

# **The desire for justice, psychic reparation, and the politics of memory in 'post-conflict'**

**Northern Ireland**

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The 'desire for justice' is an expression commonly used to describe the demand for redress made by victims of violence within 'post-conflict' transition. My argument in this article is that more attention must be paid to understanding the subjective and psychic aspects of this *desire* for justice, as these articulate with the politics of memory, discourses of victimhood, and questions of recognition, reparation and reconciliation in the Northern Ireland peace process. I am interested in exploring how psychic and emotional currents percolate into public discourse and politics, affecting representation of and by victims and the ways in which others relate themselves to victims' expressed desires for justice, in the context of devolved government and stalled efforts towards engagement with the historical legacies of the conflict. As Marie Breen Smyth suggests, contradictions arise in post-conflict society between the wish to secure forward-looking political arrangements based on negotiated compromises, and the desire for justice (including retributive justice) that is often *felt* to be urgent, paramount, and non-negotiable.<sup>1</sup> These contradictions are especially acute for the victims of violence who, confronted by amnesty and other arrangements designed to draw those responsible for violence into a negotiated political settlement, may be forced 'to

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<sup>1</sup> Marie Breen Smyth, *Truth Recovery and Justice after Conflict: Managing Violent Pasts*, London: Routledge, 2007, p.x.

choose between truth or justice'.<sup>2</sup> According to Smyth, contradictions are likely to open up between the justice that is emotionally desired or felt to be psychically necessary, and what is realistically attainable in the world of political expediency, legal procedures, and the loss and degradation of evidence. How, in the light of these contradictions, are we to think about, understand and relate to victims' desire for justice?

In what follows I will develop two main propositions, each of which sets in train a distinct line of enquiry, to be developed in turn. Firstly, the desire for justice is intrinsically connected to questions of memory and voice, is constructed by discourse, debate and policy in the public domain as well as in the intimacies of the private sphere,<sup>3</sup> and involves complex relations between personal and collective memories. I explore this through a case study of West Tyrone Voice (WTV), a grass-roots victims' support group that articulates a desire for justice in campaigning for mainly Border Protestant victims of 'terrorist violence' during the Troubles. My interest here is in understanding the collective memory constructed through the public discourse of WTV and its relation to personal life stories, so as to establish what justice means for the group and its members, and to tease out the emotional states and psychic dynamics expressed in these representations. Secondly, the desire for justice is relational and dialogic, formulated in relation to those who are responsible for the injustice – the 'perpetrators' of violence – and to those who are perceived to help or hinder the pursuit of justice. These others are both real and imagined, involving object relations in the internal world of the psyche, which influences perceptions of social relations with real others. In this line of enquiry I explore the value of thinking and insight from the object-relations tradition of psychoanalysis, grounded in Kleinian concepts of 'splitting' and 'reparation' within the inner world of the psyche, for understanding the desire for justice as a response to the trauma

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<sup>2</sup> Smyth, p.x.

<sup>3</sup> Smyth, p.x.

generated by political violence. Here I draw on psychoanalytic theory informed by clinical practice which explores two main ideas: justice as fairness and mutuality, and justice as grievance and revenge. In the final section of the paper, I reflect on how these two lines of enquiry might be brought together, and draw some provisional conclusions. Before turning to the two main sections of the article, the context in post-conflict Northern Ireland must first be established.

### **The desire for justice in the Irish peace process**

With over 3,700 people killed and an estimated 50,000 injured in Troubles-related violence, the great majority in incidents within Northern Ireland itself, the desire for justice has animated both nationalist and unionist campaigning groups. However, justice has had different meanings across the political divide and been deeply enmeshed in the 'memory wars' fought over the moral and political significance of the Troubles.<sup>4</sup> A 'politics of victimhood' developed from the very beginning of the peace process, centred on local and grass-roots victims' support groups and campaigns pursuing truth and justice in particular cases.<sup>5</sup> While Irish nationalist groups have mostly campaigned on cases of 'unlawful killing' by British state forces, Unionist and pro-British groups including West Tyrone Voice have campaigned on unresolved cases of 'terrorist violence', focusing especially on that of the Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA or IRA) and other Republican organisations. The very category of 'the victims of violence' has been contested, with Unionist and British victims' groups and politicians laying claim to the status of 'real victims' and 'forgotten victims' in a challenge to a perceived governmental bias towards nationalist victims (said to

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<sup>4</sup> Graham Dawson, *Making Peace with the Past? Memory, Trauma and the Irish Troubles*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, p.x.

<sup>5</sup> Dawson, *Making Peace*, p. x.

be demonstrated by the £195 million cost of the Public Inquiry into Bloody Sunday). A hegemonic narrative, Government-led, about the road to peace and the terms on which this is to be established has framed victims' issues within a discourse of 'reconciliation'.<sup>6</sup>

Issues of truth recovery and justice with respect to victims of violence were only tangentially addressed in the 1998 'Good Friday' Agreement, which was primarily concerned with securing an end to armed hostilities by reaching political accommodation between the parties. Since the Agreement, and under pressures from below including the campaigns mounted by the grass-roots victims' organisations, the British Government and, since 2008, the devolved Northern Ireland administration has launched a number of initiatives addressing the needs of victims,<sup>7</sup> but a coherent approach to questions of historical justice did not come about until the establishment in 2007 of the Consultative Group on the Past (CGP), known as Eames-Bradley after the two men appointed to lead it, with a remit 'to seek a consensus across Northern Ireland on the best way to deal with the legacy of the past'.<sup>8</sup> Following an extensive consultation process in 2007-08, the Eames-Bradley Report, was presented to the British Government in January 2009. It made thirty-one recommendations on how to address questions of memory, truth and justice in a fair and inclusive manner, within a framework designed to promote reconciliation between 'communities that have been in conflict for a long time, each as likely as the other to be in denial of the wrong that has been done in its name and of the goodness of the other'.<sup>9</sup> Whilst recognising the pain of the past and the need for specific kinds of acknowledgement – for example, the importance of

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<sup>6</sup> Dawson, *Making Peace*, pp.xx

<sup>7</sup> Lesley Lelourec and Grainne Kelly (eds), *Ireland and Victims: Confronting the Past, Forging the Future*, Oxford: Peter Lang, 2012 forthcoming.

<sup>8</sup> Consultative Group on the Past (CGP), *Report of the Consultative Group on the Past* (Belfast, 2009).

<sup>9</sup> CGP Report, p. 56.

