CONFERENCE REPORT

STORYTELLING AS THE VEHICLE?

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FOREWORD

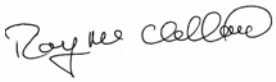
In the original Healing Through Remembering (HTR) consultation carried out in 2002 storytelling was the form of remembering most often suggested to the project. The responses were varied and represented a range of opinion about what storytelling is, as well as its purpose and value. Some emphasised healing and acceptance, while others focussed on learning and explanation. To this end, the HTR Board, in the Report of 2002, considered it imperative to recommend that the issue of a collective storytelling and archiving process, as one of the mechanisms to deal with the past, be explored further.

As part of this further investigation HTR were pleased to host this conference on the role of storytelling in dealing with the legacy of the past relating to the conflict in and about Northern Ireland. The conference provided a platform for open discussion and dialogue among those involved in storytelling initiatives relating to the conflict and also those with a general interest in issues of dealing with the past. The conference began to address some of the larger questions around the role of storytelling, and what part storytelling could play in building understanding and a more stable future. The conference was not about answering questions and providing solutions at this stage, but rather about generating further questions and highlighting issues that need to be addressed in considering whether a collective storytelling process can help to deal with the legacy of the conflict.

On behalf of the Board of Healing Through Remembering I would like to thank the two guest speakers, Samson Munn and Kevin Whelan, both of whom travelled specifically to participate in the event, and offered stimulating and thought provoking perspectives on issues relating to storytelling. We also appreciate the contribution of all those who attended and participated so enthusiastically in the discussion. Your views are valued and the key component to moving this debate forward.

I would also like to thank the five facilitators, Mary McAnulty, Alistair Kilgore, Olive Bell, Katy Radford and Roberta Bacic for their help in supporting the discussions in the small groups and the notetakers, Erin Parish, Celia Petter, Gavin Glynn, Shane Molloy and Sara Templer, for their assistance.

We hope the publication of the keynote speeches and the plenary session from this conference will further enable debate on this issue which is a critical component of the dealing with the past equation. If you have any comments or would like to contribute to the ongoing debate please visit the HTR website and forum at www.healingthroughremembering.org.



Roy McClelland
Chairman

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INTRODUCTION

Healing Through Remembering (HTR)[1] is an extensive cross-community project made up of individual members holding different political perspectives. They have come together over the last five years to focus on the issue of how to deal with the past relating to the conflict in and about Northern Ireland. In 2001/2002 the project carried out an extensive consultation which asked individuals, organisations and communities the question: "How should people remember the events connected with the conflict in and about Northern Ireland and in so doing, individually and collectively, contribute to the healing of the wounds of society?".

In June 2002 the Board published its findings in the form of the *Report of the Healing Through Remembering Project.* The Board made six recommendations.[2] To advance the recommendations the Healing Through Remembering Initiative was formally established in 2003. In 2004 the Initiative formed sub groups to carry out the specific work of furthering the recommendations. These sub groups—like the original Board that carried out the first consultation—are made up of a wide range of individuals with different perspectives.

The Storytelling sub group is one of five sub groups formed[3] to address the proposed recommendation that a collective storytelling and archiving process be developed. The group started its work in August 2004. In subsequent months, the membership of the group was expanded and met under an interim Chair from the original HTR Board.[4] In April 2005, a Chair and Vice-Chair were appointed.

The early meetings of the Storytelling sub group centred on the ways in which the recommendation on storytelling presented in the *Report of the Healing Through Remembering Project* could be brought forward. Initial discussions acknowledged the need to document storytelling initiatives which focused on the human experiences of the conflict and, where appropriate, the community and institutional stories. From the outset, the group began to explore some of the ethical issues around storytelling, the motivation behind the initiation of storytelling projects, the methodologies adopted and the dissemination and archiving of stories from all sections of the community who wish to be involved.

It was agreed that, before implementing any of the recommendations on storytelling, an audit of current and previous storytelling initiatives would be necessary. Following this audit, a conference on storytelling would be convened by the sub group to present its findings and would facilitate a broader discussion on the theoretical, ethical and practical issues around storytelling, locally and internationally. It was

[1] For more information see http://www.healingthroughremembering.org
[2] Collective Storytelling and Archiving Process, Day of Reflection, Living Memorial Museum, Acknowledgement, Network of Commemoration and Remembrance Projects and a Healing Through Remembering Initiative.
[3] The other four sub groups address issues relating to a Living Memorial Museum, a Day of Reflection, a Network of Commemoration and Remembering Projects and Acknowledgement and Truth Recovery.
[4] Olive Bell, Jo Dover, Jacinta de Paor, Stephen Gargan, Harold Good, Claire Hackett (Vice-Chair), Maureen Hetherington (Chair), Gráinne Kelly, Alistair Little, Richard Moore, Mary McAnulty, Ann McKenny, Aoine McMahon, Steve Nelson, Marie-Therese O Hagan, Martin Snoddon and Marion Weir.

envisaged that a broad range of individuals and organisations with an interest in, or involvement with, storytelling processes would be invited to attend.

An independent consultant, Gráinne Kelly, was commissioned to compile an audit of storytelling projects on behalf of the sub group, which was published in September 2005. The report entitled *Storytelling Audit: An audit of personal story, narrative and testimony initiatives related to the conflict in and about Northern Ireland* detailed over 30 storytelling projects and initiatives and provided a set of recommendations for future work of the HTR storytelling sub group. The report recommended the convening of 'a conference or seminar on both the value and practical application of storytelling … involving projects and processes undertaking relevant work to explore issues, identify gaps in knowledge and explore the future role of HTR in relation to these activities.'[5]

In November 2005, a one-day conference entitled Storytelling as the Vehicle? was convened by HTR, the contents of which are detailed in this report.[6] The conference was targeted at those working in the field of storytelling/personal narrative and related areas (especially as practitioners or facilitators) and also those who have an interest in the role of storytelling in dealing with the past relating to the conflict in and about Northern Ireland. Over 80 people attended the conference.[7] The conference was structured to allow time for input from two keynote speakers, with the aim of encouraging debate and discussion, and designated time for reflection and discussion in small groups. The main objective of the conference was to encourage discussion and dialogue amongst those present and to answer questions raised in relation to the challenging issue of storytelling and the concept of a collective storytelling process related to the conflict in or about Northern Ireland.

The day began with welcomes and introductions from the Honorary Secretary of the HTR Board, Oliver Wilkinson, who gave a brief introduction of the work of HTR to date. Subsequently, Maureen Hetherington and Claire Hackett, Chair and Vice-Chair of the HTR sub group on storytelling presented a previously prepared discussion paper by the sub group entitled 'What is Storytelling?', which provided an overview of the work of the group to date, the context in which the storytelling work is taking place at present and identified a number of issues which the sub group have discussed and grappled with since its inception. This was followed by input from Dr Kevin Whelan, Smurfit Director of the Keough Notre Dame Centre, Dublin on the topics of memory, history and testimony and Samson Munn, founder of The Austrian Encounter and co-founder of the Foundation Trust, based in Massachusetts, USA on the practical experience of storytelling and encounter work.[8]

Following the presentations, the participants broke into five facilitated discussion groups to reflect on what they had heard in the morning sessions and identify issues which had emerged for them as a result. These reflections have been collated and compiled as Session One of the discussion groups. Following

[5]Healing Through Remembering. (2005). Storytelling audit: An audit of personal story, narrative and testimony initiatives related to the conflict in and about Northern Ireland (Compiled by Gráinne Kelly). Belfast: Healing Through Remembering, p126
[6] The conference programme is available as Appendix I.
[7] A list of attendees is available as Appendix IV.
[8] Short biographies of the two keynote speakers are available in Appendix II.

lunch the groups reconvened for Session Two to explore the question: Would a collective storytelling process deal with the legacy of the conflict in or about Northern Ireland? and to identify additional questions to be posed to a panel of HTR sub group members and conference presenters. The day ended with concluding remarks from HTR consultant and panel discussion Chair, Dr Brandon Hamber.

The Storytelling sub group viewed the conference as an opportunity to invite more people into the challenging conversations around the concepts and practices of storytelling, personal narrative and testimony work related to the conflict in or about Northern Ireland. The sub group members hope that in disseminating the proceedings of the conference, the issues raised and the questions discussed will resonate with others and contribute to further reflection on this important area of work. As one conference participant reflected in the small group discussion:

> Talking about the past means it is not the past, because we are talking about it today. It is the present and the future.

WHAT IS STORYTELLING? A DISCUSSION PAPER

The Healing Through Remembering Storytelling Sub Group

Presented by Maureen Hetherington and Claire Hackett (Chair and Vice-Chair of the Storytelling sub group)

This paper was produced by the Storytelling sub group of Healing Through Remembering (HTR). The paper aims to take you through the story of the sub group, that is how we came about, the activities we are engaged in and the point we have reached in our work.

HTR[9] is an extensive cross-community project made up of individual members holding different political perspectives. We have come together over the last five years to focus on the issue of how to deal with the past relating to the conflict in and about Northern Ireland. The project carried out an extensive consultation in 2001/2002 which asked individuals, organisations and communities the question: "How should people remember the events connected with the conflict in and about Northern Ireland and in so doing, individually and collectively, contribute to the healing of the wounds of society?".

In this original consultation storytelling was the form of remembering most often suggested to the project. Many felt that it was important to record the stories of individuals' experiences of the conflict as an historical resource and a way of enabling society to examine the wealth of meaning and learning connected to the conflict. It was also suggested that the person telling their story could experience a degree of healing, if they were listened to in an empathic way. Equally, it was recognised that recounting painful experiences of the past could, in the words of several contributors 'reopen old wounds'. Some submissions expressed concern that, unless a wide range of accounts are recorded and archived, a singular, exclusive narrative of the conflict will become dominant over time. This was particularly important to people who felt their experience of the conflict had been ignored.

These varied responses represent a range of opinion about what storytelling is, what its purpose is and what value it has. Some people emphasise healing and acceptance, while others focus on learning and explanation.

In June 2002 the Board published its findings in the form of the *Report of the Healing Through Remembering Project* (Healing Through Remembering, 2002). The Board made six recommendations.[10] One of these recommended establishing a storytelling process known as 'testimony'. Such a process would aim to collect stories and narratives from all who wish to tell of their experiences of the conflict in and about Northern Ireland. These stories—collected by community groups and those already undertaking this type of work, through a flexible but standard method—would form part of an archive housing the stories of the past and serving as a vehicle to learn lessons for the future.

[9] For more information see http://www.healingthroughremembering.org
[10] Collective Storytelling and Archiving Process, Day of Reflection, Living Memorial Museum, Acknowledgement, Network of Commemoration and Remembrance Projects and a Healing Through Remembering Initiative.

To advance this recommendation, and the others, the HTR Initiative was formally established in 2003. In 2004 the Initiative formed sub groups to carry out the specific work of furthering the recommendations. These sub groups—like the original Board that carried out the first consultation—are made up of a wide range of individuals with different perspectives. The Storytelling sub group is one of five sub groups formed.[11] The group started its work in August 2004. In subsequent months, the membership of the group was expanded and met under an interim Chair from the original HTR Board.[12] In April 2005, a Chair and Vice-Chair were appointed.

EXPLORING THE RECOMMENDATION

Although the HTR recommendation refers to one standard process of storytelling there is a more complex underlying reality. As noted above, the HTR report itself contains a number of different ideas about what storytelling is and its purpose. One understanding gives emphasis to storytelling as experience or expression with possible therapeutic benefits. Another emphasises historical record, explanation and knowledge with benefits for political transformation. This spectrum of understanding about what storytelling is and its value has continued into the discussions of the Storytelling sub group. This is also evident in wider debates.

Many members of the sub group are practitioners and facilitators in the field of storytelling and as we began to share our experience we recognised the variety of methods and approaches being used. This is apparent in the range of names that people give to their work. These include: remembering, sharing stories, commemoration, oral history, personal stories, truth telling, narratives and testimonies. These terms also express the range of motives and outcomes people bring to the project of storytelling. This dialogue about different kinds of storytelling convinced us that a piece of research looking at all the current storytelling initiatives was necessary.

THE AUDIT

It was agreed therefore to commission an audit of current and previous storytelling initiatives on behalf of the Storytelling sub group. Following a tendering process Gráinne Kelly was appointed to carry out the audit. The first version of the audit was published and launched in October 2005 (Healing Through Remembering, 2005).

The main part of the audit comprises a directory of some thirty storytelling projects with a detailed profile of each. The audit also contains a wide-ranging discussion on storytelling and a list of recommendations.

[11] The other four sub groups address issues relating to a Living Memorial Museum, a Day of Reflection, a Network of Commemoration and Remembering Projects and Acknowledgement and Truth Recovery.
[12] Olive Bell, Jo Dover, Jacinta de Paor, Stephen Gargan, Harold Good, Claire Hackett (Vice-Chair), Maureen Hetherington (Chair), Gráinne Kelly, Alistair Little, Richard Moore, Mary McAnulty, Ann McKenny, Aoine McMahon , Steve Nelson, Marie-Therese O Hagan, Martin Snoddon and Marion Weir.

The recommendations provide an agenda of work for the Storytelling sub group to pursue and encompass issues such as networking, training, archiving and ethical standards. The recommendations also point to the need to explore wider issues about the value of storytelling and the merit of the HTR recommendation about a collective process. This conference is a way of taking forward these recommendations.

To compile the directory of storytelling initiatives the group needed to agree a definition for the Audit. The working definition arrived at was:

> A project or process which allows reflection, expression, listening, and possible collection of personal, communal and institutional stories related to the conflict in and about Northern Ireland.

Projects that were included had this definition of storytelling as their primary motivation. They also focused on first-hand narratives and were projects where the narrator had control over their story.

By looking in depth at the various storytelling and personal narrative projects the report explores this whole area of work. Each project is outlined in detail and what emerges from the collected profiles is a dialogue about the purpose, value and meaning of this work.

It is important to say that we see this audit as an active project. The report published in October is the first version. As we become aware of other projects we will add them to the audit and database. We believe that the audit, with its bank of profiles of storytelling projects will be a resource for the further development of storytelling and narrative work, as well as a stimulus for debate.

WHAT IS STORYTELLING?

While the main section of the audit focuses on the projects which fell within the criteria decided by the sub group, it is useful to give a sense of the wider spectrum of activities discussed in the first part of the report. In addressing the question of what storytelling is, its significance and the range of work it encompasses, the Audit talks about narratives and stories in the broadest sense. It notes:

> A story or narrative in its broadest sense is anything that is told or recounted, normally in the form of a causally linked set of events or happenings, whether true or fictitious. Stories are a medium for sharing and a vehicle for assessing and interpreting events, experiences, and concepts to an audience. Through stories we explain how things are, why they are, and our role and purpose within them. They are the building blocks of knowledge and can be viewed as the foundation of memory and learning. Stories link past, present, and future and telling stories is an intrinsic and essential part of the human experience. Stories can be told in a wide variety of ways, which can be broadly categorised as oral, written and visual, and are so all-pervasive in our everyday lives that

> we are not always aware of their role as a tool of communication in all societies (Healing Through Remembering, 2005, p.12).

The report goes on to give examples of the multitude of projects and processes which deal with experiences and incidents about the conflict from the three main categories mentioned above, i.e. (1) verbal or oral storytelling; (2) written storytelling; and (3) visual, creative arts and multimedia storytelling, acknowledging the significant overlap between them.

Verbal or oral storytelling

This is the most traditional way of thinking about storytelling. A number of broad areas can be identified here. There are focus groups, workshops, seminars, conferences and dialogue groups which create opportunities for storytelling, either in public or private settings. This has been common throughout the conflict. There does not have to be a written record of what is said, although some discussions are made public or archived. Another form of verbal and oral storytelling is local history work, documenting life histories and reminiscence groups. Although some of these are focused on community life more broadly there are many projects that have sought to document specific experiences of the conflict. Oral storytelling can also be more formal such as legal testimonies presented at judicial inquiries, public hearings, tribunals, parliamentary debates and giving evidence to bodies such as the Northern Ireland Affairs Committee. Finally, many stories are documented by journalists and academics, as well as policy-focused and community-based research. Most often the researcher or journalist retains this information but some repositories of data collected in this way are available, for example, in the Linenhall Library or the National Archives.

