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HOUSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS SUBCOMMITTEE ON EUROPE
HEARINGS ON NORTHERN IRELAND

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STATEMENT

BY

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CAMPAIGN FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE IN NORTHERN IRELAND
DUNGANNON, NORTHERN IRELAND

"ASPECTS OF THE PROBLEM OF THE
POLITICO-RELIGIOUS MINORITY"

- I. INTRODUCTION
- II. MINORITY PROBLEMS IN NORTHERN IRELAND
-capsule examples to illustrate the Conspiracy
 1. Population Control of the Minority.
 2. Discrimination in Employment.
 3. The Rape of the Western Counties.
 4. No Effective Legislation.
- III. THE REFORMS WE CLAIM ARE SPURIOUS
- IV. THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES
- V. RHODESIA AND NORTHERN IRELAND COMPARED
- VI. FINAL REMARKS

I. INTRODUCTION

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,

Thank you for allowing me to speak before you, and may I express my gratitude to the American Committee for Ulster Justice for facilitating my presence here.

Submission by Dr. Conn McCluskey, a Medical Practitioner, Member of the Campaign for Social Justice in Northern Ireland, a group set up in 1964 to collect the facts of religious discrimination and to publicise them to the world.

I look around me in 1972 as an average Northern Irish Roman Catholic, one of a half million of the politico-religious minority, dominated by a million Protestant Ulstermen. I have many reasons to be bitter and to dislike everything Unionist.

II. MINORITY PROBLEMS IN NORTHERN IRELAND

^{-capsule examples to illustrate the conspiracy}
Catholics are aware that at the back of many manouvres by the Unionist party is the desire to push them out of Northern Ireland altogether. The cruelest of the Unionist bigots do not put a tooth in it. They say "if you do not honour the Queen and our constitution, and keep quiet about they way that Catholics are treated as second class citizens, go south of the border where you belong, into Jack Lynch's country".

4.

In this they have been supported recently by no other than that scion of the British aristocracy, Lord Cromer, when he said on U.S. television on the 9th of February last, "discontented Catholics were entirely free to move wherever they wanted to". This gentleman also admitted that "certain criticisms could be made in the past (about the way Catholics were treated) but not as things stand at the present time".

1. Population Control of the Minority

The latter is an entirely dishonest claim made to mislead the American public. This will be established later. He was referring to the much vaunted "reforms". These are largely spurious. The contention that Catholics are being pushed out of Northern Ireland is very sweeping and you will say, "prove it"!

This can easily be done by going to the official Government Census of population which up until 1961 counted Catholic and Protestant heads. We find that the census shows that the proportion of Catholics and Protestants in the total population has remained static from 33.5% in 1937 to 34.9% in 1961, this in spite of the Catholic birth rate being double that of the Protestant. At the present time the Roman Catholic primary schools contain 51% of all the children in Northern Ireland (Prime Minister O'Neill's own figure given in 1968). By the time these children have come to maturity they have been forced out of the country by denial to them of jobs and houses. Thus

the steady ratio of Protestants to Catholics over all the 50 years the state has existed.

2. Discrimination in Employment

The average Catholic knows well that the Civil Service, except for the lowest grades, are closed to him. This abuse has been so longstanding that his children do not often try to gain admission -- after 50 years they feel it is futile. The statistics set out in the "Plain Truth" second edition and lodged with this Congressional Inquiry gives the details. This booklet was produced in 1969 but the employment picture has not changed to any degree since that time. Few Catholic boys and girls study for higher degrees in medicine to become specialists in Northern Ireland hospitals. The reason can be seen in the statistics of employment compiled at year ended December 1971. There are 363 doctors employed by the Hospital Authority. Of these only 46 are Catholic (12.6%). The Headquarters Administrative Staff consists of 46 persons - only 4 of them are Catholics.

If the Catholic man in the street feels that he would like to progress to be a school inspector going around to schools examining the standard of work, his chances are bad. Of the 53 School Inspectors only 5 are Roman Catholics.