Republicans facing up to the damaging effects of the IRA's armed campaign upon Unionists<sup>10</sup> – the Report calls for 'a strategy of remembrance in which, instead of each community continuing to tell its own story to itself, the two should come together ... so that each can tell its version of their common story to all'.<sup>11</sup>

In addressing unresolved matters of justice in the transition out of violent conflict, the Eames-Bradley Report acknowledges the 'desire for penal justice' as a key demand emerging from consultations: 'Many families [...] still have an understandable desire to see someone prosecuted for causing or contributing to their relative's death.'<sup>12</sup> On this basis they conclude that 'the possibility of bringing prosecutions should remain open and there should be no amnesty.'<sup>13</sup> At the same time, they identify a contradiction between this desire for retributive justice and the project of reconciliation: 'the very demand for justice can militate against the main goals of reconciliation, in ways and degrees that range from postponement to virtual rejection. A long and determined pursuit of penal justice could be viewed as a means of continuing the conflict rather than enabling healing'.<sup>14</sup> Instead, in its proposals for a Legacy Commission,<sup>15</sup> Eames-Bradley lean away from retributive justice and towards a model of restorative justice on the South African model.

As defined by Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Chair of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), '[T]he central concern [of restorative justice] is not retribution or punishment [... but] the healing of breaches, the redressing of imbalances, the restoration of

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<sup>10</sup> CGP Report, p. x.

<sup>11</sup> CGP Report, p. 57.

<sup>12</sup> CGP Report, p. 127.

<sup>13</sup> CGP Report, p. 58.

<sup>14</sup> CPG Report, pp. 57-8.

<sup>15</sup> CPG Report, p. 127.

broken relationships and a search to rehabilitate both the victim and the perpetrator'.<sup>16</sup> There is no consensus about the merits of this shift, and in South Africa itself the TRC's amnesty provisions (granting freedom from judicial prosecution for perpetrators of human rights violations who testified before the Commission) were deeply controversial and bitterly opposed by some victims and survivors. Brandon Hamber endorses Diane Orentlicher, a legal advisor to the United Nations, when she writes that across cultures, 'human rights victims thirst for justice in the form of prosecutions':<sup>17</sup> in South Africa, argues Hamber, 'most victims' harboured 'desires for retributive justice' - that is, to 'get even' and 'make the offender pay' - through 'punishment of perpetrators' in a judicial process.<sup>18</sup> He is critical not only of the 'ethically and morally problematic' denial of justice by the TRC's amnesty provisions,<sup>19</sup> but also of a dominant national narrative in whose terms 'those [victims] wanting justice are largely seen as anti-reconciliation'<sup>20</sup> and 'an obstacle to pragmatic political change'.<sup>21</sup>

While Eames-Bradley rejected the amnesty option for Northern Ireland, their emphasis on reconciliation at the expense of retributive justice opens up a similar danger that those who refuse to be 'realistic' in renouncing their right to judicial process and retribution become subject to disapproval or condemnation. This danger manifests in the Report as an uncharacteristic impatience with 'some victims groups' which are blamed as

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<sup>16</sup> Quoted in Brandon Hamber, *Transforming Societies after Political Violence: Truth, Reconciliation and Mental Health*, New York: Springer, 2009, p.132.

<sup>17</sup> Quoted in Hamber, *Transforming Societies*, p. 119.

<sup>18</sup> Hamber, *Transforming Societies*, pp. 117-19.

<sup>19</sup> Hamber, *Transforming Societies*, p. x. (ch.7)

<sup>20</sup> Hamber, *Transforming Societies*, p. 137,

<sup>21</sup> Hamber, *Transforming Societies*, pp. 135-6.

obstacles to reconciliatory progress and charged with an inappropriate 'politicisation' of victimhood.<sup>22</sup>

The psychic and emotional currents that flow through public debates about transitional justice and reconciliation in the Irish peace process can be gauged from responses to the Eames-Bradley consultation. Throughout, from its announcement through the consultation process to the Report and subsequent speculation about what the British Government intends to do with it, the CGP has been a focus of intense anxiety, hurt and anger. Amongst a number of issues sparking especially emotive controversy were the discussions about whether or not to offer amnesty to perpetrators; whether the conflict was, and should be described officially as, a 'war'; and the recommendation for a 'recognition payment' of £12,000 payable to the closest surviving relative of every individual killed in a 'Troubles related' incident, which was widely regarded as offensive 'blood money'.<sup>23</sup> Anger erupted at the public launch of the Report in January 2009 in Belfast, as Unionist victims of violence protesting against the proposals launched verbal attacks on Republicans attending the event, including the President of Sinn Féin, Gerry Adams, focused on atrocities committed by the IRA, and Republicans reciprocated with taunts about atrocities by loyalist paramilitaries. According to one press report, 'At one point the gathering threatened to descend into violence amid the welter of jabbing fingers and virulent insults.'<sup>24</sup> The event provoked wide public concern and reflection in the media about its significance, that meshed

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<sup>22</sup> CGP Report, p. x.

<sup>23</sup> See 'Inishowen families slam report on Troubles', in *Derry Journal*, 30 January 2009, <<http://www.derryjournal.com>>.

<sup>24</sup> 'Payment plan for Northern Ireland reconciliation provokes outrage', *New York Times*, 29 January 2009, <<http://www.nytimes.com>>. See also 'Bitter memories of the Troubles threaten to wreck £300 Ulster healing plan', *The Times Online*, 29 January 2009, <<http://www.timesonline.co.uk>>.

with debate about the merits of the Report's various proposals, leading some commentators to conclude that:

It is simply too soon to ask Northern Ireland to set about an official and systematic exploration of the history of the Troubles. Even now [...] the wounds are still too sore, the divisions too deep and the past too hotly contested. Just talking about how Northern Ireland might deal with the conflict's legacy generated scenes of anger and bitterness of a type many dared to hope were themselves in the past.<sup>25</sup>

Evidently the British Government agreed with this assessment: the Report was parked.<sup>26</sup> As Suzanne Breen noted in March 2011, 'Since the controversial Eames-Bradley report was effectively binned two years ago, the entire victims' issue has dropped off the political agenda.'<sup>27</sup>

### **West Tyrone Voice and the desire for justice**

Among the Unionist protesters at the launch of the Eames-Bradley Report was Hazlett Lynch, the Director of West Tyrone Voice since the group was founded in 1999. Holding an enlarged portrait photograph of his brother Ken, an RUC officer who was killed by the IRA in an ambush in 1977, Lynch was reported as saying that, 'When IRA men died while launching cowardly attacks on this community, they actually received justice. The families of those murderers should not be consoled with a single penny day today.'<sup>28</sup> For Lynch, the

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<sup>25</sup> 'Wounds still too raw for an examination of the Troubles', *Irish Times*, 31 January 2009, <<http://www.irishtimes.com>>.

