

T857

NC 0020047 6



m005636/NC

An Analysis and Interpretation of Newspaper
Journalism

The analysis draws upon four critical times of
crises in the course of the conflict of Northern
Ireland.

Dissertation
Produced in part fulfillment of
Bachelor of Design in Industrial Design
and
Submitted to the Faculty of Art and Design
and Complementary Studies.

AUTHOR: Brendan Murphy
Department of Industrial Design
Faculty of Design
National College of Art and Design
100 Thomas St.
Dublin 8

DATE : March 1991.
1991.

Copyright c

CONTENTS:

List of illustrations	i
Acknowledgements	ii
Introduction	1
Section 1	3
Section 2	9
Section 3	20
Conclusions	42
Bibliography	
Publications	49
Articles, Journals	51
Mixed media	52

Acknowledgements.

Although a paper of his sort is a highly personal work in as much as the great majority of opinions contained herein were formed within myself. It could not have been completed without the help of those friends with whom I either discussed the project with while I was writing, or sought advice on when sections were almost finished. To them I owe a heart felt thank's.

I should also like to acknowledge my indebtedness to the following for their help, advice and encouragement: Gerry Walker, The Staff of the National Library Dublin, Gemma from the Library of National College of Art and Design without whose particular investigative powers this paper could not have achieved its fullest potential. To the Staff of Pearse Street Library for bearing with me.

Many Thanks,

Brendan Murphy.

Introduction.

This paper is a detailed study of how the conflict in Northern Ireland is reported in the three main daily Newspapers of Southern Ireland. They are the 'Irish Times', the 'Irish Independent' and the 'Irish Press'. The study focuses on four major events across a period of thirteen years, 1969 - 1981. The stories concentrate on Political events and violent conflict between the security forces and civilians and vice versa. This paper does not intend to argue political points of view or to attempt to offer a solution to the conflict. It is intended as an analysis of reporting to determine if original political leaning on these papers determines the 'how' and 'what' we read today. To see if commercial pressures on these papers altered their way of relating events which concern their politics or that of their adversaries. Also to see if their reporting as Philip Elliot suggests

tend to concentrate on so called 'factual' and 'objective' reporting of the who, what, when and where of a continuous procession of violent incidents, and is it preoccupied with the 'what' rather than the 'why' of violence. (ELLIOT, Philip.1977)

This paper investigates why newspapers are not censored as opposed to broadcasting which is subject to the Broadcasting Authority Act of 1960. It shall discuss the emotive power of each newspaper within the context of the comparative analysis, plus the potential influential power of each.

The paper is split into three sections each dealing with a specific aspect of the study.

Section one deals with the question of censorship and will draw upon the comparison with broadcasting to tease out if or why newspaper media is not considered as emotionally powerful or influential as broadcasting and because of this does not appear to need control.

Section two investigates the historical backgrounds of the three daily papers. The 'Irish Times', 'Irish Independent' and the 'Irish Press'. It shall be required to find out when and by whom each was established. This gives an insight into their original political leaning. The circulation and readership profiles are ascertained to establish a commonality between each paper. Next it is established if they acknowledge any political leaning or affiliation today. At this stage it is expected that they will not acknowledge this because of the need of each paper to appear neutral so as to attract the widest audience. Finally a general overview of each is given to indicate what the accepted view is of their politics by the general public.

The final section shall comprise of the main analysis of the four chosen events. The Civil Rights March, Internment, Bloody Sunday, Hungerstriker Bobby Sands. All chosen because of their political content and incitement value. They shall be analysed under the following guidelines, language, words, text, editing, layout, format openings and photographs. The individual papers will have their Headline Articles analysed comparatively with their editorials to check for continuity in reporting under the above headings. The editorials will in turn be compared to one another.

The Conclusion shall outline the findings from the analysis and from this answer the questions outlined in Section one.

Section 1.

Radio broadcasting began in Ireland in 1926 and in 1965 the service was renamed RTE to include television. As a public authority they became bound by the Broadcasting Authority Act of 1960 and 1976 and through this they were compelled to report in an objective and impartial manner and without any expression of Authorities own views and is specifically prohibited from putting out anything which may reasonably be regarded as being likely to promote or incite to crime or as tending to undermine the Authority of the state.

This all became more apparent during coverage of the conflict in Northern Ireland. State censorship within the republic was considered more direct and explicit than in Britain where Political pressure came on strong in the B.B.C and with it the effect that reporters had to seek permission from senior executives before dealing with issues concerning such things as interviewing members of the I.R.A. Programmes had to be 'internally balanced' because of the fear

that the television coverage of Northern Ireland would make it impossible for the Government to continue with the Guerrilla war (Curtis P5 1984).

and that any negative publicity concerning the British troops and Northern Ireland Government or to investigate or make cause for investigating the reason for the conflict in the North would lead to public outcry and put pressure on the Government for withdrawal of the army.

In Ireland in October 1976 the Minister for posts and telegraphs Conor Cruise O'Brien, formalised state censorship by invoking Section 31

of the Broadcasting Act and directed RTE in writing to refrain from broadcasting interviews or reports of interviews with Spokesmen of prohibited organisations. This ban is renewed annually by the Minister of Posts and Telegraphs

The Minister Cruise O'Brien gave his reason for introducing censorship. He felt that there was a need to control or have a reign on public opinion or impression to the degree to which they see the enemy. This was crucial and

the best way for a democracy to deal with what is called Political Violence is to set aside its supposedly political character and concentrate on its criminal aspect as an armed conspiracy (O'BRIEN 1978)

Such conspiracies in Ireland, he states are legitimating the cloak of republicanism. Television is seen to have the power to generate emotion, this is a tool professionally used and understood by terrorist groups to carry out appeals, in the case of the I.R.A, on behalf of Republicanism and this he says has the effect of making it very difficult if not impossible to refute by rational argument alone (O'Brien 1978).

The principle ideology of censorship in broadcasting is that it is there to protect the people from themselves. If the general public are not made aware of 'the cause for violence' then there will be no interference. The Minister feels a well balanced report could have an adverse effect on 'a potentially highly charged and emotional audience' (KELLY, P409 1983) and put the state at risk. Therefore it is in the public's interest that they should be protected from reports which may seem sympathetic to the I.R.A, or which may show the I.R.A in a neutral way without condemnation nor sympathy.

The Constitution of 1937 guarantees 'freedom of expression, assembly and association, including freedom to oppose Government policy.' However the state

has no Constitutional duty to provide any of the means which the citizen may wish to employ in order to express himself. It must allow him to speak, it does not have to build him a platform.

Under Article 40 'organs of Public Opinion' cannot be used to undermine 'Public order or morality or the authority of the state.' These powers are commonplaces of constitutional law throughout the world.

(For outline of Constitution See Appendix A).

The State does not censor the views of dissident groups in the print media, partly because print media is a longely established medium where as with broadcasting media which is relatively new, official regulation and licensing was required to ensure proper allocation of broadcast frequencies. Regulation was required to prevent two stations broadcasting on the same wavelength with the effect of drowning one another out. This it was felt protected freedom of expression, so long as opposing views are heard onto local stations. Newspapers therefore are somewhat impartial to the technical restraints of broadcasting.

A point continuously made is the impact media has on the general public. Opinions are formed and people are influenced. However arguments have been put forward stating that the public are not at the mercy of the producer nor are

they so gullable as to believe everything they hear or see. It is argued that people have a 'well made frame of reference - a body of knowledge, beliefs, attitudes and standards - by which they judge what is put to them' (FARRELL, P77 1984) and that the main source of influence comes from parents, home, school, workplace, general environment and friends. Others may argue that media rather than strictly than reinforce opinions or views has the effect of slowly releasing reality through our daily dose of TV, radio or newspaper, and in actual fact media are 'the Machinery of representation in Modern Societies' (RICHARDSON, P9 1986) and this is defined as

The power [of media] to represent the world in certain definite ways. It deals with how things, people, events, relationships are represented, what and who seemingly regularly get left out What we know of society depends on how things are represented to us and that knowledge in turn informs what we do and what policies we are prepared to accept (Richardson P9 1986).

Print is unique in so far as representation is concerned. Print because it is essentially a freeze frame its layout and photographs allow time for contemplation over issues at our own discretion. Television presents flashes of images that unless are apprehended immediately or seen in continuity loose impact. Print media invites the reader to ignore or absorb each item. This can be achieved unambiguously when and only when, as the Royal Commission on the press put it.

The numbers and variety of the papers should be such that the press as a whole gives an opportunity for all important

points of view to be effectively presented in terms of the varying standards of taste. Political opinion and education among the principal groups of the population.

So essentially if all important points of view are presented then surely this goes against Cruise O'Briens statement that audience members are incapable of formulating rational judgements. On one hand the public are incapable of deciphering television commentary, reports, visual presentations yet a medium is provided which relies upon an intellectual capability for interpretation and for the formulation of rational judgement.

Print media is however subjected to its own form of 'control' from within their organisations, state control, political pressure and financial difficulties have led to closures within the Press. Smaller newspapers become absorbed into larger business conglomerates. Newspapers have become in the latter half of the 20th Century highly dependant on commercial success. Having strong political views or opinions are not beneficial in appealing to the broadest sections of the market. Unlike broadcasting which was bound to state control. Newspapers seemingly become bound to the control of the of impartiality. Having considered this, a newspaper such as the 'Irish Press' surely could not begin as a voice for republicanism and then become almost systematically impartial.

It is hoped here to analyse details which will determine the validity of the past sections.

The main question which must be considered is: Can terrorists be portrayed as legitimate on paper/print media as on television or radio?

It is suspected that the Minister Conor Cruise O'Brien does not accept the written word as being influential and damaging to the extent of broadcasting because of the nature in which the newspapers are sold. Television is accepted as being available to all classes and age groups. Whereas newspapers will only be ever bought by a specific class of people and therefore the effect is not as great. This aspect shall be discussed in the analysis of the individual papers.

SECTION II

An historical background of each paper is given so as to identify the papers original political leaning or ideology. It is important that the three papers chosen are linked, so as to allow for a genuine comparative analysis. It is felt that the readership profiles of each should overlap for this purpose. This shall become more apparent in the following section. The papers are then asked as to their present political ideology and this is then put against the perceived opinion of the papers politics by the general public.

THE IRISH TIMES:

The Irish Times was established in 1859, it had its first edition published on Tuesday March 29th 1859 and was printed and published at No. 4, lower Abbey Street, Dublin. For fourteen weeks it was published each Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday. Over two months later on the 8th of June that year it became a daily newspaper.

'The Irish Times' title was infused with life by a young man in his early twenties Major Laurence Knox. Taxes on papers had just then been abolished and a great many new journalists appeared on the scene, though few of them lasted very long. The 'Irish Times' is the only one out of ten to survive today.

Within a few months of its foundation The 'Irish Times' had a circulation of 8,000 an exceptionally high figure for the time. Over the past two decades the paper circulation has more than doubled and now exceeds 93,000 copies per day.

The real strength of 'The Irish Times' lies not with the size but with the particular composition of its readership comprising an exceptionally high ratio of business and professional readers. A recent Independent Survey conducted throughout Western European newspapers found that the 'Irish Times' was read by 88% of senior business executives in Ireland. This was the highest percentage reached by any of the 174 daily newspapers involved in the survey which also found that 77% of Irish Businessmen consider the Irish Times 'Essential Business Reading' (Irish Times May '88).

An Independent Survey of the Irish media conducted by the Market Research Bureau of Ireland shows the average daily readership of the Irish Times to be 29,800 in the Republic of Ireland. This does not include 29,000 readers in Northern Ireland plus many more overseas. 46% of the readership is aged between 15 and 34 years old and 75% of the total readership is classified as A.B.C.T. (upper and middle class). Its appeal is mainly confined to the capital and large and provincial cities.

Its policies at first reflected the view of its founder - in its first issue it described itself as a 'New Conservative Daily Paper.' Later it was to become utmost in the generally accepted sense though this was later followed by 'a New Unionist Policy A policy devoted to the reunion of the country' (Irish Times May '88). However the paper feels that they have followed an Independent political line since the foundation of the State.

Following the death of the papers founder in 1873, The Irish Times was bought by the Arnott family. It became a Public Company in 1900 but continued to be controlled by the Arnott family for another fifty years. In 1974 a trust was formed with as its main objective the security and maintainance of the Irish Times as

an Independant newspaper primarily concerned with serious issues for the benifit of the community throughout the whole of Ireland, free from any form of personal or party political, commercial, religious or other sectional control (Irish Times May '88).

The trust is seen as unique in Ireland and only a tiny minority of newspapers anywhere in the world are protected from commercial and other pressures in this way. This trust represents the principle ideology of the 'Irish Times', a guize in which they would like to appear to the public. How well the 'Irish Times' lives up to the Trust ideology was analysed by interviewing some of its readers and some non-readers into what they perceived the paper to be. Analysis was also carried out by investigating comparatively their treatment of key political issues during the initial years of the conflict in Northern Ireland [From 1968].

General Overview:

The paper is seen generally as independant, liberal to an extent. It is also seen as having now overcome its identification with Protestant Unionist Minority of pre-independance. However some evidence shows that there are still indicators of its one time political affiliation showing through on issues concerning the conflict in Northern Ireland. The label given to the 'Irish Times' of being liberal has grown more meaningless

since the beginning of the conflict. Views expressed in the paper could be classed as 'middle of the road' in so far as no immediate bias is given literally to a story. However analysis shows their style or format of reporting is quite unique in so far as they transcribe their account of an event by using words, techniques of layout, linkage and openings. Their articles appear unbiased, initially when compared with the strongly emotive articles found at times in the within the 'Irish Press' but are they? And what are the effects of such articles? These questions are answered in the following section.

THE IRISH PRESS:

In 1919 Eamonn de Valera went to America, and other areas as far away as Australia to carry out fund raising for a DAIL LOAN. In America, the minimum subscription of 500 dollars was becoming more difficult for would be supporters, so de Valera decided to accept smaller amounts. He had an ace up his sleeve. Just over half the money raised in America in 1919 had been sent to Ireland and used for the purposes for which it was intended. That was two and a half million dollars. The remainder was left on deposit New York banks. In August 1922, the Cosgrave Government applied for and won an injunction restraining the banks from paying out the money to de Valera and his associates.

The Dublin Government then applied to the New York Supreme Court for a declaration that it was entitled to the funds, a claim contested by de Valera on behalf of the Republican Party, in May 1927, it was ruled that neither the Dublin

Government nor the Republican Party in Ireland was entitled to the money, which the judge ordered should be returned to the original subscriber. The holders of some of the bonds allotted them to de Valera to promote the 'Irish Press' and a corporation was formed in America to invest this money in the new newspaper company.

However down through the years this has been the subject of great controversy. Allegations that de Valera and later other members of the de Valera family controlled the 'Irish Press' were continuously denied. The Irish Press was first published in September in 1931. The button to start the press rolling was pressed by Mrs Pearse, mother of Padraig and Willie the 1916 leaders.

It was founded in response to a demand for a paper which would express the feelings and outlook of the great majority of the Irish people. It consistently promoted the development of agriculture, industry and business activities in Ireland (Irish Press '91).

It is considered to have had a 'marked influence on the course of modern Irish history.' (Irish Press '91).

Their other policy from the beginning was to have breakfast-table delivery of the morning newspaper. It considers itself as having pioneered the way to faster deliveries all around the country.

Consistent with its policy of encouragement and development of Irish Industrial enterprise the 'Irish Press' played the pioneering role in the use of Irish Newsprint in the production of the newspapers in the group.

The financial press section of the Irish Press is considered as consistently providing the best informed and authoritatively backed news and comment on the business life in Ireland (Irish Press '91).

A survey carried out by Lansdowne Market Research shows that the average daily readership of the 'Irish Press' to be 266,000 in the Republic of Ireland. Plus many more in Northern Ireland and overseas. 38% of the readership is aged between 15 and 34 years old and 71% of the total readership is classified by A.B.C.I (upper and middleclass). Its appeal is mainly confined to the rural areas.

General Overview:

In 1931 in the Dail the new paper came under fire, A.T.D. asked W.T. Cosgrave if he intended to suppress the 'Republican Rag.' Cosgrave replied gravely that he did not, that it would suppress itself shortly (Oram P175 1983).

The Irish Press has been generally taken as the more Republican of the three dailies, however this label has become progressively less meaningful today. However indicators show up their one time political affiliation quite clearly. These indicators are in the form of style, format, linkage and openings. Analysis of these shows how their account, from a republican point of view, can be quite easily put across without appearing biased. It is only by comparison with another paper ie. The Independent or Times that their 'Angle' becomes apparent.

It is discussed later as to how they use these methods of transcribing accounts and the potential effects of 'emotive views' which may be used.

THE IRISH INDEPENDENT:

The 'Irish Independent' was born out of the IRISH DAILY INDEPENDENT in 1904 by William Martin Murphy. The new-look IRISH INDEPENDENT was officially launched on January 2nd 1905. Over 50,000 copies of the first issue of the Irish Independent been printed, the old Irish Daily Independent had sold a mere 8,000 copies daily. Rival journals and journalists regarded the new paper as a flash in the pan, but as a report in the Golden Jubilee issue of the Irish Independent stated:

The reading public of Ireland, slow as a rule to take to any innovation, quickly recognised in the Irish Independent an almost entirely new departure in Irish journalism. They were fascinated by its clever make-up and were delighted by its literary style. They were impressed, above all, by its strict adherence to the highest canons of decent journalism. It won respect and admiration for its scorning of sensationalism and for the honourable impartial treatment it gave to every school of thought in Ireland (Oram P105).

It was rumoured in Dublin that the owner of an English newspaper 'The Daily Mail' was the financial backer and real man behind the 'Irish Independent.' It was also rumoured that the newspaper was staffed by English journalists. The rumours enjoyed remarkable longevity. Later

Murphy stated that not a penny of anyones money but his own went into the development of the paper.

Within weeks of its launch sales were settled at 25,000 a day but within three years that figure had risen to 40,000. Today the daily sales of the 'Irish Independent' stands at 149,600 with the readership estimate of more than 680,000 adults. This is more than the 'Irish Press' or the 'Irish Times' combined. This figure does not include the many more readers outside the Republic of Ireland. Although the readership strengths of the Independent newspaper is greatest in the Sunday Market, their daily paper (Irish Independent) readership is classified in the AB,C1 market, 59% ABs and 45% C1s. Its appeal is mainly confined to rural/large town areas with 37% of its readers in Dublin (See Marketing report in Appendix C).

