

EYE-WITNESS

IN NORTHERN IRELAND



By Aidan Corrigan

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How Stormont destroyed its own police force

Aidan Corrigan is teacher of English at St. Patrick's Academy, Dungannon, Co. Tyrone. He is 36 and one of the leaders of the civil rights movement in the North of Ireland. He has taken part in the major civil rights demonstrations in the North of Ireland in the twelve month period that led to the Battle of Bogside, in Derry, and the armed attacks on Catholic areas in Belfast.

Corrigan is not a politician. He is a man of courage and conviction who is prepared to stand up against and fight by lawful means against discrimination and injustice. His life has been threatened many times. Aidan Corrigan sets out here his eye-witness account of civil rights demonstrations over a full year in the North of Ireland. His story shows clearly how the Stormont Government has brought about the demoralisation of its own forces of law and order: the morale and the integrity of the Royal Ulster Constabulary as a police force has been destroyed by the Stormont decision to allow Right-wing Unionist extremists, time and time again, to attack civil rights demonstrations, while police looked on as the law was thus flagrantly broken.

This, as Corrigan's narrative points out, led to the breakdown in police discipline at Derry and elsewhere, and hastened the collapse in Stormont's authority that has now come about in the North of Ireland.

Aidan Corrigan, author of this booklet, is a nephew of the late Thomas Corrigan, Secretary to Fermanagh County Council, who in 1922 was jailed under the Special Powers Act and dismissed from his post without a hearing.

THE civil rights movement was launched in the North of Ireland on August 24th, 1968, by a march from Coalisland to Dungannon (Co. Tyrone) about 6 p.m. that evening. This was the first type of demonstration of this nature carried out to protest against the discrimination and injustice under which the Catholic minority in the North of Ireland have suffered for a half a century.

The Unionist Government decided to nip this movement in the bud and to attempt to make it a Catholic-versus-Protestant protest. They banned the march from entering the town square in Dungannon. The Square, Unionists say, is sacred to Unionists and until that time had never been touched by a civil rights foot. The North of Ireland Minister of Home Affairs directed that the march should end in the Catholic ghetto in Dungannon.

When the march reached Thomas Street, Dungannon, the marchers found their way barred by a police barricade; they refused to go into the Catholic quarter and held their meeting outside the barricade.

Behind the big number of police at the barricade was a jeering crowd of Unionist extremists, among them some Unionist members of Dungannon Town Council.

GIRLS ATTACKED

On November 23rd a number of young students decided to hold a civil rights protest meeting in the town square in Dungannon. One side of this Square is occupied by Catholic owners, the other mainly by Protestant shop owners.

At 1.40 p.m. that afternoon while two girls, Mrs. McQuaid and Miss Nuala Stewart, were erecting a public address system at the top of the Square, a group of 20 Unionist extremists gathered.

While police, led by District Inspector Steritt and Head Constable Hyndman, looked on, the extremists pulled the girls by the hair off the lorry and wrecked the public address system.

The crowd of Protestant extremists swelled to more than 200. They besieged the post office in the square where a civil rights worker, Mr. Jack Hassard, was on duty at the counter. For four hours they jeered at and insulted Mr. Hassard. At one stage they draped the Union Jack around him.

Outside in the square Press photographers were attacked for attempting to take pictures.

POLICE LOOKED ON

The civil rights supporters decided to hold their meeting in a hall at the back of the Dounowen Cafe at one side of the Square. But the meeting had scarcely begun before a group of some 30 Unionist extremists burst into the café. They wrecked the bar, they broke

chairs, they smashed delph in the restaurant and they knocked down the owner, Mr. Hopkins, and his pregnant wife who went to his aid.

Police officers stood by and made no attempt to interfere. No arrests were made by the police that day.

When the civil rights meeting finally ended, their supporters were struck and beaten by the mob as they left the hall.

Sometime later when I reported the attack on the post office to Mr. Coates the Director General of the Post Office for the North of Ireland and asked him to complain to the police for failing to take action in the case of Mr. Hassard, his answer was: "I don't tell you how to run your school. You should not tell me how to run the post office".

Mr. Jack Hassard is a Protestant and an ex-British Army Service man and must be commended very highly for his courage in taking part in the civil rights campaign against injustice.

AMBUSH IN SQUARE

On December 4th, 1968, a civil rights meeting was called for St. Patrick's Hall, Dungannon. On the day previous I received a telephone call from a friend who said he had reliable information that the Unionist extremists planned to gather in Dungannon to disrupt the meeting. As a result of this information I went to the police barracks in Dungannon and warned Head Constable Hyndman of the coming trouble. He did not take me very seriously.

There were more than 1,000 persons at the meeting and among

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"Looking through my window I saw men in uniforms going through my back garden. I could see their guns, and I knew the sound of fire I heard from the back must have come from them. I saw these uniformed men circling around the backs of the houses. I could not go to bed but paced up and down for hours and left early for work the following morning without sleep. I stayed with a neighbour until Sunday morning."

—Mr. X.

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the persons was Mr. John Hume, now Independent M.P. in Stormont for the Foyle division of Derry.

During the meeting, a man came running in, in a state of hysteria, to say that "the Paisleyites were smashing Catholics' windows in the town".

When we emerged from the meeting we found that we were being ambushed. Stones, bottles and even firearms were used. Three shots were fired. A Protestant extremist named Bellshaw, who is employed as a traffic warden outside a Catholic school, was charged in connection with this, but later released under an amnesty.

I should like to describe what happened in the Square that night.

Some £5,000 of damage was perpetrated on Catholic shops which were singled out, in some cases from a cluster of Protestant shops, for destruction. No Protestant shop was damaged.

During the evening the police were seen by several people (who have since testified before Lord Cameron) fraternising with the Unionist extremists, laughing and joking with them.

"THAT'S ENOUGH BOYS"

Mr. Jack Hassard came up the Square with his wife and family in his car. The car was stopped by the Paisleyites. One man wielded a pickaxe at the back window and wrecked it, another man wielded a hatchet at the windscreen and smashed it. The Paisleyites jumped on the bonnet before the police then made a passage for the car. One police officer was heard to say: "That is enough, boys".

When Mr. Hassard was finally allowed to move on, the wielder of the pick-axe was offered a cigarette by a police officer.

Another man had a similar experience to Jack Hassard, his car being wrecked. He later called at the police station to see if the culprits were being brought to justice and he found that the police tried to intimidate him. They said: "Look here, we will have to charge you because you were drunk that night".

Senator William Stewart, Unionist chairman of Dungannon Town Council, and Councillor William Purdy, chairman of Dungannon Housing Committee, were in the Square that night.

All night long, until 3 a.m., the battle raged. Shops continued to be wrecked and marauding Paisleyites roamed the Square. The Paisleyites refused to leave the Square until one of their leaders was brought around in a police car to the Catholic quarter to see for himself that the Catholics and civil rights people had all gone off the streets.

Another atrocious act took place that night: a Paisleyite raced at the civil rights crowd in his car at 60 m.p.h. and it was only by the mercy of God that no-one was injured. The man who drove that car was never charged, yet police were there in hundreds that night.

On March 20th, 1969, the Dungannon Civil Rights Committee and the Coalisland Civil Rights Committee decided again to march from Coalisland to Dungannon Square to meet their supporters there. Again, true to form, the Government imposed a ban on the march.

Mr. John Taylor, now Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Home Affairs at Stormont, said that the people of Coalisland had no right to march into the Square of Dungannon in spite of the fact that the local government offices of the people of Coalisland are situated in the Square of Dungannon.

At that march there were police barricades erected, and again Paisleyites took over, and roamed the Square, armed with clubs, sticks and stones and pitch-forks and so on.

Again, on April 20th, 1969, the people of Dungannon held a meeting in Anne Street (in the Catholic ghetto), and it was decided to

march up Irish Street through the Square to the police barrack to put in a written motion of censure, which had been passed at the meeting, against police brutality that day in the Bogside of Derry.

SIT-DOWN UNTIL 2 a.m.

When we reached the top of Irish Street there was a cordon drawn by police and we were not allowed to go any further. Consequently we all sat down in the street until 2 a.m. in the morning.

About fifty persons including myself, received summons for that sit-down, and what is remarkable is that some people who were not there at all received summonses! We were charged with obstructing the highway.

The Civil Rights Committee in Dungannon then decided to place a picket on the town council offices on the first Monday of May, the first Monday of June and the first Monday of July.