<sup>26</sup> For the official response, see *Dealing with the Past in Northern Ireland: The Recommendations of the Consultative Group on the Past*, Belfast: Northern Ireland Office, July 2010.

<sup>27</sup> 'Time to take care of unfinished business', *Belfast Telegraph*, 2 March 2011, available via Newshound, <<http://www.nuzhound.com/>>.

<sup>28</sup> Reported in *New York Times*, 29 January 2009.

Eames-Bradley proposals were 'nauseating and offensive' in drawing 'moral equivalence between innocent victims [like his brother] and terrorists'; the Report 'is repugnant to decency, and is yet another futile attempt to re-write history in such a way that it sanitises everything that terrorists have visited on our country and its people.'<sup>29</sup>

West Tyrone Voice has been one of the most uncompromising and assertive among the victims' support groups in its critique and rejection of Eames-Bradley. The group describes its mission as: 'Speaking and acting for the innocent victims of paramilitary terrorism in West Tyrone', an area along the western border between Northern Ireland and Co. Donegal in the Irish Republic, experienced as marginalised at the very 'edge of the Union' and with a significant legacy of violence: 132 people killed - 'in Co Tyrone, 26 of every 10,000 lost their lives'; some 1,200 physically injured, and an estimated 13,000 people 'injured psychologically, emotionally and mentally'.<sup>30</sup> WTV was formed to address a widespread sense of injustice in the Unionist communities in this Border region as across the whole of Northern Ireland, sparked by the Good Friday Agreement; particularly the early release scheme for 'prisoners with conflict-related convictions', a measure that proved to be 'a catalyst for the formation of a tranche of Protestant and Unionist victims groups'.<sup>31</sup> Hazlett Lynch explains that:

[T]here was the feeling that these people who plunged many people in Northern Ireland into bereavement, into loss, into trauma, suffering and pain, were now getting out, they were being in a sense rewarded by the Government for what they had done, whereas those of us who have carried the wounds and the scars of their activities have been left, still with the pain. And there didn't seem to be any justice or ...

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<sup>29</sup> 'Victim's brother slams Eames-Bradley proposals as "offensive" ', Ulster Herald, 29 January 2009, <<http://www.nwipp-newspapers.com>>.

<sup>30</sup> West Tyrone Voice website, <<http://westtyronevoice.bravehost.com/>>.

<sup>31</sup> Dawson, *Making Peace*, p. 277. See also pp.237-43.

fairness of any kind, shown to those of us whose lives had been traumatized by the activities of these guys.<sup>32</sup>

Among the core aims of the group are to: 'Be a voice for the victims of paramilitary terrorism, and their families; Seek justice for these victims; Seek formal recognition of their suffering; Provide support and advice for our members; Ensure the story of our pain and loss is never forgotten'.<sup>33</sup> The WTV group has provided a safe, private space in which personal memories can be narrated and shared, and has also constituted a collective voice and agency that speaks about these experiences in wider public arenas, re-presenting the many different personal memories of their members as a singular, collective narrative that tells of 'our experience'. The desire for justice voiced by WTV, then, has both a personal and a collective dimension, and is articulated in stories that are told in both public and private arenas.<sup>34</sup> These may be considered in turn.

### ***Personal memory and the desire for justice***

West Tyrone Voice has over two hundred members. A flavour of the diversity of historical experiences of violence represented by the group, and also of the variety of conceptions of justice and range of ideas and feelings about its significance amongst group members, can be gained by briefly considering two particular cases. Mr Ramsey Turner and Mr Gamble Moore are two of the four members then sitting on WTV's Steering Committee whom I interviewed, along with the Director Hazlett Lynch, in November 2009.<sup>35</sup> Each has a distinctively different story to tell in response to my questions about the personal meaning of

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<sup>32</sup> Quoted in Dawson, *Making Peace*, p. 277.

<sup>33</sup> WTV website, <<http://westtyronevoice.bravehost.com/>>, accessed November 2009.

<sup>34</sup> Dawson, *Making Peace*, pp.xx.

<sup>35</sup> I am grateful to all my interviewees, Leslie Finlay, Raymond Finlay, Hazlett Lynch, Gamble Moore and Ramsey Turner; and especially to Hazlett Lynch for arranging the interviews on my behalf.

justice in the context of their own and their family's experience of violence, about the feelings underlying their own desire and quest for justice, about their perception of those responsible for the violence, and about how they think justice would best be served in their particular case.

Ramsey Turner,<sup>36</sup> a retired construction worker, and his family were subjected to violence in 1997, three years into the peace process, after he sold some land to a Roman Catholic. 'Our own people set upon my wife and me', first by throwing a stone through the living-room window of their home, and then by delivering a live bullet in an envelope with a threatening note: 'It was pure hatred of me selling the site'. Their assailant(s) remained unknown, a faceless and sinister presence bearing a permanent sense of threat: 'I didn't sleep for weeks afterwards', and the incident badly affected his wife and daughters as well. The family moved house, but the sense of threat from the unidentified perpetrator still remained twelve years later: 'He could be there watching your functions [...] You don't feel safe, because a tribe of clients could gather round you, and you're never sure.' A further ramification was that Ramsey became the focus of suspicion within the local Unionist community precisely because he had been targeted in this way: 'I've done nothing wrong [...] but am seen as a traitor'. This gave rise to an internalized sense of somehow being guilty: 'I'd feel that if I was in company at a dance or some function, people would be looking at me and thinking that, because I sold a site – a bit of Ireland – that I let myself down, I let my country down.' His reputation was irreparably damaged, with no means of clearing his name: 'In Ireland [...] people are talking about you, but they don't talk to your face [...] The dogs in the street knew'. Reliant on those responsible for upholding justice to discover the identity of his assailant, Ramsey recalls that:

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<sup>36</sup> Interview with Ramsey Turner, Newtown Stewart, 10 November 2009.

There was never anybody brought to justice for what was done to me. It was never brought up in court or the law. I'm sure there was plenty of evidence there is the police had of looked hard enough but there was nobody convicted.

The police 'weren't interested'. They lost the bullet. They lost the letter.

Justice was very low in my case – very far down the line. [...] Nobody ever come to say that they had done anything for me, and they had no suspects in mind. I had no suspects. I wasn't going to point the finger at anybody. [...] It's long forgot about.

Echoing Judith Herman's argument that victims generally place great emphasis on having the seriousness of the violent event and its impact acknowledged,<sup>37</sup> Ramsey refutes those who tell him that his experience is 'not the worst thing that could have happened to me at the time. But I think it was the worst thing that could have happened.'

