

THE VOICE OF THE NORTH

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ANDREW BOYD

— HOLY WAR
IN BELFAST

SEE PAGE TWO

BERNADETTE:



Chichester-Clark about to tumble?

WHAT WE STAND FOR

IT WOULD appear necessary to re-state again the aims of VOICE OF THE NORTH.

This weekly newspaper is produced on a non-profit basis and published by a group of persons who see a need to counter the propaganda emanating from Stormont and the Unionists.

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Its board of management—all Ulstermen—includes persons of differing political views, but all of them are united on a common objective: the need to speak the truth fearlessly on behalf of the people of the North, to speak above sectarian bitterness, to expose dishonesty, discrimination and double-dealing, and to strive for peace with justice.

That is what VOICE OF THE NORTH is trying to do. And that is what it will continue to try to do.

THE VOICE OF THE NORTH has been received with a ready response from readers throughout the Six-Counties and sales are now being extended by request to the whole of Ireland.

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THE cynicism of the Unionist Party is fully exposed in the latest shift by Mr. William Craig in favour of a federal Ireland which would be part of Great Britain. Thus, the man who, a week before threatened Westminster with "rivers of blood" if they attempted to take over control of the Six Counties, now wants us all to be taken over.

BY ANTHONY MacLAUGHLIN

Mr. Craig has turned the flank of the elements in the Unionist Party who want to throw him out as an embarrassment at a time when double-talk is the order of the day. His "federation" gimmick has made him safe from any serious dumping move.

But what Mr. Craig is really doing is calling the bluff of the Unionist Cabinet. Major Chichester-Clark now finds himself slipping slowly out of control of the situation which he has largely created by his own attempt to talk his way out of the Hunt recommendations and thus placate the B. Specials.

WAITING FOR MR. FAULKNER

What observers are watching for now is the first open move to take over the Premiership by Mr. Brian Faulkner, who has moved out into the middle where he is the last remaining hope that the disunited Unionists see.



The point, however, has been reached where the Wilson Government cannot tolerate another take-over of the Unionist administration. They pressed reform with Captain O'Neill—and he was brought down.

They have pressed even stronger and more openly with Major Chichester-Clark—and if he falls a victim to the Unionist machine, they have no option but to move in with a Commission to run the Six Counties.

TWO YEARS FOR DEFENDING HOME

MALACHY GROGAN, of Alloa Street, Belfast, was sentenced to two years imprisonment last week for defending his home when the so-called forces of law and order were either unwilling or unable to do so.

Grogan was charged with illegal possession of a .38 revolver and 11 rounds of ammunition, and with causing an explosion, to wit by firing three rounds.

The facts of the case are that his home, with two other Catholic houses in Alloa Street, was attacked last September. Three petrol bombs were thrown in through his parlour window, terrorising his wife and three children.

Grogan threw open the door of his home and fired three shots in the air.

Judge W. B. Topping, who sentenced him to prison, was awarded his High Court judgeship for service to the Unionist Government as Minister for Home Affairs in 1956/57. He at that time signed the orders for internment 300 persons, without trial, in January, 1957.

MORAL RIGHT

Malachy Grogan has been condemned for defending his home and family at a time when law and order had so broken down in the area, in which he lives, that British troops had to be called in to try and keep the peace.

Who is to say that possession of a gun is morally wrong when it is held for the defence of one's home and family at a time when homes were coming under attack from sectarian forces? Bogside and the Falls proved that the law was partisan and that the only order was the Orange Order.

It is significant that listeners to police radio broadcasts on the morning on which Malachy Grogan fired in the air in defence of his family report that RUC patrols were unwilling to enter the Manor Street area (in which Alloa St. is situated) because of the sniper fire in which a man was shot dead that morning.

● See Watchman on Back Page.

TRIAL NOW A FARCE

IT COULD only happen in the Six Counties. The Stormont case against Miss Bernadette Devlin—she is summoned to appear at Derry Courthouse on December 8—has been hopelessly prejudiced. And in any democratic country the charges would forthwith be dropped.

Miss Devlin over three days of sharp cross-examination by counsel for the R.U.C. at the Scarman Tribunal in the past week, has already given a public answer to the charges. Her evidence has made headlines.

It is a travesty of justice if she is now to be harried before a court whose partiality must be highly suspect.

The decision to prosecute Bernadette constitutes a contempt of the Scarman Tribunal.

And it is obviously actuated by a Unionist desire to have Miss Devlin unseated as Westminster M.P. for Mid-Ulster. They failed to silence her in Westminster and in North America, so the device of trying to unseat her on trumped-up charges is now being resorted to.

WHO IS BLUFFING ABOUT SOCIAL INVESTMENT 7

THE Belfast rate for Housing this year is 1/- in the £.

The Dublin rate for Housing this year is 11/8 in the £.

ANDREW BOYD'S BOOK LIFTS LID

The Author



ANDREW BOYD, who was born in Belfast and now lives there, is known in both parts of Ireland as a political commentator. He is a contributor to most of the Irish newspapers as well as to the *New Statesman*, the *Spectator* and other journals. His reports from Northern Ireland appear regularly in *Tribune*; his pamphlet, *The Two Irelands*, was published by the Fabian Society in June 1968. He appears frequently on television programmes in Belfast and Dublin and also broadcasts on sound radio. Boyd has been described as one of the most damaging critics of both the Unionist Party and the Northern Ireland Government. On the other hand he is an advocate of

Civil Rights, North-South economic co-operation, a commission to inquire into the administration of Northern Ireland, and united opposition to the Unionists. *Holy War in Belfast* is his first book but it is on a subject which has, he says, fascinated him since he was a youngster. It is the first account ever written of the many religious riots that have swept through Belfast, generation after generation.

BY kind permission of Andrew Boyd we publish this condensation by Michael Mills, political correspondent of the "Irish Press", of a series of articles which appeared in that newspaper and which were based on Andrew Boyd's book "Holy War in Belfast" (Anvil Books, Tralee, 8/6d.)

FOR MORE than 130 years, the city of Belfast in Northern Ireland has periodically disgraced itself with outbreaks of sectarian violence of a particularly vicious nature. Hundreds of lives have been lost in that time, thousands have been wounded and the destruction of property has been incalculable.