Written

Written forms of stories about the conflict are the most common. Academic and community-based research published in books and reports is one medium for disseminating and highlighting stories. The print media and popular literature such as newspapers, magazines, periodicals, pamphlets and on-line sources are other vehicles. A popular form of this type of storytelling is the autobiography written from first-hand experience and the biography written in the third-person. Specifically related to the conflict, the audit notes, more hybrid forms of biography such as *Lost Lives* (McKittrick, Kelters, Feeney, & Thornton, 1999) have been undertaken. Finally, novels, short stories, plays and poetry have routinely been used either through fiction or based on real experiences to document parts of the conflict in and about Northern Ireland. Sometimes this has been done through specific projects such as community-based creative writing classes.

Visual, creative arts and multimedia

In the Audit it is noted that ‘Projects that fall under the visual, creative arts and multimedia categories of storytelling include television documentaries, videos, films, drama and performance art, exhibitions and new technologies, including websites and interactive DVDs. A powerful and immediate tool, visual depictions of the conflict have taken various forms over the past 30 years.’ (Healing Through

Remembering, 2005, p.16). The report goes on to outline the following types of storytelling seen in this area: (1) television and video productions; (2) feature-length films and television dramas; (3) drama and performance art; (4) painting, drawing, sculpture, graphic arts, photography; (5) websites and multimedia; and (6) exhibitions.

Although this brief outline does not go into the complexities of storytelling it is presented to provide some stimulus for discussion and highlight how broad the subject of storytelling is.

ONGOING DEBATE

The Audit did not set out to address the wider political questions about the value and use of storytelling to peace building and dealing with the past, although the significance of this debate can be discerned from the description of storytelling initiatives. Another recent forum where this debate is addressed can be found in the evidence submitted to the Northern Ireland Affairs Committee on *Ways of Dealing with Northern Ireland's Past* (House of Commons Northern Ireland Affairs Committee, 2005). Storytelling features strongly in the oral and written evidence presented to the Committee and questions about the value of storytelling as a vehicle for dealing with the past are brought to the fore. Some participants advocate storytelling as a more beneficial process than a truth commission. However, there are those that see storytelling as a component of wider truth-recovery processes and endemically more political. Within this debate many questions remain unanswered and we hope to take up these themes with the conference today.

A number of submissions to the Northern Ireland Affairs Committee view storytelling in terms of empowerment. One submission from Bill Rolston makes this explicit. He notes: 'Storytelling is a valuable way for individuals or groups of victims to acquire a sense of control over their own lives.' (House of Commons Northern Ireland Affairs Committee, 2005, ev270). Noting that many people may not have had the opportunity to tell their story Rolston reflects on the necessary conditions:

> It needs to be recognised they must be comfortable telling that story. There are many ways in which they can be made uncomfortable, especially if lacking in confidence, and so must be allowed to tell that story privately, anonymously, informally, without cross-community requirements, if that is what they want. The retort may be that there is not one format which can accommodate those different requirements. If that is the case, so be it; there must be a range of formats. Simply put, victims need to be in control of their own stories (House of Commons Northern Ireland Affairs Committee, 2005, ev265).

This view, echoed by other submissions, is a key issue for HTR's recommendation on a collective or national storytelling process.

Another way of looking at this whole issue is by examining the different expectations that people bring to the process. The HTR storytelling audit finds that several different motivations are involved. Motivations can include: advocacy or promoting change; healing/therapeutic; documentation/historical record; acknowledgement/commemoration; education; and a conduit to other services (Healing Through Remembering, 2005). This is put another way in a recent report from the US Institute of Peace following a conference they hosted on Trauma and Transitional Justice (Barsalou, 2005). At the conference a participant reflected on the different needs of the storyteller and the way these change over time, noting:

> Survivors bring completely different expectations to the process [of storytelling]. Some of them want to be listened to by someone who cares and who takes note of their suffering. Some of them want to tell their story to their community. Some of them want to tell their story because by telling it they can emphasize the need for justice, the need for further investigation. It's a form of presenting their demands or needs. Sometimes it's a process that needs to happen in private (cited in Barsalou, 2005, p.10).

These different viewpoints form part of the ongoing debate about storytelling.

CONFERENCE

As the audit research progressed, it was decided that a conference on storytelling should be convened by the HTR Storytelling sub group to present its findings and facilitate a broader discussion on the theoretical, ethical and practical issues around storytelling, locally and internationally. The conference taking place today is not the last word on the subject; on the contrary the conference should be the first step to starting a wider debate on the value and limits of storytelling as a mechanism for dealing with the past.

To explore these questions we have invited two speakers who will examine the work of storytelling or personal histories from different perspectives. The first keynote speaker, Kevin Whelan, will examine the complex relationship between memory, history and testimony at both the individual and the communal level, focusing especially on the ethical issues, as well as truth, justice, the tension between mourning and melancholia, and the relationship between subjectivity and objectivity. The second keynote speaker, Samson Munn, is involved in encounter projects between Austrian Holocaust victims and the sons and daughters of Austrian Nazi perpetrators. He will consider the role of storytelling in encounter and its role in creating 'peaceful constructiveness' with 'the other'.

The second session of the conference will focus on storytelling as a vehicle for dealing with the past. Some of the questions we hope will be deliberated today include: What can storytelling do to help deal with the past? What value does storytelling have in dealing with the past? Can storytelling be used as a way of depoliticising the past and individualising it, taking the focus off corporate responsibility and

accountability? Is storytelling as valuable as testimony with a political purpose, or does the value lie in the therapeutic benefits? What ethical standards need to be in place to support people telling their story?

Conclusion

It is clear to all in the HTR Storytelling sub group that we need to continue to explore the issues raised in this paper. The collective or national storytelling process envisaged in the 2002 HTR Report recommendation talks about a standard method. But there are many different methods, as the variety of projects in our audit demonstrates, and these have all been designed to meet different needs. Can only one method be chosen? In addition, the sub group is acutely aware of the risk that a collective process might isolate or marginalise the many initiatives grounded in different communities that are described in the report. Our response is that the debate around a collective or national process enables us to explore the issues and questions that surround it. We do not know where this process of exploration will lead us, but precisely because *it is a process* we trust that it will take us to a new place.

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RIGHTS OF MEMORY

Kevin Whelan

First of all, let me extend my thanks to Healing Through Remembering for their kindness in inviting me to make this presentation. I am very pleased to have the opportunity to speak to you about some of my own reflections on the complex relationships between history, memory and storytelling (or testimony). The great scientist Albert Einstein once said, to make things as simple as possible but no simpler. That is what I want to do this morning. I will use, at times, complex language because we need a complex language to describe complex issues. If it was all so very simple, we would have sorted it out long ago. So, I make no apologies for not condescending or dumbing down what I will talk about, because these are fundamental issues that have engaged the greatest minds in human culture as long as written evidence stretches back.

THREE LEVELS OF MEMORY

I want to begin by talking about the work of the French philosopher, Paul Ricoeur, who, more than anyone, has grappled with this issue and dealt with the nature of the problem in Europe. For example, what do we do with the Holocaust, international relationships and post-conflict situations? Let us remember that the history of Europe and the globe throughout the twentieth century has been one of unremitting violence.[13] Conflict is a Northern Ireland problem, but it is also a wider problem and others have offered reflections on this. Ricoeur was interested in the relationship of memory not to the past but to the present and the future, and the issue of the ethics of memory. What is appropriate memory and how should we approach it? Ricoeur begins by defining three levels of memory in an ethical context.[14]

The first level is the one that is best known, the individual or personal level of memory and it is most associated with psychoanalysis. It begins with Sigmund Freud in his *Metapsychology* of 1914, with his pathological/therapeutic version of memory. Freud asked—looking at it clinically—what constitutes an acceptable past to an individual? If things have happened in that past, which have been disturbing or traumatic, how does the individual deal with it? Freud says two things which at first are seemingly oppositional—that a lack of memory is a problem but that equally an excess of memory is a problem. If you have too much memory, it can flood, overwhelm and paralyse you, but if you have too little memory, you can feel weightless, unanchored and unbalanced. Too little memory comes from repression and not being able to cope with something that is extremely damaging. Abuse, violence and trauma tend to lodge in the psyche as an open wound that never fully heals. This is, perhaps, true at an individual level. Eugene O'Neill, the Irish-American playwright dealt with this issue in one of his plays. He writes:

[13] Tony Judt, *Postwar: a history of Europe since 1945* (London, 2005). Thirty-six million died in the Second World War, nineteen million of them civilians.
[14] Paul Ricoeur, 'Memory and forgetting' in Richard Kearney & Mark Dooley (eds.), *Questioning ethics. Contemporary debates in philosophy* (London, 1999), pp 5-18.

> At the final curtain, there they still are, trapped within each other by the past, each guilty and at the same time innocent, scorning, loving, pitying each other, understanding and yet not understanding at all, forgiving but still doomed never to be able to forget.

The psychoanalytical or therapeutic model viewed the work of memory (*travail de mémoire*) as about establishing a proper, healthy or ethical balance between what psychoanalysts called mourning and melancholia.[15] Mourning is the natural human response to loss, seeking to reconcile the self with the lost objects of love. Melancholia is incomplete mourning, the inability to move beyond the loss that is internalised as a despairing longing for reunification. When you are in the melancholic state, you are unable to move beyond the loss or trauma and are condemned to a form of repetition. In psychoanalytic terms, there is an inability to come to terms with loss—what Freud called 'the reality principle'—and that, therefore, melancholic people live in a disconnected relationship with the day-to-day realities of life. Freud and other psychoanalysts suggested that the individual damaged patient needs to move from melancholia to mourning. That involved a 'working through' from repetition, through remembering, and eventually, reconciliation. This allowed you to re-establish the 'reality principle' and get on with your life. At an individual level, it is necessary to move beyond an excess or a repressed memory, that otherwise leads only to repetition or melancholia. That is a standard version of mourning and melancholia and of the problem of memory and trauma. It has often been described as the 'talking cure': if people can only talk about what is blocked within them, that talking, that storytelling, that testimony, can release the blockage within and help people to move on.

The second level of memory is what might be called pragmatic or functional memory. That is the level that links memory to identity, through answering the vulnerable and complicated question—who am I? That involves a crucial issue of time. Am I the same person today that I was five years ago? Ten years ago? Before I was married? Is there some irreducible core that remains unchanged within me, or have I grown or developed or expanded? Is the 'I' of today the same as the 'I' of a decade ago?

Again here, one might want to talk in Freudian psychoanalytic terms about the concept of 'ego': that 'I' which is the irreducible core of identity. But one might also, from a more theological angle, want to talk about an individual human soul: 'something alive, growing, evolving, multiform, manifold and almost infinitely deep', to quote the words of the greatest American doctor of this generation, Oliver Sacks. Is memory essential to the fullness of the individual person, the person seen in their full biological, cultural, personal and spiritual dimensions, the person who is capable of survival, adaptation and response to vicissitude and trauma? Sacks has posed this question as a medical practitioner: Ask not what disease the person has but what person the disease has. It is essential to get a personal narrative of how a disease is experienced by an individual, the particularity of the response. It is not just a case of the clinical practitioner recognising the symptoms, making a diagnosis, and then recommending a medical treatment. In order to be a responsible and ethical medical practitioner, you have to look at each case as a human not a medical issue, exploring it through the prism of the unique circumstances of an individual life. In

[15] J. P. Bacot & Christian Coq (eds.), *Travail de mémoire 1914-1998. Une necessité dans un siécle de violence* (Paris, 1999).

order words, Sacks claims that stories should lie at the very heart of clinical medicine. But stories also lie at the heart of the individual identity: it is the stories that we can tell about ourselves and our relationships as we are now, and what we were in the past, and how we came to be where we are now—those narratives or stories are crucial to our own sense of identity. One might also want to ask how that works not just at the individual, but also at the community, and indeed the political level. Can we share a political space if we can't share our narratives?

There is one other feature of this pragmatic level of memory that I have described as a question of identity and the continuity of identity through time. Identity also crucially involves the issue of sameness and difference. Part of how we define ourselves is through what we are not. We constantly define ourselves as much by what we are not as by what we are. We define ourselves, to use the jargon, in terms of 'the other': that which lies outside our experience or outside our possibilities. That problem of definition accentuates or intensifies in a situation of conflict or where violence disfigures a society. Because we might then say that our relationship with 'the other' becomes over-determined. Violence then becomes the originating moment in the mobilisation of collective identity, where cultural memory becomes a storage system of violence, wounds, scars, anger, where the past bleeds uncontrollably into the present. Violence creates a version of gothic memory. We might then also ask: is there ever a situation where we might have an ethical duty to forget and forgive as well as to remember? I would like to remind you that there is a close link between the word 'amnesty' and 'amnesia'.

It is possible to say that there may be a duty to go beyond anger and hatred towards achieving a new horizon of justice, a culture with a just memory, while keeping alive the memory of the trauma, the trace of event, while reconciling past and future. Memory is not just retroactive, it is also crucially about the future and how we should balance the space of experience and the space of expectation. What is it that we need from the future?

The third level of memory is the most challenging one in the context of a post-conflict situation—the ethical or political level of memory.[16] Memory is not a static or unchanging phenomenon. Memory is not a parcel that is passed from person to person and that remains unchanged in the process of transmission. Memory changes as we transmit it, as we tell the story, and depending on to whom we tell our story. That might seem disturbing because it makes memory subjective and situational but at another level it is extremely important because it also gestures towards the possibility of educating or healing memory through the work of narrative, testimony or storytelling. I would also wish to stress here the work of the artist who can help us in seeing things, telling things another way.

In that sense, testimony adjudicates between memory and history, between remembering and forgetting, because the stories we tell and the stories we choose not to tell determine what it is we remember and what it is we forget. Memory does not have to be an overwhelming thing, a coercive or intransigent force that traps or fixes us in a particular position, a handcuff that ties us to our history. The availability of

[16] Paul Ricoeur, *Memory, history, forgetting*, (trans.) Kathleen Blamey & David Pellauer (Chicago, 2004).

testimony always enables choice. We can decide how we want to tell our story and it is that choice that also adjudicates, balances or negotiates between the personal level and the collective identity. Narrative or testimony means that it is always possible to tell it another way—and, equally crucially, to hear it another way.

This is what Ricoeur means by an ethical memory, one that is not so much locked into the past, but that is concerned with opening the past as a mechanism to release the future, to help birth the future through understanding what has happened in the past. Ethical memory wants to move beyond the melancholic version, where we are constantly fixated on the conflict, on the moment of violence, on the event. It is also regulated by a horizon of justice. We need a memory that is just to the victims as well as the victors. But at the political level, it also requires the inauguration of new institutions that guard against recurrence.

The existence of all three levels, Ricoeur argues, means that there is an absolute fundamental human necessity for memory—not merely as a form of knowledge, in an inert way, but as an action or a process. Memory is active, in the sense that we talk about 'exercising our memories'. In Ricoeur's terms, there is a responsibility to remember (*devoir de memoir*), because of the inescapable human linkage between past and future.

Memory is a necessary stay against the annihilating force of time and its remorseless erosion of historic traces. It is also a fundamentally human capacity, that, as Hannah Arendt has reminded us, enables a continuation of action in the face of death.[17] What is it that allows us to keep going? Memory allows us to liberate ourselves from the ties of the past through the capacity for forgiveness: it also establishes a link to the future through the capacity for promising—a capacity to be bound by one's words. Testimony, in that sense, directly links the past and the future.