Britain herself controls the Northern Ireland Post Office because it is integrated with the Post Office in Britain. She practices ruthless religious discrimination in that government institution.

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 8 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 Postmasterships. 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 them 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 5 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?

3. The Rape of the Western Counties

The western 3 of the 6 counties of Northern Ireland have a Catholic majority and our common man is likely to live there. The area has been penalized as follows:

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)

County Antrim	27	) Eastern	Co. Londonderry	10	) Western
Co. Armagh	10	) half of	Borough of London-		) half of
Co. Down	17	) Ulster	derry	1	) Ulster
Borough of Belfast	5	)	Co. Tyrone	3)
			Co. Fermanagh	1)
	<u>59</u>			<u>15</u>	

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 centers 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 center for higher education outside Belfast. It could prove the most promising way of unifying the present populations and integrating future immigrant communities"

4. No Effective Legislative Protection

Some of you may be aware that there are clauses in the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, which forbid religious discrimination. This legislation is ineffective because it is too loosely framed. It forbids the Northern Ireland Government to make any law which penalises Catholics. The Unionists have never found this to be necessary. They have been able to discriminate without special laws.

Our Campaign for Social Justice approached Sir Alec Douglas-Home as to how we could use this "anti-discrimination legislation", when he claimed in 1964 that any Catholic who felt himself to be discriminated against, could have recourse to the Courts.

We wrote to Sir Alec. The correspondence, contained in the Campaign pamphlet, "Northern Ireland-Why Justice Can Not Be Done" is being lodged with this inquiry.

These letters remind us again of Britain's besetting sin of hypocrisy. We would make the claim that they are most evasive and insincere communications made by a leading British statesman during the 20th Century.

Why Does Britain Damage Her Reputation By Her Unseemly Actions
In Northern Ireland?

The man in the street in Northern Ireland who happens to be a Catholic would perhaps be excused in making too simplistic a judgement as to why successive Westminster Tory Governments have aided and abetted all the injustices and brutality in Northern Ireland as follows:

There are 12 M.P.S. sitting in the British Parliament from Northern Ireland. Up till Gerry Fitt, M.P. secured one of these, they were twelve Tory seats. The Ulster Unionists have always voted with the British Tories. The Unionists are now 9 in number.

Northern Ireland costs the British Exchequer 500 million dollars or more in upkeep. Our man in the street regards this as the price British Tories are prepared to pay for the 9 votes. One must remember that when the British Labour Government first took office it had a majority of only 3 votes. Likewise in the last Common Market vote Prime Minister Heath's Tory party won by only 8 votes.

III. "THE REFORMS WE CLAIM ARE SPURIOUS"

Before Mr. Harold Wilson was elected to office in Britain, he made certain promises to deal with injustice in Northern Ireland. Unfortunately he did absolutely nothing for almost four years when, due to the weight of world opinion after the civil rights marchers were attacked by the Ulster police in Londonderry on the 5th of October 1968, Captain O'Neil, the Prime Minister, was summoned to Downing Street and given four reforms to enact.

These reforms were accepted in a most dilatory and half-hearted manner, However, to maintain the momentum, Catholic civil rights pressure was kept up and the Protestant Ultras reacted by an attack on the Catholic ghetto area of Belfast in August 1969. They were lead by their Member of Parliament who himself admitted his complicity to the Scarman Tribunal. They made an all out attack on the Catholic people. Police in armoured cars used high-velocity rifles to shoot into Catholic houses. The mob led by the B Specials Constabulary burned 500 Catholic homes. Again, the Stormont authorities, led by the Prime Minister at the time Major Chichester-Clark, were summoned to London and the Downing Street Declaration was made and further reforms were imposed upon them.

In August 1971 the Government issued a White Paper which was a record of these reforms. There were 22 items detailed. Surely, the admission of so many requirements was proof enough of the validity of civil rights protests.

