

eye-witness report that he was neither shooting nor nail bombing, but crawling on his stomach towards the body of Pat Doherty.

5 Mathew Connolly, 21, says that John Young was on his hands and knees creeping across Rossville Street towards the supposed safety of Glenfada Park when he was hit. The path of the bullet—which hit his left eye, traveling downwards — confirms this.

6 Gerald McKinney was killed by a bullet which hit him in the left chest, travelled upwards and slightly backwards and left from the right chest. Eye-witness Sean Carr says: ‘They all started running away except Gerald McKinney, who stood still with his hands above his head. The soldier came forward within six yards of him and shot him’. Doctors say that the path of the bullet was consistent with his hands being held either above his head or away from his body.

7 Sean Carr says that William McKinney was shot from behind as he bent over the body of Gerald McKinney (no relation). The autopsy shows that the bullet hit him in the back and left, slightly higher up, from his chest.

8 Sean Carr also tells that James Wray was in a crowd running away when he was hit. The autopsy shows that there were two bullet wounds in his back.

9 Other eye-witnesses claim that Michael Kelly and William Nash were both stooped low, trying to cross the Rossville Street barricade when struck by bullets. The autopsies show that in both cases the bullets travelled steeply downwards through their bodies.

11 The bullet which killed Hugh Gilmore entered his right chest and left from the lower left chest, going through his body along a slightly downward line. This confirms the evidence of witness Charlie Best and Joe Doherty that Gilmore was crouching near a telephone box outside the exit from Rossville Flats when shot by a soldier standing across the street at the entrance to Glenfada Park.

12 Michael McDaid was shot through the cheek, the bullet exiting through his right lower shoulder blade, which is in line with evidence that he was crouched, with his hands on his head—under arrest - when killed.

13 Gerald Donaghy was shot in the chest near his left lung. The bullet travelled downwards and was removed from his back. Doctors say that it was almost certainly a ricochet.

In no case does the medical evidence support the army’s contention that some of the men were high up in sniping positions when shot. *Taken on its own* the medical evidence is conclusive in disproving the army story that all the men were either shooting or throwing nail bombs when fired at.

If a man fires at and hits a sniper in a high position the bullet should enter at the front and travel upwards. No such bullet wound was inflicted on anyone.

5

CLEARLY the army’s story is not true. What then is the truth?

The 1st Royal Anglians, the 1st Coldstreams, The 2nd Royal Greenjackets and the 22nd Light Air Defence Regiment were in Derry before and after 30 January.

The 1st Battalion of the Parachute Regiment arrived from Palace Barracks, Holywood on the morning of 30 January. They went back to Palace Barracks the same evening, mission,

presumably, completed. What we really need to know is: what was that mission?

The general belief in the Bogside is that the Paras simply ran amok and shot indiscriminately into the fleeing crowd ‘to teach the Bogside a lesson’. This is highly unlikely. Paratroopers don’t run amok. They are by all accounts a highly disciplined and efficient force.

It is stretching credulity very far to assert that in the presence of the Commander of Northern Ireland Ground Forces—who was in Derry that day—they collectively lost their cool and breached orders. It can safely be taken for granted that they took up the positions they were instructed to take up, laid down the lines of fire they were instructed to lay down and aimed at targets which they had been told to aim at.

With that in mind one can usefully examine the pattern of casualties.

All except Peggy Deery and Alana Burke were men. Every man killed was broadly speaking ‘of military age’. That suggests highly *discriminate* shooting.

When one examines the positions where the dead and wounded fell a more exact pattern emerges. Almost every casualty fell inside a belt about fifty yards broad, beginning inside the Rossville car park and running across Rossville Street into Glenfada Park and ending in Abbey Park. The army might explain this by suggesting that IRA men run in straight lines twenty or thirty abreast. But there is a simpler explanation.

Another curious and very important fact is that Damian Donaghy and John Johnston were shot and wounded at 3.55. They fell hundreds of yards away from any of the other casualties. Moreover, after they were shot, the army held fire for more than quarter of an hour before re-commencing attack.