MEMORY AND HISTORY

Let me now move to talk about history. The French commentator, Pierre Nora, has made a distinction between how historians understand time, in what he calls memory and history.[18] Nora says that the collective memory of any society is spontaneous, social, collective and encompassing; borne by living societies, it is permanently evolving like a coral reef, with a cumulative, incremental version of the past, as each generation adds to the evolving story. In this sense, there is a collective collaboration of everyone within a community in creating a collective memory and that memory is embedded in the defining narrative which that community tells to itself. You often find a collective, unified version of what is important and the key points of a community's history achieve a certain recurrence or solidity. That commodified collective memory belongs not just to the individual but to the community or the nation as a whole. Nora points out that there is another version of the past, which he describes as 'professional

[17] Hannah Arendt, *The human condition* (Chicago, 1998), chapter 5.
[18] Pierre Nora (ed.), *Les lieux de mémoire,* 3 vols (Paris, 1984-1992); Pierre Nora, *Realms of memory. Volume* 1. *Conflicts and divisions* (trans.) A. Goldhammer (New York, 1999); ibid, 'Between memory and history; *les lieux de memoire*' in *Representations*, xxvi, (1989), pp. 7-25.

history'—what historians do as a professional discipline. Disciplinary history, in the way it has evolved in the twentieth century, has sought to divorce itself from collective memory in the way that I have just defined it. In Nora's terms: 'History is perpetually suspicious of memory and its true mission is to annihilate it.' The historian's task is to destroy memory by undermining these collective versions of the past embedded in communities and nations, in an effort to establish 'proper', objective history. Nora concludes that the late twentieth century version of history has witnessed the conquest by disciplinary history of memory as a version of the past. Historians claim a privileged access to the past, based on professional training, on exact protocols and methodologies, on the authority of the archives, and citation of sources—that is deemed superior to the version of memory that is individualized, subjective and based on individual story and testimony. In that sense, professional history is viewed as more prestigious than memory.

Memory and History: The Irish Context

If we transplant Nora's perspective into the Irish context, we can see that that is very much how the writing of Irish history has been practised over the last couple of generations. In the 1980s, a television history of Ireland was produced by Robert Kee. In the very first shot in that series, the camera hovers over the cobbles of a narrow Belfast street, while an old woman with a distinctively Cork accent began to intone a very heavily unreconstructed nationalist view of Irish history. Here, the narrow street suggests the narrow mind; the old droning, feminised voice shows the Irish to have a confused, non-linear and ultimately lethal version of their own history. The closing shot in that sequence was of a sudden massive bomb erupting out of the Belfast streets, drowning out the droning voice. The next shot was taken from a helicopter panning over the landscape of Ulster, accompanied by Kee's standard estuarine English voice. Here, the medium is the message: the high-level survey is way more important than ground truth. The professional historian, high up in his helicopter, has a much better synoptic view than the little people trapped in the narrow streets of Belfast. Again, the not so subtle message is that the dangers of our history lurk, not up in the helicopter, but in the streets: it is the streets' lethal, toxic or contaminated versions of history that have fed the bomb and the bullet. Therefore, we need to establish a rational history, as opposed to an emotional memory, a more objective history as opposed to subjective memory. In Irish history, there has been this constant harping on the hygienic version of Irish history: somehow, we need to cleanse the Irish Augean stables of the dung of memory. Professional historians have set themselves up as opposed to memory as something that is subjective, emotional, irrational, and ultimately dangerous. Therefore, a common response by historians is to hector us to move beyond or decommission memory.

This represents a variant on the English liberal view that the Irish obsession with their past itself needed decommissioning: *The Standard* of 1 June 1867 opined:

> Are we perpetually to be dwelling on the memory of those ancient grievances? Are we never to be done with Oliver Cromwell and William III, 1798 and the persecution of the Roman Catholics?

> England did doubtless many wrong and foolish things in the past. But Ireland has no peculiar and especial property in wrong-suffering. She was not exactly an angel of light herself at any time. As for rebellions, treasons, stratagems, she has never been without them. These are not things of English introduction but of Irish growth.[19]

The secondary response to that would be to urge us to forget about the past, and, in the famous phrase, 'move on'. This is a common liberal or scholarly view: if these foolish little people, trapped in their narrow streets and small fields, with their subjective tribal versions of history, could only see it as we detached professionals do, then all would become sweetness and light. There is another agenda here too, which is to say: do not get involved in politics because it will ultimately damage you. The best response that you can make to conflict is to fence off your private life and your family and create your own private Idaho into which you can retreat, quietly and safely cocooned from the violence, trauma and noise outside.

That is a version of memory as a dead weight or disabling incubus, something that is inherently dangerous or toxic. That seems to suit a particular type of English or American liberal sensibility. This is very much the view of the contemporary American philosopher John Rawls. If you read any issue of the *New York Times*, whether they are talking about Northern Ireland or Rwanda, Bosnia or Iraq, it is always this version of the benighted past that is presented—exotic backward peoples who are weighted down with memory, that drags them back into irrational violence and away from the I-pods and the cappuccino. And yet, that view itself constitutes a problem. If we do not engage with the past and develop a professional history that acknowledges the legitimate claims of memory and testimony, we are doomed to remain constantly locked within that adversarial confrontation.

Oliver Sacks, who has worked with people who have lost their memories, concludes that a person who is amnesiac is incapable of acting in the present or, crucially, of planning for the future. Therefore, the question, at an individual level, is not whether but *how* we should engage with the past. We cannot sweep it under the carpet. If we refuse to deal with these issues, they will come back to haunt us. The nation or the community without a sense of its history is like a person without a memory. We cannot become amnesiac or be encouraged to become so, without in some respects, damaging ourselves, but also damaging the generation that comes after us.

It is certainly the case that in Ireland—and in Northern Ireland—we have had a divided history. It is also the case that the current political divides are based as much on a claim of the past as they are on contemporary social or community divisions. The past is constantly resorted to as a mandate for political action. In this sense, the Irish past lacks 'closure'. In a situation of a divided political community, you are always going to have a divided version of history. You can lament that, to some extent, but you also have to acknowledge it and take responsibility for it. Every community must understand that it has a responsibility for its version of the past, but also for how that version of the past plays with another

[19] Cited in M. de Nie, 'A medly mob of Irish-American plotters and Irish dupes. The British press and trans-Atlantic Fenianism' in *Jn. British Studies*, xl, 2 (2001), p. 232.

community. It does mean that the Irish past can never be seen in the rear-view mirror. The Irish past is always in front of the windscreen. In this sense, the Irish past has never fully exited politics and entered into history 'proper', that professional historians like to deal with.

Therefore, the pressure on the past to explain and justify the present intensifies the debate around memory and history and the anxious search for a history that would liberate Irish people from their memory. Once you approach it in this way, by setting up an opposition between memory and history, then you are always in a situation of privileging history over memory and disparaging and underplaying the significance of the experience of conflict for the people who went through it. This moment intensified in the late 1990s outside of Northern Ireland: the response was an almost audible exhaling with the advent of the IRA cessation, the Good Friday Agreement and the sense that there was an end coming to the Northern Ireland Troubles. There was a palpable sense that we could finally shuck off this baleful, gothic memory which constantly insisted on resurfacing. Now there was a sense of a bright new dawn, of a new kind of possibility that we were turning our back on the past and that we could all move forward into an unblemished future.

In the south, in particular, since it has moved into its Celtic Tiger mode, you can see that version of history and the movement beyond memory in what Dublin chooses to erect in its city centre—a stainless steel needle, universally called The Spike—a gleaming, sterile, stainless steel needle 120m high, scrupulously devoid of historical context. It was argued that it should not have a historical reference because "it would be lost on younger people". The reason that it was chosen was because it could be anywhere—Kuala Lumpur, Los Angeles, Beijing—and that it was an appropriate symbol of modernity. It made no reference to the past and had no specificity. It represents that moment in Ireland when we were saying that we have shrugged off our past, that we are post-Catholic, post-nationalist, we have moved beyond the Northern Ireland conflict. There are troubles in store when you adopt that kind of approach, that the Troubles are suddenly over and that we can forget about what happened during them.

That still leaves the problem of memory. What are we saying to those who have lost loved ones, to those who have lost limbs, to those who have been incarcerated? How can we say to those people to move on? How can we say—just move beyond it? For the victims, those who have lived through it, do not have that easy luxury of forgetting of the outsider. This is why the work of testimony and the work of Healing Through Remembering is crucial and pivotal. If we do not engage with the victims, then we narrow our versions of the past. What we need in Ireland is both the memory and the history. We need testimony as the link between them—the link between memory and history.

FILIATION AND AFFILIATION

Edward Said explored the issue of what motivates the great artist.[20] Said pondered over what the proper role of the intellectual, the writer, the artist, the administrator, the museum curator, those who have official

[20] Edward Said, *The world, the text and the critic* (Cambridge, MA, 1983), pp 24-5.

responsibility for dealing with these kinds of issues, should be. Testimony lies between memory and history, but you could also say that everyone who is professionally involved in this work is suspended, to use Said's terminology, between 'filiation' and 'affiliation'. Filiation is what we are born into, what we do not choose in our lives. Nobody chooses where they are born, their parents, their skin colour, the ethnicity or the cultural identity that you are born into. You have it, whether you like it or not. Affiliation, by contrast, is what we aspire to, what we ourselves want in our lives as we develop as human beings. Said asks: what is the appropriate relationship between filiation and affiliation—what we are born into, and what we aspire to? Those who move themselves too far away from filiation or memory, become 'airheads', with no understanding of what is going on on the ground. But Said equally argued that if we remain too filiated, too fixated on staying where we are and what we are born in to, then we become asphyxiated by the pressure of proximity. The question then becomes: what is the appropriate distance between filiation and affiliation, between memory and history? How far should we go? The standard intellectual argument has been to say that we should move as far away as possible in pursuit of objectivity. Said ultimately judged that what we are looking for is an appropriate distance. That space is the space of 'ethical witness' or 'ethical testimony'. If the distance is too far from our own culture or community, we can become detached and irrelevant.

Testimony occupies that middle ground, because testimony is simultaneously disengaged and incriminated. Once you start telling a story, it is already moving away from you. You cannot tell a story unless someone is listening to it. You have to tailor what you say to reach another person, an audience. The minute we start talking about it, we are already establishing some distance. And yet, at the same time, because it is your story and your experience, it is always going to remain incriminated and embedded in the experience from which it emerged. You cannot just pull it out by the roots. It also has to come above the surface to flower. In a post-conflict situation, we must constantly negotiate between memory and history, filiation and affiliation and also in an unexpected way between memory and imagination.

You might say that testimony is the least imaginative of responses. Testimony tells it like it happened, like it is. You might say that imagination is not bound to the past at all, it is what allows us to think new things and to be other than what we are now. Testimony will always be rooted in the past, but it also contains an engagement with imagination and the future. How can I move with it, without abandoning it or without betraying it in some way? But how will this allow me, my community and society, to have a possible future? Testimony occupies this crucial middle ground between past and future, filiation and affiliation, memory and history.

An ethics of discourse

We can finally return to Paul Ricoeur and the various levels of memory. Ricoeur concludes that there is a truth claim to history. These things did happen. People died. Their deaths were not a figment of one's imagination. They are real people and they are the real casualties, as those who survived them know so

well. It is inescapably true and no amount of reconciliation can or should forget those people. There is a record of history as what really happened. If imagination, or aspiration or affiliation is unleashed and allowed to float free, history must remain leashed, tethered and faithful to the pastness of the past. It has always, in Ricoeur's terms, to return to the body count. This is where testimony comes in: what is it that allows our dead to have an afterlife and to live on? They live on in the memories and in the testimonies of those who care about them, who talk about them, who remember them. The fundamental task of testimony is the retrieval of the memory of the dead and the expansion of the archive of what the historian can ultimately work with. The historian has, ultimately, to become a witness who provides testimony and whose ethical position depends on trust in the word of another person. This trust in testimony and the expressive function of language is itself a moral power. The moral power of narratives enables what Ricoeur calls 'an ethics of discourse'. Ricoeur argues that 'we must have trust in language as a weapon against violence, indeed the best weapon there is against violence'.[21] Testimony—of the individual, of the scholar, of the artist—is the link between inspiration and memory, between mourning and melancholia, between filiation and affiliation.

RIGHTS OF MEMORY, RIGHTS OF TESTIMONY, RIGHTS OF AUDIENCE

Let us now return to the question: how do you engage with the past ethically? What is the appropriate way of approaching the past? This is not easy. This is challenging work and it is work that can be very painful for those who experience it, for those who have to revisit it in the form of testimony, and for those who have to hear it. The literary critic Homi Bhabha has reminded us that: 'Remembering is never a quiet act of introspection or retrospection. It is a painful re-membering, a putting together of the dismembered past to make sense of the trauma of the present'.[22] The poet Derek Walcott, surveying his Caribbean world shattered by its colonial experience, talks of the recovery: 'If the pieces are disparate, ill-fitting, they contain more pain than their original sculpture'.[23] He talks about a vase being smashed and the challenge of putting it back together again. Walcott says that there is great craftsmanship and imagination in putting the vase together the first time, but that it is a considerably greater challenge to put back together what has been smashed and broken.

There are three things that we can think of as human rights and the first of these should be rights of memory. It is a phrase used by that great master of language, William Shakespeare, in the play *Hamlet*. We have rights to our memories, they are indisputably ours and they make us what we are. No one has the right to tell us to forget our memories and move on. Individuals and communities have a right to memory, in this sense. There are also, therefore, indisputably, rights of testimony. People have the right to tell these stories and to tell them in the forms, shapes and ways that make sense for them. But there is also a third element, that we have not sufficiently considered—the right of audience. As well as having the right to tell our stories, we also have an ethical duty to hear other people's stories. In a post-conflict situation, this becomes a very pressing issue. This third right, that is also an obligation and an ethical

[21] Ricoeur, ' Memory and forgetting', p.18.
[22] Homi Bhabha, lecture to the Irish Seminar, O'Connell House , Dublin, July 2005.
[23] Derek Walcott, *What the twilight says: Essays* (New York, 1998), p. 69.

duty, may be the most difficult one, because, in some respects it is what makes possible a shared version of a past, and therefore of a possible future. Testimony means that it is always possible to tell it another way. It means that it is also possible to hear it another way. Testimony, in that sense, always has the possibility of opening a space for dialogue and negotiation with 'the other'. Ultimately this may lead to a process of reconciliation beyond memory and history. Oliver Sacks says that a doctor cannot just be the clinically detached professional practitioner. A great doctor ultimately requires both empathy and imagination.

Finally, in the aphorism of Sean Ó hUiginn, Northern Ireland requires a political settlement with which not just the living but the dead can live.[24] Testimony is pivotal to that achievement.

[24] Sean Ó hUiginn, Lecture at Inauguration of Keough Notre Dame Centre, Newman House, Dublin, October 1998.

DIALOGUE TOWARD A CULTURE OF PEACE

Samson Munn

I would like to start by making a remark about how this talk started about thirty seconds ago. I was introduced. Then I walked up to the lectern and you applauded. You don't know me—as we say in the States—'from a hole in the ground' so you don't know whether I deserve that applause or not. And I don't know you either. But the mere fact that I am up here and we are casting our eyes on each other creates some sense of responsibility between us. You feel a responsibility to sit there quietly and listen and you felt a responsibility to applaud, and I feel a responsibility to say something that isn't a waste of your time. The responsibility was already there, simply by the fact that you saw me sitting up on stage for the last couple of hours, and as I saw you. Then, you listened quietly as I began to speak. In a way, we already have a relationship with each other. It may not be a very profound or long-lasting relationship and it may not be a very profound degree of responsibility, but it already exists because we are looking at each other. This is a central part of what I am going to look at today.

Also, our prior speaker noted the issue of the rights of an audience. I would like to emphasise a related concept, the power of story-listening: the power to the storyteller, the power to the story-listener, and perhaps even more widely as well. We will hear more about this in the talk itself, but first we should return to you and me, here, today.

Finally, what I want to say before I begin my formal presentation is that I am talking to all of you realising that you are all professionals in this area. But, I don't feel like I am talking to you in that way. I feel like I am talking to people, rather than professionals, and people who are dealing with the Troubles not only in their work everyday but in their homes everyday. It is on this level that I am really involved in this work. But the question arises, how can I connect with you all? After all, I'm not Catholic, nor Protestant, nor Irish, nor Northern Irish, nor British, nor married to any of the above, and not born into one of the above. In short, none applies to me!

