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Emotion, Place and Weaponisation of the Truth: The Bloody Sunday Trust and the Search for Justice

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Abstract
On 30 January 1972 in Derry/Londonderry, a march protesting against the introduction of internment without trial ended with the deaths of thirteen demonstrators. The findings of the initial public inquiry, dubbed the ‘Widgery Whitewash’, resulted in decades-long campaigning that still continues to this day. This article contextualises the events of Bloody Sunday and subsequent public inquiries while also exploring the evolution of the Bloody Sunday Justice Campaign into the Bloody Sunday Trust. It explores the Trust’s use of emotion in its presentation as well as its choice of location for its own Museum of Free Derry. Finally, it combines observations of the museum with public history principles such as public outreach and community narratives to analyse whether or not the Trust’s campaign and aims constitute a weaponisation of the truth. The article argues that weaponisation of the truth, rather than implying violence or confrontation, is a carefully constructed truth that has been deployed in the pursuit of justice. It concludes that the combination of significant geographical placement, the emotion evoked within and the strong sense of place presented by the Museum of Free Derry has successfully contradicted the initial Widgery Inquiry’s findings. Also, the carefully designed aims of the Bloody Justice Campaign, along with the curation and presentation within the museum, have instituted a successful weaponisation of the truth in the defence of the victims and their families’ reputations while providing the platform for the pursuit of the campaign’s final aim, the prosecution of those soldiers who fired the fatal shots.

I
The events of Bloody Sunday on 30 January 1972 were a defining moment in the history of the city of Derry. On this day, civil rights protestors set off on a non-sanctioned march to protest against the introduction of internment without trial. By 4.30 p.m., thirteen marchers were dead.1


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injured – still ongoing – has evolved from collective commemoration to collective activism, resulting in the creation of a Bloody Sunday Justice Campaign, the Bloody Sunday Trust and, ultimately, the Museum of Free Derry. The adoption of, and participation in, the Bloody Sunday Justice Campaign by the nationalist community of Derry, in particular, has led to the development of a highly emotive and politically charged collective narrative which is for the most part agreed upon in the community. This emotive truth draws on a combination of eyewitness testimony, media coverage and historical fact as established in the Saville Report of 2010, but is also informed by political affiliation, community identity and grief.

This piece explores how the survivors and families affected by Bloody Sunday have used public history to weaponise their truth. That is, rather than implying violence or confrontation, it is argued that this carefully constructed and curated truth has been purposefully deployed in the interests of activism and the pursuit of justice. After contextualising Bloody Sunday, the subsequent public inquiry, and the creation and development of the Bloody Sunday Justice Campaign, it will consider the evolution of the Campaign into the Bloody Sunday Trust. The emergence of the Bloody Sunday Trust, which still operates today, is explained by addressing the various forms of public history that have been created and curated throughout the last forty-nine years. Lastly, this article will explore the presentation of the events of Bloody Sunday within the Museum of Free Derry, highlighting the importance of its location within the city, the personnel who staff it, as well as the emotion invoked through its choice of artefacts and exhibition style. Evaluating these aspects prompts final reflections on the extent to which the Bloody Sunday Trust has ‘weaponised’ the truth in its search for justice, and what this might mean for the people of Derry and Northern Ireland.

Marches had become more pronounced occurrences in Northern Ireland since 1968 when increased political consciousness, inspired by the gains of the civil rights movement in the United States and greater political agitation, led to the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association’s (NICRA) first large-scale march in County Tyrone. By the 1960s, socio-economic conditions had long favoured the unionist population in the unionist-controlled Northern Irish state. The political system, too, favoured unionists in local council elections. Often, councils with majority nationalist populations were led by unionists. The city of Derry was a remarkable example of this. With four instances of gerrymandering since 1896, Derry, with its majority nationalist population, was designed...
to return a unionist government at local council elections. The 1967 local council election results provided the unionist party with 60 per cent of the seats and control of the council, when in fact they had only received 32 per cent of the vote. Such inconsistencies were due to a number of highly selective rules that governed the election process. For example, only those with a university degree, ratepayers and their partners, and business owners were entitled to vote in council elections. In addition, property owners such as private landlords and business owners could have multiple votes due to their ownership of multiple properties. The partisan public housing allocation practices, gerrymandering of electoral wards and relatively low university level educational attainment among the nationalist population created large scale and widespread voting inequity. Tensions and political agitation increased throughout the 1960s. Domestic political and socio-economic inequities and international influences combined ‘to produce a new form of Catholic[nationalist] political self-assertion, focussing not on the traditional grievance of partition but on abuses of power within Northern Ireland’. Subsequently, multiple civil rights protest organisations such as NICRA and People’s Democracy (PD) sprung up in the late 1960s, formalising and organising calls for political equity.