The reason for the picket should be obvious. The Dungannon Housing Committee is Unionist-controlled. A total of 260 houses came up for normal letting by the Urban Council since the last war. In spite of the fact that 50.7% of the population in Dungannon are Catholics, only 60 of these houses were allocated to Catholics.

The job situation in Dungannon is even worse. The Council employs no Catholic in a salaried position.

On each occasion of the picket which we mounted outside the Council offices Paisleyites were permitted by police to gather in spite

"About ten police were across the top of Irish Street. These were the police who with batons drawn had chased the C.R. supporters down Irish Street. The police were facing down Irish Street. The Paisleyites had gathered behind the police and started to throw stones and bottles over their heads down Irish Street. Pat L. and I went down Irish Street and started to divert traffic from Irish Street into Union Place. Pat L. was flagging down a red car (Ford Cortina, I think) when the driver increased speed and drove straight for him. He had to jump out of his way. This car drove on up the street at great speed and nearly knocked a number of people down."

Mr. X. of Dungannon.

of the fact that we were there before them. They hoisted Union Jacks, and on a number of occasions they stepped in to provoke us in every way possible. They draped Union Jacks around our heads and one of them made a banner of a Union Jack which the pickets were obliged to walk under.

I protested vigorously to Head Constable Hyndman who was watching all this with uniformed police.

Again at the picket one evening a car made a race and nearly mowed down a girl. We got the car stopped in time. The driver

has never appeared in court. On another occasion, a girl who was picketing, Ann Donnelly, was struck in the face by a Paisleyite.

"GIVE THEM THE PILL"

Doctor McCluskey, a Dungannon medical doctor, was on the picket one night and Paisleyites started shouting: "Doctor, give them the pill and they won't need houses. These Fenian women are breeding too much. Go home you scum! Go back to your Catholic ghetto where you belong! These Fenian women are a big drain on the British Government. They are producing too many children. They are producing them like rats, and they are going to drain the British coffers of their money."

That is the type of provocative language that was used and yet police officers who were listening never arrested or even reprimanded any of the Paisleyites. On several occasions, indeed, police officers were seen encouraging this kind of provocation, winking and smiling and so on at the Paisleyites.

The pickets produced no tangible results. The Unionist councillors behaved as intransigently and as unjustly as ever and houses still continue to be allocated on sectarian lines. People with the astronomical figure of 103 points, living in grossly over-crowded and squalid accommodation, were brutally passed over.

It is important here to explain that the points system is a method of allocating houses on the basis of the most deserving and urgent. Points are scored on the number in a family, the larger the family the more the points, on the length of time a family has been on the housing list, on the condition of the accommodation which the family is now forced to live in and so on.

Mr. Brian Faulkner, Minister for Development in the North of Ireland, has put forward a draft point scheme for local authority housing but it has not become law.

Dungannon Civil Rights Committee made out forms to be completed by the 450 families on the housing waiting list and from these forms we were able to apportion to each family what its points position should be. We found there were families with a figure of more than 100 points; we found several families with more than 50 points and we found others with more than 40 points. For any family not to be housed who scores 30 points or more is scandalous, in view of the fact that nearly all Unionist families are housed before they reach the 20-point mark.

CROW-BAR BRIGADE

The last four houses allocated in Dungannon in August, 1969 were given to Unionist families—one to a family that was not on the housing list at all, and none of them scored 20 points. This was the reason, then, why we placed the pickets on the council chamber.

but that having failed we decided to take more militant action and on July 28th, 1969, a family named Hurle decided to come in with the Civil Rights Committee and squat in a flat in Union Lane.

We squatted in the flat all through the night. Next day we were forcibly evicted by the Council's "crowbar brigade" despite the fact that the Hurle family, with a young child were desperately in need of a house—one of three families, a total of 13 people, living in a 3-bedroomed house.

On July 31st, the Civil Rights Committee squatted in another council house in the Dungannon rural area. Again the "crowbar brigade" came and evicted us. They handled me roughly and broke my glasses.

Later the Rural District Council met and allocated all its available new houses to Unionists and Protestants.

Finally, on August 4th, 1969, Father Austin Eustace led a deputation from the Dungannon civil rights movement to meet

"I heard shouting outside and then the screaming of a girl. I went into a house. Maire Hughes was lying on the floor. She had been severely shot and was bleeding. Gregory Willoughby was also shot, was raving a little and was also bleeding."

—Mr. X.

the Minister for Development, Mr. Brian Faulkner, in Belfast, about this discrimination. We prepared our case carefully.

Father Eustace, one of our curates, dealt with the housing question in the rural area. He showed that it was approximately 150 to 8 against Catholics in housing allocations in one part of the rural area.

Mr. Jack Hassard dealt with the urban record: 200 houses allocated to non-Catholics and only 60 to Catholics since the last war.

Miss Mary Hughes, gave individual instances of discrimination and pointed out how the rent collector had the audacity to transfer on his own initiative a friend of his, who was, of course, a Unionist, from a one-bedroomed flat to a two-bedroomed flat, and how this was ratified by the Unionist Council.

DISCRIMINATION RECORD

Side by side with this Messrs. J. Hassard and J. Donaghy pointed out specific instances of Unionists who were able to—

- (a) take possession of council houses before they were allocated at all;
- (b) furnish their homes before going on their honeymoon;
- (c) let their own privately-owned houses at a rent of £4-£5 per week and take possession of a council house at around £2 per week;

- (d) sell their own privately-owned houses and take up residence immediately in a council house.

I pointed out there were no salaried employees of the Urban Council who were Catholics, and that it was 25 to 2 against Catholics in the Rural Council for salaried employees and 50 to 3 in the Rural Council of manual employees. I pointed out that in the County Hall in Omagh it was 96-4 against Catholics.

Mrs. McAleer, a careers teacher, who was also on the deputation, produced, among other glaring instances, the case in which a vacancy came up in South Tyrone hospital for a pharmacist. There was a young Catholic, a gold medal pharmacist, first in Northern Ireland in examinations, who had three years' experience in the Royal Victoria Hospital, Belfast, and also had experience as manager of a pharmacy. In spite of those qualifications, she was passed over for a Protestant candidate with a mere pass degree. Mrs. McAleer also cited examples of discrimination in allocation of educational scholarships.

We went on to building development and permission to develop industrial sites and private sites for houses. We had on our deputation a contractor, Mr. Plunkett O'Donnell, who produced diagrams to show where Unionists were given building permission and Catholics, in a better and more suitable position, were denied planning permission and had their plans rejected.

THE GHETTO SYSTEM

I should point out here that this is part of the ghetto system which keeps the Unionists in control in Dungannon and elsewhere. In order to maintain the ghetto system, Catholics are prevented from going into certain electoral wards to build houses. That is why I, a Catholic, would be unlikely to get permission to build a house, say, in the East or the Central Ward in Dungannon which is controlled by Unionists.

At present 50.7% of the population in Dungannon vote non-Unionist but by this ghetto system are only able to return seven councillors, whereas the 49.3% of the population is able to return 14 Councillors. This is the gerrymander.

Omagh is worse: 39% of the population is Unionist but they are able to return 12 Councillors whereas the other 61% of the population who are Catholics and non-Unionists and vote that way, are only able to return nine.

The Derry City figures are even worse: 68% of the population is Catholic and vote anti-Unionist but are only able to return a minority of eight Councillors, whereas 32% of the population, who are Unionist, are able to return 12 Councillors.

Two other members of the deputation, Mrs. McCluskey and Mr. McLaughlin, gave Mr. Faulkner figures for employment in Fermanagh

County Council. They said, for instance, that 339 of the employees were non-Catholics and only 33 were Catholics and that in a county where there is a majority of 51% Catholics, yet they are only able to return 17 Councillors whereas the minority of 49% are able to return 36 Councillors.

WARNING TO MINISTER

The delegation made these demands on Mr. Faulkner :

- (1) That both the Dungannon Urban District Council and the Dungannon Rural District Council be disbanded and a fairly-constituted Commission be set up to rule the area until such time as local government is reorganised in a fair manner.
- (2) That an Appointments Commission Board be set up to make all public appointments.
- (3) Immediate restoration of the Hurle family to the council's housing list and the immediate re-housing of all families in the area who have secured 45 points or more on the points system.

