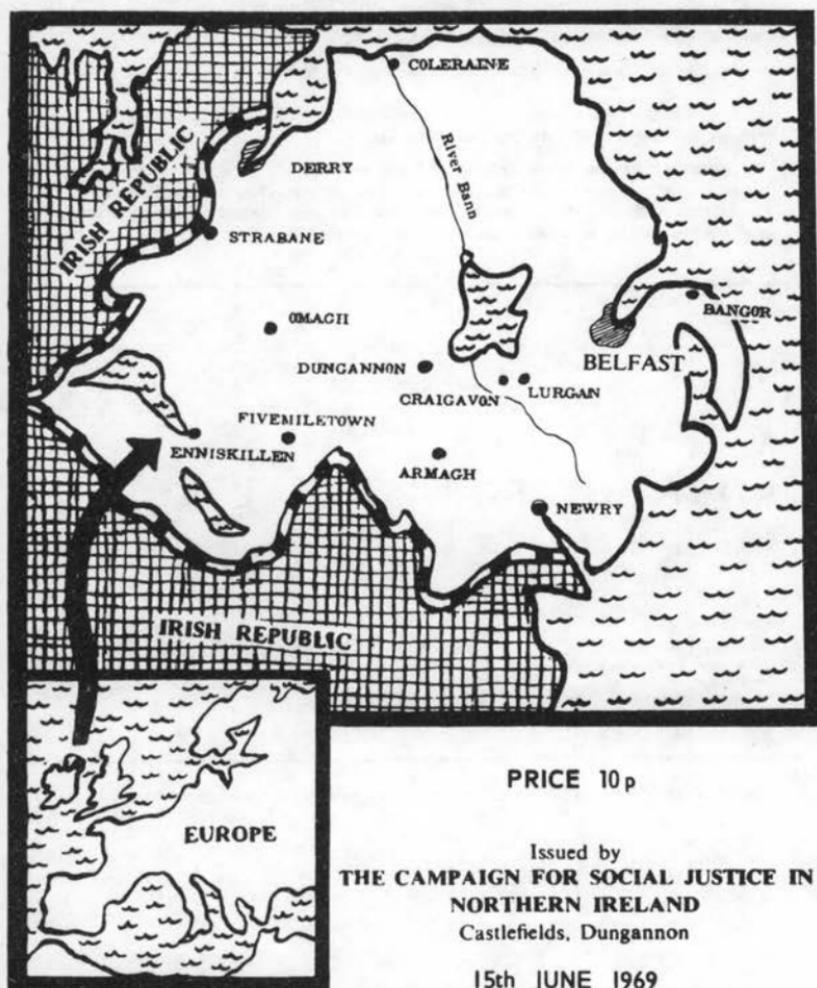


Appendix I

NORTHERN IRELAND

THE PLAIN TRUTH

(SECOND EDITION)



PRICE 10p

Issued by
**THE CAMPAIGN FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE IN
NORTHERN IRELAND**
Castlefields, Dungannon

15th JUNE 1969

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All the facts given here are correct for the date given. Once Britain intervened there were big changes.

"I AGREE with you as to the importance of the issues with which your Campaign is concerned, and can assure you that a Labour Government would do everything in its power to see that the infringements of justice to which you are so rightly drawing attention are effectively dealt with."

— Mr. Harold Wilson, writing to Campaign for Social Justice in September, 1964.

"WE work closely with our colleagues of the Northern Ireland Labour Party. Like them we deplore religious and other kinds of discrimination; and we agree with them that this should be tackled by introducing new and impartial procedures for the allocation of houses, by setting up joint tribunals to which particular cases of alleged discrimination in public appointments can be referred, and indeed, by any other effective means that can be agreed."

— Mr. Harold Wilson, writing to the Campaign for Social Justice in July, 1964.

Section 75 of the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, by which the Parliament at Westminster set up the Northern Ireland State, says:

"Notwithstanding the establishment of the Parliament . . . of Northern Ireland . . . or anything contained in this Act, the supreme authority of the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall remain unaffected and undiminished over all persons, matters and things in Ireland and every part thereof."

CAMPAIGN FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE

IN NORTHERN IRELAND

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NORTHERN IRELAND

THE PLAIN TRUTH

(Second Edition)

Since 1920, when Ireland was divided, the Republic of Ireland has been a separate independent state, while Northern Ireland has remained an integral part of the United Kingdom. It is now loosely termed 'Ulster,' although there were nine counties in old-time Ulster, three of which are now in the Republic of Ireland. The British Parliament in London first legalised this arrangement by the Government of Ireland Act, 1920 (H.M. Stationery Office, London). London has since ruled Northern Ireland through its subordinate Parliament at Stormont, Belfast.

Both London and Stormont have always been at pains to present the province as a happy, contented place, whereas in fact it contains a minority which has always been very hard pressed, and indeed denied rights which most of the free world has come to accept as a matter of course.

The outside world was largely unaware of what was going on in Ulster mainly because the British press had always been discouraged from printing stories about it. Some years ago when a British television group had a series of documentaries suppressed, the leader of the reporting team, Alan Whicker, declared "No country deserves the Government you have here. This is the only place in the world where you can't report honestly without silly people kicking up about what is only the truth."

Since the 5th October, 1968, when a peaceful Civil Rights march was broken up by the police, the world has been looking at Northern Ireland on television, and reading about her in the press, first with incredulity, and then shock.

Civil Rights activities have been opposed by various groups of militant Protestants. These people already have their civil rights, and do not wish to share them with others. They have caused the recent unrest by opposing democratic demands for change. This opposition has been effected mainly by violent counter-demonstrations, and by arbitrary police bans on Civil Rights marches in certain places, e.g., in the city of Londonderry.

This booklet attempts to explain the situation in Northern Ireland, and to detail the discriminatory injustices from which the minority has been suffering there for almost fifty years.

There are roughly one and a half million people living in Northern Ireland, of whom two thirds are Protestant, and who generally support the Unionist Government. The remaining one third are Roman Catholics, who generally support a variety of opposition parties.

Out of a total of 52, the Unionists hold 39 seats in the Stormont Parliament. They are closely linked with the Conservative (Tory) party in Britain. The Unionist Party is a sectarian one. Down the years it has discouraged Catholics from joining and at present only a dozen or so belong to it. It is dominated by the Orange Order, a secret society having many points of similarity with the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa. Virtually all of the Government, including the present Prime Minister, Major Chichester-Clark as well as most Unionist parliamentarians, are members of the Orange Order.

Six Nationalists, four Labour and three Independent members make up the Parliamentary opposition.

Northern Ireland also sends twelve M.P.'s to the London Parliament (Westminster). For many years they were all Unionists, boosting Conservative voting strength there. This is a main reason why the British Conservatives, who were in power most of the time, did not insist that the Stormont Government should modify their repressive and discriminatory policies towards the political minority.

One of these London seats was taken from the Unionists in 1964, and is now held by the redoubtable Gerry Fitt. In April 1969, a twenty-one year old Civil Rights leader, Bernadette Devlin, took another seat from the Unionists to become the youngest M.P. in the London Parliament.

Before Fitt's and Devlin's day, the Republican party dominated minority politics as far as Westminster was concerned. It took a logical enough view that Irishmen had no place in an English Parliament, and that asking favours of the British, either in their own Parliament or elsewhere, was both degrading and a waste of time. This was the policy of 'abstention.'

POPULATION CONTROL

Outsiders looking at Northern Ireland, and listening to Government claims that it is a democratic State, and that Unionists have been the peoples' choice all along, find it hard to understand why there has never been a change of party control.

It is correct that the Unionists have always had a majority, but mainly because of a ruthless and far-seeing plan to contain their opponents' numbers.

All down the years the percentage of Catholics (anti-Unionists) has been strictly regulated by allowing only the same percentage to remain, and forcing the rest to emigrate by denying them jobs and houses.

At the present time in Northern Ireland the Roman Catholic primary schools contain 51% of all the children (Capt. O'Neill's own figure given in 1968), because the Catholic birth rate is almost twice that of the non-Catholic. If these children were to grow to maturity and remain at home, the Unionists grasp of affairs would be shaken in a very short time. That a good percentage of these potential anti-Tory voters is got rid of is shown by the graph page 3 (Figures from the Government Census, H.M. Stationery Office, Belfast). It will be noted that the drain occurs principally at voting age.

In 1951 Catholics were 37.7% of the under 30 years population. Ten years later in 1961 they had fallen to 35.4% of the 10 to 39 years age group, which corresponds to the under 30 years population of 1951.

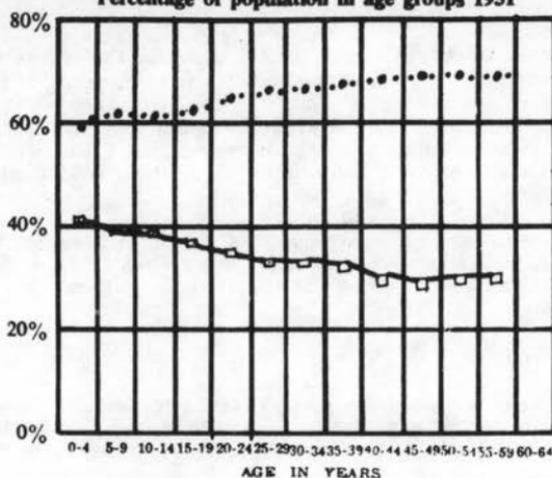
In this ten year period Catholics, although originally only 37.7% of the age group, account for 55.6% of the total decrease of population due to death and emigration. In effect this meant a drop of 16.7% of the total Catholic population under 30 years in 1951.

From the Registrar-General's births and deaths report, it can be seen that the death rate is negligible, the main drain is in emigration.