With the creation of civil rights groups came an organised and determined effort to take their demands to the streets. Even though many of their protest issues such as voting and housing equity had cross-community appeal, the aesthetics of an organised movement were easily categorised as inherently sectarian. The call for civil rights and equality was seen by observers as a challenge to the status quo, and therefore a challenge to unionist power in Northern Ireland. Senior unionist politicians gave legitimacy to such fears by speaking out against the various civil rights organisations. Then Minister for Commerce, Brian Faulkner, notably stated that ‘the real objective behind this sort of exercise is to undermine, as much as possible, Ulster’s constitutional position’.

The increase in civil rights protest marches throughout the late 1960s and early 1970s ultimately, if unintentionally, increased sectarian tensions. As a result, the Stormont government banned large public gatherings such as marches.

It is in this context of sectarian tension, political agitation and governmental intervention that there was a very heavy police presence

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2 Bob Purdie, Politics in the Streets (Belfast, 1990), p. 159.
5 Ibid.
in Derry on 30 January 1972. Fatefully, a decision was made to deploy the British army’s 1st Battalion, Parachute Regiment to police the march and prevent it from proceeding along its planned route to the seat of unionist power in the centre of town, the Guildhall. The NICRA-led march proceeded along its planned route until it approached the army barricades. Despite organisers leading the demonstration away from them, a section of the marchers remained, throwing bricks, stones and other detritus at the soldiers. Having anticipated such riots, the Parachute Regiment began their pre-planned arrest operation to ‘scoop up’ the ‘hooligan element’ among the marchers. The fatal shots that rang out over the subsequent thirty minutes killed thirteen protestors and injured a further eighteen. One of the injured subsequently died in the months following the march. The army declared that they only opened fire after they were fired upon. The nationalist population of Derry demanded to know why the army was presenting a version of events that was so alien from their own, namely that the Parachute Regiment had unjustly begun shooting live rounds at protestors who ‘fired’ nothing but stones. Regardless of which narrative the public accepted, grief and shock permeated the discourse and condemnation rang out from politicians and civic leaders alike.

Subsequent political wrangling in Northern Ireland and Westminster led to the official commissioning of an inquiry on 1 February led by the Lord Chief Justice, Lord Widgery. The tribunal, which gathered evidence between 21 February and 14 March 1972, was tasked with exploring events surrounding the shootings by gathering eyewitness testimony. However, the Widgery Inquiry was troubled from the day it was announced in the House of Commons. This was largely because, on the previous day, ‘the government had given, in the House, its own version of what had happened on the march’. This version was the government’s presentation of the truth: an authoritative and official account of events. Therefore, before it had even begun, the Widgery Inquiry was tasked with either corroborating this version of events or directly contradicting the assertions of the government of the United Kingdom. The inquiry also faced attitudinal obstacles among the nationalist population of Northern Ireland. In particular, the nationalist population of Derry shared the sentiments of prominent Northern Irish politician John Hume when he stated that ‘we cannot accept a British judgement on a British crime’. In addition, public and political pressure made a speedy outcome essential. This, too, presented challenges, as the ‘overriding requirement for the Widgery Report was public confidence in its findings’. A hastily implemented inquiry would not provide such confidence.