"On 14th August at about 10.00 p.m. we heard shots coming from the bottom of Donaghmore Road. We heard shots later coming from what appeared to be the top of our street. We then extinguished the lights in our house and we heard screaming out on the street and went out to investigate. Two young people — Maire Hughes and Gregory Willoughby—were lying on the ground, suffering from shot wounds and there was blood on the pavement and the floor. I helped her to the ambulance. Everyone in the street and area are terrified at this experience."

—Mr. X.

- (4) That a crash housing programme be inaugurated to house the 450 on the waiting list in the urban area and the 260 on the waiting list in the rural area.
 - (5) That council workers be no longer used as members of the crowbar brigade for eviction purposes.
 - (6) That neither Council be allowed to allocate any more houses or make public appointments during the interval between now and the setting up of the Commission.
- The Minister was assured that there could be no improvement in community relations until these demands were met, and that refusal to meet these fundamental just demands would inevitably lead to more unrest and intensification of the civil rights campaign.
- Mr. Faulkner listened politely to us and then said he had another appointment. He rejected our case about discrimination with typical blandness.

After this rebuff we decided that we would picket the Dun-

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gannon Council Offices on Monday, August 11th. Again our Secretary, Mrs. McAleer, warned the local police of reports that militant Protestants and Paisleyites would be on the Square outside the Council chamber.

Our picket was to start at 7 p.m. We found the Paisleyites had arrived at 6 p.m. and they carried Union Jacks outside the Council meeting.

We decided in the interests of peace that we would not do anything to embroil the place in violence and we therefore withdrew without placing any pickets.

A number of Catholics had meanwhile gathered at the top of Irish Street from the Catholic ghetto. Next thing the Paisleyites began to fire bottles at the Catholic crowd and immediately the police rushed at the Catholics and pushed them back down Irish Street.

At this stage Mrs. McAleer and myself, with other members of the Civil Rights Committee, walked up to the police and asked for the officer in charge. We demanded there and then that he should withdraw his police and not be victimising Catholics and beating them down into a Catholic ghetto. We pointed out that they had as good a right to walk or parade on the Square as the militant Protestants who were at that moment jeering, and shouting and were armed, the women with umbrellas and the men with sticks, stones and bottles, as everyone could see.

Now it is significant to note that the police riot squad had been brought into Dungannon at 4 p.m. that afternoon. The Riot Squad is a branch of the R.U.C. They are a very discredited branch, because they are very brutal men. Mr. William Craig, when he was Minister for Home Affairs, set them up to deal with crowd control, and they have been notorious over the past year for their savage baton charges.

They are armed with special batons. They wear steel helmets and carry metal shields, and when they charge they beat the shields with their batons, and shout at the top of their voices as they charge at demonstrators. Their favourite shout is: "Fenian bastards" or "Civil shites."

The riot squad were entertained in the Orange Hall in Dungannon earlier that evening—an indication of the thinking behind their being in Dungannon at all on that occasion.

I then went back to the Catholic crowd in Irish Street, and we were standing, about 100 strong at least, at this time, when out of the blue came a car which must have been travelling at 60 m.p.h. It charged up Irish Street and it is astonishing that no-one was struck as it charged through the crowd.

I recognised the driver. A police constable was there beside me and I gave him the number of the car and I later protested to Head Constable Hyndman myself and asked that this man be arrested for attempted murder. The Head Constable replied: "We can get him anyday for dangerous driving."

Immediately after this incident, a shower of bottles and stones were thrown on the Catholic people of Irish Street.

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18 BATONED BY POLICE

Three stones, not more than three, were returned, and for that the Riot Squad suddenly made a baton charge down Irish Street wounding, among others, Councillor Charles McKay, who got eight stitches in his head. Eighteen persons were treated in hospital and some of them were detained.

I avoided the baton charge by sheltering in a shop door. I saw police lifting stones and throwing them, deliberately trying to break windows in the Catholic area. I went over and challenged members of the Riot Squad who were throwing stones to give me their numbers. They refused and when I pressed it further I was punched and kicked and hit with a shield in the side.

Ambulances came to collect the injured and the Paisleyites jeered the ambulances as they went through the Square with the injured Catholics.

Later in the night the Catholics moved down to the corner of William Street. By this time they were very incensed. Another baton charge took place up William Street and police arrested a number of Catholic youths.

This, however, was not enough for the Riot Squad. They went into Fairmount Park Estate, where there are 57 families—54 are

"I went to the front window on the top floor and saw a number of policemen, wearing helmets and carrying shields, charging down the street. I saw a man lying on the street being beaten by two policemen. They left him there. He made an effort to rise. One of the police noticed this, returned and struck him three or four more blows with his baton leaving him lying prostrate on the street. I would have liked to help this poor man but was too terrified to go out.

"The injured man was Councillor Charles McKay. He was taken to hospital, had seven or eight stitches inserted in his head and was detained in hospital for some time. Earlier that night he had attended a meeting of the Council and afterwards had been advising people to go home."

—Miss X.

Catholic—and they banged on the doors and the windows, tramped through the gardens, intimidated men, women, and children and beat up a boy savagely.

I toured the Catholic housing estates until 5 a.m. that morning and every house had the light on all night. Men and women were huddled at their doorways talking about what had happened and no one could sleep that night. I had to stay away from my home

that night as the town had been taken over by the Riot Squad and the Paisleyites.

On the following morning there was anger and frustration in the Catholic areas of Dungannon. The people finally decided to erect barricades to defend themselves and this they did late on the night of August 12th, 1969.

BARRICADES UP FOR BATTLE

The Derry riots had started at this stage. The battle of Bogside had just begun and our people were preparing for the battle of Dungannon. They erected barricades consisting of lorries which were overturned. Every man in the Catholic area armed himself with a stick, and they did shift duty on the barricades to protect themselves. That same day I sent a wire asking Mr. Porter, the Minister of Home Affairs, to keep his partisan, undisciplined R.U.C. forces out of the Catholic housing estates in Dungannon. There was no reply to the telegram.

The Paisleyite extremists took up positions on the Square and around the Orange Hall, and police were on duty there, and it was feared that they might come down into the Catholic estates.

On August 11th Riot Police were arriving in Dungannon from 4 p.m. to 6 p.m. Paisleyite cars began to park in the grounds around the Orange Hall. Some of the arrivals were strangers to the town, but prominent among them were a number of Dungannon Council workmen who organised the extremists into groups.

There was no hiding of weapons; they opened their cars and took out axes and shafts, cudgels of thick chair legs or table legs. Barbed wire was torn from the fence and wrapped around these cudgels. Iron pailings were sharpened to a point at one end.

An R.U.C. constable was among them and at one point was heard to say: "Wait there boys, until I see how things are." The groups remained on the hill all night.

Tuesday night we had the same pattern—the cars came in, the groups gathered at the Orange Hall and were identified, only this time it was more sinister, because the Paisleyites had bulky objects underneath their coats and wrapped in sacking. There were among them four young boys in the battle dress of the Territorial Army. These boys got into a car and a Paisleyite went over to them and dropped something into the car and said: "When these are finished, there are plenty more." These lads had on navy berets and khaki battle dress.

Groups were seen hammering nails into their cudgels.

The same R.U.C. constable was with them and was heard to say: "Wait there, till I see how things are in Coalisland." When he came back he said: "We would need about 150 of you to go to the Courthouse." Again there was a call for more "to go and do St. Patrick's Hall". And again: "A couple of hundred of you go down

Scotch Street and get up William Street and get at them, through William Street and Ann Street."

A woman shouted: "And batter them right, batter them down into the ground and don't leave one of them for Curry."

The R.U.C. man was heard to say: "We have 500 good Unionists on the hill to go."

That night passed without attack, however, but the 13th of August came and the battle at Bogside was still raging. That day Mr. Porter received a deputation from the North of Ireland Civil Rights Executive. They asked him to withdraw his police from Derry and they said that if he would not withdraw police out of Bogside, they would have meetings all over the North of Ireland that night. The Minister refused the request and consequently there were meetings in Dungannon, Coalisland, Enniskillen and so forth.

Round about 2 a.m. next morning when the Catholics were standing guard behind their barricades, a force of police with B Specials and civilians approached the barricade at a lane connecting Scotch Street and Irish Street. Several shots were fired towards the barricade and into the Catholic quarter of Irish Street. The Catholics retreated.

Then the attackers climbed over the barricades and came down Ann Street. They caught a young fellow and I saw them giving him a bad beating. One of the police officers came over and said, "He is my prisoner"

PAISLEYITES HELP ARRESTS

In that group there were Paisleyite civilians and one of them was armed with a big hammer. They were helping to direct operations with the police and helping to arrest people. Catholics at this time were running for their homes.