From what troubles do I stem, I ask myself as I stand her before you now? And, how might that relate to dialogue and encounter work? I don't mean for this to sound like psychological credentials, but maybe, at some level, that is what these may in some ways be. To start with, all four of my grandparents were murdered. One of my father's brothers and his sister were murdered. Her months-old infant daughter—my cousin—was murdered. One of my mother's brothers was murdered. Finally, there are the wartime experiences of my parents themselves to consider.

First I would like to start with six minutes of clips from a BBC documentary about a group called To Reflect and Trust which started in 1992. The clips were from 1993 and the second meeting.

A six minute video is shown to the audience. It contains excerpts of Dirk Kuhl (the son of the Gestapo chief of Braunschweig, Germany) and Samson Munn—clips taken from the BBC documentary film, Children of the Third Reich, Timewatch, BBC, © 1993

Samson

The story of my mother's liberation from Bergen-Belsen is more than a little bit sad. (sigh) The bottom line at the end of it was that the war ended, at that time, that day that the war ended, she was already under a pile of bodies because she had had typhus, not typhoid fever she had actually typhus, and she was deep in and under that pile. When the British forces marched alongside these bodies she cried out to them in English and they were stunned to hear a voice coming from a pile of dead bodies so they frantically started pulling body out from body until finally they came across my mother's and they did it simply by following a voice, they asked her to keep talking and she was ultimately saved.

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It wasn't long before—I mean I noticed early that my parents were different—but it wasn't long before I noticed that my mother was particularly different. She had difficulty handling stress, certainly I as a six-year-old could handle stress better than she could. But she still managed to provide well for the physical functions of two boys, which can be difficult.

She hears voices. Usually Nazi voices, sometimes condemnatory orthodox Jewish voices, but voices, sort of just around the corner usually threatening to take her money away, or particularly, her children away from her.

Interviewer: *Do you remember any of those occasions when you were a child?*

Hundreds. No one particular one. Hundreds. Well for instance we might be in the car driving along and she might hear, or thinks she hears, Nazis in the next car and ask me to figure it out. And when I was quite young I used to do it for her and sort of say 'that's interesting' and look out the window and try to understand why she heard those voices. But after a while I caught on to the fact that there really wasn't ever anything there.

Dirk

In my father's case his trial was already over and he'd been sentenced to death. This is his farewell letter to my mother I'll read the letter. "My beloved, sweet Käthe. We've just said goodbye to one another, my beloved, for the last time. When you receive this letter, I will be no longer alive. I know how terrible this news is for you because you never gave up hope. But you promised me you'd be brave, even if the worst happened. So now I take my leave of this world in the knowledge that you will be the same brave wife after my death as you always were before.

We are all human. My fate is too hard. But think of our son, the most precious thing I leave behind. He will need you all the more now that he has no father. Take pleasure in him always and when you look at him, you will be looking into my own eyes. I was so happy when you showed me his photograph but I had to pull myself together not to break down. In my last words to you, I swear I never ordered or committed a crime. I hope and pray the day will come when I will be rehabilitated. Try to wipe out my tragic end. Remember me as we were in happier times when we made plans and took pleasure in our life together. In a moment I shall be having my last meal. Then I'll spend my last hours on this earth with you in my thoughts stroking your hands and pressing you to my heart, together with our son."

Then greetings, etc. It got to me, after all. Yes, but how many lies in there? Of course he's lying, or he can't see what he did as a crime because he saw himself as just a tool—that's particularly awful for me. I've read his statement of defence. In it, he describes the Gestapo as a normal administrative body with normal tasks. That was even more shocking for me because it was such a stupid argument. He seems to have had such a naive attitude to this system I was really shocked.

Samson

Many, if not all of the children of perpetrators in that group, they have to think through more pain in a way. When they ultimately get to the end of the nightmare, you know I get to a good person or a good pair of people and they get to at least to one terribly evil person and sometimes two. And so there is no solace at the end for them and they end up living with pain and evil for ever.

Studying the post-war psychology of Germans, Barbara Heimannsberg reflected,

> Probably a *knowledge* of history in and of itself makes up a comparatively small part of one's sense of identity. More relevant is one's *relationship* to history. (Heimannsberg, 1993, p. 166)

Israel Charny warns and even admonishes in the poignant foreword of a recent book,

> It is entirely natural to care most deeply about one's self and one's own people ... but ultimately the challenge of human development ... for the benefit of humanity, is for more people to care about all human life. (Charney, 1997, xix)

With insight, Martha Minow, the Harvard Law Professor instructs by asking,

> Can and should there be alternatives to traditional institutional responses? Should working through the emotions of victims and survivors figure prominently in the goals for the nation or the world, or instead find a place as by-products of fact-finding, guilt-finding, and punishment? (Minow, 1998, p. 8)

She continues:

> For nations recovering from periods of massive atrocity, the stakes are high, the dangers enormous. Members of those societies need to ask not only what should count as a good reason

> to forgive, and not only what are the appropriate limits to vengeance. They need to ask, what would it take, and what do our current or imagined institutions need to do, to come to terms with the past, to help heal the victims, the bystanders, and even the perpetrators. What would promote reconstruction of a society devastated by atrocities? What could build a nation capable of preventing future massacres and incidents or regimes of torture? (Minow, 1998, p. 21)

These incisive remarks beg the question: What mode(s) of interplay exist(s) between the relationship, knowledge and identity alluded to by Heimannsberg, and responses to it referred to by Charny and by Minow?

Components of an effective plan countering genocide toward peace and a culture of peace must include, amongst others: surveillance and early detection of genocide; heightened societal awareness; education regarding history and ethics (Charney, 1997); scientific research; demonstration of the *practical* disadvantages of genocide (including strategic, economic and health); a variety of political pressures; international, legal endeavours; and, reciprocally respectful efforts at societal bridging (Totten & Parsons, 1997; Saunders, 1999). It is this last element that I am interested in.

I am by profession a practising and teaching physician—not a psychiatrist, but a radiologist—whose consuming passion and avocation have been the constructive application of just one aspect of a process toward that goal: carefully planned and mindfully conducted intensive dialogue (Bar-On, 1996, 1999; Saunders, 1999; Krondorfer, 1995; Bormann, 1997)—personal story-listening, storytelling and discussion—to engender genuine understanding, profound empathy and active, practical, productive responses. The essence of this motivation has come to be called ‘emotional responsibility’ (Baum, 1997), and in my case was born in the experiences of my parents—concentration camp survivors from Germany and Poland.

Both were willing to talk about their Holocaust experiences while my brother and I were growing up. Although they did not usually raise the topic, they would always take time and care to answer any question related to any European matter or experience (pre-, intra- or post-war era).

My brother and I asked many questions for many years, sometimes jointly and others independently. Both parents listened carefully for the questions themselves and most often for the questions behind the questions. My hundreds of questions were answered even at a young age, related in gentle tones and calm pace regardless of how heinous or painful the content, and only sometimes accompanied by parental tears. It is likely that focused and empathetic story-listening, a vital element in thriving, constructive dialogue, was germinated in me by this means. I think if they had demonstrated too much emotion, I would not have wanted to put them through it by asking too many questions.

A more schooled, diligent and thoughtful approach began experientially in Germany in 1992, when I was amongst those first taking part in a pioneering, intensive dialogue and encounter of sons and daughters of

Holocaust victims and daughters and sons of Nazi perpetrators (Bar-On, 1996). The simplicity of the approach was stunning: it was non religious, not deliberately therapeutic, cost-free and apolitical. The goals were to compose a private, secure, small group of earnest individuals whose life experiences stemmed from opposite sides of genocide but who agreed on historical fundamentals; to facilitate respectful but serious and sometimes hard-nosed engagement all day for several days (well beyond the merely polite), often in the countries or cities of the genocidal events; and, for a trusted facilitator briefly to inject poignant perspective and constructive analysis, but only occasionally. Meeting in the regions where the original events had occurred took due advantage of the effects of heard language, of tone, of interpersonal styles and sometimes even of landscapes and of aromas. The encounter, now known as To Reflect and Trust, has flourished—it has met many times in four countries (Bar-On, 1999). Also, the past several years have seen it widen to include dialogue with South African, Palestinian and Northern Irish participants (Bar-On, 2000).

Imagine a room with ten or twenty people seated in a circle, talking and especially listening, for days. The individuals' personal histories and psychic structures are so poignantly related to the Holocaust that they simply cannot restrain themselves from delving into those of 'the other's, like it or not. It is important to know that there exist a number of innovative dialogues in relation to the Holocaust. The variations are perhaps theoretically limitless and a variety already exist; there are a half dozen or so groups in Holland alone, just one of which, for instance, is composed of women and of men each of whom was born of rape by a Nazi father of a Dutch mother.

The people who take part in these varied groups are not randomly included and their meetings are not simply academic experiments, if they have any academic connection at all. Rather than being affected, sanguine or histrionic, they are genuine, personal and interpersonal explorations.

Concrete results have included three documentary films (*Children of the Third Reich*, Timewatch, BBC, © 1993; *Eine unmögliche Freundschaft* [*An Impossible Friendship*], Provobis, © 1998; and *Out of the Ashes*, Timewatch, BBC, © 1995) broadcast several times in many countries; at least one book; several book chapters; multiple laudatory articles in highly respected newspapers in several countries; formal, clinical psychiatry experience in Palestine for Harvard residents and fellows; a seminar in Germany addressing the hindrance in the work of German psychotherapists due to avoidance of their own families' Nazi backgrounds; the inaugural, international meeting of a new peace research institute in Palestine and the publication of their new journal; and, the creation of a similar dialogue dedicated to the Austrian component of the Holocaust.

Austria was annexed by Germany, as opposed to other countries that were invaded, conquered and occupied, such as Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary. Austrians were generally pleased or even gleeful to be annexed by the Reich (Rosenkranz, 1995). Further, Austrians were subsequently stunningly successful in rising quickly and effectively within the Reich to important and highly culpable positions in infamous settings of war crimes and crimes against humanity.

Their 'successes' were perhaps related to even more pervasive anti-Semitism in Austria at that time than in Germany, a notion corroborated by no less a source than Joseph Goebbels (the Reich's Minister of Propaganda) who wrote admiringly of the Austrians in his diaries that their Habsburg training engendered within them special ability in regard to their treatment of subject peoples (Lochner, 1948). Finally, since the war, Austria and Austrians have been particularly effective in denying their Nazi pasts, domestically and internationally—in convincing themselves and the rest of the world of their innocence, even of *their* victimisation.

The Austrian Encounter comprises sons and daughters of Austrian Nazis, and daughters and sons of Austrian Holocaust victims, meeting intensively together annually since 1995, primarily in Austria. The individuals are honest and serious with each other, able critically to explore interpersonally their family histories and to reflect upon Austrian politics and contemporary history.

The Austrian Encounter is facilitated with only occasional commentary (often brief), when a particularly crucial moment arrives, when group effort to hurdle a stumbling point has led to repeated, circular failure, etc. The dialogue may proceed for hours without even a comment from the facilitator, and no agenda is provided at any meeting. In the setting of minimalist facilitation, the composition of the group itself leads to rich interaction through words, facial expressions, hand gestures and revelations.

Eventually in such a dynamic and with such a group, moments arise that are catalytic. For instance, one man, an Austrian therapist and teacher with a fine family and career working in a German school, found himself declaring with conviction but in tears that he had never had the strength to ask his father at the dinner table, "Were you a murderer, Daddy?". This happened at nearly the last moment of the second day of the initial encounter. It often takes some time for us to even think of these things.

Another person, who had repeatedly been sexually molested by a Nazi father, and who had vowed not to share that with the group, decided to break that promise and to do so. That participant could not manage to do so with words but still wished to communicate it. So, not making clear what was about to happen, the person suddenly instead mostly silently enacted on the floor a typical scene of rape, from memory. All the rest of us remained completely silent, at first confused. I watched as, several minutes later, one person's face revealed dawning realisation of the substance of this communication, and then a few minutes later, another's face did the same. Thus, a wave of acknowledgement and understanding flowed around and through us. Deeply moved, we all lowered ourselves to the floor rather than remain above in our chairs, as would have been the father's position.

Several moving expressions at pivotal moments in *just one* of the meetings were:

- "When *Gatschi* recognize gypsies as humans, a step is made toward reconciliation. […] Based on society's opinion, I am not human." [*Gadschi* or *Gatschi* is a Romani word parallel to the Yiddish

word *goyim* or *goy'm* and the wider meaning of the English word *gentiles*, essentially meaning 'the others' or 'those who are not us' (in the Romani case, meaning non-gypsies).]

- "All of us have been victims of a world catastrophe, and any of us can be a perpetrator … ."
- "For me, it is not about reconciliation, but rather getting to know each other."
- "We laughed and cried so much. I cried 'outward' my sadness."
- "What one doesn't work on, through, one transfers to one's children."
- "As the son or daughter of a perpetrator, how can one feel the right to be happy?"
- "Perhaps the victim role will continue to exist and to be transmitted to subsequent generations so long as the role is simply accepted, accepted simply, so that it is not examined properly."
- "The answers are not so important—it's posing the questions that matters." and,
- "I don't want simply to leave it all behind—to walk away. That would be too easy."

Many themes are addressed, all raised by the participants themselves. Some are perceived bilaterally, symmetrically; for instance, a contemporaneous cognisance of marginalisation during childhood, the importance of ethics in our lives and work, a lack of independence from the Holocaust in adult life, and altered trust in personal and professional relationships. These are not viewed inherently as bad or as problems, but certainly as different. Indeed, older, published notions of the existence of psychopathology in children of Holocaust survivors have been debunked, properly abandoned and replaced by descriptions of differences in socialisation and in character organisation (Solkoff, 1981, 1992; Kolodner, 1987; Felsen & Erlich 1990; Major, 1996; Brom, Kfir & Dasberg, 2001; Kellerman, 2001).

Importantly and interestingly, many threads run through both sub groups but differently so; for example, hurt or damaged roots in some sons and daughters of Austrian Nazis versus absent roots in some of both 'sides', warmth versus coldness in our childhood families, generalised fear or anxiety (to some extent) throughout life for some children of victims versus childhood terror from the father in the families of some Austrian Nazis, and the relationships between shame and secrets for children of Nazis versus between protection and secrets for the children of victims.

In The Austrian Encounter, there was a decided difference in the sense of emotional warmth in the home during childhood. Those born of victims described generally loving, affectionate parents. Those descended of parents of the perpetrator generation often but variably reported colder home lives during childhood, with more silence, more silencing and a sterner atmosphere. One son of an Austrian Nazi was for some years not spoken to by his father; even when the father lay in what was acknowledged to be his deathbed, he refused to speak even a word to his son.

Mild fears or anxiety may exist, even throughout lifetime, in some sons and daughters of victims related to insecurity as a minority, to being from an immigrant family as opposed to being from a well-established family, and to a learned need always to be aware of options for escape (by glancing around for the exits in a movie theatre, by having multiple passports, and even in some cases by keeping a bag packed permanently). However, pain or even outright terror was created in several homes of daughters or sons of

perpetrators when the parents were Nazi-ish in their home behaviour with their children, such as coldness (forever or for some years), childhood beatings or rape. Of note, there certainly are participants in To Reflect and Trust and The Austrian Encounter whose fathers were Nazis but who nonetheless perceive little or no childhood trauma from their parents.

For some descendants of Holocaust survivors, there is a learned relationship between secrets and protection. For instance, one may have learned of a parent's survival having depended on working for a time in a factory alongside others, keeping one's Jewish identity or heritage secret—perfectly secret for it to succeed; or, survival to have depended on a secret hideaway which Nazis time and again failed to find. In that childhood experience, one would naturally grow to esteem the protective value to one's self and family of keeping certain valuable matters secret.