In these circumstances, justice for Ramsey is entirely dependent on the perpetrator making a confession: 'Unless someone goes into a police station and admits it, there's no come back. I'm hoping that one day someone will [tell me], dying of cancer or ...' Imagining what he would desire of the perpetrator in this unlikely scenario, Ramsey dismisses retributive punishment, legal or otherwise, as unimportant: 'I wouldn't want to see him jailed [...] I wouldn't punch him in the face.' Instead he identifies two factors that would suffice for redress. Firstly, he would need to discover the identity of his assailant(s): 'It would be enough to know who this client was [...] That boy was maybe forced to do it – find out who was behind the scenes.' Secondly, he would want the truth of the matter to be revealed in public: '[I]f the name came forward ... It would ease my problem if he were brought to court and ... make him as public as I was, that he was the perpetrator ... and let people decide who was at fault and who was wrong.' For Ramsey, then, establishing the truth about what was done to him, moral equivalence between himself and the perpetrator to undo the unfairness of being wrongly suspected in public knowledge, and the possibility of fair

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<sup>37</sup> Judith Herman, *The Needs of Victims*, SA conf

judgement in the court of local opinion, are what matters: 'It would give me and my wife great satisfaction. That would be justice for me done.'

Where Ramsey Turner's story challenges a number of preconceptions about the experiential legacies of violence in Northern Ireland, my second example testifies to the complexity in subjective responses to injustice and the desire for justice, even in cases that correspond more closely to politicized collective memories of the conflict. Gamble Moore,<sup>38</sup> a retired factory maintenance fitter and a part-time member of the locally recruited Ulster Defence Regiment (UDR) of the British Army, was targeted as a UDR soldier by the IRA in 1973. Returning home from work with his wife and two workmates, his car was ambushed and he was shot three times, in the neck, chest and shoulder. Gamble saved his own life by noticing the gunman as he stepped out to shoot and running the car into him – 'a terrible thing to do' – thereby disturbing his aim. Afterwards he realized that he'd been set up by a workmate he'd seen talking earlier to a man dressed in black. The police 'picked up [one of the two IRA men involved] next day and let him go again'; Gamble believes that the police 'knew I was going to be shot that day' but were unable to prevent it or to convict afterwards, because of 'an informer somewhere'. The arrested man 'absconded to Canada' while the second escaped over the Border into the Irish Republic. Gamble knew them both by sight and had heard that 'the two of them are back in town', but thought it unlikely he'd recognize them now after more than thirty years.

The effects of the shooting had been profound: 'I suffered pain ... humiliation', and he had to adjust to a permanently disabled arm, which cost him his job. The effects of the shooting within the internal world were also damaging and long-lasting. The attack 'changed my personality altogether. I was very hard to live with after ... very impatient, short tempered, it was eating away at me'; and this had a 'great effect on my family emotionally'. The sense

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<sup>38</sup> Interview with Gamble Moore, Newtownstewart, 10 November 2009.

of injustice preyed upon Gamble: 'It was always on my mind that anybody would be my judge, jury and executioner. Who authorized them to do that? Why did they take it upon themselves to do that?' Like Ramsey Turner, he was left with a enduring sense of uncertainty and threat: 'I've been living under a cloud these last 36 years. Its always there in my mind that somebody could have a pop at me again. It never leaves you.'

Unlike Ramsey, Gamble's desire for justice does involve retribution: 'Justice means to me for the perpetrators to be [...] punished for what they did.' But he is careful to specify the kind of judicial retribution he considers appropriate:

I don't mean to be physically hanged, or shot, or physically whoped [...] For me, the best way to punish a person is to take away his freedom [...] Deprive them of the company of their family, because they tried to deprive my family of me. [...] They'd be suffering the same as I suffered.

Retribution through the criminal justice system, then, functions as the means to realize a desire similar to Ramsey's, for equivalence between, on one hand, the intended effects of the violent attack and the 'punishment' suffered by the victim ('they tried to deprive my family [...] they punished me for not agreeing with their political outlook'); and, on the other, the punishment to be meted out to the perpetrators by judicial process (to 'deprive them [...] of their family'). Redress for Gamble also encompasses a measure of restorative justice. He expresses a wish that the perpetrators 'be made to realize [...] the enormity of what they had done', and in an imagined relationship with the perpetrators, he envisages that: 'If I met these people now I'd just say one thing to them: why? I wouldn't be out for striking them [...] or shooting them, no.' However, Gamble does not imagine the perpetrators engaging with him in any transformative way: 'These guys won't apologize. A leopard never changes its spots. On the surface they might appear to apologize but deep down they won't. You wouldn't trust it.' For Gamble, this felt lack of trust extends into the political domain and shapes his perceptions of Republican motives in the peace process:

I can't ever see the Republicans reconciled to anybody unless they get what they want – a united Ireland, and they want all the Protestants and loyalists all out of the country, they don't want us here at all. [...] I would love to see reconciliation [but] it depends on them being honest. You can see now Adams and McGuinness in parliament, [...] they're still Army Council men in the IRA. A leopard never changes its spots.

This wider context dampens any expectation of Gamble ever achieving the justice he desires.

I can't see it ever happening. No, no. That'll never happen. To me its just a pipedream, I suppose [...] because of the political situation [...] Perhaps in a few cases of murder, you'll get a few people in court cases convicted; but cases like me being shot, that'll never be looked at; never. And I know that will never change.

### ***WTV public discourse and the desire for justice***

The public voice of WTV is grounded in diverse personal and familial experiences and stories such as those of Ramsey Turner and Gamble Moore. Another WTV committee member, Raymond Finlay, emphasises the importance of the group's outreach work to provide support for often isolated individuals and families,<sup>39</sup> building relationships through the exchange of stories. Identification with others who have undergone similar or comparable experiences leads to the formation of what Ashplant et al. call a 'shared and common memory' with distinctive narrative themes that connect people across their different experiences and understandings.<sup>40</sup> WTV provides a focal point around which intersecting local memories are able to coalesce, and represents the group's collective experience in the form of a public discourse fashioned to intervene on behalf of group members in the public

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<sup>39</sup> Interview with Raymond Finlay, Newtownstewart, 10 November 2009.

<sup>40</sup> T.G. Ashplant, Graham Dawson and Michael Roper (eds), *Commemorating War*, p. x.

debates about the victims of violence and associated questions of truth and justice within post-conflict Northern Ireland.