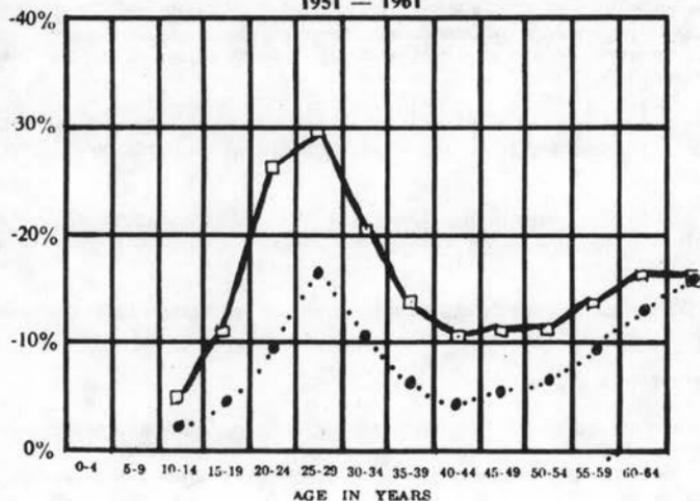
The comparative figures for Protestants are: in 1951 Protestants were 62.3% of the under 30 population, ten years later, in 1961 they had risen to 64.6% of the 10 to 39 age group, which corresponds to the under 30 population of 1951. In this ten year period Protestants, although originally 62.3% of the age group account for only 44.4% of the total decrease of population due to death and emigration. In

NORTHERN IRELAND

Percentage of population in age groups 1951



Population percentage decrease in age groups during the period 1951 — 1961



Catholic

 Protestant

(FIGURE 1 FROM CENSUS, H.M. STATIONERY OFFICE, BELFAST)

⁴effect, this meant a drop of only 8.1% of the total Protestant population under 30 in 1951, and contrasts with a drop of 16.7% for the total Catholic population under 30 in 1951.

Or to put it another way, the official Census shows the Catholic proportion of the total population to have remained static. 33.5% in 1937, 34.9% in 1961.

From 1937 to 1961, the last year in which the Census required a declaration of religion, a total of 90,000 Catholics emigrated from Northern Ireland. For non-Catholics the total was 69,000, or 8% of their 1937 population. The Catholic percentage was 21.

"The difference in economic opportunity is a regulator maintaining the status quo." This is the formula for these facts, given by two English Quakers, Barritt and Carter, in an impartial survey entitled 'The Northern Ireland Problem.' (Oxford University Press).

JOB DISCRIMINATION

Reference to the back pages makes it very clear that it has always been Unionist policy, not only to control the numbers, but to keep the Roman Catholics as 'second class citizens' in their own land. They have been rightly referred to as 'the white negroes of Ulster.'

Even the opportunity of menial work is denied first to them. As a result of this they make up by far the greater proportion of the dole queues. The Campaign for Social Justice asked a parliamentarian to request names of all on unemployment benefit in one town so that a percentage figure could be arrived at, but the Government refused this.

In a town of half and half Unionists and anti-Unionists which we surveyed, the anti-Unionists predominated on the unemployment register in a ratio of about ten to one.

But it is in the higher ranks that the politico-religious discrimination is most serious because the lack of opportunity here forces emigration of the best Catholic brains.

In this publication the figures we present are not earlier than 1968, unless otherwise stated.

Starting with the Government itself:

The Departments of the Northern Ireland Government fall into two categories:

(a) The Technical and Professional grades, people like engineers, lawyers, doctors, accountants, etc., who work in government and (b) Civil Servants proper, who administer the Province.

All these people are listed in the British Imperial Calender and Civil Service List, published each year by the Stationery Office.

We have analysed the 1961 edition.

(a) The Professional and Technical Grades.

	Total	Catholics
Cabinet Officers	5	—
Houses of Parliament	6	—
Ministry of Finance	62	3
Ministry of Agriculture	29	1
Ministry of Commerce	9	2
Ministry of Development	32	2
Ministry for Education	7	—
Ministry of Health and Social Services	35	3
Ministry of Home Affairs	8	—
Exchequer and Audit Department	10	2
Parliamentary Draughtsmans Office	6	—
	<hr/> 209	<hr/> 13

(b) Administrative Grades of the Northern Ireland Civil Service:

(The figures for Catholics are in brackets).

	Assistant Secretary (plus)	Principle Officer	Deputy Principle Officer	Total
Cabinet Secretariat	4 (—)	2 (—)	2 (—)	8 (—)
Prime Minister's Department				
Government Information Service				
Ministry of Finance	9 (1)	16 (1)	31 (4)	56 (6)
Ministry of Agriculture	7 (—)	13 (3)	18 (—)	38 (3)
Ministry of Commerce	6 (—)	12 (1)	19 (3)	37 (4)
Ministry of Development	7 (—)	19 (3)	25 (1)	51 (4)
Ministry of Education	5 (—)	10 (2)	16 (2)	31 (4)
Ministry of Health & Social Services	11 (—)	22 (—)	45 (1)	78 (1)
Ministry of Home Affairs	4 (—)	8 (1)	8 (—)	20 (1)
All Departments	53 (1)	102 (11)	164 (11)	319 (23)

Our information is that employment in the Civil Service is controlled by two bodies, the Placing Authority and the Establishment Authority. They are such Unionist preserves that the Campaign was not able to find out even the names of those on them !

THE PUBLIC BOARDS

The Government administers a large segment of public affairs through its official bodies, the members of which it appoints itself. Where an occasional Catholic is given this important function, not only is he hopelessly outnumbered vote-wise, but also those chosen are often known to be Government collaborators, who would be unlikely to insist on minority rights in a way that members elected by the minority itself would do. The parallel with Mr. Ian Smith of Rhodesia choosing tribal chiefs to advise him is surely apparent. Herewith the membership details of the main ruling bodies, with religions:

	Total Membership	Catholics
Electricity Board for N.I.	5	0
Housing Trust	7	1
Craigavon Development Commission	9	1
Economic Council	18	2
Hospitals Authority	22	5
General Health Services Board	24	2
Medical Advisory Committee to the Ministry of Health	11	1
Pigs Marketing Board	14	2
Milk Marketing Board	13	1
Seed Potato Marketing Board	14	1
Agricultural Wages Board	15	2
Youth Employment Service Board	18	3
Fire Authority	16	0
Child Welfare Council	22	6
Ulster Folk Museum Trustees	20	1
Tourist Board	11	3
Advisory Council for Education	16	5
Council for Education Research	27	5
Youth and Sports Council	20	6
Industrial Court	22	1
Lowry Commission to redistribute Four University Parliamentary Seats	5	0
1969 Commission to Overhaul Stormont Parliamentary Boundaries	3	1

DOCTORS

The Hospitals Authority administers Northern Ireland's 97 hospitals, practising religious discrimination in the way it chooses the specialist doctors who work in them (1967 figures) viz.:

There are 387 specialists, only 31 of these are Roman Catholic. Of the 387, 51 hold teaching posts at the University. Of the 31 Catholics, three hold University posts. Excluding the University appointees only 8.5% of Hospital Authority specialist jobs go to Catholics. (In general practice doctoring, where the patients are free to choose their own practitioner, one third of the G.P.s are Catholic, thereby reflecting the general population percentage. Chemists, barristers and solicitors, where free enterprise prevails, show identical trends).

These hospitals are run by Management Committees. Total Committee members: 456, 72 are Roman Catholics, i.e., 15.7%. Again the Roman Catholic members are chosen for their 'reliability.' Noteworthy is Londonderry, seven Roman Catholics out of 21. The population of Derry is 65% Roman Catholic. Of the total 50 matrons of Hospitals, only six are Catholic, i.e., 12%.

Government Health Service:

Chief Medical Officer and deputy Chief, both Protestants. Medical Referees: Full time, there are eight, all Protestants. Part-time, 50, only six Roman Catholics (Referee figures were obtained in 1969).

Not one Catholic is employed as Chief County or Borough Medical Officer of Health. Neither is there a Catholic employed as Deputy Chief Medical Officer of Health.

There is no Borough or County Chief Dental Officer who is a Catholic. There is no County or Borough Public Health Inspector a Catholic. Of all the sixteen Public Health Inspectors only three are Catholic.

POLICE (a) Royal Ulster Constabulary

Complement, just over 3,000, 10% of which are Catholic†; 50 Officers in R.U.C. six are Catholic; 120 Head Constables, 16 are Catholic; 400 Sergeants, 50 Catholic (1967 figures). Upkeep, £6.7 million* in the coming year, of which over £5 million is pay and allowances.

(b) Ulster Special Constabulary

This is a sectarian part-time force 11,300 strong. All members are Protestant. They are mainly recruited from members of the Orange Order. As recipients of Unionist patronage these constitute a private Unionist army. They have the right to retain their firearms in their own homes. There have been several documented cases of vicious attacks by members of the Ulster Specials on peaceful Civil Rights marchers, and on other anti-Unionists. Specials in mufti have been found in possession of firearms at counter demonstrations to Civil Rights marches. The Government has recently augmented its full-time police force with well over 1,000 of these men—upkeep—£972,700 in the coming year.

† A Ministry of Home Affairs spokesman recently stated that this figure was 11%.

* The pound sterling (£1) is worth 2.4 American dollars; 2.14 Australian dollars; £5.10.0. is equivalent to 100 Indian rupees.

POLICE BRUTALITY

Up to October 5th, 1968, with some notable exceptions, relations between the police and the minority, were normal.

At the first Londonderry Civil Rights march the Royal Ulster Constabulary sealed off the marchers in Duke Street in front and behind and batoned them indiscriminately. Gerry Fitt, M.P., was wounded on the head. Edward McAteer, M.P., in the groin. A girl was batoned on the mouth. The people were hosed with water cannons. This was all witnessed by two British Labour M.P.s., John Ryan and Mrs. Anne Kerr. While this was going on, police not actively engaged were laughing. (See report in "Listener," a B.B.C. publication, 24:10:68).

(Minister of Home Affairs — Mr. William Craig)

At a later date student marchers at Burntollet Bridge received scant protection from the R.U.C., who fraternised freely with the Paisleyites led by Major Bunting. Students were stoned, beaten with nail-studded clubs, and thrown into a stream. Threats of rape were made on the women. (See report in "Sunday Times," London, 27:4:69).

In January 1969, police, some alleged to be intoxicated, broke into houses in Lecky Road, Derry, and, using obscene and sectarian abuse, attacked the citizens indiscriminately with batons and kicks. As a result, 190 formal complaints against the police were documented.

