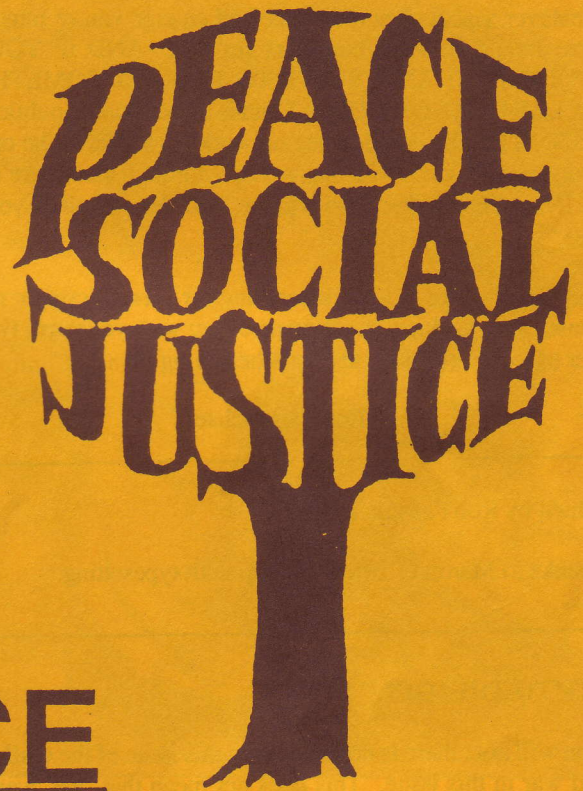"If you believe that there is an alternative you may find one.
If you believe that there is no alternative, you will not find one."

PEACE SOCIAL JUSTICE

An introduction

Welcome aboard the latest Dawn Train. I hope you have a pleasant journey through these pages. Moreover, I also hope that reading them leaves you nearer your destination!

However, while I wish you a pleasant journey it will not be an effortless one. I think the material in this issue is all readable but it demands attention and concentration to get the best out of it. It will repay a careful read.

Whatever aspect of nonviolence and change you're into think there should be something here for you. AND IF YOU'RE INTERESTED AND WANT TO FOLLOW SOMETHING UP, LET US KNOW. Dawn Train is an occasional publication of INNATE, the nonviolence network, so we have the opportunity to share ideas with many people through that (there's also the INNATE newsheet 'Nonviolent Daily News' which you can use).

And if you'd like to write something for Dawn Train, or reply, please don't hesitate. Lock yourself up with your pen, typewriter or word processor and let's be having ye.
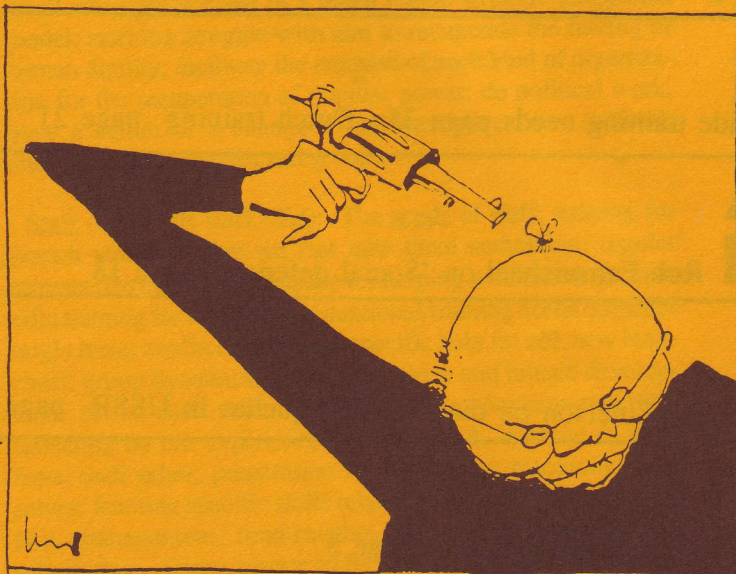
- Rob Fairmichael

Edited by Rob Fairmichael.

Thanks to Martin O'Brien for help with typesetting.

NO [TO THE] GULF WAR

You will note there is no mention in this issue of the Gulf crisis and war in this issue. This does not mean that 'we' were not involved in trying to prevent the outbreak of militarist insanity in the Gulf region and oppose it when it had broken out. International peace and other alternative media have been covering the issues in a way that we could not and apart from that there was massive, though often biassed, coverage in the principal media. As a very occasional publication our coverage would be out of date very soon. Len Munnik's cartoon, however, is worth a thousand words on the situation;

DAWN TRAIN 10, page two.

DISCONTENTS

~~~~Further copies of this issue available at 80 pence plus 20 pence postage per copy, or 5 copies for £4 post free.

DAWN TRAIN 10; publication date March 1991.

SUBSCRIPTIONS and BACK ISSUES;

Subscriptions are £3 minimum (£6 supporting subscription) for which you will receive £3 worth of magazines and postage. Frequency, size and cover price may vary.

A back issues list is available on request including material on nonviolence in Irish history, alternative defence, mediation, the Peace People, education, the Irish anti-nuclear power movement, men, etc.

Send to; Dawn Train, 16 Ravensdene Park, Belfast BT6 ODA. Phone Belfast 647106. Cheques should be made payable to 'Dawn'.

INNATE

Dawn Train is an occasional publication of INNATE, an Irish Network for Nonviolent Action Training and Education (a network of upwards of twenty groups and organisations, also with individual membership); please enquire for further details to the same address as Dawn Train.

INNATE produces a quarterly mailing for members which includes the newsheet 'Nonviolent Daily News' - also available to non-members for the price of postage.

DAWN TRAIN and INNATE, 16 Ravensdene Park, Belfast BT6 ODA.

A PERSONAL VIEW OF NONVIOLENCE -

"Supporting each other to do things that nobody should be able to do"

SUE WILLIAMS gave the keynote address at the INNATE conference on 'Back to the basics of nonviolence' held in Belfast in November 1990; we print here a transcript of her 'A personal view of nonviolence'

Introduction

I've been asked to talk today about my personal view of nonviolence. I hope that, although I'm doing the talking, you will all also be remembering the experiences you've had of nonviolence, and calling to your mind the things that nonviolence means to you. Because it is, by its nature, an experiential thing, and I can't know your experience.

Whatever I know about nonviolence, I have learned from other people. I have learned mostly in action, and thought about later. There would be very little that I know about nonviolence that I would have learned from books. One of the things that I will use from books, as a kind of framework this morning, is this: Gandhi uses several words about nonviolence, and I will ask you to keep in mind two of them. One of them is 'ahimsa', which, as I understand it, means not doing harm. And the other is 'satyagraha', which, as I understand it, means the power of truth, or the pursuit of truth. And in a lot of ways those are the poles of what nonviolence means to me.

In some ways I think I may have a different experience of nonviolence than most of you, because my ideas were formed during the civil rights days in the United States. So my knowledge of nonviolence, my sense of what it is, would be much closer to Martin Luther King than to Gandhi or any of the others.

I was young, a teenager, and I was involved at that time in a few demonstrations and sit-ins. If I sat here and called to mind an image of nonviolence, it would be a particular march I was in at that time, in Alabama. As you know, the black civil rights movement in America was led by a number of very disciplined and very religious black people. So, for me, nonviolence is both religious and disciplined. The particular image I have is of a time when we had been walking, and we were stopped by police on the road. The group immediately knelt and began to pray. Because they were careful, disciplined people, they put the like of me in the middle, and they put those who were much more disciplined and much better trained than I was around the edges. We knelt and prayed, and people came and spat at us and said dreadful things, and occasionally somebody would reach out and hit somebody.

Nonviolence as justice

There was something about that experience that is very important in forming what nonviolence is to me. In fact, for me, nonviolence isn't about violence at all, nonviolence is about

Sue Williams

justice. Because my experience is that it came from people whose concern was oppression and discrimination which was being done to them, and which they wanted to do something about. I went along in solidarity, but they were the people who had the experience. In a sense, the violence that we encountered wasn't there all the time. Most of the time, there wasn't visible violence. And people didn't get the energy to be nonviolent because of the violence, they got the energy to be nonviolent because of the injustice. They had a transcendent system of values, and they looked at the reality of their world in the light of that transcendent system of values.

I don't want to say that it's impossible to adopt nonviolence if you don't have a transcendent system of values, I'm not sure that's true, but I would say that the people I know who have been able to sustain nonviolence in the face of violence have been people who believed in something bigger. It might have been religious, it might have been an ethical system, a philosophical ideal, something that gave them something they could compare it to, and something that would carry them through the difficult times. I worry very much about people who only believe in the cause of the moment, or even the cause of a lifetime, because, if that's all there is, it becomes very easy to subordinate means to ends, and to decide that the cause is so important that you can do anything to achieve it. At that point, you've lost nonviolence.

There was something in the system of values that enabled people to be disciplined when things were difficult. And there was something in it that enabled people to do another thing that is crucially a part of nonviolence: dealing with other people as individuals. I lived in the northern part of America, and the civil rights movement took place primarily at that time in the South. It went on for a long time, about 12 or 15 years of people doing things that got very little attention, and certainly produced no visible effect on society. But they persisted in it.

One of the advantages that I had was that, although I lived in the North, both sides of my family were from the South, and, as you can probably tell, both sides of my family were basically white. So, when I went south to do a sit-in or a demonstration, I knew that the white people out there were like my relatives. I knew that they were basically good people, doing what they thought they should be doing. And I knew that you couldn't just reject them, you couldn't just say: We're going to have a whole new generation of people here, and just dispense with these.

Like the black southerners, I knew something about those people, and I knew that there were things in them that could be appealed to. I knew that they also had a transcendent system of values, and that somehow you had to make them juxtapose their values with the reality of the world that they were part of. It's been an important influence for me. It's meant that I've not been able, ever since then, to deal with things at very much of a distance. I don't want to lobby people, or write letters, or organize boycotts from a distance, where perhaps it looks simpler. That isn't the reality. I want to be in the middle of the thing, and know what it feels like there. And I think that's part of what nonviolence is.

DAWN TRAIN 10, page four.

The civil rights movement went on for a long time, and in fact continues to go on. But the next large involvement that I had was the experience of pacifism, particularly with respect to the Vietnam War. I think that my sense of nonviolence would have been different if my first experience of it had been dealing with the Vietnam War. In many ways I'm glad I had the civil rights experience before that. I see pacifism and nonviolence as being very different things. I don't tend to confuse them. I knew that I was going to be committed to nonviolence long before I knew about pacifism.
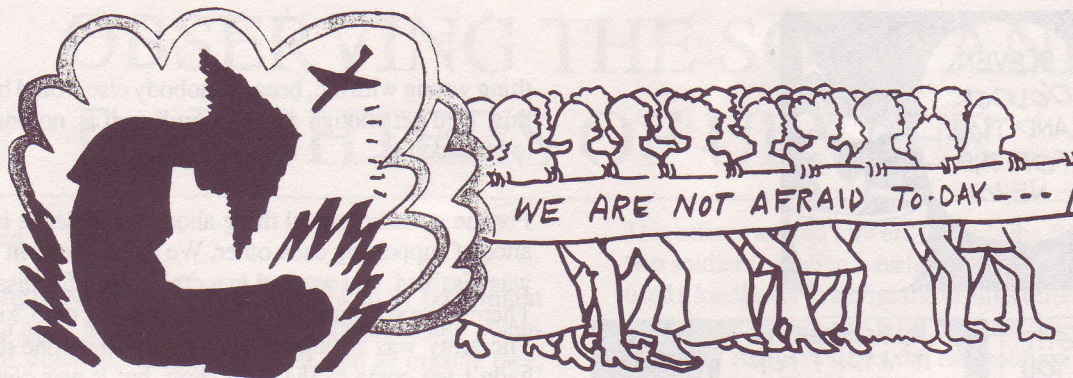
My experience of the Vietnam war was not primarily one of demonstrations and things, although I did a bit of that. It was primarily the experience of doing draft counselling: Talking with 18-year-old young men, who now seem to me incredibly young, who were being asked to go out and kill people, or get killed. And I would meet with them and try to help them decide what they wanted to do. I think some people who hear about draft counselling think that means that you go and try to talk them into being conscientious objectors. It would not take more than one such session to discover that you were not going to talk anybody into anything. These were young people confronted with an enormous choice. There was just no way that you could impose your views on them.

In the context of talking with them about what they felt they had to do in an impossible situation, it became very clear that all you really can do with other people is to try to help them decide conscientiously what they have to do. These young people were going to have to decide whether they would risk their lives, whether they would be willing to kill other people, and how they would live with the consequences of that decision. I thought that draft counselling was successful if it achieved any clear results. If the young man came out of it feeling very clearly that he should be a soldier, he should fight, and he could live with himself having done so, I was happy with that. Or, if he came out of it feeling: I can't do this thing, I'm not going to fight, and I know that now - then I was happy with that. All we really can demand of each other is to look at the thing conscientiously. And there are conscientious soldiers as there are conscientious objectors. Certainly, in terms of classical nonviolence, the decision of what you're going to do about something like an injustice or another person being hurt is the basis of all of nonviolence.

I think that was also when I began to see that there wasn't going to be a lot of personal purity in this thing. There are people, and I would have a lot of respect for them, who can simply withdraw from the world, and maintain their personal purity in the face of how dreadful the world is. Most people don't do that, and can't, and most don't even want to. But, once I engage in the world, my personal purity is no longer the main issue. It's other things, like justice and peace, that becomes the issue at that point.

Another thing that became part of nonviolence for me at that time was a response to a kind of duality. It was a duality that I could have seen, if I had been looking at it, in civil rights days. But instead, the place where I first saw it was in conscription. The people who were being conscripted were 18-year-old men. 18-year-old women did not get conscripted. These lads were being told that there were certain qualities that they should have that should make them anxious to go off and kill people, and be heroes, and lay down their lives, to protect their mothers, their sisters, their girl-friends. To protect the 18-year-old women

who were not being asked to go off and fight. And the 18-year-old women were being asked to accept that this was being done in their name. They weren't offered a choice about it, either.

I could have seen the duality in terms of people dividing things between black and white, or between old and young, or in various other ways. I don't think it matters too much where you first see it, but at some point you finally do see it. And you realize that the thing doesn't work because of the duality, because we are trying to persuade ourselves that one group of us can be all that is good and sweet and pure, and another group of us can be all that is heroic and aggressive. All of these qualities are good qualities, and all of us have them in different degrees. But the world doesn't divide itself that way. You can't set one set of qualities to war with another set of qualities. When you do that, even within your own culture, it sets up the possibility for you to make other people non-beings, and that's how you become willing to kill them. It becomes possible for these two groups, who don't regard each other as enemies, but who regard each other as completely different and having nothing in common, to deal very violently with each other.

Partial truths

At that time also I first stumbled across what I have come to call partial truths. We all have a piece of the truth. we don't all have the same one. Our problems come when we think that our piece of the truth is the whole truth. For example, I decide that pacifism is the truth, and that's all the truth there is, and everybody who isn't pacifist is wrong. Or, conversely, somebody else says: "I'm going to fight as a soldier, and I'm going to lay down my life, and it says right there in the Bible: greater love hath no man, than that he lay down his life for his friend. There is nothing better I can do." And he's not wrong, but he's nor right either. That is a partial truth, it is one truth, but it is not the only truth.

It was particularly in dealing with these very young men trying to grapple with an enormous decision that I first began to see the problem of competing truths. One of the things that I mean by nonviolence is the determination to cling to my piece of the truth, but to try to add to it all the other pieces of the truth that everybody else has. I need the pieces of the truth that I don't have. I need them more than I need the people who agree with me. I need to know what you see that I don't see. And somehow maybe we can put them together and get a much more complete truth.

I would be willing to discuss at length sometime the things I would be willing to die for, but I discovered that there wasn't anything I was willing to kill for, because there wasn't anything

that I knew of as so perfect a truth that anybody else's life could be given away for it. So for me, those choices are very different choices. The question of what I am willing to sacrifice myself for is a very different choice from what I am willing to sacrifice somebody else for. There are things in the first column, there is nothing in the second.

One of the interesting things that I had the opportunity to do a few years ago was to attend a Church of the Brethren weekend for members of their church, a peace church, who had decided that they should be soldiers in the Second World War. It was most moving to see this group of men, who were now 35 years or so past their war experience, who had continued quietly to be members of the church, but who had not felt accepted during that entire time. They never felt that their pacifist church had come to grips with their experience and their need to be soldiers.

This retreat was both parts of the church coming together and saying: You were right, and we were also right, and none of us was wrong. We can all be part of the same church, and we can accept what has happened. I think we don't do that often enough. We don't see the people in our midst who have made what all of us know are difficult choices, choices that perhaps we don't agree with. We need to have that kind of reconciliation with them, and to acknowledge: You have a different piece of the truth than I have, but it is valid as well.

Nonviolence in the face of violence

In more recent years what I have been doing, in Haiti, Botswana, Uganda, and now Northern Ireland, would come loosely under the heading of community development. It has tended to be community development in the face of violence. So nonviolence has become for me an issue that now involves violence, in a way that it really didn't in earlier parts of my life. One of the strange sidelights about that is that I don't actually think in terms of nonviolence any more. When I was asked to talk about this, I realized that it's not a term that I have in my head very much any more. It is so much a part of everything else that I do, that I don't even see it as an issue. So, it was quite interesting to sit down and figure out what it is to me.

In recent years I've learned about a couple of different aspects which I think were there all along, but I didn't really see them. The first of them is empowerment. Working in Haiti with street children who were basically starving, one of the things I learned a lot about was the capacity of human beings to make choices, even when we don't think they have any choices to make. If you were a four-year-old, living on the street, there would not be a lot of choices in your life. I think of one little girl called Naomi,

ELEVEN O'CLOCK, AND TIME FOR THE NEWS

THE NEWS TONIGHT IS BROUGHT TO YOU BY ACME MUNITIONS COMPANY...

REMEMBER, IF IT WASN'T FOR ACME MUNITIONS, THERE WOULD BE NO NEWS!

for example. Whenever she got any food, she would share it with whoever was around her. It's a fairly astonishing choice from a child in her position. She, in fact, did die during the time that I was in Haiti, but she always shared the things she got with other children. And, in one way, it was successful, because the other children always shared what they had with her. In another way, it wasn't successful, because she didn't live, and neither did most of them.

Even in situations where people have no visible choices at all, they still do have choices. It is extremely important that we not disempower those people by telling them that they haven't any choices. Fundamentally, I suppose, the absolute, rock-bottom line is, that we always do have a negative choice. We can always say no. We may not, but we can. It may cost us our lives, but we can say no. People can't actually force us to do things. But the negative choices are not the most important ones. The most important choices are the positive ones.

Uganda, for example, was a situation in which people were killed all the time, and no one was ever arrested. You almost had to have a good reason not to kill somebody. But most people didn't kill anybody. Even in a situation where there seemed to be no choice at all, and where the rest of us would have been inclined to say: Oh, well, of course they used violence, because what else could they do? Even in those situations, there are people who choose not to use violence. There are people who find other ways to do things. And I've learned two things from that. One of them is that, if you believe that there is an alternative, you may find one. If you believe that there is no alternative, you will not find one. So, one very basic thing is, how do we find the belief to search?

And another thing is the importance of supporting people who make choices that we think are impossible choices. I see it frequently in the context of South Africa, and occasionally in other places, where it is just so easy to say to somebody: Certainly, anybody would use violence in this circumstance. And it's tremendously disempowering to the people in the situation, because it makes them feel as though they must not be fully human. There is so strong an assumption - I saw it and felt it myself about people who had been tortured - there is a tendency to say that no one could endure that, it is unendurable. And the person who does endure it says: There must be some-

DAWN TRAIN 10, page six.