I heard about 20 to 30 shots being fired by the attackers. It was pitch dark at the time and it was literally a miracle that nobody was killed.

SCHOOLGIRL SHOT IN GROIN

The police and Specials went on into the Donoughmore Road area and there they fired on a group of young people in the street. One of them was a girl, Anne Hughes aged 17, a secondary school student. She was hit in the groin and the femoral artery severed. She received 10 pints of blood in hospital.

Another victim was a young man named Willoughby. He received two bullets in the face. One went into his mouth and hit the palate. He almost died—he almost choked with the blood.

Another young man, Eugene Falloon, had three bullets in his back. He was taken to one of the Irish Army field hospitals over the Border.

Shots were also fired at the barricade at the end of Donough-

more Road. There were snipers operating in private cars. One was in a white car and he opened fire with a sub-machine gun.

"On their return at 1.30 a.m. I observed a number of civilians among the B men and riot police. The civilians were carrying various types of sticks and some were wearing crash helmets. The civilians seemed to be on very friendly terms with the police. They were all talking and joking and well pleased with themselves."

—Madame X.

The following morning the Catholic people of Dungannon were terror-stricken. A number of families immediately fled across the Border into the Republic for protection.

The police issued a statement—which was used by the B.B.C. to deny that any families had left the town. But I carried out a door-to-door survey of the families in the Fairmount Park and in the Ballygawley estates.

In the Fairmount Park area there are 57 families—54 of them Catholics—and of these 18 were totally evacuated and six partially evacuated, the women and children being sent to safety. In the Ballygawley Rd. Estate there are 200 Catholic families; there were 54 totally evacuated and 52 partially evacuated. At the other end of the town there were between 30 and 40 Catholic families either totally or partially evacuated. I have documentary evidence compiled on these families who were being cared for either at Irish Army relief centres or in private homes in the Republic of Ireland. A number of them have returned since the British troops have come into Dungannon.

Catholic families are still receiving anonymous threats. I would think there were two moons in the sky if I did not receive at least one threatening letter in the day and several anonymous phone calls. The local priests, Dean Quinn and Fr. Eustace have also received threats. Some people have received letters with live bullets enclosed.

DEATH THREAT "BLACK LIST"

People have received threats going to and coming from work. One man, for instance, going to work, was stopped by three Paisleyites and was told that his name would be put on the "black list."

This is a list of people who are to be murdered or killed in this area—those who are prominent in the civil rights movement.

The night after the shooting, the whole Dungannon area was pot-black with B Specials and they roamed through the Catholic housing estates. Dean Quinn contacted the District Inspector of the R.U.C. and demanded that the Specials be withdrawn, and eventually they were ordered out of the Catholic housing areas.

On Monday, August 18th, 1969, a number of civil rights leaders visited the R.U.C. local barracks and asked that British troops be moved into Dungannon. At the same time we launched a petition to back this request. We asked for troops, preferably U.N. troops but troops of some description who would administer law impartially in this area. We got 8,000 signatures, in the town and surrounding areas—which is impressive when one remembers that the population of Dungannon is 7,500.

Our request was refused by the police. I found there was no use in talking to them and consequently I considered I had no option but to publicise our appeal and I wrote an account which appeared the following day—Friday, August 23rd, in the "Irish News", of Belfast. Later that morning I contacted Father Eustace on behalf of our clergy, and we decided to telephone the British Army headquarters in Lisburn.

I rang at 10 a.m. and spoke to a Captain Dawson. I told him I spoke on behalf of the civil rights movement and that I had 8,000 signatures. I outlined the frustration, bitterness and tension in our area and the lack of confidence and, indeed, hatred and distrust of the police.

Captain Dawson listened carefully and said he would ring me within an hour, which he did. He sent a message to say that "things would happen in about 36 hours."

To make assurance doubly sure, I wrote a letter of three typed, foolscap pages—which was signed by myself and Father Eustace setting out ten reasons why the presence of troops was imperative. When I was on my way to post it to the British army headquarters in Lisburn, I found that a truck load of troops had arrived and had taken up positions outside the post office.

That is the story of 12 months of terror in one town in Northern Ireland. It is ironic that the town is Dungannon, where in 1782 was held the first National Convention of the Irish Volunteers, a largely Protestant organisation, that later gave Ireland its first independent parliament—Grattan's Parliament, which sat until it was dissolved by the Act of Union with Britain in 1800.

"Paisley Law" in Armagh City

A CIVIL RIGHTS march was arranged for Armagh City on November 30, 1968. On the Sunday previous, November 24, the Rev. Ian Paisley and Major Ronald Bunting, the self-styled commander of the Ulster Defence Volunteers, held a prior meeting in Armagh. Dr. Paisley said there would be no civil rights march through Armagh; he would ensure it would not happen; he would take over the city on that day.

I was one of the stewards. The Civil Rights Committee gave the police full co-operation in arranging the march. The R.U.C. indicated that the march would be allowed to take place and told us that there would be a force of police to lead the march and so give protection to the marchers.

As November 30th dawned, we were astonished to find that Major Bunting and Rev. Paisley and their supporters had taken over the streets of Armagh at 1 a.m. that day and from that hour these "wild men" started to move through the streets. They were armed with pick-axes, pitch forks, bill-hooks and sticks; one shop in Armagh had sold them a lot of brushes and brooms.

Some of the Rev. Paisley's supporters had fire-arms—a number of them—the Burnsides of Donaghmore—were arrested and later charged with possessing fire-arms illegally. But they were allowed off scot-free under the Stormont Government's amnesty which was announced five months later. This amnesty was a farce, and was purely designed to extricate Unionists who were in trouble with the law.

On all roads leading to Armagh that day people were held up by police road blocks for questioning. The idea was to keep the marchers down to as small a number as possible. Police, therefore, gave us the maximum of trouble in arriving for the march. I was stopped about three times on my way from Dungannon and questioned and searched.

Eventually more than 8,000 people gathered and the march began in orderly fashion. Police did not lead the march as promised: in fact they blocked our way with a barricade manned by a strong R.U.C. force. Behind the police we saw the Union Jack and the Paisleyites with Dr. Paisley leading his followers.

It is a tribute to the Civil Rights Movement that 8,000 demonstrators could keep their heads and restrain themselves in face of such provocative conduct by the police in not clearing the streets and, of course, by the Paisleyites who denied even the people of Armagh the right to march through their own city that day.

Our march finally broke up and most people set out for their homes. But that evening a few hot-heads threw stones at the Paisleyites. As a result the police baton-charged the Catholics. There was no baton-charge at any stage made on any Paisleyites.

CAMERAMEN BEATEN UP

B.B.C. cameramen were attacked and beaten up by police that evening—but again the amnesty farce covered this up.

I was invited to speak in Armagh City Hall at a civil rights meeting on August 14, 1969. I was rather late in getting there and when I reached the round-about at the Moy Road I found a large force of police and B Specials on duty.

I was told I could not go to the City Hall. I asked for a passage to be made for me but this was refused. Consequently I never reached the hall and in fact I parked my car at the foot of Banbrooke Hill where I met a small number of civil rights supporters. They told me there had been police baton charges down the hill but that most of the civil rights supporters had gone into the Shamble Square.

It later transpired that the meeting in the City Hall had been abandoned because of a report that the Paisleyites were going to burn down the hall when the people were inside. The Paisleyite mob were outside the hall with police and B Specials fraternising with them.

From my position at the foot of Banbrooke Hill I could see that stones were being thrown now and again by the civil rights people in Shamble Square, and they were being returned by Paisleyites, R.U.C. and Specials. A couple of petrol bombs were also thrown but they did no damage. I witnessed this confrontation for about three-quarters of an hour or so and at about 11 p.m. I heard several shots—it seemed to be a burst of automatic fire.

A moment later I looked around and saw to my consternation a group of eight Specials walking resolutely and steadily towards us from the Moy direction. They were armed. Myself and another man got the crowd of civil rights supporters up Banbrooke Hill away from the Specials.

I thought they were going past to join the police and Paisleyites down the road a bit, but when they came to the corner they wheeled around and went down on their knees, with their weapons pointed at us. I heard one of them shout out that they would "blow the heads off" all of us if we did not get in quickly.

One of these Specials was a man named King, a well-known Paisleyite. He is a big burly man, a resident of the Armagh area, and the people greatly fear him.