When questioned as to their political leaning the views expressed were that of a paper which has no political bias. However research has shown the 'Irish Independent' during the sixties was the paper closest to church thinking and considered quite conservative.

General Overview:

All these dailies have been found , claiming to be uncommitted politically and have steared away from issues which appear neither profitable nor fashionable. Generally the range of contents and way of treatment of issues vary but overall their level of maturity and accuracy in the treatment of

affairs is quite high. This dissertation concerns itself with the treatment of issues and its effects, on the understanding that their seriousness and accuracy is genuine.

REPORTING THE CONFLICT IN NORTHERN IRELAND:

The following is a detailed study of how the conflict in Northern Ireland is reported in three Irish Daily newspapers. The study will focus on four major events over a thirteen year period from 1969 - 1981. It was carried out to determine if this reporting as Philip Elliot suggests

tend to concentrate on so-called 'factual' and 'objective' reporting of the who, what, when and where of a continuous procession of violent incidents. And is it preoccupied with the 'what' rather than the 'why' of violence (Elliot Philip 1977).

OVERVIEW:

Across the three dailies it has been found that in the case of violent incidences little explanation into the reason or cause behind a violent incident were reported and few attempts were made to explain the motives and policies of the 'Terrorist.' Violent incidences were continuously portrayed as mindless and irresponsible. It was found that the motives behind violent attacks had been overshadowed by human interest stories which would highlight personal characteristics of innocent victims. During the 'Blood Sunday' incident the victims of violence, a priest and young men were highlighted in such a fashion as to add to the terror quality of the report. It was also found that the use of the Church's

outcry was almost consistent in every violent incident, in condemning violent actions, particularly when it concerned action against Catholics. This it was felt is another way of exaggerating 'terror quality.'

The 'Irish Press' and 'Irish Independent' tended to play up and give greater coverage of Catholic victims of violence more so than the 'Irish Times.' The initial two dailies have a tendency to jump and point the finger at the aggressor if it was the security forces. Whereas the 'Irish Times' began articles vague and not until further down in an article within the smaller print were there accusations made.

However not all the emphasis was on violence all three dailies showed tendency to discuss political initiatives and actions in their editorials. There was not a general acceptance of the 'Official' Security Forces account of events mainly because either their reporters were usually on the scene or it showed bias in favour of the security forces. However the security forces account of events was not discounted and was used by each daily in different formats to paint separate pictures ie. In the 'Irish Press' eyewitness accounts were reported before accounts by the security forces. This gave somewhat greater credence to the civilian account, whereas in the 'Irish Times' it was the security forces account of events first then the civilians account. Each format although told the same story it is felt showed some bias.

The image of the Irish Politician is kept 'low key.' Attention being focused primarily on British and Northern Politicians. The Irish Politicians appear to refrain from action or reaction to events.

They appear more concerned with discussion to solve delicate issues rather than to use force. The portrayal of British Politicians in particular Captain O'Neill is of someone out of touch with reality. In both the 'Irish Press' and 'Irish Independent' the British forces are reported as being on the side of Paisleyites and Unionism against Republicanism. Where as with the 'Irish Times' this is less so. It must be remembered that these findings are strictly in relation to the case studies taken and may not reflect the papers treatment of other issues with a political content.

CASE STUDIES:

To answer the questions asked earlier a broad case study of newspaper coverage of the following events was taken.

It must be noted that the study analyses the relative leading cover articles and editorials at the time of these events. It does not cover other articles within the paper which may concern themselves with the events.

- 'CIVIL RIGHTS MARCH' (Jan. 1969).

A case where young people mainly Catholic students were ambushed three times by Paisleyites and then subsequently attacked by the Security Forces.

- 'INTERMENT' (AUG. 1971).

Over 300 suspected wrongdoers were picked up and withheld without rights for days and weeks on end in an effort to curb violent incidences.

you've got to say
Carlsberg
to get the best

DUBLIN'S FINEST WINDOW
CLEANING SERVICE
**AMERICAN WINDOW
CLEANING CO.**
8 South King Street, Dublin
Tel. 51528

THE IRISH TIMES

DUBLIN, MONDAY, JANUARY 6, 1969

PRICE 8d. (9d. in England)

No. 35,256

CITY EDITION

FRUITFIELD

means quality always

O'NEILL MAY CALL UP SPECIAL POLICE Premier warns 'warring minorities' PARTISANSHIP OF R.U.C. BECOMES THE BONE OF CONTENTION

CAPTAIN O'NEILL, the Prime Minister of Northern Ireland, in a statement issued from Stormont last night, warned that his Government would have to consider "a further reinforcement of the regular police by greater use of the Special Constabulary for normal police duties" if what he called "warring minorities" did not "rapidly return to their senses."

1,500 arm to defend their area

From Michael Hayes

DERRY, Sunday night

A STAFF of over 1,500 men, many of them armed, are to be sent to Derry to defend their area, according to a statement issued by the R.U.C. today. The statement said that the R.U.C. was "in a position to defend its area" and that it was "not in a position to defend the area of the R.U.C. in the Derry area."

The statement said that the R.U.C. was "in a position to defend its area" and that it was "not in a position to defend the area of the R.U.C. in the Derry area."

The statement said that the R.U.C. was "in a position to defend its area" and that it was "not in a position to defend the area of the R.U.C. in the Derry area."

The statement said that the R.U.C. was "in a position to defend its area" and that it was "not in a position to defend the area of the R.U.C. in the Derry area."

The statement said that the R.U.C. was "in a position to defend its area" and that it was "not in a position to defend the area of the R.U.C. in the Derry area."

The statement said that the R.U.C. was "in a position to defend its area" and that it was "not in a position to defend the area of the R.U.C. in the Derry area."

The statement said that the R.U.C. was "in a position to defend its area" and that it was "not in a position to defend the area of the R.U.C. in the Derry area."

The statement said that the R.U.C. was "in a position to defend its area" and that it was "not in a position to defend the area of the R.U.C. in the Derry area."

The statement said that the R.U.C. was "in a position to defend its area" and that it was "not in a position to defend the area of the R.U.C. in the Derry area."

The statement said that the R.U.C. was "in a position to defend its area" and that it was "not in a position to defend the area of the R.U.C. in the Derry area."

The statement said that the R.U.C. was "in a position to defend its area" and that it was "not in a position to defend the area of the R.U.C. in the Derry area."

The statement said that the R.U.C. was "in a position to defend its area" and that it was "not in a position to defend the area of the R.U.C. in the Derry area."

The statement said that the R.U.C. was "in a position to defend its area" and that it was "not in a position to defend the area of the R.U.C. in the Derry area."

The statement said that the R.U.C. was "in a position to defend its area" and that it was "not in a position to defend the area of the R.U.C. in the Derry area."

The statement said that the R.U.C. was "in a position to defend its area" and that it was "not in a position to defend the area of the R.U.C. in the Derry area."

The statement said that the R.U.C. was "in a position to defend its area" and that it was "not in a position to defend the area of the R.U.C. in the Derry area."

The statement said that the R.U.C. was "in a position to defend its area" and that it was "not in a position to defend the area of the R.U.C. in the Derry area."

The statement said that the R.U.C. was "in a position to defend its area" and that it was "not in a position to defend the area of the R.U.C. in the Derry area."

The statement said that the R.U.C. was "in a position to defend its area" and that it was "not in a position to defend the area of the R.U.C. in the Derry area."

The statement said that the R.U.C. was "in a position to defend its area" and that it was "not in a position to defend the area of the R.U.C. in the Derry area."

The statement said that the R.U.C. was "in a position to defend its area" and that it was "not in a position to defend the area of the R.U.C. in the Derry area."

The statement said that the R.U.C. was "in a position to defend its area" and that it was "not in a position to defend the area of the R.U.C. in the Derry area."

The statement said that the R.U.C. was "in a position to defend its area" and that it was "not in a position to defend the area of the R.U.C. in the Derry area."

The statement said that the R.U.C. was "in a position to defend its area" and that it was "not in a position to defend the area of the R.U.C. in the Derry area."

The statement said that the R.U.C. was "in a position to defend its area" and that it was "not in a position to defend the area of the R.U.C. in the Derry area."

The statement said that the R.U.C. was "in a position to defend its area" and that it was "not in a position to defend the area of the R.U.C. in the Derry area."

The statement said that the R.U.C. was "in a position to defend its area" and that it was "not in a position to defend the area of the R.U.C. in the Derry area."

The statement said that the R.U.C. was "in a position to defend its area" and that it was "not in a position to defend the area of the R.U.C. in the Derry area."

The statement said that the R.U.C. was "in a position to defend its area" and that it was "not in a position to defend the area of the R.U.C. in the Derry area."

The statement said that the R.U.C. was "in a position to defend its area" and that it was "not in a position to defend the area of the R.U.C. in the Derry area."

The statement said that the R.U.C. was "in a position to defend its area" and that it was "not in a position to defend the area of the R.U.C. in the Derry area."

The statement said that the R.U.C. was "in a position to defend its area" and that it was "not in a position to defend the area of the R.U.C. in the Derry area."

The statement said that the R.U.C. was "in a position to defend its area" and that it was "not in a position to defend the area of the R.U.C. in the Derry area."

The statement said that the R.U.C. was "in a position to defend its area" and that it was "not in a position to defend the area of the R.U.C. in the Derry area."

The statement said that the R.U.C. was "in a position to defend its area" and that it was "not in a position to defend the area of the R.U.C. in the Derry area."

The statement said that the R.U.C. was "in a position to defend its area" and that it was "not in a position to defend the area of the R.U.C. in the Derry area."

The statement said that the R.U.C. was "in a position to defend its area" and that it was "not in a position to defend the area of the R.U.C. in the Derry area."

The statement said that the R.U.C. was "in a position to defend its area" and that it was "not in a position to defend the area of the R.U.C. in the Derry area."

The statement said that the R.U.C. was "in a position to defend its area" and that it was "not in a position to defend the area of the R.U.C. in the Derry area."

The statement said that the R.U.C. was "in a position to defend its area" and that it was "not in a position to defend the area of the R.U.C. in the Derry area."

The statement said that the R.U.C. was "in a position to defend its area" and that it was "not in a position to defend the area of the R.U.C. in the Derry area."

The statement said that the R.U.C. was "in a position to defend its area" and that it was "not in a position to defend the area of the R.U.C. in the Derry area."

The statement said that the R.U.C. was "in a position to defend its area" and that it was "not in a position to defend the area of the R.U.C. in the Derry area."

The statement said that the R.U.C. was "in a position to defend its area" and that it was "not in a position to defend the area of the R.U.C. in the Derry area."

The statement said that the R.U.C. was "in a position to defend its area" and that it was "not in a position to defend the area of the R.U.C. in the Derry area."

The statement said that the R.U.C. was "in a position to defend its area" and that it was "not in a position to defend the area of the R.U.C. in the Derry area."

The statement said that the R.U.C. was "in a position to defend its area" and that it was "not in a position to defend the area of the R.U.C. in the Derry area."

The statement said that the R.U.C. was "in a position to defend its area" and that it was "not in a position to defend the area of the R.U.C. in the Derry area."

The statement said that the R.U.C. was "in a position to defend its area" and that it was "not in a position to defend the area of the R.U.C. in the Derry area."

The statement said that the R.U.C. was "in a position to defend its area" and that it was "not in a position to defend the area of the R.U.C. in the Derry area."

The statement said that the R.U.C. was "in a position to defend its area" and that it was "not in a position to defend the area of the R.U.C. in the Derry area."

The statement said that the R.U.C. was "in a position to defend its area" and that it was "not in a position to defend the area of the R.U.C. in the Derry area."

The statement said that the R.U.C. was "in a position to defend its area" and that it was "not in a position to defend the area of the R.U.C. in the Derry area."

The statement said that the R.U.C. was "in a position to defend its area" and that it was "not in a position to defend the area of the R.U.C. in the Derry area."

The statement said that the R.U.C. was "in a position to defend its area" and that it was "not in a position to defend the area of the R.U.C. in the Derry area."

The statement said that the R.U.C. was "in a position to defend its area" and that it was "not in a position to defend the area of the R.U.C. in the Derry area."

The statement said that the R.U.C. was "in a position to defend its area" and that it was "not in a position to defend the area of the R.U.C. in the Derry area."

The statement said that the R.U.C. was "in a position to defend its area" and that it was "not in a position to defend the area of the R.U.C. in the Derry area."

The statement said that the R.U.C. was "in a position to defend its area" and that it was "not in a position to defend the area of the R.U.C. in the Derry area."

By early yesterday morning, it was estimated that about 300 people had been hurt in these attacks, in sectarian clashes in Derry and in pitched battles with the police.

The Minister of Home Affairs, Captain Long, announced meanwhile that there would be an "immediate investigation" into complaints about the behaviour of some members of the R.U.C. on Saturday in Derry.

The complaints were made by people in nationalist areas of the city, and at a public meeting yesterday afternoon. The police, it was suggested, were partisan in their dealing with demonstrators; one man said that a policeman was "just a Paisleyite dressed up" and the more moderate view of Civil Rights leaders was that the administration of law and order was, at least, uneven.

It was after a top-level discussion of these events that Captain O'Neill's statement was issued at Stormont. "Enough is enough," he said. "We have heard sufficient for now about civil rights; let us hear a little about civil responsibility. For it is a short step from the throwing of paving stones to the laying of time-bombs, and for one can think of no cause in Ulster today which will be advanced by the death of a single citizen."

The Civil Rights movement has definitely ended its truce in the North, yesterday it was proclaimed that the campaign may not only be renewed but intensified. Last night, however, nationalist were busy organising their own defence groups, street by street. Every man, woman and child of the age of 17 or over, it was said, must be armed.

The Republican Labour M.P., Mr. Gerry Fitt, said that Captain O'Neill's utterances in his television broadcast offering a new deal for Northern Ireland had been well received. Mr. Fitt said that he

was ready to lead the people on to the streets again, and would lead a demonstration of the People's Democracy to meet the British Premier, Mr. Wilson, and Mr. James Callaghan, at the Home Office, to complain about police activity.

Some members of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association are considering action to be taken in the light of the events last week in the North to intensify their campaign for one-man-one-vote and repeal of the Special Powers Act.

They regard the situation as the beginning of a new phase in the campaign which will require a programme in which marches will play a part but will be supplemented by such things as hunger strikes, and boycotting of Government-sponsored civic weeks and the election of majority corporations in towns like Derry to which rates and rents would be paid.

One of the committee members of the N.I.C.R.A., said last night that if the Unionist Party and the Northern Ireland Government had decided to adopt a hard line, he was certain the association would respond accordingly.

Any proposal to intensify the campaign will have to go to the association annual general meeting in Belfast on February 16th.

A meeting is to be held today between members of the N.I.C.R.A. committee and the Northern Ireland Labour Lawyers' Society to go into the legal implications of the events of the last few days in the North. A member of the association said that the meeting would be small and private.

THE ORGANISER of the People's Democracy march from Belfast to Derry, Mr. Michael Farrell, said last night: "Captain O'Neill has devoted about 90% of his statement to condemnation of our march as irresponsible and foolhardy and about 10% to disavow the manner in which opposition to the march was expressed."

"He has described our marchers as hoodlums and extremists while reserving so much terms of abuse for those who blocked our path. After four days during which we were continually harassed and attacked by a highly organised and mobile squad of thugs whose tactics finally escalated into a series of well-planned and vicious ambushes on the outskirts of Derry, I am more than astonished by the tone of the Prime Minister's statement."

"I cannot comprehend how anyone claiming to believe in democracy and freedom could wish the deliberate and brutal conspiracy to stone and bludgeon a peaceful march out of existence and not merely condemn but act against such a conspiracy."

"I am the more surprised at the partisan tone of Captain O'Neill's statement. I can only assume that the Prime Minister's statement must be based upon inaccurate information and the biased account given him by Captain Long, the Minister responsible, who may be attempting to cover up his own total failure to maintain any semblance of law and order."

THE PREMIER stated: "It is true that the Minister of Home Affairs retains a power to ban processions or meetings; and I may say here that Captain Long has, of course, had my full support throughout this difficult week. But the Minister's power to ban is one to be used only when the police consider their own powers inadequate."

At best, those who planned it were careless of the effects which it would have; at worse, they embraced with enthusiasm the prospect of adverse publicity causing further damage to the interests of Northern Ireland as a whole," Captain O'Neill continued.

"I commend all those who, like the leader of the Nationalist Party, urged that this foolish proposal should be abandoned. I must take quite a different view of those others who, for whatever reasons, endorsed and encouraged it. Wise counsel did not prevail, and the organisers decided to proceed."

"I know that many decent people, seeing the ill-feeling which has arisen, have asked the question 'Why was the march allowed to go on?' The simple answer is that this is a free country in which people have a right—which ought, as far as possible, to be protected—to state views, however foolish and ill-considered and untimely they may be, provided they keep within the law."

FULL SUPPORT
The Minister of Home Affairs said last night: "It is true that the Minister of Home Affairs retains a power to ban processions or meetings; and I may say here that Captain Long has, of course, had my full support throughout this difficult week. But the Minister's power to ban is one to be used only when the police consider their own powers inadequate."

At best, those who planned it were careless of the effects which it would have; at worse, they embraced with enthusiasm the prospect of adverse publicity causing further damage to the interests of Northern Ireland as a whole," Captain O'Neill continued.

"I commend all those who, like the leader of the Nationalist Party, urged that this foolish proposal should be abandoned. I must take quite a different view of those others who, for whatever reasons, endorsed and encouraged it. Wise counsel did not prevail, and the organisers decided to proceed."



One of the women marchers cries after being struck by a missile during an ambush of the People's Democracy march at Burntollet bridge, near Claudy, on Saturday. (More pictures in pages 8 and 10).

Partisan tone of speech

—FARRELL

THE ORGANISER of the People's Democracy march from Belfast to Derry, Mr. Michael Farrell, said last night: "Captain O'Neill has devoted about 90% of his statement to condemnation of our march as irresponsible and foolhardy and about 10% to disavow the manner in which opposition to the march was expressed."

"He has described our marchers as hoodlums and extremists while reserving so much terms of abuse for those who blocked our path. After four days during which we were continually harassed and attacked by a highly organised and mobile squad of thugs whose tactics finally escalated into a series of well-planned and vicious ambushes on the outskirts of Derry, I am more than astonished by the tone of the Prime Minister's statement."

