This paper stems from a current research project on cultural memory in the context of the ‘Irish Troubles’ and peace process. I explore questions of memory and trauma, national identity and belonging - in Northern Ireland, the Republic of Ireland and Britain - in the context of extreme social division, violent conflict and attempts at conflict resolution. Following the turn towards spatial and geographical paradigms in Cultural Studies (Jackson 1989), I have become interested in the intersection of these processes with spatial awareness, imaginative geographies, and local place-based forms of memory and commemoration in key locations of the Troubles. My particular approach to the relationship between memory and place is concerned with the articulation of social and psychic space (Dawson 1996). I am interested in the sense of presence of the past in particular places, its implications for understanding the legacies of violent conflict, and also in the potential of such ‘sites of trauma’ to generate impulses towards ‘coming to terms with the past’ that may include recognition of the histories, traumas and memories of others.

The focus here is the state atrocity known as ‘Bloody Sunday’. On 30 January 1972, the British Army shot dead thirteen unarmed Irish nationalist civilians and seriously wounded fifteen others (one of whom subsequently died), on the occasion of a civil rights demonstration protesting against the inequalities, structural discrimination and state repression suffered by Northern Ireland’s Catholic minority. This occurred in a contested place: the city located on the north coast of Ireland, known in Irish nationalist and largely Catholic culture as ‘Derry’; in Ulster Unionist and largely Protestant culture as ‘Londonderry’; and in the discourse of liberal tolerance as ‘Derry/Londonderry’. This conflict over the naming of place recurs with respect to the broader national territory in which the city is situated. Officially known as ‘Northern Ireland’, an integral part of the ‘United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, whose ‘Britishness’ is celebrated and defended by Unionists, for Irish nationalists and especially militant Republicans, this same small territory has historically been seen and referred to as the Occupied ‘Six Counties’ of Ireland, denied their rightful belonging in an all-Ireland sovereign state by unlawful British military force.

This historic political and communal division is inscribed into the cultural geography of the city. Derry/Londonderry is a place where walls and barricades, borders and boundaries - both material and symbolic - have defined political and social life throughout its 400-year modern history. They have also structured the ways in which the past is felt to ‘live on’ in the present, in cultural memories that are grounded in the sense of this city as a contested place. The modern city, built in the early 17th century on the 1,400-year-old site of the Irish settlement of Doire, anglicised as ‘Derrie’, was a loyalist and Protestant settlement established after the
English colonial conquest to exploit the commercial possibilities of the Plantation under the direction the City of London Corporation (commemorated in the change of name). It was also a fortified city whose famous Walls, designed to defend the lives and property of the settlers within from the colonized Catholic Irish without, have survived intact to this day. Catholics were mostly prohibited from living within the walled city, and settled immediately outside in a marshy area that became the Catholic ghetto known as the Bogside. The segregation of religious or ‘ethnic’ communities within the wider city, originally predicated on domination and control of the Catholic Irish community by English and British colonial power, was reproduced throughout the period of the Union and the creation of Northern Ireland, persisting into the 1960s when the Troubles erupted. In January 1972, the Bogside was to become the site of the Bloody Sunday massacre.

Historically, this city has been a place of conflict, violence and trauma, remembered in highly politicized cultures of public commemoration. The walled city became a refuge for Protestant settlers fleeing the native Irish insurgency of 1641, and a defensive bastion for Protestant supporters of King William III during the wars of 1688-91, that secured both the Protestant succession to the British Crown and the Protestant Ascendancy in Ireland. Having withstood the famous Great Siege of Derry in 1688-89, the city, with its walls, guns, and gates slammed shut by loyal apprentices to the cry of ‘No Surrender!’, was transformed into a mythical place, ‘forever memorable as an impregnable bulwark of British Protestantism, of civil and religious liberty’ (Rev. Hugh Hanna in Robinson 1988:20; McBride 1997). Keeping alive the memory of the Great Siege has been the mission of the Loyal Order of the Apprentice Boys of Derry, who parade the Derry Walls every 12 August in commemoration. This ritual parading has functioned to ‘[drive] home the point that, despite the Catholic majority [established since 1891], Derry would remain a Protestant city’ (Jarman 1997:78). For Derry’s Catholics, loyalist commemoration of the Siege made Derry City and its Walls a symbol of Protestant domination and of their own second-class status. Overlooking the Bogside from their commanding position on the impregnable Walls, the loyalist parades exuded provocation and threat. The nationalists’ own smaller-scale commemorative parades were contained in the Bogside ghetto by ‘a rigid, unwritten law that Catholics could not march within the city walls’ (McCann 1980:22), enforced with violence by the police.