We ran up Banbrooke Hill helter-skelter into whatever house we could find cover in and the Specials followed us. The people were screaming in terror.

In the house I had entered we all lay on the floor with all lights off. I could hear the Specials out in the street shouting threats.

They eventually retreated to the bottom of the hill. People came out and huddled around the doors—and then the word came that Sean Gallagher was dead.

Some time later I saw Mrs. Gallagher and she told what happened. She heard that her husband was shot and she rushed into the street. There was a police patrol car there and she went over and asked the police about her husband's condition. They advised her to telephone the hospital, but she was unable to get through.

She went back to the patrol car and asked: "For God's sake, take me to the hospital because I am afraid to go through the Paisleyite mob down there." This the police refused to do. So, she had to make her own way through a mob to the hospital where she found that her husband was dead.

DEATH COMES IN THE DARK

I could not face home to Dungannon that night because it was too dangerous. There were B Specials roaming around; their cars roared through the city that night. I do not regard myself a coward; I say things publicly that indicate that I am not a coward, but I was afraid to go down the street and get my car and drive it up to the house where I was staying because I would have had to pass a number of Specials.

I stayed in the house of some friends that night and they gave me a bed. I think it was about 3 a.m. when we got to bed, and at

"On the night of the 11th of August, 1969, I was visiting Dungannon. Although not molested myself, I saw brutal attacks made upon members of the civil rights movement by constables of the 'riot squad'. An outrageous attack was upon Mr. Aidan Corrigan who, when stating to a member of the squad that he had been batoned was called 'a bloody liar'. When requesting the constable's name and number, he was tripped and the constable was pulled away by his fellow officers."

—Miss X.

3.30 a.m. I was awakened by members of the family to tell me there was a fire in the town.

The city of Armagh seemed to be ablaze and we rang the Fire Brigade. They had not been called out, although the factory which was ablaze was now half burned out. This seemed extraordinary since the streets in that area were being patrolled by B Specials and police earlier.

The factory—a big textile plant owned by Bairnsweat Ltd.—

was burned down and £1 million damage done. It is significant that it gave employment to a large number of Catholics.

After that, I went back to the Gallagher's house and there I met a press reporter who told me that he had been up to the R.U.C. barracks and was told there that "the police and B Specials had not fired any shots."

I then spoke to two men who had witnessed the shooting of Sean Gallagher. They stated that they had seen about four cars with out lights come down Cathedral Road to the back of the civil rights demonstrators who were engaged in a confrontation with the police in throwing stones at Shamble Square. Uniformed Specials jumped out of the cars and opened fire, killing Sean Gallagher and wounding two others. This was the shooting I had heard earlier that night.

At 6.30 a.m. that morning on the B.B.C. news bulletin I was incensed to hear a statement by the R.U.C. to the effect that they had not fired any shots, and further that Sean Gallagher did not die by any shots fired by any police.

I immediately rang the B.B.C. and said that I was after speaking to two people who could testify to the contrary, that it was uniformed officers who did in fact kill Sean Gallagher. The police in a statement to the newspapers on Saturday, August 16, said they were "aware of the identity" of the man who shot Gallagher and they expected to make an arrest.

Three days later through the newspapers they asked for eye-witnesses to come forward. Later the police announced that eye-witnesses had come forward and added that they hoped "to make an arrest shortly".

An inquest on Sean Gallagher was later opened and adjourned. At that inquest a police witness stated that the papers on the case had been sent to the Attorney General. At the time of writing the matter was sub judice.

"On looking round I saw a horde of riot police charging down Irish Street. They were carrying shields and batons and were beating their batons on their shields. The crowd in Irish Street panicked and ran in the direction of Ann Street. I also began to run.

"I was jostled by the crowd. I stumbled. I recovered myself and began to run. While running I was struck on the right eye by a police baton. The baton was swung from my left. The glasses which I was wearing were smashed into my right eye. The combination of a cut eye and my poor eyesight made me unable to see where I was going.

"I got down on my knees against the wall of premises and raised my hands to protect my head. I received several baton blows. As a result of these blows I had head, face, back and arm injuries."

—Mr. X.

Infiltrated at Newry

WE now move to Newry and here the authorities used a new tactic in an attempt to discredit the civil rights movement. They allowed a number of Paisleyite extremists to infiltrate the demonstration on January 11th, 1969—and allowed them to attack police tenders and thus start trouble.

I think I am in a position to describe events of Newry because I lived there for five years. During that time I found that anyone, or any procession could march, at any time unhindered or unmolested, through the town of Newry.

I saw the victorious Down All-Ireland champions parading through Newry in 1960 and '61. I saw the Papal Legate, Cardinal McIntyre, of Los Angeles, being feted on his way to open the Patrician Year ceremonies in Armagh Cathedral. I saw Most Rev. Dr. Simms, then Church of Ireland Archbishop of Dublin, being greeted publicly in Newry, by a procession, as he travelled to Armagh to become the Protestant Primate; he was received warmly by all sections of the community in Newry.

I saw Orange processions, Apprentice Boys' processions and Republican processions in Newry and no-one offered any objection.

There has never been any history of violence at any of these events in Newry—until we come to the civil rights demonstration on January 11th, 1969.

When I heard there was to be a march in Newry, I said to my colleagues in Dungannon: "Well, Newry is one place there will be no trouble."

Major Bunting and the Rev. Paisley had other ideas. There appeared to have been a deal done between Major Bunting and the then Minister for Home Affairs, another army man, Captain Long. He was the man who had the congenial meeting (as he said himself) with the Rev. Paisley and Major Ronald Bunting on January 3rd, the eve of the Burntollet ambush which was engineered by Bunting and Paisley.

BARRICADES FOR FIRST TIME

The police decided to make as much obstruction as possible for the civil rights demonstrators in Newry. For the first time in the town's history police barriers went up. About a dozen barriers were erected by the R.U.C.

As we approached the first barrier I noticed about 100 persons

gathered at the outside of the barrier. Suddenly about 20 of them attacked the police tenders drawn up at the barrier at which the marchers were being halted by their stewards.

The police retreated behind the tenders in which the windows were at once smashed.

I could not identify any of the persons who started the trouble—I had not seen any of them at any previous civil rights demonstration. But in the Ulster Television programme "World in Action" on January 20th, 1969, a man who was interviewed with his back to the camera, implied he was paid handsomely to help to discredit the Civil Rights Association.

The police made no effort to stop people breaking or hammering at the tenders. They had a water cannon—but it was not used. They made no baton charge to protect their own tenders; they did not use any weapon, nor did they call the fire brigade when some tenders were set on fire.

When it was over they issued an exaggerated figure of the amount of damage done to police tenders.

"On December 4th, Civil Rights held a meeting in St. Patrick's Hall. On March 20th there was a protest walk from Coalisland to Dungannon. On both these occasions I was on the Square and I saw a large number of people collecting from 6.30 p.m. onwards. Police tenders were parked at the Military Camp and in the Orange Hall grounds. Their canteen was also in the Orange Hall grounds. The people collecting were armed with sticks, pitch-forks and cudgels, which they took from the boots of their cars, quite openly. The police couldn't avoid seeing that these people were armed and intended to be violent, yet they laughed and talked with them."

—Mr. X.

"An insane mob of bellowing riot squad police came charging down the hill, uttering obscenities of all kinds. All I had time to do was stand to one side at a doorway. Instantly at least six riot police rushed in upon me and without asking any questions, only uttering the foulest of language, they batoned me to the ground. I heard one scream 'Kill the Fenian bastard' and as I lay helpless on the pavement several kicks and further baton blows were administered."

—Mr. X.

"When we reached outside my house I heard the screams of the crowd and the beating of the batons on the shields. The police then came too and I saw them tramping over gardens and beating on the fence posts. I heard them shout: 'Come out you Fenian bastards,'"

—Mrs. X.

Bombarded at the Waterside

THE story of the infamous ambush at Burntollet, near Derry, where young students, on a civil rights march from Belfast to Derry, were set upon by a Paisleyite mob, with the connivance of the police and B Specials, has already been told in book form. The violence that took place after the marchers had escaped with their lives from the mob at Burntollet has never been fully reported.

I joined the march after the Burntollet ambush as it finally entered the Waterside district of Derry. At this time there were thousands of marchers as a lot of people, like myself, had joined in the march as it entered its final stages at Derry. This was on January 4th, 1969.

