

# DISCRIMINATION

A STUDY IN INJUSTICE TO A MINORITY

## UNIVERSAL DECLARATION *of* HUMAN RIGHTS



ON DECEMBER 10, 1948 the General Assembly of the United Nations passed and proclaimed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the full text of which appears in the following pages. Following this historic act the Assembly called upon all Member countries to publish the text of the Declaration and "to cause it to be disseminated, displayed, read and expounded principally in schools and other educational institutions, without distinction based on political status of countries or territories".

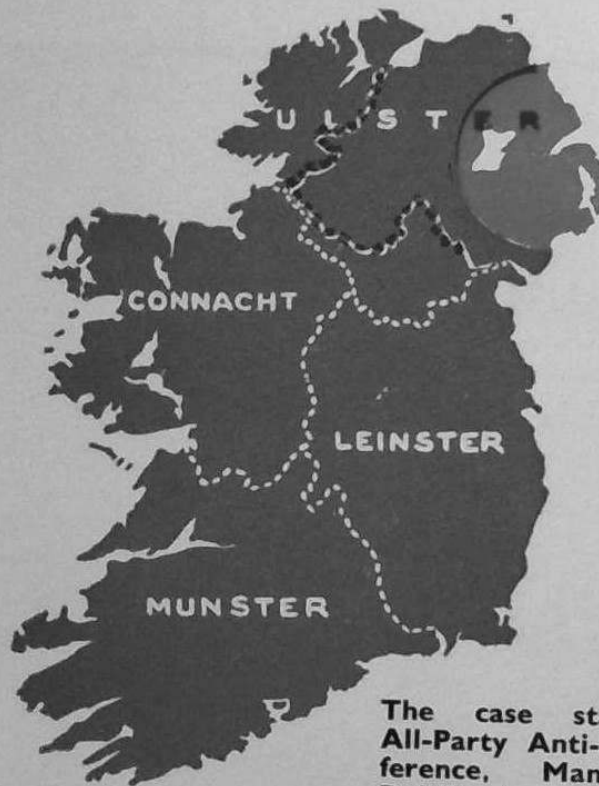
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC  
INFORMATION  
UNITED NATIONS, LAKE SUCCESS  
1949

The title page of the Declaration of Human Rights passed by the United Nations on December 10, 1948. In the following pages it is shown that many of these rights are denied to the minority in the partitioned area of Ireland.

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Issued by the All-Party Anti-Partition Conference, Mansion House, Dublin.

# IRELAND'S RIGHT TO UNITY



The case stated by the  
All-Party Anti-Partition Con-  
ference, Mansion House,  
Dublin, Ireland.

## THE MAP

There is a majority of 80 per cent. in the whole of Ireland for unity. A minority opposition to national freedom was made the excuse by Britain, who organised and sustained it, for the partition of Ireland in 1920. That opposition comes mainly from an area, marked orange on the map, which is roughly within a 30 miles radius of Belfast. The area is just over one-third of the partitioned territory and is only one-sixteenth of Ireland. Outside it, there is a continuous block from the extreme south to the extreme north with a majority for unity. Within the partitioned area itself there is a majority in almost two-thirds of the territory for re-union with the rest of Ireland.

In the pamphlet, the cover of which is reproduced above, Ireland's case against Partition is stated. It is shown that

- The essence of democracy lies in the right of a people freely to determine how they are to be governed.
- The unit for this self-determination is the nation.
- Ireland through a nationhood never questioned in almost 2,000 years has that right.
- Partition is the denial of the right to self-determination.
- It is a refusal to accept the majority will of a people in choosing the government they themselves desire.
- No group, party, or political organisation in Ireland sought for or desired Partition.
- It was imposed by the British Government against the passionate protest of the overwhelming majority of the Irish people.
- First established by force, it is now maintained by British support and by flagrant manipulation with British consent of electoral boundaries within the area.
- The perpetual interference in Ireland's internal affairs by an outside power sets an example destructive of the rule of law among the nations.
- Partition gravely injures both parts of Ireland; it injures Britain too, for as long as it lasts Britain cannot sustain her claim to stand for democracy in Western Europe.



# DISCRIMINATION

## A STUDY IN INJUSTICE TO A MINORITY

In January, 1950, the Derry Rural Council in the partitioned area of North-East Ireland advertised for an engineer. A great deal of urgent work necessitated a permanent appointment and the advertisement was inserted in publications both in the Six Counties and in Britain. The salary offered was £650 a year.

A fully competent applicant for the post presented himself. He was Captain William Joseph Guckian, a Derryman, a Bachelor of Civil Engineering of Belfast University. As well, he had seven years' war service in Britain and India as an officer of the Royal Elec-

trical and Mechanical Engineering Corps.