Some sons and daughters of Holocaust perpetrators reported a perceived relationship of secrets and shame. After first coming to learn of the history of their families, some told of shame (which may be lifelong) and even of guilt (regardless of their lack of culpability), sometimes permeating their lives. Given that such history often came out only after years of secrets about the actual Holocaust-era events, the association of secrets with shame is quite understandable.

Other themes addressed included:

- belonging socially versus belongings;
- silence, silences and silencing of others;
- the ethics of making use of social connections during the Holocaust and now, allowing one to advance (reminiscent of survival), essentially at the expense of another;
- anger;
- what real friendship is and entails;
- what loyalty is and entails, and what are its rightful limits;
- where 'home' really is, and where one can feel 'at home';
- individuation from our parents—finding a path in life truly independent of one's parents and one's direct or indirect relationship to the Holocaust; and,
- fear.

While there have been rare criticisms of encounter style, experience and content by participants and by others, no one has reported an untoward psychological reaction to participation, during or afterward. Indeed most participants describe it as psychologically very positive and eye-opening, and find it worthy or beneficial in other ways too. Descriptors that come up often are 'compelling', 'once-in-a-lifetime' and 'energizing'. In regard to the Austrian group, it has been poignantly pointed out by several that non-Jewish Austrians and Jews can be at the same Viennese coffee shops, even at the same table, for thirty years without experiencing the dialogue they had all come to know in just three days!

Although Austria continues to harbour terrible enmity of Jews and retains a history and legacy of heinous responsibility during the Reich, one continues to see deep openness lead to warmth, trust, closeness and the beginnings of positive outcomes by, and in, varied and motivated people (Munn, 2001). Robert S. Wistrich, the Neuberger Professor of Modern European and Jewish History at Hebrew University in Jerusalem, declared in a report and in a related press release in February of 1999, “There is now, for the first time in post-war Austria, a serious commitment to fighting racism and anti-Semitism” and “… there is even the beginning of a movement to discuss the Holocaust critically and openly … and to seek to learn its lessons.” (Wistrich, 1999; American Jewish Committee, 1999).

Tangible results in Austria have included the donation of one participant’s prodigious collection of his father’s propagandistic publications and other writings to the Austrian Resistance Archives (*Dokumentationsarchiv des österreichischen Widerstandes*) in Vienna, the performance of public concerts (by a trio stemming from the group), and perhaps some political influence and change.

In the next several days after a meeting of The Austrian Encounter in Vienna, the first few days of September 1999, an important, public conference of three days’ duration took place there. It was conceived and initiated by Katherine Klinger, a Londoner and special colleague. The English title was The Presence of the Absence: International Holocaust Conference for Eyewitnesses and Descendants of ‘Both Sides’. Over 400 people attended and an active handful were from The Austrian Encounter.

In a final-day, plenary session, Dirk Kuhl (the son of the Gestapo chief of Braunschweig, Germany) and I discussed and showed a German documentary film (*Eine unmögliche Freundschaft*) about our friendship (begun in To Reflect and Trust). Several conference organisers and journalists described the film session as the best received and most moving presentation of the conference, noting that at least half the audience was in tears, well over 200 people.

A few weeks later (3 October 1999), Jörg Haider's party (the right-wing *Freiheitliche Partei*, or *FPÖ*) commanded 27% of the vote in a national election in which they attained 52 seats (of a total of 183 in the *Nationalrat*, the Austrian parliament). Since no party won an absolute majority, a coalition had to be formed in order to govern. The only coalition that could actually be formed turned out to be between the two parties that had effectively tied for second and third places in the election, Haider's extreme-right FPÖ and the conservative Austrian People's Party (ÖVP).

Although The Austrian Encounter had been making an important contribution over the preceding four years by virtue of its mere existence in Austria, by meeting seriously and by speaking and writing publicly about it, the The Presence of the Absence conference was the first time that such a large and public yet still personally felt meeting had taken place in Austria related to the Holocaust. Also, it was held mostly in German, with a diligent effort made to evaluate honestly and deeply the public and private relationships of Austria and of Austrians to the Holocaust. Varied presentations and discussion and ample press coverage did much to heighten awareness amongst Austrians.

Over the next several months there were large, generally unexpected, public and effective demonstrations against Haider in Austria (and internationally), especially in Vienna. At least one such demonstration was reported to have been the largest public gathering in Vienna since Hitler was joyously received in 1938. European Union sanctions against Austria were imposed and remained in place for many months. Ultimately, Haider was forced to step down from his national party post on 27 February 2000.

Initiatives like The Austrian Encounter and particularly the conference of September 1999 likely contributed to public reaction against Haider. Of course, Austrian soil is still richly fertile for dialogue, for introspection, for heightening of awareness and for constructive engagement, given Austria's family-nurtured, vibrant and persistent anti-Semitism, anti-gypsyism and xenophobia.

To date, there have been three international networking meetings representing multinational or multicultural intensive dialogues related to the Holocaust. The first was conceived by Dan Bar-On, was of two days' duration, and comprised representatives from groups functioning in eight countries. It took place in Boston in July 1996 (where I was then living) with representatives of twelve dialogues.

The second and third networking meetings were conceived, organised and chaired jointly by Katherine Klinger and Christian Staffa of Berlin. They took place in January 1997 and May 1998. Both were held in Berlin with thirty-five or forty dialogue-related organizations represented, from a great variety of countries. (Staffa & Klinger, 1998)

My view of the motivation of those in these various groups is captured well by the words of the French philosopher, Emmanuel Levinas,

> Since the Other looks at me, I am responsible for him, without even having taken on responsibilities in his regard. ... Responsibility is the essential, primary and fundamental structure of subjectivity. ... Responsibility in fact is not a simple attribute of subjectivity, as if the latter already existed in itself, before the ethical relationship. (Levinas, 1985, p. 96)

As Leonard Grob explains Levinas,

> *my structure as a human being*, in any significant sense of that word, is to be responsible to the Other. (Grob, 1999, p. 9)

Grob further clarifies Levinas' view of teaching, learning and dialogue,

> never to *impose* thoughts, but rather to *offer* them to another. ... Dialogue, the meeting of what Martin Buber calls an I and a Thou, becomes the sole medium by means of which I say what it is I have to say—and hear what it is that the Other has to say to me. Such dialogue is not a mere 'means' to arrive at a philosophical truth; it is, rather, the fundamental *enactment* of philosophical truth-as-process. There is no way to dialogue; dialogue is the way. ... Without dialogue ... 'discourse' becomes at best the attempt by the mightier of intellect to impress their static 'truths'

> on the weaker. And ... what began as a diatribe can easily end as a thrust of the sword. (Grob, 1999, p. 12–13)

While there are immense differences in various geo-political venues and instances of mass, heinous behaviour, there remain human commonalities with which to deal during and after the traumas regardless of the particular context.

One must first acknowledge important differences between the Holocaust and the Troubles: one was intended as direct and immediate genocide, the other not; one was a half century ago over relatively few years, the other has been going on for decades if not centuries; one had pretty clearly agreed 'sides' of wrong and right (however complicated or not they may in actuality have been), while the other is and has clearly been generally far more mixed (and needs to include at least two general Northern Irish components and the English); and so on. Still, in both settings, many were seriously injured in several ways, on a mass level, and involving government, church and personal action and inaction, and the pain and trauma will not end easily, swiftly or in simply one generation in either case. Importantly, the victims are not simply individuals but peoples, cultures, intellectual accomplishment, societal advancement, and to some extent even language. Finally, similar personal and family themes arise in both settings, such as secrets, guilt, identity, lost love, intergenerational transfer (of trauma, fear, enmity, etc.), and many others.

What is the role of reconciliation in these settings and with particular regard to dialogue? Again, Northern Ireland is demonstrative, but much of what follows could be applied (with some variation) in a number of other world areas.

The U.S. ear hears a bit of the too sanguine in the word 'reconciliation', sometimes too 'kissy face'; this may represent a difference between U.S. English and your English understanding of the word. With that in mind, with genuine respect to those whose disagreement may be heartfelt, and merely in my own view, the concept of reconciliation misses the mark when considering Northern Ireland, and is in any event an unclear notion. Rather, the goal needs to be the development of *a means* to be able to live with and alongside each other, to be able to work together, to engage business ventures together, to study together, to debate one's own group as well as another, and so on.

If a mature, gradual, serious, pensive intercourse happens in the end to lead over months or likely years to a worthy sort of reconciliation, fine! There should be no surprise in a successful outcome stemming from hard work based on honest experience.

However, reconciliation *per se* is not the goal, but rather a more functional, constructive society. Simplistic demands that reconciliation is what is needed are indeed sometimes followed in Northern Ireland by exhortations that in order to reconcile, one must heal, and to do that, one must forget, and then in order to forget, one must forgive (or *vice versa*). These links may be not only impossible for an individual or a group, they may be damaging. Some who earnestly try simply to forgive or to forget, usually upon the

expectations of others, may come to feel guilty when they fail. These demands are too glib, too simple-mindedly sanguine, too painfully much to ask, and too unfairly cruel to demand. What's worse is that such demands hardly ever really work.

On the contrary, in such intensive dialogue work (and likely other aspects of life), it is best to *remember* one's lost loved ones, to *cherish* one's memories of them, and to *cherish* one's feelings. One is entitled to foster the places of memory and memorial in one's heart, home and soul, even painful ones—perhaps especially painful ones. To remember is indeed good and constructive, just as to dwell and to fester are not.

To dialogue well entails a number of technical and logistical factors; at its kernel, it requires honest communication with one's self and with 'the other', which in turn benefits, and benefits from, memory and remembrance, engendering trust. While an experienced, designated facilitator often helps a great deal, affecting and life-changing dialogue may certainly occur without one in some groups.

It takes highly motivated and brave individuals and groups to engage each other on such a deeply personal level, listening to each other for hours on end, and also occasionally revealing what is not comfortably revealed. Only after such honest, painful, protracted work can individuals (and later groups) grow *to be able later* to become grateful for having conversed with others they now adamantly refuse. That is a momentous transition but not an impossible one, and it is a wonderful legacy and model for children.

Monumental lessons can be learned from ordinary people engaged in extraordinary communication. Please allow me to reiterate that: monumental—and I mean that in both senses of the word 'monumental'—lessons can be learned from ordinary people engaged in extraordinary communication. These lessons can more or less become taught in the arranged self-discovery process inherent in dialogue.

Finally, interpersonal dialogue could be broadened to a national, societal level in certain settings, which has actually been proposed with regard to Northern Ireland by me to Brandon Hamber (of Healing Through Remembering) in June 2002 when we were speakers in Northern Ireland at a conference sponsored and organised by WAVE, and in an electronic message to him and to others in Northern Ireland, including Eamonn Deane of Holywell Trust, Sandra Peake of WAVE, and Maureen Hetherington (then of the Derry City Council) September 2002. The proposal was for Northern Irish Truth and Dialogue Commissions or perhaps a combined Commission (rather than the already proposed Truth and Reconciliation Commissions akin to those operant in South Africa). The Dialogue Commission was explicitly expected to oversee literally hundreds (if not thousands) of smaller dialogues around the country, periodic public reporting of the dialogue work, and some sort of television or radio time during which expression relative to the dialogue work would be broadcast. That might include the arts, moving

experiences of the small dialogue groups around the country, updates in certain sorts of news and analysis related to the Troubles, etc.

In summary, such work represents a very personal effort to help to achieve peace, in these contexts by the creation of a constructive, cultural consciousness of genocide and of absence of genocide—of peace—through dialogue and educational public meetings. This is meant to address the 'societal bridging' element of peace work mentioned at the start of this talk. Just how pervasive such a slow but important attitudinal shift is to become in Northern Ireland or world-wide will in part be reflected some day by how often, how long, where and when there will be peace.

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DISCUSSION GROUPS

Session One—*Reflections on input from speakers*

The first of two group discussion sessions focused on gathering reactions to and reflections on, the papers presented by the two guest speakers, Kevin Whelan and Samson Munn. A summary of the five group discussions is based on notes taken in each discussion group, which are structured so as to document the issues raised by each speaker in turn, and questions which emerge from the input of both speakers. One participant observed:

> *I thought they were excellent for two different reasons. The first speaker gave us the opportunity to look at the complexities and evaluate them through a new framework. The second speaker's focus was much more personal and spoke to how the personal can impact the complexity of the whole.*

- **Reflections on paper presented by Kevin Whelan**

Many participants within the discussion groups, a number of whom work directly with storytelling projects, began by welcoming the opportunity to hear a theoretical perspective on the work of storytelling and personal narrative from the speaker. As one participant reflected, his presentation "brought long years of work into a meaningful context". The paper helpfully underlined the importance of acknowledging personal experiences and personal narratives within an academic context, highlighting for many the possibilities that storytelling holds for reconciling personal and academic perspectives on the past. It was indicated that many facilitators of ongoing and potential storytelling projects might benefit greatly from further theoretical discussions on issues of memory and identity, as raised by Dr Whelan.

In general, the focus of the discussions centered on specific points raised by Dr Whelan in his paper.

Three levels of memory

The speaker introduced the concept of the three versions of memory—the individual memory (pathological or therapeutic), the pragmatic or functional memory and the ethical or political level of memory. A number of participants were struck by the notion that acknowledging various memories can contribute to guaranteeing a safer future in a post-conflict context. They were also reassured by his assertion that memory need not be a trap that hinders people from 'moving on' from the past, but that it can inform their vision and give them the impetus needed to address the present and future.

In relation to the notion of ethical memory, questions were raised as to how one could identify those responsible for devising the mechanisms which would ensure there was no recurrence of violence or

conflict, or indeed, if this was possible at all. It was felt that further exploration of this concept would have been valuable.

Historians and the past

It was felt that the concepts of 'filiation' and 'affiliation', and the 'professionalisation' (and perhaps sanitation) of the past by historians could be a helpful starting point for fresh discussion around the crucial questions of identity and common vision in Northern Ireland.

An understanding of the role which mythology plays in historical representation and interpretation of the past was seen as a challenge for those whose responsibility it is to reflect on, and educate others about the past. This challenge is coupled with the task of finding an ideal position between 'filial interest' and 'affiliated investment' when considering the past. One group identified the challenge to Healing Through Remembering and the Storytelling sub group as: how can we engage personal and collective memory without being captive to history? Another echoed the views of the presenter that it is crucial to have a counterbalance to historians who are "too professional" in their recounting of history.

The distinction which was made in the presentation between history and personal memory appeared to have bothered some participants. They pointed out that such a distinction in real life will never be a clear one, since the two concepts "share the same mind space". They preferred to think of the two concepts as being different views of the same thing, and of the challenge as being to create a stable or smooth link between them. One participant echoed the thesis put forward by Dr Whelan that "you cannot make peace with your eyes closed. Your eyes need to be wide open". Historians, and those engaged in personal narrative and testimony work, have an important role to play in facilitating the contribution of the individual experience, which can create an overall picture of the past and, in turn, the future.

How history links into the broader goal of peace building within a post-conflict society was touched on in the discussions. One participant was intrigued by the possibility of changing the negative use of language (as a weapon to provoke violence) "to using it as a weapon *against* violence". She reflected, "It is the polar opposite of what often happens." She welcomed the idea that "we have to use language as a bridge, rather than avoiding it. The implication is do not avoid, you cannot avoid".

The references made in the paper to the Irish Republic and its relationship to its recent history and the Northern Ireland conflict provoked discussion within the groups. There was a view that the "Irish people south of the border saw the Good Friday Agreement as a line drawn under the history of the conflict" and that the "Irish government no longer has to deal with the issue".

The three rights

Kevin Whelan's definitions of the rights of memory, testimony and audience appealed to many and it was deemed helpful as a framework for linking the divergent personal, professional and theoretical views of the past. In particular, the 'right of audience' was identified as a useful concept. One participant reflected:

> I was struck by the idea of the 'right of audience'. Listening as opposed to what we usually do in this country. It was very interesting. I'm thinking about the divisions in this society and how there aren't enough places for listening to stories of 'the other'. I think it's about putting ourselves in 'the other's shoes.