"I cannot comprehend how anyone claiming to believe in democracy and freedom could wish the deliberate and brutal conspiracy to stone and bludgeon a peaceful march out of existence and not merely condemn but act against such a conspiracy."

"I am the more surprised at the partisan tone of Captain O'Neill's statement. I can only assume that the Prime Minister's statement must be based upon inaccurate information and the biased account given him by Captain Long, the Minister responsible, who may be attempting to cover up his own total failure to maintain any semblance of law and order."

THE PREMIER stated: "It is true that the Minister of Home Affairs retains a power to ban processions or meetings; and I may say here that Captain Long has, of course, had my full support throughout this difficult week. But the Minister's power to ban is one to be used only when the police consider their own powers inadequate."

At best, those who planned it were careless of the effects which it would have; at worse, they embraced with enthusiasm the prospect of adverse publicity causing further damage to the interests of Northern Ireland as a whole," Captain O'Neill continued.

"I commend all those who, like the leader of the Nationalist Party, urged that this foolish proposal should be abandoned. I must take quite a different view of those others who, for whatever reasons, endorsed and encouraged it. Wise counsel did not prevail, and the organisers decided to proceed."

"I know that many decent people, seeing the ill-feeling which has arisen, have asked the question 'Why was the march allowed to go on?' The simple answer is that this is a free country in which people have a right—which ought, as far as possible, to be protected—to state views, however foolish and ill-considered and untimely they may be, provided they keep within the law."

FULL SUPPORT
The Minister of Home Affairs said last night: "It is true that the Minister of Home Affairs retains a power to ban processions or meetings; and I may say here that Captain Long has, of course, had my full support throughout this difficult week. But the Minister's power to ban is one to be used only when the police consider their own powers inadequate."

At best, those who planned it were careless of the effects which it would have; at worse, they embraced with enthusiasm the prospect of adverse publicity causing further damage to the interests of Northern Ireland as a whole," Captain O'Neill continued.

"I commend all those who, like the leader of the Nationalist Party, urged that this foolish proposal should be abandoned. I must take quite a different view of those others who, for whatever reasons, endorsed and encouraged it. Wise counsel did not prevail, and the organisers decided to proceed."

"I know that many decent people, seeing the ill-feeling which has arisen, have asked the question 'Why was the march allowed to go on?' The simple answer is that this is a free country in which people have a right—which ought, as far as possible, to be protected—to state views, however foolish and ill-considered and untimely they may be, provided they keep within the law."

FULL SUPPORT
The Minister of Home Affairs said last night: "It is true that the Minister of Home Affairs retains a power to ban processions or meetings; and I may say here that Captain Long has, of course, had my full support throughout this difficult week. But the Minister's power to ban is one to be used only when the police consider their own powers inadequate."

At best, those who planned it were careless of the effects which it would have; at worse, they embraced with enthusiasm the prospect of adverse publicity causing further damage to the interests of Northern Ireland as a whole," Captain O'Neill continued.

O'Neill not aware of "urgent needs"



Commenting on Captain O'Neill's statement, the Nationalist leader, Mr. Eddie McAteer, early yesterday said: "I do not know who his advisers are, but certainly his statement shows little awareness of the urgent needs of the present situation."

"The indications of more use of the partisan Special Constabulary and a yet more repressive Public Order act simply out-Craig Craig. At this moment, I consider that a visibly impartial police force is the most urgently necessary civil right of all."

"When? Oh when? will the Cabinet get down to a simple declaration of intent to grant full civil rights to all. That would be the most effective contribution of all to public peace."

Conditional support for O'Neill here

By Our Political Correspondent

THE MAIN REACTION in Government quarters to the events of the weekend in the North is the hope that Captain O'Neill, the Northern Premier, will announce important reforms very quickly to satisfy the moderate demands of the Civil Rights Movement. Otherwise, the feeling here is that there will be more civil strife in the North. The opinion in Flanders is still solidly behind Captain O'Neill as the best hope for reform, but there is the beginning of real impatience at his tardiness, although it is realised that he would make major reforms if his own desires could be fulfilled. He is still in a straightjacket of the Unionist Party, where opposition to reform is too powerful even for O'Neill's public support.

There was strong criticism last night in Flanders, Fine Gael and Labour at the speech of Mr. Kevin Boland, stressing that the aim of abolishing the border was the most important in the Flanders Programme. Comment was that while this could be so, the present weekend was the most unutilised time in the whole history of Partition to make such a statement.

Other opponents of Flanders Fail saw in the Boland speech another bid for leadership of Flanders, or at least support for the recent statement of Mr. Eamonn Duggan for Agriculture, on the present position in the North. The speech of Mr. Boland is surprising in view of the studied reticence of the Taoiseach on the North in recent weeks.

There was support here for the view that the Civil Rights Movement would be best advised to concentrate their criticism on the more extremist section of the Unionist Party rather than on O'Neill, whose reputation here for integrity is quite high. Among Republicans and Left-wing people, however, criticism of O'Neill is sharp and stresses that he is the main enemy and that secretly he supports Partitionism. The alleged support of the police for Paisley's supporters is cited by them as the supreme example.

A Labour Party spokesman said last night that the only way that people in the South could help the Civil Rights movement was to intensify efforts here to win a big extension of social and civil rights, unemployment, solve housing problems, increase educational opportunities and secure justice for the old and the disabled. The Labour Party had agreed with the Civil Rights movement that no-thing would be said or done here without previous agreement with the movement in the North. This is an indigenous movement and it is the duty of the Irish Government to support it. The spokesman said that the Labour Party would be happy to help the movement in the North.

Other opponents of Flanders Fail saw in the Boland speech another bid for leadership of Flanders, or at least support for the recent statement of Mr. Eamonn Duggan for Agriculture, on the present position in the North. The speech of Mr. Boland is surprising in view of the studied reticence of the Taoiseach on the North in recent weeks.

There was support here for the view that the Civil Rights Movement would be best advised to concentrate their criticism on the more extremist section of the Unionist Party rather than on O'Neill, whose reputation here for integrity is quite high. Among Republicans and Left-wing people, however, criticism of O'Neill is sharp and stresses that he is the main enemy and that secretly he supports Partitionism. The alleged support of the police for Paisley's supporters is cited by them as the supreme example.

A Labour Party spokesman said last night that the only way that people in the South could help the Civil Rights movement was to intensify efforts here to win a big extension of social and civil rights, unemployment, solve housing problems, increase educational opportunities and secure justice for the old and the disabled. The Labour Party had agreed with the Civil Rights movement that no-thing would be said or done here without previous agreement with the movement in the North. This is an indigenous movement and it is the duty of the Irish Government to support it. The spokesman said that the Labour Party would be happy to help the movement in the North.

Other opponents of Flanders Fail saw in the Boland speech another bid for leadership of Flanders, or at least support for the recent statement of Mr. Eamonn Duggan for Agriculture, on the present position in the North. The speech of Mr. Boland is surprising in view of the studied reticence of the Taoiseach on the North in recent weeks.

There was support here for the view that the Civil Rights Movement would be best advised to concentrate their criticism on the more extremist section of the Unionist Party rather than on O'Neill, whose reputation here for integrity is quite high. Among Republicans and Left-wing people, however, criticism of O'Neill is sharp and stresses that he is the main enemy and that secretly he supports Partitionism. The alleged support of the police for Paisley's supporters is cited by them as the supreme example.

A Labour Party spokesman said last night that the only way that people in the South could help the Civil Rights movement was to intensify efforts here to win a big extension of social and civil rights, unemployment, solve housing problems, increase educational opportunities and secure justice for the old and the disabled. The Labour Party had agreed with the Civil Rights movement that no-thing would be said or done here without previous agreement with the movement in the North. This is an indigenous movement and it is the duty of the Irish Government to support it. The spokesman said that the Labour Party would be happy to help the movement in the North.

Other opponents of Flanders Fail saw in the Boland speech another bid for leadership of Flanders, or at least support for the recent statement of Mr. Eamonn Duggan for Agriculture, on the present position in the North. The speech of Mr. Boland is surprising in view of the studied reticence of the Taoiseach on the North in recent weeks.

There was support here for the view that the Civil Rights Movement would be best advised to concentrate their criticism on the more extremist section of the Unionist Party rather than on O'Neill, whose reputation here for integrity is quite high. Among Republicans and Left-wing people, however, criticism of O'Neill is sharp and stresses that he is the main enemy and that secretly he supports Partitionism. The alleged support of the police for Paisley's supporters is cited by them as the supreme example.

A Labour Party spokesman said last night that the only way that people in the South could help the Civil Rights movement was to intensify efforts here to win a big extension of social and civil rights, unemployment, solve housing problems, increase educational opportunities and secure justice for the old and the disabled. The Labour Party had agreed with the Civil Rights movement that no-thing would be said or done here without previous agreement with the movement in the North. This is an indigenous movement and it is the duty of the Irish Government to support it. The spokesman said that the Labour Party would be happy to help the movement in the North.

In other pages —

Page 8: The gauntlet of terror. (pictures)

Page 9: Michael Heaney's report on Saturday's incidents. Irish Times cameraman attacked. Diary of the four-day march. Archbishop McCann laments: "This moment of tragedy." Andrew Hamilton's report from Derry.

Page 10: Extremists ambush the marchers (pictures).

Page 11: Captain Long says use of troops is not contemplated. Did R.U.C. deceive marchers? Citizens' Action Committee withdraws "truce." Andrew Whitaker reports from London.

Costello asked to run again



Mr. Declan Costello, T.D., who has been called upon by the Fine Gael front bench to reconsider his decision not to contest the next general election, is expected to make a statement within the next few days.

1%
2%

tax free

This easy withdrawal investment Service pays 41% Tax Free earning nearly 7% gross. For small regular savings there is a 5% Subscription offer. Full details free on request. Call write or phone Dublin 43391, 46391, Cork 20876, Galway 2192. Assets exceed £20,000.00

BOEING CRASH NEAR GATWICK KILLS 50

SEVENTY PEOPLE died in the stricken garden of a country house a mile from Gatwick airport in the early hours of the 727 jet from Afghanistan crashing morning when a crashed trying to land.

Statements from the Board of the airline said there had been no further news of the plane since it was last seen on the runway.

The pilot elected to make a low approach, indicating that he was in trouble, he would divert to a nearby airport, London.

The statement said the Boeing 727 jet was last seen on the runway at 10.15 p.m. on Sunday.

The statement said the Boeing 727 jet was last seen on the runway at 10.15 p.m. on Sunday.

The statement said the Boeing 727 jet was last seen on the runway at 10.15 p.m. on Sunday.

As rights fight gets militant

B-Special warning by O'Neill

CAPT. O'NEILL last night warned civil rights marchers and their opponents in the North that "unless these warring minorities rapidly returned to their senses," the Government would strengthen the regular police force by making greater use of B-Specials.

The Government would also take an urgent look at the Public Order Act to see if Parliament should be asked for further powers to control those elements seeking to hold the entire community at ransom. Clearly Ulster has had enough," he said in a statement.

Meanwhile, Civil Rights Association leaders in the North, angered by the Derry violence, disclosed they are planning a more militant campaign, which might involve hunger strikes, the occupation of public buildings, the boycott of public authorities and the non-payment of rates and taxes, as well as marches. The new campaign plan will be discussed at an emergency meeting of the 18-man executive in Belfast this week, possibly tomorrow.

Editorial comment: page 8.

'Ulster has had enough'

His statement, issued in London, Capt. O'Neill said: "I want the people of Ulster to understand in plain English the events which have taken place since January 1. The march to Londonderry, planned by neo-called People's Democracy, was, from the outset, a foolhardy and irresponsible undertaking.

Gardaí probe death of Mayo woman

Members of Garda Technical Bureau were called into Glenties on the north Mayo coast, last night following the death of a woman, Annie Deane (61), Stranorlar, at her home.

At her home, Mrs. Deane lived with her 60-year-old husband, Michael, on a small farm in a remote district about 10 miles from Ballina. Last night a Garda spokesman said the cause of death was not clear. The woman was found by her husband at 11.30 p.m. and was taken to hospital where she died.

A post-mortem examination was carried out in Belmullet by Dr. Francis Martin from the State Pathologist's office in Dublin.

Mrs. Deane had eight children, all of whom have emigrated to England and America. She was attended by Dr. T. Kelly, who said she had been in good health for some time.

Dr. Kelly said the cause of death was not clear.

Dr. Kelly said the cause of death was not clear.

Dr. Kelly said the cause of death was not clear.

Dr. Kelly said the cause of death was not clear.

Dr. Kelly said the cause of death was not clear.

Dr. Kelly said the cause of death was not clear.

Dr. Kelly said the cause of death was not clear.

Dr. Kelly said the cause of death was not clear.

Dr. Kelly said the cause of death was not clear.



Women of the Bogside area of Derry marching to Victoria R.U.C. Barracks.

Plan to storm police station ... then the women step in

From DAMIEN MEEHUGH and PATRICK REYNOLDS

A PLAN by 1,000 men, armed with sledge-hammers, iron bars and sticks, to storm Derry police headquarters and occupy the Guildhall was called off yesterday after appeals from leaders of the Citizens' Action Committee. Instead, 1,000 women and girls staged a peaceful procession to the R.U.C. headquarters in Strand Road to protest against police activities in the Nationalist area of the city during Saturday night.

So licensed were the thousands of people in the Nationalist area of the city, who alleged that law and order had broken down and police had lost control of the situation, that there was ominous talk of forming a "Citizens' Army" to police Nationalist areas outside the ancient city walls from riot police incursions.

Men, youths and boys armed themselves with a variety of weapons and assembled at a slum clearance site at the corner of Waterloo Street and Lackey Road—the scene of the previous night of bloody encounters. Before the 15-man Citizens' Action Committee, led by Ivan Cooper and John Hume, arrived the cry was for blood and vengeance.

Residents in Lackey Road, St. Columba's Wells, Fahan Street, Rossville Street and other centres in the Bogside area organised impromptu press conferences to give examples of "outrageous police behaviour". The allegations included charges that individual riot squad police, in the early hours of Sunday morning, were drunk and wantonly smashed the windows of houses in St. Columba's Wells while the residents were in bed.

Residents queued up to tell visiting newsmen of the language used by some of the police, and they also claimed there had been indiscriminate batoning.

'Nonsense' At a subsequent police press conference, County Inspector David Corbett dismissed the charges as "complete and absolute nonsense". He said police tactics were based on a reasonable assumption that crowds from the Bogside area would force their way into the city centre within Derry's walls, and police acted to counter any attempt at looting.

Barracks, he claimed, were erected in the Lackey Road district to set a trap for the police by luring them into ambush.

By 3 p.m. yesterday the angry crowd gathered for a meeting to be addressed by Citizens' Action Committee members.

Temper flared amongst the 2,000-strong gathering and there was a threat of violence.

The problem was really brought to a head when a young soldier from Co. Dublin was asked by the family of a girl he had seen home in Fahan.

"When do you intend to marry?"

The problem was really brought to a head when a young soldier from Co. Dublin was asked by the family of a girl he had seen home in Fahan.

The problem was really brought to a head when a young soldier from Co. Dublin was asked by the family of a girl he had seen home in Fahan.

The problem was really brought to a head when a young soldier from Co. Dublin was asked by the family of a girl he had seen home in Fahan.

On double murder charge

A 21-year-old truck driver was last night charged with the murder of two men, who were fatally stabbed on Friday night outside their homes in the North Quays district of Dublin. In the Bridewell Garda Station, Christopher Dwyer, 21, of Church Street, Dublin, was charged with murdering Anthony Smith (24) and Pauline New 20, both of Arran Street.

This morning he will appear in the Dublin District Court. A second youth, who had been helping Gardaí with their inquiries, was released last night.

Scooterist killed in collision

Paul Brennan (20), of 73 Upper Carey's Road, Limerick, was killed when his motor scooter was in collision with a stray horse at Hyde Road in the city, in the early hours of yesterday morning.

His pillion passenger, Patrick Daly (13), of 5 Hyde Avenue, Prospect, Limerick, was injured in the crash and is detained in Barrington's Hospital and his condition is said to be "fairly serious".

Five people were injured in an accident at Dunsborough, Co. Wick, on Saturday morning when the car in which they were travelling mounted the footpath in Main Street and skidded along the front of three houses.

Rights march: Three accused

Three men are to appear at Antismagistrate's Court this morning on charges of disorderly behaviour arising out of the trouble in Toomebridge last Thursday, when the People's Democracy marchers were passing through.

They are Henry P. Walls (46), Ballymagan, Maghera; Henry Murray (22), 18-year-old Brian Grant, both of Toomebridge.

£83,000 pay The U.S. Congress meets today to tell Mr. Nixon officially that he won the Presidency, and to double his salary as chief executive to \$53,000 a year.

Part of the regular standing orders for any Army, he said, included details on how to deal with the local people. There had been very little difficulty experienced by the Irish troops in Cyprus, but on this occasion it had been necessary to issue a reminder.

The spokesman added: "So far none of our troops have married Cyprus girls. The lads seem to prefer the girls back home."

The spokesman added: "So far none of our troops have married Cyprus girls. The lads seem to prefer the girls back home."

The spokesman added: "So far none of our troops have married Cyprus girls. The lads seem to prefer the girls back home."

The spokesman added: "So far none of our troops have married Cyprus girls. The lads seem to prefer the girls back home."

Cosgrave 'No' to Labour Unrealistic demand

By Our Political Correspondent, MICHAEL MILLS

ANY possibility that Fine Gael might be prepared to implement Labour Party policy in return for Labour's support in the Dail after the next general election was dispelled by the leader of Fine Gael, Mr. Liam Cosgrave, yesterday. He said this was "completely unrealistic".

Fine Gael was seeking a "policy" of employment, policies majority in the Dail in the next and State enterprise were completed. These would be submitted to the Government by Mr. Cosgrave, who was giving a press conference at the end of a three-day discussion by his front bench on party policy, was asked about the inference of the speech of the chairman of the Labour Party, Mr. Barry Desmond, last Thursday, in which he ruled out coalition, but said that the question of Labour's support for any other party must remain an open issue. Labour's support would depend on the programme offered in return for the party's support and the calibre of the cabinet most likely to implement Labour policy, said Mr. Desmond.

Alternative

Mr. Cosgrave made it clear that any support must be related not to Labour but to Fine Gael policy. He said the only alternative to Fianna Fail was Fine Gael and, in any practical assessment of the political situation, this would still be the position after the next election.