thing wrong with me, because nobody else would have survived this. You get enough survivor guilt as it is, no one needs for it to be added to.

For me a really crucial thing about nonviolence is the importance of supporting each other. We had a friend in Uganda who was disabled, and worked in a craft centre for disabled people. There were six armies in Uganda, running mad, killing people. The army was sweeping through the town one day, and they hadn't yet come to the craft shop, but it was clear they were going to come and loot the place. Christopher got the disabled people, and they all stood outside on their crutches and in their wheelchairs, Christopher holding a spear. They just stood there when the army came with submachine guns and grenades. Because the craft shop was very important to them. It was their livelihood, and it was also their community. And the soldiers were really nonplussed about this. Finally, I think largely because there was a sense of taboo about bringing oneself to shoot somebody in a wheelchair, the soldiers went away.

This is a story I was telling someone else, and they said: "Well, that's not nonviolence, he had a spear." And I thought to myself: You try it. You stand in front of a submachine gun with a spear and a crutch, and see if you feel that that's violent. It's terribly important that we not get caught up in the minutiae of the definition of what is and what isn't violent, but that we be able to see in a supportive way that people are making what choices they can.

Because all of us need that support, and all of us need to know that what we're doing is not all that's happening - if I thought that, I wouldn't get out of bed in the morning. Fortunately, all the rest of you are doing all the things you're doing, and collectively, we make very small differences in the face of enormous odds. So, for me, nonviolence is about people supporting each other to do things that nobody should be able to do.

Dawn Train No.9 had a 7-page interview with Sue and Steve Williams where they talked about their experience of involvement in different situations around the world.

Sue and Steve Williams

OBSERVING THE SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF ULSTER.....

Introduction

The observing of events by an external or 'impartial' body might seem to be a basic part of a nonviolent response in any potentially violent situation; showing interest, and an outside face, helping all sides to behave themselves. You might think, therefore, that observing would be in the forefront of nonviolent responses in Northern Ireland. You might think wrong. And you might also be wrong if you thought it was just a matter of donning your armband and standing around.

However, as John Watson's fascinating article following demonstrates, it has been tried. The question which arises is to what extent it can be tried again. IF YOU ARE INTERESTED IN BEING INVOLVED in a working group looking at the possibilities for observing today, please contact INNATE (same address as Dawn Train).

'THE OBSERVER CORPS'

by John Watson

On 8th July 1990 I was one of twenty INNATE observer on the Garvaghy Road, Portadown (more of which later) and agreed to write a personal report afterwards. One night Rob Fairmichael rang me up to remind me about the promised report and he also cajoled me into writing an article for 'Dawn'. He suggested that I might include an account of my experiences as an observer in the early days of the 'Troubles'.

OBSERVING IN THE EARLY TROUBLES

During the period 1969-72 I was a member of the Central Citizens Defence Committee (CCDC) in Belfast. Despite the name, this was very much a non-violent body which represented the Catholic areas of Belfast in dealings with the civil, police and military authorities and the media, engaged in social/welfare/civil liberties work, strove constantly to prevent sectarian trouble and violent clashes between sections of the Catholic population and the security forces, and often intervened in riot situations to restore peace.

Thus we were frequently called upon to act as troubleshooters (pardon the term!) and negotiators in various parts of Belfast and we also constantly monitored the behaviour and actions of local people and the police/army as relatively objective observers in tense situations.

In the early days we enjoyed a high level of co-operation and acceptance from the RUC and the army at all levels. We had full access to the Chief Constable, Sir Arthur Young, and other senior police officers; we met regularly with military commanders including the Commander of Land Forces, Northern Ireland. We were listened to and our advice acted upon.

I have a clear memory of being on the Falls Road one day when a loyalist crowd marched along Percy Street towards the Falls - and they weren't coming for a social visit. The army were there and the officer in charge asked us to keep our people back and let the army deal with the hostile crowd.

This officer walked forward towards the "invaders" followed by two soldiers carrying a furled banner of some sort. The officer used a loudhailer to advise the visitors three times that they were a riotous assembly and must disperse otherwise CS gas would be used. As he finished the two soldiers unfurled the banner which carried a warning that CS gas would be used if they did not disperse immediately. They didn't and it was! The crowd fled in panic.

We were thanked by the officer for our assistance in keeping the local Catholics from getting involved but really we had an easy task under the circumstances.

I remember on one occasion when there was hostility between the Catholics of Ardoyne and their Protestant neighbours from the other side of the Crumlin Road in North Belfast. The RUC were called in but the Catholics objected to their presence. We intervened successfully with the result that unarmed RUC men faced the Protestant crowd while unarmed military policemen restrained the Catholic crowd.

A number of CCDC members were present as official observers to monitor this unique policing action and we were glad to see the situation quickly defused by firm, persuasive and equal-handed methods. During the confrontation one Ardoyne man said to me, "You know that's the first time the RUC have ever turned their backs on Catholics to face Protestants. I think our people will respond well to the military policemen!"

OBSERVING AND INTERVENING

On another occasion we were told that RUC patrols in the Castle Street area of the Lower Falls were behaving aggressively towards local youths at week-ends and that tension was begin-

This is to Certify that the bearer

....

of ....

is authorized by the CDC to act on its behalf within the area of

....

....—Chairman

Date...

ning to mount. I contacted the Chief Constable to inform him of the report we had received and to advise him that I would be bringing a team of observers to Castle Street to monitor the situation. He replied that his police would be instructed to co-operate fully with us in this matter.

We walked conspicuously about the area but saw nothing untoward. Then we heard that some youths were abusing staff and customers at a hamburger bar. We were concerned that a police presence might make matters worse and we felt it would be more prudent to try to sort out the trouble ourselves rather than simply observe and report/complain afterwards on the police action. We ran to the shop to get there before the police.

I think the troublesome youths, who were not from the Falls area, were afraid of the big "vigilantes" as we were often called. They submitted fairly quietly to being escorted to the bus stop and put on a bus for home. As they were leaving, one of the policemen who had entered the shop just after us said, "Come on, lads, do as the men say. Just go on home. We don't want any trouble!"

SHORT STRAND

Short Strand is a small Catholic enclave in loyalist East Belfast which has often been attacked. One day we received a phone call telling us that the area was under siege following an Orange parade and that the police had turned a blind eye to loyalist activity.

Four of us drove quickly from the Falls Road to the Newtownards Road and into the Short Strand. To get in we had to pass through several ranks of armed soldiers equipped with full-length riot shields who had sealed off all entrances to the area. The army, we were told, were ensuring that the Short Strand was not invaded while the RUC were responsible for the whole area outside. According to reports, the police had allowed a huge loyalist crowd to gather on the Newtownards Road just beside the Catholic church. The local people feared that the church was going to be attacked and burned and that the police would do nothing to prevent it.

We decided to go and see for ourselves. We rounded the corner of a street and walked across the church grounds. Then we stopped dead! The road outside was jammed solid with people and the ground was littered with stones. There was certainly no sign of police activity - as far as we could see in the little time we had to observe.

We were spotted by the crowd and torrents of abuse and a hail of missiles were directed towards us. Several soldiers ran forward to protect us with their shields. Such was the ferocity and quantity of the missiles that they were almost beaten to their knees. We retreated hurriedly to safety.

Shortly afterwards we went through the lines of soldiers at the end of the main street to observe the scene on the main Newtownards Road again. As soon as we appeared on the road a large section of the crowd ran towards us hurling stones and abuse at us. Once more we sought refuge behind the riot shields.

It took many hours for the police to persuade the vast crowd to disperse and we were forced to stay in the area until it was safe for us to leave. We saw practically nothing of the police action as we were literally imprisoned in the area along with the local inhabitants.

DAWN TRAIN 10, page eight.

CRUMLIN ROAD

One of the most frightening experiences I had was while acting as an observer at the Crumlin Road end of Ardoyne when a large Orange parade was permitted to pass the ruins of houses burnt by loyalists in late 1969.

Two of us were outside the (army) barricades at Hooker Street behind a wall of policemen facing outwards on to the main road. At most a dozen residents stood watching and waiting. We were talking to an army captain when the parade arrived accompanied by a horde of supporters.

These supporters stopped and turned to face Hooker Street. They brandished their fists and screamed in hate, "Burn the bastards out!". It was enough to chill the blood.

Then they ran yelling towards the police line which just melted away. Some of the police made half-hearted and feeble attempts to stem the flood; most simply stood aside and did absolutely nothing. We were cut off as the mob rushed right up to the barricades and we were very concerned for our own safety.

One of the policemen actually had the gall to approach us to tell the army captain that "some of these people" (i.e. members of the mob) believed we were carrying guns. The captain told him to catch himself on and bluntly told him that he and the other police would be better employed dispersing the mob.

Eventually the loyalists were pushed back on to the main road and the police line reformed, content with containing them there while the litany of hate continued unabated. My companion left at this point to go further up the road where rioting had broken out.

The army captain then astounded me by telling me that he had been ordered to remove the two tricolours being flown behind the barricades. It was incredible! There were hundreds of yelling, threatening loyalists on the main road - and the army was going to attack about a dozen peaceful youths, women and children to remove two flags!

Once again I decided that it was better to intervene in the hope of preventing further unnecessary violence rather than to merely observe and report on events. I persuaded the army officer to hold off for a short period while I negotiated the removal of the flags.

I was successful and I then urged him to do his job of clearing the road. That took many long hours.

UNITY FLATS

CCDC observers/negotiators were also frequently in action at another notorious flashpoint - the Catholic Unity Flats at the bottom of the Protestant Shankill Road.

During one period returning crowds of football supporters used to gather opposite Unity Flats singing sectarian songs, hurling abuse and waving flags. Each Saturday the crowd grew bigger until eventually it numbered well over a thousand men and youths. As observers standing at prominent vantage points outside the safe confines of the flats we felt very vulnerable and decidedly nervous as the mood of the crowd grew uglier and numbers increased Saturday after Saturday.

Each week we watched the homecoming fans make their way up North Street with their police escort. As soon as they reached

a particular point opposite Unity Flats, they stopped and began their antics. The police kept them on the other side of the road but allowed them to remain there instead of keeping them on the move.

More and more arrived and many others came down the Shankill Road to join the gathering.

On the final Saturday, over a thousand people had assembled, contained by a large force of police with the whole of Unity Flats ringed by protective lines of troops. And we were outside the ring of steel!

The army commander told us to get behind the soldiers as he believed the crowd was going to launch an attack on the flats.

Orders rang out quickly and guns were readied all along the lines of soldiers.

The atmosphere was electric and tense. The crowd fell silent. I noticed soldiers' hands tightening on their guns and an air of expectancy hung over the whole area. It was nerve-wrecking. I thought, "O God, that crowd are going to storm the flats and the soldiers are going to start shooting."

Thankfully, that awful moment passed, the tension eased and some people at the edge of the crowd began to drift away. Others followed until only a hard core of several hundred remained.

The army and the police decided to move this remnant of the vast crowd up the Shankill Road and they did so quite aggressively.

THE TROUBLES ESCALATE

From mid-1970 onwards relations between the army/police and the Catholic population had begun to deteriorate rapidly and riots became a regular feature of life in Catholic areas. The Provisional IRA grew in strength, loyalist paramilitary organisations began a campaign of shootings and bombings similar to that of the Provisionals and a vicious circle of violence was created involving the security forces, republican and loyalist paramilitary organisations.

We continued our work of observing and negotiating in increasingly difficult and dangerous circumstances. We became unpopular with the army/police, republicans, loyalists and rioters because of our outspoken comments and peace-making activities.

We found the channels of communication between ourselves and the army/police almost totally severed and we frequently had to resort to media publicity to air our complaints and observations. This was resented by the army/police at all levels and we soon began to find co-operation replaced by aggression, rejection and harassment. We had become personae non gratae.

The CCDC headquarters were raided by the army one night and, when we objected, we were pinned to the walls with rifles across our chests. We were all placed under "house" arrest and armed soldiers prevented anyone entering or leaving the building.

At times we were "escorted" out of areas by troops. We were told our presence was unwelcome and threatened with arrest if we returned.

I myself found it impossible to get through army checkpoints without being stopped and given the third degree every time. My car was well known and I was frequently stopped and

questioned by soldiers who almost seemed to be lying in wait for me. I received several veiled threats and twice I was arrested and interrogated.

Nor were we any more popular with the Provisional IRA. On one occasion when a group of us went to the New Lodge Road as observers, I was taken quietly to one side and told fairly bluntly to get out of the area as I wasn't wanted.

An incriminating subversive document was "planted" in our office once and the army staged a raid - obviously acting on a tip-off. They seemed to know what they were looking for but, fortunately, we had found the document ourselves and destroyed it before the army raid!

We had missiles hurled at us by rioters; we were harassed by the army; we were threatened by military and paramilitary personnel alike; and finally the gunmen and the bombers made it impossible for us to continue our work of observing and intervening. It became too dangerous on the streets!

PRESENT TIME

At a Pax Christi Belfast branch meeting early in July, 1990, I learned that INNATE was trying to recruit volunteers to act as observers on the occasion of the annual Orange parade along the predominantly Catholic Garvaghy Road in Portadown.

Because of my previous experience in this field I decided to volunteer and I went along to the preliminary briefing. We were told that the local Drumcree Faith and Justice Group (DFJ) were going to stage their regular non-violent protest and had invited INNATE to act as impartial observers.

We discussed the Code of Conduct for Observers that had been drawn up (see final draft included here - Ed). It was agreed that all should wear distinctive armbands so that we could be clearly identified as neutral observers. We felt that the armbands would give us some status.

Some of those present felt that we should regard ourselves solely as observers while others, including myself, believed that we should also be prepared to intervene where necessary to prevent trouble.

DAWN TRAIN 10, page nine.

It was suggested that those who felt compelled to go beyond the role of observer and become actively involved should remove the armband first. However we felt that this was unacceptable since (a) the armbands were the only means of distinguishing us from the local participants and in a confrontation situation it was most essential that we retained our identity, (b) the armbands gave us some status for intervening and (c) it could cause confusion and suspicion if some observers were seen to remove their armbands to become active participants - and possibly this could compromise the position of those retaining their armbands. Moreover, it was important that at all times observers should be able to recognise each other and the armbands were the most effective means of doing so - especially as not all the observers were personally acquainted.

For tactical reasons also the armbands proved very useful. At Garvaghy Road we were able to see where other observers were positioned/most in evidence and deploy ourselves more effectively.

We did not know exactly what the Drumcree Faith and Justice Group intended to do since they would not finalise their plans until the Sunday. They were concerned that advance notice of their plans could encourage militants to 'hijack' the occasion for their own ends.

We agreed, therefore, to wait until we arrived in Portadown for a more intensive briefing.

We learned that Sinn Fein had called for a full-scale demonstration in the area on the Saturday - the day before the Orange parade was due to take place - and we knew that events on Sunday could well be dictated by what happened the previous day.

The lack of any news in the media on Saturday and Sunday morning indicated that the Sinn Fein demonstration had been uneventful.

We decided to meet early on Sunday morning and travel together to Portadown. There was always the possibility that the whole area could be sealed off and that we might be unable to get to Garvaghy Road. Even if this were to be the case, we decided to go anyway. We could negotiate with the police to see

if they would let us in to carry out our role as observers and, if they wouldn't, we could still observe activity on the periphery of the area.

We had no difficulty in gaining access and we had our final briefing in the Drumcree Faith and Justice premises. It was decided that observers should operate in pairs and we decided fairly generally who should cover the various activities, bearing in mind that we should use our own initiative depending on how the occasion developed.

Martin O'Brien and Sylvia Thompson were nominated as spokespersons to liaise with the media.

We then moved out to begin our appointed task.

ON THE GARVAGHY ROAD

When we arrived on foot at Garvaghy Road before the 'action' started, Sister Christina and I generally walked about with the other observers both to get the feel of the place and to make ourselves conspicuous. We engaged in general conversation with the organisers (DFJ) and some of the local people.

We quickly identified a Sinn Fein activist who strode around 'giving off' and complaining to the DFJ people and seemingly wanting to participate in the action. He was turned down amicably and some of the DFJ people tried to reason with him.

Dog (King James) and horse (King William), Garvaghy Road, Portadown, July 1990.

(Perhaps we should have allocated an observer to this man all through the afternoon as he was evidently anxious to do something. There was a rumour that Sinn Fein were going to stage something but this did not materialise. Later as the Orange parade passed this man seemed to lose control of himself and began shouting at the police manning the line on the side of the road where the tea-party was. I was about to make my way towards him to intervene but a DFJ member led him away and calmed him down).

Shortly after the first police vehicles took up position, we noticed several republican flags flying in a garden overloooking the route of the Orange parade and just above a line of police landrovers.

Christina and I walked up through the police and their vehicles to observe the reaction of the police and the attitude/actions of those responsible for the flags. We observed and heard nothing untoward. Good spirits were in evidence.

Later the flags appeared briefly on the roof of the house and were then taken down - by whom we do not know. (On reflection it might have been better to have asked the flag owners what they intended to do and to have informed the DFJ immediately if their proposed action was of concern. This intervention would have been better coming from the DFJ group rather than an outside observer! It might also have been useful to have had an observer stationed at this point right through the afternoon as it was a potential flashpoint.)

When the police began to block off one side of the road some of the local people protested vociferously at being told to move back. They were being ushered firmly and without any polite request from the side of the road/pavement. A little polite persuasion might have worked rather than an implied order to 'MOVE!'.

A DFJ member calmed the situation down and persuaded the people to move back which they did reluctantly. The police drivers were slightly aggressive in nosing their vehicles on to the footpath with the intention of forcing spectators back.

Christina and I stood on the road just outside the line of police and their vehicles. One policeman brusquely ordered us onto the footpath and, when I told him we wanted a good vantage point from which to observe, he told us unnecessarily and quite bluntly that we would be causing an obstruction. He told us to move to the other side of the road - which we did!

This policeman, at least, seemed to resent our presence as observers and was apparently hostile to us in his manner and speech although he was in no way abusive or insulting (It might have been better if we had engaged in friendly dialogue with this policeman re our role at the time or better still to have engaged in such dialogue with the police as soon as they had arrived.)

During the tea-party, dramatised story and comic Orange and Green 'football match' (where the referee was 'biased' in favour of the Orange team) we both remained close to the participants for the purpose of close observation and listening. I found nothing in the behaviour of the participants or the police to criticise.

When the 'football match' was in progress the ball struck one of the police landrovers and some of the policemen looked a bit annoyed and looked ready to intervene when a couple of the players leaned on the vehicle and poked their legs under the vehicle to extricate the trapped ball.

"In the name of the law, stop muckin' about"! Actually the senior RUC officer signalling for the sitters down to be removed during Drumcree Faith and Justice Group sit-down, Portadown, July 1990.

Again, when the passing traffic and the footballers intermingled, the police looked set to intervene but happily did not.

(It was most unfortunate that the disco group were late as, if they had been in action from the beginning, even before the police arrived, it might have helped create a carnival atmosphere earlier).

Also someone from the DFJ could have explained (even using a bullhorn) the rationale behind the actions and could have appealed for public participation in the tea-party and for peaceful support. The 'football match' could have had a commentator, could have had a funny script and might have been played with a very large beach-ball, cloth ball or balloon. Regular appeals for calm and dignity in support of the protest action might have helped.)