We can state categorically that these reforms have not been genuinely and sincerely put into effect. The proof is as follows:

1. Police Authority: The Police Authority established after the Hunt Report at the instigation of the former Home Secretary, consisted of 14 Unionist representatives, selected by Unionists, and 7 Catholics, also selected by the Unionists; virtually none of the 7 Catholics were acceptable as Minority representatives and some of them were positively objectionable as Minority representatives. Government ministers and the Chief Constable frequently pronounce on police matters - the Police Authority itself is seldom heard from.

The partisan police officers who were involved in the attack on the Devenney family in Derry have been retained on the force. They were not punished in spite of the fact that the Bailie Report on the incident was available. It has not been published. It has been provided in the Act setting up the Police Authority that first a complaint should be referred to the Chief Constable. The Police Authority could subsequently refer a complaint to the Tribunal. So far, all complaints have been dealt with by the Chief Constable and no steps have been taken to establish this independent Tribunal.

Mr. James Callaghan in Belfast on March 25, 1971 declared that the morale of the police and their esteem in the eyes of the Catholic Minority was at rock bottom. No attempt has been made to rebuild the necessary rapport between the police and the Catholic people, especially since the Tory Party came into power and Sir Arthur Young was allowed to leave. The aim of this reform to produce a civilized police force has not been implemented. The police are not now controlled by the Police Authority and, thus, the first reform is a complete failure.

2. Public Prosecutor: In Northern Ireland the police act as prosecutor in the lower courts. We claim that prosecutors are more ready to vigorously prosecute Catholics than Protestants. So far, the Public Prosecutor has not been appointed. Even when he is, we feel that the spirit of the reform is negated by the fact that the Prosecutor will be under the control of the Orange and Unionist Ulster attorney general.

3. Special Powers Act: This revolting legislation is too well known to require much comment from us. We were given to understand that it was to be phased out - it was never more strongly or brutally used. When Messrs. Hume and Cooper found that the army had no authority under the Special Powers Act to search and detain civilians, Westminster in a few hours from first reading to Royal assent passed a bill on 24th of February 1972 to rectify the British Army's position and, furthermore, made the law retrospective to safeguard the army against claims of wrongful arrest and detention.

4. Parliamentary Commissioner for Administration:

The British Act was not designed to deal with religious prejudice but with bureaucratic excess. The Northern Ireland Act is therefore incapable of dealing with religious prejudice and unfortunately religious prejudice is the major problem here.

One of the drawback of the Northern Ireland Act is that it allows only for an investigation of individual cases. The commissioner cannot therefore take into account evidence of a general pattern of discrimination.

5. Commissioner for Complaints: The man appointed is a Protestant and conservative civil servant. He stated in his first report that only six percent of the total number of cases accepted for investigation were, in his opinion, motivated by discrimination. Recollecting the Cameron Report, he was not allowed to study patterns of discrimination but only individual cases. He made the dishonest statement that he was unable to discover the religion of the people. Our Campaign for Social Justice wrote to him indicating that we would find out the religion of any person that he asked us to. Finally, one fact that makes nonsense out of his office is that he has no power to remedy the situation when he finds discrimination.

6. Fair Representation: "The new Ministry of Community Relations has the task of keeping under review in conjunction with other Departments, the question of fair representation of the whole community on public boards and bodies. The Minister of Community Relations has asked Members of Parliament for the names of representatives people prepared to serve and has undertaken to give consideration to all such suggestions." So says the Policy Statement.

In fact, The Government of Northern Ireland has refused to consult the accredited representatives of the Minority as to whom it should place on the public boards and bodies. Instead, "Uncle Toms" are almost invariably to be found on these bodies serving their own interests and not those of the Minority community.

7. Public Employment: Unionist employment policy was laid down in the early years of the state. In March 1925, the Minister for Agriculture (Sir E. M. Archdale) when charged with employing Catholics defended himself by saying:

"I have 109 officials, and so far as I know, four of them are Roman Catholics, three of whom were Civil Servants turned over to me, whom I had to take on when we began."