The WTV public discourse on justice has a number of key characteristics.<sup>41</sup> Firstly, the group's ethos is rooted in fundamentalist Protestant moral principles and analysis of the Troubles. Lynch argues that, 'as country people and as people who were brought up within a broad Christian ethos, we do know the difference between right and wrong [...] And we try to take that high moral ground'.<sup>42</sup> Secondly, these moral categories are interfused with the ideological categories deployed in defence of the Unionist state of Northern Ireland, producing a distinction between the lawful and morally righteous violence of the state security forces, those 'guardians of law and order', and the criminal and morally repugnant violence of the 'evil terrorists'.<sup>43</sup> While opposed to all terrorism including that of loyalist paramilitaries, WTV's public focus has tended to concentrate on PIRA and other Republican groups. Thirdly, WTV's interventions in post-conflict culture and politics demonstrate a strong continuity with loyalist discourse before the ceasefires, in insisting on these absolute moral distinctions (between terrorists and security forces, but also terrorists and their innocent victims); in demanding retributive justice for terrorist crimes, in opposition to the restorative justice advocated within the peace process; and in its critique of the 'betrayal' by government and state through their failure to pursue retribution with sufficient vigour (whether by restraining the security forces from 'taking out' the known IRA activists, or by failing to secure judicial convictions for hundreds of terrorist murders and other violent incidents). Finally, these considerations of justice underpin an oppositional stance towards the terms of

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<sup>41</sup> WTV literature; Dawson *Making Peace*, pp.xx.

<sup>42</sup> Quoted in Dawson, *Making Peace*, p.236.

<sup>43</sup> Dawson, *Making Peace*, p.237.

the Good Friday Agreement and the peace process constructed on its basis, articulated by WTV as a fundamental objection to admitting 'terrorists into government'.<sup>44</sup>

These established principles and characteristics of WTV public discourse over a ten-year period, 1999-2009, provide the basis for the group's critique of the Eames-Bradley Report. This is condemned for its inclusive agenda in adopting the official definition of 'victims' as *all* those killed, injured and traumatised in the Troubles, their carers, and bereaved relatives,<sup>45</sup> considered objectionable because it fails to exclude the agents of paramilitary violence (and their supporters) who are held to be perpetrators rather than victims. The Report, according to WTV's formal response, 'refuses to differentiate between victims of terrorism and terrorists', giving rise to an 'implied "moral equivalence" between "terrorist" and "victim" [which] is totally unacceptable'.<sup>46</sup> The 'language of inclusion' adopted in the Report, according to WTV, fails to establish these clearly defined and demarcated categories but has instead 'been taken in by' and reproduces 'the "double speak" of republicans', resulting in an 'attempt at re-writing history in such a way that all reference to "terrorism" is removed'.<sup>47</sup> The Report in its entirety is rejected on these grounds: 'Hence, every other recommendation is tainted and seriously flawed, and ought to be rejected in toto by government and parliament, and by all groups working with the victims of terrorism.'<sup>48</sup> In a context where terrorists such as the Sinn Féin leaders Gerry Adams and Martin McGuinness remain unapologetic and unrepentant about the harm caused by IRA actions in the past, and where the present-day threat from Republican terrorism in the form of the Real IRA and the

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<sup>44</sup> WTV literature.

<sup>45</sup> Bloomfield Report and Victims Commission.

<sup>46</sup> 'Consultative Group on the Past: Victims of Terrorism, No Strangers to Hurt', response of West Tyrone Voice to the Report by the Consultative Group on the Past, 8 April 2009, p.1.

<sup>47</sup> Report, p.1.

<sup>48</sup> Report, p.1.

Continuity IRA continues to grow (WTV discourse recognizes no distinction between 'dissidents republicans' and PIRA), Eames-Bradley is seen as conforming to the British Government's agenda of 'appeasing' terrorists to secure a flawed peace. For WTV, the peace process as such, and all of Northern Ireland's new institutions such as the power-sharing Assembly and Executive, the Victims Commission, and the Commission for Human Rights, are to be rejected as 'terrorist friendly'.

At the core of this critique is an argument that justice has been foregone in the interests of political expediency, and a notion of reconciliation adopted in its place.<sup>49</sup> While the individual WTV membership cannot be assumed to be homogeneous in its support for the group's public position on these issues, and, as Ramsey Turner's story demonstrates, personal experiences of violence may be more complex and multi-faceted than its public discourse allows, the uncompromising collective memory of the Troubles articulated by WTV speaks to discontents with post-conflict Northern Ireland and establishes a subjective stance that refuses accommodation with, or co-option by, the hegemonic project of reconciliation. Where the Eames-Bradley Report speaks of overcoming 'division and mistrust' through 'the desire for true and lasting reconciliation',<sup>50</sup> requiring 'acknowledgement of the moral dignity of our common humanity' coupled with 'mutual forgiveness' and with a willingness to recognize the multiple truths about the past,<sup>51</sup> WTV speaks of moral absolutes and demands that politics and social relationships be conducted on the basis of a fundamental distinction between the harmers and the harmed. Where the discourse of reconciliation warns that the '[societal] process of addressing conflictual and fractured relationships' is fraught with

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<sup>49</sup> WTV

<sup>50</sup> Report, p. 23.

<sup>51</sup> CGP, *Report of the Consultative Group on the Past*, Belfast, 2009, p. 25.

'paradoxes and [...] contradictions',<sup>52</sup> WTV insists on avoiding any ambiguity. Where advocates of reconciliation promote a transformation in the 'culture of suspicion, fear, mistrust and violence' by 'engaging with those who are different from us',<sup>53</sup> WTV discourse grasps the social world as irredeemably bifurcated between good people and evil people, and sees terrorists as unrepentant sinners from whom nothing short of full and abject remorse will suffice; who remain dangerous and likely to revert to violence if their political demands are not conceded ('a leopard never changes its spots'); and whose gestures of reconciliation (by, for example, the 'Brighton bomber', Patrick Magee) are highly suspect and designed to 'fool' people. A third category is reserved for those who are fooled – 'do-gooders' and people who should know better (like Eames and Bradley) – and who are drawn into 'appeasing terrorists' rather than judging them on the basis of their past actions and future intentions. Standing in this way against the whole logic and thrust of the peace process, WTV's mobilization of the desire for justice is not 'realistic' in any practical, political terms, but rather expresses a utopian critique of politics as now conducted in Northern Ireland.

### **The desire for justice in object-relations psychoanalytic theory**

I take my bearings in psychoanalytic theory from the 'object relations' tradition derived from the work of Melanie Klein.<sup>54</sup> This offers ways of thinking about emotional and psychic life as

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<sup>52</sup> Brandon Hamber and Gráinne Kelly, 'A place for reconciliation?', *Democratic Dialogue* 18, 2005, p.38

<sup>53</sup> Hamber and Kelly, p.38.