Fine Gael was the only party with the policy, personnel and determination to accept the responsibility of Government. The outcome of the front bench meeting is that greater emphasis will be placed in the party's revised policy on State participation in certain areas, especially in the field of social welfare.

A comprehensive insurance scheme will still remain the basis of party policy in this field, which includes health. A statement read by Mr. Cosgrave at the end of the three-day meeting said the front bench of Dail and Seanad members had dealt with "the policies to be implemented by the party to Government after the next election".

Documents on social welfare

Snow, frost make roads dangerous

Severe frost all over the country and light snow in the north and some western parts of the country made driving conditions very hazardous last night.

The Automobile Association warned motorists to drive with "extreme caution" on roads.

There were snowfalls in Sligo, Donegal, Ballina, Belfast and in the south. In Ballina, three inches of snow fell.

There were heavy snow falls in the north and some western parts of the country made driving conditions very hazardous last night.

Light falls of snow occurred in Carrigrohane and throughout South Monaghan yesterday morning. Roads were in a highly dangerous condition last night.

INSIDE TODAY

Pictures
Derry — through the camera lens ... page 3

Aftermath
Derry counts the cost — 177 injured and a £250,000 bill ... page 4

Foreign news
51 killed in jet crash south of London. King Hussein warns of "immense" danger of war in Middle East. Fifteen killed in Vietcong attack on U.S. base. Soviets launch Venus probe ... page 5

Woman's Page
A castle in Sligo — Mary Gaffney interviews Lord Mountbatten. What was the bury for the people of 3001? asks Nuala O'Faolain. Knitting feature ... page 6

Historic claim
There can be no watering down of the historic claim of the Irish people to the whole of their country, says Mr. Boland, Minister for Local Government. Labour Party select candidate in South Tipperary. Water protest — 'fish-in' and picket at estate near Celbridge ... page 7

Features
T.P. O'Mahony examines the thoughts and theories of Herbert Marcuse — the prophet of the New Left. Seamus O'Neill writes on Roddy McCorley. Hugh McGrellen looks back at the cars of the year, in the Morning column ... page 8

Financial news
Monday Topic, by Joseph Charleston—some questions to the political parties on their economic policies ... page 9

Buntús Cainte
A new Buntús Cainte series 'Buntús in Usáid' begins on R.T.E. tonight. The words and phrases which will be used appear on ... page 10

Sport
Thurles runners and riders ... page 12
All the soccer reports ... page 16

To page 7

tax free

1% 2%

Irish Permanent Building Society

O'Connell Street, Dublin

Edmond Farrell, Chairman & Managing Director, P. V. Doran, F.C.A., Secretary.

Assets exceed £20,000,000

Full details free on request. Call, write or phone Dublin 43891, 43991, Cork 20876, Galway 2192.

Assets exceed £20,000,000

Full details free on request. Call, write or phone Dublin 43891, 43991, Cork 20876, Galway 2192.

Assets exceed £20,000,000

Full details free on request. Call, write or phone Dublin 43891, 43991, Cork 20876, Galway 2192.

Assets exceed £20,000,000

Full details free on request. Call, write or phone Dublin 43891, 43991, Cork 20876, Galway 2192.

Assets exceed £20,000,000

Full details free on request. Call, write or phone Dublin 43891, 43991, Cork 20876, Galway 2192.

Assets exceed £20,000,000

Full details free on request. Call, write or phone Dublin 43891, 43991, Cork 20876, Galway 2192.

Assets exceed £20,000,000

Full details free on request. Call, write or phone Dublin 43891, 43991, Cork 20876, Galway 2192.

Assets exceed £20,000,000

Full details free on request. Call, write or phone Dublin 43891, 43991, Cork 20876, Galway 2192.

Assets exceed £20,000,000

Full details free on request. Call, write or phone Dublin 43891, 43991, Cork 20876, Galway 2192.

Assets exceed £20,000,000

Full details free on request. Call, write or phone Dublin 43891, 43991, Cork 20876, Galway 2192.

Assets exceed £20,000,000

Full details free on request. Call, write or phone Dublin 43891, 43991, Cork 20876, Galway 2192.

Assets exceed £20,000,000

SECTION III

- BLOODY SUNDAY (Jan. 1972)

13 later to increase to 14 civilians were shot dead by security forces during a demonstration in Derry.

- HUNGERSTRIKER: BOBBY SANDS (May 1981)

A member of IRA went on hungerstrike in an effort to acquire five demands for Republican prisoners and subsequently died from starvation without achieving his aims.

The papers examined were three sets of daily papers published in Dublin the Irish Press, the Irish Times and the Irish Independent.

ANALYSIS OF THE NEWSPAPER COVERAGE OF CIVIL RIGHTS MARCH .

Monday January 6 1969.

Both the Irish Press and Irish Times present an image of chaos where security has to higher up because of the action of the 'warring minorities'. Both papers take on a British perspective of events whereas the with Irish Independent it explains why an explosive situation arose in the first place.

'A new explosive situation developed.... in protest of what they regarded as police brutality' (Independent 1969). Although all three papers tell essentially the same story their format differed enormously. With the Irish Times the headlines and subsequent commentry remains vague. The article does not say until much further down in the 'smaller' print whom the attackers were and then when it indicates that the security forces were in

the wrong, the number of wrongdoers are kept to a minimum. O'Neill's comments indicate that the affair was not ordered from seniority, but that it was the result of a small group of Partisans.

An active and immediate investigation into complaints about the behaviour of some members of the R.U.C on Saturday in Derry (Irish Times 1969).

The 'Irish Times' tale of events has quite a high reliance on the security forces for their interpretation of events. It also makes suggestions as to the small number of complaints made by indicating that the complaints were made only by the people in the Nationalist areas of the city and by only a few members of the Nationalist meeting.

One man said that a Policeman was just a Paisleyite dressed up and the more moderate views of civil rights leaders was that administration of law and order was, at least, one sided (Irish Times 1969).

Greater emphasis is placed on what the Prime Minister for Northern Ireland Captain O'Neill had to say. What he has to say is taken on being more authoritative on the issue. The image of the civilrighter is of a minority group whom intend to intensify their action and that 'Derry Nationalists' were busy organising their own defence groups' (Irish Times 1969). The leading article at no time identifies clearly whom the 'warring minorities' are. Nor does it admit that the police did attack the marchers. The main photo indicates that the security forces are in defence of the marchers, both of whom are under attack.

The editorial sees an interesting development from the front page. Here immediate blame is placed on not the civil rights marches or police but 'Buntingites, Paisleyites and militant Loyalists' (Irish Times 1969) who took the law into their own hands. It then criticises the police force who

used batons, fists and water cannons against both sides and did not have the gumption to shoulder aside a handful of presumably unarmed men [civil righters]. (Irish Times 1969)

even though permission was given by the Minister of home affairs for the 'Peoples Democracy March.' It places blame upon the Orange Order States, where they feel 'Anarchy is an old world in the orange handbook' (Irish Times 1969). The article proceeds to paint glossy imagery of the brave students accepting that they are 'anarchists and revolutionary socialists and republicans amongst the students' however, born out of 'Unionist Injustice' (Irish Times 1969). When you take this reporting and compare it with The 'Irish Press' an immediate difference can be seen.

The leading article follows much the same format. O'Neill warning the civil righters and asking the Government to look at the Public Order Act so as to control the elements 'seeking to hold the entire community at ransom clearly Ulster has had enough' (Irish Press 1969). The images of the Civil rights group is very similar to that in the 'Irish Times' (Irish Press 1969).

Never the less the editorial of the 'Irish Press' tells a very different story to that of the cover story. It blames O'Neill directly for the attacks on the civil rights marchers and argues that O'Neills comments that the marchers are 'mere hooligans'. The article then proceeds, quite bitter at the Police attitudes saying.

They failed [Police] largely because the numbers of police deployed were insignificant for the task. At times, according to the Premier, one sixth of the RUC strength of 3,000 were concentrated on the marchers route. The credit of the Government was so deeply involved that 2,500 police should have been used to secure the right of peaceful passage for the marchers and probably precautions on the state would have been taken if it was a Unionist march that was exposed to a similar danger of attack' (Irish Press 1969).

The article also denounces the need for the B Specials by saying it 'would be quite unnecessary if every citizen of Northern Ireland were given equal rights under the law' (Irish Press 1969). The paper also feels that

civil rights marchers which might have to accept the protection of the B specials open up a frightening prospect of Bloodshed and Anarchy(Irish Press 1969).

It is interesting to note that the 'Irish Times' said the civil righters were made up of young nationalist students however some are anarchists and revolutionast socialists. Where as The 'Irish Press' to conclude in its editorial states,

everybody knows that the civil rights movement embraces men and women of every class and of religious and political affiliation (Irish Press 1969).

and makes no criticism of this fact.

The format chosen by The 'Irish Independent' in the leading article differs from the

other two dailies in so far as it indicates why the civil righters are protesting and that is 'in protest of what they regard as police brutality' (Irish Independent 1969). It then proceeds to tell of the people

all in a bitter and angry mood many of the men and youths in the crowd had armed themselves with spears, cudgels, hurling sticks and iron bars (Independent 1969).

The photograph on the cover confirms this (see fig). These people were persuaded to calm down by Mr Gerry Fitt M.P and a representative body of women were sent to make their complaints. The 'Irish Independent' attempts to paint the scenes running up to the events where as the other Dailies are concerned with the event alone. Each paper covered a different aspect of the marchers throughout the North. Never the less each one was concerned with O'Neill's attacks on the march. The 'Irish Independent' reports on some eyewitness accounts of police brutality in detail but this is at the end of the article on the cover page. The editorial, similar to The 'Irish Press' states and argues that Cpt. O'Neill is out of touch with reality,

where deeds were wanted he has bestowed words and the hint of 'the greater use of the Special Constabulary for normal police duties.' Where a round up is needed of the leading thugs who lined the high ground near Claudy, the injured must do with homily on civic responsibility (Irish Independent 1969).

The article continues and indicates RUC brutality requires a full scale inquiry. It also hints that the police are not impartial in their duty and then makes accusations,

old friends are best.
(since 1861)
FIRST NATIONAL BUILDING SOCIETY
EST 1861

KONICA CAMERAS
COMPACT
OPEN BAY 1 P.M.

12 DIE ON FIRST DAY OF NORTH'S INTERMENT

Many scenes of bitter turmoil in Belfast's mixed areas

PAISLEY'S CHURCH IN BANBRIDGE FIRED

Irish Times Reporters

AT LEAST 12 people died in violence in Northern Ireland yesterday and last night following the announcement of internment by the Northern Prime Minister, Mr. Faulkner, and the arrest of more than 100 men in different parts of the State.

CHILDREN, WOMEN KILLED

The death toll in Northern Ireland rose to 12 in the last 24 hours. A 10-year-old boy died in the Ardoyne area after being shot by British soldiers. A woman was killed in the Ardoyne area after being shot by British soldiers. A woman was killed in the Ardoyne area after being shot by British soldiers.

Newry shopping area ablaze

Violence continued in Newry early this morning, following the arrest of 100 men in the town. A shopping area was set on fire, and several buildings were damaged. The fire was caused by a petrol bomb thrown by a loyalist.

Internment contrary to Rights Convention

UNDER the Special Powers Act, three things can happen to a man: he can be interned, he can be arrested, or he can be charged. The first is the most serious, and it is the one that has caused the most controversy.

18 soldiers injured in Derry

Eighteen soldiers were injured in a shooting in Derry yesterday. The soldiers were part of a patrol that was ambushed by the IRA. The attack was carried out by a small group of men who were armed with rifles and handguns.

LYNCH BLAMES LACK OF POLICY

There was GENERAL, but not universal, condemnation in the Republic yesterday of the Northern move on internment. A flood of statements from the Government, political parties and individuals all expressed the gravest concern over the latest development, and ranged from outright condemnation to a fine Gaelic call for international supervision of the exercise of the emergency powers.

Five camps opened to refugees

FIVE Army camps in the Republic have been opened to receive refugees and the dependants of those interned in Northern Ireland. The camps are at Clonsilla, Co. Meath; Co. Wick; Co. Wick; Co. Wick; Co. Wick.



Protestant families moving out of their burning homes in Furringdon gardens, Ardoyne, Belfast, last night. (Photograph: Jack McManus)

Up to late last night Protestant families were still leaving their homes in Furringdon gardens, Ardoyne, Belfast. The area was described as a 'no-go' zone for many hours.

Services were suspended throughout the day and last night. A bus service ran only in 'safe' areas, and many people were unable to get to work or school.

The trouble began yesterday morning following the internment of 100 men in Newry. The town was in a state of confusion, and many people were fleeing the area.

The trouble began yesterday morning following the internment of 100 men in Newry. The town was in a state of confusion, and many people were fleeing the area.

The trouble began yesterday morning following the internment of 100 men in Newry. The town was in a state of confusion, and many people were fleeing the area.

WANTED
SANDY MOUNT DUN LAOHAIRE
UP TO 100,000 SQ. FT.
BATHNANNAM

TRAFFIC HALTED
Run-hour traffic out of the city last night was delayed by human barricades of women, protesting about internment and the arrests. The women were standing in front of the main entrance to the city, and they refused to move.

PROTEST AT RAIDS
The raids were carried out at 11 p.m. and at about 100 men were arrested. The men were taken to the city hall, and they were held there for several hours.

PROTEST AT RAIDS
The raids were carried out at 11 p.m. and at about 100 men were arrested. The men were taken to the city hall, and they were held there for several hours.

10 to 20 tax free
EQUALS ALMOST 8 1/2% GROSS.
Invest with the Best—the Irish Permanent, and enjoy a 10% to 20% tax free return on your investment.

WAREHOUSES
40-90,000 square feet, in lots of not less than 10,000 square feet.
OFFICES
4-12,000 square feet, in lots of not less than 3,000 square feet.
Preferably in one location. Lease or purchase. Offers sought from auctioneers or private persons. Reply in confidence giving details of exact location, area of buildings, description of accommodation, warehouse headroom, etc. to Box 44, Arrow Advertising, 31 Merrion Sq., Dublin 2

IN OTHER PAGES
CRIME, THE CRIMINAL AND THE DETECTIVE: A series of four parts, by Conor Brady, begins today. Brady's detective is about 2 1/2, having a far out for intelligence. It is how a Dublin detective describes his job.

Opposition groups protest against arrests
The opposition groups in London have protested against the arrests of 100 men in Newry. They have called for the release of the men and for an end to the internment policy.

Opposition groups protest against arrests
The opposition groups in London have protested against the arrests of 100 men in Newry. They have called for the release of the men and for an end to the internment policy.

IRISH PERMANENT BUILDING SOCIETY
O'CONNELL STREET DUBLIN
Edmond Kelly, A.B.S., Chairman & Managing Director
P.V. Doyle, F.C.A., A.B.S., Secretary

VIOLENCE AND TERROR FOLLOW INTERNMENTS

North's night of horror

Priest, boys
women die
in gunfire

LEAST 13 people, possibly more, had been killed in the North in early today, in the worst day of violence there since August, 1969. Ten victims were shot dead in Belfast. They included a priest, two women and two teenage

The priest who died was Father G. Mullen, of St. Patrick's, in the Falls area. He was shot by the army while administering the Last Rites to a man killed by gunfire from a passing car at Clady, in the New Barnsley Estate, outside the Henry Memorial Hall, and it was here that the two men were killed. Two men who were injured by gunfire in the evening a raging gun battle suddenly broke out in the New Barnsley Estate, outside the Henry Memorial Hall, and it was here that the two men were killed. Two men who were injured by gunfire in the evening a raging gun battle suddenly broke out in the New Barnsley Estate, outside the Henry Memorial Hall, and it was here that the two men were killed.

The priest who died was Father G. Mullen, of St. Patrick's, in the Falls area. He was shot by the army while administering the Last Rites to a man killed by gunfire from a passing car at Clady, in the New Barnsley Estate, outside the Henry Memorial Hall, and it was here that the two men were killed. Two men who were injured by gunfire in the evening a raging gun battle suddenly broke out in the New Barnsley Estate, outside the Henry Memorial Hall, and it was here that the two men were killed.

The priest who died was Father G. Mullen, of St. Patrick's, in the Falls area. He was shot by the army while administering the Last Rites to a man killed by gunfire from a passing car at Clady, in the New Barnsley Estate, outside the Henry Memorial Hall, and it was here that the two men were killed. Two men who were injured by gunfire in the evening a raging gun battle suddenly broke out in the New Barnsley Estate, outside the Henry Memorial Hall, and it was here that the two men were killed.

The priest who died was Father G. Mullen, of St. Patrick's, in the Falls area. He was shot by the army while administering the Last Rites to a man killed by gunfire from a passing car at Clady, in the New Barnsley Estate, outside the Henry Memorial Hall, and it was here that the two men were killed. Two men who were injured by gunfire in the evening a raging gun battle suddenly broke out in the New Barnsley Estate, outside the Henry Memorial Hall, and it was here that the two men were killed.

The priest who died was Father G. Mullen, of St. Patrick's, in the Falls area. He was shot by the army while administering the Last Rites to a man killed by gunfire from a passing car at Clady, in the New Barnsley Estate, outside the Henry Memorial Hall, and it was here that the two men were killed. Two men who were injured by gunfire in the evening a raging gun battle suddenly broke out in the New Barnsley Estate, outside the Henry Memorial Hall, and it was here that the two men were killed.

The priest who died was Father G. Mullen, of St. Patrick's, in the Falls area. He was shot by the army while administering the Last Rites to a man killed by gunfire from a passing car at Clady, in the New Barnsley Estate, outside the Henry Memorial Hall, and it was here that the two men were killed. Two men who were injured by gunfire in the evening a raging gun battle suddenly broke out in the New Barnsley Estate, outside the Henry Memorial Hall, and it was here that the two men were killed.

The priest who died was Father G. Mullen, of St. Patrick's, in the Falls area. He was shot by the army while administering the Last Rites to a man killed by gunfire from a passing car at Clady, in the New Barnsley Estate, outside the Henry Memorial Hall, and it was here that the two men were killed. Two men who were injured by gunfire in the evening a raging gun battle suddenly broke out in the New Barnsley Estate, outside the Henry Memorial Hall, and it was here that the two men were killed.

The priest who died was Father G. Mullen, of St. Patrick's, in the Falls area. He was shot by the army while administering the Last Rites to a man killed by gunfire from a passing car at Clady, in the New Barnsley Estate, outside the Henry Memorial Hall, and it was here that the two men were killed. Two men who were injured by gunfire in the evening a raging gun battle suddenly broke out in the New Barnsley Estate, outside the Henry Memorial Hall, and it was here that the two men were killed.