On July 12, 1933 John M. Andrews, then Minister for Labour said:

"Another allegation made against the Government and which is untrue is that of 31 porters at Stormont, 28 are Roman Catholics. I have investigated the matter and I have found that there are 30 Protestants, and only one Roman Catholic, there only temporarily.

It has been stated that the two gate lodges at Stormont are occupied by Roman Catholics. The truth is that they are occupied by two Protestant disabled ex-servicemen."

The reform required equality of employment opportunity. It has not attempted to do this. Two years after the commitment on equality of treatment to require public boards to adapt the approved code, 50% of the local authorities have not done so.

A classic example of discrimination in County Tyrone, where Catholics are in the majority was published in the Ulster Herald on 16 August 1969 and is reproduced in Appendix 3. At that date only one Catholic was employed in the County Education Office out of a total administrative staff of eighty-six.

Today, some two years after the specific commitment on equality of treatment, there are still certain areas of the civil service which are closed to Catholics.

There are no Catholics holding senior rank in any of the establishments of any Ministry.

There are no Catholics in the private office of any Minister.

There are no Catholics in the senior ranks of the professional grades of the Ministry of Finance.

The proportion of Catholics in the Administrative and professional grades of the service is negligible. For example, although Catholics constitute about 45% of the school population in Northern Ireland, there is only 7 Catholics among 51 school inspectors in the Ministry of Education.

Though the reform required equality of employment opportunity in the public sector irrespective of religious or political consideration, the five reforms in the White Paper do nothing to achieve the necessary immediate objective of a major correction of imbalance in the employment of Catholics at every level of public service,

"It is not difficult for a body if so inclined to profess policies of impartial selection and to point to ostensibly proper procedures whilst yet following discriminatory practices." (Comm. for Complaints HC2048).

The proposal to appoint a permanent statutory local Government Staff Commission "to assist local authorities in the selection of candidates for senior and designated appointments is claimed to be a reform although there is no admission to the White Paper that some machinery is necessary to prevent continued discrimination in such appointments. The Government admits that no action has been taken to implement this commitment, although it now promises to introduce the necessary legislation later this year.

An examination of the Ministry of Finance of the proposal to create a Public Service Commission mentioned in white paper cannot be accepted as a satisfactory implementation of this commitment. Here again the matter has been delayed by the technique of shelving implementation until a report has been received from a working party which has not yet met.

8. Anti-Discrimination Clause in Government Contracts: The present white paper refers to "an undertaking not to practice any form of religious discrimination in the performance of a contract. The word political is omitted. The form of undertaking presented by the Government will enable an employer, in pursuance of the Brookeborough formula will enable, to reject a prospective employee on the basis that he is a "nationalist", a "republican" or a "socialist" and not because he is a Catholic. The Northern Ireland Government delayed from October 1969 to June 1971 in implementing the reform. The farcial nature and how firms "drive coaches and horses through" these regulations should be noted.

Harland and Wolff, the huge shipping works, receive many Government contracts and has also received 60 million pounds of public money only employs 300 Catholics out of a total of 9,000. Surely, the whole situation is farcial?

9. Review of Other Forms of Discrimination

A commitment was made to consider what further action to prevent discrimination in other fields might be desirable but nothing has been done about the large private sector in which scandalous injustice occurs. Again, Harland and Wolff can be faulted on this count. Mackies Iron Foundry out of 8,500 employees has 120 Catholics employed which is one out of every seventy-three or 1.4%. This factory is situated close to a Catholic ghetto. Sirocco employs 400 people but no Catholics. Ormean Bakery employs 300 people and rumor has it that it employs four Catholics. Hugh J. Scott Engineering Works employs no Catholics. Short's in the Christmas pay out employed 450 people of whom 14 were Catholics, however, 10 Catholics were sacked. (Shorts is the famous aircraft factory.)