When the police blocked off the side of the road where Christina and I were positioned, they themselves created the possibility of confrontation by forming a human line face to face with spectators and pressing them back physically - though not forcibly! (Was this because of the (envisaged) need to carry off middle-of-the road protesters?)

A number of locals objected to this action and voiced their dissatisfaction in strong terms. I positioned myself in the middle of this action and I think my presence had some effect on those involved - police and locals - because the confrontation stopped almost immediately I arrived. I received some pointed looks from the police especially.

When the Orange parade arrived and the disco began to play 'Olé', the Republic of Ireland's World Cup football song, a number of young girls just up from me began to swear loudly and give the 'fingers' to the Orangemen. Many of the Orangemen turned to look at these girls - and to respond. A few doffed their bowlers, others smiled and others waved - mock-

Half of the horse is carted away (putting the cart before the horse?), Garvaghy Road, Portadown, July 1990.

ingly I felt! This infuriated the girls but they then got caught up in the catchy 'Olé' tune and began singing and waving their arms.

One young man became fairly agitated and started giving off to one of the policemen opposite him in the line. This policeman was not wearing any numbers and therefore could not be identified.

The young man told the policeman that he should be ashamed of himself because of the role he was undertaking. The policeman replied that it was he and the other locals who should be ashamed of themselves because of their behaviour and language.

I had the impression that this policeman was a little incensed and ready to engage in a full-scale argument.

I quickly moved beside the two of them and looked quite pointedly from one to the other. The policeman ceased talking and the local man turned on his heel and strode off - with a parting muttered remark that I could not make out.

I remained in this position for a short while but there were no further incidents.

Immediately the middle-of-the-road sit-down began, Christina and I moved rapidly to stand as close to the circle of protesters as we could.

The officer in charge approached within seconds and addressed Father Lennon by name and asked him politely to move. Father Lennon did not look up but kept his head slightly bowed and said, "I am not refusing to move!". The request and answer were repeated twice again.

The senior officer did not address any of the other protesters so he was quite clearly indicating either that he regarded Father Lennon as the leader, the person with the most influence or the one who was most likely to respond.

(This was a very clever move on the part of the police officer, i.e. addressing the 'leader' by name and thereby putting pressure on this individual and trying to isolate him from the group/break down the group's solidarity).

When Father Lennon stated for the third time that he was not refusing to move but remained sitting where he was, the senior officer signalled to a group of policemen and women who were standing by just below the tea-party table.

They came forward and lifted the protesters firmly but gently and carried them off the road to the pavement where they deposited them carefully.

Christina and I separately followed a protester and his/her police 'escort' right over to the pavement and stood as close as possible to them during the whole operation until the police finished and withdrew.

I do not believe anything was said by anyone during this activity but I cannot be sure. Neither the behaviour of the protesters nor that of the police could be faulted.

When the Orange parade had passed, I noticed the senior police officer approaching Father Lennon and shaking his hand - in thanks for a peaceful event?

The police then evacuated the entire area in what I would regard as a reasonably short space of time. This evacuation was completed without incident - at least as far as I was aware from my position.

SOME SPECIFIC POINTS FOR OBSERVERS

- 1. I think it was a mistake for the observers to participate in the tea-party as this identified them with the protesters - in the eyes of the police.

- 2. The advance briefing might have focused more on experiences of previous years giving newcomers some idea of what to expect/do. A role-play session would be useful next time.

- 3. The armbands were essential as it clearly identified us to all and our conspicuous presence helped. Police and locals were aware that we were there and why.

- 4. Observers should retain their armbands even when intervening because the armbands gave them status and a sort of neutral authority.

- 5. Some pre-briefing on intervention would be useful next time.

'The participant mediator-observer'! Martin O'Brien (with beard and glasses), Garvaghy Road, Portadown, July 1990.

6. Observers should have conversed with the police as they arrived and our spokespersons should have met the senior officer personally to introduce themselves and explain our role. I think we mixed with the locals a lot and very little with the police and there was a feeling that we were on the locals' side and intent on observing the police actions alone.

7. Our spokespersons should have been located at a particular spot to co-ordinate observers on the ground and to take reports and relay urgent ones to the DFJ for action.

8. It might have been useful if we had all had a few leaflets re our role and presence to distribute to locals and the police.

CONCLUSION

I believe that the 'Observer Corps' performed a very useful and worthwhile function on this occasion in Portadown. The Orange leaders, the police and the local inhabitants (as well as the media) had been informed in advance that we would be present as neutral and impartial observers and they were obviously well aware of our presence on the day.

Each group knew that we would be submitting a full report to them afterwards. They were conscious of the fact that they were under very close observation and that their actions and words were being monitored.

I am confident that our being there did influence the situation for the better.

I would suggest that there is potential for the continuation of the work of the 'Observer Corps' in other similar situations. Parades, demonstrations, protests, confrontations, paramilitary funerals and security force operations are among some of the events which frequently give rise to allegations and counter-allegations of blame and responsibility.

A well-trained, experienced team of impartial observers could be invaluable in influencing such situations before, during and after the event as was evident at Garvaghy Road.

However, being an observer could be potentially dangerous and accordingly, there would have to be detailed discussion before such a team of observers could be committed to any particular event.

Orangemen march from Drumcree Church, Portadown, July 1990.

If such a team were to be trained and set up, would the team take the initiative in attending an event or would they be open to invitations from the event organisers? Would the work and availability of the team be publicised or would it rely on informal contacts and recommendations?

Besides the very real physical dangers of being caught up in violence, there are other dangers too. The participants in an event may well take offence at the report issued by the observers; observers could be questioned by the security forces re specific activities, e.g. a paramilitary display at a funeral; observers could be 'set up' or 'used' by a group; observers run the risk of being arrested for obstruction; organisations could attempt to pressurize observers into attending their press conferences!

I would recommend that INNATE should begin by inviting those who have previously acted as observers and any other interested persons from the peace and reconciliation movement to a preliminary meeting to discuss the desirability and feasibility of setting up such a team of observers.

Exactly, John. Anyone interested get in touch straight away - Editor.

DISARMAMENT AND BREAD QUEUES - A Russian perspective

From Peter Emerson,
our Russian correspondent rushing-around (on a bike). Written in November 1990.

Disarmament talks in Geneva etc. are if little import. So too are sessions of the USSR Supreme Soviet and Communist Party conferences. They are all a thing of the past, a myth.

That is my conclusion. And to get there, I'll start by saying there are two sorts of Russians: those in power and/or privileged position, and those not. The former, be they members of the politbureau, army generals, provincial party hacks or merely apolitical folk who have benefitted from the system (those with

Moscow residency permits, for example) tend to suggest that the Soviet Union-cum-Russia is a great power, that it must defend itself and conduct space research and participate in disarmament talks and do all the other things that great powers do. The latter, the powerless, queue for their bread.

And your average Russian is interested neither in the 2 + 4 talks for a united Germany nor in the future of the Kurile islands. He or she is far more concerned with the question of where the next meal's coming from. There's little money in the pocket, and there's damn all food in the shop. Such basic problems, it could well be said, and any Ivan Ivanovich could well be the one who says it, will only be solved if and when politicians stop meddling in the great international flandango, disarmament and all that.

DAWN TRAIN 10, page thirteen.

For us in the West, perestroika was a process which brought about disarmament.....and thank God for that. For those in Eastern Europe, it was a positive negative: it removed the threat of Soviet/communist domination; hence the revolutions of '89, and good luck to them all. In Russia, however, perstroika was and still is the communist party's attempt to reform both itself and the country, for it knew such reforms just had to take place.
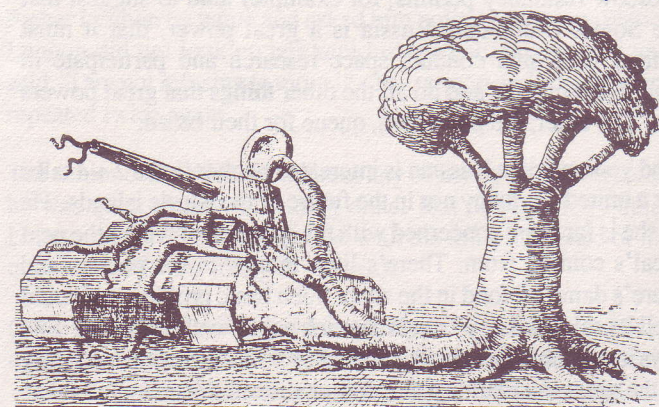
But it also knew that the cause of the country's economic chaos was it itself, the communist party and all the power it had monopolised into its own hands. It is now a contradiction in terms, trying both to democratise society and to hang on to power by all "reasonable" means. And such power as is still centralised in Moscow is all a part of the super-power mentality, on which empires were based. Meanwhile, in the little town of Odoyev where this letter comes from, there's no power at all, it seems; and Moscow is miles away.

In Eastern Europe, the communist party is going on trial, a little in court, a lot in the ballot box. In similar fashion, the communist party in Russia will soon be an irrelevance, and communist party conferences will shortly be seen as a relic of the past. For all now know that the ghastly experiment it conducted was one of the greatest crimes ever committed.

So too, the very USSR will soon be an object of historical research. Latvia is going independent. Georgia will follow. And Russia itself will overtake them. In a word, the old Russian/Soviet empire is crumbling and a good thing too. Some of the USSR Supreme Soviet deputies are already talking of that forum's irrelevance, and the cleverer ones have already got themselves elected elsewhere. But just as Russia must get out of the Soviet Union, so too must she leave the Russian Federation. Irkutsk will be a foreign country, as will be the lands of the Tartars, Barkirs and so on. Then and only then will there be real disarmament, for each nation will have its own, non-nuclear armed force (or maybe none at all), and none will have a KGB.

Alas, this "inevitability" is being slowed down........by us, the West. In days gone by, what with NATO and all that it stood for, western politicians in effect supported the Warsaw Pact and the communism which lay behind it. Today, in their desire for world economic hegemony and their own internal stability, they are more than willing, not only to talk disarmament in Geneva, but also to give Gorbachev all the dollars he needs. Western finance, of course, was always willing to put the poor into debt, especially if that poor country had some natural resources to sell. Hence the Soviet powers that be and their communist party are able to maintain the status quo.....they think. And hence the hopes of Sakharov and others are shattered.

Gorbachev, Yeltsin and others are all lured by the dollar. In the average Russian home here in Odoyev, however, such dealings in hard currency are just another irrelevance, a luxury and a

DAWN TRAIN 10, page fourteen.

corruption for the Moscow based rich. And let's face it, who needs computers, mercedez-benz's or even Andrex toilet paper (adverts for which now abound) when there's nought in the shops.

Yet the land, Russia, is so fertile. The entire economic crisis is a myth, and Russia's eternal grain shortages are simply a man-made disaster. Power in the centre was based on powerlessness elsewhere. And everywhere, people were deprived of their own power, to do as they themselves would have wished. The answer, of course, lies not in Moscow, and certainly not in any western finance. It lies in a policy of political and economic devolution. Even or especially in this, the largest of lands, small is still beautiful.

The policy of economic self-reliance (which is all a part of perestroika) must allow for its political corollorary (which is not). For the communist party and the generals, political devolution is anathema. Little wonder, therefore, that Popov, Sobchak and others, themselves communists until recently, now feel Gorbachev and his communist party are an obstacle to perestroika. And Gorbachev, a flexible politician at the best of times, is now in an invidious position: he's president of a union which will soon have no republics: he's gen-sec of a party discredited and dying, he's distinctly unpopular among many sections of society; and yet he's in charge of the army and the KGB. The formula is unwise. The king may have no clothes, but he's still got his guns.

The ideals of communism, of course, remain. Somewhere. The ownership of land (which was rarely restricted for the capitalist and totally banned for Stalin's communists) must be subject to certain limits. The use of the world's finite resources must be controlled, if but for the sake of future generations, whose rights must also be recognised. And a phrase which is now coming into vogue, as an editor on the journal "Communist" told me the other day, is "ecological socialism".

For most of us in the West, that's a bit of a myth. As too, I hope, is the thought of unlimited economic growth.

Russia is now confronted with a few years of tough going. But then, things should improve, if urbanisation is reversed, and if not all eggs are placed into the capitalist basket. The Russians now know what was wrong, and they're all a go to try a new approach. Alas, they seem hell bent on adopting the western economic and political systems, hook line and sinker. Even though they know that it is such uncontrolled consumption which has caused the hole in the ozone layer, the greenhouse effect etc. The greatest myth of all is the belief that all things western are good.

A NOD ISN'T AS GOOD AS A WINK
TO A NONVIOLENT ACTIVIST

Patrick McManus reports on the **June and Walter Wink** workshop at Corrymeela in June 1990.

Nephages and things

"The idea of separating the human being into a 'body', a 'soul', an idea which has dominated Western thinking for centuries, was really an invention of the Greeks. The ancient Jewish tradition had no such separation - they had one unified view of the human creature and used the word "nephage" to refer to it."

So began a two day workshop given by June and Walter Wink at Corrymeela in June 1990. Over the next thirty-six hours or so June was going to make a valiant effort to help myself and thirty others get in touch with our respective 'nephages' via the right hemispheres of our brains and a lot of body movement that definitely wasn't aerobics. June's husband Walter, noted scripture scholar and author, promised to make an attack (non-violently) through our left hemispheres on the scriptural basis for non-violence.

As a long time committed non-aerobic leftie I looked forward to the scriptural insights while being more than a bit suspicious of the body movement "stuff".

Limbering up

The workshops were appropriately set in the Croí (Irish for 'heart' -Corrymeela's worship centre - Ed). We began the Saturday morning with June showing us how to limber and loosen up to some very relaxing music. She taught us what an "orbit" was and how to mark it out in space. No folks, this does not mean lifting off from Ballycastle to take up a geostationary position 10 miles up, but rather it meant moving with your arms and body to paint imaginary doors, wheels and domes all around you in the air - to explore your own personal space. Some "artistic" types who had a head start with obviously well developed right hemispheres, were quickly heavy into this. For myself I have to admit that it wasn't "orbit at first take off", but I did begin to find it relaxing.

Scriptural nonviolence

Walter then began by explaining that he wanted to look at some of the scriptural basis of non-violence and what it might mean in the context of Northern Ireland. Through a very engaging participative approach to the subject and through some very clever roleplay, Walter began to give us some very valuable insights into texts which I am sure most of those present had read many times.

How do we deal with, for example, Walter asks, the command of Jesus "Resist not evil". Does this mean that we just sit there and "take it"? Has this piece of scripture not been used to allow, if not encourage, such abuses as wife battering? Walter pointed out that if you go back to the original Greek text of Matthew's gospel you find the word translated into English as "resist" is "antihistemi" (verb) or "antistasis" (noun). This is actually a military term. There were many words in Greek for the verb to resist, but Mark chose the particular military term which is best translated as "to riot", "to bear arms against", "to resist violently". It is used many times in the gospels when describing the riots that took place in Jerusalem. So what Jesus in fact was commanding us to do was "Do not resist evil violently".

How then do we end up with the translation that we have? Walter explains that the first popular English translation of the Bible was the King James version, and the king of course had a vested interest in keeping the people docile and telling them not to resist.

Resisting

If we are not to resist violently, then how are we to resist? Jesus tells us how;

"You have heard that it was said, 'An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. But I say to you, Do not resist one who is evil. But if any one strikes you on the right cheek, turn to him the other also; and if any one would sue you and take your coat, let him have your cloak as well; and if any one forces you to go one mile, go with him two miles. Give to him who begs from you and do not refuse him who would borrow from you."

The three examples above, turning the other cheek, giving your coat, walking the extra mile, after seeing Walter's simple re-enactment of these events, are for me perhaps three of the most powerful examples around of how to overcome oppression nonviolently. Let's see how. First of all Jesus makes a nice piece of continuity with the law of the Old Testament, an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth becomes a cheek for a cheek and a mile for a mile. Nice doublets they may be but their meaning and function are completely different.

"Turn the other cheek": Try this with a friend (or better still an enemy). Ask your friend to strike you on the face. Which cheek did they hit? Which hand did they use? As most people are right handed the odds are your friend would hit you on your <u>left</u> cheek with his/her right hand. The palm of their right hand would also probably have been a clenched fist as they struck you. But Matthew's text says "if anyone strikes you on the <u>right</u> cheek." What sort of strike was being talked about here? OK you say, it's talking about a strike with the left hand. Again this is ruled out because in the whole Judeo/Greco/Roman world 2,000 years ago, to strike someone with the left hand was totally forbidden as the left hand was considered unclean.

What in fact Jesus was referring to was the right handed <u>back handed</u> (i.e. with the back of the hand) strike imposed as a means of subservience by a Roman master to a slave, of a Roman soldier to a Jewish man, of a Jewish man to a Jewish woman, of a woman to a child, i.e. of the oppressor to the oppressed, the superior to the inferior. In Jesus' audience there would have been Jewish men, women and children, and slaves, who knew exactly what Jesus was referring to.

So what of Jesus' command to "Turn the other cheek"? Try it with your friend now. You present your friend with your left cheek, inviting him/her to strike you again. 2,000 years ago you would have created a dilemma for your adversary. Because firstly the culture prohibits use of the left hand to impose a similar <u>left</u> handed back handed strike to impose subservience; the only alternative is for the person to strike with a clenched fist of the <u>right</u> hand. And therein lies the 'sting' - for in the Roman/Greco/Jewish world you could only strike a <u>peer</u> with a fist, i.e. you could only have a fist fight with one of your own rank or status. So to hit the person with a fist is to admit they are the same as you in status, rights etc. So by a simple turn of the cheek you have asserted your humanity and attacked the conscience of your oppressor, non-violently.

"Let him have your coat as well": remember who Jesus was most of all talking to - the poor, the marginalised of society. The poor of Palestine in Jesus' time usually had two articles of clothing, an inner shirt and an outer coat. The situation that Jesus was referring to was that of a Jewish court of law where a richer man reclaims a debt owed by a poor man. It was a common enough occurrence at the time where landless share-croppers were often driven to destitution by unfair land distribution and Roman taxes.

So when the rich man demands the poor man's shirt by right of law, and when the poor man gives him not only his shirt but also his coat - what suddenly would the onlooker in the court see - one man made naked by another. In Jewish law, nakedness was sinful - but the sin was considered not upon he or she who was naked but on the beholder. So suddenly, again, the tables have

been turned on the oppressor and you can easily imagine the situation in the courtroom would have quickly deteriorated into farce, with the naked man perhaps walking outside and a crowd gathering round him and taking his side.

Walking tall

Walking the extra mile: Again Jesus was not slow to tackle issues of the time. This incident refers directly to the Roman occupation of Palestine. The Romans when in an occupied country, although renowned for their barbarity, also had a 'method in their madness', In order to facilitate the quick movement of troops through occupied territory, a Roman soldier was forbidden to ask a local to carry his pack for more than one mile. The view was that this would not antagonise the locals too much. So when a soldier asks a local to carry his pack, he is the one very much in control, in power and the other is powerless. However the situation is reversed if the one who carries the pack insists on carrying it further. The soldier will quickly fear getting into trouble with his superiors if he is caught 'forcing' somebody to go two miles. So the "powerless" once more has become powerful.