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Ultimately, the content of the report was spread across just thirty-six pages and was presented in April 1972 after only three weeks of a narrow and selective inquiry process. Its findings essentially exonerated the soldiers from wrongdoing. Although it did contain small pockets of criticism, the majority of blame was placed squarely on the organisers of the march along with those marchers who broke away from the main group and participated in riotous behaviour. There was also an accusation of paramilitary activity in the area surrounding the march. The report also stated that some of those who were killed had fired shots at the soldiers and/or handled bombs. The findings did not reflect the nationalist community’s knowledge of events, and directly contradicted eyewitness accounts. It was called the ‘Widgery Whitewash’ and labelled as ‘a complete travesty of justice’ by those who were injured on the day, the victims’ families and the nationalist community.\(^\text{12}\) It also served as a great source of distress to the families of those who died. The niece of one of the victims, Julieann Campbell, reflected on the Widgery Report decades after its publication, stating that ‘the lies enshrined in Widgery’ had the effect of branding the victims’ families and ‘ensured their reputation as “terrorist” families’ in the public eye.\(^\text{13}\) A sense of injustice permeated Derry and further afield; academic Nevan Aiken argues that ‘taken together, the events of Bloody Sunday and the subsequent Widgery Inquiry proved to be incredibly detrimental to community relations in Northern Ireland’.\(^\text{14}\) That is, the combination of both incidents split public opinion irreparably. The Widgery Report provided a legitimisation of the government’s initial account of events to the unionist community, while simultaneously representing a pillar of injustice to the nationalist community. For the latter, this ingrained sense of injustice permeated the subsequent decades.

II

For the nationalist community of Derry, it was not acceptable simply to forget the events of Bloody Sunday. The grief, shock and anger felt by the nationalist citizens of the city translated into modes of public remembrance including protests and ongoing media engagement throughout 1972. Yearly commemorative marches followed these activities from 1973 onwards. The ceremony or ritual involved in these marches established and perpetuated a collective memory of that day, ensuring that for the people of Derry, and in particular the nationalist population, forgetting Bloody Sunday would be almost impossible. The commemoration of Bloody Sunday was then set in stone in 1974, with the unveiling of a monument in memory of the victims. Erected on Rossville

Street, one of the sites where marchers lost their lives, it served as a focal point for both protest and remembrance.

A concerted campaign for justice took the form of the Bloody Sunday Initiative from 1989, which was then superseded by the Bloody Sunday Justice Campaign in 1992. Commemoration and remembrance merged with activism in the formalisation and publication of the aims of this campaign, which were to establish a new independent inquiry into the events of that day, to overturn the findings of the Widgery Report and therefore clear the names of the victims, and finally to secure the prosecution of those responsible for the deaths. On the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of Bloody Sunday in 1997, the Bloody Sunday Trust was created to complement and further the Justice Campaign, and to provide support to the victims’ families. The Trust adopted a Milan Kundera quote as its unofficial motto: ‘the struggle of man against power is the struggle of memory against forgetting’. Perhaps unknowingly, the adoption of this quote highlighted the Trust’s commitment to becoming creators and curators of public history, through acts of commemoration and memorialisation which actively and openly challenged the official government account of Bloody Sunday. It was also around this time that there was some discussion regarding the potential of a museum in presenting their story to a national and international audience.

The concept of a Museum of Free Derry was nurtured and developed by the Trust, and the museum eventually opened its doors to the public in 2007. Its aim was to contextualise the events of Bloody Sunday within the civil rights movement and the concept of ‘Free Derry’: the name given to the Bogside area of Derry by its residents between 1968 and 1972, when it was effectively a no-go area for the police and British army. Recognising that ‘place is a powerful stimulus to memory’, the Bloody Sunday Trust chose its location carefully when developing the museum. It obtained derelict buildings in Glenfada Park (Figure 1), where two of the victims of Bloody Sunday were shot and killed. By converting and renovating these buildings, the Trust created a tangible link between the present day and the fateful events of 1972: visitors to the museum are reminded that as they step into the building, they are walking in the footprints of the marchers. Nestled within the same housing estate that overlooked the events of Bloody Sunday, the museum possesses a ‘powerful intangible cultural heritage’ in its choice of place, which encourages visitors to view the museum as a ‘site of memory’. It is also a stark reminder that the events of Bloody Sunday took place in the heart of the nationalist community in the residential Bogside. Further significance of place is provided by the fact that the museum is less than

200 yards away from the iconic Free Derry Corner, which has long been an important meeting place and symbol of protest for the nationalist community of the city. The People’s Gallery of the Bogside Murals are dotted around the area near the building, creating a distinctive space for the museum. The original museum building still bore the scars of Bloody Sunday in the form of bullet holes caused by ricocheting ammunition rounds, and the importance of these holes was recognised by the designers of the current museum building also. In their plans, the designers ensured that these holes would be on permanent display on the façade of the new building in their original position (Figure 2).