One further odd fact must be considered before putting forward a hypothesis. The march was illegal. The security forces were committed to stopping it. It began in a ‘no-go’ area. It remained in the no-go area as it wound its way from Creggan through Brandywell and Bogside. It emerged from the no-go area as it turned from the Lone Moor Road into Creggan Street, more than a quarter of a mile from the point in William Street where the army did finally stop it. From behind a barricade in Windsor Terrace soldiers watched the march impassively—about 60 yards away—and made no attempt to interfere.

A hundred yards further on, at the junction of Creggan Street and William Street the same thing happened. Soldiers stationed in Francis Street stood immobile as the marchers surged past.

By their own lights the army ‘ought’ to have intervened at one of these points. Why allow an illegal march, thousands strong, to pass unhindered when a volley of CS gas would have turned it back?

The reason could be that the army *wanted* the march to get to the bottom of William Street so that the Paras’ plan could be put into effect, as it was, in the perfect topography of the Rossville Street area.

One hypothesis explains all this: that the army shot Damian Donaghy and John Johnston in cold blood in order to draw the IRA out from the Bogside and into the area between William Street and the line running from the Rossville car park to Abbey Park; that having shot Donaghy and Johnston they waited fifteen to twenty minutes to give the IRA time to get into this position; that they then thrust into Rossville Street and set up lines of fire preventing the IRA from running back into the Bogside; in other words they cut off the exit from Glenfada Park to Abbey Park, and the exit from the Rossville car park into Joseph Place, shooting all men of military age who tried to cross these lines.

Examination of the map will show that if those in the area

outlined above *were* mostly IRA men, then cutting off the two exits mentioned would have effectively sealed them in, given that the army already held William Street and Waterloo Street. Studying the map and the aerial photographs some military minds must have boggled at the possibilities.

Thus two men were killed and three wounded in the Rossville car park. Seven men were killed and two wounded around the exit from the car park. Four men were killed and one wounded near the exit from Glenfada Park to Abbey Park.

Immediately afterwards paratroopers arrested at gun point every young man they found in the area. Twenty-two men were arrested in one house in Chamberlain Street. Jubilant army officers began telling newsmen that they had killed 'quite a lot' of IRA men, wounded some and arrested seventy IRA suspects.

The army had good reason to prepare such a plan. One of its problems is that the enemy is reluctant to 'come out and fight'. As numerous outraged British newspaper editorials testify, the IRA adamantly refuses to march down the street in broad daylight in battle array, guns blazing, towards the British Army. This makes the British Army's job more difficult.

One tried and trusted method of bringing the enemy to battle is to attack something which he feels he has to defend.

'Attack the Bogside, shoot a couple of Bogside Civil Rights marchers', a medium ranking officer of the Paratroop regiment may well have thought in the weeks before 30 January, 'and the IRA will *have* to come out fighting - or else lose all credibility as "the army of the people".'

Shoot two people like Damian Donaghy and John Johnston in William Street and the Provisional and Official IRA will emerge from the depths of the Bogside and pour into the area around the Rossville Flats and Glenfada Park to do battle. By 4.15, according to the army theory, there ought to have been dozens of IRA men in the designated area, an area overlooked by army snipers on surrounding rooftops and about to be sealed off by the Paras' thrust into Rossville Street.

From a strictly military point of view it was quite a plan. Strategists might smile - perhaps some did - at the symmetry of it. But it was constructed around one disastrous misconception. The IRA had not read the books and didn't understand that they were supposed to act in the manner anticipated.

Neither had Duddy, McElhinney, Doherty, McGuigan, Gilmore, Nash or McDaid; nor Young, Kelly, Wray, Donaghy, McKinney or McKinney. And not understanding the patterns of thought which shape the military mind, they were all shot dead around Rossville Street, most of them, probably, wondering why.

All this, of course, is mere hypothesis. To clinch the matter one would have to have available records of the instructions given to the soldiers going in, copies of the written orders of the day and the radio log for the relevant times. These things have not been made public. In all probability they never will be.