When the march entered Irish Street, a narrow thoroughfare at the Waterside, a shower of stones, bottles and petrol bombs suddenly rained down on us. One man near me was struck on the head. The missiles were coming from the high ground overlooking the street. Police were everywhere, but did not take effective measures to protect the marchers.

A woman, who screamed like a maniac, ran out of a house with a red-hot poker to attack the marchers. She was persuaded to return indoors by two of our stewards.

The march proceeded to Spencer Road which leads to Craigavon Bridge crossing the River Foyle. Here the attacks became terrifying.

It is a fairly wide street with high buildings on either side; but there is high ground behind the buildings away from the river. On this high ground the Paisleyites had collected several lorry loads of heavy stones and they threw these over the rooftops and down on the marchers in Spencer Road.

The march was halted for about fifteen minutes. The sound of the stones crashing in the street was like hammering in a quarry. We sheltered against the walls of the buildings. Police again obviously took no steps to stop the attackers.

Eventually the attackers ran out of ammunition. The number of stones crashing over the rooftops began to dwindle and the marchers were able to run for the bridge.

AMBUSH AT MAGHERA

Two days before this, on January 2nd, 1969, I had attempted to join the students when their march from Belfast reached Maghera, in County Derry.

I drove to Maghera that evening as I intended to join the march outside the town and to march into Maghera with the students.

When I arrived in Maghera that evening the streets were lined with men and youths, many of them carrying sticks and similar weapons. I drove through Maghera and out the Belfast road to meet the marchers coming in. At the Orange Hall, on the right hand side leaving the town, there was a big group of people and I saw lethal weapons of all descriptions, and piles of stones.

I went further out the road to meet the marchers and at a cross-roads saw several hundred Paisleyite militants awaiting the marchers.

The marchers never got into Maghera, in fact they were not even able to drive through the town in cars. They were obliged to make a detour at the command of police, who refused to guarantee the safety of the marchers in Maghera.

CATHOLIC SHOPS WRECKED

The marchers spent the night in a hall outside Maghera. Meanwhile in the town itself that night Catholic shops were wrecked by the Paisleyites. I think something approaching £5,000 of damage was done.

Yet no-one was ever arrested or brought to justice for this destruction. Mr. Joseph Burns, at that time a Junior Minister in the Stormont Government, was in Maghera that evening and must have seen the proceedings.

The following morning the students avoided Maghera at the request of the police and took a detour route to Dungiven on their march to Derry.

The Protestant militants were in strength in Maghera that morning awaiting the marchers. Two lorry loads of stones were drawn up at the end of the town as ammunition. Again, police made no attempt to disperse them.

"The Brutes" in action at Lurgan

THE student body in the civil rights movement organised a meeting in Lurgan, Co. Armagh, for Good Friday, April 5th, 1969. On that day, several hundred militant Protestants gathered at the roundabout in Edward Street, which is at the mouth of the Catholic quarter of the town.

Police were there in force and ordered that the civil rights meeting should be held in the Catholic quarter. Tempers were running short and the police decided to force the civil rights people into the Catholic ghetto. So, they charged the civil rights group and battered them down the street.

I watched this charge and saw a number of persons savagely beaten. A young man standing beside me remarked aloud in disgust: "The brutes." Immediately, a police constable, who overheard the remark, rushed over and grabbed him by the jacket.

I saw three policemen close around the youth, kicking and punching him, before he was thrown like a dog into a police tender.

This young man when he was being brought up the steps into the police station was accosted by another constable who said: "You boy, attacked me."

When I succeeded in having the youth released at 2 a.m. next morning he had been charged with assaulting a policeman and with disorderly behaviour.

This was a case the civil rights movement wanted to fight. We were in a position to prove that the charges were false and that the police officers had lied. But the general amnesty applied from May 1st, 1969, by the incoming Stormont Prime Minister, Major Chichester-Clarke, deprived us of this opportunity.

The amnesty was a clever device by which many pending cases which would have discredited militant Protestants and their police accomplices, and thereby embarrass the Stormont regime, were never brought to public light.

STORMONT "JUSTICE"

The astonishing fact is that only a handful of court cases arising out of this entire period of disturbance ever came into open court in the North of Ireland. Moreover, an example of the type of justice meted out under the unjust Stormont administration is clearly afforded in the few cases that were brought to court.

Major Bunting made no secret of the fact that he intended to hamper and harass the students' march from Belfast to Derry. This he did with his Paisleyite followers and B Specials in plain clothes over four days in January, 1969, during the entire 75 miles of the march.

He started off with a mob at Belfast City Hall. He blocked the march at Antrim, where the students were held up for four hours at a bridge in the open in wintry weather. He blocked their passage at Toomebridge and Maghera so that the marchers were forced to make detours. He organised the murderous ambush at Burntollet Bridge and again at Irish Street and Spencer Road on the way into Derry. It was not the fault of the Major that persons were not killed during that series of incidents.

As a result of these attacks, he was brought to court and fined only £45.

On the other hand, the student leader Michael Farrell, of Queens University, was fined £25 for an incident during this same march when he was pushed against a police tender and grabbed at some part of it which came away and which he was charged with damaging. Again, a youth who lost his head at the Newry demonstration was charged with inciting a crowd and was sentenced to three months' imprisonment.

"I ran around the back of one of the houses and B Specials followed me. One of them told me to put my hands up. I did this and was hit in the stomach with the barrel of the rifle. I was then beaten to the ground and kicked. I was trailed along the ground until I managed to stumble to my feet. I was then hustled along the road. As I was being pushed along one of the B Specials said: 'We'll shoot the Fenian bastard here, and shove him down the nearest grating.'"

—Mr. X.

"I saw a car stop at the barricade at approximately 1.00 a.m. and a man got out of the car and I heard him speaking but did not hear what he said. Suddenly he opened fire with a weapon which I had not seen previously in his hands—it was a burst of an automatic weapon. Everyone raced for cover.

"Later I heard the sounds of shots (about 30 minutes later) coming from the direction of the top of Donaghmore Road and I heard screaming of what appeared to me to be a girl."

—Mrs. X.

Pattern of Discrimination

Aidan Corrigan has compiled some up-to-date facts on Unionist discrimination against Catholics in the North of Ireland in housing, in jobs and in the local franchise.

INDUSTRIAL APARTHEID

Areas which are Nationalist have high unemployment among Catholics. Thus:—

Strabane: 80% Nationalist — 26%-30% unemployment.

Newry: 80% Nationalist — 24% unemployment.

Fermanagh: 52% Nationalist — 25% unemployment.

Dungannon: 51% Nationalist — 25% unemployment.

Portadown: 80% Unionist — 5% unemployment.

Ballymena: 80% Unionist — 4% unemployment.

Coleraine: 75% Unionist — 4% unemployment.

Derry: 66% Nationalist — 25% unemployment.

The Unionist contention that the geographical position of areas West of the Bann because of lack of communications, etc., makes it impracticable for industries to be sited there, is exploded by an examination of Portadown. No new industry has come to South Fermanagh (80% Nationalist) for 100 years—Belleek China being the last.

Advance factories are supposed to be built to stimulate the setting up of industries in areas of largest unemployment. For Derry City and County, Co. Fermanagh and Co. Tyrone, the areas of highest unemployment, only 15 such factories exist while there are 59 for the rest of the Province where there is good employment.

ENFORCED EMIGRATION

40% of the Catholics of Fermanagh emigrate between the ages of 15 and 25, only 17% of the Protestants emigrate.

35% of the Catholics and 18% of the Protestants emigrate in Tyrone. Both in Fermanagh and Tyrone 25% of the Catholics are unemployed.

By means of this extermination campaign plus the gerrymander, the Unionists ensure Unionist control.

GERRYMANDER OF CONSTITUENCIES

Omagh Urban Council Area is 39% Unionist and 61% Nationalist. The 39% Unionists can and do elect 12 Unionist Councillors and 61% Nationalists can elect only 9 Councillors.

Dungannon Urban Council Area is 51% Nationalist and 49% Unionist. The Council has 7 Nationalist Councillors and 14 Unionist.

Co. Fermanagh—52% Nationalist elect 17 Nationalist Councillors; 48% Unionists elect 36 Unionist Councillors.

Armagh is 53.5% Nationalist and 46.5% Unionist. The Council has 8 Nationalist and 12 Unionist Councillors.

In areas where there are safe Unionist majorities—Lurgan 53% Unionist, Cookstown 60% Unionist, and Limavady Urban area 60% Unionist—there is no ward system. Consequently no Nationalist or non-Unionist Councillors are elected.