The artefacts within this museum were chosen and displayed in such a way as to be as hard-hitting and emotive as possible. The exhibition contains highly personal artefacts relating to the victims of Bloody Sunday and their families, and items of clothing worn by some of the victims on the day of the march are displayed. Photographs, amateur and professional video footage and recordings of army communications from that day immerse the visitor in the events of Bloody Sunday. One of the most striking and emotive artefacts is an item of baby clothing that was used to stem the flow of blood from the wounds of victim Michael Kelly (Figure 3). Blood stains remain visible, after all this time. These intimate objects are amplified by their context, through the display of civil rights banners and literature throughout the exhibition space. It is clear that emotion is at the core of the museum’s message. It invites visitors to think, ‘what if these victims were members of your own family?’

Figure 2 The Museum of Free Derry in 2017. Picture courtesy of Museum of Free Derry Manager, Adrian Kerr. [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

Figure 3 Personal items displayed in the museum (including the item of baby clothing centre-left of picture). Picture courtesy of the Bloody Sunday Trust. [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]
With these powerful exhibits, the museum seeks to give a strong sense of the experiences and emotions of that day and aims to present a persuasive account of the community’s truth. In so doing, it creates a clear separation between this, and the official narrative presented in the Widgery Report, fostering recognition among visitors of why a Bloody Sunday Justice Campaign was necessary in the first place. The museum’s display is a clear example of the inherent politics within public history, in the sense that ‘it weaves moral discourses around objects displayed’ and seeks to challenge visitors’ preconceptions.\(^{20}\) The museum also amplifies the findings of the Saville Report, published in 2010, with its inclusion of television footage of the day of its publication, including the government apology from then British Prime Minister David Cameron. In stark contrast to the Widgery Report, the findings of the lengthy Saville Report corresponded with the memories, beliefs, and views of most of the nationalist community in Derry, and the truth on display in the museum.

### III

Perhaps the greatest and most distinctive asset for the museum’s method of presentation is its staff. Two out of the three members of staff at the museum are relatives of a victim of Bloody Sunday. The most powerful voice among these three members of staff is that of John Kelly, the museum’s education officer. Kelly attended the march on Bloody Sunday and witnessed at first hand the events that unfolded. His brother Michael Kelly was killed very close to the doors of the modern-day museum. This fact constitutes the beginning of Kelly’s introductory talk when addressing visitors to the museum. This instantly creates a direct link to history and memory, immersing visitors in his own personal experience of Bloody Sunday and how its legacy has shaped his life. He proceeds with an explanation of the events of Bloody Sunday, including his views of the Widgery Inquiry and its failure to deliver the truth. It is in this context that the aims of the Bloody Sunday Justice Campaign are explained. Kelly’s use of personal and national history combines with the emotion, sense of place and truth presented in, and by, the museum. In addition, when speaking to visitors, he utilises artefacts such as a rubber bullet, plastic baton round, nail bomb and, most powerfully, a bullet of the same calibre that killed his brother. Ironically, the presentation of this weaponry to the visitors is in turn weaponised, highlighting exactly how lethal they were and can be in the hands of terrorists and the state alike. However, to what extent can this presentation and that of the Bloody Sunday Trust’s Justice Campaign constitute a weaponisation of the truth?

The concepts of ‘weaponisation of truth’ and weaponisation of lies have been thrust into the foreground of academic and journalistic

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In the era of ‘fake news’ and post-truth, facts can be lost in the flurry of media and social media activity. Truth is increasingly presented in intensely binary terms, with very little room for consensus or middle ground. The truth presented by the Museum of Free Derry and weaponised by the Bloody Sunday Justice Campaign and Bloody Sunday Trust is a distinctly constructed narrative – it is their truth; it belongs to them and their community. Their truth is both ‘forensic’ and ‘narrative’, drawing on history and facts while not being wholly dependent on them. Instead, history and facts as determined by the Saville Inquiry act as a framework for the truth in which political affiliation, community identity and grief all play a role.

To be clear, the idea of a weaponisation of the truth is not designed to reflect negatively on the Bloody Sunday Trust, the Bloody Sunday Justice Campaign or the truth presented in the Museum of Free Derry, nor to imply unwarranted violence or confrontation. Instead, it is used here to mean the deployment of historical facts and a community’s truth, in the interests of activism and the search for justice. The findings of the Widgery Inquiry were used as a means of dismissing the victims of Bloody Sunday as terrorists: they were used as a weapon to beat down calls for another inquiry. In turn, the Justice Campaign, the museum and the findings of the Saville Inquiry armed a community with the weapons required to defend the legacies of the Bloody Sunday victims and the day itself. A weapon can be used in defence as much as in attack. Therefore, history and truth can be seen as a weapon for justice, employed by a community in an attempt to heal. In this context, history can be viewed as part of the solution towards some form of reconciliation.