In modern times, the sectarian factor has been complicated by social and political considerations arising from discrimination by the ruling Unionist Party in housing and jobs, the desire of Nationalists (the minority) for unity with the rest of Ireland and the fear of Protestants that they will eventually be outnumbered and outvoted by the Catholic population. More than one-half of the present school-going population in the state of Northern Ireland is Catholic.

In the latest outbreak of violence in the month of August in Belfast, 9 lives were lost, hundreds more were injured and thousands of families were driven from their homes.

BACK TO 1835

Andrew Boyd's "Holy War in Belfast" is the first serious study of the sectarian troubles in the city dating back to 1835. It has a particular relevance to the tragic events of August last in that there is an almost uncanny repetition of history down through the years.

Protestant and Catholic ghettos, like the Falls and Shankill, were there from the beginning; clerical rabble-rousers like Henry Cooke and "Roaring Hanna" were the persecutors of Ian Paisley and, in the background, there were always the Orange lodges wielding their secret and baneful influence on the political scene.

Why is bigotry carried on so relentlessly like an hereditary disease from generation to generation?" asks Boyd.

"The answer," he suggests, "probably lies in the continued existence of the Orange lodges, which the NORTHERN WHIG described in 1857 as 'ghastly institutions', and which the commissioners who enquired into civil riots during the 19th century so often indicted as the root cause of the unrest. In the secrecy of their meetings, the Orange lodges perpetuate the anti-Catholic doctrines proclaimed in public by the militant Protestant and Unionist politicians.

"Northern Ireland has been known for a long time as a place where Catholics and Protestants—in political terms, Nationalist and Unionist—cannot live together in peace.

ABNORMAL FEAR

'Members of the Orange Order, an exclusively Protestant organisation which began in 1795, have an abnormal fear of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland. Against Catholicism they have devised their own

magical rigmorale of music, banners, incantations and ritual.

"These fetishes pass for politics in the North because the Orange Order and the Unionist Party are interwoven. All Orangemen are Unionist. All Unionist politicians, except for a few recent expulsions and resignations, are members of the Orange Order. Their common purpose is to maintain Protestant power and to keep Northern Ireland within the United Kingdom.

"The Unionist Party and the Orange Order control all the vital positions in the state administration, local government, the courts—and even in many industries. This is why the Catholics, who are one-third of the population, have never fully accepted Unionist rule.

"And even to the present day, which is nearly 50 years after the establishment of the Northern Ireland Government, the Catholics are accused of plotting to overthrow the constitution and to have Northern Ireland absorbed in an all-Ireland republic.

"The long standing hostility between the two communities has erupted, generation after generation, in violent sectarian riots on the streets of Belfast."

MAINLY CALVINIST

Many of the Protestants in Northern Ireland are direct descendants of the settlers who were brought in to occupy the dispossessed lands of the Catholics in the early 17th century.

The early settlers were mainly Calvinist and nearly two hundred years later, their descendants embraced the doctrines of republican democracy and fought alongside their Catholic neighbours in the rebellion of the United Irishmen in 1798. Within two generations, however, the majority of the people of Ulster had abandoned their republican principles, embraced the politics of the Tories and developed a deep-rooted antipathy to their Catholic neighbours.

It was the growing influence of a Presbyterian clergyman, Henry Cooke, in the first half of the nineteenth century that eventually destroyed any hope of an alliance between the Protestant and Catholic communities.

A writer of the time said that before Cooke's day sectarian riots were unknown in Belfast. He was the framer of sectarianism in the politics of Ulster.

He was greatly assisted by the Orange Order which was growing in membership and gradually spreading its influence through the community. The Order was set up to protect the poorer Protestant farmers and to terrorise Catholics who bid against them at auctions. The rules of the Order specifically stated that no

Roman Catholic could be admitted on any account.

Preaching in the streets by Cooke and his disciples became a feature of Belfast life, and their oratory often ended in riots, destruction of property, bloodshed and murder. Outbreaks of violence also followed the many parades of the Orangemen until, eventually, Parliament passed a law banning all party processions.

IN SANDY ROW

Boyd traces the first sectarian riots in Belfast back to 1835 when the Orange celebrations ended in violence in Sandy Row in which two people were killed and a large number wounded. Not far way in Smithfield, Catholics demonstrated and wrecked the premises of Protestant shopkeepers.

Twenty-two years later, one of the worst sectarian riots of the century occurred in the city. A major share of the blame can be laid at the doors of two of Henry Cooke's disciples, Dr. Thomas Drew and "Roaring Hanna", who roused their followers to a feverish hate of Catholics with their hysterical sermons about the Pope's prisons and torture chambers. The Orangemen and their wives, many of them poorly-educated, believed every word these rabble-rousers spoke.

The 1857 riots were followed by a commission of inquiry which reported that most of the blame must be laid on the Orangemen and the clergymen who persisted in provocative, open-air preaching, despite warnings and appeals from the authorities.

The commission found that the Orange system seemed to have no other practical result than to keep up the Orange festivals and celebrations, leading to violence, outrage, religious animosities, hatred between classes and, too often, bloodshed and loss of life.

ORANGE LODGES

The NORTHERN WHIG, which was then a radical newspaper, blamed the Orange lodges for all the atrocities in the city, described them as "satires on Christianity" and said they must be done away with.

Seven years later, the riots broke out again, following the celebrations in Dublin by the Catholic population of the laying of the foundation stone of the monument to Daniel O'Connell, whose efforts in the British Parliament had led to Catholic Emancipation nearly forty years earlier. When the Belfast Catholics

who had travelled to Dublin for the celebrations were returning home by train they were stoned by a mob of Protestants who also set fire to a giant effigy of O'Connell.

This was the start of a bloody combat in which atrocities were committed on both sides. A group of Catholic navies were involved in a disgraceful incident when they attacked and terrified a Protestant national school.

Before the riots ended that year, the Protestant shipwrights in Belfast shipyards took a gruesome revenge on the navies when they trapped them down at the water and mercilessly beat them with various weapons.