Loving your enemy

"You have heard that it was said, 'You shall love your neighbour and hate your enemy.' But I say to you, Love your enemies and pray for those who persecute you, so that you may be sons of your Father who is in heaven; for he makes his sun rise on the evil and on the good, and sends rain on the just and on the unjust. For if you love those who love you, what reward have you? Do not even the tax collectors do the same? And if you salute only your brethren, what more are you doing than others? Do not even the Gentiles do the same? You, therefore, must be perfect, as your heavenly Father is perfect." - Matthew 5; 43 - 48

In this exhortation to love our enemies, the exclusive reason given for doing so is that we might become "sons of the father". "Sons of" is in fact a generic term equivalent to the modern phrase "to be like". Therefore loving our enemies will help us to become somehow like our father.

To cause rain to fall on everyone, good or bad, would seem to us to be a negative image. In fact rain was so infrequent in Lebanon that this is quite a positive image. A final comment on this passage is that in the command of Jesus to "be perfect as your heavenly father is perfect", we know that Jesus could not have meant the word "perfect" here as there was no word for "perfect" in Aramaic. Luke's translation of "merciful" is probably more accurate.

To try to illustrate to us how this "loving your enemy" business works Walter asked us to write down the things that we did not like about someone we knew - a friend, relative or colleague. Then he asked us to look at the list and see how many of the failings of the person in question also applied to us. Most of us found that 50% or more of the points on our lists applied to ourselves to. We then very appropriately read Matthew 7; 3 - 5 ("Why do you see the speck that is in your brother's eye, but do not notice the log that is in your own eye?").
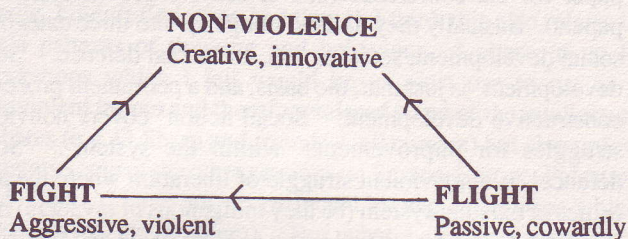

DAWN TRAIN 10, page sixteen.

The point to make here is that by seeing our own failings in the failings of others we have an opportunity to tackle our own failings and to grow. This type of projection is a great tool in spiritual growth. God has so constructed the world that the most important spiritual steps are those which can only be taken by encountering our enemies lovingly. We can only grow by seeing our faults in our enemies. We discover ourselves through them. The kingdom of God is loving your enemy. We almost have a vested interest in loving our enemies.

"So if you are offering your gift at the altar, and there remember that your brother has something against you, leave your gift there before the altar and go; first be reconciled to your brother, and then come and offer your gift." - Matthew 5; 23 - 24
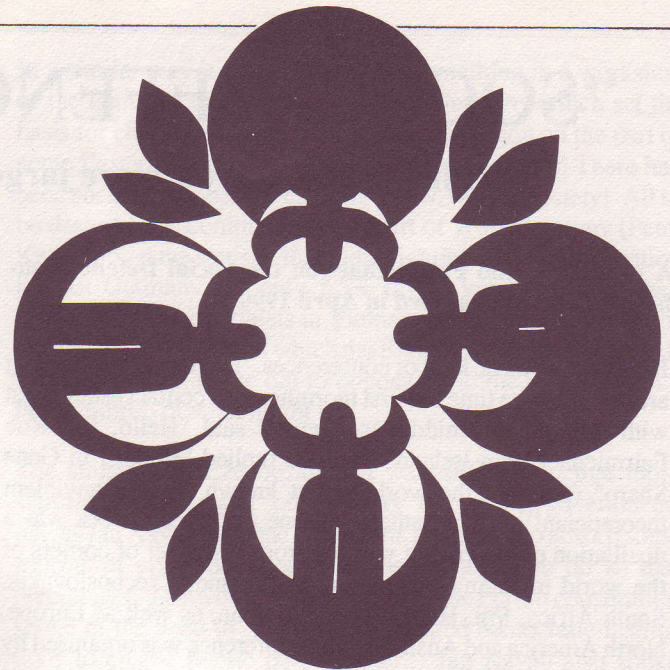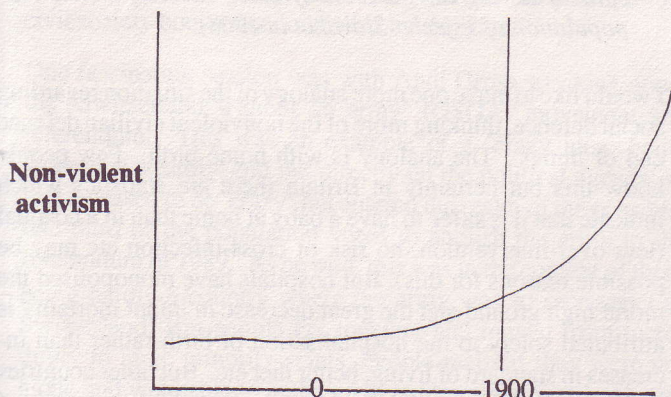
After reading this text Walter asked us to use it as a real experience in spiritual growth. Each of us then went off alone to a quiet spot and built ourselves a small symbolic altar and reconciled ourselves to someone in our hearts and in our lives before making an offering at the altar. I think everyone found this a powerful and useful moment.

What then is non-violence? Walter preferred to describe it as a third alternative in overcoming evil, the other two being "fight" and "flight";

NON-VIOLENCE
Creative, innovative

FIGHT ——————————— **FLIGHT**
Aggressive, violent   Passive, cowardly

The response to evil of "fight" and "flight" are the two responses that have dominated history. We in fact can be considered to be conditioned to respond in this manner by evolution. In the animal kingdom "fight" and "flight" are the only two responses possible to a threat, e.g. a deer will take flight while a tiger will fight.

For the human creature however, the non-violence option can be thought of as a, not new, but relatively recent development in the evolution of response mechanisms to threat or violence or evil against self. If we were to plot the occurrence of non-violence events over recorded human history we would come up with something like the graph below - where we begin with a few non-violent events in the Old Testament times, through to Jesus, the witness of the peace churches and then to the "explosion" of non-violent activism of the 20th century, e.g. Gandhi, Martin Luther King, Philippines, Eastern Europe etc.

Non-violent activism

0 ———— 1900 ————

Unfortunately there has been a corresponding increase in violent activism also.

Whereas "fight' is characterised by violence and aggressiveness, and "flight" is characterised by passivity, non-violence is characterised by creativity and innovation. Very few of us can arrive at a position of "non-violence" without first having been in a position of "fight" or "flight" or perhaps both.

Indeed, says Walter, the person who arrives at non-violence directly from a position of "flight" is to be viewed with suspicion as one who could well be hiding within the creativity of his non-violent brothers and sisters as a sort of pragmatic passivity. The person who arrives at non-violence from a position of "fight" is more likely to become truly, non-violently active as he/she is one who has already shown that they want to do something about the perceived injustice, albeit violently.

In between the scriptural analysis, June had us dancing about the Croi to some quiet and some not so quiet music. At one point she showed us how to bless each other to music while we all chanted a Buddhist like "UUM". She was also able to demonstrate how we can all quite naturally through our own body language adopt a stance which can be that of "fight", "flight", or "non-violence".

The weekend certainly was a unique experience and an important help in our spiritual journeys for those who were there. Walter and June Wink are definitely a must to see if they pass through or near your "orbit".

"SOCIAL DEFENCE" -

exciting concept or yet more jargon?

A report by Rob Fairmichael on the Social Defence conference held in Bradford in April 1990.

It was one of those kind of conferences. There was I wandering around at coffee time the first morning. Eye contact established with this chubby middle-aged guy I said "Hello, I'm Rob Fairmichael from Ireland" - and he replied "Hello, I'm Gene Sharp" (possibly the world's best known living nonviolent theoretician!)! Here gathered in one place for a week was a distillation of nonviolent wisdom from a number of corners of the world including East Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, South Africa, Fiji, Hong Kong, Palestine, as well as Europe, North America and Australia. The conference was organised by the War Resisters International in association with the International Fellowship of Reconciliation.

In essence it was about grasping at definitions. This sounds negative and depressingly sterile. But John Hewitt's poem 'Once alien here' indicates the direction; "who now would seek a native mode to tell / our stubborn wisdom individual". Hewitt's poem is about Ulster Protestants struggling to find a 'native mode to tell' their 'stubborn wisdom individual'. Ulster Protestants haven't arrived at that distillation yet; neither have nonviolent activists found a way to express themselves that communicates fully and directly. Maybe in this week there were glimpses.

But cultural differences mean that different concepts and phrases need to be used in different continents, regions and languages. Establishing 'civil society' in Eastern Europe communicates immediately; not so in Western Europe. In Latin America to talk about 'nonviolence' might be meaningless, and even in languages which use the term 'nonviolence' in some form it's difficult dealing with a 'negative' term. In this regard I always remember the point from April Carter that when motor cars were invented they were first of all referred to as 'horseless carriages'; so with nonviolence.

A good succinct definition about social defence appeared in 'Reconciliation International' that; "While people may differ on an exact definition, most would agree that at its most basic, social defence means the nonviolent protection of a society and its way of life, either from an outside invader or an unjust domestic situation."

To over-simplify the situation at the conference, there were two 'tendencies' represented; those for whom 'social defence' meant nonviolent civilian-based defence, and those for whom 'social defence' meant nonviolent revolutionary change and building a warless world. The figurehead of the former was Gene Sharp who so far as I could see kept his cool under some intense criticism. He did come under what I felt was fair criticism, though, for projecting his brand of nonviolent civilian defence as non-ideological, i.e. simply 'adopt it because it works'. A fair criticism was to point out that this position was in itself ideological, making political assumptions.

The problem with using any one term to mean lots of things is that it then becomes deprived of meaning through being imprecise (the term 'violence' often fits into this category). One

possible response to this was the Sociale Verdediging (Social Defence) information project from the Netherlands and their paper for the conference (one of some excellent conference papers). Basically they divided things up into three categories; social development, social action, and social defence. 'Social development' is just that, the basis, and a permanent process of constructive development. 'Social action' covers nonviolent struggles for improvements 'within the system'. 'Social defence' is a nonviolent struggle of liberation where the authorities or existing system (be they indigenous or invaders) is not recognised, and the struggle may be very fierce and tough.

Vrouwen voor Vrede (Women for Peace) from the Netherlands had another interesting classification of different forms of social defence, borrowing a principle from health care theory;

"a. Social defence as a positive contribution: organising society in such a way (using non-violent techniques, if necessary) that no national or international injustice will occur;

b. Social defence as prevention: bringing non-violent means into action against potential threats and forms of injustice;

c. Curative social defence: using social defence against actual threats;

d. Palliative social defence: proceeding non-violently in spite of having little chance of being successful (like the population of Tsjecho-Slovakia in 1968)."

I would like to make one more analogy of the situation regarding social defence, thinking more of the nonviolent civilian defence end of things. The analogy is with home birth. Few people know this but certainly in Britain there are statistics which indicate that it is **safer** to have a baby at home than in a hospital (less over-intervention, no risk of cross-infection etc may be possible reasons for this). But hospitals have monopolised the moral high ground and the great decrease in infant mortality is attributed solely to the hospitalisation of birth rather than increases in standard of living, better diet etc. But other countries which have high home birth rates may have higher records of infant safety!

So with the concept of 'defence' against aggression. The state and the armies of this world have monopolised people's thoughts with regard to being able to 'sleep soundly in their beds'. What people don't see is the dangers in this. Nonviolent civilian defence is, I would feel, inherently safer but the message is difficult to get across so strong is the cultural identification with armies and violence.

There is one other point I would make about this analogy. There are dangers in home birth; there are undoubtedly some situations which can arise (maybe in a couple of births in a thousand) where it is much safer to be born in hospital. But what people are doing in having a home birth is swopping one set of risks for another beforehand; overall I feel it is clear home birth is safer. (The analogy diverges here in that I've personally been glad for hospital back-up for a possible birth emergency; I'm not grateful for military back-up, thank you very much!).

So with civilian based defence; we accept certain risks, different risks perhaps to those associated with a military defence policy but risks nevertheless. We have to choose which direction we want to go based on a full assessment of facts and possibilities; at the moment people only see a military option as an option.

A certain amount of the social defence conference was at an intellectual level which some people found difficult and a bit sterile. I didn't find it too bad though I think this also relates to male patterns of thinking and behaviour. I chose to go to workshops which I felt would be of most use to me as a nonviolent trainer and therefore missed some of the intellectual debates (e.g. G.Sharp and friends v. all comers) but also unfortunately some of the other sessions on Eastern Europe, Palestine and China (I have not yet perfected bi- and tri-location which was part of the problem). But what I did find were very interesting sessions run by Dutch women which dealt more with our personal basis for nonviolence.

We briefly saw James O'Connell, professor of peace studies at Bradford, as he opened the conference with a talk which he introduced by saying it was good to meet a group whose time has come. It was great then to hear from Narayan Desai of the Gandhian-type struggles being waged in India today, for example in Baliapal against a missile base which would displace inhabitants (where people have resisted bribery and pressure and have moved to direct action), or against an aluminium factory, and the ongoing struggle against nuclear power. Impressive stuff.

Michael Randle, speaking with reference to Eastern Europe, felt that 1989 was an historic date which will be compared to the French revolution. The 1980's were the time the concept of "peoples power" was invented. However he stressed resistance did not arise in a vacuum in Eastern Europe but based on the civil society bodies not controlled by the state.

One fascinating session was with Andi Gross speaking about the 'Switzerland without an army' (GSOA) movement and referendum. This was an example of a 'crazy idea' being worked at steadily, and put directly on the political agenda, so that it ceased to be 'crazy' but entered the realm of the possible; one third of the population voted to abolish the army in the referendum of 1989. As he said, this was in the context of there being hardly a country where the army was so sacrosanct as Switzerland! But people got together and moved from incredulity to large minority status. People realised they were not alone and were able to make great strides; what was 'realistic' and what was 'unrealistic' shifted.

In a similar way it was good to hear something in a workshop of the hard and difficult work in East Germany which set the basis for change there. But there was depression on the part of some Eastern Europeans, particularly the Germans. There had been such high hopes for creating a new, radical society! All to be dashed by becoming merely a part of West Germany (Petra Kelly quoted the statistic that those fighting for demilitarisation in East Germany got only 2.5% of the vote). And so they moved, like the Buddhists in Vietnam (though hopefully without any of the repression which the Buddhists have experienced) from opposition to the old to opposition to the new through a brief glimpse of what might be.

The situation in Czechoslovakia was different in that more significant elements of 'civil society' moved into government; but, as Jan Kavan said, the old regime attempted to absorb some aspects of civil society and it was its failure to do so that precipitated the revolution. Part of the Civic Forum constitution spoke of the need to 'create self-managed democratic institutions to enable public participation'. Jan Kavan also spoke wisely of the tendency in any revolution for the revolutionists to believe they know best; there was a need to ensure that the revolution cannot be reversed, and that all forms of power would be kept in check.

There was only one Latin American representative present, Julio Quan, but by his great strength of presence ably represented that part of the world. An interesting piece of background concerned American pro-democracy anti-fascist propaganda of the Second World War; in the depiction of fascism Latin Americans saw their own presidents being depicted exactly! Thus the USA inadvertently advanced the cause of democracy in Latin America - something they seem to have spent the rest of their time trying to resist. Government policies were based on 'bullets and beans' (military might and economic development), he said, but nonviolence was based on truth.

The limitations to nonviolence were expressed at different points in the week. Julio Quan felt that genocide can only be fought with arms. Magda van der Ende felt unable, in the context, to criticise the killing of Nicolae Ceausescu. But I feel

Mel Beckman, editor of "Civilian-Based Defense" (left) with Doug Bond, also of the USA.

this was honest thinking which I would put in the context of risks associated with violence or nonviolence, which I mentioned briefly above. Where we end up depends on what path we choose to follow.

Maris Diokno from the Philippines explained some of the reasons for 'people's power' there not leading to demilitarisation or change. In summary her reasons were; lack of vision for what to replace Marcos with; the politicisation of the military under Marcos; rising internal conflict with guerillas. She spoke of the need for the popular movement not to abdicate its responsibilities but to keep up the noise and pressure for change.

Albert Beale from Britain made the interesting observation in a workshop on 'Peace campaigns as social defence' that the 3 presenters (Greenham, Cruisewatch in Britain, conscientious objectors' campaigns in the state of Spain) never mentioned 'social defence'! It seemed to be agreed such a term was never mentioned but campaigns like these could be slotted, if desired, into a concept such as 'social defence'. However Devi Presad spoke of the problem that 'defence' goes with the concept of an enemy, and an enemy is within and without. Ueli Wildberger spoke of Peace Brigades International attempts to confront armed violence directly.

Gene Sharp in a plenary session explained that he used the term 'civilian based defence' rather than 'social defence' which is used for anything and everything nonviolent. He defined civilian based defence as 'planned, prepared nonviolent opposition to planned invasion or internal takeovers.' He felt it needed to be separated from ethical viewpoints (i.e. identification with pacifists, nonviolent activists) for widespread acceptance - but see comment above on ideology! He had 4 models of transarmament; the easiest one was for small countries which have no reason to rely on military defence, e.g. Ireland, Tibet, Lithuania. Anybody like to take him up on this!!!!!?????

Magda van der Ende's workshop had us, among other things, doing a detailed analysis of the power structures we find ourselves in, which I found good personally and I have since found useful in workshops. For me this direction moved on nicely to a workshop on a feminist approach to social defence with Herma Ruygrok and Lineke Schakenbos, also from the Netherlands, from Vrouwen voor Vrede (clearly I believe in 'going Dutch'!). Part of this took us through sharing how we survived, and what helped us, in violence and oppression we experienced as children and growing up (this was available in written form in their background paper). These two workshops were the most useful to me as a nonviolent trainer. A rather different, more concept-based, approach came from Flemish trainer Pat Patfoort which I would need to study more to do justice to.

Personally I welcome all approaches to developing nonviolence. Part of the task of developing a nonviolent alternative has to be within the nonviolent movement in how we listen to, and respect, people whose approach differs from ours but who are going in the one direction. Society is not monolithic and what persuades one person may do nothing for another. So I didn't feel I had to 'choose' a very particular model of 'social defence' or 'nonviolent civilian defence' to identify with. While I would choose to be 'precise' in defining what I mean I don't feel personally I am, or we are, at a stage in Ireland where we can make clear and precise definitions. Here and on a wider level we are grasping our way forward, seeking ways to express ourselves, seeking concepts which will communicate with people in our own cultures and contexts. May a thousand flowers bloom.

DAWN TRAIN 10, page twenty.

Brian Martin (author of 'Uprooting war') (left) with Giliam de Valk of the Netherlands.

One aspect which we in Ireland need to resist, particularly in the context of the Republic but also in the North, is the idea that to be a 'good European' you have to participate in the 'defence of (western) Europe' - and if you don't agree with coordinated western European military 'defence' then you're a 'bad European'. This viewpoint has been gaining ground in conservative circles. We need to show that 'better Europeans' have better things to do!

The close of the conference included Brian Martin (author of 'Uprooting War') doing his trenchant and amusing observations on the conference, and Narayan Desai singing a Tagore poem to 'make them one in spirit' and 'bring the beauty of harmony'. Finally Wim Robben led us in singing an American Indian song; Step by step the longest march/ Can be won, can be won/ Many stones can build an arch/ One by one, one by one/ And in union what we will/ Can be accomplished still/ Drops of water turn a mill/ Singly none, singly none.

I enjoyed it.

Anyone wanting to see or get copies of the conference papers please contact Rob Fairmichael at the Dawn address. A book based on the talks and interviews with some participants is hopefully to be published by New Society Publishers in the States. Another book, a study of people's power in Eastern Europe in 1989 and its implications for social defence, written by Michael Randle, is due to include interviews with three of the participants (contact UK Social Defence Project, c/o School of Peace Studies, Bradford University).