Londonderry’s continuing status as a ‘Protestant city’ into the 1960s and 70s, and the continuing exclusion of its Catholic majority from equal participation in economic, political and social life, rested on the partition of Ireland by the British Government in the early 1920s. During the Irish War of Independence (1919 - 21), the British Army and the Ulster Special Constabulary, in alliance with local loyalist paramilitaries, had defeated the Irish Republican Army (IRA) in the north, and ‘terrorised into submission’ the Catholic minority (Farrell 1980:81), ensuring that the city remained within the British jurisdiction of Northern Ireland.
The securing of the Northern state was consolidated politically after 1922 by the manipulation of electoral boundaries to secure the permanent political dominance of the Unionist electorate (in Londonderry Catholics formed two thirds of the population by 1966, but elected a minority of representatives to the Corporation) by ‘an elaborate and comprehensive system of discrimination in housing and jobs which kept [Catholics] in a position of permanent and hopeless inferiority’; and by a battery of draconian Emergency Powers legislation (ibid.). Thus, the Catholics and nationalists of Derry found themselves caught in a double exclusion: as a powerless majority hemmed into a ghetto outside the centre of their own city; but also as a powerless minority trapped by partition within ‘a state run by their enemies’ (Farrell 1980:92).

The Northern Ireland Civil Rights Movement launched in 1968 was an attempt to break through these internal borders by means of protest and civil disobedience. Initially activists campaigned for equality of citizenship with respect to votes, jobs and housing. The challenge to symbolic space implicit in any such project was clarified when Derry became the focal point for demonstrations that defied the ban on Catholic parades entering the walled city, and were met with brutal violence by Northern Ireland’s militarized police. In 1969, in response to a series of attacks on the Bogside by the police, nationalists blocked the main entrances to the ghetto with defensive barricades and declared a ‘no-go’ area from which police were barred, known as Free Derry. In August 1969, the ‘Battle of the Bogside’, a pivotal event in the escalation of the Troubles, was triggered by the annual Apprentice Boys parade. Armed police joined the loyalists in an attempted invasion of the ghetto, while nationalists, fearing a pogrom, successfully defended their area with petrol bombs in 48 hours of fierce fighting centred on Rossville Street (the killing ground of Bloody Sunday two-and-a-half years later); causing British troops to be introduced onto the streets of Derry ‘to restore law and order’.

Within a matter of months, the imaginative geography of control had acquired a further layer of symbolism, with the establishment in 1970 of a British Army Observation Post on Derry Walls overlooking the Bogside and the adjacent Creggan and Brandywell districts, to monitor all movement of people in and out of the ghetto. The repressive power of the state was increasingly brought to bear, with the introduction in August 1971 of the controversial legal weapon of internment without trial, and the use of the British Army, including its elite battlefield troops such as the Parachute Regiment, to police the nationalist ‘communities in revolt’ (Fr. Anthony Mulvey in Pringle & Jacobson 2000:34). In the Bogside, six Catholic civilians including a 14-year-old girl were shot dead by British soldiers during the seven months prior to Bloody Sunday. This provoked an intensification of the imaginative geography of resistance, as the citizens of the Bogside and the Creggan [ ...] declared themselves independent from the civil authority and sealed off their ghetto from the rest of the city with barricades of rubble, slabs of concrete, old bedsteads, iron girders, planks of wood with rusty nails, burnt-out trucks and cars. Inside this Catholic enclave the rule of law did not exist’ (Pringle & Jacobson 2000:35) Defended by a citizens’ militia, which spawned a re-emergent IRA waging an increasingly effective guerrilla campaign
against the British military occupation with enthusiastic local support, the Free Derry no-go area was sustained until 31 July 1972. Together, the imaginative geographies of control and resistance constituted the contested space within which the march and massacre of Bloody Sunday unfolded on 30 January 1972.

