for new voices and perspectives, highlighting where we have gone wrong and what we could do better. The language of a ‘New Ireland’

should fill everyone with encouragement.

A sense that the desire is to improve, knowing what has happened here, aware of what we have done to each other.

Not skipping past the disagreements but recognising the opportunities that should not be neglected.

The reason so many are in these conversations is precisely because they know that as a truly shared island we can achieve remarkable things.

Division and separation have torn the island apart and held us back for too long, in every sense that matters. There is a constitutional pathway towards genuine reconciliation.

Will it be challenging? Yes. Will there be moments where difficulties will seem insurmountable?

Yes, again. Why go there then?

Because the prospect of repairing relationships on this island for the good of future generations is too valuable a prize to abandon.



**Professor Colin Harvey**

Colin Harvey is Professor of Human Rights Law and Director of the Human Rights Centre in the School of Law, Queen's University Belfast. He is on the Management Board of Ireland's Future.

“ We know, of course, there are many who will be anxious about engagement. That is understandable. How might we then reframe dialogue as an invitation? If the terms we use get in the way, must we retain them? How wonderful it would be if we could draw out hopes, aspirations, and dreams in the face of those who thrive on anger, fear, and hate



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