"Civilian-Based Defense: News and Opinion" is a USA-based magazine which can be used as a means of communication; subscriptions are 15 US dollars a year for 6 issues; PO Box 31616, Omaha, NE 68131, USA. Likewise, the available publications of the War Resisters International (WRI) and International Fellowship of Reconciliation (IFOR) can be used for debate, although less specific; 'Peace News', 'Reconciliation International' etc.

INNATE would be happy to act as a forum for communication within Ireland; contact INNATE (an Irish Network for Nonviolent Action Training and Education), 16 Ravensdene Park, Belfast BT6 ODA, phone Belfast 647106. It is hoped to have some further work done on social/alternative defence in the Irish context in 1991.

GOING ON AN EXPEDITION -

Rob Fairmichael reports on an international nonviolence training week at De Expeditie ('The expedition'), Amersfoort, Netherlands, July 1990

INTRODUCTION

Take 15 people from Western Europe, North America, Israel and from the Hungarian minority in Romania; add a nonviolent training residential centre just outside the walls of the beautiful old Dutch town of Amersfoort; stir gently with two excellent Dutch trainers. The result? A memorable learning experience which was for me in different ways challenging, confirming, and useful in gathering information.

The week was greatly enriched by the different cultural experiences. But while Israel, Romania and Northern Ireland were dealt with there was the opportunity for everyone to work on the personal aspects of nonviolence and also on their own situations, in Germany for example. For some people 'nonviolence' was a new concept and experience and the process of dialogue on this was creative and rewarding. What was extremely impressive was the commitment which people had to social and political change at what was sometimes a high cost to their personal lives. An intending participant from South Africa was unable to come because of his local situation at the time.

Magda van der Ende and Abel Hertzberger provided both a good programme on nonviolence and a good example of an assertive, nonviolent approach. It was not always easy. It was certainly not easy for people whose culture or experience had not already familiarised them with some of the concepts and approaches dealt with, or who had to grapple with difficulties in understanding and expressing in English.

And it was not easy to confront the iron curtain in our minds between Eastern and Western Europe. We did a lot of sharing on this in response to the feeling of the Hungarian Romanians that we were not interested in their situation. I think it became clear that we were interested but also had our own problems to deal with but it is also clear that we - I - have absorbed drop by drop the cold war propaganda about the peoples of Eastern Europe even if intellectually we rejected it (so a need for some good new prejudice reduction). And the people of Eastern Europe may have to learn of some of the problems which we face. So there is much learning to be done.

We worked morning, afternoon and night with breaks at lunch and dinner time. This gave an opportunity for cooking, shopping and exploring Amersfoort, an amazing town with some of some of its buildings dating back to the 15th century.

I would like to mention a couple of cultural links before moving on to a more detailed description of the programme and things I learnt. The bells of the old clock tower (originally the tower of a 15th century church) played 'The star of the County Down' during a medley of melodies! And on a relevant note to nonviolence I was interested to see the word 'Boykot' in graffiti.

One word which sticks in my mind from the week is 'igen', the Hungarian for 'yes', which Magda used to show her understanding when translating from Hungarian to English. The language skills were impressive; one of the Israelis spoke Arabic (as his native tongue), Hebrew, English and Chinese - at just under 24 years of age!

Abel Hertzberger and Magda van der Ende of De Expeditie

THE PROGRAMME

Basically this progressed through looking at ourselves, our own personal conflicts and blocks or resistances to change, through a conflict resolution model and on to working on the political and social struggles we are involved in. As to how it worked out, the programme was flexible, took up one or two things that weren't scheduled and dropped one thing that was (active listening).

One of the first exercises we did was connecting with a moment of inspiration for us. For some this was a simple and beautiful moment. For me it was "The hidden gospel message of nonviolence" which I feel underlay my conversion to nonviolence at the age of 16 while watching a British army training film on hand to hand combat.

An early exercise also provided us with a symbol for the week - coloured balls. In a 'hassle line'/'fighting pairs' exercise I was opposite Gyözö; we were both role-playing 12 year olds who each wanted a particular book in school. In his role he needed it for a school assignment which had to be done straight away; I was just interested in reading it. I grabbed it first. But Gyözö immediately made me an offer I couldn't refuse; he'd give me 3 coloured balls for the book! How could I refuse? Afterwards it transpired that I would have accepted one ball and he would have offered me up to 6! It was not the principle of bribery (if it was such for 12 year olds) that arose here but an effective, imaginative response that satisfied everyone - a definite win-win situation.

Magda and Abel presented their own conflict resolution model, in some ways more detailed and in other ways more simple than mediation-type models I was familiar with. People did have some difficulty in relating to the model in terms of conflicts they are involved in but the message was clear nevertheless, in particular that a solution couldn't come about until the hurts and fears on each side had been recognised, and that it could be totally counter-productive to come out with a solution before the right time.

We role-played some personal conflicts. This was clearly useful not just regarding the issue at hand but how we are in particular situations, our being, our body language and so on. We went on to share in small groups our feelings, motivations and problems in relation to work and being active; this was where we began to get deep into people's being.

The next morning we looked at the resistances or blocks to personal change and the function they have (providing us with security etc). We picked one aspect of our lives we wanted to change; for some it was becoming involved in a particular group, working less, listening, taking time to sleep, etc., for me it was being fully present to my children when I'm with them (i.e. not always thinking of the things I've to do, phone calls I've to make etc).

A non-verbal exercise here was 'trapping' 3 people inside a close circle of the others with the 3 trying to get out. This was tried three times, the last time deliberately trying to have a 'nonviolent' approach. This was a useful exercise though in a non-verbal situation like this assumptions and understandings of gestures can be different - but that in itself is a valuable thing to learn. It was also visible that using well thought out tactics is fine but not enough without real contact with the others.

Moving on to social change and strategy, we were presented with the Gandhian model of 1) Consciousness raising 2) Mobilisation, and 3) Action/revolution. We were told that only when other means had been tried to convince authorities of the need for change, and the population is in a broad sense understanding, should we move to action/revolution. In analysing the actions in Portadown on 8th July 1990 regarding the Orange march along the Garvaghy Road, however, it was clear that elements of numbers 2) and 3) were included in what might be primarily 1). But the point was well illustrated with a Dutch example of where blockading the transport of nuclear waste was counter-productive through lack of communication with the people who were immediately affected by the actions.

The Hungarian-Romanian and Israeli sharings of particular actions was a fascinating picture. In Romania Hungarians are being scapegoated and there have been some very violent attacks on Hungarians as well as attacks on symbols of Hungarian existence, language, or heroes. The complexity of the situation in Transylvania is illustrated by the fact that the town or city that Győző and Istvàn are from has three names; Tîrgu Mures (Romanian), Marosvàsàrhely (Hungarian) and Muresneumarkt (German). And we thought Derry/Londonderry was confusing! But their attempt to avoid confrontation and sectarianism was impressive.

The Israeli example shared was on a joint action by Palestinian and Israeli students acting to put pressure to allow for the re-opening of Palestinian campuses closed by the Israelis; they occupied a closed campus for some hours.

An afternoon expedition to a playing field in the middle of wilderness provided us with much to chew on regarding street actions. The different exercises which Abel took us through clearly showed the value of standing ground (running away increasing the chance of violent attacks) and trying to make direct contact with an aggressor. They also showed the importance of acting imaginatively in trying to prevent violence on the streets and being neither polite (polite interveners in the exercise sometimes got whacked with rolled up newspaper batons more than the person being attacked!) nor violent.

We also role-played a couple of actual situations including a Hungarian-Romanian one of a couple of angry people in a crowd inciting other people to violence. They had in fact been pushed out of the crowd but different ways of doing this were explored. What worked very effectively in the exercise was other people sitting down which left those inciting violence isolated, but also simultaneously offering dialogue and listening and understanding. There was also a useful illustration of a 'pile-on' to protect someone being attacked.
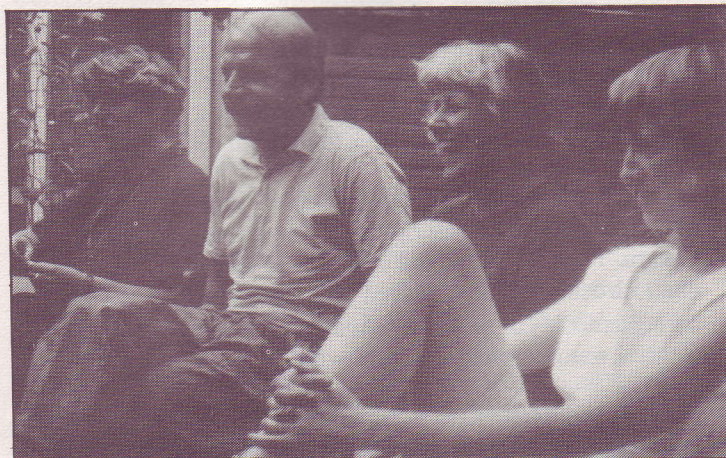
This was followed in the evening by centering, physical awareness exercises which provided an interesting contrast to the afternoon.

Magda in her summarising on nonviolence stressed it being based on respect and truth - but also the recognition that your opponent had part of the truth. She also stressed the need to deal with powerlessness and fear and for asking what limits you? If that is understood then appropriate action (or inaction) can be taken.

Doing a 'forcefield analysis' saw us divided in groups working on German, Hungarian Romanian, Israeli and Northern Ireland situations. This started off with analysis of positive and negative factors in a situation and subsequently picking out one possible strategy, and developing a role-play in relation to this.

The Northern Irish situation role-played was a possible development in Fellowship of Reconciliation-Pax Christi cooperation on challenging the churches to take Christian nonviolence seriously (something being developed this autumn). The scene was a church council meeting, listening to an FOR-PC speaker as to why they should take Christian nonviolence literature for sale. Zvika, who is Israeli, was playing a conservative member of the church council and caused much laughter at one stage by the rhetorical question to the visiting speaker "Am I not a good Christian?'!!

As the visiting speaker to the church council I felt happy with how my role went in difficult circumstances (I didn't think they would actually have decided to take the literature they were being requested to). But the importance of role-playing good, concise replies that had illustrative content came out. Also, more personally, came the question for me of not just feeling strong and keeping calm but being able to project that strength and use it more effectively. There were some other, smaller points too. The German, Romanian and Israeli situations role-played all brought up interesting points in general and for particular people.

At De Expeditie; Zehava (Israel), Luis (Switzerland), Magda (Netherlands) and Monika (Germany).

The detailed evaluation in different forms at the end of the week worked well in allowing people to reflect and share what had been happening for them. In a 'dividing exercise' people made a statement concerning how they felt about the week; those who agreed or identified with this feeling went to one end of the room, disagreers to the other, inbetween people in the middle. The most notable division for me was that all women except one felt the schedule of morning/afternoon/evening working was too exhausting, and all men except one disagreed (there were 9 women participants and 6 men); clearly there was more to this than either chance - could it be women were affected in a different way emotionally to men resulting in greater tiredness?

The last couple of exercises were on how we could use the week and on closing comments.

After the end of the formal programme it was good to have Françoise Pottier of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation come from Alkmaar to talk to people and show slides of IFOR work, ancient and modern, while people played the game of working out who they knew in the slides (Will Warren and Denis Barritt were both 'in').

And it was sad to break up after such an intense experience and after making such good friends and sharing so much of our hopes, dreams, realities and problems together.

Conclusions

While in world terms Amersfoort is quite accessible to Ireland it is still one or two plane flights away. It was good to visit Amersfoort and see Magda and Abel's model of nonviolence training; some of this was new and most of it different in some way to what I know or practise. There is no one path to nonviolence which is in itself a path (maybe in the Dutch situation I could say there is no one cycle-path to nonviolence?) For me working as a trainer in Northern Ireland it was important to see another model in action and to be able to take some things from it that I will use.
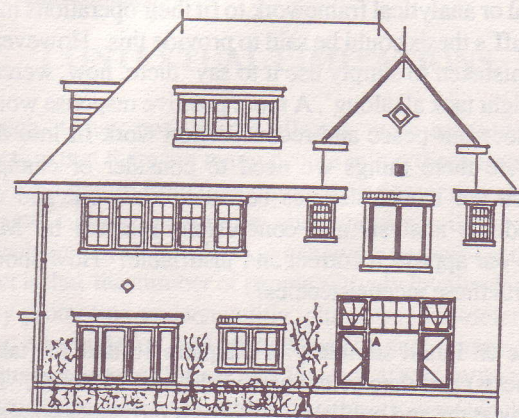
It is impossible to do everything even in a full week, working morning, noon and night. On reflection I would have liked us to look more at the possible linking of people's personal religious and political ideologies with nonviolence, and on the cultural difficulties experienced in different countries with projecting the positive possibilities of nonviolence.

Magda, Paula Green from the USA who was on the course, and myself did discuss international training linkages. The placing of training as just one way of learning about nonviolence (action being another) was a useful and sensible marker on the situation. Both the WRI and the IFOR have attempted in the past to have trainers networks but from Magda and Paula's experience of attempts after the IFOR assembly in Assisi it would appear trainers are too busy to make it effective. Though I still wonder whether there is a time-cost effective means of communicating.

INNATE obviously provides an important network for nonviolence and training in Ireland, or at least I hope it increasingly will. As a trainer I would like a) a sense of international solidarity b) the opportunity to learn new approaches and techniques as appropriate c) some brief information on events taking place but also information on whether more details are available.

Cultural differences obviously entail having different approaches. But the inter-cultural mirror can also be an effective way of challenging our own thinking as to whether we're doing things the right way and avoiding being prisoners of our own culture or personality.

And so I end this account with a point I started with; I received what I needed - challenge and confirmation, or questioning and affirmation. Igen.

The address of 'De Expeditie' is Schimmelpenninckkade 30, 3813 AE Amersfoort, Netherlands, phone 033 - 753001.

CHANGING

Mari Fitzduff

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

Mari Fitzduff, now director of the Community Relations Council in Belfast, completed her doctoral thesis "From ritual to consciousness - a study of change in progress in Northern Ireland' for the University of Ulster in 1989.

We are printing here a couple of concluding chapters from Mari Fitzduff's thesis. This is important material in providing both qualitative analysis of change in attitudes in Northern Ireland and a theoretical construct of what factors are at work here.

What did Mari Fitzduff discover that people needed to change? They needed 'permission' - space, place and time to challenge assumptions. That place could be outside Northern Ireland or indeed it could be prison. Meeting people who had changed was important for some people.

Contradictions which existed were a fundamental cause of change but there were two kinds of people in Mari Fitzduff's study; the 'cogitators' (thinkers) for whom thinking preceded change, and the 'belongers' whose membership of a new group led them to forsaking other group(s) they had been involved in.

What were the results of change? There was an end to stereotyping. People moved to making principle-based decisions rather than loyalty-based ones. They learned to tolerate uncertainty. They came to believe that violence destroyed relationships. And everyone paid a price for changing.

One of the most accurate criticisms of peace and reconciliation projects of all kinds in Northern Ireland is that they have lacked a theoretical or analytical framework to fit their operations into. Mari Fitzduff's thesis could be said to provide this. However it would be mistaken to simply use it to say 'there, now, weren't we on the right tack all along'. A more positive response would be - how does our peace and reconciliation work fit into this analysis? Are there things we need to consider or change? Where there are inconsistencies between our work and approach, and the analysis and conclusions reached by Mari Fitzduff, is our approach correct and justifiable? How should we cope with these inconsistencies?

We provide an initial summary of chapters 10 and 11 (taken from the thesis) and then print chapters 13 and 14 in full. The bibliography at the end publishes only the references contained in those two chapters (i.e. references made elsewhere in the thesis are not included in the bibliography printed here).

SUMMARY OF CHAPTER 10

MOVEMENT FACILITATED BY:

(COGITATORS)	(BELONGERS)
PERMISSION	
Of Time	Of Time
Of Place	Of Place
Respected (own tribe) people	Contact.
Books	
CONTRADICTIONS	
Cognitive Dissonance	Affective and
Critical Education	Behavioural Dissonance

SUMMARY OF CHAPTERS 11 and 12

INITIAL SET.	NEW SET.
Characterised by:	Characterised by increases in:
MONISM	**PLURALISM**
(Cognitive Operations); Cognitive simplicity.	Cognitive Complexity/Flexibility. Individuation. Principled Thinking, within justice structure
Stereotyping Conventional thinking	
Certainty of Beliefs	Uncertainty of Beliefs.
Intolerance of Uncertainty	Tolerance of Uncertainty.
Field Dependent Thinking	Field Independent thinking.
Concrete reflection.	Abstract reflection.
Own values seen as Objective.	Own values seen as Subjective
(Psychodynamic Health): Use of Projection/Splitting.	Integration
Simplified Blame Attribution.	Diffusion of blame/responsibility.
Rationalisation.	Consciousness of Past Rationalisation
(Identity): Ethnocentrism	Inclusiveness.
Certainty of Identity.	Lability/Negotiability of identity.

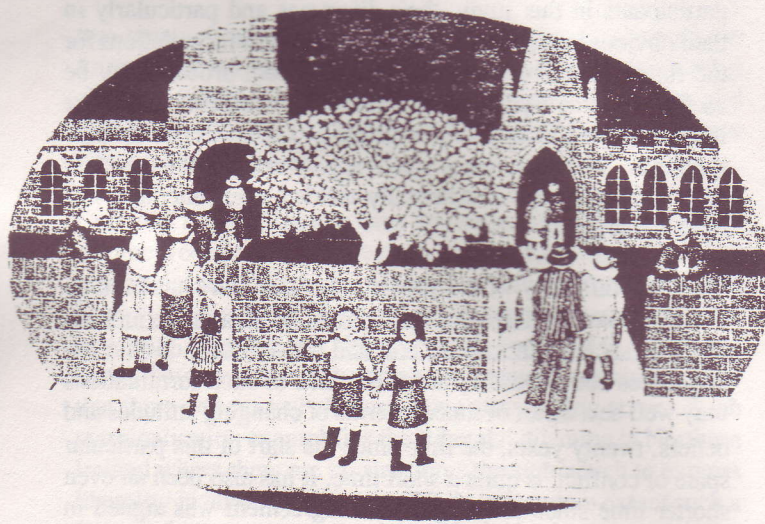| POSITION	PROCESS.
(Conflict): Win/lose Approach.	Win/Win Approach
Particular position sought.	Individual/Collective Interests sought Emphasis on Relationships.
Emphasis on Objectives	
(Political Thinking): Exclusive political syntax.	Inclusive Political Syntax.
Conservative political thinking.	Liberal/Democratic Political thinking.
(Process): Position advocates.	Process advocates.
Own truth as total framework.	Framework of relativity of truths.
Contents of belief important.	Respect for Process of belief.
Methods for victory.	Methods for joint problem solving.

INTRODUCTION.

This study was undertaken from a very practical need - the need to look for possible determinants of facilitators of change for use in social change programmes in Northern Ireland. It was pursued by enlisting the participation of people who appeared to have 'changed' according to a few relatively simple criteria, although the need to more clearly describe or define such alternative positions was soon ascertained to be crucial. The results of the search for both indices of change and facilitating factors have so far constituted the main part of the study. This section looks at the possible relevance, limitations, and implications for practice of such findings, and in doing so addresses the following questions:

1) Are the participants in the study so atypical that their experiences may be reasonably discounted as being useless for the purposes of developing any social change practice ?