But the hypothesis stands up, because it accounts for all the available facts. Some of the facts can be explained by no other hypothesis.

It accounts coherently, consistently and convincingly for everything which happened around Rossville Street that day. Lord Widgery will have to ponder long for a better explanation

6

THE IRA did not act as the British Army expected it to. The main reason for this is that the British Army, like British politicians, completely misunderstands the relationship between the IRA and the Catholic working class communities in Northern Ireland.

The IRA do not use Civil Rights marches as a cover from which to attack the British soldiers. To do this, and thus place the lives of marchers in danger, would be tactical lunacy.

Six shots were fired by the IRA in the area where people were killed. All missed. Only two were fired while the army was shooting.

A member of the Official IRA fired a .38 revolver into Chamberlain Street after seeing Jack Duddy shot. After the army had ceased firing an Official IRA man fired one shot from a .303 rifle into Rossville Street. A few moments later a Provisional fired three rounds from a Thompson sub-machine gun from Westland Street into Rossville Street. Twenty minutes later, about half a mile away from the scene an Official fired one .303 round into Barrack Street from the corner of Cooke Street and Joyce Street. He was wounded by return fire.

There were no other IRA shots.

Both the Official and Provisional IRA had taken almost all their weapons out of the Bogside and into the Creggan Estate. It was thought that they might be needed there. Creggan, everyone knew, would be almost deserted when the Civil Rights march left and headed towards Brandywell and Bogside. It was feared, and widely rumoured, that the British Army might use this opportunity to invade and sieze the estate.

Some members of the both IRAs were on the march, unarmed. When the paratroopers opened up the IRA men could not have reacted as the army expected, even if they had wanted to. They had no weapons to hand. As it was, members of both groups did rush to Creggan and fetch guns. They arrived with the arms after the army had completed its shooting. It was then that the shots from the .303 and the Thompson were fired, and that the Official sniper at the corner of Cooke Street and Joyce Street went into position.

The Official who fired the .38 revolver--an officer in that organisation - says that he was carrying the weapon 'for personal protection' and that he used it - against orders - because he 'lost his temper'.

7

IN A 'DELICATE' political situation such as exists in Northern Ireland the army does not make plans without consulting the politicians.

The plan which the Paratroopers put into operation would have been conceived some time previously, most likely by a Para staff group. It would then have been submitted for approval to a 'higher authority' the most immediate being in this case Colonel Dereck Wilford, commander of the 1st Battalion, and General Robert Ford, Commander of Ground Forces in Northern Ireland.

Wilford and Ford on their own would certainly not have sanctioned a plan with such potentially decisive results and, even at its most perfect, the certainty of civilian casualties. The plan would have had to be put to the members of the Joint Security Committee—General Tuzo, the inspector General of the Ulster Constabulary, Prime Minister Brian Faulkner and John Taylor. Faulkner and Taylor would have had to consider the political implications.

At the beginning of the year Faulkner had announced a 12-month extension of the ban on marches. This had considerably enraged many of his own supporters—members of the Orange Order, the Royal Black Preceptor and the Apprentice Boys, whose many summer marches were thus outlawed.

Illegal anti-internment marches were taking place at a rate of more than one a week. In the first three weeks of January the Northern Resistance Movement and the Civil Rights Association had between them held marches in Belfast, Dungannon, Armagh, Newcastle, Castlewellan, and Magilligan. Faulkner's right-wing supporters were making it clear that if this did not stop, they, too, would march in defiance of the law.

On Thursday, 20 January, a deputation representing the Orange Order met Faulkner to discuss the matter. Afterwards they said that they would 'watch with interest the anti-internment marches'.

On Saturday, 22 January, the Amalgamated Committee of the Orange Order, the Royal Black Preceptory and the Apprentice Boys met for four hours in Lurgan. In a statement afterwards the committee said: 'In the absence of a clear demonstration of its (the ban's) effectiveness, the government could hardly expect our people to observe it'.