The Civil Rights march in Derry that day was in protest against internment without trial. Some 15 - 20,000 men, women and children set off to walk from Creggan down through the Bogside to a rally at the Guildhall in the city centre. Liam Wray, whose brother Jim was shot dead later that day, remembers the symbolic significance of the march in terms of the imaginative geography of the city: ‘Derry was a nationalist city yet Catholics were treated as second-class citizens. The authorities wanted to confine us to the ghetto. Inside the city walls was the sacred territory of the unionists into which no nationalist could venture’ (Irish News, 30/8/92). The march was prevented from entering the city centre by British Army barriers, provoking the ritual riot by a section of nationalist youth. The main body of the march turned away to hold a rally at Free Derry Corner, a landmark on Rossville Street marking the boundary of the no-go area, named after the slogan painted on the gable end of a housing terrace: ‘You Are Now Entering Free Derry’. As this rally was about to begin, an attack - described by the Army as an ‘arrest operation’ against leading rioters - was launched through the barriers by soldiers from the Parachute Regiment. They assaulted and arrested not only rioters running away from the barrier, but also marchers milling around prior to the meeting, and local residents; and as the frightened crowd fled, in a stampede south down Rossville Street in the direction of Free Derry Corner, the soldiers opened fire into it. During the next ten minutes, ‘the Paras fired 108 rounds of 7.62 [mm] live ammunition, an average of one every six seconds from different positions in a confined space little larger than a football pitch’ (Pringle & Jacobson 2000:143-4). Later they claimed to have come under fierce attack from gunmen, petrol-bombers and nail-bombers, and to have returned their fire, shooting only at people whom they saw to be using firearms or bombs. There is no convincing evidence to corroborate these allegations, whereas the visual evidence and the unanimous testimony of hundreds of civilian eyewitnesses indicates that the soldiers opened fire unprovoked at unarmed civilians, including people who were running or crawling away, lying wounded on the ground, waving handkerchiefs as white flags, and going to the aid of the wounded and the dying.

Within this ‘confined space’ on the edge of the Bogside, overlooked from the City Walls where other soldiers were firing down into the crowd, fatal and near-fatal shootings took place in four distinct killing grounds: in a car park on the northern side of Rossville Flats; in a forecourt on their southern side; on a rubble barricade, part of the Free Derry defences across Rossville Street from the Flats to the gable wall of Glenfada Park; and in a courtyard of Glenfada Park and the alley leading to Abbey Park. These sites of atrocity are - or were - real geographical locations in the Bogside where everyday life took place before, and continued after, Bloody Sunday. After the atrocity, these locations became - and have remained - places of trauma and memory.
These are the places recorded in documentary photographs and film images of the events of that day, and that feature in the eyewitness testimonies collected in its immediate aftermath. They are also places that have become frozen in time as psychic sites of memory, and of traumatic disturbances to memory, for witnesses, survivors and the relatives of the dead; reappearing as the locations of terror, horror and loss in memory narratives told many years later.

In 1996, for example, Don Mullan recalled how, as a 15-year-old on his first march, ‘I was at the corner of Glenfada Park and the rubble barricade on Rossville Street’ when the shooting started: ‘I distinctly remember a youth clutching his stomach a short distance away, his cry filling the air with despair and disbelief. For a moment we were stunned. People ran to his aid while others, including myself, sheltered behind the barricade. Suddenly the air was filled with what seemed like a thunderstorm of bullets.’ As in many survivor testimonies of Bloody Sunday, Mullan remembers the attack in collective as well as personal terms: ‘Our nervous systems reacted simultaneously, as though a high-voltage electric shock had been unleashed. Absolute panic ensued as we turned and ran. Doors and alleyways choked as waves of terrified adults and children tried to reach safety. “Jesus! They’re going to kill us!”’ Similarly, he recalls the atmosphere in the city later that day: ‘I had never before experienced collective shock on this scale. The entire west bank of Derry was deeply traumatised by the attack’ (Mullan 1998:34-5).

In the Bogside after Bloody Sunday, the trauma of the atrocity itself was intensified by the judicial ‘whitewash’ instituted by the Widgery Tribunal; the Public Inquiry set up by the British Government to investigate the killings in their immediate aftermath, conducted by the Lord Chief Justice, Lord Widgery. His Report endorsed the Army’s narrative of events, exonerated the soldiers of any wrong-doing, and failed to clear the names of the dead from unfounded Army allegations that they were gunmen and nail-bombers; thus promoting an ‘official memory’ of the event, that served the interests of the British military and political establishment as it conducted its ‘propaganda war’ in Northern Ireland. Widgery’s blatant denial of justice to the nationalist victims of state terrorism had two important, long-term effects upon the traumatized community. It stimulated recruitment to the IRA, escalating and prolonging the war; and for survivors and relatives of the dead, who have had to ‘live with the lie’ in their everyday lives, it compounded the original trauma of violence and loss, prolonging its effects and blocking psychic recovery.