Again, a commission of inquiry was set up and again, their findings were very similar to those of 1857. Belfast, they reported, is liable to periodic disturbances on occasions well-known as the Orange anniversaries. If the celebration of these anniversaries be attended with such risks we might well ask why any party should obstinately adhere to it.

In other countries, good feeling and good sense have buried in generous oblivion the memory of civil strife such as they commemorate. Why is it otherwise in Ireland? Can neither the discouragement of the powerful and influential, nor the adverse opinion of the wise and good, induce those who indulge in such vain and mischievous displays to remember the claims of citizenship, of charity, or of civilisation?

TORY RECORD

The history of the Tory Party in relation to Northern Ireland is not exactly a proud one. Its worst chapter was contributed by Lord Randolph Churchill in 1886 when he decided that if Gladstone went for Irish Home Rule in the British Parliament, the "Orange card" was the one to play. His strategy had its full effect in the terrible riots of that summer.

The violence began in the shipyards where so many of these sectarian outbursts occurred in the last century. (Fortunately and encouragingly, in the recent outbreaks of violence in Belfast the shipyards were not involved, largely, it is claimed, because of the growth and influence of the trade union movement.)

Churchill came to Belfast for the purpose of inciting the Orange lodges against the Gladstone Government. He knew how much the

Will there be no end to bigotry?

Orangemen feared Home Rule and what violence they would use to prevent it. After landing at Larne he was escorted by a huge crowd with banging drums to the Ulster Hall where he made a most seditious speech to a large and highly dangerous crowd.

He compared Gladstone to the assassin Macbeth and urged the Orangemen to use force against the lawful government. His speech had precisely the effect he intended.

His son, Winston Churchill wrote "From that moment the excitement in Belfast did not subside... The disturbances were savage, repeated and prolonged."

HOME RULE FAILS

Gladstone's Home Rule Bill was rejected. In the Catholic Falls Road area of Belfast, the people lamented the rejection by setting their chimneys on fire, while down the Shankill, the Protestants celebrated with blazing tar-barrels.

The Commission of Inquiry into the cause of the riots again found against the Orange Order. But it mattered little to Churchill what anybody thought. Before the riots ended, Gladstone was out of office and Churchill was back in power as Chancellor of Exchequer. His "Orange card" had proved successful.

The 1886 riots marked the beginning of organised Ulster Unionism, a political movement that had profited immeasurably from threats and disorder.

The Unionist Party, which today dominates Northern Ireland was created from a combination of industrialists, Orangemen, Tory landowners, Liberals who feared Home Rule in Ireland, and Protestant working people from the shipyards, mills, factories and farms. Even the **NORTHERN WHIG**, distinguished for sixty years as a radical outlet, defected to the Unionist side after 1886.

The Home Rule crisis and the riots that were part of it consolidated this conservative front and divided the people of Northern Ireland more completely into the political divisions which remain to the present day. At the same time, influence over the mobs of the back-

streets passed to the Protestant gentry, the businessmen and the military class.

POWERFUL BODY

Large numbers of country gentlemen, clergymen of all Protestant denominations, business and professional people, farmers and artisans began to join the Orange Order in Belfast and other centres, until it became an exceedingly powerful political organisation.

In 1892, when Gladstone was preparing his second Home Rule Bill, these new leaders prepared themselves for another round of warfare in Belfast. In the following year there were two outbreaks of violence and Catholics were driven from their jobs in the shipyards. Another major outbreak occurred in 1898, and hundreds of Catholics were forced out of work.

In the many outbreaks of religious turbulence from the heyday of Henry Cooke until the close of the 19th century, Belfast laid the foundations of that communal segregation and intolerance that is characteristic even of its modern population. The original fomentors of religious riots were clerical fanatics but they prepared the way for Unionist politicians who, in 1920, by an unexpected adaptation of the principle of Home Rule, were made masters in Ulster and became the government of Northern Ireland.

SECOND-CLASS STATUS

From its inception, the Northern Ireland Government, set up under the Government of Ireland Act of 1920, and consisting entirely of Orangemen and Unionists, was determined to reduce Catholics to second-class status. The Prime Minister, Sir James Craig, was soon boasting that he and his colleagues had 'established a Protestant Government for a Protestant people.'

In 1922, they brought in the iniquitous Special Powers Act which persists down to the present time and gives the Minister of Home Affairs absolute power to arrest people on suspicion of endangering the State and to imprison them indefinitely without benefit of trial. It also empowers him to send police into the homes of people without warrant, impound property, suspend Habeas Corpus and abolish inquests.

Soon after that, the Unionists ended proportional representation in local government elections and

authorised the Minister for Home Affairs to alter municipal and rural boundaries. This led to the gerrymandering of the city of Derry, Enniskillen, Omagh, Armagh and many other towns and rural districts. The object was to ensure that the Unionists would control local councils in areas where they were in the minority.

300 KILLED

From this control has arisen a system of anti-Catholic discrimination in housing and employment, which has disgraced Northern Ireland.

The Government made little effort to control the frequent outbreaks of violence and fanaticism among its supporters. Far more terrifying than all the disturbances of the 19th century were those from 1920 to 1922, when nearly 300 people were killed, most of them in Belfast, in what amounted to civil war between Unionists and Catholics.

Many were slain by the Special Constabulary, a sectarian force which the British Government set up in 1920 and soon afterwards transferred to the control of the Northern Ireland Government.

In 1921, the notorious 'B' Specials killed six Catholic men, of whom one was actually beaten to death, within five days. There is little doubt that the "unformed men" who murdered five members of the MacMahon family in Belfast in 1922 were also members of the Specials.

The Unionist Government retains between eight thousand 'B' Specials to the present day and they are recruited from the same classes of militant Protestants who formed the original force in 1920. As such, they are feared and hated by Catholics.

In 1935 there were more sectarian riots in Belfast, caused by provocative speeches by members of the Unionist Government and by the activities of the Ulster Protestant League. The second world war ended open outbreaks of sectarianism for the time being but under the surface the old antagonisms still survived.

PROTESTANTS SUFFER

They were brought into the open again in 1964 with the rise of a new wave of militant Protestantism under the leadership of Ian Paisley, the Moderator of the self-styled Free

Presbyterians, and with the growth of a movement demanding full civil rights for all citizens of Northern Ireland. Protestants as well as Catholics.