Again, demonstrating its particular brand of "democracy," the Ulster Government ordered an Enquiry to be carried out by police officials themselves! The Government has refused to make the results of this Enquiry public.

(Minister of Home Affairs — Capt. William Long)

In April 1969, in Derry, the police were caught at a disadvantage and were stoned by a mob and some injured. Police later invaded Catholic homes and rendered many men, women (including a semi-invalid) and children hospital cases!

(Minister of Home Affairs — Mr. R. Porter)

At demonstrations the police always face the Civil Rights groups, and turn their backs to the militant Protestants, with whom many police are on terms of easy familiarity.

We are well aware that a stable society depends on a responsible and esteemed police force. Successive Unionist Ministers of Home Affairs have, for their own ends, allowed a sadistic minority of policemen to destroy the reputation of the force.

THE LAW	Protestants	Catholics
High Court Judges	6	1
County Court Judges	4	1
Resident Magistrates	9	3
Lands Tribunal Members	2	0
Commission for National Insurance (with relatively few Protestants unemployed)	3	0
Clerks of Crown and Peace	6	0

Under Sheriffs	6	9	0
Crown Solicitors	8		0
Clerks of Petty Sessions	26		1
Summary Jurisdiction Rules Committee	6		3

THE SCHOOLS

School Inspectors.—There are 53 Inspectors of County and Voluntary Schools, five are Roman Catholic.

LOCAL EDUCATION COMMITTEES

These bodies run the schools. There are eight, one for each County and one each for Belfast and Londonderry. Total membership 223. Only 39 are Roman Catholic (17%); there are 36 Protestant and four Roman Catholic clergymen members. Roman Catholics are 35% of the population, but make up 51% of the primary school children.

RELIGIOUS DISCRIMINATION AGAINST TEACHERS

Like Holland, Germany and the U.S.A., the Roman Catholic Church authorities prefer to educate the children in their own schools. The part upkeep of these schools is a very heavy burden on Roman Catholics, but the fact that they accept it is surely proof that they want things this way.

For educated Catholics schools present some of the few good employment opportunities in Ulster. There is a law in Northern Ireland, unlike the rest of Britain, which prohibits school teachers from being members of County Councils. We claim that this is discriminatory, and is solely to prevent this articulate group in the Roman Catholic community, the teachers, from speaking in local affairs on behalf of the under-privileged.

POST OFFICE

Control of the postal service is directly held by London and discrimination here is widespread. Our figures were collected in 1967.

Since the Post Office was divided into Regional Administrations in the mid 1930's there have been eight holders of the post of Director of the Northern Ireland Region. None have been Catholics. The Director heads a Board of Administration consisting of Postal Controller, Telecommunications Controller, Staff Controller and Finance Officer. None of these posts, all of which have changed hands several times in the past thirty years, has ever been held by a Catholic.

The other chief posts in the Service here, with a minimum salary of £2,000 plus p.a., are the Head Postmaster, Belfast; Assistant Head Postmaster, Belfast; the Telephone Manager; Deputy Telephone Manager; Three Area Engineers; The Area Accountant; Chief Sales Superintendent; Chief Traffic Superintendent. None of these posts have ever been held by a Catholic.

Outside Belfast, for example, there are thirteen Head Postmasterhips. Going back forty years, the holders have never been Catholics with one exception many years ago. There are over 6,000 Post Office employees in Northern Ireland, practically all of whom are recruited locally. On a population basis it is reasonable to assume that at least 35% of these should be Catholic. As one progresses up the grades this percentage gets smaller.

Take the Belfast Head Post Office as an example. The basic clerical grade is that of Postal and Telegraph Officer and the rungs of the ladder upwards from that are:—Overseerships, Assistant Superintendents, Superintendents, Chief Superintendent. Allowing for mobility among the applicants there are Postmasterships and Head Postmasterships and some occasional transfers outside the manipulative work of the Service such as Welfare Officer Posts.

The following Table shows the trend:

Post	Total	Number of Catholics
Postal and Telegraph Officers	145	45
Overseerships	29	8
Superintendent	1	1
Assistant Superintendent	7	1
Chief Superintendent	1	—

Of the five Postmasterships of Crown Offices in the Belfast area, namely, Bangor, Holywood, Newtownards, Carrickfergus and Larne, none is held by a Catholic. There are approximately 190 sub-offices under the control of the Belfast Head Post Office and less than 10% of these are held by a Catholic.

The attention of two British Postmasters General, Mr. Edward Short and Mr. John Stonehouse was drawn to these facts. They denied there was any substance to our complaints, which is surely hypocritical?

RELIGIOUS DISCRIMINATION IN THE TRADE UNIONS

The Northern Ireland Committee of Irish Congress of Trade Unions is the ruling body. Here the Chairman is a Catholic, but none of the other eleven members is.

Full-time Paid Trade Union Officials:

Protestants 62; Catholics 16; Catholic Percentage 20.

Craft Unions of Manual Skilled Workers:

Protestants 35; Catholics 5; Catholic Percentage 12.

These comprise the highly skilled and paid Unions. There is a traditional Protestant preponderance here.

Other Unions (white collar, professional and unskilled).

Protestants 27; Catholics 11; Catholic Percentage 29.

RELIGIOUS DISCRIMINATION IN RATING ABATEMENT

In 1966 the British Government introduced a Rate Rebate plan whereby the rates burden on houses occupied by the lower income groups was eased.

In Northern Ireland this rate rebate was spread over all domestic ratepayers otherwise it 'would benefit too many of the wrong sort' (meaning the poorer Roman Catholics).

Because most of the large firms, private and public, are controlled by Protestants, the bias is mainly anti-Catholic. It is very widespread. We give two examples only:

(1) In 1966 the Roman Catholic Bishop of the Belfast area, Dr. Philbin, claimed that in a specified engineering firm only three or four employees out of the total work force were Catholics (Belfast is 27.5% Catholic). The Bishop could not state the total labour force. Like ourselves in similar circumstances, there was no sympathetic person available to give him information. We estimate it at 3,000 for this factory.

The manager, in a letter to the Bishop, claimed the Catholics 'did not feel at home in a Protestant atmosphere.' As the Bishop pointed out to him, poorly-off discriminated-against Catholics are never in the position of choosing the atmosphere in which they work.

Although this factory is in receipt of Government grants the authorities have repeatedly refused to reveal the amounts, or to make a fair employment policy a condition for their continuance.

(2) In another town with approximately fifty-fifty Protestants and Catholics, there is a large textile factory with a pay-roll of about 2,500. In this factory-complex there is one Roman Catholic director (who was seconded from London); one Roman Catholic manager; one Roman Catholic under-manager; three Roman Catholic charge hands; one Roman Catholic mechanic; five Roman Catholic supervisors. In all, only 12 Roman Catholic persons above the lowest grade. There has never been, with possibly one or two exceptions, any Roman Catholics in the despatch department.

The rest are the 'hewers of wood and the drawers of water.'

How can it be done so thoroughly? Because, as a matter of policy, this firm does not, nor never has, taken any pupils from the local Roman Catholic grammar school to train for the higher posts. All come from the Protestant grammar school. The academic records of both schools are similar.

SPECIAL POWERS ACT

In April 1963, the South African Minister of Justice, now the Prime Minister, introduced a new Coercion Bill by saying that he "would be willing to exchange all the legislation of that sort for one clause of the Northern Ireland Special Powers Act."

This Act, which has been continuously in operation since 1922, empowers the authorities to:

- (1) Arrest without warrant.
- (2) Imprison without charge or trial and deny recourse to habeus corpus or a court of law.
- (3) Enter and search homes without warrant, and with force, at any hour of day or night.
- (4) Declare a curfew and prohibit meetings, assemblies (including fairs and markets) and processions.
- (5) Permit punishment by flogging.

- (6) Deny claim to a trial by jury.
- (7) Arrest persons it is desired to examine as witnesses, forcibly detain them and compel them to answer questions, under penalties, even if answers may incriminate them. Such a person is guilty of an offence if he refuses to be sworn or answer a question.
- (8) Do any act involving interference with the rights of private property.
- (9) Prevent access of relatives or legal advisers to a person imprisoned without trial.
- (10) Prohibit the holding of an inquest after a prisoner's death.
- (11) Arrest a person who "by word of mouth" spreads false reports or makes false statements.
- (12) Prohibit the circulation of any newspaper.
- (13) Prohibit the possession of any film or gramophone record.
- (14) Arrest a person who does anything "calculated to be prejudicial to the preservation of peace or maintenance of order in Northern Ireland and not specifically provided for in the regulations."
- (15) The Act allows the Minister of Home Affairs to create new crimes by Government Decree, e.g., he recently made it a crime to name a club a "Republican Club."

The Ulster Government has all the usual legal remedies at hand to maintain the peace. Some of these laws, like the new Public Order Act Amendments, are much more repressive than anything in Britain. Indeed, if the provisions are carefully studied it becomes apparent that what the Unionists are in fact doing is making these Amendments so penal that they may be enabled to drop the Special Powers Act at a later date.

We suggest that the Special Powers Act is retained in Northern Ireland by a nation of bullies to intimidate a subject people, since it applies to no other part of the United Kingdom.

HOUSING

APARTHEID IN NORTHERN IRELAND — GHETTO HOUSING

In towns where the Unionists have a slender majority they consolidate their position by the use of gerrymandered wards. They can convert a paper minority into a majority by this means.

This is how it is done

The town is divided into wards, frequently three in number. In the two smaller Unionist wards the electors are thinly spread and allocated the same number of councillors per ward as the anti-Unionists who are crammed into the third ward, and give the same number of councillors. Londonderry is the classical example and is detailed overleaf. This also happens in Dungannon, Omagh, Armagh, Enniskillen and many other places.

The most notorious single ghetto housing estate with regard to size is one owned by Belfast Corporation, called Turf Lodge, where there are 1,175 Catholic families and only 22 Protestant families (1967 figures).

There is another Government sponsored body in Northern Ireland, the Housing Trust, which builds homes for letting. It often mixes the religions, and we found in such estates that Protestants and Catholics live together in amity, and have a much healthier attitude to each other. The Trust usually selects better-off people since they make more stable tenants, the most needy being thereby passed over. However, in most towns the bigoted Unionist councils see to it that the balance of power is not upset, even obstructing the Housing Trust if too many Catholics are being accommodated, e.g., Enniskillen and Londonderry.