In 1969, our Campaign looked at the Moygoshel Textile Factory Complex in Dungannon. Their payroll was 2,500 employees. We found one Roman Catholic Director, one R.C. Manager, one Roman Catholic Undermanager, 3 Roman Catholic Charge Hands, one Roman Catholic mechanic, 5 Roman Catholic Supervisors-- in all, only 12 Roman Catholic personnel above the lowest grade. All the rest of the Catholics employed are the "hewers of wood and the drawers of water."

10. Housing Allocation: This matter will be dealt with in all its complexity by another person giving testimony before this inquiry.

11. Minister of Community Relations: The Community Relations Commission has been set up. The Faulkner paper claims that one-half its members are Catholic. This is not correct only 4 out of 10 are Catholic. We have been told of dozens of cases of incitement to religious hatred which have been sent to the Attorney General by the Comm. for his attention and prosecution and he has only acted once. The Commission has no authority to investigate the pattern of employment in any concern either private or public. This being so, one of the greatest single causes of Catholic bitterness has been excluded from an organization which was established presumably to promote reconciliation. In practical terms, the Commission consists of a group of genuine do gooders who have regrettably neither stature nor power in the Northern Ireland community.

12. Incitement to Religious Hatred: The Incitement to Hatred Act in Northern Ireland is so badly drafted that it seems obvious to us that this is intentional so that it would have no teeth. Within the last fortnight, Mr. Brian Walker, one of our outstanding liberals in Northern Ireland, has expressed precisely this view. For example,

Quoting the Unionist Attorney General

"In order to found a prosecution under Section 1 of the Act, one must, firstly, show that the words published or used are threatening, abusive or insulting. But this is only the start. One must then show that they are likely to stir up hatred - not, as I have said, simply distaste or odium - and stir up hatred not against an individual or a number of persons but against a section of the public of Northern Ireland. And, further, this hatred must be hatred against people, not against a religious denomination or a church or a society, secret or otherwise. Then there is perhaps the most important element of all, and in many cases the most difficult of proof, that the person who, when he publishes or uses the words must have the intent to stir up hatred against a section of the public in Northern Ireland.

In other words - and the hon. Members opposite must recognize this - a person may use abusive language which is likely to stir up radical or religious hatred but the circumstances may show that he had no intent to stir up racial or religious hatred." No further comment is necessary. The Government commitment has not been met.

13. Local Government Reorganization: The Ulster Government has never been honest when it drew boundaries. Therefore, few have any confidence that this reorganization will be fair. The whole process has been delayed and temporized with. We do not doubt that the decision of the independent Review Board under the Chairmanship of Mr. Patrick McCrory was reputable, nevertheless, the drawing of the boundaries is the province of other gentlemen who are drawing the ward boundaries.

IV. THE CHURCHES (PROTESTANT)

Since the Unionist-Protestant people have held control for all of the time in Northern Ireland, initiatives should have come from them. Since the Protestant churches are the arbitrators of morals they should, perhaps, have given a firmer and an earlier lead.

In a display of considerable courage, a Report was issued in June 1966 by the Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in which religious discrimination in Northern Ireland was admitted. This booklet was revised in June 1967 and suggestions were made as to remedies. We cannot recollect the Methodist or Church of Ireland being so forthcoming. The three Protestant Churches issued a statement welcoming internment on the 9th of August, 1971. In fairness to the humane Dr. Sims, who has recently been elevated to the Archbishopric of Armagh, the document was unknown to him and signed for him by Dr. Butler, Bishop of Connor. With great Christian forbearance, Dr. Sims did not make this known. The information leaked out from another source.

We have been struck by the fact that only very rarely when Protestant divines pray for peace do they pray for Peace with Justice.

To indicate the atmosphere in Northern Ireland, you may have seen and heard the David Frost Show. In it there was reference to the thirteen shootings in Derry (referred to amongst Catholics as "Bloody Sunday"). These shootings were welcomed by

by some members of the Protestant panel on the Show, who felt the day should have been called "Good Sunday". The view expressed on that occasion was that not enough Catholics had been shot. Rev. Iver Lewis, Methodist, Rev. Donald Gilles, Presbyterian and Rev. Baile of the Church of Ireland, were members of the panel and none disavowed these blood-thirty statements. In extenuation of all this, one must consider the pressures on Protestant Ministers because of the attitude of their Protestant congregations in Northern Ireland. We quote from the weekly article entitled "The Churches" in the moderate Belfast Telegraph of 20th November, 1971.