The civil rights movement, despite allegations by the Paisleyites and their Unionist supporters is not exclusively Catholic or Republican. Its membership includes people of all religions.

Thousands of Protestants as well as Catholics are the victims of Unionist misrule. They, too, suffer from unemployment and poor housing. They are disfranchised by the restricted local government voting lists. A Protestant must also be a "loyalist", which means he must belong to the Orange Order and the Unionist Party, if he is to benefit from the system of preferences.

Those Protestants who follow men like Paisley are convinced, however wrong they may be, that Northern Ireland is a frontier defending the Protestant faith against the Counter-Reformation. The Papacy to them is only a few miles away across the border in the Irish Republic.

Consequently, they regard every political party that is not Unionist and Orange as part of an international Polish plot. To the modern world such an outlook is, of course, absolutely fantastic. History has shown, nonetheless, that when exploited by politicians, the Orange Order's fear of Rome can result in murder and destruction of property and cause many other forms of misery.

"UNHAPPY PLACE"

One man who sincerely tried to build bridges between the two communities was Capt. Terence O'Neill, who was forced by hard-liners within his own Party to resign from the Premiership of Northern Ireland on 1st of May and make way for the present Prime Minister, Major Chichester-Clark.

O'Neill failed because the inbred prejudices of Unionists and Orangemen were more than he could overcome. In the end, he gave up trying and in a television interview, given only a few weeks before he resigned, he said he could see no end to religious bigotry in Ulster.

"If that be so," Andrew Boyd concludes his book, "then Northern Ireland is going to be an unhappy place for future generations — as unhappy, perhaps, as it was for generations long dead."



British troops on guard in Belfast—the thin line protecting the people of the Falls and Ardoyne.

ORANGEISM

It was CRAIGAVON who thus coined the legend, "A Protestant Parliament for a Protestant people."

Of course, CRAIGAVON — as Unionists have ever done — was slandering a big percentage of the North's Protestants. As frequently in Irish history, they are to-day in the

community, Craigavon's successor, Lord Brookeborough, the former Premier, came out of retirement to tackle O'Neill because he was prepared to listen to reason. Not only

CONCLUSION OF THE SERIES by MICHAEL GERAGHTY

van of the civil rights movement. Men like Ivan Cooper (elected to parliament by a Catholic vote in Derry) and Jack Hassard (a Dungannon councillor) are now upholding in the North the proud Protestant heritage of fair play and basic patriotism.

Many of Ireland's most cherished patriots were Protestants. Names like these Protestants are revered in every corner of the land: Wolfe Tone, father of Irish Republicanism; John Mitchell, great advocate of Irish freedom, banished by the British Government to Van Dieman's land as "a felon"; Isaac Butt, the father of Home Rule; Henry Grattan, founder of the Irish National Volunteers in Dungannon in 1782 (and the man who gave Ireland her first parliament which sat in what is now the Bank of Ireland building in College Green, Dublin); Henry Joy McCracken, the United Irishman hanged in 1798; the Sheares brothers, hanged, drawn and quartered the same year; Robert Emmet, "the darling of Ireland," who led an insurrection in Dublin; Charles Stewart Parnell, the great parliamentary leader; Edmund Burke, another renowned parliamentarian; Erskine Childers, the Englishman who threw in his lot with the Irish Republicans in 1916 and who was later executed (his son now is Deputy Prime Minister of the Irish Republic); Dr. Douglas Hyde, Ireland's first president, a revered Gaelic scholar and a poet who led the revival of Gaelic culture.

Lord Craigavon, therefore, had no right to confuse Orangeism with Protestantism. While decent Northern Protestants in 1969 were organising the campaign to eliminate the blight of a second-class citizenry from their

that, but Brookeborough's son, Capt. John Brooke—an M.P. from Fermanagh—took part in the backbencher attack of O'Neill. Father and son saw their efforts succeed, the voice of reason was muted by the Lambe drums. The Captain's rebellion has since been rewarded by a junior ministry in the Stormont Government of Chichester-Clark—the man the Orangemen chose when O'Neill was jettisoned.

The power of Orangeism as the driving force in present-day Northern Ireland politics continues its frightening course. One can explain it in no fairer way than to quote ex-Premier O'Neill, who remains a member of that Orange Order. In an article in the London "Sunday Times" (September 7, 1969) he commented on the August visit of Mr. James Callaghan, the British Home Secretary, to Northern Ireland. Callaghan came as the region stood on the brink of chaos, with law and order broken down, the Unionist Government ineffective and the Orange Lodges plotting and threatening. He wrote:

"It is not the Government I am worrying about; it is a certain section of the Unionist backbench who believe that in reality 1969 is 1912. If they can exert enough pressure on the Government, either to force them to modify these proposals, or to persuade Ministers to make hard-line speeches in the interests of party unity, then we may well find that the minority will feel that they are being let down and the barricades—either in their minds or in the streets—will stay up for ever . . .

"If my reasoning is correct then the future of Ulster lies not

O'NEILL INDICTS ORANGE INFLUENCE

with the Home Secretary nor with the Government but with the backbenchers. If they yield to pressure in their constituencies and behave as delegates rather than as representatives, then the will undoubtedly bring about the demise of the Parliament whose authority and independence they are trying to uphold.

"If we experience another serious upheaval this autumn and winter, Ulster will already have gone too far down the wrong road for her to turn back. The sad thing is that 98 per cent. of our people want peace, but are powerless to impose it once trouble begins . . .

"Will the Catholic areas in Belfast and Londonderry re-submit themselves to civil authority? Will it be possible to withdraw the additional troops (10,000 British) stationed here? How long will the present stalemate last? When, if ever, will the barricades come down? These are a few of the imponderables, most of which are dependent on the answers to the political problems . . .

"The Home Secretary has done his very considerable best. The Government of Northern Ireland have faced the inevitable and gone along with him. However, what we need and the hour is late—is a change of heart by both sections of the community. It is possible that such a thing could take place? I fervently hope so, but my reason tells me that it is distinctly doubtful. Ancient passions have been aroused which were beginning to die away during the last few years. Hatred is a bad foundation upon which to build a new Ulster."