For one participant, his definition of the rights of memory, testimony and audience highlighted a challenge in terms of "continued re-engagement of the space of the storytelling encounter". The participant explained that, rather than being an isolated event, storytelling should be a dynamic and dialectic process. New narrative meanings introduced into the testimony space can problematise and even trivialise the information shared in that space. He asks:

> Does this mean that, rather than expecting the storytelling process to be a self-generating dynamic that needs simply to be set in motion, we need to think of storytelling as a space that must be re-engaged by its facilitators actively and constantly in order to maintain its integrity?

- **Reflections on paper presented by Samson Munn**

As with Kevin Whelan's paper, the overall feedback from Samson Munn's presentation was overwhelmingly positive. The group discussions highlighted their appreciation of his honest and sensitive approach to the topic and process with which he is engaged, and expressed respect for his willingness to share his personal story.

That being said, one participant noted that the positive response to the presentation highlights the danger of an individual's story dominating the public's perception of an event or period of time. He argued that by focusing on a single engrossing story, we risk "losing sight of the bigger picture". Indeed, in terms of the public's understanding, an individual story may give a somewhat simplified picture of what is, in fact, a very complex history.

The specific issues of encounter and reconciliation were raised in all five groups and formed a major focus of their observations and discussions.

Encounter

The idea of a small, voluntary, self-selecting group within which to conduct the storytelling process was considered original. One participant commented that this context would permit the story-sharers to benefit to the maximum from the process, since they would be truly committed to it. This model, it was felt, could be a more practical and a safer (for the storytellers) approach than a large scale truth commission.

It was noted that Samson Munn's reminder that story *listening* is an important part of the process was helpful, as was the recognition that storytelling is fluid, evolving and iterating and, therefore, listening must also evolve. An educator in one of the groups underlined how valuable it is to capture these living links to the past. It was felt that the immediacy and proximity of their experience communicates the impact of that time and the lessons which need to be drawn from it in a very powerful way.

The role, experience and expectation of the facilitator in these small group settings were raised in several of the groups. It was suggested that, in this context, the primary concern of the facilitator is not so much about reconciliation as about being human and understanding the experience of all involved. It was felt that the facilitator must be actively engaged in the process, and should not distinguish him or herself from the group as an 'other'. As one participant stated: "the facilitator ought to be prepared to be 'rehumanised' by the process too". In terms of the practicalities of the process, the speaker's reflection on the need for an appropriate location and physical setting of a venue to assist and support the process was welcomed. Many concurred with this, believing that the atmosphere created by the audience must be conducive to the open sharing of stories.

It was felt that Samson Munn's description of small self-appointed and self-regulating story-sharing groups could provide a helpful starting point for storytelling in Northern Ireland. However, it was acknowledged that this model could, potentially, result in further splintering of communities, and therefore needs further exploration.

Reconciliation

The interrogation of the word 'reconciliation' by Samson Munn gave much food for thought in the group discussions. Many agreed with his resistance to the use of the word 'reconciliation' without clarity of meaning, as well as his assertion that reconciliation is not something which can be forced or superficially imposed. One participant reflected:

> I am thinking about language, about how a single word can have antibodies built up around it. In the group I work with we ruled out 'reconciliation' altogether because of the seeming implication of the requirement to forgive. It is simply not where people are at.

In one discussion group, participants expressed frustration with the term, observing that reconciliation in any form is impossible without dialogue. Some felt that the grants from the EU Special Support Programme for Peace and Reconciliation would have been more effective had they been offered to the public under the title of Peace and Dialogue. There was a feeling that by alluding to 'reconciliation', which was for the participants a loaded, complex term, the initiative was putting pressure on the population to move in a direction in which it was not yet ready to move in the 1990s.

Developing further on the problematic nature of the term 'reconciliation', a number of participants appreciated Samson's emphasis on the personal experience of healing through storytelling. There was a sense that reconciliation and forgiveness are *personal* values which cannot readily be transferred to a public level. What some found helpful was the speaker's acknowledgement that perhaps reconciliation need not be the end goal of a storytelling process. Samson emphasised that developing understanding and respect within storytelling groups is a valuable outcome, and a reasonable expectation to have of the process. The view that "a storytelling time is coming" for Northern Ireland was expressed by a number of participants.

This raises the question of time, alluded to in another discussion group. They questioned what is the appropriate time lapse between events and their exposition in a storytelling process? How much time does a storyteller need to tell her story? One member commented that she saw the BBC series *To Reflect and Trust*, to which Samson made reference, several years ago, and that the series itself was compiled several years after those involved had begun to come forward to discuss the Holocaust. It was emphasised that the example Samson embodied was proof of the fact that a storytelling process requires a lot of time and patience, and that, by virtue of this fact, "unexpected people" (such as the children and grandchildren of the actual role-players in an event) must be included in the invitation to tell the stories.

- **Points for further exploration and discussion**

From the discussion group notes, it appeared that the participants were pleased with the balance achieved between the theoretical, even abstract, perspective offered by Kevin Whelan, and the personal insight brought to the discussion by Samson Munn's presentation. In the course of their discussions, the groups raised issues which they would like to have heard more on, had time to discuss in more detail or needed further exploration and examination by others (including the HTR Storytelling sub group) in the future.

In relation to Kevin Whelan's paper there was a desire by some to further explore the links and differences between the concepts of memory, history and testimony, and between the notions of filiation and affiliation. One participant reflected:

Kevin's explanation of values in terms of filiation (what we are born into) and affiliation (what we aspire to) prompted the question: What do we aspire to in Northern Ireland? It gives us a new context in which we can understand the necessity of agreeing upon a vision of the future before reconciliation can occur. Storytelling, by elucidating filial values, may be the platform from which to launch a discussion about common desires in terms of affiliation.

In reference to Samson Munn's paper, many felt they would have liked more information on how the groups were constructed and how the briefing, and debriefing processes happen as part of the storytelling process.

Questions raised included:

- How do we separate the truth of the facts from the personal impressions which, equally, constitute the story?
- Since each story will bring several issues to light, which will concern a variety of different parties, surely each story will need to develop a multiplicity of dialogues around those issues? Would that be an empowering or disempowering process for the storyteller?
- How do we create mechanisms so we can hear everyone's story? Collective identity is not the same as individual identity. We are not exposed enough to where people are coming from.
- Is there a danger that, once testimony is given, the story will be appropriated by others with personal agendas?
- How can people feel that they are not selling out their own community by hearing 'the other's side?
- How can people be in the same room together and hear each other's stories?
- How do you set the scene to facilitate a storytelling process and make people feel comfortable?
- How do you prepare people so they know what they are getting in to?
- How do you deal with the mid-point between an individual's story and a collective story? How do the media get hold of the story and how can we ensure that the stories are not twisted to suit their purposes?
- How can we achieve a balance between structured storytelling and free-flowing dialogue? Is there a role for a template?
- If someone is not ready to listen, can they? If you still have an endless agenda of your own can you really listen?
- How do we put community memory in a wider historical context? The collective is just as complex as the individual story. One of the complexities is that perpetrators can be victims as well. How can we have these discussions at the community level?
- How to you allow a storytelling process to happen, which is safe, while being in a position to challenge stories. Truth and truth recovery become hard because myths take over—partly because stories go unchallenged. How is this dilemma to be faced?

Session Two—*Would a collective storytelling process deal with the legacy of the conflict in and about Northern Ireland?*

The groups reconvened after lunch to move away from the discussion on the presentations so far, to a discussion based around one key question, namely:

> *Would a collective storytelling process deal with the legacy of the conflict in and about Northern Ireland?*

Each of the five groups was asked to discuss this question and come up with three to five questions of their own, some of which would be posed to a panel in the plenary session to follow. The discussions covered a wide range of issues, which have been collated by theme below.[25]

Clarifying language

Before exploring the question posed in detail, a number of groups felt it appropriate to interrogate the question more fully to establish if they understood or agreed with its underlying assertion. One group questioned the term 'storytelling', feeling that it implies something which is fictional, rather than factual. However, there was no consensus on alternative descriptions, with some feeling that 'personal narratives' was too academic. There was some support for the term 'shared experiences' and it was agreed that the real thrust of the work is around 'achieving understanding'.

One group questioned the use of the phrase 'deal with', wondering if it implied 'dispense with' or even 'resolve'. Another group, also exploring the issue felt that 'contribute towards' was better wording in the question. 'Deal with', they felt, implies that storytelling will 'deal with' the entire legacy of the conflict, which they did not believe to be possible.

While not finding a definitive answer to the question, another group focused on the term 'collective' and wondered what it meant in practical terms. Who would be involved in a collective process? When can you say that a process is truly collective? One participant challenged the view that we are in a post-conflict context and asked: "If the conflict is still alive: is there yet a proper legacy to deal with?"

Context

The question posed raised a new set of issues for the participants in terms of the context in which Northern Ireland is currently, and where it is heading in the future. One participant asked: "What is the political context or framework that we imagine is needed or required for a collective storytelling process to be a worthwhile pursuit?" Thinking of the other end of the journey, another raised the question: "How will we know when we have adequately dealt with the past?" Another participant reflected that: "There is no value in the mentality that we have all suffered and therefore do not need this sort of process."

[25] A list of all questions submitted to the panel for discussion is available as Appendix III.

Purpose

If resolving to engage in some form of collective storytelling or personal narrative process, a new set of concerns emerges. Questions identified during the course of the discussion were: What are the aims of the process? These, it was felt, need to be explicitly stated, as they are the key to creating a sound process. Who is the focus of the process? Is it primarily victims and survivors? Is it a process for individuals or for communities? Should storytelling be promoted for the benefits of tomorrow, rather than just helping those who suffered? What are the key process phases and how are these linked to the purpose? On the other hand, not everyone might want their story to be heard publicly and might only want to share their story to their family or in a confidential setting. This perspective means that the various levels of outcome (personal, communal, national) that are expected, need to be explored.

Another associated question raised on this theme relates to control of the process: Who takes ownership of the process, both formally and informally? How is this put into operation so that all are on board with it? It was observed in one group that the storytelling process may set in motion a process of revelation that will later call for decisive action—potentially leading to judicial avenues being explored. Whilst the initial focus ought to be on the acknowledgement and validation of the storyteller's experience, once the experience has been revealed, knowledge of the experience will probably require or provoke some kind of active response. With this in mind, it must be defined from the outset what our motivations for embarking on the process are. As one participant suggested: "We must, therefore, ask ourselves what our priority is. Healing? Truth? Justice?"

Participation

Much of the group discussions focused on who a 'collective storytelling process' would involve and how you would encourage participation. There were no clear answers to the first question, although the consensus appeared to be that as many people as possible, with a wide range of experiences (and none) of the conflict, should be encouraged to participate. This would include, as some identified "the untouched middle classes" and "those who traditionally see themselves as uninvolved". One participant strongly asserted that "the process should avoid being too prescriptive and not just involve those who have suffered or caused harm". Another suggested that if it is only those directly affected by the conflict who tell their stories is there a place for expressions of solidarity by others?

It was acknowledged that storytelling processes are already ongoing and involve certain communities or groups in society. However, the question was raised: What do we do about those who are not engaging? Not just the silent, but the indifferent. Another question raised was: What about those who have been circling their wagons so long and are often in such a deep rut, they can hardly see out?

Building trust and safety

Having moved on from interrogating the concept of a 'collective storytelling process', the groups began to explore how you would empower and support an individual to tell their story and the measures which would be needed to ensure their safety and protection. It was acknowledged that the storytelling process requires great courage from the storyteller in putting themselves in such a potentially vulnerable position. It was noted that there is a danger that the storyteller, carried along by the impetus of his or her story, may disclose more than they initially intended to. This could lead to them coming away from the process feeling disempowered and embarrassed by their self-exposure, rather than more confident or relieved to have told their story.

One participant emphasised the need for preparation for the potential storyteller. He noted: "If I express loss, I need to know what to expect. So there is a need for education." Focusing on encounter-type processes, such as those described by Samson Munn, much discussion centered on how you can create support for people when they go back into their communities, having engaged with 'the other'. For one participant, the most significant question was: "How do you take your constituency with you when the encounter is the vehicle?" It was noted in one group that in the absence of a broader political trust, people do not feel safe and there is a need for 'champions of trust' in our society. This raised the issue of the politicisation of stories for some. Some wondered how you keep storytelling apolitical, while others felt that storytelling is, by its nature, political, and it is important to acknowledge this from the outset. As one participant put it: "You *want* stories to recognise the political context." The questions for some remained: How do you keep people from telling stories to score points? and How can we ensure that there's equity and people are not used as a tool for propaganda? One group felt that no storytelling process would work without there being trust and respect, but it was acknowledged that they are very difficult to achieve, especially in a cross-community or cross-cultural setting.

An appropriate process

Choosing the right process or processes to operationalise a collective storytelling process was discussed in all five groups. While it was acknowledged that many processes existed, the presentation by Samson Munn tended to focus the participants' discussions on encounter or dialogue type processes. One fundamental question raised was how to design a process which deals with the multiple stories and, therefore multiple truths which will emerge. In other words, how can we deal with the internal contradictions that exist within communities?

This raised issues in relation to listening by others to the story and how this process is designed so as to ensure that the needs of both the teller and the listener are accommodated. Fundamental questions were raised such as: What is listening? How do you get people to listen? How do we listen well? It was acknowledged that it is hard to hear 'the other' when you are hurt, but that when people are heard themselves, they are more likely to want to hear others.

One person reflected that:

> Some people don't listen. It's like the argument how do you make people reasonable? There is also the danger of a competitiveness coming into listening: a sort of "my grief is bigger than your grief". A hierarchy of grief is what we want to avoid.

Another noted, from her own practice:

> Some of the lessons I have learned in my work are that acknowledgement of stories is very important and the catharsis associated with telling a story helps people move on.

Taking it to the next level, another group wondered how you could construct a positive listening experience, "together with the space or possibility of challenge?" One member recalled Samson Munn's explanation of how an acquaintance of his physically demonstrated rather than recounted a traumatic experience of sexual abuse. He pointed out that one and the same story may be told in different ways. The way in which we tell a story may depend, for example, on who is listening: our children, our friends, or our opponents. This raised the point of how do we tell and understand formerly untold stories? It was observed that, for many people, the family is the *least* safe space in which to tell their story, and that, in both the family and public sphere, gender roles impact on the storyteller's freedom and on how the storyteller is valued.

It was the view of many that a further examination of how to support people to listen when they, themselves, are hurt or traumatised as a result of the conflict, is needed.

Timing and 'ripeness'

The question of how you can know if the time is ripe to initiate a collective storytelling process, was raised in two of the discussion groups. Ripeness was defined by one group as the moment you can do it, but the question asked was, does the process begin only when everybody is ready or when some are ready? Some suggest that the time is now, even if "the iceberg is still largely under water". Those who agreed felt that it is subject only to the necessary process and conditions being established within key communities to ensure they are on board with the process and ready to engage.

Following the discussions, each group submitted three to five questions to be considered by the panel during the plenary discussion.

PLENARY DISCUSSION

The plenary was the final part of the conference proceedings. It was designed as an opportunity to pose the questions raised in the small group discussions to a panel of speakers and a chance for the conference participants to raise any other issues of relevance to the Storytelling sub group.

Chair: Brandon Hamber, Consultant, Healing Through Remembering

PANEL

Maureen Hetherington, Chair, Storytelling sub group, HTR and Co-ordinator of The Junction, a community relations resource centre in Derry/Londonderry and Chair of Towards Understanding and Healing.

Claire Hackett, Vice-Chair, Storytelling sub group, HTR and Co-ordinator of the oral history archive in the Falls Community Council, called the Dúchas Project, which records the experiences of the conflict in West Belfast.

Andrew Rawding, member of the Truth Recovery and Acknowledgement sub group, HTR, and works for the Crossfire Trust, based in South Armagh. He previously served as a British Army officer in Northern Ireland between 1991 and 1994.