On Tuesday, 25 January two Unionist MPs, Robert Mitchell (North Armagh) and John Laird (St Anne's) rebelled and voted for a motion put down by the Rev Ian Paisley censuring the government for imposing the blanket ban.

Meanwhile Mr William Craig was piecing together his 'Ulster Vanguard' movement and telling mass rallies to 'prepare for action'.

To survive politically Faulkner needed something drastic done about the anti-internment marches. And he needed something drastic done about Derry.

For more than a year security forces had not been able to operate freely in the Creggan, Brandywell and Bogside areas. Since 9 August, the day of internment, the army and police had been shut out completely. This area of 30,000 inhabitants, by far the biggest and the only surviving no-go area, was a running insult to established ideas of good order.

This was the situation when the Civil Rights Association announced at the beginning of the week before 30 January that they were going ahead with a march in Derry on that date. And when, to aggravate matters further, Dr Paisley's Democratic Unionist Party announced that it would hold a religious service in Guildhall Square in Derry at the time when the march was scheduled to arrive there.

On Wednesday 26 January at Stormont, Faulkner and Taylor talked with General Tuzo. On 27 January Faulkner flew to London and spoke privately with Heath for more than an hour. On 28 January Heath presided over a meeting of the British Cabinet's Defence and Overseas Committee. Present were Maudling, Whitelaw, Davies, Barrington, Barber and Balniel. The service chiefs also attended. On 29 January the Royal Ulster Constabulary and the British Army issued the following joint statement:

'Experience this year has already shown that attempted marches often end in violence and must have been forseen by the organisers (sic). Clearly, the responsibility for this violence

and the consequences of it must rest fairly and squarely on the shoulders of those who encourage people to break the law. . . . The security forces have a duty to take action against those who set out to break the law.'

The same day the Democratic Unionist Party announced in the following terms that it was calling off its religious service:

'We have been assured that the Civil Rights march will be halted by force if necessary. We are prepared to give the government a final opportunity to demonstrate their integrity and honour their promise, but warn that if they fail in this undertaking they need never again ask Loyalist people to forfeit their basic right of peaceful and legal assembly.'

We cannot know, and are never likely to be told, exactly what was said at Stormont, what passed between Faulkner and Heath, what Heath told his colleagues. But we can say with certainty that 30 January was mentioned at all these meetings, and that, before Bloody Sunday, the political and military establishments were well aware, and quite happy, that it was going to be just that.

8

IN THE AFTERMATH of Bloody Sunday there are very few working-class Catholics in Northern Ireland who are not implacably hostile to the British Army. This is something of a change from the situation which obtained in 1969 when soldiers first appeared on the streets.

To understand why this change came about, and what steps it is necessary to take to ensure that there are no massacres in the future, we have to look at the British strategy towards Northern Ireland over the past three and a half years.

In 1969 the Labour Government decided to intervene decisively to force democracy on Northern Ireland, not out of any passionate commitment to democratic ideals, but because a developing anti-Catholic pogrom in Belfast and Derry threatened British interests. Had nothing been done to prevent a slaughter of Northern Catholics, the Fianna Fail government in the South would have been swept out of office by the tide of Republican anger.

The troops came in, prevented a pogrom and, while they imposed a kind of order on the community, Britain set about the job of restructuring Northern Irish politics to meet the needs of a changed situation.

For almost half a century the Unionist Party had ruled Northern Ireland with little more in its political arsenal but a rag-bag of sectarian slogans. Successive British governments, Labour and Conservative, had cheerfully observed the pattern of discrimination, gerrymandering and repression. None intervened as the Unionist Party suppressed each challenge by any means available.

In 1969 this would no longer do. There was now as much British investment in the South as in the North of Ireland. Green capital was as important to Britain as Orange. 'Democratisation' was the order of the day.

For a time all seemed to be going well. There was relatively little trouble on the streets. Popular papers ran half-page pictures of Tommies sipping tea at street corners in the Lower Falls. There was much talk of light at the end of tunnels. In a series of determinedly non-controversial debates at Westminster