There could hardly be a more damning indictment than that of Orangeism from the inside. Parliament will be destroyed, he said, "if members yield to pressure in their constituencies and behave as delegates rather than representatives."

But practice and precedent are with the Lodges. In a 1967 historical appreciation of Orangeism, which is dedicated "To the Glorious, Pious and Immortal Memory of Great and Good King William," the co-authors of this official work state the plain facts: "It is historically unarguable that the Ulster Unionist Party came out of the Orange Institution. It is equally true that the party has never been without the leadership of men who were Orangemen before they became politicians.

Therein lies the key to the whole Northern problem. The elected politicians of the Unionist Party are not free agents from the pervading influence of the Orange Order, or the Orange Institution, nor for that matter, from the Royal Black In-

stitution, the Royal Arch Purple Chapter, the Independent Orange Order, the Apprentice Boys of Derry, the Association of Loyal Orangemen, the Junior Orange Association, the Loyal Orange Lodge of "research, their countless lodges and secret membership.

Orangeism, as the begetter of Unionism had never intended that those elected to Stormont in its name would be other than front men for it.

It is a thing purely based on sectarianism. It is maintained by instilling various fears in its followers: fear of the Church of Rome; fear of losing the favoured, privileged position of generations; fear of being reduced to the status of second-class citizens—the status that Orangeism insists should be permanently imposed upon Roman Catholics and liberal Protestants.

In the early Autumn of 1969 that sectarianism became a monster out of control. The Unionism created to protect was being destroyed by the very same monster as a political philosophy before the very eyes of the world.

Yet even as the Northern skies darkened with disaster clouds. Orange spokesmen published those proud lines: "Its (Orangeism's) encouragement of innocent party pleasures, its big family holidays and its sympathetic and practical concern for community needs, is obvious to all but the blindly prejudiced . . ."

A few months later blood had to flow again in Belfast to protest that lie. The presence of 10,000 British troops and the massive aid campaigns, even beyond the shores of Europe, speak volumes for "community needs" there. The grim faces one meets in the Six Counties speak well of the "innocent party pleasures" of those Orangemen who have dominated the North since King Billy spent two weeks among them 279 years ago.

References: "The Orange Society: Its Origin and Objects," by Lt. Col. G. Fox Grant (published in Dublin, 1884); "Law and Ordinances of the Grand Protestant Association of Loyal Orangemen of Great Britain" (published Manchester, 1851); "Eulogium on the Siege of Derry," by Richard Wilson (published Dublin, 1808); "Orangeism," by Rev. M. W. Dewar, M.A., Ph.D. (A.R. Hist.S.) Rev. John Brown, M.A., B.D., and the Rev. S. E. Long, A.L.C.D. (published by the Grand Lodge of Ireland, 1967); "Holy War In Belfast," by Andrew Boyd (published in Tralee, 1969); "Orangeism: Its Origin, Constitution and Objects," by Richard Lilburn, 1866; "Sunday Times" (London, September 7, 1969); "Origin and Objects of the Loyal Orange Association," by James Verner Hart (published Belfast, 1875); "Rules and Regulations of the Boyne Society, Commonly Called Orange Men," by Dr. William Atkinson (published Belfast, 1793); "The Northern Part of Ireland What's The Trouble There?" published by the United Ireland Association (Britain); "Northern Ireland—The Plain Truth" (2nd Edition), by the Campaign for Social Justice for Northern Ireland (published Dungannon, 1969); "Orange Lodges, Associations or Societies in Ireland"—a report of a select committee ordered by the British House of Commons and published July, 1835.

CIVIL RIGHTS MEETING

NOVEMBER 17

ENNISKILLEN
Town Hall

at 8.30 p.m.

GUEST SPEAKERS

THE case of 19-year-old John Arthurs of Dungannon — sentenced on conflicting evidence to three years imprisonment when convicted of throwing a petrol bomb — stands on the conscience of Ireland.

'I WAS BEATEN UNCONSCIOUS'

JOHN ARTHURS, a youth of Dungannon, was sent to prison for three years at Omagh a week ago, after being found guilty by a jury of throwing a petrol bomb. Further evidence is now being sought by the people of Dungannon for the Scarman Tribunal in a bid to have Arthurs cleared and the conviction quashed. In view of the great interest this case has aroused, we give below the statement made by Arthurs at his trial.

On Wednesday night I went into town to go down to Saint Patrick's Hall. I heard in the hall that there was a Civil Rights meeting. I went up Ann Street where I met Sean Hughes.

We went down to the barricade to watch Civil Rights marchers who were taking turns at patrolling and doing guard duty at the barricades, so we took our turn.

While we were there the Civil Rights meeting was held. It rained quite heavy during the meeting. At the end of the meeting we were relieved duty at the barricade and we proceeded up Irish Street to see what was happening.

Saw Barricades

We saw a barricade across the top of William Street and another at the top of Irish Street. At the top of Irish Street there was a lorry forming the main part of the barricade. We went down Irish Street again and we saw the Riot Police gathering at the Courthouse.

They came up William Street and were driven back by people throwing stones and bottles.

Sean and I went into Fairmount to the barricade at the Courier Office. While we were there we saw a bus go on fire at the front of the Courthouse.

The next thing I saw was smoke billowing from the Courier Office. Firemen came and Sean and I then went down into the housing estate. While we were down beside the barricade over-looking Holmes' filling station we saw other buses on fire.

B Specials

Suddenly about fifteen or twenty B Specials came running into the housing estate.

My original intention on going into the estate was to go to the house of friends if any mobs came, but at the time the B Specials came it was impossible to go to the house, unless from across their line of fire.

I ran around the back of Herron's house. Three B Specials followed me. One told me to put my hands up. I did so and was immediately hit in the stomach with the barrel of a rifle.

I was beaten to the ground with the rifles. I tried to get up and I was punched and kicked until I fell. I tried to get up several times.

Eventually they dragged me to my feet and took me around the side of Herron's house. They kept prodding at me with the barrels of the rifles and they were saying: "You'd lift the bureau, would you, You Fenian B —"

Wall of Flame

As I was being brought past the barricade one of the B Specials said, "We'll shoot the Fenian B — now and shove him down the nearest grating". How would you like that you Civil s —?"