The priest who died was Father G. Mullen, of St. Patrick's, in the Falls area. He was shot by the army while administering the Last Rites to a man killed by gunfire from a passing car at Clady, in the New Barnsley Estate, outside the Henry Memorial Hall, and it was here that the two men were killed. Two men who were injured by gunfire in the evening a raging gun battle suddenly broke out in the New Barnsley Estate, outside the Henry Memorial Hall, and it was here that the two men were killed.

The priest who died was Father G. Mullen, of St. Patrick's, in the Falls area. He was shot by the army while administering the Last Rites to a man killed by gunfire from a passing car at Clady, in the New Barnsley Estate, outside the Henry Memorial Hall, and it was here that the two men were killed. Two men who were injured by gunfire in the evening a raging gun battle suddenly broke out in the New Barnsley Estate, outside the Henry Memorial Hall, and it was here that the two men were killed.

Lynch deplores
internment

Call for conference

POLITICAL REACTION to yesterday's critical events in the North ranged from the call by the Taoiseach, Mr. Lynch, for a conference of all interested parties, and repeated demands in London for the recall of the British Parliament, to the S.D.L.P.'s call for the boycott of public bodies and a general rent and rates strike as a protest against internment.

Mr. Lynch said that the introduction of internment without trial was a deplorable evidence of the political poverty of the policies which had been pursued in the North for some time, and which he condemned publicly last week. He said that hardship would be suffered by many families as a consequence of internment, and he had instructed the Army authorities to make accommodation available at Army camps to all dependants of internees who sought such accommodation.

Mr. Lynch said that the law must be administered impartially in the North, and he urged that a conference of all interested parties should now take place in order to obtain a new form of administration for Northern Ireland.

"There is no other way to avoid further deaths and injury," he added. (Full text of Taoiseach's statement on page 4).

Critical
The Northern Premier, Mr. Faulkner, in his statement yesterday announcing internment and the six-month parade ban, said of internment: "I have taken this serious step solely for the protection of life and the security of property."

"At all times I have consistently emphasised that it was not a step towards what I would be moved by any political clamour. Equally I cannot

now allow the prospects of any misrepresentation to deflect me from my duty to act."

The main target, "at present," he said, was the IRA, but he added that he would not hesitate "to take strong action against any other individuals or organisations who may present such a threat to the future." (Full text, page 4).

INSIDE
TODAY

DEMAND for recall of British Commons. Internment 'flopped'. Say the Provisionals. Claran McKewen tells of the North's heart-break. ... page 3

BITTER reaction sweeps country. Mr. Lynch's statement and other reactions. ... page 4

THE Northern holocaust — pictures. ... page 5

World Bank gives £5.4m. for school projects. ... page 6

SUBSIDIES shock for Irish meat factories? Irish motorists' survival threatened by taxation. ... page 7

FEATURES: Part two of Marie Comerford's series on research into the 1919-22 State papers. ... page 9

FINANCE: Your money and you. ... page 10

FOREIGN: Russia and India sign friendship treaty. London talks on Clyde shipyard fail. ... page 11

WOMAN'S PRESS: Jim Dunne makes a plea for good music. ... page 12

Sir Dingle tells how to appeal

Sir Dingle Foot, Britain's former Solicitor General, said that in Britain internment without trial had only been used in time of war. It was possible in the North only because of the Special Powers Act. Westminster could pass legislation repealing this Act.

There was a right of appeal against internment to the Commission on Human Rights and then to the Court of Human Rights at Strasbourg. Any internment could send in a petition.

To page 5

Girl of 4 held in swoop

A four-year-old Co. Derry girl was among the 100 held in yesterday morning's swoop. The girl's mother, Mrs. Mary Davy, said that British soldiers had taken her daughter, Marie, and her 29-year-old husband, John, from their beds at 4 a.m. in their home in Galloway, Maghera.

Said Mrs. Davy: "She was in a hysterical state and I had to give her a sedative to put her to sleep."

Mrs. Davy said the child told her she had been separated from her father and taken to an army camp. There were no women about the camp, and the only food she had during her six-hour ordeal was an apple given to her by a soldier.

Fighting rages
in seven towns

A man died at Armagh City Hospital early today after a gun battle between troops and the occupants of a moving car.

An army spokesman said the man was fatally injured after two shots were fired from the car, hitting a soldier in the leg and chest, but not seriously injuring him.

Other soldiers fired back. In Newry a burst of automatic gunfire rent the centre of the town which erupted in a new surge of violence, for the second successive day.

Four explosions shattered business premises, including the Provincial Bank in Hill Street, a chemist's shop and a laundry.

And in nearby Crossmaglen, Co. Armagh, rioting was also reported to have broken out early this morning. Stones and petrol bombs were thrown and the RUC station was attacked.

Standstill

In Derry, barricades still sealed tight most of the Catholic district and some of the "wre" main roads through most of these districts — the Bogside and Creggan areas — was at a standstill.

The main efforts of rioters was centred on the William St./Rossville St. junction where the army came under attack. They fired rubber bullets at the crowd.

A soldier received burns to the face after a petrol bomb struck a car at a junction in the Bogside and a soldier was hit in the arm.

Sniper fire was continuing across the peace line between the Falls and Shankill in Belfast and an army spokesman said that at one stage a sniper was fired at and a body was seen being dragged to a van close by. It later proved that the spokesman could not say on

To page 7

Girl of 4 held in swoop

A four-year-old Co. Derry girl was among the 100 held in yesterday morning's swoop. The girl's mother, Mrs. Mary Davy, said that British soldiers had taken her daughter, Marie, and her 29-year-old husband, John, from their beds at 4 a.m. in their home in Galloway, Maghera.

Said Mrs. Davy: "She was in a hysterical state and I had to give her a sedative to put her to sleep."

Mrs. Davy said the child told her she had been separated from her father and taken to an army camp. There were no women about the camp, and the only food she had during her six-hour ordeal was an apple given to her by a soldier.

To page 7

**YOUR CHANCE TO
SHARE £25000
EVERY MONTH
PRIZE BONDS**

Send 40 Lyons Tea Minstrels for your share in a Prize Bond for 12 monthly draws. Lyons Tea will notify you of the number of the Prize Bond you are sharing — keep it handy for reference when the draw results are announced each month. Start saving Lyons Tea Minstrels today — there's one on every pack.

SENSATIONAL FREE OFFER FROM LYONS TEA

TO: J. LYONS & CO. (IRELAND) LTD. P.O. BOX 250 GOLDENBRIDGE DUBLIN 12

I enclose 40 Lyons Tea Minstrels for a share in a Prize Bond for 12 monthly draws. please acknowledge and notify me of Prize Bond number.

NAME BLOCK CAPITALS PLEASE

ADDRESS

I understand and will abide by the Rules of the Lyons Tea Prize Bond Scheme

Yet impartiality, if it is proved, would not have prevented the ambush at Clady, which seems to have been carried out with the precision of a military exercise and the brutality of an inflamed rabble (Irish Independent 1969).

The articles accusations moves then at O'Neills insinuating his sidings with the ambushers Major Bunting and Mr Paisley. It then concludes by saying O'Neill must see both sides of the arguement, and not talk.

Throughout the analysis of these three Dailies one thing is immediately apparent and that is they all differ decidedly between what they say in the headlines and editorial. It is felt one could argue about their impartiality in reporting on an event but not on their unbiased opinion concerning events.

The 'Irish Times' in placing great emphasis on what Cpt. O'Neill says and giving little attention to the say of the civil rights marchers would indicate that Cpt. O'Neill is correct in his actions.

ANALYSIS OF THE NEWSPAPER COVERAGE OF 'INTERNMENT'

Tuesday, August 10 1971.

The format chosen by The 'Irish Press' and the 'Irish Independent' is very interesting because of its similarity. The 'Irish Press' giving greater detail into specific scenarogs whereas the 'Irish Times' format is almost in reverse of the other two.

The 'Irish Press' and 'Irish Independent' begin by indicating 11 to 13 people dead. Then tell of a priest although unconfirmed in the 'Independent' is still number one on the list of dead. The 'Irish Press' gives indepth detail as to how the priest was killed. Both papers proceed in telling of the civilians shot dead. 'Ten of the victims were shot dead in Belfast they included a priest, two women and two teenage boys (Irish Press 1971). In the 'Irish Times' the reporting of the deaths was slightly different. It did not play on the 'terror quality' as the other papers had done.

By midnight, one British soldier, one member of the Ulster Defence Regiment and nine civilians were known to have died. At 2 am Belfast police confirmed the death of a second women, bringing the days total death toll to 12 (Irish Times 1972).

These announcements all took place with the first two paragraphs of the papers. It is also interesting to note that the 'Irish Press', on its announcement of the security forces' death did not spell out UDR but merely said 'A UDR man was killed by gunfire from a passing car in Clady (Irish Press 1971).

It is apparent at this stage that there is a difference in reporting from an 'Irish Times' point of view over the other two particularly the "Irish Press." But how different are they? The Irish Press when reporting civilian deaths draws upon readers sympathy in the favour of 'republicanism' by detailing injuries inflicted on Catholics.

The priest who died was Father G. Mullen, St Johns Parish, in the falls area. He was shot by the British army while administering the Last Rites to a person injured earlier by army gunfire at New Barnsley. Because of cross-fire both the priest and the boy had lain injured for some time before taken to the Mater Hospital. Father Mullen died there early today (Irish Press 1971).

and then 'the first boy killed had his hand shot off before he received a sniper's bullet between the eyes' (Irish Press 1971). When you compare this with to

The Rev. Fr. Hugh Mullan was reported to have been shot and wounded when he gave last rites to those shot at Ballymurphy. Fr. Mullan is a curate at St. Johns on the Falls road (Irish Times 1971).

The Irish Independent reporting of the whole event was vague, with 'unconfirmed reports' 'one woman, possibly two.' Their whole report is made up of short, snappy, two to three line sentences which refrain from detail.

- 'The New Barnsley Police Station was under heavy fire late last night.
- Five men were wounded in a gun battle in the same area, at the Henry Taggart Hall.
- Two bodies were seen on the road. The troops said they could not reach them (Irish Independent 1971).

This form of reporting is extremely vague, it refrains from the 'who' and 'why' or even 'how' detail which gives excitement to the other papers reports.

Comparison of the three papers on this form of reporting indicates that although all three try for impartiality there are sympathies toward one side or another in the case of the 'Irish Press' they aim to paint a picture of the brutal British Army, few sympathies are shown for the British in their cover article evident by their lack of detail into the death of the soldiers and their greater detail in the death of the Catholics. In fact a hint of black humour is evident at one point in their interpretation of an attack on the British Army.

When an army patrol came to dismantle the mine a number of shots were fired across Latoon lake from Kilty - Co Leitrim. [South of the border]. The Patrol dived into the water to obtain cover, and after a few seconds the shooting stopped. The bomb was subsequently dismantled (Irish Press 1971).

The 'Irish Times' in their coverage pay great attention to British Army reports of events and try to appear impartial by not detailing to one side. However their failure in outlining some critical detail can be taken as a pattern which shows their 'leaning.' Never the less it must be appreciated that they might not be capable of finding out some important detail because of reporter restrictions or time or whatever.

The 'Irish Independents' report could be categorised as 'to the point.' Sentences are vague and short. The article could be described as a catalogue of events, rather than an investigative report. Never the less they have not been found to be clearly biased in their report.

The editorials from each of the three papers takes a political perspective in their analysis. Their formats and styles are very different from one another. The 'Irish Times' is seen to take an analytical view point, by both advertising Westminster and Dublin reactions to events. The article is highly critical of both. In its discussion on British Politician. Mr Heath whom the paper sees as being 'ultimately responsible' is considered as as 'The most obsurantist Tory.' It continues with more name calling 'Mad Mitch the MP and former anti-guerilla leader in the Middle East.' Not to mention the indolent Mr Maulding.'

Irish Politicians did not get off lightly either , their words were carefully scrutinised . The 'Irish Times' were quite adamant that Mr Lynch (Taoiseach) had not condemned internment but that he made an observation. It is noted that he could not condemn internment. 'For only last December he and his Government floated an internment scare in the republic' (Irish Times 1971). The article twice as long as either of the other two papers continues to analyse to try and find where the blame can be layed. It accepts that Catholics were the targets in internment and there were no records of any Unionists interned. The article though critical of both Governments feels that the British Government Mr Heath may get over this incident but 'He was heading into the storm which may yet sink him' (Irish Times 1971).

The 'Irish Press' editorial is a more whimsical and 'story telling' like article. It is highly critical of the Orange order. It begins by saying that the British were welcomed with cups of tea and because of the silliness of the Politicians those cups of tea are now nailbombs.

The article is sympathetic towards the IRA in that it goes back to 1969 and discusses how they were the protectors of the Catholic community but because of British propaganda the face of the provisional IRA was painted a different colour. They were seen or portrayed as stronger and more oppressive than they actually were. It calls for a united Ireland and tells the British Government to suspend Stormont the 'Protestant Parliament for a Protestant People' (Irish Press 1971). It tries to offer a solution to the problem.

The British must declare their interests in a united Ireland, perhaps beginning with an economic council between North and South, and then go on to state publicly that the territorial integrity of the island must be recognised and that the British Government and people no longer have any desire to support a statelet run by the Orange order but wish to live at peace with this island and to see Protestants and Catholics here living in peace with each other (Irish Press 1971).

It is interesting to note De Valera the founder of the 'Irish Press' was particularly anxious to have a United Ireland. The 'Irish Press' therefore could be considered to be acting 'republican' once again, the article certainly indicated this.

The 'Irish Independents' editorial follows a similar pattern or style to their cover article in so far as it appears unbiased and the wording used in its attempt at political analysis is quite unstimulating. The article although critical of the Stormont premier Mr Faulkner, asks a lot of



13 KILLED, 17 WOUNDED IN CITY OF TERROR

DERRY MASSACRE

Cardinal heads call for inquiry

From KIERAN GILL in Derry

STATE AND CHURCH leaders expressed shock and horror last night at the killing by British soldiers of 13 men and the wounding of 17 others, including two women when they fired straight into a crowd of several thousand people, after a peaceful anti-internment meeting in the Bogside yesterday.

The scene after the shooting was one of devastation and terror: dead and wounded people lay on the ground as people ran for their lives with rifle shots echoing and bullets whining and ricocheting off the walls of streets.

Heath reply to Lynch for Cabinet meeting

Michael Mills, Irish Press, Political Correspondent

Mr. Lynch, who was in London by phone with Mr. Heath last night and a Government spokesman said that "in the light of the Heath's response, the Government will discuss the possibility of a general strike throughout the country until the Parachute Regiment involved in the killing had been withdrawn."

Men, women and children raced screaming in terror through Rossville Street after British troops fired a hail of bullets at them. When the army shooting died down, several people lay dead on the streets, while many others lay with blood pouring from bullet wounds.

Three people shot in the courtyard of the Rossville Street high flats lay helpless for quarter of an hour after a man waving a white handkerchief was shot while attempting to rescue them.

The dead and wounded were put into cars and ambulances in the Bogside and rushed to the city's Altnagelvin Hospital.

One of the most horrific stories which swept the city was that a soldier armed with a rifle shot a man at point blank range as the man crawled on the ground after being wounded.

The Provisional I.R.A. in Derry said last night that they would avenge the death of every person shot.

We shall avenge

In a statement, the Derry command of the Provisional I.R.A. said: "In order to avoid the possibility of danger to civilians, we ordered all weapons out of the total route march area. At no time did any of our units open fire on the British army."

"The British army murdered innocent civilians in Derry today. We leave the world to judge who are the real terrorists. We shall avenge the deaths of everyone killed in Derry today."

And, as the last of the bodies was being taken to hospital, Provisionals opened fire on the soldiers and sporadic gunfire lasted for an hour and a half. The streets were clear before the gunfight started as people had run in panic when the British army opened fire.

Lord Fenner Brockway, Miss Bernadette Devlin, M.P., and several other speakers standing on a platform at Free Derry corner, lay terrified on the ground as bullets flew past them.

Women were crying and people rushed into houses to escape gunfire. At one stage, I counted five people being put into cars in St. Columba's Well before being taken to hospital. More people lay flat in gardens and behind walls before running for more adequate cover during gaps in the shooting.

The British Army shooting began without warning after troops, backed up by armoured cars, advanced from William Street towards the Rossville Street flats. Up to that point, several thousand people out of the almost 20,000 people who took part in the anti-internment march, had been standing around out of range of the army's C.S. gas canisters and rubber bullets. A man and a boy were shot in William Street and treated in a house by a doctor.

One shot — the only civilian shooting I heard at this time — was fired at the army. It was at least 20 minutes later when the army began firing into the crowd.

No-Go areas

The anti-internment march was one of the largest seen in the city since the present troubles began in October, 1968. Almost 20,000 people walked from the Bogside's Field in Creggan Estate through a maze of streets into the Bogside. These areas have been strictly "no go" to the army and police since last July and there was no trace of troops in them.

In Loner Moor Road, a small breakaway group of youths surged to the head of the procession. Marching towards the head of the procession, they walked down William Street carrying banners and chanting songs.

In William Street they came face to face with the army, backed up by the R.U.C. Troops had erected barbed wire barricades across William Street and stood with pointed guns as the massive crowd walked up to them.

Last night, the Taoiseach, Mr. Lynch, described the action of the British soldiers as "unbelievably savage and inhuman". Cardinal Conway expressed shock and called for an inquiry. The Stormont Prime Minister, Mr. Faulkner, blamed the IRA for the deaths. There were calls for a general strike throughout the country until the Parachute Regiment involved in the killing had been withdrawn.

Men, women and children raced screaming in terror through Rossville Street after British troops fired a hail of bullets at them. When the army shooting died down, several people lay dead on the streets, while many others lay with blood pouring from bullet wounds.

Three people shot in the courtyard of the Rossville Street high flats lay helpless for quarter of an hour after a man waving a white handkerchief was shot while attempting to rescue them.

The dead and wounded were put into cars and ambulances in the Bogside and rushed to the city's Altnagelvin Hospital.

One of the most horrific stories which swept the city was that a soldier armed with a rifle shot a man at point blank range as the man crawled on the ground after being wounded.

The Provisional I.R.A. in Derry said last night that they would avenge the death of every person shot.