The Trust is not blameless of occasionally practising religious discrimination. It has refused enquiring opposition M.P.s information as to how it selects tenants. More often than not it re-lets to people of the same religion as the old tenants, and not solely on need.

VOTING INJUSTICES

In many areas, where they would be in danger from a simple majority, the Unionists manipulate electoral boundaries in a very undemocratic way known as 'gerrymandering', and thereby keep control. (Please see details of a classic example of Londonderry, pages 20-21)

In local government elections there is denial of 'one man, one vote.' Only householders and their wives have one vote each. This means that in all of Northern Ireland there are at present a quarter of a million people disfranchised out of a total electorate of less than one million. To prevent control passing from them Unionists refuse to allocate Catholics their fair share of local authority housing — built with public funds, denial of a house meaning denial of a voice in local affairs. Thus Catholics are not in a position to help their co-religionists who are forced to emigrate.

Catholics may be on housing waiting lists for up to twelve years or longer, whilst Protestants can often choose their council house and have it allocated before they are married.

Such a case was spotlighted in 1968 at Caledon in Co. Tyrone by Austin Currie, M.P., who, after he had exhausted all legal remedies available, himself squatted in a council house. This house had been allocated to a young unmarried stenographer of a Unionist candidate for a Westminster seat, Mr. B. McRoberts.

Housing injustices such as this cause great bitterness at local level, and our Campaign is deeply resentful of the unchristian way the least influential and articulate members of the Catholic population have been squeezed out over the past forty-eight years.

British political leaders like Prime Minister Wilson, Lord Butler, Lord Brooke, Sir Alec Douglas-Home and many others before them have been given full details of these injustices, but so far nothing concrete has been done.

Pressure from outside has recently compelled the Unionists to offer 'one man, one vote'. This will be useless unless each vote is of equal value, in other words if there is no gerrymander. It is something of a tragedy that there is no apparent groundswell of Protestant public opinion in favour of this course.

It would be hard to imagine the Unionists taking an honourable course in this vital field of public authority housing and voting.

'HE WHO PAYS THE PIPER CALLS THE TUNE' — the Tory claim exploded.

The Unionist excuse for denying those who are not householders a vote in local government elections is that they allege they are not paying domestic rates for

the upkeep of the local council. But the Minister of Development revealed (30/1/67) that only 30% of local expenditure is raised from the rates. The remainder comes from central tax funds, to which all contribute.

Despite the fact that Northern Ireland receives more than $\frac{1}{3}$ of its yearly upkeep from Britain, the Unionists will not allow Britain to press them to give the Ulster minority civil rights. For example, Viscount Brookborough, a previous Prime Minister, recently called on Unionists to unite in resisting all pressures from Whitehall (the London Parliament).

ELECTORAL IRREGULARITIES

There are many voting irregularities in elections. The adage 'vote early and often' is frequently quoted. A South African liberal, writing in the "Belfast Telegraph" 10:12:65, reports how she met an apparently respectable citizen who told her "I voted thirty-six times."

This Campaign sent a large dossier detailing electoral irregularities to an official enquiry by the London Parliament in 1965, but so far nothing has been done. We instanced dead people being voted for, a nun being voted for by a civilian, wholesale personation by Unionists, unopened ballot boxes from anti-Unionist areas having been found in an outhouse. Intimidation of anti-Unionist voters by a Presiding Officer. W. detailed areas where anti-Unionist personating agents were afraid to attend the booths to check on the correct identity of the voters.

Ballot papers in Northern Ireland are numbered. A Unionist official records the voter's name as he votes. Even though the voting papers are stated to be destroyed after the count, people fear that some could be retrieved and persons who voted wrongly, subsequently discriminated against.

Postal votes are frequently alleged to be destroyed by unsympathetic postmen.

CALCULATED NEGLECT OF THE WEST

There are six counties in Northern Ireland, the eastern three, Antrim, Down and Armagh are predominantly Protestant; the western three, Londonderry, Tyrone and Fermanagh, predominantly Roman Catholic.

The natural capital of the eastern counties is Belfast, of the western counties, the city of Londonderry. Derry is the second city in size in Northern Ireland with a deep sea port and a naval base.

The Unionists have, through the years, continued to consolidate their position by strengthening the economy of the eastern half of the state and encouraging few industries to set up in the western counties.

To stimulate the setting up of industries the Government builds 'advance factories' for them. The following are the details of where they have been sited. (Official report, dated 11:3:69).

Co. Antrim	27	} Eastern half of Ulster	Co. Londonderry	10	} Western half of Ulster
Co. Armagh	10		Borough of London-	1	
Co. Down	17		derry	3	
Borough of Belfast	5		Co. Tyrone	1	
—	59		Co. Fermanagh	1	
—	—		15		—

The extremes to which Unionism will go is exemplified as follows:

The then Minister of Commerce, Mr. Brian Faulkner, who held the post for some years, announced, on 21st June 1967, the impending arrival of an East German firm to open a factory in Bangor, Co. Down, where, at that time, official figures gave unemployment as 245 persons. On the same date 20% of the people of Derry City were unemployed and, in Strabane, Co. Tyrone, the rate was 25%.

In the past few years even more determined attempts have been made to further weaken and depopulate the western three counties in the following ways:

1. There were two separate railway lines to Londonderry. In the interests of economy it became necessary to close one of them. The one to be 'axed' traversed the western region. This has left Fermanagh, Tyrone and practically all of the county of Londonderry with no railway whatever. The other three counties have two separate systems, one running north from Belfast, the other south.

2. In order to further strengthen the relatively prosperous east, the government of Northern Ireland is building a new city in Co. Armagh. As a further irritant to Catholics it was named after the most famous anti-Catholic bigot, 'Craigavon'. Mr. Geoffrey Copcutt was engaged as its chief designer. He is an Englishman who came here after planning Cumbernauld New City near Glasgow. After one year's work he resigned saying, "I have become disenchanted with the Stormont scene." He suggested the abandonment of the New City and that the development of Londonderry should be concentrated upon in order to give the province a reasonable balance.

3. The government, in February 1965, accepted the Wilson Plan for economic development (H.M. Stationery Office, Belfast). This report outlined four centres for rapid industrial development, all within a 30-mile radius of Belfast, and in western counties virtually nothing.

4. In February, 1965, the government also accepted the Lockwood Report (H.M. Stationery Office, Belfast). Here, Londonderry was rejected as the site for a new university, in spite of the fact that Magee University College, a hundred year old institution, is at present providing the first two years of university education in certain subjects. Copcutt in his statement said "Londonderry is the obvious choice to expand as the centre for higher education outside Belfast. It could prove the most promising way of unifying the present populations and integrating future immigrant communities."

16 THE LEGAL POSITION WITH REGARD TO RELIGIOUS DISCRIMINATION

Because of a record of previous discrimination in Ireland, some half-hearted legal provisions to prevent it were incorporated in the Government of Ireland Act, 1920. Half-hearted, because those offered had been rejected in 1893* when they were proposed to safeguard Protestants in a previously united Ireland, where they were in a minority for the whole country. The Republic of Ireland is almost totally Roman Catholic. The relevant sections in the 1920 Act are Nos. 5 and 8. In effect these prohibit Stormont from making any law which would impose disability on any religious group. They are of no practical help, because the Government of Ulster never found it necessary to make laws to penalise Catholics. Using its permanent majority Stormont has always been able to discriminate as it wished.

In 1964, Sir Alec Douglas-Home, like others before him, claimed that the Roman Catholics, who felt they were discriminated against, could seek the protection of the courts, using the relevant sections of the 1920 Act.

This Campaign wrote to him telling him that we had consulted a senior barrister, who told us that the Act could not be used—that it would not even allow discriminated against people to get into court.

We wrote to Sir Alec, asking how this could be done. His unhelpful and evasive series of letters in reply are published by us as a pamphlet, obtainable on request, entitled, "Northern Ireland, Why Justice can not be done."

At a later stage, another Ulster senior barrister claimed that he had found a loophole in the law, which would at least permit aggrieved parties to get into court with a case of alleged discrimination in housing allocation. The barrister informed us that for the litigants to finance their own case up as far as the House of Lords, where their opponents would undoubtedly force it, were they to lose in a lower court, would cost up to £20,000.

Despite the fact that there is a Free Legal Aid scheme for people such as these penniless Roman Catholics, Aid was denied to the litigants.

Full documentation in the Campaign pamphlet "Northern Ireland, Legal Aid to oppose discrimination, not likely!"

WHAT LEGAL SAFEGUARDS DOES THE SITUATION DEMAND?

In 1968 Britain introduced anti-discrimination legislation, the Race Relations Act. Despite the efforts of a substantial lobby of British Labour and Liberal Members of Parliament, led by Mr. Ben Whittaker, the British Government refused to allow this Bill to apply to Northern Ireland, and to relate it to religious discrimination.

The Labour M.P.s belong to an 80 strong group of parliamentarians called the Campaign for Democracy in Ulster (President Lord Brockway, Chairman Paul Rose).

In the Stormont Parliament, Miss Sheelagh Murnaghan has been presenting a Human Rights Bill since 1967. She did so for the fifth time on 18.12.68. The Ulster Unionists have always rejected her attempts.

The anti-discrimination clauses of the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, though seen to be ineffective, have never been revised since they were first introduced. The British Prime Minister is well aware that there is continuing injustice, and it is entirely his Government's responsibility to strengthen the Act. Readers must draw their own conclusions, bearing in mind his promises as set out on the inside cover.

* "What Home Rule Means Now," a pamphlet issued in 1893 by the Irish Unionist Alliance.

THE LONDON GOVERNMENT HOLDS THE WHIP HAND OVER STORMONT

(a) Because of Section 75 of the Government of Ireland Act. (Please see inside front cover) (b) Because Britain subsidises the Stormont Government to the tune of £100 million per year, out of a total expenditure of £300 million per year—this figure was given by the former Ulster Prime Minister, Capt. O'Neill on a television broadcast at the end of 1968. This is probably the minimum amount, and does not include Northern Ireland's share towards the British National and diplomatic services, Royal Mint, National Debt and other Imperial expenditures.