They then pushed me on and as we came by the back of the Courier Office they began to talk about throwing me into it. They stopped and held me in front of the windows. One said, "How would you like to be thrown into it you Fenian B —?" The glass was all broken out of the windows and all I could see was a wall of flame.

They then took me around the side of the Courier Office to the barricade. They pushed and hustled me over the barricade. At the front of the Courier Office there were about 15 firemen.

One of them asked, "Who is that? One of the B Specials replied that I was one of the 'Civil S —'. The fireman then said "Hold him" and he kicked me viciously with his boot. I stumbled and almost fell.

The firemen and the B Specials all laughed, thinking this to be rather amusing. I was then dragged down to the bottom of William St. There were a line of about twenty or thirty riot squad there.

"Gave Plenty"

As I was taken forward one of the riot squad said "Who is this then?" and the B man said I was one of the Fenian B —. The policeman then asked, "did you give him anything?" The B Special replied, "we gave him plenty."

Then two riot squad caught hold of me and said, "We'll give him a bit more," and one of the policemen in the bunch said "Cut the head of the —."

I was then taken across William Street. At this time I was daed. I was thrown against the wall. I saw 4 of the riot squad coming. I was hit in the stomach with a baton. I bent over and received a severe blow on the back of the head. I then tried to straighten up and put my hands over my face to try to save myself.

The fists and batons seemed to be coming from everywhere. I began to fall and as I did so I saw a fist coming at me. I was in no shape to try to save myself and I was hit on the side of the face. The policemen were wearing black gloves. At this point I passed out.

No Resistance

When I came round I was being dragged on my back along the footpath. I was thrown in a heap on the footpath opposite the Court House just around the corner from where I had got the beating. I had not spoken a word or put up any resistance at all.

I tried to move my arms and legs. I couldn't. I could see policemen walking around me. They kept kicking me. I tried to raise my head off

the wet footpath but I was unable.

I lay there for what seemed to be a long time. I passed out again once or twice whilst I was lying there, as the form of the stamping on my legs was too much.

One policeman said: "The f — is pretending" and he put his boot against my face and pushed my head back. When he took his boot away my head fell back onto the footpath. Then I was dragged to my feet and taken to a car.

When I was being dragged to the car I was hit several hard blows on the back by members of the force following me.

The next thing I remember is being taken out of the car at the at the police barracks. I was taken up the steps and into the police barracks by a man in plain clothes and a policeman. They had to half-carry me, as I was unable to walk properly.

"Should Shoot"

I was then taken into a room and thrown very roughly into a chair by a constable. A young sergeant then approached me and said, "We should shoot you now." As he said this he took off the belt around his tunic in a very threatening manner and came towards me as if he was going to hit me with it. Everything went black. I could still hear them talking.

The next thing I knew was Constable Speers was taking stuff out of my pockets. I heard everyone saying, "We better get a doctor." The blackness cleared and I found myself standing up.

I stumbled over and caught hold of the back of a chair. Two other people were then brought into the room. I began to sink to the floor and one of the constables caught hold of me. Another one then came to help him and they took me down to the cell and put me on the bed.

Whilst I was there four others were put into the cell along with me. I heard them saying that the police had threatened to throw them back out to the Paisleyites outside the barracks.

To Hospital

Then one of the constables came down and called me. I got up and tried to walk. I stumbled and he

held me up. One of the Boys who was put in the cell with me was going up to the toilet and he and the constable took me upstairs again to a room.

The doctor then came and examined me. He then said I should be taken out to the hospital.

He held out his hand with two tablets. I was unable to move my fingers to lift them. He put them in my mouth. I was then given a drink of water. I was able to grip the cup.

I was then taken out and put into the patrol car and taken out to the hospital. The doctor did not accompany us in the car. The 2 constables then took me into casualty, and left.

I then had several X Rays taken of my head and back. I was detained in hospital that night and most of the next day. I had to wear a sling for a week on my left arm and I was off on the sick for a period of three weeks.

On the last day on the sick I was taken to the barracks where I was kept the night and charged with disorderly behaviour and malicious damage —.

Paisleyite Threat

In cross-examination, Arthurs said that the barricade had been erected to keep people from getting into the waste ground. Trouble could have come from civilians in William Street.

He said Paisleyites had threatened to burn the houses at Fairmount Park and the object of the vigilantes was to warn the residents. There were many young children in the estate. Several people had sticks but he (accused) had none. He did not know if those with sticks were vigilantes.

In reply to further cross-examination he said there were Paisleyites in the town square that night.

He did not know why the petrol bombs were thrown and agreed it would have been irresponsible to have thrown them.

Asked why he had run as he had said from the B-Specials, he replied: "Knowing the B-Specials reputation no one would have stayed."

He would not agree he was very anti-B-Special.

Mr. Watt, prosecuting — You would try to slur them?

Arthurs—I do not need to.

He agreed the B-Specials did not shoot.

Asked why he, who lived in Drumcoo Green, was in Ann Street, Arthurs explained that he was a vigilante looking after the estate. His purpose was to give alarm if the Paisleyites came.

HOW STORMONT DESTROYED ITS OWN POLICE FORCE

HOW DISCRIMINATION WORKS These points are answered in

EYE-WITNESS IN NORTHERN IRELAND

A new Booklet by Aidan Corrigan.

26 Post Free from the Author:

4 Orpheus Drive,
Dungannon, Co. Tyrone.

THE TWO FACES OF UNIONISM

AIDAN CORRIGAN points to the two faces of Unionism — both trying to twist the truth.

THE Unionist Party, until the birth of the Civil Rights movement over twelve months ago, was always well united. However, with the inauguration of this great unifying movement, and the attendant publicity which it gave to the calculated injustices which had been perpetrated against the minority in Northern Ireland, there were two specific and different responses from the Unionists.

On the one hand, the hardliners, led by Craig and Paisley, blandly denied that discrimination existed at all.

Mr. Craig reiterated time and again that the minority had nothing to complain about. Consequently, he continued to make his sectarian speeches, the most notorious of which was in the Ulster Hall on November 28th last, from a platform which included his colleague, Mr. Faulkner, the then Minister of Commerce, and Mr. John Taylor, M.P.