2) Of what relevance are such 'personal change' experiences to what apparently needs to happen at a much broader level, particularly at institutional levels, to decrease sectarianism in N.Ireland and increase effective political work ?

3) Are there any implications for social change practice that can be drawn from the study ?

ANOMALIES?

The fact that the study dealt only with an assortment of individuals, limited in number, who were chosen for being apparent 'anomalies' is of course the first sobering acknowledgement needed in considering any judgement of relevance. To actually find individuals who had changed in both thought and deed was quite a difficult task and only underlined how unusual their particular journeys had been compared with the apparently non-substantial movement of most people in Northern Ireland.

Attempting to address the question of the extent of their anomalousness is difficult. There have unfortunately been no systematic studies which would in any way clarify the question as to how many people would now concur with the participants in their uncertainties and their commitment to the paramountcy of process. As has already been mentioned in Chapter 3 it is more usually the 'extremists' who are the subject of systematic study and not the more 'moderate', 'liberal' or 'converted' members in any conflict situation. Political results do indicate some of the reality of people's convictions but while the consistent number of people voting for Sinn Fein or the D.U.P. would seem to indicate the continuing existence of many 'exclusive' political attitudes, even such indicators are crude. Much voting in Northern Ireland is about something other than positive support for a political party and it would be far too simple to extrapolate from such results any certainties of convictions. A vote for Sinn Fein is not necessarily an indicator of support for the violence of the I.R.A. and on the Protestant side, there are many who would vote for the Paisley led D.U.P. not necessarily because they support all of the policies or actions of that particular party, but because they see the strong defensive stance of Paisley and the D.U.P. as likely to provide them with the strongest bargaining position in any final settlements (Bruce 1984).

Holy Mary, Mother of God,
Pray for me and Tommy Todd,
I'm a Fenian and he's a Prod,
Holy Mary, Mother of God.

Surveys may be a slightly more accurate indicator of people's beliefs although their questions are often posed in such a fashion that it is difficult to obtain from people anything other than very simplified choices about a very complex problem. They do however consistently indicate that there is indeed a majority of people in Northern Ireland, at least in theory, in favour of what might be seen as more 'liberal' approaches to politics i.e. in favour of power sharing and of integrated education (e.g.Moxon-Browne 1979). And through the years there have been movements - particularly the Peace People - who have tapped, if only temporarily and in retrospect naively, into the wellspring of disillusionment with tribal simplicities. It is also the experience of this researcher, in two years of facilitating anti-sectarian and community relations work with people from all sections and classes within Northern Ireland, that in many ways, at least in their attitudes, the participants are not totally unrepresentative of the general population of Northern Ireland. While they may be anomalies in terms of their active involvement in 'reconciliation' tasks, they do appear to exemplify many attitudes existing among the majority of people from both communities i.e. disillusionment and weariness about the conflict, little belief in any useful future for the use of violence by paramilitaries, uncertainty about what they wish to actively pursue in terms of constitutional futures, a desire for some constructive political solution to be devised and a willingness to sacrifice - if adequate terms can be devised so that victories are not too obviously proclaimed - some elements of their former aspirations.

CONTEXTUAL LIMITATIONS.

Although it may possibly be alleged with some degree of conviction that there are many people in Northern Ireland who are suffering more from uncertainty than conviction about political and cultural aspirations and who are willing to compromise some of their beliefs to achieve a peaceful settlement, the fact is that the number of people actively involved in groups overtly promoting understanding, pluralism, non-defensive attitudes, non-violence, non-discrimination and communal bills of rights is minimal (Frazer and Fitzduff 1986). Why there are so few people actively engaging in such activities, leaving aside the obvious hindrances which prevent any of us from engaging in social change activities such as family and work commitments, is a matter very relevant to the concern of this study. The

participants in this study, their dilemmas and particularly in their obvious lack of clarity about possible new formulations for the future other than new convictions about process may be usefully exemplifying some of the main problems which are limiting the effectiveness of social and political change programmes. Their experience would appear to suggest that unless such limitations are energetically tackled, their attempts will remain marginal.

The main difficulty would appear to be that there has been no even minimal collective reformulation of alternative and acceptable social, cultural and political possibilities, despite uncertainties about existing ones. The lack of such formulations may well be a factor of time. In terms of changing attitudes and beliefs, twenty years, the time since the start of this particular spate of conflict, is quite a short time. It has also been an even shorter time since the Anglo Irish Agreement was signed in 1985 and its implications particularly for the Unionist section of the community are still very much in the process of being absorbed. It has been suggested by Marris (1974, p.162) that any 'revolution' of meaning at a collective level will only happen when their particular historical meaning of life has already disintegrated for most people, and will only succeed when little present collective will to defend the past survives. Obviously, in Northern Ireland, in some very influential groups, such a collective will to defend the past - or the past dream - still remains. However, it is the belief of this researcher (Fitzduff 1989) and others (e.g.Gallagher 1986) that there are some signs that such disintegration may now be happening relatively rapidly in Northern Ireland, particularly within the Protestant community since the Anglo-Irish agreement and particularly in the areas of identity and desired political options. On the Unionists' side such disintegration has been particularly provoked by the British acceptance of the role of the Republic in advising on matters pertinent to Northern Ireland and through the continuing refusal of the British to re-affirm the Unionist claim to be truly British by allowing participation in the regular party political life of the U.K. Hence Unionists now have, collectively, little rational clarity about their loyalty or even their preferred constitutional option. Such confusions have led to changes in feelings about primary affiliations on the part of Unionists, and even to some radical rethinking on the part of Loyalist paramilitaries (U.D.A. 1987). On the part of the minority, such uncertainties, though less keenly felt, have focused in recent years on their disillusionment with the Republic with which the majority of them have professed to desire unity - although they have varied considerably in their beliefs about when they would like it to happen. Such disillusionment has also been underlined by their knowledge that economically and socially they would suffer under the actuality of such an arrangement. It may well be that, given time, as the contradictions around both positions become more apparent, an adequately wide and collective disintegration of such past certainties, similar to that which happened to the participants in the study, may well happen which will allow eventually for a collective reformulation of alternative constitutional possibilities. Such a disintegration may also be facilitated by the British Government's decision to do no more than 'hold the fort' until the parties in Northern Ireland come to some collective arrangement about future, sustainable possibilities for Northern Ireland (King 1988).

However, it may well be that any such journey to newer places can be achieved with more efficiency and less personal disintegration if, in acknowledging/developing any new paradigm of

meaning which would enable such constitutional possibilities to emerge, one could be developed which would not force people to repudiate their past identity. It would seem to be useful in the light of what is known about the need for belonging-roots, that if possible a thread of continuity with the various histories should be preserved which would enable people to retain an understanding of and respect for their community's past beliefs, if not all actions ensuing from them. In talking about the need to retain some continuity of meaning from the past, Marris has suggested the need for the development of such a new paradigm which connects, rather than discards:

'In the transformations of science, a revolutionary paradigm not only resolves the anomalies and contradictions which overwhelms its predecessor, but subsumes all the knowledge previously gained within a more powerful theoretical order. A new paradigm of policy, unlike a merely reactionary political ideology, would not repudiate knowledge because it was acquired within a framework of assumptions since discredited. On the contrary it would seek to make that knowledge part of a more progressive system of thought, but connecting it with a different set of theoretical relationships.' (Marris 1982 p.102)

As Chapter 11 has shown, the place where such a reformulation of meaning is most likely to be most difficult and to create the greatest of distress is around the question of identity. From its speculations, it appears we may need to facilitate on the one hand the possibility for differing groups to affirm a distinctive identity in a way which can both sustain and validate the best of past beliefs, and on the other hand facilitate an openness to the present need to develop and maintain what Ivor Browne (1988) would call 'semi-permeable' boundedness i.e. an openness to those who choose to abide in a different identity. The debate about whether this is possible has begun - in particular through the work of the theatre and publishing company Field Day, of philosophers like Kearney (1985, 1987) and of historians like Foster (1988). It may well be that the translation of such possibilities - i.e. of the possibilities of the co-existence of differing identities within a new paradigm into common, graspable parlances and structures would be a first necessary step to any general realisation of the not-necessarily contradictory nature of differing aspirations - at least for 'legitimate' ones such as equality and identity, as opposed to power monopolies and exclusivenesses. Some such steps have been taken in such a direction at Northern Ireland governmental level in recent years - the recognition of the Irish language as a legitimate subject within secondary level schools and the acceptance by the government that correspondence with it through the medium of Irish is now possible are interesting examples of such pluralism. And of particular interest is the now permitted public use of the tricolour, with its acceptance of the validity of a particular political aspiration to the existence of other than the status quo of the present state. However while the development of such new paradigms - at least new for Northern Ireland - about the possible co-existence of different identities and aspirations may be useful, it is also clear from the experience of the participants that there is also a need to develop frameworks - of belief and of structures - which allow uncertainty and confusion to exist, to confirm the positive function of such processes and legitimise their questioning. Without their positive affirmation, questions about identities may be defended against, and continue to rest merely in thoughtlessness and defensiveness rather than choice.

One of the problems that may continue to delay the reformulation of any such viable frameworks may well be that there is a collective lack of any appealing language with which to change. If there is any validity in the assertion that language

```
Giv agt
Warnung vor einer Gefahrstelle
General danger
Danger général
Pericolo generico
Gevaar
```

moulds thought (Dill 1971) then any, even brief examination of how words and concepts are used in Northern Ireland will reveal that the strong and commanding words and concepts in Northern Ireland all belong to the 'exclusionists' - words like self-determination, freedom, independence and justice, which are all used freely and often inflammatorily in an in-group inclusionary context e.g. when referring to freedom or self-determination for 'our' group, or justice as we see it. Words such as tolerance, acceptance and pluralism, are essentially seen as weak words, and it is believed that their use by Terence O'Neill helped to bring about his resignation (Nelson 1984). Those who use them frequently in Northern Ireland are likely to be scornfully dismissed as 'lundies' and 'castle catholics', as 'wimps', 'liberals' or merely 'naive'. In Northern Ireland the most compelling of rhetoric has almost always belonged to those who perpetuate exclusive politics and sectarianism. This lack of any articulated contrasting philosophy of politics that has the equivalent ring of strength or persuasive powers has been an obvious limitation in developing any new formulations of structures and a great source of confusion for those wishing to seek alternatives.
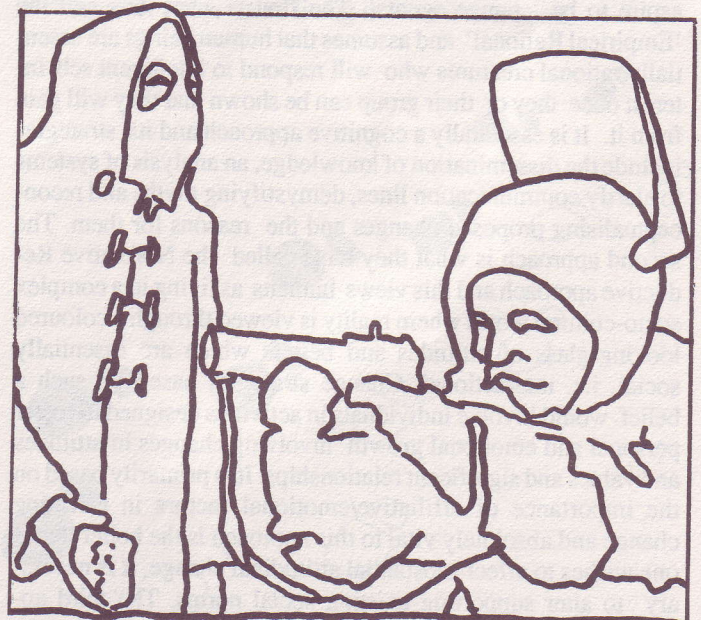
This lack of language is however only symptomatic of what is happening at a wider level. It can never be forgotten that ,for the most part, people do act as part of a group and unless alternatives are catered for within the social processes, they in the end stand little chance of succeeding in provoking substantial change. As Berger has pointed out certain conditions make sets of belief more or less plausible and one of the major elements - perhaps the major element - in plausibility is general social support. He would contend that individuals who change their meaning systems, must subsequently change their social relationships, if such new meaning is to be sustained (Berger 1963, Berger and Luckman 1971). According to many others also (e.g. Goffman 1957, McCall 1977, Swann 1983) the making of self inferences is both an active process and one that is guided by cognitive and affective reactions, and therefore changes that one makes need to be sustained through e.g. making friends with people who confirm one's new self-concept. While it is true that the participants who changed their views in most cases also changed their relationships - and in the case of the belongers changed their relationships and then their views - where they now belong is to small and only occasionally articulate groups, whose ideas are rarely listened to or seriously entertained at general public level and subsequently whose influence on the body politic is as yet very marginal. Such bodies appear far from being able to enliven any vision which is a deliberate, organised and conscious effort by the majority of members of a society to construct a more equitable and satisfying culture. Unless present exclusive structures e.g. of housing and education can be somehow mitigated in their starkness thus allowing for such a collec-

tive creation, along with significant attention given to the formulation of persuasive concepts capable of facilitating change, it seems very unlikely that any new alternative and lasting structures can develop that are grounded in any new paradigm of pluralism.

One final major difficulty was that exemplified by the disillusionment of almost all of the participants with the party political process in general - many of them now feeling marginalised from the process. For class and other reasons, many would not now vote Alliance, and although some voted for the Workers' Party, they knew that such votes were 'wasted' votes in the sense that there was no real chance of that party taking power. Such marginalisation exemplifies the 'liberals' dilemma in Northern Ireland where there are no structures through which to express liberality in any effective way. While to a certain extent such a failure of structure may be due to the lack of much real desire for such a liberalist expression much of it may also be due to the factors outlined above i.e. the lack of the development of any paradigm which can contain different aspirations in a spirit of pluralism, and above all the lack of any persuasive articulation of such a paradigm. But it is also true that it is very difficult, because of the very nature of liberalism, for those who espouse it to present a collective and persuasive position. This is because the prime commitment of the true liberal is to process and not to position, and such a commitment to process is often seen as a weakness:

'If one thinks of 'becoming more liberal' as a process, it is a process of widening choices and interpretations .... conservatives tend to view the lack of consensus among liberals and their failure to set forth creeds that state their core beliefs as being attributable to moral or intellectual failure. They fail to appreciate that these things follow logically and socio-psychologically from the form of liberalism.' (Bruce 1984 p.89)

If it is accepted that politics at every level, but particularly here in Northern Ireland operates from and is rooted in the use of such processes as stereotyping, with one's own values seen and presented as objective, with frequent and public use of splitting and projection, and with a win/lose approach to issues, it must essentially raise questions about the capacity of people who can no longer scapegoat and project with any sense of seriousness to function in an effective manner within the present Northern

DAWN TRAIN 10, page twenty-seven.

Irish political arena. The fact that we have as yet singularly failed collectively to create even democratic political thinking here in Northern Ireland, locked as we are into exclusionary visions was noted also by Gallagher (1986) in his examination of the views of political activists in Northern Ireland. He concluded that the problem of Northern Ireland is deeper than simply a disagreement over the mechanisms of power or government, but rather that there is no shared 'syntax of politics' reigning in the political sphere i.e. political debate in the democratic sense exists only within the groups, and excludes the members of the outgroup. There is no overarching organic framework of politics that belongs to all sides, and which espouses method rather than end, which could establish a syntax through which the future could be built. He concluded that it may be then that any attempted solution to the conflict that relies on a new institutional framework seems likely to fail unless it is also accompanied by an attempt to construct a consensual syntax of political behaviour.

Whether possibilities for such a construction will become clearer in the next few years is as yet uncertain. What is certain is that the participants in this study, after struggling through many years, some of them with the gun, to achieve victories of position had become convinced that the development of such a process, at all levels and not just the party political one was the prime task required of them as change agents. It may in fact be that the open promulgation of the primacy of process, at least in the first instance, as their main agenda, would be a practically useful starting place for any change agents or institutions in Northern Ireland. Such a promulgation would not discount the general felt need for people in Northern Ireland to come in time to some agreement about particular constitutional positions, but it would clearly articulate the conviction that any such positions would be rendered abortive and unsustainable unless such pre-political work on process grounded in a commitment to pluralism was done first.

PRACTICE

a) FACILITATING CHANGE

Theories about facilitating change appear to fall into three categories which are mainly determined by the view one holds of human beings in general. e.g. Chin and Benne (1976) have identified three basic approaches as characterising those who aspire to be 'change agents'. The first is what they call the 'Empirical Rational' and assumes that human beings are essentially rational creatures who will respond to intelligent self-interest once they or their group can be shown that they will gain from it. It is essentially a cognitive approach and its strategies include the dissemination of knowledge, an analysis of systems to clarify communication lines, demystifying myths and reconceptualising proposed changes and the reasons for them. The second approach is what they have called the Normative Reductive approach and this views humans as living in a complex socio-cultural world where reality is viewed through a coloured looking-glass of attitudes and beliefs which are essentially social, i.e. interactional. Change strategies based on such a belief would involve individuals in activities designed to foster personal and emotional growth involving changes in attitudes and values and significant relationships. It is primarily based on the importance of affiliative/emotional factors in effecting change and absolutely vital to this approach is the belief that if one wishes to affect substantial attitudinal change, it is necessary to alter supporting existing social norms. The third approach is called the 'Power-Coercive' approach and it sees

human beings as essentially requiring the application of force - not necessarily physical, but possibly legal, institutional or political coercion to achieve change.

Similar presumptions about human nature underline many other theorists suggestions for change practice e.g. Bandura (1972) and Brewster-Smith (1972).

Consideration of the participants showed however that such strategies should not necessarily be seen as competing with one another. The people in this study showed quite clearly that different approaches worked best for different people. Cognitive persuasion worked best for some individuals while others were more affected by affective and behavioural approaches - although the study was so small that it could give no indication of the possible numbers of people in general who would be likely to be persuaded by one approach or another. Change for all however was facilitated by both the provision of Permission and the occurrence of Contradictions.

Another pattern noticeable among the participants, and which may be relevant to any social change practice, was that how people decided to work on any change process was very much determined by how they themselves had changed - i.e. they often appeared to formulate their change strategies according to what they believed had influenced them. Those who had changed significantly through dissonance resulting from contact, spent much of their time promoting such contact e.g. for 4/C it was very important:

'I can put it all [change] down to meeting Protestants and listening to them and hearing their side - none of the rest of my family have .... contact is very important to me - without it I would be completely different to-day.' (4/C)

Therefore she now is significantly involved in camps promoting such contact work, and follow-up activities to facilitate its continuance. Similarly 8/P frequently acts as a leader at workshops designed to facilitate understanding between the two communities - echoing her own first contact with Corrymeela. Both 2/P and 7/P, who changed through the dissonances that became apparent within their Christianity, spend a good deal of their time working with Christian groups, attempting to develop among them a deeper understanding of what they see as the challenging criteria of the Gospels. 2/P in particular is actively involved in ecumenical work with the churches. 5/P, who was so badly hurt by his betrayal at the hands of his fellow-Loyalists, spends much of his time talking to groups of young men attempting to persuade them of the futility of joining para-military organisations. 9/C, whose most pertinent enlightenment came through a reappraisal of the extent of the Scots/Irish connection from early times, has put much time and energy into trying to make such connections relevant to school children through his assistance in the development of new history curricula which take account of such reappraisals. 12/C, who changed so much through her involvement with such groups as Gingerbread and various women's issue groups spends her time organising collective concern among women from both traditions, encouraging them to fight together against the common enemy of the unresponsive state. 11/P, who spent so much of his time revising his history at the feet of Gusty Spence while in prison, is now engaged in a project designed to persuade young people - but particularly Catholics - to revise their particular versions of history in order to make them more inclusive of both traditions. And 1/C, a socialist, spends much of his working time promulgating a shared class perspective among the groups with which he works.