(For comparison purposes, the projected income for the coming year in the independent Republic of Ireland will be £387 million. The expenditure will be £386 million. These figures are official Budget estimates released 6:5:69).

(c) Because 91% of Northern Ireland's trade is with Britain (Ulster Minister of Finance 15:11:68).

THE "CONVENTION" NOT TO INTERFERE

When complaints of Stormont Government injustices have been made in the London Parliament by Mr. Fitt, or other sympathetic British Labour or Liberal Members of Parliament, they are ruled out of order because of a "Convention" evolved by the British Conservative Party, which prevents discussion of Northern Ireland's affairs. Yet the British Privy Council on 23rd July, 1968 ruled that the same "Convention" relating to Rhodesia had no legal force, and further, Britain did intervene in the past in Northern Ireland's domestic affairs. It did so when the Ulster Government tried to reduce the Childrens' Allowance for the third and subsequent child (in order to discriminate against Roman Catholics who have larger families). The Northern Ireland Government was compelled by London, in this instance, to drop this uncharitable scheme.

London again intervened in 1962 when the Unionists sought to modify the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, to allow them to seize lands belonging to the Church, which the 1920 Act forbids.

UNIONIST INTOLERANCE, HALF TRUTHS AND EXCUSES

Unionists claim that their opponents are out to destroy the State, whereas in fact they are merely striving for British standards of justice, as at present obtaining in the remainder of the United Kingdom.

The leader of the Parliamentary Opposition at Stormont has never been paid the extra salary his position merits. He is remunerated in the same way as ordinary Members of Parliament.

For the past forty eight years the Stormont Parliament has never allowed any Opposition Bill to become law, with the exception of the Wild Birds Act, in 1931.

It is not surprising, therefore, that many people think that progress will only be achieved by street demonstrations and civil disobedience.

Unionists claim that Roman Catholics are more bigoted than they. Surely with its monopoly of power the initiative for change must come from the ruling Unionist Party.

Instances of Roman Catholic tolerance are:—

1. In Armagh in the 1964 local council elections a Ratepayers group put up candidates. A Catholic was nominated in a Protestant ward. He came bottom of the poll, whereas a Protestant in the Catholic ward topped it.

2. In Dungannon at the last council elections a Protestant topped the poll in the Catholic ward.
3. In the recent Stormont elections, Ivan Cooper, a Protestant, won the seat against Roman Catholics in the mainly Catholic Constituency of Mid-Derry, and Claude Wilton, another Protestant, has just been elected to the Senate by Catholic M.P.s.

Regrettable though it is, it is not surprising that isolated acts of violence and sabotage do occur. It is not always, however, what it seems. Some time ago shots were fired into the house of an extreme Protestant member of Parliament, Mr. John McQuade. It was assumed widely that this was the work of Catholic extremists.

It came out at the trial of murdered Catholics, the Malvern Street trial, some time later, that the attack had been made by extreme Protestants themselves. Many riots in places like Londonderry during the past months have been wrongly attributed to the Civil Rights Movement by the Unionists. With the single exception of Newry, all properly pre-arranged and marshalled Civil Rights demonstrations have been non-violent.

THE PROPOSED "REFORMS"

The world publicity afforded by the police brutalities and subsequent riots in Londonderry on and after October 5th, 1968 compelled the Stormont Tories to do something to appease public opinion. They took the following steps:—

(1) The Derry City Corporation was suspended and a Commission set up to govern Londonderry. This is not a satisfactory substitute for ordinary democratic majority rule. The Chairman of this Commission was a Unionist member of the notorious Belfast Corporation, which has a well-known reputation for religious discrimination.

(2) A Commission of Enquiry was also set up to look into the causes of recent civil strife in Ulster. This Commission has the following serious shortcomings:

It has not the power to compel witnesses to attend. It is hearing evidence in secret. A member of the Stormont Government has said that its findings may never be made public. The Constitution of this Commission was not even discussed with the representatives of the minority, who comprise 35% of the population. The Chairman is a Scottish Judge, Lord Cameron. Another of its three members is a leading medical politician, Sir J. Biggart, the Dean of the Medical Faculty at Queen's University, Belfast, a past member of the Northern Ireland Hospitals Authority and Chairman of the Medical Advisory Committee to the Northern Ireland Ministry of Health. The third member of the Cameron Commission, Mr. J. J. Campbell, M.A., is a Catholic. He is a member of the Senate and Director of the Institute of Education of Queen's University. The Opposition is at a serious disadvantage in this Enquiry in that many facts are very difficult to obtain, whereas the Unionists, with control of the Civil Service, have easy access to all public records.

For example, (a) When we tried to obtain the names of the staff of the Housing Trust, we were met with a blank refusal from its headquarters (17:4:69); (b) At a meeting in Omagh on 10th March, 1969, Tyrone County Council members, who are also members of the local Civil Rights Committee, were refused details of staff, salaries, etc., by the Unionist majority.

(3) The Ulster Government proposed four Reforms. These are minimal, and are widely regarded merely as window dressing. Should they become law (and at present there seems no indication of haste in the Stormont Parliament) they will not afford genuine safeguards to civil rights for all in Northern Ireland, nor will we be required to make more than marginal amendments to our publicity material, including this booklet.

The further "reforms" proposed are:

- (i) The withdrawal of the Special Powers Act, but not at present.
- (ii) An "Ombudsman" to be appointed. He will, however, have no power to investigate local authority injustices or police behaviour, two of the most important fields.
- (iii) The Government will recommend, but, not compel, local authorities to initiate a "points scheme" for fair housing allocation. In the details of the Government scheme, so far given, there is mention of provision for slum clearance cases, key workers, overcrowded dwellings but, significantly, no mention of 'new families.' In the past the Unionists have controlled the size of the opposition by not making proper provision for new families in their housing schemes.
- (iv) The franchise is to be reviewed. This item is dealt with under the heading of "Enniskillen," overleaf.

Machinery to deal with grievances against Local Authorities has since been mentioned; although it was not included in the original reforms package.

It would be impossible to give all the glaring facts in a publication of this size. Here are a few examples from widely scattered towns:

Londonderry

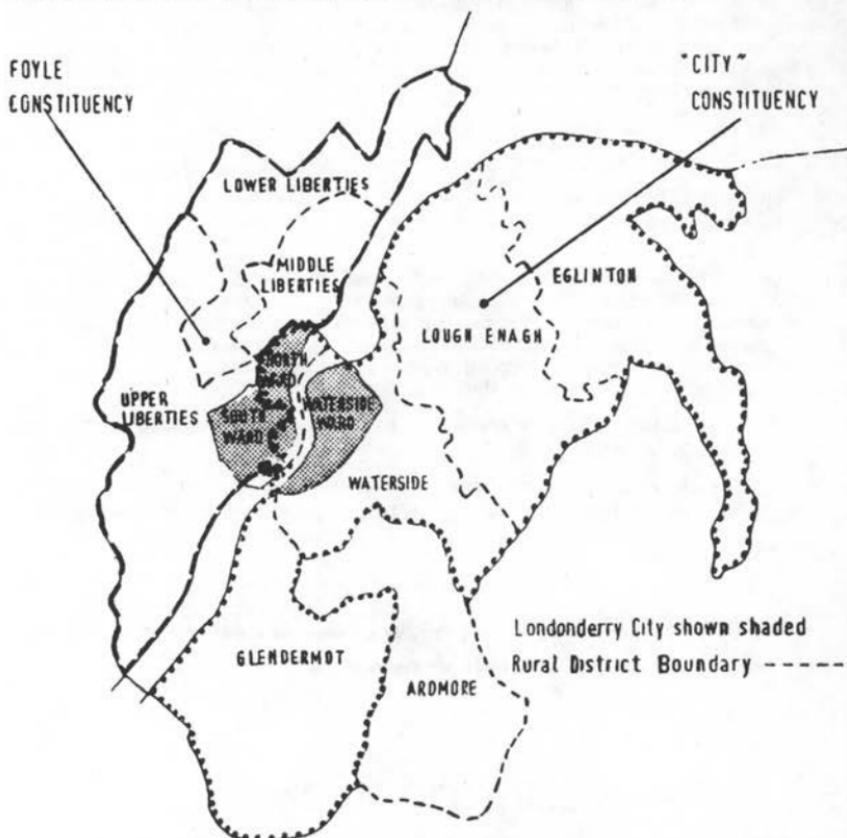
This is the second city in Northern Ireland. It was endowed by the City of London Companies after the British Plantation of Ulster in the sixteenth century. It has strong links with the Protestant ascendancy, so the Unionists have stooped to unbelievable depths to maintain control, as the following details show.

GERRYMANDER

(i) Stormont Parliament:

There was a separate seat for the City of Londonderry in the early years of the Stormont parliament. Because of the preponderance of Catholics the constituency returned an anti-Unionist member (Nationalist). In order to neutralise the seat the electoral division was re-arranged. The city itself was cut in two, Foyle returning a Nationalist. The boundary of the "City" was stretched eight miles into the country. The map below illustrates the way this was done, and how the planners of the new boundary of the City constituency found it necessary to reach out to include pockets of Unionists voters, without reference to natural geographical features, in order to scrape together a Unionist majority.

20
LONDONDERRY PARLIAMENTARY CONSTITUENCIES



(ii) Local Government:

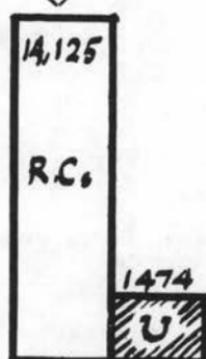
Until the Commission took over in early 1969, Derry City was the textbook case of gerrymander in local government. The diagram over shows the extent of this. These figures only include the householders and wives. If all adults over 21 years had a vote, the position would be shown to be much worse.

In their attempt to contain the opposition, the Unionist Corporation determined not to build extra houses within the City boundary. They have not built a single house since 1966, and only 136 since 1958. Over 1,000 houses in Derry are occupied by more than one family and in several cases seven or eight families are occupying what was originally a single dwelling. There are over 1,500 families on the waiting list, nearly all Catholics. Even the Housing Trust, which has built large numbers of flats and dwellings, has been seriously hampered in its house-building efforts by the continued refusal of the Corporation to extend the City boundary. Many times each year proposals to this end by opposition councillors have been rejected.