SUBTLE TYPE

On the other hand, after the Civil Rights movement got under way the shrewder, more subtle type of Unionist, led by Terence O'Neill, embarked on a more sophisticated type of campaign.

Men like Mr. Bradford, who on the 11th October, 1968, on the "David Frost" TV programme, stubbornly defended the Unionist record, then became O'Neill's strongest supporters. This was the more dangerous type of Unionist and they made a very bold effort, with some success, to give an impression of moderation and fair play.

However, when one probed deeper into their policies, there was no significant difference between what the moderate and the hard line Unionist was really promising to the minority.

Mr. O'Neill's 9th December speech was a masterpiece of theatricals. Without conceding a single demand to the Civil Rights movement he, in fact, almost hypnotised the country into believing that everyone would in fact receive fair play, under the smiling O'Neill.

NEW TACTIC

Unionists at this stage quickly adopted a new tactic to prevent further exposure. Civil Rights people who spoke the truth were quickly branded "extremists" by O'Neillites. No word in the English language in the past twelve months has been more bandied around and misused so much as this word "extreme".

What in fact has been happening is that moderate people who speak the truth about the extreme discrimination and injustices are, with tragic irony, being branded extremists by the perpetrators of extreme injustices — the real extremists, the Unionist Government and Party.

A leading article in the "Irish News," of Saturday 18th October, aptly sums up the position: "For 50 years the minority in this area have stated that law enforcement was carried out by an armed body of men, acting in a para-military capacity under political orders. For 50 years they campaigned unavailingly until now against gerrymandering."

"For 50 years they have demon-

strated that local government has been twisted into an instrument to deprive them of houses; without houses they had no vote; without houses conditions of life became so intolerable that they gave up the struggle and emigrated. For 50 years they have protested against brutal discrimination in getting the simple right of any decent citizen—a job."

TELL TRUTH

The leader goes on and then asks a number of embarrassing rhetorical questions for the so called moderate Unionists: "Is it extremist or moderate to tell the truth? When it comes to apportioning degrees of responsibility, is the man who throws the petrol bomb with the intention of destroying the Catholic houses, and thereby the Catholic vote, more an extremist than his leaders who for 50 years warned him that his job, his house, his security, were threatened by Catholics

"Is he more of an extremist than the men who quietly paid his rates, quietly profited by gerrymandering and discrimination, and quietly and consistently voted against change?

"It is high time these misleading tags were either dropped completely from our vocabulary or were clearly defined and correctly applied."

In this context, Captain O'Neill and the other so-called moderate Unionists are as culpable as the B. Specials and Paisleyites who burned out the Catholics in Belfast.

Remember that Mr. O'Neill headed a Government which invested unbridled powers in Mr. Craig, Minister of Home Affairs. The O'Neill Government stoutly and stubbornly defended the action of Craig in banning the marches in Derry, in bullying an batonning people in that city on 5th October.

NO BREAK


The sincerity of the O'Neill Unionists was, I believe, exploded by their refusal to make a complete break with the right wing of the Unionist Party. It was ridiculous for a Prime Minister to expect the minority to give him massive support while at the same time refusing at that time to promise them elementary reforms, like universal franchise and the impartial enforcement of the law.

The cold devastating logic of Cardinal Conway's statement during the February election campaign when Unionist politicians practically asked him to direct his flock to vote Unionist, was repeated at the polls on election day by the minority themselves.

The O'Neill Unionists have received much of their support from a number of organisations, the most notable being the NUM and the South Tyrone Parliamentary Association which are composed of men, many of whom are genuinely dedicated to reform but it would appear a watered down type of justice.

ILLOGICAL

While these organisations are loud in the general statements in defence of justice, they are often somewhat illogical in their failure and faint heartedness in condemning unequivocally a specific miscarriage of



INTRODUCTION CARD.

MINISTRY OF LABOUR, NORTHERN IRELAND.

Class of placing

Order No.

Date.

Class No.

ALFRED STREET **Employment Exchange** **Phone No.**

To: *Mr. J. H. Stewart*

In reply to your request for: *Y.S.*

I am sending the bearer, *M. J. H. Stewart*

Please complete the space below and return this card to me as soon as possible, through the post, in the enclosed prepaid envelope.

H. G. STEVENSON, Manager.

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EMPLOYER'S REPLY.

Have you engaged the worker? *NO*

Date worker is to start: *1969*

If the worker is not engaged please state overleaf the reason

Please impress business stamp.

E.O. 12 Signature: *J. H. Stewart*

N. Ireland. Date: *27/9 1969* **P.T.O.**

How discrimination has worked is shown in this Ministry of Labour card sent to an employer. Was the woman employed? The answer was no—and if you wish to know why, turn to Back Page where the employer's reason for saying "No" is given.

justice by, say, a Unionist council. Often when they do refer to the in justice they end up condemning those who have been compelled to take action against it, in an obvious effort not to hurt Unionist politicians.

In general, when outrageous injustices have been committed they indulge in kid glove tactics when an unconditional condemnation is necessary. Their lukewarm approach can be perhaps explained by the fact that most of the members of these organisations are from the wealthier strata of society, most of whom would never suffer discrimination themselves.

GUILT-COMPLEX

On the other hand there are many in NUM and SIPA, who it would appear, suffer from a guilt-complex, for most of them in the past have backed and sustained in power nothing less than an immoral regime which both Lord Cameron and Lord Hunt found guilty.

Perhaps Cameron and Hunt and Callaghan and the International Association of Jurists and indeed the world are all extremists.

Most Rev. Dr. Philbin, Bishop of Down and Connor, on RTE, on 18th October summed up the position neatly when he said that the fact that Catholics did not behave violently in the face of such injustices for half a century is a favourable reflection on their self restraint and self discipline, which can only be explained by their living very strictly in their daily lives, the Catholic religion.

On 13th August Cardinal Conway in a statement made a similar comment, when he spoke of the many who remained silent for half a century in spite of "manifest injustices".

The NUM failed to condemn Mr. Peacocke, Inspector General of the RUC for his political "IRA" speech during the last general election; they failed to condemn O'Neill's "18" children speech last May, and

Chichester-Clark's "murderers" speech on last 12th July.