We shall avenge

In a statement, the Derry command of the Provisional I.R.A. said: "In order to avoid the possibility of danger to civilians, we ordered all weapons out of the total route march area. At no time did any of our units open fire on the British army."

"The British army murdered innocent civilians in Derry today. We leave the world to judge who are the real terrorists. We shall avenge the deaths of everyone killed in Derry today."

And, as the last of the bodies was being taken to hospital, Provisionals opened fire on the soldiers and sporadic gunfire lasted for an hour and a half. The streets were clear before the gunfight started as people had run in panic when the British army opened fire.

Lord Fenner Brockway, Miss Bernadette Devlin, M.P., and several other speakers standing on a platform at Free Derry corner, lay terrified on the ground as bullets flew past them.

Women were crying and people rushed into houses to escape gunfire. At one stage, I counted five people being put into cars in St. Columba's Well before being taken to hospital. More people lay flat in gardens and behind walls before running for more adequate cover during gaps in the shooting.

The British Army shooting began without warning after troops, backed up by armoured cars, advanced from William Street towards the Rossville Street flats. Up to that point, several thousand people out of the almost 20,000 people who took part in the anti-internment march, had been standing around out of range of the army's C.S. gas canisters and rubber bullets. A man and a boy were shot in William Street and treated in a house by a doctor.

One shot — the only civilian shooting I heard at this time — was fired at the army. It was at least 20 minutes later when the army began firing into the crowd.

No-Go areas

The anti-internment march was one of the largest seen in the city since the present troubles began in October, 1968. Almost 20,000 people walked from the Bogside's Field in Creggan Estate through a maze of streets into the Bogside. These areas have been strictly "no go" to the army and police since last July and there was no trace of troops in them.

In Loner Moor Road, a small breakaway group of youths surged to the head of the procession. Marching towards the head of the procession, they walked down William Street carrying banners and chanting songs.

In William Street they came face to face with the army, backed up by the R.U.C. Troops had erected barbed wire barricades across William Street and stood with pointed guns as the massive crowd walked up to them.

About three dozen stones were thrown by youths in the crowd as the people stood at the army barricades. An army water cannon then raced into William Street and started spraying the crowd with purple dye. There were shouts of "stay on, it can't go past the barrier", and the majority of the crowd stood on the roadway.

Then troops fired volley after volley of CS gas and

to page 4



Rev. Edward Daly of St. Eugene's parish, Derry, waves a blood-soaked handkerchief in an effort to get a halt to firing. He had just administered the Last Rites to a youth who was shot dead beside him.

Commons storm over shootings expected

Troops like Black and Tans, says M.P.

From Aidan Hennigan in London

THE DERRY shootings which caused an immediate outcry among Labour M.P.s in Britain, particularly those directly concerned with Northern Ireland, is expected to produce a storm of protest in the House of Commons today.

Efforts will be made to raise the shootings by way of private notice questions in which demands will be made for full statements from the British Home Secretary, Mr. Maudling, the Prime Minister, Mr. Heath, or from Lord Balfour.

Both Mr. Heath and Mr. Maudling were informed of the events in Derry and the developing situation last evening, but no official comment was forthcoming from either No. 10 Downing Street or the Home Office.

It was being suggested that the British Government may try to ignore a tragedy of this magnitude without making some official comment.

Challenges

One of the most immediate challenges that the British Government faces are the demands for an independent public inquiry on the lines demanded by Cardinal Conway and Dr. Farrell.

These calls will be backed by the Chairman of the Campaign for Democracy in Ulster, Mr. Paul Rose, M.P., who last night announced that he was going to call on the British Government to immediately confine the para-

Pakistan

Pakistan withdraws from the Commonwealth after British recognition of Bangla Desh.

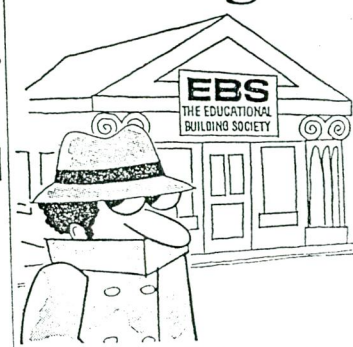
Churches and North

T. P. O'Mahony investigates the effect of the Northern uprisings on the Churches. Part 1: Violence and Morality.

Due to pressure on space, Woman's Press has been held over.

to page 4

the spy that came out with the gold!



Seen his T.V. message? Decoded; it read "Make more money with the EBS." You know it's no secret that thousands of people are making money with the EBS. 5.5% tax free on investments. That's nearly 8.5% gross. Or 6% tax free on regular savings equals more than 9% gross. This year especially don't let your money become a lary layabout. Put it to work profitably for you with the EBS. Now.

make more money with the EBS EDUCATIONAL BUILDING SOCIETY Assets over £24,000,000

Head Office: Westmoreland Street, Dublin 2. Branches and agencies throughout the country

The names of the dead

The thirteen shot dead — all Derry men — were named last night: Hugh Gilmore, 23 Garvey Place, Derry; John Young, 120 Creggan; William Gillespie Creggan; William Gillespie Creggan; William Gillespie Creggan; William Gillespie Creggan; William Gillespie Creggan; William Gillespie Creggan; William Gillespie Creggan; William Gillespie Creggan; William Gillespie Creggan; William Gillespie Creggan; William Gillespie Creggan.

Pictures of Derry tragedy — page 5

More reports on pages 4 and 6

DAY'S WEATHER FORECAST IS ON PAGE 4

RSCEALA

to page 4

to page 4

to page 4

to page 4

to page 4

to page 4

to page 4

TODAY'S WEATHER

Temperatures below freezing in all areas. Severe frost. Snow in most areas.

(See Back Page)

Irish Independent

Vol. 81. No. 26

MONDAY, JANUARY 31, 1972

Price 4p



13 civilians massacred as British fire on meeting

Derry's Bloody Sunday

Bloody Sunday, 1970 recalled

Derry's day of death has been remembered with Bloody Sunday, 1970. 12 Irish people were shot by British forces in Derry, the morning of November 30, 1970. 14 British officers and 14 were killed. As a retaliation, the British forces went to the Park in the afternoon, shooting a dozen people, wounding many others.

Protest against unjust repression in Derry, 1970. 12 years ago led to the Bloody Sunday with which the last night also being remembered.

March 21, 1960, 50 people were killed outright by police opened fire on people who were demonstrating against "pass laws" which required them to carry identification. The death toll later rose to 69 as wounded people died.

Priest tells of 'point-blank' shots at trapped boys

By MARTIN BRENNAN in Derry

HORROR AND FURY mounted throughout the country last night after 13 young men were shot dead by British paratroopers on Derry's streets and 16 more lay injured with bullet wounds in a city hospital after 15,000 marchers had defied the Stormont parade ban.

The shooting at Free Derry Corner was described as "a cold-blooded massacre" by M.P.s Ivan Cooper and John Hume. Bernadette Devlin said last night: "It was our Sharpeville, and we will never forget it. It was mass murder by the British Army."

The shootings came towards the end of the march, which had been broken up by army barricades near Derry city centre. The Civil Rights marchers moved towards the Bogside and at Free Derry Corner, where they assembled for a meeting, they came under heavy fire from the British troops.

'Cold-blooded massacre'

The paratroopers advanced behind three Saracen armoured cars and then, according to eyewitnesses, fanned out and began firing.

The Commander of the Parachute Regiment, Lt-Col. Derek Wilford, said: "Our men came under automatic fire as they went in." This was flatly denied by Civil Rights leaders and independent eyewitnesses.

Cardinal Conway last night expressed deep shock and called for an independent public inquiry.

The Taoiseach said he was appalled and stunned that British troops could shoot indiscriminately into a crowd of civilians.

Civil Rights workers said the troops fired indiscriminately into the crowd—at Red Cross personnel and at people waving white handkerchiefs.

One eye-witness, Rev. Edward Daly of St. Eunan's Cathedral, described the killings as a "pre-planned, cold-blooded massacre."

The stone-throwing had stopped and the crowd were moving away to attend the Civil Rights meeting when

ALL Official I.R.A. units were on full-time service to make as many as possible "retaliatory killings" of British soldiers, according to a statement in Derry today.

A spokesman at a news conference said: "We shall be shooting to kill as many British soldiers as possible."

The spokesman said that the British had opened fire on the crowd indiscriminately with a machine gun from a Whippet armoured car.

No volunteer at any time had fired at soldiers during the evening. However, after the shooting of innocent civilians, units had taken up positions outside the barricades and had engaged the British.

As a result of this a volunteer had been shot in the leg and neck.

The spokesman said that the retaliatory measures would be taken against anybody who helped the British army in any way.

Even to sell a packet of cigarettes or a drink would



A youth being taken away by a paratrooper.

The following is the text of Cardinal Conway's statement:

"I am deeply shocked at the news of the awful slaughter in Derry this afternoon."

"I have received a first-hand account from a priest who was present at the scene and what I have heard is really shocking. An impartial and independent public inquiry is immediately called for, and I have telegraphed the British Prime Minister to this effect."

"Meantime, I call upon the whole Catholic community to preserve calm and dignity in the face of this terrible news."

"If an impartial and independent public inquiry is held the world will be able to judge what has happened."

three Saracen armoured cars, which had been parked on waste ground in Little James's Street, suddenly sped towards the crowd, he said.

Several were knocked to the ground by the vehicles, but the soldiers, who ran behind them, began opening fire indiscriminately, cutting people down like nine-pins, he said.

Father Daly said that no matter what British army public relations might say, there had been no shooting or nail bombing by the crowd before the army opened fire.

Second boy shot

"When the shooting started," said Father Daly, "we ran in every direction from the hail of bullets. In Rossville Street the crowd took cover wherever they could. Some ran into an alleyway and were cornered and as they stood watching the troops, the soldiers opened fire into them, killing two of their number."

Meanwhile, he added, in the courtyard of Rossville flats he was running with a 15-year-old boy alongside him when the soldiers fired again and the youth fell with blood spurting from his chest.

"I stopped to administer the Last Rites, and while holding a handkerchief over my head, and, lying on my stomach, administered the Sacrament. Even while I was doing this another young boy was shot down. Towards 11.15 I could not move because of the firing. When the shooting subsided people ran

Continued on Back Page

These were the victims:

VICTIMS' names and addresses (unconfirmed) were:

Patrick Doherty, 15 Hamilton Street.
Barney McGuigan, 20 Iniscarn Crescent.
James Wray, Drumcliffe Avenue, Derry.
Michael Kelly, 9 Dunmore Gardens.
Jack Duddy, Central Drive.
William McKinney, 69 Westway, Creggan.
James Gerard McKinney, Chapel Road, Waterside.

William Nash, Dunree Gardens.
William Gillespie, Balbane Pass, Creggan.
John Johnson, Marlboro Street.
Hugh Gilmore, 23 Garvan Place.
John Young, Westway, Creggan.
Michael McDaid, Kikonnell Street, Bogside.
Their ages ranged from 16 to 40 (all addresses are in Derry).

CARDINAL 'NAILS LIE' ON SCHOOLS

By JOHN WALSH

It is now around the fact that the Catholic Church is to maintain the present school system and that the Protestant population is to be discriminated against in the allocation of places in the schools.

The Cardinal's statement, which was issued last night, is a direct challenge to the Department of Education.

The Cardinal's statement, which was issued last night, is a direct challenge to the Department of Education.

The Cardinal's statement, which was issued last night, is a direct challenge to the Department of Education.

The Cardinal's statement, which was issued last night, is a direct challenge to the Department of Education.

The Cardinal's statement, which was issued last night, is a direct challenge to the Department of Education.

The Cardinal's statement, which was issued last night, is a direct challenge to the Department of Education.

The Cardinal's statement, which was issued last night, is a direct challenge to the Department of Education.

The Cardinal's statement, which was issued last night, is a direct challenge to the Department of Education.

The Cardinal's statement, which was issued last night, is a direct challenge to the Department of Education.

The Cardinal's statement, which was issued last night, is a direct challenge to the Department of Education.

The Cardinal's statement, which was issued last night, is a direct challenge to the Department of Education.

The Cardinal's statement, which was issued last night, is a direct challenge to the Department of Education.

The Cardinal's statement, which was issued last night, is a direct challenge to the Department of Education.

The Cardinal's statement, which was issued last night, is a direct challenge to the Department of Education.

The Cardinal's statement, which was issued last night, is a direct challenge to the Department of Education.

Retaliation threat by Official I.R.A.

Faulkner blames I.R.A.

"LET me say this with great sadness but with great conviction: those who organised this march must bear a terrible responsibility for having urged people to take part in it."

The Government knew that the I.R.A. would use such marches as a cover for their attacks on the population at large," he said.

The events in Derry illustrated why it was found necessary, with the full support of the Government at Westminster, to impose a general ban on all parades in Northern Ireland.

The Government knew that the I.R.A. would use such marches as a cover for their attacks on the population at large," he said.

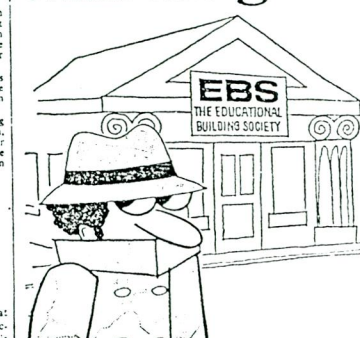
The events in Derry illustrated why it was found necessary, with the full support of the Government at Westminster, to impose a general ban on all parades in Northern Ireland.

The Government knew that the I.R.A. would use such marches as a cover for their attacks on the population at large," he said.

The events in Derry illustrated why it was found necessary, with the full support of the Government at Westminster, to impose a general ban on all parades in Northern Ireland.

The Government knew that the I.R.A. would use such marches as a cover for their attacks on the population at large," he said.

the spy that came out with the gold!



Seen his TV message? Decoded; it read "Make more money with the EBS." You know it's no secret that thousands of people are making money with the EBS. 5.5% tax free on investments. That's nearly 85% more. Or 9% tax free on regular savings equals more than 9% more. This year especially don't let your money become a lazy layabout. Put it to work profitably for you with the EBS. Now.

make more money with the

EBS EDUCATIONAL BUILDING SOCIETY

Assets over £24,000,000

Head Office: Westmoreland Street, Dublin 2.

Branches and agencies throughout the country

THE STORY IN DETAIL AN REACTION PAGES EIGHT AND NINE.

PICTURE SPECIAL ON THE SHARPEVILLE OF THE NORTH

questions and answers but a few. Instead of like the 'Irish Press', going into the 'how', why' and 'when' it poses these questions. Any article which takes this approach would be quite difficult to describe as biased. Its article is the shortest of the three. A good example of the articles lack of stimulation or interest can be shown in its closing paragraph 'It will take years for the effect of yesterdays move to wear off. It is a move which should never have been necessary' (Irish Independent 1971). The wording is bland, simple and is indicative of the entire article's poor authoritative approach.

ANALYSIS OF NEWSPAPER COVERAGE OF 'BLOODY SUNDAY'

As seen Monday, January 31 1972.

The wording chosen in the headlines of each paper plus the lettering used have an impact value which is very interesting.

The 'Irish Times' the paper with the middle and upper middle class readership used relatively small yet capital lettering but the content is specific. 'Soldiers kill 13 in Bogside' (Irish Times 1972). The statement is somewhat refined in comparison with the other papers: 'Derry's Massacre' (Irish Press 1972). 'Derry's Bloody Sunday' (Irish Independent 1972). The 'Press' goes for a 'shocking' headline with large capital lettering in bold print. The use of the word 'Massacre' over 'killing' being very dramatic. The Irish Independent decided to go for imagery with large print but a bold typeface was not used. The

Independent does however use the word 'Massacre' in a sentence above the headlines. '13 civilians massacred as British fire on meeting' (Independent 1972). In comparing opening paragraphs it can be seen that the 'Irish Times' takes an almost authoritative stance on what happened (it must be noted that the 'Irish Times' during this period had a strong reliance on information from the Northern Press Office).

Thirteen people were shot dead in Derry yesterday after a confrontation between a banned civil rights march and British Paratroopers. Those killed were 12 men and a youth. At least 16 others were injured by gunfire and the British army made over 500 arrests (Irish Times 1972).

The article does not give credence to the word Massacre. According to the Irish Times it was seen as justifiable because it was a 'confrontation' between two forces. The Army and the 'Banned' civil right. The paper gives the British Army account of events in the 3rd paragraph. The article proceeds with reaction to the shooting. The Stormont Prime Minister Mr Faulkner said that the blame must rest on the IRA and on those who had organised the illegal march' (Irish Times 1972). The leading article concludes with condemnation of the shootings by Mr Liam Cosgrave, Mr Neill Blaney and Mr Kevin Boland.

The 'Irish Press' gives the full length of the page two columns to the event. It begins by expressing the State and Church leaders 'shock' and 'horror' at the killing. It blames the army directly for the killings '..... killing by British Soldiers

when they fired straight into a crowd of several thousand people'(The Irish Press 1972). The Irish Times does not blame the army directly 'Troops followed the marchers into the bogside to arrest the stonethrowers, and the firing began' (Irish Times 1972). The statement is so vague that it points no finger. The Irish Press continues adding to the horror aspect by creating images of the event 'Shots echoing and bullets whining and ricocheting off walls ...' (Irish Press 1972). It follows with the toiseachs reation to the killings 'unbelievably savage and inhuman.' It then tells of Mr Faulkners blaming of the IRA for the deaths . It continues with a detailed account of how some people were killed. A statement from the Derry command of the provisional IRA is used to make a point. That is 'the British Army murdered innocent civilians and this leaves the world to judge who are the real terrorists (Irish Press 1972). The article continues with eyewitness accounts of the events leading up to the killings.

The 'Irish Independents' account of events begins by announcing that 'Horror' and 'Fury' was mounting throughout the country at British soldiers killing young men. Immediate blame is placed on the army. It then proceeds with condemnation by MPs John Hume and Ivan Cooper 'a Cold Bloody Massacre'(Irish Independent 1972). It proceeds with an explanation of the events leading up to the killings. The article carries eyewitness accounts first and then the accounts of the army. It also carries an accounts Cardinal Conways statement condemning the action of the troops as 'Awful Slaughter.' The article discusses more eyewitness accounts of events which in their detail alone

makes it very difficult to believe the army account. The article could be classed as impartial as it refrains from adding to eyewitness accounts as seen in the press. But because they give greater hearing to eyewitness's and comments from non unionists and church leaders plus the fact that the main picture is of a youth being taken away forcefully by a paratrooper with a baton might indicate that the article is not solely recounting events but also casting aspersions.