Twenty-odd years after Bloody Sunday, visitors to the Bogside have found the place transformed and in many ways unrecognisable as the site of atrocity and trauma. ‘The killing ground is now hard to imagine’, wrote the journalists, Pringle and Jacobson (2000:1), twenty-eight years after their pioneering investigation of Bloody Sunday as members of the Sunday Times Insight Team. Road-building and redevelopment programmes of the 1970s and 80s have transformed the physical environment and its remembered landmarks, most notably the Rosville Flats. The pivotal location of Bloody Sunday, the three gloomy, nine-storey blocks that once towered over the area were demolished in stages between 1987 and 1989, to be replaced by ‘cheery, up-market council houses’ (Irish News, 30/1/95). These new blocks of modern housing and airy, landscaped spaces do not readily reveal the contours of the Bloody Sunday killing ground, and only the squat, ugly and decaying flats and courtyards of Glenfada Park North can be clearly identified from the old photographs: ‘it would be hard, now, to say exactly where ten of the thirteen shot dead that
afternoon fell around the rubble barricade’ (Pringle 1998:52). ‘It is as if’, wrote Pringle and Jacobson, ‘some town planner had only one purpose in mind - to destroy the landmarks and wipe out the memories’ (2000:1).

Nevertheless, the living connection between past and present in this place is vigorously attested and maintained by the people of the Bogside in a number of ways. Compellingly for the visitor, the killing ground area between Glenfada Park and Westland Street has been turned into a public memorial space with several focal points. At one end of this space stands the Bloody Sunday monument: a simple grey obelisk dedicated to the memory of the fourteen ‘who were murdered by British paratroopers on Bloody Sunday 30th January 1972’, that lists their names and ages under the inscription, ‘Their epitaph shall be in the continuing struggle for democracy’. When first unveiled in January 1974, it stood in the southern forecourt of the Rossville Flats at the spot where Barney McGuigan and Paddy Doherty were shot dead. Since the demolition of the Flats, its physical surroundings have been transformed, and it now stands in a small grass enclosure with a stone wall and steps leading down into Rossville Street. One hundred meters away, at the symbolic centre of the memorial space, stands Free Derry Wall, the most famous of all nationalist monuments of the Troubles. Still bearing its iconic inscription, ‘You Are Now Entering Free Derry’, in 2000 it also incorporated on its reverse side a mural to Bloody Sunday calling for ‘Truth Justice Healing’. The wall stands on the site of Free Derry Corner, the rallying point for Civil Rights and Republican demonstrations both before and after Bloody Sunday, and has sustained the memory of the no-go area long after its physical reoccupation by the British Army in July 1972. The gable-end wall bearing the slogan first painted in 1969, and repainted many times since, was maintained as the symbolic location of popular resistance to the military occupation even after the housing terrace to which it was originally attached had been demolished during redevelopment, and despite its being regularly mutilated by British soldiers and the police. Both survivals from the past that have escaped redevelopment, these two memorial sites function as present-day markers of the lost environment, providing points of orientation within the invisible geography of Bloody Sunday.