In areas where there are Unionist minorities the constituencies are gerrymandered to ensure Unionist control.

The gerrymander is also applied in central government elections. Fermanagh has over the years had a handsome Nationalist majority—up to 55%; yet it has always had two Unionist and one Nationalist M.P.

HOUSING ALLOCATIONS SINCE THE WAR

Fermanagh (55% Nationalist in 1945)—568 houses to Catholics and 1,021 to non-Catholics.

Dungannon Urban Council (51% Catholic)—200 to non-Catholics and 60 to Catholics.

Dungannon Rural Council—Within a radius of 3 miles from Dungannon, of a total of 370 houses built, only eight have been let to Catholics. Only six houses out of a total 166 built in the same period in the Moygashel area have been let to Catholics.

Cookstown Urban Council (60% Unionist)—Protestants 309 houses; Catholics, 61 houses.

This means that 40% of the population receive only 16.5% of the houses.

Catholics who are denied the higher-paid jobs—and often any type of job—are in much more need of housing than a non-Catholic Unionist who seldom has to worry about employment.

The Dungannon Civil Rights delegation on 4th August which met Mr. Faulkner, the Minister for Development, gave him six specific instances of Protestants who let their own privately owned houses for £5 to £7 per week and were given Council houses for £2 per week even though many Catholics were living in slums, in condemned houses or in grossly overcrowded conditions.

No Protestant in Dungannon is living in a condemned house, yet at the August, 1969, allocation of houses 4 houses in all were let and

all four recipients were Unionists and Protestants, none of them having any children, and one of them not even on the Council's waiting list of 450.

HEALTH AND HOSPITAL SERVICES

In Northern Ireland, due to demand being greater than supply. Catholics are well represented in the nursing profession. In spite of this, only 6 of the 50 Hospital matrons are Catholic.

The Mater Hospital, Belfast, which gives free treatment to all comers—Catholic and Protestant—has been consistently refused any State aid. Patients who receive the best possible treatment and who themselves are contributors towards National Insurance resent the fact that such unjust discrimination deprives a hospital of their choice of just remuneration for its services. Non-Catholics have selected this hospital in which to be treated and have testified to the dedication and efficiency of the staff there.

Hospital Management Committees—of the 458 members, only 73 are Catholics.

Only 30 of the 386 hospital consultants in Northern Ireland are Catholic, in spite of the fact that 33% of the doctors in private practice are Catholic.

Government Health Service—The chief medical officer and his deputy, and 8 medical referees are all Protestants. No Catholic is employed as chief county medical officer of health or public health inspector or county chief dental officer, and only 3 of the 17 public health inspectors are Catholic.

EDUCATION

	Catholic	Non-Catholic
School-going population in N.I. ...	52%	48%
Secretary of Department ...	0	1
Assistant Secretary ...	0	1
School inspectors ...	5	47
Directors of Education ...	0	8
Deputy Directors of Education ...	0	8
All the deputies' deputies are non-Catholic.		
School Bus drivers ...	3%	97%

The same pattern is repeated in school meals staff, and the team of health visitors, medical officers, etc., who inspect the health of the children.

COMPOSITION OF LOCAL EDUCATION AUTHORITIES

Tyrone Education Authority—18 Protestants, 2 Catholics (The county is 54% Catholic).

Tyrone Education Office—69 Protestants; 1 Catholic.

Of the eight local education authorities with 225 members, only 40 are Catholic.

Discrimination against teachers in Technical schools is rampant as Magherafelt, Enniskillen and Omagh Technical schools demonstrate. In Unionist-controlled areas as distinct from an area with a majority of Catholics, there is no Catholic Principal or Vice-Principal of a technical school. Over 90% of Protestants attend State schools and, except in about 15 cases in Northern Ireland where a Protestant cannot be found to take a post, all the teachers are non-Catholic. Two years ago a Mr. Quigley, a Catholic, was refused a post in Aghnacloy State School even though there was no qualified non-Catholic for the post.

I taught in the Technical school in Enniskillen for a period in 1958. Sixty per cent. of the students were Catholic. They had no provision or amenities for playing Gaelic games.

At the students' request, I made representations on their behalf to the Headmaster, Mr. Hanna—who at once accused me of "introducing sectarianism" to what he described as "a harmonious school". Fermanagh G.A.A. County Board were given a similar reply and they eventually had to put pressure on the Education Committee to have the facilities provided.

JUDICIARY

	Non-Catholic	Catholic
High Court Judges	6	1
County Court Judges	4	1
Resident Magistrates	9	3
Commission for National Insurance	3	0
Clerks of Crown and Peace	6	0
Under Sheriffs	6	0
Crown Solicitors	8	0
Clerks of Petty Sessions	26	1

POST OFFICE

Eight Directors-General of Northern Ireland region have all been non-Catholic. The Postal Controller, the Telecommunications Controller, Staff Controller and Finance Controller, the Head Post-Master and Assistant Head Post-Master in Belfast, the Telephone Manager, three Area Managers, the Area Accountant, Chief Sales Superintendent, Chief Traffic Superintendent—none of these posts have ever been filled by a Catholic. The 13 Post-Masters outside Belfast, with one possible exception, have never been Catholic.

	Catholic	Non-Catholic
Postal and Telegraph Officers	45	145
Overscerships	8	29
Assistant Superintendents	1	7

MAGHERAFELT RURAL DISTRICT AREA

MAGHERAFELT LABOUR EXCHANGE

	Population ratio	Non-Catholics	Catholics
MANAGER	52%	1	0
DEPUTY MANAGER		1	0
SENIOR CLERKS		4	1
CLERKS		5	9
CLERICAL ASSISTANTS		5	0

MAGHERAFELT TELEPHONE EXCHANGE

	Non-Catholics	Catholics
POSTMASTER	1	0
COUNTER CLERKS	2	1
POSTMEN	7	2
TELEPHONISTS (DAY)	13	2
TELEPHONISTS (NIGHT)	9	0
ENGINEERS	4	1
FOREMEN JOINERS	2	0
JOINERS	8	3
LABOURERS	1	0
CLEANERS	1	0

MAGHERAFELT TECHNICAL COLLEGE

	Non-Catholics	Catholics
PRINCIPAL	1	0
VICE PRINCIPAL	1	0
LECTURERS	18	3
OFFICE STAFF	1	0
CARETAKER	1	0
CLEANERS	2	0
STUDENT ENROLMENT	149	183

MID ULSTER HOSPITAL

	Non-Catholics	Catholics
MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE	15	3
CONSULTANTS	8	1
DENTISTS	2	0
RADIOGRAPHERS	2	1
CLINICAL SECRETARIES	15	0
SECRETARIES	3	0
GENERAL OFFICE CLERKS	8	0
AUDIOLOGY TECHNICIAN	1	0
PHYSIOTHERAPISTS	0	2
MAIDS	13	16
PORTERS	3	0
PHARMACISTS	1	0
SEAMSTRESSES	0	1

	Non-Catholics	Catholics
AMBULANCE MEN	5	0
RECEPTIONISTS	3	0
LABORATORY TECHNICIANS	3	1
ORDERLIES	11	0
NURSING STAFF		
MATRON	1	0
ASSISTANT MATRON	1	0
SISTERS	8	9
NURSES	51	48
COOKS	2	4
LAUNDRY WORKERS	1	0
MAINTENANCE STAFF		
ENGINEERS	1	0
ELECTRICIANS	1	0
CARPENTERS	1	0
BOILERHOUSE MEN	8	0
STOREMEN	1	0
MAGHERAFELT RURAL COUNCIL		
Non-Catholics Catholics		
CLERK OF COUNCIL	1	0
ENGINEER	1	0
HOUSING MANAGER	1	0
OFFICE STAFF	4	0
WATER INSPECTOR	1	0
WORK SUPERVISOR	1	0
PLUMBER	1	0
ASSISTANT PLUMBER	1	0
STOREMEN	2	0
CLERKS OF WORKS	4	0
RENT COLLECTORS	3	0
WATER AND SEWERAGE		
CARETAKERS		
ASSISTANT WATER INSPECTOR	2	1
WORKS FOREMEN	1	0
PAINTERS	3	0
BIN LORRY DRIVERS	5	5
ASSISTANT BIN MEN	1	1
BRICKLAYERS	6	2
LORRY DRIVERS	2	1
JOINERS	2	0
ASSISTANT JOINERS	4	1
MECHANICAL DIGGER DRIVERS	1	0
TRACTOR DRIVER	2	0
LABOURERS	1	0
LABOURERS	8	8
SEWERAGE CARETAKERS	5	0
TOTAL	64	19

EMPLOYMENT IN CO. TYRONE

	Non-Catholics	Catholics
Population ratio in Tyrone: 60,521 73,395		
County Surveyor's Dept.	8	0
Clerical Staff	22	0
Engineering Dept.	15	3
Motor Taxation Office	11	0
Tyrone County Library	22	1
Co. Hall Rate Collectors and Clerks	10	0
Cleaning Staff	5	0
Superannuated Staff	17	2
Medical, Public Health, Sanitary, Social Welfare and Welfare Officers	37	3
County Nursing Officers and Health Visitors	17	11
Specialised Staff	6	1
District Nurse Midwives and Reliefs	61	30
Tyrone County Education Offices	69	1
Total	300	52

No Catholic has ever held the following posts in Co. Tyrone: County Secretary, County Librarian, County Planning Officer, County Surveyor, County Public Health Inspector, County Education Officer, County Welfare Officer, County Solicitor, County Medical Officer of Health.