On analysing how each paper in their editorial creates certain images through the use of words the following was formed.

The images presented by the Security Forces in the 'Irish Times' could not be determined because they are represented as merely 'The British Army' where as in the 'Irish Press' they are 'licensed killers', 'They murder' and are 'War Criminals'. 'The Independent' is similar to the 'Irish Times' in that they are referred to as The 'British Army'.

The images presented and references made to the British Government in the 'Irish Times' is that of the 'cold, unfeeling man' whom made 'a lunatic decision'. The article proceeds to present Britain as an Imperial power in decline. Whereas with the 'Irish Press' they are presented as a 'corrupt illegitimate regime' and once again 'War Criminals'. The 'Irish Independent' makes no direct reference to the British Government.

How those whom were killed are portrayed: 'The Irish Times' refers to them strictly as '13 dead'. The 'Irish Press' states they were 'Innocent Irish Blood' or 'Irish Men'. Irish, denotes their nationality and gives off an air of them and

us. The 'Irish Independent' rather innocently states 'Men, Women, Children a vast majority were there for a peaceful purposes'.

From these images and portrayals the following conclusions can be made. The 'Irish Times' in a journalistic sense comes across as cool and calm and refrains from bitter attacks and outcrys. Where as the 'Irish Press' comes across as highly strung and ready to go into battle against the British and the 'Irish Independent' is reverend and shows on evidence of bitterness.

The general structure confirms these early conclusions. The 'Irish Times' targets the blame at Mr Edward Heath and say's he is solely responsible. The tone of the article reads as a homily in a sense its a sad day for the empire. The article is supportive of the soldiers, it understands that they should not have been there and states that 'other units were shocked' which gives the impression that the incident was a 'flash in the pan', once off.

Only a week ago the Paratroupers had been seen in action at Magillan. It was a lunatic decision to set them loose in Derry. Their conduct has already shocked other British units (Irish Times 1972).

The 'Irish Press' begins by saying it was expected and makes reference to previous provocation by the British army. The article is quite bitter.

It is now a lesser emotion to that of the total rage and an unstoppable determination to be free at last - free at once from the sight and sound of British Soldiery and free from the evil

domination of a corrupt illegitimate regime which puts licensed killers on the streets (Irish Press 1972).

It then condones the IRA speaking as if they are the only hope. The paper is sympathetic towards the IRA in this instance and only feels that 'Bloody Sunday' is a justification for IRA activity. The article which is considerably longer than the 'Times' continues to condemn Stormont and Unionism.

The 'Irish Independent' condemns the action of the army immediately and Stormont. It does not ask for a split in the Country but an investigation by Westminster. The article highlights once again a common strategy in this paper and that is to renounce violence and offer talks and negotiations as the only solution to the conflict. The paper stands by the statements of the Church and seldom appears more outspoken than the Church.

To Counsel against bitterness would only be shouting in the wind at the moment and we can only repeat the requests made by Cardinal Conway to the Catholic community that they should try to keep calm (Irish Independent 1972).

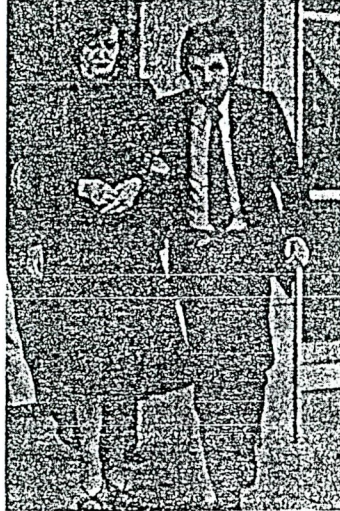
The lack of emotional outcry adds to the theory that the 'Irish Independent' acts impartially to sensitive issues between the two Governments.



BOBBY SANDS IS DEAD



The last people to see Bobby Sands alive... his mother Rosaleen, his sister Marcella and his election agent Owen Carron who visited him on Saturday.



End comes on the 66th day of fast

By Irish Press Reporters

BOBBY SANDS, M.P. died at 1.17 a.m. the Northern Ireland Office announced today. "He took his own life by refusing food and medical intervention for 66 days", the statement said.

His family were with him at the time. They had been keeping a round-the-clock vigil at his bedside.

Sands was pronounced dead by medical staff in the Long Kesh hospital after being in a coma for nearly 48 hours.

Sands aged 27, an IRA member, was elected M.P. for Fermanagh and South Tyrone last month with over 30,000 votes. He had been demanding political status.

Northern Secretary, Humphrey Atkins, who was staying at his desk at Stormont Castle, was one of the first to be told of Sands' death. RUC chief constable General Sir Richard Lawson, were also informed by telephone.

Sands died on a water bed lying near a large crucifix, given to him by one of the people who des-



Bobby Sands — death after 65 days.

Sporadic reported rioting in Belfast

Taoiseach urges need for solution and lasting peace

Several hundred people gathered on the streets of Belfast early today to mark the death of Bobby Sands. The gathering was peaceful and there were reports of rioting in the new Burnside area.

Police said that in the Burnside area youths were attacking the security forces and there were reports of rioting in the new Burnside area.

Heavy army personnel cars moved in to rain hissed vehicles blocking roads.

A police spokesman said the police had brought many people onto the streets and a number of premises were set on fire. These included a shirt box factory, a paint shop on the Springfield Road and the Northern Bank on the Falls Road.

Also set on fire was a Methodist Church on Ligoniel Road. The spokesman said there had been confrontations between large numbers of people and the RUC, but nobody had been injured.

Later there were reports of shooting in the area, but they were said to be warning shots fired by the British army. No reports of casualties.

Kennedy on death of Sands

From KERRIE DOUGHERTY in Washington

Sen. Edward Kennedy, when he heard of Bobby Sands' death, issued one of his strongest statements since 1972 when he called for the total withdrawal of British troops from Ireland.

The Massachusetts Senator said that Bobby Sands' death was a symptom of a deeper crisis. He added: "At this time of heightened tension, I urge all sides in Northern Ireland to resist calls for further violence. It will only compound this latest tragedy if out of the actions of desperation, or motives of vengeance, the death of Bobby Sands sparks a new cycle of senseless killing."

"If the painful end of this hunger strike is to have any useful or lasting meaning, let it be a lesson that too many people have died."

Senator Kennedy said that the death of Bobby Sands was a tragedy for the Irish people and for the world. He said that the Irish people had a right to self-determination and that the British government had a duty to withdraw its troops from Ireland.

"THE DEATH of Bobby Sands is yet one further tragedy in a long line of such tragedies in Northern Ireland," said the Taoiseach, Mr. Haughey, in a statement this morning. "It must surely bring home to all concerned the need to find a solution that will bring a just and lasting peace to the area."

"Since the hunger strike began I have sought constantly by every means open to me to secure a humanitarian solution that would avoid loss of life. I deeply regret that such a solution could not have been found through a more flexible approach to the administration of the prison."

"To the Sands' family and to the families of all those who have suffered bereavement or injury, I extend sincere sympathy on my own behalf and on behalf of the Irish Government."

"I appeal now to all sections of the Irish people that there should be no further suffering, injury or loss of life and that the sorrow and grief which exist should be expressed in a calm and dignified manner."

In a statement, the Fine Gael leader, Dr. FitzGerald said: "I regret the death of Mr. Bobby Sands, M.P. I hope that after so many tragedies over the past decade this one will not be followed by one which will set others, whether through hunger strike or in violent circumstances, Northern Ireland and its strikers people, down a road of unnecessary deaths for political reasons."

The Labour Party leader, Mr. Frank Cluskey, said: "The death of Bobby Sands is one more tragedy in the long list of tragedies which have befallen the people of Northern Ireland in the past 12 years. I appeal now for calm so that the members of both communities may consider the futility of the endless cycle of violence and counter-violence which dominates their lives and which has destroyed so many of them."

SILP leader John Hume said that Sands' death was a tragedy for the Irish people and for the world. He said that the Irish people had a right to self-determination and that the British government had a duty to withdraw its troops from Ireland.



GARRET FITZGERALD... North deserves respite from violence.



THE TAOISEACH... latest in a long line of tragedy.



JOHN HUME... death could have been avoided.



MICHAEL FOOT... hope for no violence.

The British Government wanted Sands to die or to surrender and his death could have been avoided by greater flexibility and more sensitivity.

"The Provisional IRA had to have victory or else Sands had to die. Had he given up his fast without victory it would have meant humiliating defeat so all the pressures were on Bobby Sands from the organization of which he chose to be a member and for which he was to give his life."

"The only people who wanted Bobby Sands to live were the ordinary people of the North, particularly the Catholic population from which he came and who understand very deeply the circumstances which have created Bobby Sands and who are also the people who have suffered most from any violence."

erately tried to avert the tragedy of his fast. Father John Magee, one of the Pope's private secretaries.

In a statement from Stormont Castle, the Northern Ireland Secretary, Mr. Humphrey Atkins said early today: "I regret this needless and pointless death. Too many have died by violence in Northern Ireland. In this case it was self-inflicted."

"We should not forget the many others who have died. It is my profound hope and prayer that the people of Northern Ireland will recognise the futility of violence and turn their faces away from it."

Security build-up

News of the hunger-striker's death brought instant reaction from politicians in the north and south and in Britain. In Belfast the security forces reported there were no incidents, though in West Belfast hundreds of women and children began bashing bin-lids when the news came through.

Though there will be an inevitable build-up of security, H-Block supporters have called for three days of mourning and have asked for a massive turnout for Sands' funeral, which is likely to take place on Thursday.

Mr. Sands' body is expected to be removed from the prison later in the day to lie in his Twinbrook home until burial. The Republican movement has made it known that they want three days of mourning, and the burial will be with full IRA "military honours".

Until the time he lapsed into a coma, Sands, who was the IRA's former "officer commanding" at the jail, remained determined to continue his fast. His mother, Mrs. Rosaleen Sands, his father, John, sister Marcella (26) and brother John (19), were at his bedside early today.

Final words

His final words before he became unconscious early on Sunday morning were to his brother John, when he said: "I do not think I will see you again, John, so cheerio, but I hope I see you again."

The Sands' family left the prison at 2.10 a.m. — less than an hour after his death. They did not stop to talk to waiting pressmen. His sister Marcella left the main gates in a car driven by her husband.

It was quickly followed by another car carrying Sands' mother, Mrs. Rosaleen Sands. She was sitting in the back seat in tears. Both vehicles sped away into the rain-soaked lane outside. Seconds later two cars each driven by a priest also left, but did not stop for pressmen.

In recent days, as Sands' condition grew worse, it was announced that an extra 600 British troops would be sent to the North in case of widespread disorder. His mother, Rosaleen, who pledged: "I shall stay with him to the end," has appealed to people to remain calm. She said her son was sacrificing his life for better conditions in the jail, not to provoke further deaths.

The Sands funeral on Thursday is certain to draw one of the largest crowds seen in Belfast for many years.

Gardai held as van is set on fire

THREE GARDAI were ordered out of their patrol car by three armed men at a strategic crossroads in North County Donegal at about midnight last night and a van was set on fire as a gesture in support of Bobby Sands.

The incident happened at the Dore-Bunbeg crossroads which provides virtually the only access to parts of the north of the county. Within an hour there were mile-long traffic build-ups in all directions.

The drama began when the Garda car gave chase to the van which was being driven in suspicious circumstances. A high-speed chase began at Dunleavy but at the crossroads the armed men jumped out and forced the Garda from their car. One of the men held a gun on them at the other two set fire to the van which had earlier been filled with tyres.

When the van alone light the men escaped in the Garda car, driving towards Gortahork. Residents from two dwelling houses at the crossroads were evacuated in case of bombs being in the van.

Later Donegal Fire Brigade was on the scene to fight the blaze.

FOUR MEN were being held by gardai last night after H-Block demonstrators attempted to take over the Donegal holiday home of a leading Belfast judge.

The men, members of the Killybegs H-Block Committee, tried to burst into the home of Sir Maurice Gibson, a judge of the Northern Ireland appeal court at Killybegs, yesterday afternoon.

The demonstrators pushed past a Garda on security duty outside the house and attempted to break down the door by Garda reinforcements and prevented from interfering with the judge.

They said they wanted to seize a peaceful demonstration by the house. The four were arrested under the Public Order Act and taken in for questioning.

A Garda spokesman last night said there had been no violence at Sir Maurice's home. He said that Sir Maurice had not been harmed. He had been spending the night at his home with his family at the house.



HUMPHREY ATKINS Sands could see his own death.

A statement said: "If Bobby Sands dies, we propose to carry out strikes against all realms of colonialism in Northern Ireland as well as the Irish Republic."

Provos urge 'disciplined' response

THE PROVISIONAL IRA, in a statement today, urged what it called a "disciplined" response from the angry and frustrated nationalist youth.

A statement issued through the Belfast Republican Press Centre said: "The Irish Republican Army sends its sincere condolences to the bereaved family of our comrade, volunteer, Bobby Sands, who died in the early hours of this morning on the 66th day of his hunger strike for political status."

"We send a message of sympathy to Bobby's hunger striking comrades and to all republican prisoners at this grave moment in our struggle. The world has witnessed at first hand the violence of the mother of parliaments — England — on the peaceful protest of a young, injured Irishman. The Irish people will draw their own conclusions and the Irish Republican Army will use a disciplined response from the angry and frustrated nationalist youth."



Irish Independent

Vol. 90, No. 105

TUESDAY, MAY 5, 1981

Price 18p

BIGGEST DAILY SALE IN IRELAND

TODAY'S WEATHER

Fairly mist or fog with rain or drizzle in evening. In morning, rain or drizzle spreading to all areas. Wind from north-east. (See Page 21)

Taoiseach appeals for calm as North tension mounts

Sands dead

INSIDE
THREE
PAGE
SPECIAL
ON THE
SANDS
SAGA

After 66 day hunger strike



Bobby Sands... but behind the smile was a hard man.

IRA HUNGER striker Bobby Sands died in jail at 1.17 this morning—the 66th day of his strike.

His family was around his Maze prison hospital bed when 27-year-old prisoner slipped from a deep coma into death.

Mr. Robert Sands, a prisoner in the Maze, died at 1.17 a.m. He took his own life by refusing food and medical intervention, the brief official statement by the Northern Ireland Office said.

Sands had lapsed into a coma early Sunday morning. He had refused food since March 1.

And as angry crowds gathered in Republican enclaves in the North the Taoiseach and the other main political party leaders appealed for calm and restraint in the wake of his death.

Mr. Haughey called on "all sections of the Irish people" to calm, little more than an hour after Sands' death. Sands' family had stood by their earlier promise to him to ask doctors to intervene to save his life if and when he became unconscious.

Mr. Humphrey Atkins, the Northern Ireland Secretary, said that he regretted the "needless and pointless death."

"Too many have died by violence in Northern Ireland. In this case it was self-inflicted. We should not forget the others who have died," said Mr. Atkins.

"It is my profound hope and prayer that the people of Northern Ireland will recognise the futility of violence and turn their backs away from it," said Mr. Atkins.

SOLP Executive member Mr. Paddy O'Hanlon said it was "not even one person should die in a test of will, in an all-out bid to win the trump cards."

"The death will undoubtedly cause a redistribution of power. Even after this tragedy there is still an obligation on the British Government to find a solution to the problem of all upon them to do," said Mr. O'Hanlon.

Former Stormont Cabinet Minister Mr. William Craig declared the death at futile. "But it teaches a lesson that we must get their due deserts what good will come of it," said Mr. Craig.

Elsewhere in Belfast blazing buildings lit up the sky today as reaction to the death of the hunger striker spread.

As police fought to contain it, cars were hijacked and petrol tankers were set on fire and security forces were



Mrs. Rosaleen Sands, mother of Bobby.

Haughey appeals for calm

THE TAOISEACH issued a deep calm message to "all sections of the Irish people." It came little more than an hour after the death of Bobby Sands.

In a statement, Mr. Haughey also repeated an implied criticism he expressed yesterday about the lack of flexibility in the prison administration in Northern Ireland. It must surely bring home to all concerned the need to find a solution that will bring a just and lasting peace to the area.

"Since the hunger strike began I have constantly, by every means open to me, done everything to secure a humanitarian solution that would avoid loss of life."

"I deeply regret such a solution could not have been found through a more flexible approach to the administration of the prison. To the Sands family, and to the families of all those who have suffered bereavement or injury, I extend sincere sympathy on my own behalf, and on behalf of the Irish Government."

"I appeal now to all sections of the Irish people that there should be no further suffering, injury or loss of life, and that the sorrow and grief which exists should be expressed in a calm and peaceful manner."

Later today Bobby Sands' death, and its consequences, are certain items on the agenda for a meeting of the Cabinet, in Dublin.

polled with a hail of stones and petrol bombs in a constant series of hit-and-run attacks.

Buildings were attacked and petrol bombed, and early today the Northern Bank on the Falls Road, Dublin's printing works on Cullinstree Road and Campbell's Glaziers on the Springfield Road were all alight.

Widespread rioting was reported in West Belfast and in the Shank's Road area. Police withdrew a heavy rioting attack at Thompson Street. A number of cars were blacked and overturned on the Ormeau Road, while burning vehicles were blocking the Beresford area of Falls Road.

Meanwhile, as the battle of the big lads grew in intensity, crowds began forming in Creggan and Bogside areas of the Shank's Road area. The Shank's Road area of West Belfast. Some incidents of minor stone-throwing were reported.

Throughout the Sands' hunger strike thousands have taken to the streets in Belfast, Dublin and other cities throughout the world demanding that his demands be met.

The Provisional IRA warned recently that if he or any of the other hunger strikers should die their campaign would be intensified.

Last week Papal envoy Father John Magee spent 46 hours in Ireland in a futile bid to have the hunger strike abandoned.

(Continued on Back Page)

By his death he condemns others to die

By JOHN DEVINE

BOBBY SANDS has left for a dimension where nationality and race are unknown, and where religion and its symbols have no meaning.

Already he will have, for, gotten the five demands, the hated British, the ghettos, the Prods, the social, economic and other circumstances which led him to die so terribly. Needless.

It will be no consolation to those of us left on this island that the Celtic deathwish has once again triumphed and that its legacy will continue to haunt us. For the self-fulfilling prophecy, the onward tick of time and the forward movement of centuries has no meaning.