THE WARDS SYSTEM IN Londonderry

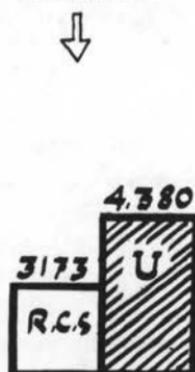
(1966 REVISION)

SOUTH
WARD



8 ANTI-UNIONIST
REPRESENTATIVES

NORTH
WARD



8
UNIONISTS
REPRESENTATIVES

WATERSIDE
WARD



4
UNIONIST
REPRESENTATIVES



□ ROMAN CATHOLIC.
▨ UNIONIST

8
12

A private body, the Derry Housing Association, secured ground and applied for permission to build 700 houses. This permission was at first steadfastly refused and only lately a proportion of the number requested has been allowed after tedious appeals to the Central Authority, and a public hearing.

In Britain, Housing Associations, which build houses to supplement local authority enterprises, have full co-operation from councils. In Northern Ireland they encounter continuous obstruction. In Dungannon, for example, the Housing Association there had to cease functioning after being blocked in three different sites by Dungannon Urban District Council.

Until the Londonderry Commission was set up, all houses were let by one man, the Lord Mayor. The Derry Corporation Housing Committee did not function.

Omagh

Population 61.2% Catholic.

Gerrymander in Omagh:

39% of the people elect 12 Unionist Councillors.

61% of the people elect 9 anti-Unionist Councillors.

The Electoral Gerrymander:

The ghetto principle operates in Omagh urban area. There are three wards. The Unionist Wards are small, the anti-Unionist a large Catholic ghetto.

North.—Unionist voters 774; anti-Unionist voters 315 — 6 Councillors.

South — Unionist voters 709; anti-Unionist voters 473 — 6 Councillors.

West.—Unionist voters 369; anti-Unionist voters 1,759—9 Councillors.

The Register is, of course, on the restricted franchise of householders and their wives.

Urban Council Housing:

Since the last war, of the 197 houses built in the North Ward, 100% went to Protestants. In the South Ward, of the 116 houses built 95% went to Protestants. In the West Ward the number of houses built was 251 and the percentage allocated to Catholics was 98.

Housing Trust:

This body are in the West Ward where the Trust has 261 dwellings, only 13 Urban Council.

All schemes are in the West Ward where the Trust has 261 dwellings, only 13 going to Protestants. (Like in most Ulster towns, the Unionist Urban Council provides adequately for Unionist supporters, without the help of the Trust).

No matter how many houses are built in the West Ward, the balance of power will not be disturbed because the citizens can only be represented by their nine councillors.

Employment:

County Hall: Staff 100; Catholics 4.

Education Offices: Staff 70; Catholics 2.

Rural Council: Staff 35; Catholics 2.

We have succeeded in obtaining full details of one category, viz:

Staff of Tyrone County Council, whose appointments and salary are subject to the approval of the Ministry of Development

Name	Post	Remuneration
R. Parke	Secretary	£4,470 - £5,050
H. Martin	Accountant	£2,610 - £3,260
E. Diffin	Assistant Accountant	£1,780 - £2,170
T. Crawford	Assistant Accountant	£1,780 - £2,170
J. Eakin	Assistant Accountant	£1,780 - £2,170
T. Bowie	Local Taxation Officer	£1,715
S. C. Neely	County Surveyor	£3,590 - £4,010
J. McCleery	Deputy Co. Surveyor	£2,500 - £2,820
J. A. T. McCurdy	Senior Engineer	£2,005 - £2,610
R. W. D. Smith	Senior Engineer	£2,005 - £2,610
C. M. Henderson	Special Assistant Surveyor	£2,005 - £2,610
*G. P. McCaughey	Divisional Surveyor	£1,780 - £2,425
J. A. Clements	Divisional Surveyor	£1,780 - £2,425
M. Pollard	Divisional Surveyor	£1,780 - £2,425
B. Lambert	Divisional Surveyor	£1,780 - £2,425
G. H. Scott	Senior Assistant Engineer	£1,780 - £2,255
W. J. E. Dukeow	Senior Assistant Engineer	£1,780 - £2,255
J. Leitch	Assistant Surveyor	£1,265 - £2,085
R. A. Hale	Assistant Surveyor	£1,265 - £2,085
J. N. Robinson	Rate Collector	£440
J. Lecky	Rate Collector	£513
G. Little	Rate Collector	£1,207

* Of all these employees, only Mr. G. P. McCaughey is a Catholic.

Lurgan

Although the population, according to the 1961 Census, is 45.7% Catholic, there is no anti-Unionist (Catholic) representation on the 15 man Council. Though there are large religious ghettos operated by the Council, due to the 'block' system of voting these people have no council representatives. In all the central and local government employment in the town there is only one Catholic, holding a salaried, as against a labouring job, he being employed in the gasworks*. The present mayor, Councillor S. Gardiner, declared before the last local government election, in the presence of the present Minister of Development, Mr. Brian Faulkner†: "This is a Protestant country and it is up to us to keep it this way. We must keep Unionists in control, not only in Lurgan, but throughout the whole of Northern Ireland."

* Lurgan Borough Council: 156 employees; 131 Protestant; 25 Catholic. Of the 25 Catholics 23 are labourers.

† The new Minister of Development is Mr. Faulkner, who is in charge of the restructuring of the local authorities.

Lurgan Hospital:

North Armagh Hospital Committee: 18 members; 3 Catholics.

Hospital Staff	Protestant	Catholic
Medical Consultants (Full Time)	0	0
Medical Consultants (Part Time)	4	0
Medical Registrars	3	0
Radiographers*	1	4
X-ray Secretaries	2	0
Store Clerks	2	0
Physiotherapists*	2	1
Ward and Lab. maids	7	10
Porters	6	5
Pharmacist	1	0
Pharmacist's Assistant	1	0
Seamstresses	2	0
Ambulancemen	7	0
Matron	1	0
Assistant Matron	2	0
Ward Sisters	8	7
Dietician	1	0
Cooks	7	1
Kitchen Managers	1	0

Receptionists	4	25	0
Superintendents	1		0
Laundry Workers	6		5
Laboratory Technicians	10		0
Engineers	1		0
Electricians	2		0
Carpenters	2		0
Painters	2		1
Boilermen	4		0
Yardmen	2		0
Kitchen maids	9		2
Clerical Staff	14		0

* These two grades are in short supply in N. Ireland, as are nurses.

The Catholic-Protestant ratio of nurses in most hospitals is reasonable.

Fivemiletown

(1967 facts and figures)

Population: 435 adult Protestants and 123 adult Catholics.

Post Office—Postmaster and three counter hands; 8 Postmen. None are Catholic. As in Dungannon and elsewhere vacancies for postmen are never advertised.

Co-operative Creamery — Approximately one third of the milk suppliers are Roman Catholic. No Catholics on staff, the size of which we can only estimate as between 80 and 100 since we have no informants. Method of selection can be instanced. A local Catholic youth with training applied for a job in the laboratory. A Protestant aged 15, just finished in the intermediate school, was appointed.

High School.—559 on roll of which 140 are Roman Catholic.

	Protestants	Catholics
Permanent teachers	23	3
Part-time teachers	5	—
Bus drivers	5	—
Kitchen staff	6	—
Cleaners	6	—
Secretary to Principal	1	—
Assistant Librarian	1	—
Laboratory Assistant	1	—
	—	—
Total	48	3

Ratio

16

1

Ballylurgan Co-operative Stores employs 16 Protestants and one Catholic.

Housing:

Approximately 91 houses have been built by Clogher Rural District Council. Of these 77 are let to Protestants and 14 to Catholics.

Armagh

The city was 53.5% Catholic at the 1961 Census. It has now been estimated that the number of Catholics has fallen to half in spite of a much higher Catholic birth rate.

Local Government Representation:

There were 3,449 adult Catholics and 3,050 adult Protestants in Armagh in 1968. Due to gerrymander and restricted franchise the Protestants (Unionists) are represented by 12 councillors whilst the Catholics have only 8.

Council Housing:

The religions are almost totally segregated in the housing estates, e.g., in the Catholic ghetto, of the 324 houses owned by the Council only two Protestant families are housed. In the Protestant ghettos, with 534 houses, the council has only allowed 31 Catholic families in.

Housing Trust:

Whilst in a Unionist ward there are 44 Catholic families in Trust houses out of a total of 186, the Housing Trust has allowed its other three estates in the opposition wards to become Catholic ghettos, permitting only nine Protestant families to reside in them out of a total of 145 houses.

Employment:

Armagh County Council—Non-manual employees: Protestant 193; Catholic 8.

County Education Committee—Non-manual workers: Protestant 96; Catholic 3.

Welfare Committee Workers—Protestant 52; Catholic 7.

No Catholic holds any position of Principal Officer under the County Council.

The County Surveyor, the County Medical Officer, the County Dental Officer, County Librarian, the Director of Education, the County Agricultural Officer and the County Planning Officer are all Protestants.

Armagh Urban Council:

Out of the 17 non-manual employees in the City Hall only one is a Catholic.

Dungannon

The population here is 50.3% Catholic.

The Electoral Situation:

Due to gerrymander, restricted franchise and the unequal size of wards, there is grossly unfair representation. There are three wards. They are East, which contains the Protestant ghettos, Central, mainly Protestant, and West, which is a Catholic ghetto. Each of the three wards is represented by seven councillors. On the restricted franchise of householders and wives only, here are the numbers of electors:

East Ward (7 Unionist Councillors); 1,729 electors; 543 Catholic, 1,186 Protestant.

Central Ward (7 Unionist Councillors); 659 electors; 143 Catholic; 516 Protestant.

West Ward (7 anti-Unionist Councillors); 1,031 electors; 844 Catholic; 187 Protestant.

(The number of people over 21 years in the three wards are: East 2,149; Central 804 and West 1,353).