Their basic impatience (the radicals) is with a Church which in the past proved to be too hampered and burdened by its own institutional weight. And what of its influence as a communal presence? "I know several of my brother ministers" said an eminent local Presbyterian theologian a month after the civil rights explosion in Londonderry three years ago, "who had to leave congregations because they spoke out courageously about housing conditions, voting rights, and discrimination." There is no good pretending that there will not be victimization.

Much more recently - a little over two months ago - an outside observer noted with dismay - "the ease with which eight Presbyterian ministers have been quietly forced to emigrate from Northern Ireland as a result of economic pressures affected by congregations who disapproved of their support for social justice to the Minority."

V. RHODESIA AND NORTHERN IRELAND COMPARED

There are many similarities between the-Ulster government and Mr. Smith's Government of Rhodesia. Differences where they exist are mainly of degree.

When Lord Pearce when out to test African opinion on the the Douglas-Hume proposals which, at least in the long run, would affect their freedom - the possibility of voting - in Lord Pearce's sentence caused "the lid to blow off". Violence ensued and Smith had to put it down rigidly. In any situation, where oppressed people are given even a small hope of relief, they are inclined to react violently and press for more.

Like Rhodesia, Northern Ireland suffers gross job discrimination. In Rhodesia the way it is effected is that Africans are not given adequate education. The educational opportunities are simply not allowed to exist. In Northern Ireland there are educational opportunities, but the discrimination has continued so long now that well-qualified Catholics do not even bother to apply for good jobs. The end result in both cases is the same.

Both the Smith Government and the Faulkner Government have in the last two months issued the same hypocritical statements indicating that their governments "enjoy the support of the majority of decent, law biding Africans" (or in Northern Ireland, read "Catholics".) Similarly, both Governments have recently claimed that agitation is Communist-led. Both

Rhodesia and Northern Ireland operate the ghetto system and up to the present incorporate with it the denial of votes to householders. In Northern Ireland 750 Catholics have been detained without trial. Rhodesia has the Todds and many others in custody. Mr. Smith has some African support from the tribal chiefs who are selected by him. In Northern Ireland, our "tribal chiefs" are Messrs. G. B. Newe, Minister of State to the Prime Minister's Office, and also the nominated representatives of the Housing Authority and other public bodies, such as Milk Board, Electricity Board, Policy Authority, General Health Services Board, Hospitals Authority, Economic Council. Advisory Council for Education, a large enough list to indicate the scope of the Ulster and Protestant influence.

Where the Ulster Government neglects the predominantly Catholic west of the Province, Mr. Smith neglects the native reserves.

VI FINAL WORDS

I beg you, when you speak with Unionists, to be on your guard. They are past masters in the art of the half truth. Do not allow them to dodge your question, or to answer it with a question of their own.

The whole subject of Northern Ireland injustice is so complex, the Unionists have so fully refined their methods of discrimination, that the whole truth is hard to elicit.

Finally, may I make it clear that the general run of the Northern Ireland Protestants are serious, industrious and kindly men and women who have been misled and misinformed and most of all frightened by the Unionist Party and Government for its own ends.

In the same way there are many friends in Britain of our fight for justice, such as the National Council of Civil Liberties whose leaflet "Speak Out" we attach.

Also a group of Labour members of the Westminster Parliament named the Campaign for Democracy in Ulster have been active for many years on our behalf.

The minority can justly claim to have the understanding and support of the British journalists if not all of the newspapers. For example, we can commend with complete confidence "Ulster" by the Sunday Times Insight Team, a Penguin Special, also lodged with your Committee.