On St. Patrick's Day, 1950, the newspapers of the area reported the meeting of the Derry Rural Council summoned to complete the appointment. That meeting decided that no permanent engineer was needed and the matter was postponed indefinitely.

The explanation?

Captain William Joseph Guckian was the only candidate—and he was one of the religious minority.

This pamphlet explains how and why this incident is not the exception but the rule in British-occupied Ireland.

What is set out in the following pages arises directly from the partitioning of Ireland by Britain. The injustice which Partition has inflicted on the Irish people as a whole has pressed with special and continuing severity on the unprotected minority in the cut-off area. An all-embracing system of penalisation has been directed against them by a small but influential group among the majority. If the mass of the people in the area could be made to realise the magnitude of that penalisation they would repudiate those who operate it.

AT its Sixth Session the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations requested the Secretary-General to

*“organise studies and prepare analyses designed to assist the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities in determining the main types of discrimination which impede the equal enjoyment by all of human rights and fundamental freedoms and the causes of such discrimination. . . .”*

In December, 1949, the United Nations published a Memorandum from its Secretary-General entitled *“The Main Types and Causes of Discrimination.”*

### WHAT IS DISCRIMINATION?

This Memorandum thus defines discrimination:—

*“Discrimination might be described as unequal and unfavourable treatment, either by denying rights or social advantage to members of a particular social category; or by imposing special burdens on them; or by granting favours exclusively to the members of another category, creating in this way inequality between those who belong to the privileged category and the others.”*

The Secretary-General's Memorandum then takes up the causes of discrimination and the classification of the various forms of it. It points to the propaganda specially designed to sustain unequal treatment of one or more groups and to speeches which incite others to acts of discrimination, particularly in cases when those to be penalised are a religious minority. The Memorandum sets out in detail the many forms of discrimination in which the following are included—

1. **Speeches or writings encouraging discrimination.**
2. **Discrimination by official authority—inequality of personal security, denial of freedom of movement or residence, or of peaceful association.**
3. **Denial to a minority of its just share of publicly-built housing.**
4. **Restrictions on a minority's right to vote.**
5. **Division of electoral areas to nullify the voting strength of particular groups.**
6. **Denial of employment or promotion in the public service.**
7. **Denial of employment by private persons.**
8. **Restrictions on the right to buy property.**

Every one of these forms of discrimination is used against the minority in the six partitioned counties of North-East Ireland set up by Britain as a separate state. Under every heading illustrations will be given of the injustices deliberately done with full official approval to the 428,000 Nationalists in this severed part of Ireland, one-third of the whole population.

## SPEECHES—INCITEMENTS

The United Nations Memorandum referred to the deliberate creation of

*“Prejudice which leads not only to discriminatory behaviour but goes further and gives rise to propaganda for further discrimination. This propaganda . . . may develop into public manifestations, such as speeches or written incitements to acts of discrimination.”*

When the Secretary-General used these words he might well have had in mind the utterances and the actions of Sir Basil Brooke, Prime Minister of the Belfast Government, and of his predecessors in the same office. The Six County area has had three Prime Ministers in its short period of separate existence.

**All have advocated discrimination, both in their capacity as heads of a Government and in their private capacity, and the methods used by these Governmental leaders and spokesmen and practised by them are exactly as condemned by the United Nations.**

Discrimination of any kind does not come easily or naturally to a neighbourly people. They have to be incited and mentally browbeaten into acquiescing in it. This is usually done by representing to the majority that the minority seeks to destroy them, to enslave and despoil them and to overthrow and desecrate all they hold dear. That is what has been done in the partitioned area of Ireland.

## CREATING HATRED

The Nationalist minority has over a long period been so described by Tory spokesmen and press as to make it the object of angry hatred. In order that this hatred should affect all the members of the minority the campaign against them had to be linked with some-



thing more permanent than their political opinions. Official publications by the Tory party (see for example *Ulster is British*) declare that a useful guide in the partitioned area is to regard Protestants as usually Tories and Catholics as usually Nationalists.

The full accuracy of that statement is debateable but that need not be argued here. The importance of the statement is that it can be used to mark clearly those who are to be discriminated against since the altar a man worships at is generally known to his neighbours.

This form of discrimination was regarded by the United Nations Memorandum as especially pernicious since it contained the very seeds of war, particularly

“when prejudice is directed against members of a certain religious group who may constitute a minority within the State and a majority within a neighbouring State.”