Assuming that Protestants vote Unionist and Catholics anti-Unionist (which holds good almost to a man in Dungannon) it takes 147 voters in the West ward to elect one anti-Unionist councillor, whilst in the Central ward, 94 voters can elect a Unionist representative!

The Chairman of the Council is Senator William Stewart, Unionist member of the Upper House in the Northern Ireland Parliament.

HOW THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT BEGAN

In 1963 there were upwards of 300 families on the housing waiting list, some for as long as 12 years, and not one new Catholic family had been allocated a permanent house for 34 years. Council houses had been allocated to a pharmaceutical chemist, the Council's own engineer, and several other comfortably off Protestant people. Other Protestants had sold good villa residences to move into Council houses.

Young Protestants were boasting to their Catholic workmates that they could, and did, select new council houses and move in as soon as, or shortly after, they were married.

The histogram over, describes the Urban Council's housing record.

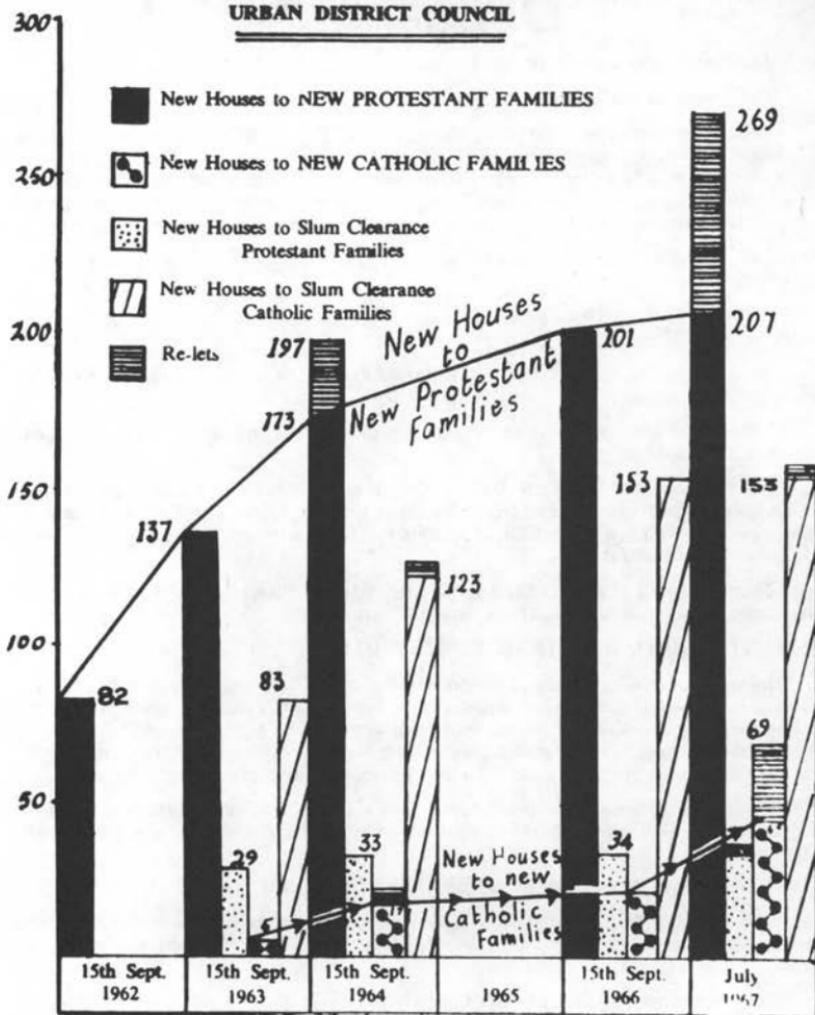
The Housing Trust also owns a considerable number of houses in the town. Its letting record is much fairer, but, as elsewhere, the Urban Council maintains the balance of power.

The Dungannon Rural District Council has built 204 houses since 1944 in the area of Dungannon Roman Catholic parish. Only two have been given to new Catholic families.

Housing in Ghettos

The Urban Council owns five post-war housing estates. All the houses in the Unionist East Ward (180) are and have always been tenanted by Protestants. Only two out of 31 houses in the Central Ward have ever been occupied by Catholics.

**POST WAR HOUSING ALLOCATIONS BY DUNGANNON
URBAN DISTRICT COUNCIL**



When tenants were moved in the slum clearance operation from 50 prefabricated bungalows, the Council announced that these were to be knocked down to make way for further house building. Before the bungalows could be dismantled 30 Catholic families, who were living in single rooms in appalling conditions and paying up to half their incomes in rent, "squatted" overnight into the 'prefabs.' (27:8:63).

"The Homeless Citizens' League" was born from this operation, and its first discovery was that there were no plans submitted to the Minister to develop the area on which the prefabricated bungalows stood. The Unionist Council's only reason for wanting to demolish the bungalows was to keep the Catholic numbers down.

The League also discovered that the Council Chairman's wife owned slum property, which was not condemned, nor was a tenement belonging to a Unionist supporter, in which there were living eight families, consisting of 29 people, sharing one kitchen, one bathroom and two toilets.

Much better property owned by Catholics was condemned and the people forced to leave against their will.

Two Unionist councillors offered a substantial sum of money to a woman who had rented a shop with living accommodation from them, if she would give up her tenancy.

The offer was later withdrawn and the living accommodation condemned by the Sanitary Officer.

The Stormont Minister for Health and Local Government was informed of all these irregularities, but did nothing.

The protest marches and meetings of the League marked the beginning of the Civil Rights movement in Northern Ireland. The Campaign for Social Justice also developed as a fact-finding and publicity organisation.

Employment: Urban Council:

Fifteen employees from the Town Clerk down as far as the bricklayer, with no Catholics. Then ten Catholic and five Protestant labourers.

State Electricity Board:

Nineteen employees from the District engineer to the linesman charge-hand, with no Catholics. Linesmen: 5 Catholic; 4 Protestant; 5 Protestant and no Catholic drivers; 21 Catholic and 16 Protestant labourers; 1 Storekeeper and 1 H.T. Line Supervisor, both Protestants.

Post Office:

Discrimination seems to be worse here than anywhere else we know of. Representations to two British Postmasters-General have achieved nothing.

There are 53 persons working in the Head Post Office. Of these only five are Roman Catholics, and of the five, four are postmen.

County Fermanagh

(Including Enniskillen)

This town and county is the worst in Northern Ireland for job and housing discrimination. Reference to the graph will show that even more Catholics than the average for the province are forced to emigrate, e.g., since 1920, only twenty new houses have been allocated to new Catholic families by the Borough Council in the town of Enniskillen. The rest have all been slum clearance which merely shifts Catholics from old houses to new (1967 figures).

The Unionist party is run, according to the English Duke of Westminster who has a residence there, by "a dictatorship" . . . "of less than half a dozen people." (6:5:69).

Discrimination in Public Appointments:

It is most difficult to obtain figures because of obstruction by the authorities. Fermanagh County Council has 166 employees of which 156 are Protestants.

The 156 Protestants earn between then £162,632, the ten Catholics earn £9,340. Fermanagh Education Committee employs 179. Of these 169 are Protestants earning £80,987 and ten Catholics earning £3,155. The Public Health and Welfare Committee employs 136 people, made up of 110 Protestants earning £108,794 and 26 Catholics receiving £27,151, e.g., of the 68 school coach drivers in County Fermanagh, 67 are Protestants.

The Mechanics of Gerrymander in County Fermanagh:

Population by religions according to Government Census 1961 (latest figure available): Roman Catholics 27,291; Protestants 24,322.

The representation on the various public bodies since the 1920's has been:

	Un.	A-Un.
Fermanagh County Council	20	6
Enniskillen Borough Council	14	7
Enniskillen, Irvinestown and Lisnaskea Rural Councils	54	30
	88	43
	—	—
	—	—

This was achieved by a combination of gerrymander, manipulation of boundaries and restricted local government franchise.

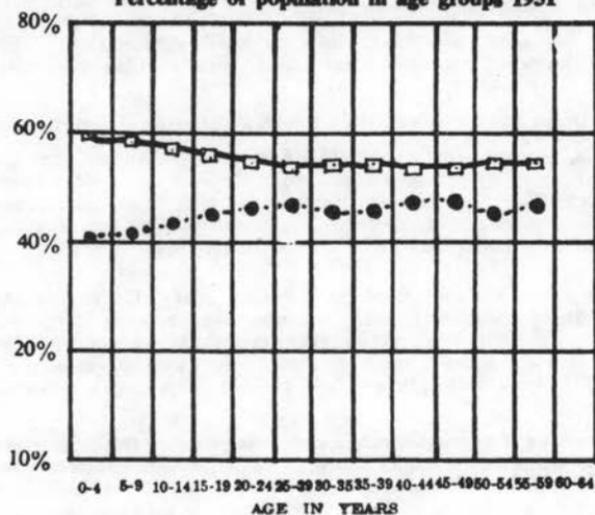
Projected reform of local Government:

Then, in 1966, with a great flourish, the Unionists announced that they were going to re-structure local government. They would therefore be seen to be acting to counter the injustices of the numerous public bodies whose record of housing and job injustices was notorious.

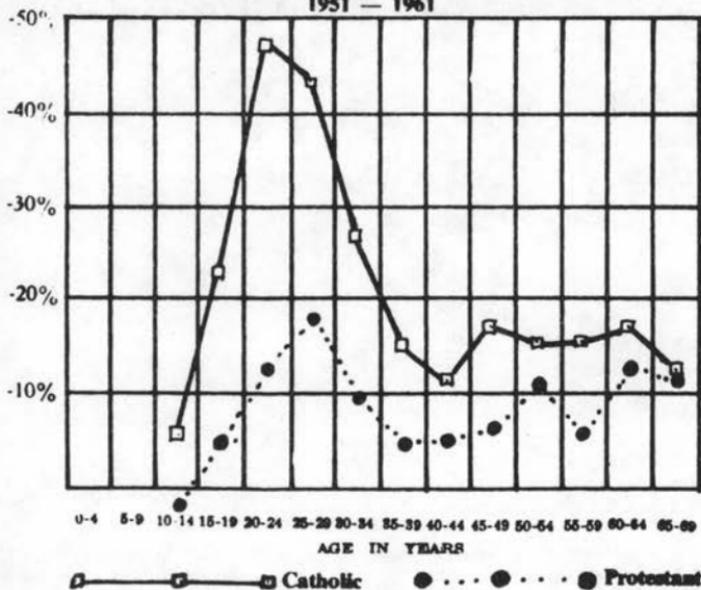
They selected County Fermanagh as the pilot scheme. The County Council was ordered to set up a steering Committee to arrange the amalgamation of local bodies. This ten man committee was composed of Unionists only (in a County with an anti-Unionist majority).