FAILURE

NUM failed to condemn the Prime Minister's false allegations at a Press conference, on 17th August, when he did not sympathise with Catholic families of those who had been killed and with the 8,000 Catholics who had been left homeless after his armed B. Specials, in uniform, and Paisleyites systematically and openly burned out all the Catholic—and only the Catholic houses—in Dover St., Perry St., Norfolk St., Conway St., Cooper St. and Bombay St., on 14th August. The B. Specials had repeated their performance of thuggery on the Catholics in the Ardoyne area on 15th August.

The Major, instead of accepting responsibility for the conduct of these anarchists loosed on the innocent Catholic people, laid all the blame on a fictitious IRA plot which he concocted to hide the crimes of his B. Special force. Lord Hunt has since exploded the Clark concoction.

The Prime Minister having thus endeavoured to distort the facts, the Northern Catholic Hierarchy rightly felt it imperative on themselves to put the record straight and issued a short succinct statement clearly placing the blame where it belonged.

This brought a wave of resentment from Unionists and men like Mr. Desmond Boal, M.P., leaped into the fray. The NUM were not found wanting at this critical time and they quickly came to Boal's assistance by adding their voice of protest to that of other Unionists, thereby leaving no one in any doubt as to where they stand. In August, while condemning extremism and emotive speech, they indulged in the most emotive language themselves and were heard to daub people "mad-men".

All in all, they would appear to be a force heavily entrenched in the self-righteousness of their own position.

DISCRIMINATION BY CASSANDRA



WHY AN EMPLOYER SAID "NO" (SEE PAGE SEVEN)

The answer was given on the back of the Ministry of Labour form as below:

THE discrimination practiced by the Unionists in Magherafelt area is shown in these tables:-

MAGHERAFELT LABOUR EXCHANGE

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

MAGHERAFELT TELEPHONE EXCHANGE

	Non-Catholics	Catholics
POSTMASTER	...	0
COUNTER CLERKS	...	1
POSTMEN	...	2
TELEPHONISTS (DAY)	...	2
TELEPHONISTS (NIGHT)	...	0
ENGINEERS	...	1
FOREMEN-JOINERS	...	0
JOINERS	...	3
LABOURERS	...	0
CLEANERS	...	0

MAGHERAFELT TECHNICAL COLLEGE

	Non-Catholics	Catholics
PRINCIPAL	...	0
VICE PRINCIPAL	...	0
LECTURERS	...	3
OFFICE STAFF	...	0
CARETAKER	...	0
CLEANERS	...	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

	Non-Catholics	Catholics
MATRON	1	0
ASSISTANT MATRON	1	0
SISTERS	8	9
NURSES	51	48
COOKS	2	4
LAUNDRY WORKERS	1	0

MAINTENANCE STAFF

	Non-Catholics	Catholics
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	...	0
ENGINEER	...	0
HOUSING MANAGER	...	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	2	1
ASSISTANT WATER INSPECTOR	1	0
WORKS FOREMEN	3	0
PAINTERS	5	5
BIN LORRY DRIVERS	1	1
ASSISTANT BIN MEN	6	2
BRICKLAYERS	2	1
LOTTY DRIVERS	2	0
JOINERS	4	1
ASSISTANT JOINERS	1	0
MECHANICAL DIGGER DRIVERS	2	0
TRACTOR DRIVER	1	0
LABOURERS	8	8
SEWERAGE CARETAKERS	5	0
TOTAL	64	19

IMPORTANT.

Refusal of suitable employment is a disqualification for the receipt of Unemployment Benefit

In the public interest, therefore, you are asked to state fully why you did not engage the applicant.

Ref. 101

WATCH-DOG *Weekly column of comment*

THE partisan attitude of the courts in the North is now becoming a blatant scandal. Contrast the manner in which members of the minority are held without bail and sentenced savagely, while Unionist extremists on similar charges are granted bail without question and given light treatment.

A man who put out the Tricolour from a publichouse during a Twelfth procession was no doubt foolhardy, but he is given a year's imprisonment and refused bail for his appeal.

Yet 85 publichouses have been burned out in Belfast and not a single suspect has even been questioned by the R.U.C.

Compare the treatment of Malachy Grogan, who got two years for defending his wife and children against petrol bomb attack, with that of an alleged looter positively identified by a carpet store owner on Shankill Road and by a police officer who found him in possession of a carpet which was identified. The case against him was dismissed in Belfast on Wednesday last.

Consider the case of a Mr. Fisher of Coates Street who was charged with possession of a petrol bomb. Five Roman Catholic homes were burned by petrol bombs on September 27 in Belfast. R.U.C. personnel were identified as having taken part. Yet no arrests have been made. But a Catholic is charged with possession of a petrol bomb.

Catholic accused have constantly been remanded in custody while others are released on bail.

Compare with all this the assurance given by the Minister for Home Affairs that no one would be victimised or prosecuted for defending their homes or erecting barricades.

The scandal of discrimination in the Northern courts was never more blatant.

TRUTH IS SEEN

John Hume's Derry is a sincerely-written television commentary prepared and spoken by the Foyle M.P. himself. Its sincerity is annoying the Unionists—just as Bernadette Devlin's biting honesty with words upset them over Northern America.

The Unionist propagandists, notably Mr. Bradford, complain that the Hume documentary failed to show new factories and new housing estates.

It did much better than that. It showed how Derry as a city has been dying since it was cut off by the Border from its natural Donegal hinterland. It showed how there are 3,000 Catholic men in Derry on the dole—the same number as there was 30 years ago. It showed how discrimination and the gerrymander has brutalised the majority in Derry over half a century.

John Hume's documentary stands as an indictment. And that is why the BBC and other foreign television stations want to show it.

THE PRICE

Mr. Sean Keenan, chairman of the Derry Citizen's Defence Committee, made a stirring reply when asked by R.U.C. counsel at the Scarman Tribunal if he considered himself to be a Britisher. He said simply: "I am an Irishman".

Easy to say, but hard to live up to in the Six Counties. And Sean Keenan has spent years of internment, without trial, in living up to it.