Nevertheless the creation of this prejudice in the manner most feared by the United Nations has, as we shall see, been the objective for many years of leading political personalities in the partitioned area of Ireland. Their purpose has been and is to encourage among their own followers such discrimination against the minority as that minority will find it most difficult to escape from.

If, for example, political opinions having first been linked with religious practice can now be represented as “loyalty”† and “disloyalty” then it follows in the untutored mind that because a man is of such a faith he is thereby “disloyal.” Those who are behind the campaign of discrimination believe that if a man’s neighbours can be convinced that he is “disloyal” they will then permit his penalisation not, they are assured, because of his politics or his religion but simply for security reasons—his “disloyalty” endangers the State.

## “LOYAL”—“DISLOYAL”

The work of first misusing the terms “loyalty” and “disloyalty” and then equating them with the religious beliefs of the population was undertaken by no less a person than the present Prime Minister. Fifteen years ago he marked out who were to be regarded as “loyal” and who as “disloyal”

**and has ever since driven that distinction into the minds of his followers either himself personally or through other members and the press of his party organisation.**

Speaking at Newtownbutler on July 12th, 1933, Sir Basil Brooke indicated how the minority were to be treated. He was then a Minister in the Six County Government, Minister for Agriculture, and he had already made several declarations of which the Secretary-General of the United Nations would hardly have approved. On this occasion he was speaking in the County of Fermanagh where those against whom he advocated discrimination formed a majority of the community.

## TOO MANY!

Reported in the *Fermanagh Times* (his own organ) his words were:

“There were a great number of Protestants and Orangemen who employed Roman Catholics. He felt he could speak freely on this subject as he had not a Roman Catholic about his own place. He appreciated the great difficulty

\* Published by the Ulster Unionist Council, March, 1949.

† The misuse of the word “loyalist” to describe opponents of national freedom has a long history: those who opposed the independence of the United States were known as “loyalists.”

*experienced by some of them in procuring suitable Protestant labour but he would point out that Roman Catholics were endeavouring to get in everywhere. He would appeal to Loyalists, therefore, wherever possible, to employ good Protestant lads and lassies."*

He went on to refer to a criticism by Mr. Cahir Healy, Nationalist M.P., that in public appointments the minority got less than their share. Rousing the hatred of his audience against the penalised group he replied :

*" He (Mr. Healy) was quite wrong, as in his opinion they had got too many appointments for men who were really out to cut their throats if the opportunity arose. It would be sheer madness to keep on giving such men appointments under existing conditions."*

It is to be remembered that Sir Basil Brooke was at this time a Minister in the Belfast Government and that he was speaking in a county with a strong Nationalist majority.

**What he said was in the nature of an instruction to those of his followers who by gerrymandering had secured control of all the local bodies. A member of their Government had told them that even the meagre number of appointments given to the Nationalists was too many.**

This speech aroused criticism to which Sir Basil replied a month later :

*" He made certain remarks " (the Fermanagh Times of August 17th, 1933 reports him) " regarding the employment of Roman Catholics which created a certain amount of controversy. He now wished to say he did not intend to withdraw a single word of what he then said. . . . When dealing with this subject of employment he was not speaking from the religious point of view but because he knew the vast majority of Roman Catholics in Ireland were disloyal."*

This speech created still greater controversy and Sir Basil Brooke as a member of the Government of the area was accused of organising the disemployment and dismissal of workers solely because they belonged to a minority group. His reply did not lack clarity.

## NOT ONE WORD.

He spoke at the Annual Meeting of the Londonderry Unionist Association on March 19th, 1934, and is reported in the *Londonderry Sentinel*, a Tory Organ, of March 20th, as follows :

*" The amount of talk and print produced by my statement on the question of disloyal Roman Catholics is phenomenal. I would assure you, however, I have not lost one night's sleep over it. . . . At the last twelfth of July I said what I did after thinking out the whole question carefully. . . . I recommended those people who are loyalists not to employ Roman Catholics, ninety-nine per cent. of whom are disloyal. It is not as though I raked this out of the back of my mind without giving full consideration to it. . . . I want you to remember one point in regard to the employment of people who are disloyal. There are often difficulties in the way, but usually there are plenty of good loyal men and women available, and the employers don't bother to employ them. You are disfranchising yourselves in that way. You people who are employers have the ball at your feet. If you don't act properly now before we know where we are we shall find ourselves in the minority instead of the majority. I want you to realise that, having done your bit, you have got your Prime Minister behind you."*



The speech with its declaration that the Prime Minister stood over this whole incitement to refuse jobs to the minority lest they remain in the area and use the vote, was raised by Nationalist M.P.'s in the Six County Parliament the day after its publication. The Prime Minister (then Lord Craigavon) did not leave the House in doubt. He refused to disassociate himself from the speech. In his reply to the debate, having denied the interpretation the Nationalists put upon Sir Basil Brooke's words, he nevertheless went on :