Conversely, for communities outside the city of Derry and/or the unionist community within the city, the utilisation of history in this manner is problematic as it strikes at wider political affiliations and identity. The Bloody Sunday Trust and Museum of Free Derry’s weaponisation of truth is a source of contention for critics of its exhibition. For opponents of the museum, the truth presented in it is a politically motivated statement which is used to criticise the British government and the British armed forces. Instead of ‘providing a platform for working through’ the traumatic experiences of Bloody Sunday and the Troubles in general, the museum is accused of drawing attention to and prolonging tensions surrounding the ‘problematic heritage’ of those events. This argument tends to overlook the extent to which ‘commemoration culture’ permeates the communities of Northern Ireland.

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Ireland, leading to frequent memorial activities by groups from all sections of society. As with many legacy issues from the Troubles of Northern Ireland, the issues surrounding Bloody Sunday are yet to be fully addressed or resolved. This lack of resolution means that the Bloody Sunday Trust and Museum of Free Derry are unlikely to be swayed or deterred by such critics into discontinuing their justice campaign.

To date, the Bloody Sunday Trust and the Justice Campaign have achieved two out of their three original aims. The careful deployment of truth coupled with the prudently crafted aims of the Justice Campaign ensures that the truth established by fulfilling one aim establishes an argument for fulfilling the next. In fact, the Bloody Sunday Justice Campaign as an entity ceased to exist in 1998 with the achievement of its first aim: the recognition by the UK government that the Widgery Inquiry was flawed and the subsequent creation of a new independent inquiry. Announced by then Prime Minister Tony Blair, the new inquiry was chaired by Lord Saville of Newdigate, who was assisted by Canadian senior judge William L. Hoyt and New Zealander Sir Edward Somers, replaced by Australian former High Court judge John L. Toohey in 2000. The inquiry sat from 3 April 1998 to 22 November 2004 and ‘interviewed and received statements from around 2,500 people’ of whom 921 were called to give oral testimony. Its report, later published in June 2010, was met with a great sense of expectation. Sentiments in the city echoed those of Bishop Daly, the priest who was pictured on Bloody Sunday holding a blood-stained white handkerchief in a now infamous image of dying marcher Jackie Duddy, when he wrote, ‘I hope that the findings of the Saville Tribunal will be more in harmony with the evidence submitted and tested’.

These hopes were vindicated. The report met with praise from the victims’ families and a majority of the people of Derry. Through its publication, the Bloody Sunday Trust and the victims’ families had achieved the second of their aims: the declaration that their loved ones were innocent. The Saville Report rejected the idea that those injured and killed on Bloody Sunday were terrorists. It also detailed a number of concerning facts regarding the actions of the Parachute Regiment. One of the most damning conclusions presented was ‘that there was a serious and widespread loss of fire discipline among the soldiers of Support Company’.

For the first time, there was official acknowledgement that there were instances where the soldiers were not disciplined in the expected manner and at times were found to have shot indiscriminately. The

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26 Daly, *Mister, Are You a Priest?*, pp. 211–12.
findings of the inquiry therefore led many to believe that within its volumes of testimony, there was sufficient evidence to achieve the third and final aim: the prosecution of those responsible for the deaths of the marchers.

The Bloody Sunday Trust and the Bloody Sunday Justice Campaign have been inextricably linked with the political realm since their inceptions. In fact, from 1974 to 1990 the republican political party, Sinn Fein, organised and marshalled the Bloody Sunday anniversary marches. As a result, the very act of remembering Bloody Sunday can be accused of being ‘more preoccupied with political advantage than with healing or reconciliation’. This direct political involvement in the commemoration process results in alienating sections of the community who do not share the same political beliefs or goals – in this case, the goals of republicanism and a reunited Ireland. It is worth noting that this could alienate some of the victims’ families too, if their political beliefs differed in any way. It is also the antithesis of the presentation within the Museum of Free Derry, which seeks to present a highly personal account of events, centred on the victims and their families. In addition, this direct political involvement provides a problematic history by providing a very polarising narrative of Bloody Sunday; that is, that Bloody Sunday is a case of the nationalist community versus the British state.