<sup>54</sup> See Klein 1937, 1948; Segal 1973; Greenberg and Mitchell 1983; Hamber 2009. For my own understanding of object relations psychoanalysis and how it may be utilised in cultural analysis, see Graham Dawson, *Soldier Heroes* (1994), pp.xx; Dawson, *Making Peace*, pp.xx.

a dynamic process occurring within an inner world, largely unconscious, peopled by imagined objects or 'imagos' with which the self interacts to establish various kinds of internal object relations. These imagined objects partly take their character from, and in turn function as imaginative 'templates' that determine, perceptions of social others and relationships with these external objects. For Garland and colleagues, this model enables a distinctive approach to trauma – including that generated in the context of political violence – understood as disturbance in the internal world stemming from an external event that breaches the defensive or protective 'envelope' of the psyche, and the psychic strategies developed in response to this breach.<sup>55</sup> Crucially for Garland, the traumatic event is mediated by pre-existing, internal object relations. Emotions generated by the (external) traumatic situation come to be associated with, and experienced in terms of, unresolved conflicts in the inner world. Defensive splitting of the self occurs in order to restore the defensive envelope and protect the self against what may be felt to be overwhelming emotions, which are projected outside the self into an 'other'. This internal state affects perceptions of external objects and situations, which are experienced according to internal psychic reality and coloured by it, such that behaviours and relationships in the social world become vehicles for 'acting out' internal object relations, managing internal disturbances and conflicts, and controlling emotions.

In traumatic splitting, the external, social world appears to confirm what is already known and believed about it; so, for example, the terrifying and devastating experiences produced in reality by paramilitary or state combatants confirm the presence in the internal world of a sinister and petrifying imago felt to have power to threaten or destroy the self.<sup>56</sup> This imago in turn shapes the 'phantasies' through which the social world is encountered, as

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<sup>55</sup> Caroline Garland (ed), *Understanding Trauma: A Psychoanalytical Approach* (2002).

<sup>56</sup> Dawson, *Making Peace*, p.250.

can be seen in the testimony of a survivor of the Republican atrocity at Darkley Church in 1983, who for long afterwards imagined 'where we could hide if they came to the house and sprayed it with gunfire'.<sup>57</sup> For object relations theorists, recovery from trauma and the nurturing of psychic health depends upon capacities for 'reparation' being mobilized to think about the meanings and emotions attached to internal objects, to undo defensive splitting, and to integrate contradictory emotions and conflicting aspects of the self within a less polarized inner world. The work of reparation is strengthened by the 'introjection', or taking in, of such capacities where they are encountered in social life: this enables 'something new to happen' within psychic reality.<sup>58</sup>

Psychoanalysts within the object relations tradition have reflected on the complex emotions and psychic conflicts involved in the desire for justice. Their work focuses on ideas of what is just and unjust, and the feelings and affect attached to those ideas in the internal world where the self relates to imagined internal objects, and in its social relations with real others. Here I draw in turn on studies that consider justice in relation to the concepts of fairness and grievance.

For Eric Rayner,<sup>59</sup> the psychic significance of justice is underpinned by the experience of fairness, a commonly held and deeply felt idea recognized and utilized even by very young children, and one that is fundamental to our social well-being. The practice of fairness in our everyday lives centrally involves three elements. The first and most fundamental is mutuality. Fairness is felt to be owed to others as well as due from others; we 'wish to be fair and just' in our actions as well as expect to be treated fairly by others, and

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<sup>57</sup> Quoted in Dawson, *Making Peace*, p.250.

<sup>58</sup> Greenberg, p. x.

<sup>59</sup> Eric Rayner, 'Some Functions of Being Fair and Just - Or Not, in Clinical Psychoanalysis', *Int J. of PA*, 1999, pp.xx..

thereby recognize our mutual dependence on one another.<sup>60</sup> The second is equality or equivalence. To act fairly is to recognize the validity of the other's expectation to be treated fairly, and to recognize this as equivalent to one's own expectation to be treated fairly by the other. Thirdly, acting fairly involves a complex amalgam of thought and emotion in evaluating an issue, including evaluation of one's own relation to others. It requires a capacity for introspection, to scrutinize one's own actions for fairness and unfairness; a capacity for reappraising one's own actions in the light of what others say, through dialogue and exchange of views; and a capacity to develop a balanced view of others as complex human beings rather than seeing only particular 'sides' or 'aspects' of them. Thus, the practice of fairness involves undoing splitting and projection in our dealings with others, and is intrinsically aligned with psychic integration and reparation.

According to Rayner, the importance of fairness in our psychic and social lives can be gauged by examining the feelings engendered by the experience of unfairness (and injustice), when relations of mutuality and equivalence are felt to have been broken:

Reactions to their rupture or absence are often deep and intense, even full of violence [...] Many different emotions, sometimes dangerous ones, can emerge. Violent outrage, fury of accusation, vengeance, bitterness and disgust [...] Bafflement and being aggrieved or sad [...] and] the pain of indignation [...] Such feelings are] particularly acute at moments of a ruptured basic trust.<sup>61</sup>

For Rayner, this emotional intensity indicates the impact of unfair treatment upon the inner world where it damages the ability of the self to trust in mutually beneficial relationships with its internal objects. Uncertainty replaces trust, and where the experience of unfairness is repeated a pre-disposition to expect unfair treatment may be established. This internal pre-disposition is brought to relations with real others and acted out there, as an expectation of

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<sup>60</sup> Rayner, p.484.

<sup>61</sup> Rayner, pp. 478-9.

receiving unfair treatment in reality. Rayner's notion of 'ruptured basic trust', then, enables us to understand the profound significance of unfairness in undermining the self's confidence in relations with others based on mutuality, equality and reciprocity – and indeed, in the very possibility of a justly ordered social world. Conversely, the desire for justice can be understood as the yearning for a world governed by fairness, and for the experience of the self in beneficial relations with others that would be possible in such a world.

This account of the rupturing of basic trust by unjust treatment is developed further in studies that examine the relationship between justice, the desire for revenge, and the development of a sense of grievance. For John Steiner,<sup>62</sup> unfairness is felt in the inner world as 'a deep sense of hurt, injustice and betrayal', the result of being let down by the internal objects (based on introjections of parents or other carers) from whom help, support and protection are expected; leaving the self exposed and vulnerable.<sup>63</sup> This experience may be too intense or overwhelming to acknowledge, and instead become split off and projected into an object felt to be needy and vulnerable. In this situation, the inner world is experienced as a hostile place coloured by anticipations of further traitorous betrayal, distrust of any offered help or support, and a determination to rely only on oneself.