More recent focal points of commemoration are located in the area immediately adjacent to and south of Free Derry Wall, where the two-storey gable-ends of housing developments in Lisfannon Park host four large-scale murals facing into Rossville Street, painted by local artists. The first of these, created in 1994, the twenty-fifth anniversary of the outbreak of the Troubles and also the year of the paramilitary ceasefires that galvanised the peace process, commemorates the Battle of the Bogside in 1969. It assembles a montage of black-and-white images, imitating the documentary photographs on which they are modelled, that recall the police assault using CS gas, the now-vanished cobbled streets with burning houses, the Rossville Flats from where the defence of the area was mounted, and the popular resistance in the form of a young petrol-bomber disguised by a gas mask. A second mural is based on ‘the most remembered icon’ of Bloody Sunday: Fulvio Grimaldi’s photograph depicting Father Edward Daly ‘waving a white handkerchief as he leads rescuers carrying Jackie Duddy, a dying victim through the still threatening bullets’ (Mullan 1998: Pictures Section 2: 8). Grimaldi’s photograph fixed this moment as an iconic visual memory of loss, courage and compassion. Reproduced on posters and street literature, the photograph also became an icon of the
nationalist and Republican resistance to the British occupation of the Six Counties; another Bloody Sunday photographer, Gilles Peress, recalled that ‘in past years we plastered the walls of the Bogside with blowups of these moments, of these images’ (Peress interview in Ziff 1998:82). In 1995, the Bogside Artists, Tom Kelly and Kevin Hasson, incorporated Grimaldi’s photograph as the centrepiece of their mural, where it is interwoven with other iconic images: of the civil rights march itself, and - to the left of the central group, replacing one of the men carrying Jackie Duddy in the photograph - the threatening figure of a Bloody Sunday paratrooper with a gas-mask and rifle, positioned as if watching his dying victim carried away. The mural weaves these three photographic memories into a composite image, rendered in black and white as if quoting the originals, but adds a further, striking element by using dashes of colour. Picked out in red, the now-bloodstained and crumpled civil-rights banner, trampled underfoot by the soldier, signifies the death of the Civil Rights Movement and with it the possibility of democratic change through peaceful popular protest in Northern Ireland. Two further murals, in a contrasting style using full colour, commemorate the 14-year-old Annette McGavigan, who was shot dead in the Bogside by British soldiers four months before Bloody Sunday, and the Free Derry no-go area, signified in images of a barricade, a woman clattering a dustbin lid to warn of an Army raid, the young civil rights leader, Bernadette Devlin, and Free Derry Corner itself. (A fifth mural, facing south onto Westland Street, away from the main memorial space, depicts portraits of the fourteen Bloody Sunday dead.)

Seen from the ground as you walk towards and past Free Derry Wall from William Street, the direction of the Bloody Sunday march and the fleeing crowd in 1972, this cluster of murals has a strikingly dramatic impact. They install at the heart of the location vivid images of the events of the past that took place here, creating a kind of living-art installation that weaves memory into the scene of everyday life. Their imagery provides a visible manifestation of the counter-memory of resistance and injustice, but they also contribute to the cultural and psychic function of the memorial space as a whole, in its symbolic reclaiming and ‘detoxifying’ of the site of the atrocity - a contaminated space of trauma and death - by and for the local community. Powerful commemorative rituals of repossession are publicly enacted in this memorial space. Every year since 1973, on the weekend closest to 30 January, an annual Bloody Sunday commemorative march has followed the route of the original march from Creggan to a rally at Free Derry Corner or the Guildhall. In 1997, some 40,000 people, ‘the biggest gathering the city has ever seen’, participated in the march to mark the twenty-fifth anniversary of Bloody Sunday (Derry Journal, 4/2/97). They marched not only to remember but to demand that, finally, justice be done: for the innocence of the victims to be proclaimed, for the British Government to accept full responsibility for their deaths, for the verdict of the Widgery Tribunal be overturned, and for the whole incident to be thoroughly reinvestigated by a fresh inquiry to establish the truth about the events.

One of the most remarkable things about the huge 1997 commemoration that filled the Bogside to overflowing, was its prominent involvement of children and young people. At the head of the march, fourteen relatives of the dead, many of them aged from five to twenty-five,
each bore a white cross inscribed with the name of one of the victims. Behind them, another row of mostly second- and third-generation relatives carried poster-sized portraits of their uncle, great-uncle or grandfather; on arrival at Free Derry Corner they lined up with these portraits prominently displayed in front of the stage (Belfast Telegraph 3/2/97; Derry Journal 4/2/97). After the platform speeches, the rally listened to a public reading of a poem composed by two 21-year-old Bog sides, Killian Mullan and Sharon Meenan. Using the repeated refrain, ‘I remember’, the poem evokes the story of Bloody Sunday in a number of brief images intercut with the names of the dead, before ending: ‘I remember the lies./ And I wasn’t even born’ (Derry Journal 1997:4). In laying claim to a personal memory of events that took place before they were born, the young poets exemplify what Marianne Hirsch has termed ‘postmemory’, a term she uses to characterize ‘the experience of those who grow up dominated by narratives that preceded their birth [...] the stories of the previous generation’ (Hirsch 1997:21-2). Coined to account for the necessary relationship to their parents’ past lived out by the children of Holocaust survivors, the concept of postmemory, Hirsch suggests, ‘may usefully describe other second-generation memories of cultural or collective traumatic events and experiences’ (ibid). For the new generations born in the Bogside and Creggan since 30 January 1972, particularly the members of what have become known as ‘the Bloody Sunday families’ which lost a loved one that day, ‘familial and cultural memory’ (ibid:13) of the event and its aftermath is taken on and made their own, in a cross-generational transmission channelled through stories, images and participation in commemorative ritual.