Samson Munn, based in California, was a founder of The Austrian Encounter in 1995 and has continued with the project as a facilitator and participant since then. He is also a co-founder of the Foundation Trust and acts as the Trust's Corporate President.

What we have been talking about today is how to humanise our stories of trauma and conflict. Do the stories we tell give us a new sense of ourselves? Does storytelling precipitate a new awareness of selfhood?

AR: My personal experience, having told my story, is that it depends on who is listening, who gives worth to the story, who acknowledges it, accepts it. If my former enemy will accept my story then that really does give me a sense of self-worth. If my government accepts it and acknowledges it, it gives me self-worth as well. If we are looking for a renewed sense of self and acknowledgement then we need to look at who we are telling our story to and choose very carefully who we are telling it to, in the first instance, so we don't take away from ourselves and we are safe enough. As we build up confidence in a safe environment, we then have the confidence to go to the people we never, ever considered going to and risk telling our story to them. Once we have told it there, and received their approval, then I think we really

can stand tall in a new way and, hopefully, they will be challenged and changed by it. And, in some way, they will have received some dignity back as well.

MH: I think it is very important to be able to start to articulate your own story. Often when people are traumatised, their story is very confused in their own heads and they can't shape it into any order. But, the drawing out of that story can actually help the thinking through process. If you can put it into some order, then into some perspective, you can actually get a better sense of yourself. It is also about the validation and recognition by others of your story which is very important.

SM: I think the answer to your question might also have something to do with to whom you are telling your story. To some extent we define ourselves by who we are not. If we talk long and deeply enough with 'the other' we will discover important commonalities between ourselves. If we listen long enough, we will discover important commonalities between ourselves and 'the other'. As we discover more and more commonalities, they become less 'other' and more 'same', and so do we. And so, one can come out of a process like this, being a different person than one was going into the process and therefore be a different self.

How can telling your story contribute to a sense of peaceful regret, togetherness and looking to the future?

CH: One of the things that really struck me about Kevin Whelan's presentation earlier was what he said about storytelling being about the link between the past and the future. I really feel that in my work that storytelling can do this, and needs to be recognised as doing that. I think there are a number of conditions around ethical practice, good standards and addressing the different needs of individual storytellers in order to fulfill that potential.

AR: I think there are different stages, and perhaps it is when you move through these that you achieve some of the sense of peaceful regret and togetherness. Possibly the first stage is for you to tell your story within your own safe group, a single-identity group. You won't feel regret in that set-up because everyone there will be there to support you. It is only when you are challenged, perhaps by someone who has suffered at your hands, then your story will be challenged. Alone you may not come up with regret yourself, because it is part of self-protection to reinforce your identity. The other issue is to make sure that the story is told in a safe environment so that it is peaceful regret and there is preparation on all sides so that people do not come into the room with too high expectations. If your expectations have not been raised too much, then there is more chance of peaceful regret. I guess it brings up the whole issue of ownership of stories in the first instance, but also, if we are going to effect change, then challenging those stories. Do we have contested or uncontested narratives? Challenged narratives or unchallenged narratives? That is the painful process that we may need to go through if we are to find the common ground and build the future together.

Who is the process of storytelling for?

SM: I think it is for everybody. I think that the person who is telling the story is only one part of it. I think the people in the room who are privileged to hear that story are changed by it. And, to the extent that the story can be told in a public way without violating a confidence, the public is changed by it and benefits by it. In my view, this kind of process is very private and personal at first, but it can have a much wider effect. It depends on the stage of the process.

MH: Dan Bar-On, in his research talked about the situation in which a story is not told or if that window or door is closed, it can have a generational impact that travels from one generation to another and is very damaging. Even if it is not for our own sakes, if it is for the sake of the younger generations coming up, then the story is essential. We cannot leave it in the hands of historians. Rather we need to be the authors of our own stories and our own histories.

What impact would storytelling have on trans-generational violence?

CH: This question and the previous one are linked. To go back to the previous one first, I do think that storytelling, very importantly, is for everyone and not just for the storyteller. I think in terms of setting up a process around storytelling, it needs to start with the needs of the storyteller. But it is really important to recognise the wider value of it; for no other reason than if we think only of the impact on the storyteller, it is almost like placing the entire responsibility for what storytelling can actually do on that person. If they achieve closure or healing or some way of moving forward, then something has been accomplished from that. There is a truth in that, but we need to look wider than this and look at the wider impact and hear what people are saying. There is a collective and societal responsibility in this, and just to focus on the storyteller without looking at the wider impact, is to place a responsibility on them that should rightly belong to all of us.

In relation to trans-generational violence, I think, as both Samson Munn and Kevin Whelan demonstrated in their talks, it is about building into the future and about saying that we don't want a recurrence. I would pick up on the point by Kevin Whelan around the other conditions which are necessary to build a peaceful future. Storytelling is one element of that, but what are the others, around political institutions, for example? I think this needs to be brought into the equation.

AR: It raises the issue for me of the apparent separation between victim and perpetrator. I think this is an issue which needs to be explored, because people want to put the victims in one group and the perpetrators in another. The message is that the perpetrators have no right to a story, because they perpetrated violence. And yet, the perpetrators need to tell and own their story too. In this way there can be some justification for the way they are, and they can work on themselves and not hide the violence within. There is a real issue, that if you want to tackle trans-generational violence, which is within

communities, then the people who are handing out the violence need to be able to tell their story and have the space to tell it, and not be alienated from it. They are the people who will carry out the violence again, and their sons will carry it out again. If they can explore where the violence came from and see that actually they were as much a victim of violence themselves, then maybe you will get to the root of trans-generational violence.

If you are looking at trans-generational violence between communities, then you have got to have an overarching collective storytelling process where two lots of collective storytelling come together and impact on each other, with the pain associated with that. If we don't explore this common ground of two collective storytelling processes, we are just sowing the seeds of violence, because we are not really addressing the issue. There is a real danger that we only talk about collective storytelling which is single-identity, and reinforces the narrative and the history and all the grounds for violence. Narratives need to come together and impact on each other.

How far do you think we will get in trying to get the stories from perpetrators? How free are they going to be to tell their stories, given that so many of them are involved in paramilitary groups or security forces, when so many of them would have an ethos or code which would prevent that?

AR: I think it is about ownership and providing the space, resources and facilities for the perpetrators to own it for themselves and take control, perhaps for the first time. If, for example, they were in the British Army and under the control of the Ministry of Defence, then we need to provide the resources for people to explore what happened in, for example, the early 1970s and regain control and not be backed into a corner. Let's do the same with other veterans from other armies or paramilitary groups (whatever you want to call them). Let them take ownership in the first instance so they build up trust and reassurance amongst themselves, and then come to them further down the line when they have more confidence to then see if they are willing to be challenged on their thought processes. Perhaps people need to begin to do it for themselves, with some good guidance.

CH: I want to come back to this question of what are the other forces that support the kind of storytelling work that needs to happen. It is about seeing storytelling and narrative as one aspect of the work. I go back to the idea of how you prevent the recurrence of violence and the demands of justice. We need to examine how spaces are created. There are different kinds of spaces and storytelling occupies one really essential aspect of that. I think storytelling can create a particular kind of space, can enable others and can be affected by others. The work that we do as practitioners is affected by the political process. I think the question which is being raised is one of truth and how truth can be uncovered and what are the different roles that people need to play in order for that to happen, and what are the conditions that there need to be in order for all of the people who hold some aspects of the truth to tell it. There does need to be a recognition that some people will not engage in this. We are, in a sense, talking about questions of power and how those of us engaged in trying to transform the future exert the power that we have and what pressures we can exert to create the context that enables those who wish to tell the truth to tell it,

whether they are in the combatant groups or otherwise. Where can we apply a moral force by collectively saying that we want the truth, and how do we create a momentum for this that is hard to resist?

What mechanisms have been put in place to protect the individual during disclosure? How do you protect people at a collective level?

SM: There are quite a few things that you need to do to protect people at an individual level. Firstly, it is wise to have a preliminary interview with the person to find out—even though they may have come to you—whether they are really amenable to this type of disclosure. In this regard, it also depends on what kind of disclosure you have in mind. If they are just coming to you privately it is a whole different setting than if they are intending to take part in a larger group. Ground rules have to be set in the group as to what kind of privacy guarantees they are going to give to each other. It also really helps if you have people who not only can talk, but who can listen. Even if there are only a few people who are very good listeners, they help teach the other people how to be very good listeners. If people are really listened to, they feel more secure.

MH: I would like to add to the issue of individual security in relation to disclosure. We [Towards Understanding and Healing] would have a similar process to what Samson described, with very stringent guiding principles, that asks of the organisation, the staff, the management committee that they are very aware of the whole process and are very committed to it. However, something I would like to add is that you have to ask people to self-regulate. What I mean is that people should take responsibility for what they say, because sometimes, in the heat of the moment, people will divulge something that goes way outside their comfort zone and afterwards they feel very vulnerable and uncomfortable. You need to ask people what it is that they feel comfortable with, at this point in time, so they can take responsibility for that.

In all of my work, around community relations as well, I am very wary of the word ‘confidentiality’, because, by saying something to someone else, you cannot guarantee that it will not be repeated. So, it is about drawing up contracts and helping people to be safe. But, rather than just promising confidentiality, it is about asking people to take responsibility for what it is that they wish to say, but also to take risks, in the knowledge that they are in a safe and supportive group. There is a lot of preparation that has to go into this work beforehand. There are so many ethical issues that have to be taken into consideration because people can be left very traumatised and vulnerable.

AR: I suppose when I think of the word ‘collective’, as a member of Healing through Remembering, I am not thinking of collective in one community or one street, I am thinking national. In the Truth Recovery and Acknowledgement sub group, where we are thinking ‘collective’ and gathering information, truth, or whatever it may be, at a national level, we don’t know how to do a safe, national gathering process of stories which, in that process become testimonies, which then affect society. Because, if we want a storytelling process which is worth having at a national level, it has got to affect society. This is part of our

exploration. How do we do this in a safe way? And, can we do it in a safe way? What needs to be in place for people to buy into it or volunteer to participate in it? Is it about spotlights and publicity and media? No, it probably is not.

Dr Patricia Lundy from the University of Ulster is a member of the Truth Recovery sub group and is in the audience. It seems to me that the Ardoyne Commemoration Project, which she is involved with, has been a successful storytelling project which can be called a collective storytelling project, even though one would say that it is probably single-identity, but it is in quite large area. I wondered if, Patricia, you would like to say how you managed to do that with safety in mind.

Patricia Lundy: Just a few things to say. Just to go back to the issue of confidentiality, I think it is absolutely critical in any type of truth-telling process, particularly at the community level. I think that is the key to the success of our project—that we were trusted, that there was confidentiality and we drew up confidentiality agreements with those whom we worked with in the project. I also think that single-identity work is also very important. I think it is foolish to think that you can bring a number of communities together at this stage. There are a lot of issues that have to be sorted out within communities that are the legacy of the conflict. I think that we need to deal with those, perhaps, first. I think it is a learning curve and I think for the people within the Ardoyne Commemoration Project, it was definitely a learning process. I think the value of it was that it gave recognition and public acknowledgement. But there was something missing from the project and that was accountability from a number of key players in the conflict. I think that some issues were resolved and that was on the part of republican combatants. I think they were fairly generous in terms of coming forward and resolving a number of issues, but I think in terms of the state and loyalism, there were very many questions left unanswered. I think, perhaps, that might be the value in a much broader, collective process. It is not a matter of simply telling your story. I think that storytelling for many has to lead to the truth and I think that it is an analysis of those stories that may, in fact, lead to the truth. But this is not for everyone. Some might be just happy to tell their story, but for others it is important to get to the truth, acknowledgement and accountability.

How can someone be prepared to listen to 'the other'? Can someone be taught how to listen to 'the other'? Are there skills that can be shared? How do we make people listen when they are not prepared to do that?

AR: I am not a psychotherapist so I cannot talk about it from that point of view but I can say that, personally, I had to listen to 'the other', because I came to a point in my storytelling process where I realised that I was incomplete unless I listened to others' stories. This was because 'the other' had taken something from me, and I had taken something from them. I needed to be in an encounter with the enemy, people who I had been in intense, extreme violence with, in order to recover what I had lost. For years I had lived in denial and was in a safe framework where I didn't have to consider that at all. When I came out of that framework, I had to think about where I would go with this. This is not a theoretical, researched answer but it is just a personal one—that in order to recover what I had lost in terms of my

humanity through participation and as a recipient of extreme violence, I needed to go to 'the other'. This was further down the line and it involves risk-taking and it may not be for everyone. It may be that some cannot contemplate going to 'the other' and no-one should be made to cross a line, or be put into a room where they feel unsafe and they are there beyond their will. It is a personal choice and journey that people can take if they want to. They may need to and they may need encouragement to take that journey. But they should never be forced into an encounter with 'the other' because it may be that they lose far more than they thought they might gain.

MH: The poet and playwright, Damien Gorman [founder of *An Crann*/The Tree] began to develop the concept of creating the space in which absolutely anyone and everyone could contribute their story of the conflict. Damien used to say that our idea of listening here in Northern Ireland is waiting for our opportunity to dive in and we only half listen. In reality, from a very young age, we go through an education system that is not really culturally or appropriately friendly for this type of work. It amazes me that young people go through a whole education system without developing very basic communication skills. I think it is so important because there are basic development and communication skills that people, when they do learn them, wonder why they didn't develop them many years previously. If you have teachers constantly talking at you, you are taught to listen in a certain way. It would be lovely to develop new ways of listening and hearing each other. This needs to start at a very young age. We can learn these skills, but our whole culture of education needs to be explored.

CH: There are two things I think of in this. One is around the individual level. How does one individual listen to another? It seems to me that there does need to be some preparation for both people involved. But there also needs to be some equality between both people. What motivations would someone who, for example, was a very powerful part of the conflict in terms of being a combatant, or in terms of policy, have to listen to 'the other'? I wonder how we create those kinds of conditions. What I am starting to think of is what are the consequences of us not listening? What are the consequences of living with lies and with silence? Maybe this is what impels us towards speaking out, and to listening.

One of the things I feel very strongly about, when I listen to debates about the peace process, I can feel so infuriated and so silenced. The recent debate about the 'on the run' legislation, I felt was conducted in such hypocritical terms and with such a lack of truth. I relate these things to the work we do on the ground in terms of storytelling. How do you make a connection between the work that we are trying to do in communities and these wider debates which seem to me to be conducted in such hypocritical terms? When I look over ten years of the peace process, it seems to me to be one of the things that is missing. People talk about the need for a common narrative, but I think there is a need for a common recognition of the terms of the debate that we are having, around the causes of the conflict or the nature of the conflict. There can be debate within that, and there will be an enormous range of opinion around that, but it sometimes seems to me that we are not even speaking the same language as, for example, our legislators.

SM: I have run into a presumption quite a few times on the part of people that they may not know how to listen. Sometimes they don't. But, I think a surprising number of people who might be identified by themselves, or by others as a perpetrator, are willing and able to listen and want to speak, so long as their privacy or identity is kept quiet. In general, I think for the process to work well, it has got to be voluntary or it won't be very rich. I don't think people should be enticed to take part because it is a wonderful thing. I think people should learn that it is an interesting and potentially wonderful thing and have their own curiosity and interest and emotional motivations to spur them to take part. I think listening well is not something that requires special classes. Three-year-olds will generally listen very well, and for a long time. They will pay attention to everything you say and they will remember it years later. By the time they are nine or ten, they will have learned how not to listen. We have been very effective in teaching them how not to listen well. It is not so much that they need to learn how to listen, rather they have to unlearn how not to listen. Maybe that is harder but there is somewhere inside them, a nature which is capable or wants to listen. If they are given the private space, I think they will listen. And also, if there are a few good listeners in the room already, people will learn how to listen better from others.

What are the different levels of outcomes of storytelling and how might these outcomes link into the public domain?