It could also be argued that there are inherent challenging factors when curating and exhibiting polarising history such as Bloody Sunday within a public space. If ‘curating conflicted memories about past violence’ should aim to ‘promote collective healing and spiritual growth after traumatic times’, the Museum of Free Derry would not fit this brief. However, in the post-conflict society of Northern Ireland, an adequate or agreed strategy for dealing with its violent past has not been found. ‘Conflicting narratives of fear and enmity continue to characterize relations between the two communities’ and there is a heightened need for each side to tell their story and commemorate their losses of the past. When addressing the past, ‘memory can be a potential oppressor as well as a potential liberator’ for people from all communities. Remembering and commemorating their loved ones allows the families of the victims of Bloody Sunday to grieve, while the Justice Campaign provides hope that their loved ones did not die in vain. The catharsis provided through this truth-telling can promote collective healing, particularly for the families.


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as ‘it doesn’t just come from a manufactured balance or by avoiding harsh truths’.33

However, for a society that is attempting to escape its sectarian past, remembering and commemorating undoubtedly open up old wounds for all sections of society. Such polarisation has been played out in the media in recent years after the Public Prosecution Service of Northern Ireland’s decision to prosecute a member of the Parachute Regiment known as Soldier F. Protests have taken place against the decision to prosecute soldiers ‘for just doing their jobs’ on one hand, while on the other, anger that only one of the soldiers will face prosecution for his actions has also spread. A law giving amnesty to soldiers has also been proposed as a result of legacy issues surrounding the Troubles, such as the killings on Bloody Sunday. This polarisation can sometimes result in the exploration of the importance of forgetting Troubles-related murders, with questions such as ‘why can’t we just move on?’ mooted in the press. After all, the very act of remembering brings the events and/or injustices of the past into the present public space.

IV

In Derry, remembrance of the events of Bloody Sunday and the Widgery Inquiry were both personal and collective in nature. They effectively cultivated a ‘traumatised community’ that still lives with the consequences of that Sunday afternoon.34 As a result, an act of ‘selective forgetting’ may unintentionally occur over the course of time but will never be fully embraced and enacted.35 The continuing presence and activism of the Bloody Sunday Trust in the public and political sphere also ensures that the memory of the victims of Bloody Sunday will not just fade with the passage of time. The combination of emotion, place and the community’s truth in the museum has been a powerful weapon in the search for justice for the families of the victims of Bloody Sunday. It serves as an influential focal point for national and international attention both from the media and from the visiting public. The museum has also provided a platform for the defence of the legacy of the victims and their families by providing a powerful tool for retaliation against the findings in the original Widgery Report. It is also a defence and rebuttal of the assumptions born out of Widgery, directly challenging a version of history and a version of the victims’ characters that were unrecognisable.

The museum’s display of its story can constitute a weaponisation of the truth due to its use of history to explain and justify the Justice Campaign as a response/retaliation to an official history that rang false.

33 Adrian Kerr, Museum of Free Derry curator, interviewed March 2021.
Its weaponisation makes particular use of the power of place, and of emotion. This is particularly acute in John Kelly’s presentation in the Museum, where he tells visitors about the aims that the Justice Campaign has achieved, and concludes that when justice is fully achieved, he can retire. The personal and emotive testimony provided by the museum’s staff presents the individual and collective legacy of the events of 30 January 1972. The careful design of the aims of the Justice Campaign provides further opportunities for weaponising the truth. The fact that the aims of the Justice Campaign were logically related to one another ensured that a smooth transition from one to the next would be possible.

In addition, the fulfilment of each of the Campaign’s aims created a revised truth that differed from the version presented by the British government in the Widgery Report. This created an opportunity to utilise and weaponise this new truth when commemorating Bloody Sunday in the public sphere and within the Museum of Free Derry’s exhibits. The Justice Campaign’s first aim of an independent inquiry that overturns the findings of Widgery would inevitably result in its second aim of declaring those who died and were injured as innocent. The declaration of innocence coupled with the findings of the new inquiry would then in turn legitimise the call for prosecutions of those responsible. Each aim acts as a stepping stone to the next. The truth determined by each aim can then be weaponised as a tool of activism for the next. Only time will tell if the Bloody Sunday Trust’s search for justice will achieve their third and final aim – that of unequivocal justice through the prosecutions of those responsible for the injury and death of the victims on Bloody Sunday.

**PEER REVIEW**

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