There are two National newspapers in Northern Ireland which serve the cause of unionism. They are the Belfast Newsletter which in our view after the Stormont Party and Orange Order is responsible for the ills of the province.

It has consistently misrepresented the Catholic cause by omission, censorship of portions of reports and thereby has prevented the good Protestant people of Northern Ireland from being in possession of the facts.

The other paper, the Belfast Telegraph, has been a friend of the minority and an advocate of reform. It appears to have little or no influence on the Unionist Government.

We attach a few examples of editorial comment from the Belfast Telegraph.

Viewpoint - Belfast Telegraph - Wednesday, December 7, 1966

"Yet on this occasion the Prime Minister and his colleagues are under a clear onus. Their party has won an election on the promise, among others, of a measure of Parliamentary reform, and Capt. O'Neill can be deemed to be under an obligation to Mr. Wilson to keep up a momentum of change."

Viewpoint - Thursday, July 27, 1967

The Stormont Government must now be examining the situation here in light of the British Act. The problem of discrimination in public places has less relevance in Northern Ireland but the parts of the Act dealing with employment and housing do. The Opposition will presumably not delay in pressing the Government on these points when the House reassembles.

Viewpoint, Thursday, June 25, 1970

Concerning projected anti-incitement legislation --

Details of the legislation have yet to be published, but they should include sanctions against all published matters, broadcasts, wall slogans and speeches which could turn men to hate. It is only a small step from hating to acting violently -- as demonstrated in so many court cases -- and prevention has always been better than cure.

Censorship of any kind is a denial of liberty, and no democrat can accept it lightly. But a society that has shown so little self-discipline in this field has only itself to blame. Like the peace line, and like Britain's laws against racial discrimination, it is a self-inflicted mark of shame.

Even if the law is fully effective, people will still think harsh thoughts about "the other side," be it Orange or Green. Hand in hand with the ban on incitement, there must be continued efforts at all levels to improve understanding, which is the key to harmonious living.

Viewpoint - Monday, September 7, 1970

It seems that nothing short of a fully-documented statement of income and expenditure will convince the hard-liners that Ulster is already well subsidized by the British Exchequer, and that, therefore, British public opinion counts. If so, Stormont might well take up the challenge and lay open its books for examination.

Viewpoint - Monday, October 5, 1970

In terms of laws passed and orders enforced, civil rights has easily been the most effective instrument of change in Ulster's 50 year history. The tide was turning pre-October 1968, but who would dare claim that by two years later a Unionist Government would, or could, have voluntarily introduced the one man, one vote principle, the Ombudsman, the Commissioner for Complaints, the Ministry of Community Relations, the Incitement to Religious Hatred Act, reorganization of the police, and establishment of the UDR.

Viewpoint - "Give and Take" - 5/6/71

Mr. Faulkner should be aware that the danger of appearing intransigent is almost as great as the danger of appearing to give way to every protest demonstration. The winds of change have been racing over Northern Ireland for nearly three years, and they are unlikely to stop.....

What it really wants to see is a truly equal-opportunity state, where people can concentrate on things which concern them most - jobs, houses, and the quality of life. And for all the reforms of the past few years, which Mr. Faulkner underlined in his speech, attitudes of mind are unchanged.

The Government must know that it is lumbered with a considerable credibility problem, which can only be overcome by willingness to listen to and act on reasonable advice, from whatever quarter it comes. Within the present political structure at Stormont, it is hard to see an end to the present mistrust.

Viewpoint - Rocking the Point - Friday, January 7, 1972

It was assumed at that time that he had been won over to the Government's view that there was no going back on the basic post-Hunt security policy. But now it appears that nothing has changed. Mr. West's speech to Antrim Unionists in Ballyhill Orange Hall was as effective an attack on Government policies as has been delivered from the Paisleyite side of the House for many months.

When equality of opportunity is achieved, true reconciliation of the two communities will begin. This will be followed, when raw nerves have had time to heal, by the reunification of Ireland, which will play its part in a reunified Europe.