The experience of injustice also generates proportionally intense feelings of anger and wishes for revenge. According to Steiner, 'when such injuries are felt to be unfair they give rise to a wish for revenge that is accompanied by extreme hatred and destructiveness'.<sup>64</sup> These feelings and impulses may also be too intense to acknowledge and bear, and again, through denial and projection, 'become invested in an object' that is felt

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<sup>62</sup> John Steiner, 'Revenge and Resentment in the "Oedipus Situation" ', in *Int J. of PA* (1996). My account also draws on Linda Young and Elizabeth Gibb, 'Trauma and Grievance', in Garland, *Understanding Trauma*, pp.xx.

<sup>63</sup> Steiner, p.x.

<sup>64</sup> Steiner, p.433.

to be angry and vengeful towards the self.<sup>65</sup> Here, the inner world becomes 'suffused with danger' and fear of attack by threatening hostile forces. These are felt to exist as well in the social world, where others become the bearers of destructiveness and violence, whilst one's own anger and desire for revenge is disavowed and unconscious, and cannot be 'acknowledged in psychic reality'.<sup>66</sup> Instead, Steiner argues, 'the destructiveness is controlled and expressed in indirect and often hidden ways'.<sup>67</sup> The sense of injustice and these attendant affects may also be relieved through the actions of real others in the social world, by means of acknowledgement, apology, atonement and other ways of 'doing justice'.<sup>68</sup> However, in some cases, injustice cannot be assuaged without 'some kind of attack seen as equivalent to the original injury'.<sup>69</sup> Steiner suggests that: 'Revenge is the antithesis of forgiveness [...] the object cannot be let of the hook until it has been forced to confess and atone for the injury done'.<sup>70</sup> Like Judith Herman's analysis of the 'righteous anger' of victims of injustice,<sup>71</sup> Steiner's account understands victims themselves to be subject to anger and have a capacity for violence (real or symbolic) to restore moral equivalence with the perpetrator of harm. For Steiner, though, the desire for revenge is not always openly acknowledged, and this becomes *disavowed* anger and violence. As he puts it, 'the quest for vengeance begins as a demand for justice, but it seems to be taken over by a more malignant destructiveness of an insatiable kind', which cannot be assuaged.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> Steiner, p.x.

<sup>66</sup> Steiner, p.442.

<sup>67</sup> Steiner, p.433.

<sup>68</sup> Hamber, p.x.

<sup>69</sup> Young and Gibb?, p.x.

<sup>70</sup> Steiner, p.434.

<sup>71</sup> Herman, SA ref.

<sup>72</sup> Steiner, p.434.

Steiner's argument is that, in scenarios where the desire for revenge cannot be acknowledged, and anger in response to injustice is disavowed and remains unconscious, a state of grievance develops. In this, an individual 'pursues claims of being treated unjustly in one form or another, in a way that seems driven and unassailable', and may 'remain stuck in an aggrieved state' or 'impasse',<sup>73</sup> whatever others do in the social world to address the injustice. This 'unconscious grievance structure' establishes a self-perpetuating psychic vicious circle, in which the sense of grievance becomes a psychic defence against the unacknowledged feelings – of loss, hurt and betrayal; of anger and the desire for revenge – provoked by the injustice; and has to be maintained continually in their place.<sup>74</sup> The grievance, writes Steiner, is held onto 'like a precious object that can't be given up'.<sup>75</sup> The internal world structured by grievance in this way has a number of key characteristics. Firstly, it is pervaded by an atmosphere in which helpful interventions from others, whether attempting to address the injustice or to relieve the emotional burden of the injury, are made difficult, refused or rebuffed. Secondly, considerable psychic energy and work is invested in asserting 'the veracity of the grievance', and maintaining 'in an active state' the narrative that defines and accounts for it; a narrative with a 'moralistic unforgiving quality'<sup>76</sup> that attributes responsibility to others and blames them from the assumed position of the moral high ground.<sup>77</sup> Thirdly, the reality of the inner world requires continual renewal, through activity that seeks out further evidence to 'prove' this narrative to be true, and '[makes] use of' fresh events to confirm what was known all along.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> Steiner p. 434.

<sup>74</sup> Steiner, p.x.

<sup>75</sup> Steiner, p.x.

<sup>76</sup> Steiner, p.438.

<sup>77</sup> Young and Gibb?, p.x.

<sup>78</sup> Young and Gibb,? p.x.

The subject of injustice turned to grievance, then, becomes stitched into a scenario which is both self-perpetuating and resistant to further transformation: a condition of stuckness in which the desire for justice must be forever proclaimed but remain forever unfulfilled, its goal an ideal and unattainable object.<sup>79</sup> The possibility of acting fairly towards others is reduced or precluded, since grievance undercuts the fundamental sense of mutual dependency necessary for a fair and just relationship to thrive. Real others in social reality are not experienced in their full complexity, but positioned in their allotted roles according to the narrative of grievance, thereby sealing them into the structure of perpetual and irredeemable injustice, either as perpetrators or as colluders. Those who are positioned by an unconscious grievance structure are likely to feel a range of emotions as a result. They may experience frustration and hopelessness at the stuckness and negativity that confronts them in a situation in which nothing helpful can be given; they may be provoked to blame the 'intransigence' of those who appear to be 'stuck in the past' and won't 'let go' or 'move on' (but such a reaction only reinforces the grievance narrative by confirming its expectations of a hostile world); while what Steiner terms the 'disguised hatred' of disavowed anger 'is often felt to be vengeful by the object on the receiving end' of moralistic blaming.<sup>80</sup> According to Steiner, it is difficult to describe how emergence from such a state occurs, and how 'the move towards reparation' begins.<sup>81</sup> He suggests, however, that 'reconciliation is not based on denial [of anger] but on a recognition of psychic reality; it is not just an act of acknowledgement of wrongs done but also of difference and dependence'.<sup>82</sup> Requiring the re-establishment of trust in mutuality, the reparation of grievance is necessarily a matter of object relations, as well as renewed relationship to real others in the social world.

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<sup>79</sup> Cf the argument about the 'idealisation of the past' in Smyth, *Truth Recovery and Justice*, p.x.

<sup>80</sup> Steiner, p. 433.

<sup>81</sup> Steiner, pp.441, 438.

<sup>82</sup> Steiner, p.440.