It would seem also that <u>organisations</u> concerned with reconciliation or justice seem to <u>function from within a framework based on their</u> (usually unexpressed) <u>belief about change, and their members usually display similar need frameworks i.e. to 'cogitate' or to 'belong'.</u>

For some organisations, particularly those who rely on contact like the Holiday Organisations, P.A.C.E., Women Together, Co-operation North, and to a certain extent Corrymeela, the facilitation of empathetic understanding is paramount. Other organisations concentrate on the more cognitively focused tasks of developing collectively agreed justice or political structures e.g. New Ireland Group, Charter Group, Consensus Group, Irish Commission for Justice and Peace. Some groups are particularly about making use of within-belief dissonances to achieve change e.g. those based around the Christian Faith such as the Inter Church Group on Faith and Politics, Columbanus and Cornerstone Communities. And the particular concern of some organisations is the implementation of legally based reforms e.g. of a security or of a social nature - these would include C.A.J. (Committee on the administration of Justice - Ed), Fair Employment Agency, S.A.C.H.R. (Standing Advisory Commission on Human Rights - Ed), MacBride Principles group, who all endeavour to make effective use of the coercion of the law to achieve social change.

Organisations who function from different frameworks rarely act collectively and often there may be active avoidance by one group of involvement in activities which another group sees as entirely appropriate e.g. issues of justice may be avoided by those groups basing their change programmes on the use of contact because such issues can easily disrupt the desired harmony. Similarly, many people and organisations involved in e.g. legal reforms are highly critical of what they see as the 'soft' options of such groups in proposing 'understanding' as a goal because they often see such a focus as avoiding the hard issues of justice and structural change.

A greater awareness on the part of these various organisations and the people involved in them of the usefulness and necessity of the different approaches in getting people involved in such work might be salutary for their collective effectiveness.
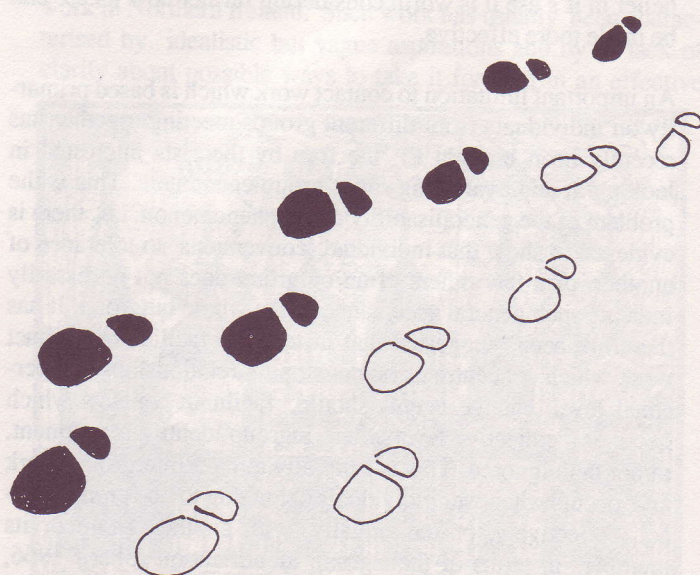
b) RESPONSIBILITY FOR CHANGE:

As has already been noted, the number of people involved in actively facilitating any social change concerned with sectarianism in Northern Ireland is relatively minimal and some of the reasons for the reluctance of people to so involve themselves, plus the possible lack of effectiveness of such work have been alluded to. However, if one is willing to acknowledge the usefulness of the development of such factors as outlined in the Summary on page 272 (of the original thesis - Ed) i.e. to develop further our collective capacity to be cognitively complex, to argue from principled rather than conventional thinking, to decrease our use of defense mechanisms, to develop a win/win approach to differences, an inclusive political syntax, and an advocacy of process as opposed to position based politics then the outlook for such future development on the part of the majority of people in Northern Ireland is both pessimistic and optimistic.

On the pessimistic side, any examination of the factors characterising the initial 'sets' of the participants will see that not only do such characteristics describe the initial set of all of the participants, but for the most part, as outlined in Chapter 4 they also characterise most of the institutions in N.Ireland. They

certainly characterise much of what happens through the churches, who for their own internal reasons have not been very willing to encourage too many of the features of pluralism and process. While the educational system has concentrated slightly more in its generalised approach in education over the last decade on promoting the development of reasoning among its pupils, most schools here are still rooted within a religious framework and therefore they have rarely tackled the active promotion of pluralism vis a vis theology, culture or politics - indeed some have actively seen it as their duty to act as a bulwark against such pluralism. Similarly, few of our social institutions - Women's Institutes, Rotary Clubs, G.A.A. Associations etc. have encouraged the development of such pluralism.

If looked at positively, however, the fact is that because such <u>traditional institutions</u> play such an important role still in the lives of so many people in Northern Ireland, they <u>have a far greater capacity to encourage the development of such work</u>, if they so wished to do so, <u>than any marginalised 'reconciliation' organisations</u>. The two main ways through which the participants found freedom to move beyond their traditional beliefs are processes which could be encouraged by the above institutions. Obviously the risk may be seen by many of them as too great, particularly as such a process could lead - as it lead many of the participants - to also ask hard questions about the institutions themselves. However, perhaps if the connection between the greater expansion and development of such processes and any possible political progress were to be more clearly recognised, it would help some organisations to take the risk. For any institutions who are willing to engage in such a process it is important for them to recognise, from the experience of the participants, that such processes need not necessarily in the first instance concentrate directly on the particular political differences occurring within Northern Ireland, but merely on the promotion of such skills as flexible and non-defensive thinking, permission to be uncertain, the development of inclusiveness, and above all a commitment to process - in any area under discussion. The transferability of such skills on the part of the participants e.g. from critical education was soon being used in other more sensitive areas. If such a belief could be seriously taken on board, there are very few institutions of an educational, theological, social, or cultural nature that would not have plenty of capacity to contribute to the slow development of alternative paradigms of cooperative living in Northern Ireland.

c) THE USE OF PRESENT BELIEF SYSTEMS.

While N.Ireland is characterised by strongly held beliefs, and such belief systems often can and do militate against changing beliefs, the fact that they are strongly held at a cognitive level means, as shown by the participants, that there does often exist within the individual the need to continually make sense of factors apparently pertinent to those systems. Such needs can - and in case of many of the participants did - prove productive in eliciting a rejection of some prejudices. e.g. for 2/P and 7/P 5/P and 3/P it was the fact that they were committed and thinking Christians that eventually forced them to reassess many of their beliefs about the out-groups who were their traditional enemies. It is possible then to look at such espousals of particular frameworks, which are by their nature, and by their roots, inclusive at a much wider level than the ethnic divisions as being a possibly very effective way of precipitating change - and a way which might not exist in a society which held less strongly to any such frameworks. Similarly, the contention that changes which are supported by people who are 'important' to the subject will be effected more easily in society, may at first give little hope in a society whose leaders appear, in many cases to be more interested in retaining the status quo rather than changing it. But the positive side of such an idea is that, where such change is supported, or allowed for, by influential people, it can be much more effective than in a society where such respect does not exist. For many of the participants,(e.g. for 2/P, 5/P,7/P,11/P) it was for them the people who had proved themselves to be 'traditional' ideologically, or politically and yet open to wider explorations who were most influential in changing them. Such factors may well point to the need for greater work to be done within such institutions, using what possibilities there are within their own philosophies for inclusive work to be done, and enlisting, where possible, people who can function particularly well within the chosen framework, and yet who are capable of seeing possibilities for further inclusiveness.

d) JUDICIOUS USE OF CONTACT.

As was earlier mentioned in the study, it is primarily through the use of contact that the Government attempts to do 'Community Relations' work. While the evidence of the participants shows that such contact is more effective in influencing some type of people rather than others, because of the widespread belief in it's use it is worth considering further how its use can be made more effective.

An important limitation to contact work which is based primarily on individuals from different groups meeting together has recently been brought to the fore by theorists interested in looking at and evaluating inter-group encounters. This is the problem of the generalisability of the phenomenon. i.e. there is evidence to show that individual 'conversions' to tolerance of another, or a few others of an outgroup does not necessarily indicate such general acceptance of the whole outgroup. It has therefore been suggested that instead of facilitating contact work which concentrates on developing relationships at a personal level, change agents should facilitate contacts which occur at a collective level where ingroup identity is pertinent, rather than ignored. This is generally termed Intergroup Work and occurs whenever individuals belonging to one group interact, collectively, or individually, with another group or its members in terms of their group identification (Sherif 1966,

Austin and Worschel 1979, Billig 1976, Turner and Giles 1981). Turner has proposed that the underlying difference in such interactions is that between the transition from personal to social identity i.e so that not only do individuals see outgroup members in stereotyped ways, but they also see themselves as relatively interchangeable with ingroup members (Turner and Giles 1981). Weber and Crocker (1983) concluded that unless such interactions takes place, essentially as meetings between groups and not between individuals, little happens other than personal relationships. There is a also a growing body of research which shows that people's behaviour differs in group settings (Brown and Turner 1981, Wilder 1984) and therefore it is suggested that to the extent that contact takes place on an 'interpersonal' basis it is unlikely to modify intergroup attitudes and behaviour since the two domains are controlled by different psychological processes.

Whether however such intergroup work is necessarily the answer to effective contact work is as yet unclear e.g. Reid and Sumiga (1984) have come up with some contrary evidence and Rose has argued that because an intimate relationship offers the possibility of 'multiple disconfirmations' of the stereotypes that personal relationships, such as are engendered in contact work which emphasises them, may in fact be more effective in changing the stereotypes. We are left then with confused opinions, with differences existing about whether or not inter contact group work should concentrate on establishing similarities between the group, or emphasise the differences between them as groups. Some, like Stephan and Stephan (1984), conclude that presentation of fundamental similarities and group-specific differences should help to attack intergroup ignorance and improve intergroup relations.

This study has not focused on the effects of group work which starts from one basis or the other and in fact none of the participants had participated in such intergroup exchanges i.e. where the groups met specifically rooted in their collective differences, where the agenda was about such differences, and where the participants were there representing their particular groups. However, it is important to consider the general problematic issues raised by such an approach to change work in Northern Ireland, in formulating any suggestions for practice. While the intergroup hypothesis may have been an important innovation both about the theory and practise of resolving group conflict, its emphasis which concentrates on the differences between two groups only takes account of the reality of people's experience at a certain important, but perhaps limited level, at least here in Northern Ireland.

From continual work both within and between community groups which aims to check out the reality of group differences at a political level (Fitzduff 1988) clear limitations to such specifically 'intergroup' work quickly become evident. The fact is, that after initial affirmations of differences have been acknowledged, subsequent work usually reveals, on the part of the majority of the participants, extensive confusion about both identity and desired political options. While participants can stand securely divided on their community of origin - whether or not they were raised as Protestants or Catholics - when asked about what identity they consider theirs to be, and what political options they would consider optimal, many differences and some strange similarities, reflecting those which have emerged on the part of the participants came to the fore. Hence, if unthinkingly carried too far intergroup work can in fact cement people into simplistic groups and identities within which they may feel uneasy, and about which they may have many questions. If such questions go unacknowledged then ultimate decisions taken by the groups or elsewhere may be based on what

may be a myth i.e. that there are now two clearly defined fundamental identity and political interest groups, and that negotiations and decisions should be based on these assumed differences.

It would seem that much work that is presently being done in Northern Ireland is based on just such an assertion e.g. the Two Traditions Group, without sufficient considerations of the limitation in both theory and practice of such an approach.

Therefore, while the hypothesis that people should meet as clearly defined groups, as representatives of those groups rather than atypical of them as suggested by e.g. Sherif (1966) and Turner and Giles (1981) is a useful starting place for group work, such Intergroup work should also allow for the appropriate assessment of uncertainties and odd alliances which may in the end be more typical of the reality of many people's allegiances and beliefs at any particular time than those normally presumed.

e) THE DEVELOPMENT OF ISSUE BASED POLITICS

The evidence for the success of the development of issue based work is among the most overwhelming for successful contact scenarios e.g. according to Sherif (1966) and Feshbach and Singer (1957) working towards collective superordinate goals is one of the more effective ways of reducing intergroup prejudice. Although work which has involved people looking at 'superordinate goals' or what McClendon (1974) has called the 'utilitarian rationale' has so far in Northern Ireland ended up being marginalised because of the Constitutional problem - the past fate of the Labour Party, and the present 2 per cent vote of Workers' Party signifying such marginalisation - for some of the participants such work was quite important.

In the first place, issue based politics often provide a safe enough place for contact to be established with people from different community, e.g. among women, without in the first place necessitating the confrontation of those differences. Instead such differences can temporarily be subsumed to a collective concentration on the achievement of various social goals, allowing respect to develop alongside such commitments. But there is a second use which would seem to suggest that the development of such issue based politics can greatly facilitate the development of a safe place within which to discuss sensitive issues and confront the contradictions which arise about the realities of economics and power as they arise. Such development can also facilitate the capacity of people to function within a group, with a developed respect for the processes whereby such a group considers issues and takes on board the differing views within the groups.

f) DEVELOPMENT OF COGNITIVELY RICH ENVIRONMENTS:

Breslin (1982) found that in Ireland, North and South, those young people who were operating at the highest level of moral reasoning also showed most tolerance. Perhaps more importantly in the present context she also demonstrated that those children who had an opportunity to engage in discussions involving controversial social and political issues were more likely to be operating at a more complex level of moral reasoning. She points out that the results of her study underscore the importance of recognising moral education as a precursor of tolerance and of incorporating discussion of controversial issues into the school curriculum (Breslin 1982).

This possible role for the schools is one which is, finally, receiving quite a good deal of attention at this present moment in time (Northern Ireland Council for Continuing Education, 1989).

It has already been suggested in this part of the study that the development of such a 'Cognitively rich' environment could be widely and usefully done by many establishments other than schools, and could thus reach a much wider number of people. Drawing on the experience of the participants, what can be usefully elucidated from their experience is perhaps the quality both of indices for objectives and the judicious use of facilitating factors for focused group work. While both factors of permission and contradiction could usefully be present in all such group work, it would seem that their proportions should vary, depending on the kind of work being undertaken, and the subject group. In intergroup work, the greatest necessity may be for an emphasis on permission, because in poorly adjusted relationships the stress associated with conflict discussion decreases conceptual complexity and increases attributional bias. In intragroup work it is quite possible that the level of Contradiction may be more usefully increased in the hope that the resulting dissonance could eventually overwhelm the defence mechanisms and create new opportunities for the reorganisation of conceptual categories However, while it has been suggested that the most profitable people to provide space for such discussions might be the traditional institutions to which many people belong, it is difficult to see them pioneering such a process. It is here that the provision of space for such discussions - whether of an inter or intragroup nature could well be seen as the appropriate task for all adult education providers here in Northern Ireland - particularly those that work with a greater level of flexibility both of focus and of place than statutory bodies, such as the Workers' Education Association and the informal Women's Education and Information groups. Such Adult Education bodies could, if sufficiently energised and funded, create space for the kind of debate to happen within and eventually between communities which was seen as paramount by the participants, encouraging the development at a wider level of new frameworks of meaning or at the very least the development of new questions.

Chapter 14: CONCLUSION.

This study was conceived from the practical exigencies of what is generally termed Community Relations or Anti-Sectarian work in Northern Ireland. Such work has usually been characterised by idealistic but vague aspirations and by a lack of clarity about possible ways to take it forward in an effective

DAWN TRAIN 10, page thirty-one.   Irving Amen

manner. In order to clarify some of the issues around such work, it was decided to investigate what had happened to people from both traditional communities who had apparently 'changed' from exclusive and sectarian positions to more inclusive ones in order to learn from their experience.

Such work inevitably entailed a study of the characteristics which would have informed the social, political, religious and cultural background from which the participants came. The study hence looked at the failure of the two communities, following the major Plantation in Ulster in the 17th. and 18th. centuries to integrate at any level, except occasionally for short periods and usually in minor matters. Throughout the 300 hundred years following the efficient colonisation of Ulster, the communities for the most part developed separately. By the time of the Civil Rights Movement in 1969 they were different in such vital features as economic prosperity and religious allegiance, lived and worked in separate territories, led separate social and leisure lives, only rarely inter-married, celebrated different festivities, felt themselves to be of different nationalities, voted differently, and above all, aspired to different constitution options. Such separation provided fertile ground for the negative aspects which often characterise any such exclusive group identification. Prejudice, stereotyping and discrimination, and different blame attribution targets became established features of Northern Irish life. The continuance of such features were also aided by the fact that, possibly due to the religions which dominate it and the provincial nature of its social structure, authoritarianism, conservatism and moral development characterised by conventional thinking were and still are typical of many individuals and most institutions in both communities. The social structures of the society also keep many of the above characteristics in place, with few options available for people or groups to change.

The research then, through the use of in-depth interviews, studied what had actually happened to people who appeared to have succeeded in radically shifting their beliefs and behaviours, despite the above features. It was directed towards understanding the factors which had facilitated their changing, and also towards identifying the indices which had marked their development. Despite the methodological and quantitive limitations of the study, a close examination of the stories of the participants would seem to have yielded a variety of productive insights which may be useful either in confirming existing community relations/justice work or suggesting alternative ways for it's pursuance, at many different levels.

Two factors appear to have been particularly facilitative for the participants in helping them to question and change their traditional - usually inherited - attitudes and behaviours. The first of these factors was termed Permission and denoted the occurrence of either physical or psychological space in the lives of the participants which enabled them to review and reflect upon previously unquestioned modes of thinking and acting. Such physical space occurred either through moving out of Northern Ireland for a period of time, through the use of space particularly provided for just such discussion e.g. Corrymeela, or, in the case of three of the participants, through prison. Psychological space was provided through their engagement in either an informal or a formal educative process which was based on an experiential and questioning mode of learning as opposed to a didactic one. Also detected was the facilitative effect on the participants of people who came strongly from within their own traditions and yet who were at the same time able to question some of the tenets of those positions.

The second general factor which appeared to have been useful in facilitating change for the participants was the effect of the occurrence of Contradictions. Such contradictions had come about through participants discovering overwhelming contradictions in their own deeply held frameworks of belief e.g. Christianity; through discovering that in fact they shared many similar frameworks with people from the other side e.g. Socialism; or through their espousal of new frameworks which then necessitated their relooking at their own sectarianism e.g. Feminism. For others it was the contradictions provoked through their experience of education based on critical analysis which enabled them to reflect anew on their old beliefs.

During the course of the interviews however it became clear that although permission and contradictions were provocative for all participants in stimulating change, the particular aspects of such features and their effects varied. Such a variance seemed to be determined by differing a priori frameworks of need on the part of the participants. In the first place there were those people, in the study termed the Cogitators, whose primary need appeared to be for consistency at an internal level of thinking. For them change often happened at a solitary level, over many years of difficult thinking, and was primarily evoked by cognitive factors e.g. of dissonance provoked through books, people and education. For the others, termed the Belongers, change was mainly provoked through affective and behavioural dissonance mainly occurring through contact.

It was early in the study found necessary to investigate and chart some typology of indices though which the change of the participants could be referred to. Many existing indices e.g. of moral and cognitive development, psychodynamic health, and of increasing inclusion capacity were found to be helpful for this purpose. On all of these indices, the participants showed an increase. Participants also evidenced a decreased capacity to be convinced of the absolute validity of any particular preferred political option, while at the same time they had increased their capacity to cope with their uncertainties about such convictions. They had also realised the subjective nature of their own previous perspectives which they had believed represented objective truth and had become convinced of the collective need of the communities to develop more inclusive ways of determining 'truth'. Their adherence to their identity had become more labile and more open to flexible interpretation. They were also pursuing possibilities for more successful ways of managing conflict and developing methods to process it that were less destructive of relationships at a collective level.