TYRONE COUNTY SERVICES

	Non-Catholics	Catholics
COUNTY SECRETARY	1	0
COUNTY ACCOUNTANT	1	0
COUNTY SURVEYOR/ENGINEER	1	0
COUNTY MEDICAL OFFICER OF HEALTH	1	0
COUNTY SOLICITOR	1	0
COUNTY EDUCATION OFFICER	1	0
COUNTY LIBRARIAN	1	0
COUNTY PLANNING OFFICER	1	0
COUNTY PUBLIC HEALTH INSPECTOR	1	0
COUNTY DENTAL INSPECTOR	0	1

It is generally agreed that dentists find private practice more lucrative than public appointments. Consequently, the appointment of a Catholic as Tyrone County Dental Officer could be significant.

PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT IN OMAGH

	Non-Catholics	Catholics
CLERK OF CROWN AND PEACE ...	1	0
CROWN SOLICITOR ...	1	0
UNDER SHERIFF ...	1	0
CHAIRMAN OF LOCAL APPEALS TRIBUNAL ...	1	0
CORONER ...	1	0
HEAD OF AGRICULTURAL SERVICE ...	1	0
HEAD OF VALUATION OFFICE ...	1	0
HEAD OF BOARD OF WORKS OFFICE ...	1	0
HEAD OF MINISTRY OF LABOUR AND SOCIAL SERVICES ...	1	0
OMAGH URBAN COUNCIL		
TOWN CLERK ...	0	1
TOWN SURVEYOR ...	1	0
SANITARY OFFICER ...	1	0
MEDICAL OFFICER OF HEALTH ...	1	0
RATE COLLECTOR ...	1	0
RENT COLLECTOR ...	1	0
TOWN SOLICITOR ...	1	0

It is of interest to note that the Town Clerk who is a Catholic was appointed before the Council became Unionist controlled in 1935.

The number of houses built since the war by the Urban Council in Omagh is 564. Of these, non-Catholics who represent 39% of the population received 313 and Catholics who represent 61% of population secured 251.

OMAGH RURAL COUNCIL

EMPLOYMENT	Non-Catholics	Catholics
...	35	2

SOUTH TYRONE HOSPITAL

(Over 50% of the patients are Catholics)

	Non-Catholics	Catholics
MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE ...	12	3
MATRON ...	1	0
ASSISTANT MATRON ...	1	0
SISTERS ...	9	10
STAFF MIDWIVES ...	3	9
STATE REGISTERED NURSES ...	27	34
STATE ENROLLED NURSES ...	17	14
MAINTENANCE STAFF ...	18	0
ADMINISTRATOR ...	1	1
CONSULTANTS ...	9	1
REGISTRARS ...	3	0
RADIOGRAPHERS ...	3	2
CLINICAL STAFF ...	6	2

SECRETARIES ...	3	0
OFFICE CLERKS ...	9	0
PORTERS ...	7	0
PHARMACIST ...	1	0
AMBULANCE MEN ...	5	0
RECEPTIONISTS ...	3	0
ORDERLIES ...	33	9
JUNIOR MEDICAL STAFF ...	10	3
PAINTERS ...	4	0
Dungannon Fire Service—ONLY ONE CATHOLIC EMPLOYED		
Dungannon Library—No Catholic employed, with one possible exception.		

DUNGANNON TECHNICAL COLLEGE

PRINCIPAL ...	1	0
VICE PRINCIPAL ...	1	0
LECTURERS ...	66%	33%
OFFICE STAFF ...	2	0

COOKSTOWN RURAL DISTRICT AREA

Population: 40% Catholic; 60% Non-Catholic.

	Non-Catholics	Catholics
EMPLOYMENT ...	38	19
LOUGHRY AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE	86	30

Of the 30 Catholics employed, none holds a top position and 28 of them are at the bottom two levels of employment, i.e., domestics and other workers.

COOKSTOWN URBAN DISTRICT AREA

Population Ratio: 60% Non-Catholic; 40% Catholic.

	Non-Catholics	Catholics
COUNCIL EMPLOYMENT ...	42	0
ELECTRICITY NORTHERN IRELAND (Cookstown Branch) ...	59	9

Of the 9 Catholics employed, 7 are labourers, 1 a patrolman, 1 a way-leaver officer.

DUNMAN BRIDGE CREAMERY (Milk Marketing Board) ...	46	2
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Houses built from 1945 to July, 1968 equalled 468—98 of these were for slum clearance, consequently the 370 for normal letting were allocated as follows ...

...	309	61
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This means that non-Catholics received 83.5% of houses and Catholics who represent 40% of the population secured only 16.5% of the houses.

	Non-Catholics	Catholics
WARD AND LAB. MAIDS	7	10
PORTERS	6	5
PHARMACIST	1	0
PHARMACIST ASSISTANT	1	0
SEAMSTRESSES	2	0
AMBULANCEMEN	7	0
MATRON	1	0
ASSISTANT MATRONS	2	0
WARD SISTERS	8	7
DIETICIAN	1	0
COOKS	7	1
KITCHEN MANAGER	1	0
RECEPTIONISTS	4	0
SUPERINTENDENT	1	0
LAUNDRY WORKERS	6	5
LABORATORY TECHNICIANS	10	0
ENGINEER	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

FIVEMILETOWN HIGH SCHOOL

	Non-Catholics	Catholics
PUPILS ON ROLL	410	140
PRINCIPAL	1	0
VICE PRINCIPAL	1	0
PERMANENT TEACHERS	21	3
PART-TIME TEACHERS	5	0
BUS DRIVERS	5	0
KITCHEN STAFF	6	0
CLEANERS	6	0
SECRETARY TO PRINCIPAL	1	0
ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN	1	0
LABORATORY ASSISTANT	1	0
TOTALS	48	3

Though Catholics represent 25.5% of the students, the staff employed shows that less than 6% is Catholic.

FIVEMILETOWN CO-OPERATIVE CREAMERY

Some 80 to 100 employed, none of whom is a Catholic, though one-third of the milk suppliers are Catholic.

DERRY COUNTY BOROUGH

(Population: 68% Catholic)	Non-Catholics	Catholics
TOWN CLERK	1	0
CITY ACCOUNTANT	1	0
CITY SURVEYOR	1	0
ELECTRICITY SUPERINTENDENT	1	0
DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION	1	0
MEDICAL OFFICER	1	0
CITY SOLICITOR	1	0
SCHOOL DENTIST	1	0
SANITARY OFFICER	1	0
HOUSING ARCHITECT	1	0
WELFARE OFFICER	1	0
HOUSING MANAGER	1	0
RATE COLLECTOR	1	0
LIBRARIAN	1	0
PARKS SUPERINTENDENT	1	0

Of the remaining salaried employees of Derry Corporation only 18% are Catholic.

ARMAGH COUNTY COUNCIL

Employees—289 non-Catholics; 11 Catholics.

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Copies of this booklet may be obtained—2/6d. post free—from the author:

**Aidan Corrigan,
4 Orpheus Drive,
Dungannon,
Co. Tyrone, Ireland.**

- *Picture on outside back cover was taken in Derry and shows R.U.C., B Specials and Protestant extremists openly fraternising during street disturbance. Here is proof positive that the Stormont police forces are partisan and now discredited in the eyes of the world.*