### **The desire for justice: psychoanalytic insight and the writing of history**

How, then, might insight into the desire for justice and its vicissitudes within psychoanalytic object-relations theory contribute to understanding the complexities, contradictions and conflicts centred on the desire for justice in the histories of West Tyrone Voice and the Irish peace process? First, a caveat. It is not my intention here to offer any kind of 'psychohistory' or life story involving interpretation of the psychology of individuals: such an approach would demand much more detailed, and ethically collaborative, life-history research than I have attempted here.<sup>83</sup> My interest lies instead in exploring how psychoanalytic categories and insights might be used to investigate the psychic and emotional structuring of social relationships and cultural narratives in a highly charged political context. Attempts at transforming relations to others, as in the project of reconciliation and 'coming to terms with the past' in Northern Ireland, always involve, and depend upon, changes in object relations in the internal world. Articulations of the desire for historical justice are spoken from discursive positions which already entail psychic positioning of the other. In conclusion, then, I want to argue that psychoanalytic thinking about justice in terms of grievance may aid understanding of the current state of 'stuckness' in Northern Ireland's politics of memory, while ideas linking justice to the rebuilding of basic trust in mutuality may help in formulating historical narratives and other public discourses that open up possibilities for 'something new to happen'.

To consider first the question of stuckness: psychoanalytic observations about the internal world and its object relations following a rupture of basic trust and the development of a grievance structure suggest ways of understanding the psychic world produced by WTV

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<sup>83</sup> For an example of collaborative interpretation in life history research, see Alistair Thomson, *Moving Stories*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011.

public discourse and its roots in the collective experience of Border Protestant communities. WTV discourse represents a world of unresolved injustices, characterized emotionally by hurt and loss, fear of continuing violence and persecution, and a sharp sense of betrayal and distrust. It structures relations with others on the basis of moral absolutism and an unwillingness to tolerate contradictions and ambiguities, and establishes a mode of Unionist subjectivity predicated on taking the moral high ground. This justifies a political refusal to reconcile with Republicans and a hostile stance towards the mainstream Unionist leadership insofar as it is engaged in a search for political and moral accommodation with Republicans. The 'veracity of grievance' is reproduced in a narrative of moralistic blaming that draws on a wider loyalist collective memory of the Troubles: violence is represented as entirely the responsibility of the IRA, making no acknowledgement of the injustices perpetrated by the Unionist-dominated Northern Ireland state since its inception in 1921-22. This narrative of historical grievance is reinforced with reference to new events – the activities of dissident Republicans, the reintroduction of protection measures for police officers and the judiciary, the appointment of a Victims Commissioner from a Republican family – that serve to confirm what the group has argued all along about the duplicity of Republicans and the spuriousness of a peace process about which there is nothing positive to say. A 'moralistic unforgiving quality' permeates many of WTV's own public interventions, confronting others with unyielding and punitive moral standards that position them as uniquely blameworthy, or regard with suspicion those whose own interventions are intended to be constructive, such as Eames-Bradley and other 'do-gooders'.

Psychoanalytic considerations, then, may illuminate the psychic characteristics of a 'world of meaning' and reflect on the object relations of self and other that are structured through and by a specific public discourse. However, an analysis of this kind remains limited if it concentrates exclusively on a sole discursive agent – in this case, WTV – rather than attending to the object relations and interactions constituted by the wider field of public

discourse in which this agent participates. Protestant and Unionist perceptions of the peace process are in part an effect of the particular way conflict transformation and notions of reconciliation have been designed and instituted politically.<sup>84</sup> Stuckness is a result of the wider political situation rather than the responsibility of any one group. One important determining factor is the stasis in implementing a comprehensive approach to the issues of truth, justice and the legacy of the conflict that results from British state policy. Another is the reinforcement of feelings of injustice and grievance in Border areas due to the fear of dissident Republican violence, which has continued to increase in scope, capacity and political significance in the period since the restoration of devolved government in 2008, and gives the lie to calls for victims to 'let go' of grievance on the grounds that political violence is 'now in the past'.<sup>85</sup>

A psychoanalytic interpretation of WTV discourse that neither attends to the way it is positioned and engages within these wider structures of power and contestation, nor reflects on the psychic dimensions of this positioning, is not only limited but also problematic. The interpretation itself may then perform a kind of aggression towards its object, be read as 'blaming the victims', and risk reinforcing the very grievance structure that it seeks to understand. It is precisely in its capacity to illuminate the psychic structuring of public exchanges, and to develop insight into the positioning of self and other involving various kinds of object relations within one's own representations as well as in the discourse of the other, that psychoanalytic thinking about the desire for justice is most useful in a post-conflict scenario. Since perceptions of being treated unfairly generate such complex and destructive emotions, including an underlying anger that remains largely unconscious, unacknowledged and liable to be projected into others, reciprocal provocations readily develop and draw

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<sup>84</sup> Lundy and McGovern

<sup>85</sup> Smyth, Truth Recovery, p.x.

people into the kind of exchange that erupted at the launch of the Eames-Bradley Report. Recognizing these psychic dynamics, and making conscious and explicit both the hurts of injustice and aggressive wishes to attack and blame others, is the necessary condition for unlocking grievance structures and restoring fairness and mutuality in relations with others.<sup>86</sup>

Psychoanalytic thinking about the desire for justice in terms of fairness, mutuality and moral equality offers a touchstone for considering the reparation of object relations marked by historical injustice and grievance. It enables us to ask: how is the experience of mutuality weakened or strengthened according to the ways in which political opponents react to each other? What kind of response to expressions of anger or enactments of revenge would be most constructive and least damaging? How might perceptions of fairness be restored in exchanges concerned with the legacies of violence? What role could public organizations play in facilitating this? The paradoxes and contradictions that manifest in any transformative process must be confronted and assessed in these terms. The paradox of the Eames-Bradley Report – a developed exercise in fairness that attempts to establish a balanced and inclusive framework for addressing the unresolved past, including recognition of Unionist victims' desire for justice and a clear call for Republicans to acknowledge the depth of hurt in the Unionist community – is that it was rejected as *unfair* (by WTV amongst others) precisely because of its inclusivity in extending an equivalent recognition and acknowledgement to Republicans. The challenge posed to the dominant discourse of inclusivity and reconciliation in Northern Ireland, is how to deal fairly and justly with those who are fundamentally opposed to its own premises and goals, and who refuse to write 'terrorism' out of history.

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<sup>86</sup> This process is explored in the TV drama, *Five Minutes of Heaven* (BBC, 2009), based on Alistair Little with Ruth Scott, *Give a Boy a Gun* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 2009).