Bobby Sands, in a way, is lucky. He is finished with it. But by his death he has condemned others to join him. In so far as he had a choice of either moving on or staying that option will not be open to men and women innocently walking the roads and fields of this island now on the death list.

The cost to the British in money and lives is greater than any people should be expected to carry... allowing for the fact that Northern Ireland and us in their inheritance and them and it are ours.

Dying in such a way, to give life to a cause which survives on its capacity to inflict death and destruction and from which it derives its political recognition, is sad. He need not have died to prove that the British are a stubborn people.

No one in Ireland needed to be told that. No one in the world across the globe, who fell victim to British economic and cultural imperialism for 400 years, needed to be told it either.

He need not have died to prove that the Irish title-deeds to Northern Ireland would have solved the problem then, they would have been given over to Dublin before now. For they have long since ceased to represent conquest and exploitation.

If the reunification of Ireland was to do with land ownership, flaks and symbols then it would have come before now... would even come tomorrow. But it is not about that.

The land of Ireland is but an accident of geography and

nature. It is only a place sticking out of the sea. What makes Ireland is the people who live on it. Nothing else.

If Bobby Sands died so that the people of Ireland could live in unity and harmony, then his death was a positive contribution to the human race. But he did not and it was not.

The Provisional IRA, to which Bobby Sands belonged, needed his self-inflicted martyrdom to renew support for its flagging campaign of terror and death. It was also needed to purify the cause.

His election as an MP was not done in the interests of giving the people of Fermanagh and South Tyrone the best possible person to expose their interests. It was done because an elected member of the Mother of Parliaments was of more value as a headline in the world than someone like the poor nobody who fasted to death in a German prison.

The Provos also needed Bobby Sands to be elected

because it required the Catholic people of Fermanagh and South Tyrone to vote for him and, because they had no other choice, they did. Once they did they had made a commitment, which could be interpreted — and was — as a vote for the Provos.

At the same time the Provos could lay the old allegation that they were afraid to test their popularity at the polls.

It was never part of the intention that Bobby Sands should actually be an MP, or that he would take the oath required.

Since few people ever heard Bobby Sands speak in public, or say in his own words what it was he stood for, it has been left to many people to say what he said — or would say — and to convey to him interpretations of progress, or lack of it, as a result of what he was involved in.

Unlike Cassius — in the years B.C. — who killed himself because he was misinformed, Bobby Sands was misinformed.

Continued on Back Page

We're not holding Irish soldier says Arab group

HOPES that the Arab Liberation Front (ALF) was holding missing Irish soldier, Pte. Kevin Joyce, were dashed last night. The pro-Iraqi faction denied the Israeli radio report that Private Joyce, from the Aran Islands of Inishkeer, was a hostage in the Lebanese village of Mahrunab. He disappeared last Monday when another Irish soldier serving with the U.N. Pte. Hugh Doherty, was shot dead.

Youths raid Derry offices

Two masked and armed youths entered the Provisional Building Society office at Shipquay Street in Derry yesterday afternoon, made staff lie on the floor and made off with an undisclosed sum of money.

Poland trials

A Polish Communist Party official disclosed last night that public criminal corruption trials of former Polish officials will begin within six weeks.

Richard Burke is selected

Mr. Richard Burke was last night selected as one of the Fine Gael candidates for Dublin West.

Which way will the Dail go?

THE DAIL resumes this morning faced with a number of important questions. There are three main parties of the three main parties?

Will it become an appeal for calm and understanding? Sympathy? Or what? And who will the Dail parties respond to?

Will it become an appeal for calm and understanding? Sympathy? Or what? And who will the Dail parties respond to?



Monthly Income Accounts are designed specially to supplement your income. Why not have a Permanent Monthly income with a high interest return free of standard rate tax, complete security and ease of withdrawal? — that's what you get when you put a little money in the

IRISH PERMANENT

IRELAND'S BIGGEST BUILDING SOCIETY
Assets exceed £500,000,000

ANALYSIS OF NEWSPAPER COVERAGE OF THE DEATH
OF BOBBY SANDS, The hungerstriker.
As seen Tuesday May 5 1981.

On analysis of the headlines it can be seen that all three papers use different size print with different wording which sets a particular tone. The 'Irish Press' headline reads as a sad, sharp, bitter yet sympathetic statement. 'Bobby Sands is Dead' (Irish Press 1981) where as the 'Irish Times' headline is low key and reads as a inconsequential epitaph. 'Sands dies on 66th day' (Irish Times). The 'Irish Independent' is blunt, bold and sets the theme for the cover article which is disillusionment at his death. The photographs used are also of interest, because with the 'Irish Press' they use three photographs, Sands, his mother and sister with his election agent. The use of a photograph of Sands which shows him in his shirt and jumper with him smiling gives the photograph an aura of friendliness and the impression of him is not of an active 'Terrorist'. Also photographs of his mother and sister shows he has a family which gives off another impression that he is an ordinary man.

With the 'Irish Times' the photograph is much larger and consists of only his face. Although he is smiling the impression is not of an ordinary man. He has no common identity because of the composure of the photograph.

The 'Irish Independent' shows a frontal of him similar to the 'Irish Press' and a large photo of his Mother in sadness. Because they have centred the photo of his mother on the page highlights the grief quality of the event. With the headlines roaring above 'Sands Dead' it gives the impression of a pointless death.

The subject matter and style taken in the article is indicative of the headlines punch. The 'Irish Press' begins with an announcement of his death. He is referred to as an MP foremost.

Bobby Sands MP died at 1.17 am the Northern Ireland office announced today 'he took his own life by refusing food and medical intervention for 66 days' the statement said (Irish Press 1981).

The 'Irish Times' begin by announcing the death of 'Mr Bobby Sands the 27 year old Republican Hunger Striker and Westminster MP' (Irish Times 1981). Sands being considered a Republican indicates a particular ideology and he is therefore seen in a different frame than just an MP as with the Press. The Irish Independent begins most ecclesiastically: 'Bobby Sands has left for a dimension where nationality and race are unknown and where religious symbols have no meaning' (Irish Independent 1981).

The paper then proceeds with a philosophical discussion into what he will have forgotten and left behind.

The 'Irish Press' proceeds to tell us of Sands and paints a picture of a 'Hero'. It acknowledges his IRA membership but this is overshadowed by his political following 30,000 votes.

He was demanding political status ... Sands died on a waterbed lying near a large crucifix given to him by one of the people who desperately tried to avert the tragedy of his past, Father John Magee, one of the Pope's private secretaries. (Irish Press 1981).

The article continues sympathetically about '3 days of mourning' and his last words to his brother 'I do not think I will see you again John, so cheerio but I hope I see you again' (Irish Press 1981). Sands death and proceeding is treated with a brotherly reverence one might expect only from a relative of Sands a Republican Sympathiser.

The 'Irish Times' treatment is however different. The leader is down the left hand side of the paper in one column and is overshadowed by a headline in the centre which states 'Special meeting of Cabinet expected later today' (Irish Times 1981).

The leader shows no sympathy yet is constructed with reverence to the man's death. The article for the latter half covers Political reaction to his death primarily Irish Political reaction. As to British Political reaction it just states they have been told. It is interesting to note how 'The Irish Times' report, covers his death with that of the 'Irish Press'.

Sands died on a water bed lying under a large crucifix, given to him by Father John Magee, The Pope's private secretary' (Irish Times 1981)

Under and near being the only difference. In biblical sense the crucifixion of Christ with two criminals on either side 'near' him, one repentant the other bad. Each word in each sentence is laden with potential imagery.

The 'Irish Independent' is again quite different from both in so far as it is extremely philosophical and reverent.

It is with no consolation to those of us left behind on this island that the celtic death wish has once again triumphed and that its legacy will continue to haunt us. For the self-fulfilling prophecy, the onward tick of time and the forward movement of centuries has no meaning (Irish Independent 1981).

The article concerns itself with his death and not the man himself. He is spoken of as a third party. It speaks of a united Ireland one day. One got from negotiation not fighting.

He need not have died to prove that by the Irish tricolour flying over the 5,237 square miles of Northern Ireland the whole island would at last be the property of the people of Ireland (Irish Independent 1981).

The article reads almost like an old soldier who is prepared to sit it out for he knows the war will be over some day and he will have won.

The editorials continue basically the same theme from the cover. The 'Irish Press' continues to paint a romantic picture of Sands and his life.

A young man is dead. A legend has been born. The writings of Bobby Sands will be passed from hand to hand, not alone in Belfast but elsewhere too (Irish Press 1981).

It continues by telling of his families suffering and the donations of the IRA supporters in America. The support for the hungerstrikers from the

European Parliament and it asked for Mrs Thatcher to show some flexibility because the taoiseach 'has gone down every conceivable path to maintain official friendship with Britain' (Irish Press).

The headline is also an indication of the Press's feeling on the issue. 'Death of an Irish M.P. (Irish Press 1981).

The 'Irish Times' editorial is essentially a very short article which states that Governments must win, they must come up shining. However this incident was handled poorly, as Sands died. It is critical of the British Governments inflexibility, for letting someone die in jail. It continues and rather than state that the British Government are one of a kind or insensitive it says : 'De Valera let hungerstrikers die in jail in the Republic' and then asks 'Would a Dublin Government be more understanding, more flexible in a similar plight?' (Irish Times 1981). This has been a common strategy in editorials found in the 'Irish Times', any criticism of the British Government is counteracted with a criticism of Dublin's Government. This may be seen as unbiased reporting. However the incidences are out of context. De Valera let hungerstrikers die before the evolution of a European Commission of Human Rights. Where as Mrs Thatcher let him die ignoring the requests of the commission. Therefore this editorial cannot be counted as unbiased or impartial journalism. It is merely an attempt at reducing any emotional impact.

The 'Irish Independent' is once again quite ecclesiastical in so far as it talks of Sands as being the pawn in the game for the manipulation of

public opinion. The article calls for a halt to violence, it neither condemns nor condones the lack of action taken by the British Government, it just wants all the people to sit down and talk. It does however condemn the action of the men of violence generally. It points no finger at a specific organisation or group.

If ever there was a time for restraint it is now. The people of Ireland must not allow themselves to be stampeded into any action of violence by the skilled agents who will rally around the body of Mr Sands (Irish Independent 1981).

The death of Bobby Sands is discussed as a 'tragedy' for himself, his family and friends'. It is also seen 'as a tragedy for this Country'(Irish Independent 1981).

CONCLUSIONS:

This paper was an attempt at analysing the press media in particular the three main daily newspapers as a part of a particular society and culture. The central question in this analysis is to find out whose definitions of the situations chosen do the newspapers amplify?

The case studies of the Northern Ireland conflict has enabled me to tackle the question. The paper set out to examine Conor Cruise O'Briens statement regarding censorship of broadcast media.

Victor in the struggle between the state's security forces and 'anti-democratic terrorism' to the degree to which the society at large sees the terrorist as the enemy..... (O'Brien 1978,79).

A comparison was drawn between Broadcasting and Newspaper journalism. The argument being that terrorists can be portrayed as legitimate on print as on television or radio.

What was found in the newspapers could not lead one to believe the terrorist to be legitimate but it does leave one with an insight into minority groups whom use violence to avenge 'their freedom'. The extent to which this is highlighted depends on upon which of the three dailies you read. The 'Irish Press' has shown to have sympathies with the republican movement 'The IRA'. However it does not condone violence. This paper it is felt is not compatible with Cruise O'Briens ideology, but this is not to say that the 'Irish Press' or any other newspaper might for that

matter have created an ideology legitimating the activities of minor groups. What they have done is created an ideology which gives greater credence to Catholics and Irish men and womens point of view. The papers ideology or politics was conceived by Eamonn De Valera a republican who fought against the British. Later his family were to take control of this paper and naturally have a say in its present politics. However commercial pressures have diluted the political input slightly but it is still comparitively evident.

A statement was put forward by Mary Kelly P422 saying that

the role of the media is no translate dominant political definitions of the situation into the appropriate media genre, into words and images. When an army or Police bullet kills a civilian the media do not shout 'murder' rather it becomes a regrettable accident this translation is aided and abetted by the Security forces for the British media (1983 P422).

This statement is very interesting when put against the three daily newspapers as analysed. Both the 'Irish Press' and 'Irish Independent' shouted 'Massacre' and Murder. Where as the 'Irish Times' the traditionally Unionist paper shouts 'Killed' in the 'Bloody Sunday' incident. It has been shown that the 'Irish Times' has placed a heavy reliance on the security forces PR for an account of events. This therefore would show a comparative similarity with British press media policy.

One must analyse the 'Irish Times' deeper to understand its format more clearly. The paper was classed as the only gentlemans paper in

Ireland of the 1970's and 80's. Their market though small is high on the class ranking. Sensationalism is not the policy of the paper. Their aim is to present an authoritative report and not to analyse the 'how' and definitely not the 'why'. The paper has shown not to have looked to history to find solutions to the North. It is more concerned with the Conservative Political Management of today. The paper has been found to ignore republicanism as such and hence appears biased. The paper refrains from minority groups and lower class issues. In laymans terms the paper is 'snobby' and very conservative. This newspaper analysis has not and could not define what the politics of the paper are within the context of our issues discussed. A broader analysis is required dealing with more specific issues such as the Anglo - Irish agreement and issues concerning the relationship between North and South to give a more accurate assimilation.

Both the 'Irish Independent' and the 'Irish Press' have shown sympathies towards republicans. The 'Irish Independent' is more concerned with finding a solution to Northern Ireland by peaceful means, by talks and negotiations. It has been said that this paper was the voice of the Church. Analysis would indicate this to be true to an extent. Their articles have been found to be in the vain of 'Philisophical Sermons' protesting for peace accepting that Ireland will be united one day (throught the will of God?). This is particularly evident in the case of the death of Bobby Sands

The final question is 'what influence does this newspaper coverage of Northern Ireland have? This has been a difficult question to answer certainly some Media influences can be expected, given from research into other media

investigations in the subject, such as agenda setting and responses of different groups in different cultural situations. It must be expected that each form of media may have a different statement to make on the conflict in the North of Ireland and in turn because they are the only source of information, have different influential powers over their subscribers. One may conclude by this statement that the 'Irish Press' then will have a different influential power over the 'Irish Times' or 'Irish Independent'.

However, one could suppose that this influence is minimal in areas where these views are not held the newspaper are more likely to reinforce presently held attitudes learned from family, friends and community. A very broad yet not conclusive survey was carried out on the politics of twenty-five people. It has been found that an extremely high proportion read the paper which expressed the views of their politics, without prior knowledge of the individual papers history. I would therefore expect that the knowledge of the Northern Ireland situation if one was to depend on the Press media would remain thus and because of the somewhat politically influenced or biased reports would in turn generate a considerable amount of misunderstanding into the whole plight of the Northern Ireland conflict. 'Ignorance rarely contributes to the resolution of conflict' (Kelly 1983 P423).

To ask if the press media has the power to generate emotion, one could find the answer by looking at the Market forces. The main reason why the newspapers chosen are classified as part of the mass media system is because of their huge readership. Their readers are generally not concerned with issues outside their own frame of

life or values. So as to appeal to this market the papers must subject themselves to controls. These controls regulate opinions and prevent articles from appearing 'strongly left or right', purely because of commercial pressures. An example of a paper which would not fall into the Category of 'mass media' is 'An Phoblacht'. A paper aimed at the republican movement and sympathisers of which are classed as a minority group. The market therefore for this paper is relatively small, but steady and not subjected to strong commercial pressures. This paper could have a power to generate emotion but in relation to the scale of its market this is limited. Therefore papers such as the 'Irish Times' the 'Irish Press' and the 'Irish Independent' do not wish to generate emotion because it would have a limited appeal and possibly compromise their market position.

ARCHIVE MATERIAL:

National Library, Dublin.

Ilac Library, Dublin.

Pearse St. Library, Dublin.

Bolton St. College Library, Dublin.

Mountjoy Square College of Marketing Library,
Dublin.

National College of Art and Design, Dublin.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Alexander, Yonah Terrorism In Ireland
O'Day, Alan New York
- Clancy, Patrick Ireland A Sociological Profile
 Dublin, 1984.
- Coogan, Tim Pat Disillusioned Decades Ireland
 1966-1987
 Dublin 1987.
- Curran, Ecclestone Bending Reality
Oakley, Richardson. London 1984.
- Curtis, Liz Ireland: The Propaganda War
 London 1984
- De Fleur,
Ball-Rokeach Theories Of Mass
 Communications
 New York - 1982
- Elliot, Philip & Making The News
Golding, Pete London 1979
- Elliot, Murdock Televising Terrorism: Political
Schlesinger Violence In Popular Culture
 London 1983.
- Ellul, Jaques Proganda: The Formation of Mens
 Attitudes
 New York 1965

- Farrell, Brian Communications and Community
In Ireland.
Dublin 1984
- Hawthorn, Jeremy Proganda, Persuasion and
Polemic.
London 1987
- Kelly, Mary Culture And Ideology In Ireland
Galway 1984.
- Kelly, Mary Power, control and Media
Coverage Of The Nothern.
in P Clancy (ed)
Ireland, a Sociological Profile
Dublin 1986.
- Masterman, Len Teaching The Irish Society
Dublin 1984
- McLoone, MacMahon Television And Society
Dublin 1984
- McLuwan, Marshall Understanding Media
Dublin 1984
- Morrison, Danny Ireland The Censored Subject
Sinn Fein 1989
- O'Brien, Conor
Cruise Herod, Reflections on Political
Violence
London 1978
- Oram, Hugh The Newspaper Book: A History
Of News In Ireland 1649-1983.
Dublin 1983.
- Uris, Leon, Jill Ireland: A Terrible Beauty
London 1977
- Woodman, Kiernan Media Control In Ireland
1923-1983
Galway 1985

ARTICLES

Article 19

No comments: Censorship
Secrecy and The Irish
Troubles.
London 1989

Chubb, Basil

The Political Role Of The
Media In Contemporary
Ireland in B. Farrell(ed)
Communications and
Community in Ireland
Dublin 1984

Kelly, Mary

Power and Media Coverage of
the Northern Conflict in
P. Clancy (ed) Ireland, a
Sociological Profile
Dublin 1986.

NEWSPAPERS

The Irish Times	January 6 1969
	August 10 1971
P1, editorial	January 31 1972
	May 5 1981
The Irish Press	January 6 1969
	August 10 1971
	January 31 1972
	May 5 1981
The Irish Independent	January 6 1969
	August 10 1971
	January 31 1972
	May 5 1981