CO. FERMANAGH

Percentage of population in age groups 1951



Population percentage decrease in age groups during the period 1951 — 1961



(FIGURES FROM CENSUS, H.M. STATIONERY OFFICE, BELFAST)

**THE RESULT OF RESTRUCTURING CO. FERMANAGH LOCAL
AUTHORITIES (The New Gerrymander)**

In 1967, the County was placed under one public authority on which there are 36 Unionists (including two co-options) and 17 anti-Unionists (including one co-option).

The Chairman and vice-Chairman are both Protestants (Unionists).

From this, undemocratic, re-organised Fermanagh County Council, sub-Committees have been set up. For full measure the Chairman and vice-Chairman have been made "ex-officio" members of all these sub-Committees, e.g., Education sub-Committee: 12 Protestants; 3 Catholics. Agricultural sub-Committee: 13 Protestants; 5 Catholics. Housing sub-Committee: 6 Protestants; 3 Catholics.

The new Prime Minister of Northern Ireland, Major J. Chichester-Clark, has announced that there will be one man, one vote, and a new local authority arrangement by the time the next local government elections take place in 1971. But if there is to be further gerrymander of the other areas in the way that Fermanagh has been manipulated, then one man, one vote will prove to be a useless concession to the minority.

If you suspect us of overstatement or even inaccuracy in this catalogue of repression and injustice, please remember that the Campaign for Social Justice in Northern Ireland has been pressing Westminster for years to set up a Judicial Enquiry composed of English lawyers, or a Royal Commission, to prove or disprove our contentions.

The Ulster Unionists, who are past masters in the art of the half-truth*, have steadily opposed this. Surely we are entitled to claim that they have much to hide?

* The most recent example of Unionist half-truths may be cited viz:

On 12:6:69 the Prime Minister, Major Chichester-Clark, said:

"We have been in a position where some quite small grievances or alleged grievances have been magnified out of all proportion, and used to blacken the good name we have built up in the world over many, many years."

DOWN THE YEARS UNIONIST LEADERS SET THE TONE³³

SIR JAMES CRAIG (later VISCOUNT CRAIGAVON). Prime Minister of Northern Ireland 1921-40.

"It is also from the ranks of the Loyal Orange Institution that our splendid 'Specials' have come." (Belfast Newsletter, 13th July, 1922)

"I have always said I am an Orangeman first and a politician and Member of this Parliament afterwards . . . all I boast is that we are a Protestant Parliament and Protestant State." (24th April, 1934. Parliamentary Debates, N.I. Vol. XVI, Cols. 1091-95).

Dame Enid Lyons, widow of Joseph A. Lyons, Prime Minister of Australia 1932-39, recalls in her memoirs ("So we take comfort," London 1965, p. 235) a famous gaffe illustrative of Craigavon's religious feelings.

"It was Lord Craigavon, the fiercely anti-Catholic Prime Minister of Northern Ireland, who knowing nothing of Joe's personal background, had asked him at a banquet, 'Lyons, have you got many Catholics in Australia?' 'Oh, about one in five' Joe replied. 'Well watch 'em, Lyons, watch 'em', Craigavon had urged. 'They 'breed like b——y rabbits'."

SIR BASIL BROOKE (later VISCOUNT BROOKEBOROUGH). Minister of Agriculture 1933-41, Minister of Commerce 1941-43, Prime Minister 1943-63.

"There were a great number of Protestants and Orangemen who employed Roman Catholics. He felt he could speak freely on this subject as he had not a Roman Catholic about his own place . . . He would appeal to Loyalists, therefore, wherever possible, to employ good Protestant lads and lassies." (Fermanagh Times, 13th July, 1933).

"He made certain remarks regarding the employment of Roman Catholics which created a certain amount of controversy. He now wished to say he did not intend to withdraw a single word of what he then said." (Fermanagh Times, 17th August, 1933).

"Thinking out the whole question carefully . . . I recommended those people who are Loyalists not to employ Roman Catholics, ninety-nine per cent of whom are disloyal . . . I want you to remember one point in regard to the employment of people who are disloyal. There are often difficulties in the way, but usually there are plenty of good men and women available, and the employers don't bother to employ them. You are disfranchising yourselves in that way. You people who are employers have the ball at your feet. If you don't act properly now before we know where we are we shall find ourselves in the minority instead of the majority." (Londonderry Sentinel, 20th March, 1934).

SIR DAWSON BATES. Minister of Home Affairs, 1921-43.

Mr. G. C. Duggan, a Protestant, who was a civil servant in Belfast (1921-39) and who returned after war service to become Comptroller and Auditor-General (1945-49), wrote as follows in the Irish Times (4th May, 1967):

"When it is remembered that the first Minister, Sir Dawson Bates, held that post for 22 years and had such a prejudice against Catholics that he made it clear to his Permanent Secretary that he did not want his most juvenile clerk, or typist, if a Papist, assigned for duty to his Ministry, what could one expect when it came to filling posts in the Judiciary, Clerkships of the Crown and Peace and Crown Solicitors?"

EDWARD ARCHDALE (later Sir Edward Archdale). Minister of Agriculture 1921-33.

"A man in Fintona asked him how it was that he had over 50 per cent Roman Catholics in his Ministry. He thought that was too funny. He had 109 of a staff, and so far as he knew there were four Roman Catholics. Three of these were civil servants, turned over to him whom he had to take when he began." (Northern Whig, 2nd April, 1925).

SIR JOSEPH DAVISON. Orange Grand Master of Belfast, Senator 1935, Deputy Leader of Senate 1941, died 1948.

"When will the Protestant employers of Northern Ireland recognise their duty to their Protestant brothers and sisters and employ them to the exclusion of Roman Catholics . . . it is time Protestant employers of Northern Ireland realized that whenever a Roman Catholic is brought into their employment it means one Protestant vote less. It is our duty to pass the word along from this great demonstration and I suggest the slogan should be 'Protestants, employ Protestants.'" (Northern Whig, 28th August, 1933).

BRIAN FAULKNER, M.P. Minister of Home Affairs, 1959-63, Minister of Commerce, 1963-69, Minister of Development 1969:

"The Church of Rome, he warned, ran a world-wide organisation — the most efficient political undertaking in the world. It controlled newspapers, radio and television stations and a hundred and one other avenues of propaganda. It was able to give vigorous publicity to any cause it espouses . . . that it favours Irish Republicanism today as whole-heartedly as it has done for generations past is universally recognised." (Northern Whig, 13th July, 1954).

"There is no reason why Orangemen individually and collectively should not interest themselves in the economic welfare of the community. I mean by that statement we should be anxious to find employment for our brethren." (County Down, Spectator, 17th July, 1954).

"Of one thing, I for my part, have no doubt—if it should ever happen that Orangemen disassociate themselves from the political life of Ulster, both Ulster and the Orange institution are doomed . . . I have said before and I repeat today — the Orange Order is the backbone of Ulster. (Irish News, 13th July, 1960).

ALEX. HUNTER, M.P.

Mr. Alex Hunter, M.P., said "he had been recently horrified to learn that a local authority within the combined Orange district had appointed a Roman Catholic to represent them on the County Antrim Education Committee." (Northern Whig, 13th July, 1956).

E.C. FERGUSON, M.P. (Resigned from Parliament in October 1949 to become Crown Solicitor for Co. Fermanagh).

"The Nationalist majority in the county, i.e., Fermanagh notwithstanding a reduction of 336 in the year, stands at 3,684*. We must ultimately reduce and liquidate that majority. This county, I think it can be safely said, is a Unionist county. The atmosphere is Unionist. The Boards and properties are nearly all controlled by Unionists. But there is still this millstone around our necks." (Irish News, 13th April, 1948).

* At the present time the majority is down to about 200.

THOMAS LYONS, M.P.

Mr. Lyons said: "that in the Castlederg district they stood firmly for Orangeism, Protestantism and Unionism. They all mean the same thing. A man who was a Protestant and not a Unionist had a 'kink' in his make up. Such a person was not normal." (Belfast Newsletter, 14th July, 1947).

ALDERMAN GEORGE ELLIOT

"We are not going to build houses in the South Ward and cut a rod to beat ourselves later on.

"We are going to see that the right people are put into these houses and we are not making any apology for it." (At Enniskillen on 7th November, 1963). (Impartial Reporter, 14th Nov., 1963).

SENATOR J. E. N. BARNHILL

"Charity begins at home. If we are going to employ people we should give preference to Unionists, I am not saying that we should sack Nationalist employees, but if we are going to employ new men we should give preference to Unionists." (At Londonderry on 9th January, 1964).

CAPTAIN TERENCE O'NEILL. Prime Minister 1963-1969.

"Protestant girl required for housework. Apply to The Hon. Mrs. Terence O'Neill, Glebe House, Ahoghill, Co. Antrim." (Advertisement in Belfast Telegraph, November, 1959. Quoted by Sunday Times, London, 2nd March, 1969).

"It is frightfully hard to explain to Protestants that if you give Roman Catholics a good job and a good house, they will live like Protestants, because they will see neighbours with cars and television sets.

"They will refuse to have 18 children, but if a Roman Catholic is jobless, and lives in the most ghastly hovel, he will rear 18 children on National Assistance.

"If you treat Roman Catholics with due consideration and kindness, they will live like Protestants in spite of the authoritative nature of their Church." (Belfast Telegraph, 10th May, 1969).

MAJOR J. CHICHESTER-CLARK. Prime Minister, 1969:

"Indeed, I am proud to be in the (Orange) Order and those criticising it know nothing about it." (Irish Weekly, 31st May, 1969).