AR: I haven't done any research on this, but I can simply tell you my journey. It started with storytelling in a room [with Towards Understanding and Healing] which went on to building relationships with some of the people in the room, to meeting them outside of the room in their own communities. They were other combatants. For me, it was the start of a very powerful process, which has been a journey from entering the room not knowing anyone in there to now actually having friendships in areas where I would never have gone unless I was armed. That is the potential for starting the journey and I think storytelling is one, if not the crucial starting point because it allows ownership and confidence to be built. From this, relationships can be built, hopefully, if well-nurtured enough. Then it can move on to something more powerful. In terms of the public domain, it really depends on whether people want that story to go out into the public domain. It is as simple as that. And whether the media are interested or they just want sensational stories, or hard up stories. Or are they able to cope with the fact that there has been some really good work going on for a very long time. If only we could hear more about it.

SM: In relation to the levels of outcome, there is an excellent book, which I would like to refer you to, which deals with this very issue. It is called *The Indescribable and the Undiscussable: Reconstructing Human Discourse After Trauma*[26] by Dan Bar-On.

[26] Bar-On, Dan *The Indescribable and the Undiscussable: Reconstructing Human Discourse After Trauma* (Central European University Press, Budapest, 1998)

What is the relationship between storytelling and truth recovery? Could a storytelling process hinder truth recovery?

AR: I have been thinking about this whole ethical aspect. One of our speakers this morning spoke about the ethical nature of memory or storytelling and the fact that there is the right of testimony, the right of memory and the right of audience. I thought that, actually, there is the right of truth as well. It would be unethical, for example, if you took the mother of a soldier, allowed her to tell her story, comfort her in her loss, but not tell her that actually her son was killed to protect an informer. That is the reality of the conflict we have been involved in, on all sides. So, that is very difficult and we don't want to go there because we would rather be comforting people with their story and keeping it at that level. But if we are going to change society and produce institutions and organisations that learn from, and face up to the past, then we need to be ethical across the board and we need to face the truth. This is the real challenge. But, it is a voluntary journey and people are so scared of this because they think that the mother who has lost her son is going to be in the spotlight and involved in some commission. But, not necessarily. We have got to handle it very carefully. But, ultimately, we will let that mother down if we don't let the memory of her son be that no more sons will lose their lives, because we will change an institution. I think that is the really powerful part of storytelling—when it becomes testimony, when it is allowed to be meaningful and have the opportunity to change the world in which we live. This is a real challenge.

MH: This opens the whole notion of the complexities of truth. What is the truth? My truth might not be your truth. Certainly when a person is recalling their own painful memories and it is their story, it is also their truth of what happened. Can that individual truth be challenged when someone is quite vulnerable? The type of work I am engaged in is that we allow people to tell their story, their truth, their own lived experience in a way that is appropriate and comfortable for them to do so. It is very important that that truth, their story, is not challenged at that point in time, because people have the necessity to articulate very painful memories. When you enter the arena of dialogue, then it might be more appropriate to challenge the story. You can ask: how is that true? What is the truth? We all know that depending on the audience, our own story, our own truth changes. Also, people use their story as a coping mechanism for how they are. It is inextricably linked—the storytelling and the truth telling—but it is something that would take a long time to unpick. It is a huge question.

CH: I do think there is a relationship between truth recovery and storytelling. I think you can see it if you look at the various truth commissions around the world. A strong part of those are the testimonies that people have made to them. But then I also think of our own research audit around storytelling and narrative projects. You can see, looking at those, the different motivations that people bring to them. There is no doubt that a number of those projects are about people seeking the truth. That is often a strong motivation for people putting their own story in the public domain, as part of the search for truth. There is that relationship.

The other part of the question is, could storytelling ever hinder the search for truth? I think maybe the way it could potentially hinder that search is if it is seen as a replacement for truth. I suppose it is going back to that notion of why it is that we tell our story and is there a wider sense of wanting to break through silence and lies and wanting to uncover the truth. Therefore, how do you link that into a wider societal project—a project around justice? I do think that this is why it is important that in Healing through Remembering there are the different sub groups working on different issues, but in a way that links together. This is why we, in the Storytelling sub group, invited someone from the Truth Recovery and Acknowledgement sub group here, because we did see that there was a link. If we do have a truth recovery process here in Northern Ireland, storytelling will still go on—before it, during it, and after it. This is something to be considered as well.

SM: I think the issue of truth brings up the issue of facts. Facts and truth are not the same. If the goal is legal justice, it is very important to do your best to get down to the facts. On the other hand, if your goal is to develop a mechanism or a societal means of living in peace constructively together, that is an altogether different goal to legal justice. Then I would say that truth is far more important.

Is there a common future that we can aspire to and, if so, what would that common future be?

AR: Yes.

MH: This is a huge question and it is about whether we are willing to live together in the future and what are our vested interests in not living together, and what are the costs. I do believe that it will come from the ground up. With many of these initiatives, people have been working for a long, long time on this, and I know that maybe in ten years' time I will still be sitting with people who have just realised that storytelling is a really good part of that process of how we might understand each other better. When we see each other with new eyes, we can think about sharing our future together! It is a slow and often painful process, but we will get there in the end. Yes, I do think we can live together peacefully and there is a future for all of us.

CH: Yes, I believe in a common future. I suppose this is one of the beliefs that motivate me in the work that I do.

SM: I think the question is not just peculiar to Northern Ireland. I think there are so many places around the world that are asking the same questions that you have to ask here. Northern Ireland is lucky compared to a lot of other societies where to ask such questions publicly is not possible. I do think that it is doable—living constructively and peacefully together—whatever that means for you.

Concluding remarks: Brandon Hamber

I would like to end by thanking the panelists and observing that, as is often the case, we have probably raised more questions than answers. But that was also the real purpose of the day, to start a process of a wider public engagement around the issue of storytelling at an individual level, at a collective level and consider its relationship to broader processes. In conclusion, I would like to remind us that everything that was said today is a challenge to us all. Kevin Whelan's input really challenged us to think about the complexities of storytelling, the relationship between subjectivity and objectivity, and where we stand in terms of these complex processes. Samson Munn's input challenged us to look at the real difficulties with these processes. It was authentic and very honest. Finally, the many questions which were identified during the course of the group session discussions challenge us to try and answer them. They are not easy questions to find answers to. But that is the challenge.

During the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission there was a banner that they used to advertise their hearings, which read 'Revealing is healing'. What is so obvious from an event like today is that revealing is not just healing, it is about who you reveal it to, how that is dealt with, how they respond to that, how they listen to you, what is the broad context in which you do it. The event today began to flesh out all of these complexities. I really hope we are going to be able to take this process forward.

APPENDIX I – Conference Programme

"STORYTELLING AS THE VEHICLE?"

CONFERENCE PROGRAMME

TUESDAY 29 NOVEMBER 2005

Dunadry Hotel, Dunadry, Co. Antrim

9:00 – 9:30	Registration
	VALUE AND PRACTICAL APPLICATION
9:30 – 9:40	Welcome and Introductions
9:40 – 10:10	What is Storytelling?
	HTR Storytelling Sub Group
10:10 – 10:55	Memory, History and Testimony?
	Kevin Whelan
10:55 – 11:10	Coffee
11:10 – 11:55	Storytelling and Encounter
	Samsun Munn
11:55 – 13:00	Discussion Groups
	Memory, History & Testimony and Storytelling & Encounter
13:00 – 14:00	Lunch
	STORYTELLING AS A VEHICLE FOR DEALING WITH THE PAST
14:00 – 15:00	Discussion Groups
	"Would a collective storytelling process deal with the legacy of the conflict in and about Northern Ireland?"
15:00 – 15:15	Coffee
15:15 – 16:45	Panel - Chaired by Brandon Hamber
	Questions raised during discussion groups to be posed to Panel for debate
16:45 – 17:00	Closing Remarks

APPENDIX II - Biographies of Speakers

KEVIN WHELAN

Kevin Whelan was named the Smurfit Director of the Keough Notre Dame Centre in Ireland in 1998. A native of Wexford, Kevin has been a visiting professor at New York University, Boston College and Concordia University (Montreal). He has lectured in over a dozen countries and at the Sorbonne, Cambridge, Oxford, Torino, Berkeley, Yale and Louvain. He has published sixteen books and almost 100 articles on Ireland's history, geography, and culture. Among these are *The Tree of Liberty* (1996), *Fellowship of Freedom: The United Irishmen and the 1798 Rebellion* (1998) and the *Atlas of the Irish Rural Landscape* (1997).

Kevin lectures on history and memory and the links between these. He discusses how choices can be made to tell your story, which narrative to tell and about what to remember and how to evaluate it. He also considers issues relating to the telling of stories within living memory and the possible problems that can arise with the next generation and the choices about what to remember negotiating with the present.

SAMSON MUNN

Samson Munn, based in California, was a founder of The Austrian Encounter in 1995 and has continued with the project as a facilitator and participant since then. The Austrian Encounter is a non-profit, non-therapeutic group that meets to counter racism and to stem genocide by exploring and discussing personally and sometimes publicly their families' histories, consequent ramifications, and so on. The Austrian Encounter comprises thirteen people from Austria, the U.S. and Israel: daughters and sons of Austrian Holocaust victims who meet approximately each year (usually in Vienna) with sons and daughters of Austrian Nazi perpetrators. For more information see http://nach.ws .

Samsun was a co-founder of the Foundation Trust in 2000 and is the Trust's Corporate President. The Foundation Trust is a non-profit, charitable Massachusetts corporation. For more information on the Foundation, see http://TheFoundationTrust.org

APPENDIX III - Discussion Groups' Questions for Panel

The following are all the questions submitted by the five discussion groups for consideration by the panel in the plenary discussion, categorised by theme. Due to time restraints, not all questions were addressed by the panel.

Purpose

- What is the purpose of the process?

Method

- Can you envisage a model or methodology which could bring together collective/community memory of historical events and the official history written by professional historians?
- Is there one really good way of victims' and people's stories getting into the public domain?
- What creative methods can we use for storytelling and how can they be supported?
- What mechanisms have been put into place to protect the individual during disclosure?
- What format or formats should be adopted?

Timing

- What is the right time to start process?
- How do we get the process underway?

Ownership

- Whom is the process for?
- Who should have ownership of authority and credibility?
- How do you make this process inclusive?

Levels of storytelling

- Is there a difference in storytelling between
    - individuals
    - communities
    - internal to communities
    - society wide?

  If so, do we need different approaches?
- What impact would storytelling have on trans-generational violence?

Listening

- How can someone be prepared to listen to 'the other'? Can someone be taught how to listen to 'the other's story?
- How do we create a safe space for people to tell their story?
- Empathy issue—how do we make people listen?

- What needs to happen to encourage listening?

Hindering/Supporting factors

- Has our social services and education systems contributed to, or hindered, the collective healing of the legacy of the conflict in the north?
- Kevin Whelan outlined a distinction between filiation (what we are born into) and affiliation (what we aspire to). Is there a common future that we can aspire to? And if so, what is this common future?

Storytelling and truth recovery

- Is there a relationship between storytelling and truth recovery?
- Could a storytelling process hinder truth recovery?
- How might recommendations made for storytelling be supported by recommendations for story-listening?
- How can telling your story contribute to a sense of peaceful regret, togetherness and looking to the future?

Projects

- How do you create a safe collective storytelling process?
- In Northern Ireland, are there many valuable projects going on involving oral history, narrative and storytelling? Will or should these projects coalesce?
- For Samson: Do you envisage a time when participants in The Austrian Encounter meeting annually will not feel the need to continue engaging in this dialogue process?

Outcomes and impact

- What are the different levels of outcomes of storytelling?
- How might those outcomes enter the public domain?
- How will we know when the storyteller has achieved closure?
- If the essence of storytelling from its points of view of memory, history, testimony and encounter is to humanise our stories and remove ill-feelings, does storytelling precipitate a new awareness of selfhood?

APPENDIX IV - Conference Attendees

1. Elaine Adair-Smith, Glencree Centre for Peace and Reconciliation
2. Lindy Armah
3. Roberta Bacic, independent consultant
4. Linda Ballard, National Museums and Galleries of Northern Ireland
5. Olive Bell, Edgehill Theological College
6. Jo Berry, Building Bridges For Peace
7. Gerry Carolan
8. Anne Carr, Community Dialogue
9. Eberendu Chuz, Queen's University Belfast
10. Julitta Clancy, Meath Peace Group
11. Kevin Cooper, National Union of Journalists
12. Rev Ruth Craig, Methodist Church of Ireland
13. Nikki D'Adamo, Towards Understanding and Healing
14. Jacinta de Paor, Glencree Centre for Peace and Reconciliation
15. Dr Karola Dillenburger, School of Social Work, Queen's University Belfast
16. Hastings Donnan, Queen's University Belfast
17. Lainey Dunne, Healing Through Remembering
18. Maria Ericson, Lund University
19. Eddie Espie, SDLP Vice-Chair
20. Montserrat Fargus, School of Social Work, Queen's University Belfast
21. Pauline Fitzpatrick, Relatives for Justice
22. Tim Foley, Irish School of Ecumenics
23. Hugh Forrester, Police Museum
24. Chris Gilligan, University of Ulster
25. Gavin Glynn, Irish School of Ecumenics
26. Jenny Greenaway, Pagoda
27. Fra Gunn, Aos Scéal Éireann/Storytellers of Ireland
28. Claire Hackett, Dúchas
29. Brandon Hamber, independent consultant
30. Keli Harrington, Towards Understanding and Healing
31. Anthony Haughey, Dublin Institute of Technology
32. Maureen Hetherington, Towards Understanding and Healing
33. Saoirse Higgins, School of Art & Design, University of Ulster
34. Bill Jeffrey
35. Gráinne Kelly, independent consultant
36. Alistair Kilgore, Corrymeela Centre
37. Heather Kilgore, Corrymeela Centre
38. Trish Lambe, Gallery of Photography, Dublin

39. Charlie Leeke, Diocese of Down and Dromore
40. Madeline Leonard
41. Dr Patricia Lundy, Dept of Sociology, University of Ulster
42. Michaela Mackin, Community Relations Council
43. Roger Maxwell, RUC George Cross Foundation
44. Mary McAnulty, Dara Training and Consultancy/Borderlines
45. Alan McBride, WAVE
46. J J McCarron, NICVA
47. Kristen McConnachie, Queen's University Belfast
48. Gerry McGarry
49. Roisin McGlone, Irish School of Ecumenics
50. Laurence McKeown, Coiste na nIarchimí
51. Peter McLoughlin, ARK/Queen's University Belfast
52. Henry McMullen, Irish School of Ecumenics
53. Rev Gary Millar, Methodist Church in Ireland
54. Shane Molloy, Irish School of Ecumenics
55. Richard Moore, Children in Crossfire
56. Brian Mullan, Community Relations Council
57. Fr Kevin Mullan, Drumquin
58. Rev Dr Frederick Munce, Council on Social Responsibility
59. Samson Munn, The Austrian Encounter
60. Darach Murphy
61. Erin Parish, Irish School of Ecumenics
62. Celia Petter, Irish School of Ecumenics
63. Gareth Porter, HURT
64. Johdi Quinn, Communities Connect
65. Katy Radford, TCD/ISE/Belfast Jewish Community
66. Andrew Rawding, Crossfire Trust
67. Doris Rohr, Interface, University of Ulster
68. Hugh Rowan, individual
69. John Rush
70. Laurence Simms, DFA
71. Martin Snoddon
72. Lynn Stewart, Queen's University Belfast
73. Jackie Stretch, Aisling Centre
74. Sara Templar, Irish School of Ecumenics
75. David Tombs, Irish School of Ecumenics
76. Sorcha Tormey, Glencree Centre for Peace and Reconciliation
77. Kate Turner, Healing through Remembering
78. Liz Weir, Storytellers of Ireland

79. Kevin Whelan, Notre Dame Centre
80. Fionnuala Williams, Linenhall Library
81. Oliver Wilkinson, Share Centre/Healing Through Remembering
82. Margaret Wilson, Spring
83. Eileen Woods, Victims and Survivors Trust