What then can such a study add to our understanding of the process of attitudinal and behavioural change in Northern Ireland - and of what use it is for the practitioner who wishes to further inform her/himself about real possibilities for effective action in any field directly concerned with the amelioration of conflict, and the production of any just and successful constitutional solution ?

The first sobering reflection engendered by the study is that such attitudinal and behavioural change is difficult. Such difficulties were outlined in the study e.g. the fact that such belonging, despite its destructive features in terms of out-group hostility, generally appears to serve us well both individually and collectively in terms of our need to belong and to feel affirmed in our difference. Questioning such identity and allegiance to it is inevitably made more difficult by the denominationally based nature of most social structures in Northern Ireland and by the fact that changing one's traditional views entails inevitable

alienation and retribution from one's community. Change is also made much more difficult by that fact that there are, in Northern Ireland, no alternatives in terms of party politics that are as compelling, either in language or in concept, as the prevailing political parties.

In the pursuance of such alternatives the participants in the study appeared to confirm the need for the development of process as opposed to option oriented cultural, social and political discussion in Northern Ireland. While the present hierarchical and conservative nature of Northern Irish institutions may at one level be seen to militate against the facilitation of such processes, the fact that they command the allegiance of an extraordinary number of the population does mean that they have available tremendous possibilities for such work - far more so than any marginalised 'reconciliation' organisations - if they can be convinced of both the need for it and their power to do it. To a certain extent this has already been recognised by some of the institutions responsible for education, who have begun to structure some such work into their school curriculum.

The study also illuminates what has been a stumbling block in the effective pursuance of community relations/anti-sectarian work in Northern Ireland. Groups involved in such work appear, like the individuals in the study, to function from within a priori frameworks which inform both their objectives and the methods they use to achieve them. Those who are interested in fostering more productive relationships will mainly develop their work through the use of contact. Those who are interested in the collective development of social and political principles will develop their work through analysis and the development of legal and constitutional options. Unfortunately the differing types of groups rarely liaise with one another, and are often either dismissive or fearful of each others' work. If such groups could recognise that the work undertaken by each side has its own validity and necessity, and reflects the differing capacity for engagement by differing kinds of people, some more coherence about possible overall strategies for such work might emerge which would facilitate its implementation in a more collective and effective manner.

The study outlined the need for caution in several areas, particularly about simplistically continuing or developing 'Intergroup' work on the assumption that such differences should always be acknowledged, respected, and retained. While such an approach would appear to be useful as a starting point, the experience of the participants would suggest that the reality of such differences - or clarity about such differences - is very much open to question. Hence the need to be careful not to lock either such specific intergroup work, or more general political, cultural and social work into possibly inaccurately different frameworks.

The study also points to the usefulness of issue based work and the proliferation of such possibilities for people, perhaps through an extensive community development programme. Such a programme which would enable groups to cooperate together on social politics would appear from the study to be a useful way of fostering, without threat, understanding, honesty and assertion among groups and communities.

Finally, if the findings of the study are to be taken at face value i.e. that the general fostering of permission, and the judicious use of contradictions of all kinds are true factors in facilitating change, then the scope for individuals and institutions wishing to inv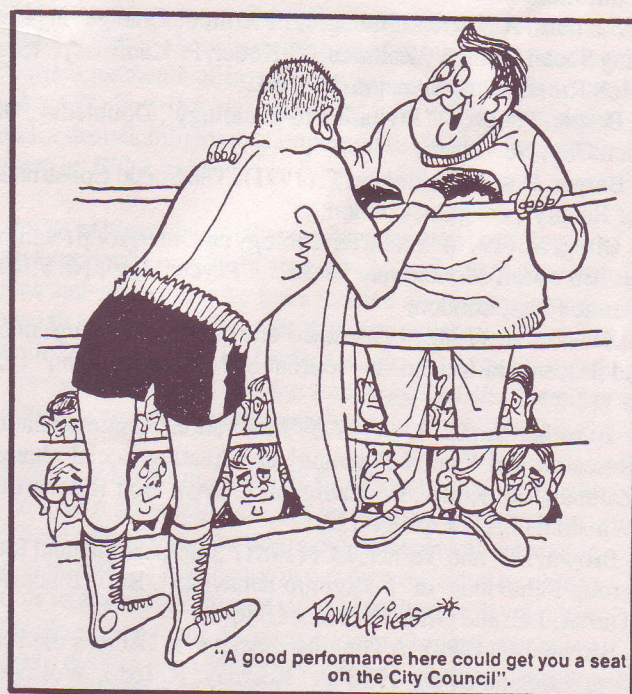olve themselves in process work aimed at developing tolerance, cognitive complexity and principled thinking and process as opposed to position based work is encouraging. Such work can happen at all levels, through any training institution, and above all through any structures purporting to be about education. All of these can create space for such work to happen, at an appropriate level. And in the first instance, such work need not necessarily concentrate on sectarian issues, as the experience of the participants in the study shows that such critical skills become eventually transferable.

This study then would seem on the one hand to have little hope to offer those who are interested in swift and sure solutions to the continuing conflict in Northern Ireland. On the other hand, for those who are willing, at either a group or institutional level to continue or to begin to develop work and structures which may eventually contribute towards the nurturing of alternative attitudes and political perspectives for Northern Ireland, the study would appear to validate the development and facilitation of certain processes as gleaned from the histories of the participants. In such a validation, it is hoped that the study has contributed to the furtherance of more effective ways through which to continue the development of possibilities for programmes and action that will enable the communities in Northern Ireland to live more adequately alongside one another in whatever political accommodation is found to be eventually possible. It is also hoped that its particular insights will help to substantiate the belief there are very few institutions of an educational, theological, social or cultural nature that do not have some capacity to contribute to such a development.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH.

Arising out of the study, the following areas would appear to be fruitful ones for further research:

- 1) The development of a more precise typology of community relations work at present being undertaken in Northern Ireland would be useful. This would investigate e.g. the varying perspectives on 'solutions', the differing

"A good performance here could get you a seat on the City Council".

DAWN TRAIN 10, page thirty-three.

assumptions about social change prevailing, and an indepth exploration of the personality/conceptual differences on the part of people involved in them.

- 2) The role of women in Northern Ireland in sustaining or attempting to influence the conflict would appear to warrant further study. There appears to be a major difference between women and men in terms of their public espousal of particular exclusive positions, and their apparently greater capacity to join 'reconciliation' organisations.

- 3) A follow-up investigation with prisoners into the perceived and assessed influence of education programmes undertaken while in prison would now appear to be both feasible and useful. Such programmes have expanded over the past few years, and many more 'political' prisoners are now participating in them.

- 4) Many 'reconciliation' programmes which concentrate on fostering positive attitudinal and behavioural change in Northern Ireland are diminished in their effectiveness by subsequent peer and community pressures on people who have taken part in such programmes. Follow up research to ascertain factors which have contributed to sustaining such change on the part of individuals/groups could contribute to their greater effectiveness.

- 5) A very practical and detailed study of the possibilities for Adult and Continuing Education institutions and groups to develop work which will contribute to Community Relations work in Northern Ireland has not yet been undertaken, but would seem to be both possible and timely.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Note; the bibliography here only contains the items referred to in the two chapters printed here, not other items referred to in the rest of Mari Fitzduff's thesis.

- Austin, W. and Worschel, S. (1979) 'The Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations', Brooks/Cole Publ. Co., Monteray, California.
- Bandura, A. (1972) 'Strategies of Attitude Change' in 'Creating Social Change', Zaltman, G. Kotler, P. Kaufman, I. (eds.), Holt Rinehart and Winston, N. York.
- Berger, P. (1963) 'Invitation to Sociology', Doubleday, Garden City, New York.
- Berger, P. and Luckmann, T. (1971) 'The Social Construction of Reality', Penguin, London.
- Billig, M. (1976) 'Social Psychology and intergroup relations' in 'European Monographs in Social Psychology', No.9, Academic Press, London.
- Breslin, A. (1982) 'Tolerance and moral reasoning among adolescents in Ireland' in 'Journal of Moral Education' 11, 2, p.112-27.
- Brewster-Smith, M. (1972) 'Motivation, Communications Research and Family Planning' in 'Creating Social change'. Zaltman, G. Kotler, P. Kaufman, I. (eds), Holt Rinehart and Winston, N. York, p.111-122.
- Brown, R.J. and Turner, J.C. (1981) 'Interpersonal and Intergroup Behaviour' in 'Intergroup behaviour'. Basil Blackwell, Turner, J.C. and Giles H. (eds.), Oxford.
- Browne, I. (1988) 'A Granular Society' in 'Across the Frontiers - Ireland in the 1990's'. Kearney, R. (ed.), Wolfhound Press, Dublin.
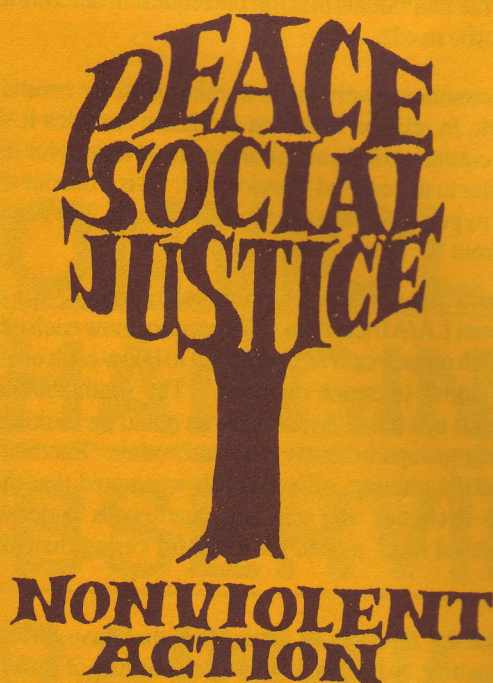
- Bruce, S. (1984) 'Firm in the Faith', Gower, Hants, England.
- Chin, R. and Benne K. D. (1976) 'General Strategies for effecting Changes in Human Systems' in 'Creating Social Change', Zaltman, G., Kotler, P., Kaufman, I. (eds.); Holt, Rinehart and Winston Inc., N. York.
- Dill, A.S. (ed.) (1971) Ferguson, C.A. 'Language Structure and Use', Stanford University Press
- Feshbach, S. and Singer (1957) 'The Effects of Personal and Shared Threats upon Social Prejudice', in 'Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology', 54, p.411-416
- Fitzduff, M. (1988) 'Community Conflict skills; a handbook for anti sectarian work in Northern Ireland', Community Conflict Skills Project.
- Fitzduff, M. (1989) 'Political Exigencies and Community development - Conflicting or connecting?'
- Foster, R.F., (1988) 'Modern Ireland 1600 - 1972', Penguin Press, London.
- Frazer, H. and Fitzduff, M. (1986) 'Improving Community Relations', 13th Report of the Standing Advisory Commission on Human Rights, Belfast, Presented to Parliament 1987. H.M.S.O.
- Gallagher, A. (1986) 'Social Identity and Ideology in Intergroup Conflict; The case of N. Ireland'. Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, Queen's University, Belfast.
- Goffman, E. (1959), 'Presentation of Self in Everyday Life', Doubleday Anchor.
- Kearney, R. (1985) 'The Irish Mind; Exploring Intellectual Traditions', Wolfhound Press, Dublin.
- Kearney, R. (ed.) (1988) 'Across the Frontiers - Ireland in the 1990s', Wolfhound Press, Dublin.
- King, T. Speech given to Institute of Directors, 22nd September.
- McCall, G.L. (1977) 'The social looking glass: A sociological perspective on self development' in 'The self: Psychological and Philosophical issues'. Mischel, T. (ed.), Basil Blackwell, Oxford, p. 274-287.
- McClendon, M.J. (1974) 'Interracial Contact and the Reduction of prejudice', in 'Sociological Focus' 7, p.47-65.
Marris, P. (1974) 'Loss and Change'. Institute of Community studies. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London
- Marris, P (1982) 'Community planning and Conceptions of Change', Routledge Kegan Paul, London.

- Moxon-Browne, E.P. (1979) 'Northern Ireland Attitude Survey'. Queen's University, Belfast. Unpublished Mimeograph.
- Nelson, S. (1984) 'Ulster's Uncertain Defenders', Appletree Press, Belfast.
- Northern Ireland Council for Continuing Education, 'Education for Mutual Understanding' (1989), Belfast.
- Reid, F. and Sumiga, L. (1984) 'Attitudinal politics in intergroup behaviour; interpersonal vs. intergroup determinants of attitude change', in 'British Journal of Social Psychology' 23, p. 335-40.
- Sherif, M. (1966) 'Group Conflict and Cooperation', Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.
- Stephan, W. and Stephan, C. (1984) 'The role of ignorance in intergroup relations' in 'Groups in Conflict', Millar, N. and Brewster, M. (eds.), Academic Press, New York.
- Swann, W.B. (1983) 'Self-verification: bringing social reality into harmony with the self' in 'Psychological perspectives on the self', Vol. 2. Suls, J. and Greenwald, A.J. (eds.), Erlbaum, Hillsdale, New Jersey, p.33-66.
- Turner, J.C. and Giles, H. (1981) 'Intergroup Behaviour', Basil Blackwell, Oxford.
- Ulster Defence Association (1987) 'Common Sense: Northern Ireland an agreed process'. Ulster Political Research Group, Belfast.

- Weber, R. and Crocker, J. (1983) 'Cognitive processes in the revision of stereotypic beliefs'. In 'Journal of Personality and Social Psychology' 45, p. 961-77.
- Wilder, D.A. (1984) 'Intergroup contact: The typical member and the Exception to the rule'. In 'Journal of Experimental Psychology' 20. p. 177-94.

TRAINING THE WORLD

Nonviolence and nonviolence training can mean many different things in different parts of the world. We can certainly learn from other people's struggles, be inspired by their commitment and energy, learn from their successes and failures. But we cannot immediately try to do what they do, copy their actions and trainings, unless we do it in a way that is sensitive to the cultural needs of our own locality.

What follows is an extract from the minutes of the IFOR (International Fellowship of Reconciliation) Representative Committee held at Schoorl, April 28rd - May 3rd, 1990. It is printed here to give some indication of what were identified as the training needs world wide so we can learn what other people consider necessary, and thereby reflect on what might also be appropriate in our own situations.

The "training" work was led by Abel Hertzberger and Magda van der Ende. In his introductory remarks Abel noted that there is no focus at the moment to our training work nor is there even consistency in how we use the word "training". However, what we are really talking about is learning about nonviolence.

As a first exercise we were divided up into groups to look at (1) how we had learned about nonviolence, how our understanding is deepened, moments of importance in this process, how we still learn; (2) how do we "teach" it; and (3) what content (cultural, spiritual, religious) is important to IFOR, what makes a "trainer" an IFOR trainer?

Main points expressed were that we have learned most through our own experiences in life and that it was also through concrete examples and stories that we have learned about nonviolence. It is through stories and examples that we can effectively teach it as well. The "teacher" as facilitator, the need for time and space for people to open up, the importance of the learning environment were seen as important guidelines for "teaching".

The unique contribution of IFOR in this was seen to be the ability to give a spiritual angle and an inter-religious perspective, to have pluralistic, non-dogmatic perspective; we should be seen to be living nonviolence in our own lives and be able to be flexible and adapt to different cultural traditions. It was clear from this discussion that a different style or shape of workshop was clearly not the most important thing in peoples' learning experience.

In the second part of our work on "training" we broke into groups, based on "region", to discover what our particular felt needs were with regard to training. The results of these discoveries, briefly summarized, were the following:

- Africa: written materials in African languages; materials which grow from the African setting itself (most current materials come from Europe or the US); audio-visual materials, where they can be used; more inter-African exchange; make use of libraries in major cities within Africa and other resource bases (e.g. labour movements, social agencies, grass roots organizations).

- North America: a spiritual revolution; an awakening; to get past disempowerment; the inventing of new paths in nonviolent education; finding the problems and letting them determine the appropriate training.

- Asia: to make the step from theory to practice; translation of materials; make use of local things; materials on the interfaith dimension; exchange of materials within Asia; funds for manuals, books, videos; lists of materials; examples of how nonviolence can work in practice.

- Europe: basic education in whole context of nonviolence; seminars on nonviolence (based on level of experience with nonviolence), on conflict resolution; better pedagogic material, using examples, to go with the theoretical material; multi-cultural emphasis; showing new ways of living; learning to claim our victories.

- Latin America: time to prepare actions, people; objectives, skills of struggle; basic resources (e.g. just to feed the families of campesinos so that they can attend seminars); pedagogical materials adapted to particular groups; translation into different languages; to reformulate the terms in which we use nonviolence, as the military is often using the same kinds of actions we've been calling nonviolent (e.g. Panama President Endera going on "hunger strike" to get more money from US); the military and governments are studying nonviolent actions and theories and using them - we need to invent new things urgently; a systemization of concrete struggle, so people can feel these examples are their own struggles; memories for the future, so processes for the future can begin; multipliers; to show how small struggles are part of a much bigger struggle (suggested model: start the struggle with aim to recuperate the feeling of human dignity; facilitate the creation of each kind of organization for the recuperation of popular power; do political work, have a vision of a change to an alternative, new society); unification of strategies and groups.

- Staff (i.e. IFOR staff - Ed): The needs of staff: training for branch visits, so that we can take them something; regular retreats (for example, guidance for helping with meetings; specific training for the kinds of situational/training needs branches might have; conflict resolution; specific help for old, new branches); group dynamics; branch formation and branch development skills; intra-staff, team skills (e.g. decision-making); reflecting on our experiences, on our work, learning to learn from each other; preparation of volunteers; resourcing ourselves; learning specific skills related to our positions and roles (e.g. management, fund-raising, editing); reschooling ourselves; time, energy, resources for interpreting the requests and filling them appropriately through people, materials and other means.

The kinds of requests staff get: conflict-resolution in specific situations; healing (what do you do when a conflict has been settled, but healing is needed); dialogue facilitation in inter-religious conflict; introductory seminars on spirituality of nonviolence; unspecific requests for "training", demonstrating a need for training of the individuals making the request in determining their own specific needs.

Some further comments were made in relation to the results of the group work. In relation to Africa and Latin America it was noted that the countries of these continents need to recover their histories in order to understand nonviolence. "It is from our own roots that we're going to understand nonviolence. We need to read history from the story of the poor."

There is a need for more north/south relationships, for exchanges between LA/Africa/Asia. "We need to know each other in order to enrich ourselves. We need to get to know each others' histories and stories to enrich our own." The south/south exchange was seen as vital. The Secretariat could be looking to assist in putting groups in touch with each other. Encounters could be for skills training, reflection. It was noted that there are intra-Asia exchange and training experiences underway. There is a pastoral need, a need for visits for caring, listening, counselling.

There is a need for a survey of institutions that have different experiences to offer, to have a better understanding of different institutions and of the financial resource available (the UNESCO book on "peace research institution" was suggested as a resource, but we could develop something on places with a specific nonviolent emphasis). It was also noted that when people don't identify what they really need, they may think they have nothing. Once they have answered what they need, they should look at their own resources, then look nearby. We often look almost everywhere but at ourselves. This kind of needs identification/own resource identification approach has been built into the Africa project.

A major conclusion of this session on training was that we are being asked for facilitation, that a major task being asked of IFOR seems to be the matching of resources, materials, people, rather than the production of new materials.