For members of the survivor generation, as Bernadette McAliskey (née Devlin) reflected in 1992, the presence of the young people could evoke a sense of time itself splitting in two: in one timescale, a sense of it having stopped and stood still since that march ‘twenty years ago on a day so uncannily like today’, when young people - including herself as a 24-year-old - were beaten, gassed, shot at, and, in the cases of nine young men aged 17 - 22, shot dead, by the British Army in this very place; in another, a simultaneous and poignant recognition of time having elapsed, the survivors grown older, their children grown to maturity, while Bloody Sunday still remained unresolved (An Phoblacht/Republican News 30/1/92). Far from implying a fading of the memory of Bloody Sunday with the ageing of the survivor generation, however, the emergence of a new generation of ‘people who weren’t even born [in] January 1972’, but who ‘have had the collective memory of the event etched into their young consciousness’ (Bloody Sunday Weekend 1997), is seen as the guarantee that, in the words of Michael McKinney of the Justice Campaign, ‘we will not let them forget their bloody murder’ (Derry Journal, 4/2/97).
the Creggan. These are based still on inter-linked networks of extended families, many of which are the same families whose sons, husbands, brothers and uncles were shot dead on Bloody Sunday; not to mention the families of the thousands of other demonstrators and local residents who came under attack that day. A second factor has been these nationalist communities’ creative, mutually supportive and independent traditions of self-help and community activism ‘from below’, born out of the history of the Catholic ghetto and its culture of resistance against the Unionist and then the British state machines. The third important factor has been the persistence in Northern Ireland during those twenty-five years, and despite the initiation of the peace process made possible by the IRA ceasefire of August 1994, of conditions of inequality, injustice and anti-Catholic violence endured by the nationalist minority, comparable to (if not identical with) those which the marchers on Bloody Sunday were protesting against.

These factors have interacted to keep alive a commemorative tradition for three decades after Bloody Sunday. Sustained for much of this time by Republicans, from the early 1990s the commemoration was reinvigorated by the Bloody Sunday Justice Campaign, a grass-roots organisation initiated and led by the families and their local supporters, which broadened its base and turned it from a relatively narrow, ritualized political memory of past violence into the annual focus of ‘a campaigning or live human rights issue’ (Tony Doherty in Rolston 2000:15). The annual commemorative march and rally was transformed into a festival of exchange and debate about history, politics and human rights that attracts numbers of the city’s young people and visitors from all over the world. The activists and other ‘political tourists’ who come to Derry in increasing numbers are also initiated into the imaginative geography and cultural memory of the city (Bloody Sunday Initiative 1991). For such visitors, the memorial space in the Bogside is a required destination. In January 1998, the Justice Campaign’s skilful alliance-building, linked to independent historical research and critical analysis of the Widgery Report, supported by the annual commemoration attracting tens of thousands of people, bore fruit when the New Labour Government led by Tony Blair announced that a new Public Inquiry to reinvestigate the shootings would sit in Derry’s Guildhall under Lord Saville. (This was still cross-examining witnesses early in 2004.)

The connection between past and present in the killing grounds of the Bogside is also attested in another way: in the ‘involuntary commemorations’ of the psyche affected by trauma (Stanley 2000). The Justice Campaign has called for public acknowledgement of the traumas experienced by the Bloody Sunday relatives and survivors, and linked this to the demand for justice. So, too, have supporters such as the Sinn Féin President, Gerry Adams, who used the language of trauma in adding his voice to calls for a new Inquiry during the 1997 commemoration: ‘Widgery was a lie and Bloody Sunday remains pertinent today because it is an open wound. Bloody Sunday is the Sunday which has never ended’ (Adams in Dawson 1999:192). On that same occasion, on behalf of the relatives, Kay Duddy, whose 17-year-old brother Jackie was killed on Bloody Sunday, told the press: ‘Perhaps when we have had their names cleared we can come to terms with it and finally lay them to rest’ (Duddy, ibid). In the light of reflections of this kind, a further question arises; as to whether, for those who have experienced such events and then lived with their aftermath for so long, the places of atrocity and trauma can ever really be exorcised of their ghosts, whatever the success of public campaigns for commemoration to secure truth and justice (O’Brien 2002; Leydesdorff et al 1999:6).
Bibliography


