

POLITICAL:

- 2 diametrically opposed groups: diff. aspirations.  
No way to deal with it until violence wipes one out.
- Feeling under threat results in extremism

HISTORICAL:

- NE Ireland comm. has past. rels with Scotland  
- always feuding with the rest of the island: diff. in relationships

INDIVIDUAL:

- Ways one approaches another can result in confrontation / dignity
- N.I. as scapegoat for disturbed rel. between Eng. & Irel.: suffers outcome of this bad rel.
  - eg. Irish govt. is anti-British [neutrality v history of aggression]  
Irish = butt of humor for English
- N.I. as scapegoat in broader European context
  - eg. Battle of Bayeux: celebrated in Venice by Italian Pope
- while N.I. functions in role of scapegoat others don't have to face probs. Reassuring to say "Isn't the conflict terrible" - corollary = "Isn't it nice to be me".  
Some parties "Raison d'être" based on re-unification
- How the ind. / group mind functions at diff. levels
- Once you accept that people, if they don't get what they want by political means, can justifiably turn to violence then there is nothing on which to base things. Violence is institutionalized & rewarded.
  - eg. Rhodesia
- Violence gets you known. This is taught by media.
- Everyone says "My violence is good violence": Violence is aggression not channelled satisfactorily.
- Men of violence make themselves scapegoats <<sup>Devil + God</sup>> banish to bring peace
  - eg. Christ
- No model yet for a society which doesn't throw out scapegoats
- Leaders don't take risks: opt for safe ground: discussion may mean

## PERCEPTIONS

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### DUP:

- potentially anti-English: resentful of Brit. ministers
- pro-devolution — even open to independence
- more strident to re-establish themselves because they've lost identity in pact with OUL: can pact continue?
- under considerable pressure since election
- stridently anti-Catholic
- Robinson - Reserved

NR ON OFF

### UNIONISTS:

eg. Brookborough: "the evil prelate"

- leaders at times make violent, obstructive, blunt statements
- take a line which leaves no space for the other comm: identify only with own comm. because feel enormously under threat
- those who make liberal statements are not the leaders or. magnifiers
- May: want integration
- under enormous pressure since AIA so scrape together any petty bit of power they can to emphasize they are the "big fellow". Must put others down to put selves up.
- feel completely undermined  
eg. incident in Belfast City Council re information

### SDLP:

- MIRROR image of OUL but a little more progressive
- have grown in confidence: more capable of evolving leaders who are not so abrupt
- party moving in a more nationalist, united Ireland direction. Those who want a career in politics want devolution

### SEIN FEIN:

- No contact on principle, a "law of gravity": once you get involved in violence & terrorism, democracy "goes out the window"
- If Gerry Adams comes out with a view a minority don't agree with they'll shoot him.

- Liberal & soc dem. party
  - ↳ regard for each ind. v majoritarian
  - ↳ protection & benefits for minorities
  - ↳ Bill of Rights / weighted majorities etc.

### ALLIANCE: [SELF]

- sees world as a world of people whose function it is to live together
- took heat after Duisburg to protect others: Scarecrow role to protect those who take risks from being destroyed.  
Painful: ammunition for those who would attack.
- excluded: e.g. Westminster meeting after Duisburg  
Bel City Council Comm.
- ambivalent position: < can say things others can't > but "earning your spurs" means becoming part of the system so in competition.

Manage this dilemma by contact with those not in politics, with outsiders & through academic work which pushes him to look at situation intellectually v feeling its all about "me". Continual self-observation

### [OTHERS]

- well meaning but misguided
- decent, but don't really understand the hard things; that its a fight to the death & some don't have the belly for that

• irrelevant

• naive

- obstacle to peace. Ought to stay in "tribes" and act as liaison: function as a bridge

e.g. SDLP: stand between the 2 comm. & keep them apart.  
Just Unionists with a bad conscience

Unionist: "most sectarian party of all". Insist on balancing candidates & leadership in terms of Rel. e.g. 4 leaders.

- Sometimes seen as more nationalist e.g. in Rel. to AIA  
" " " " .. Unionist

### BRITISH:

- prob. on the back-burner
- see selves on imp. world stage so internal pressure are not the big ones
- AIA Removed a "lonely old prob." Doesn't impinge on election results.