*"I do not think, taking it all round, that it is a bad thing to let people know exactly where they stand and warn them what may happen under certain conditions. I would not ask him (Sir Basil Brooke) to withdraw one single word."*

On August 12th, 1935, at Ballinamallard, Sir Basil Brooke crystallised into one phrase the idea which he had expressed two years before—that everyone of the 428,000 inhabitants who were of a different religion made up one disloyal mass not fit for public or private employment :

*"I repeat once more" (the Fermanagh Times reports him), "as I have said before that I deeply regret that the division of loyal and disloyal should follow so closely the line of religion as to be almost indistinguishable."\**

What these tags "loyal" and "disloyal" meant in practice had on November 21st, 1934, been stated with as brutal frankness by the then Prime Minister, Lord Craigavon. Speaking in the Parliament in a debate in which the refusal of public appointments to the minority was being discussed, Lord Craigavon said from his place on the Treasury Bench :

*"The appointments made by the Government are made as far as we can possibly manage it of loyal men and women. . . ."*

Mr. O'Neill : *"How do you test their loyalty—"*

The Prime Minister : *"There are ways of finding that out,"*

## SIR BASIL BROOKE'S SPEECH.

### ADVICE TO PROTESTANT EMPLOYERS

The amount of talk and print produced by my statement on the question of disloyal Roman Catholics is phenomenal. I would assure you, however, I have not lost one night's sleep over it. I want to make it perfectly clear that the man I am attacking is a disloyalist. (Cheers.) At the last Twelfth of July I said what I did after thinking out the whole question carefully. What I said was justified. I recommended those people who are Loyalists not to employ Roman Catholics, ninety-nine per cent. of whom are disloyal. It is not as though I raked this out of the back of my mind without giving full consideration to it.

"I want you," he said, "to remember one point in regard to the employment of people who are disloyal. There are often difficulties in the way, but usually there are plenty of good loyal men and women available, and the employers don't bother to employ them. (Applause.) You are disfranchising yourselves in that way. You people who are employers have the ball at your feet. If you don't act properly now before we know where we are we shall find ourselves in the minority instead of the majority. I want you to realise that, having done your bit, you have got your Prime Minister behind you. (Applause.)"

A photostat taken from the Tory newspaper "The Londonderry Sentinel" of March 20, 1934, containing passages from the speech of Sir Basil Brooke on the previous day in which he advised employers to refuse employment to members of the minority.

\* Many years later, on March 29th, 1950, after he himself had become Prime Minister, Sir Basil Brooke was taxed at a Press Conference in London with this advocacy of discrimination. He replied by asserting that in 1933 there was a plot to kidnap his son and for that reason he could not "have a Catholic about my place." We have seen, however, that the speech of 1933 was not an isolated one. It was repeated in a more intensified form in the succeeding years and the advice given in it is followed to this day under the Government over which Sir Basil Brooke now presides. Needless to say there is no contemporary reference to the alleged plot. Sir Basil made no reference to it in 1933, 1934, 1935 or 1936 and the nature of his speeches in those years (in which he answered criticism of what he had said) shows it did not exist in his mind.

The Prime Minister went on to state that one of the requisites for appointment was that "a man is heart and soul" for the Act of 1920 (the Partition Act) and against the unity of Ireland. He added to his definition of loyalty that his was a "Protestant Government for a Protestant people."\* He could not have made it more clear that, if he could help it, Nationalists would not receive appointments.

To-day that is still the rule in this State set up by Britain in a pocket of Irish land: all who are of the political minority are "disloyal" and they must have either no public appointments at all or the lesser ones only.

## FOUR FREEDOMS ?

During the World War—whatever of the practice—there was a cessation from the advocacy of this discrimination. It would not sound well to the accompaniment of the Four Freedoms. But since the war ended Sir Basil Brooke, now Prime Minister and apparently feeling himself debarred from openly advocating discrimination himself, has given the support of his presence to those who carried on where he left off.

The United Nations Memorandum specifies as discrimination—

*"Establishment of property . . . or other qualification having no necessary connexion with the process of selecting candidates or casting votes. . . . Accordance, by law, of a lesser weight to the votes of members of particular social groups."*

*"Establishment or enforcement of specific legal barriers to or restrictions upon, the right of individuals to vote. . . ."*

Sir Basil Brooke was present in the Belfast Parliament in January, 1946, when a member of his administration, Major Lancelot Ernest Curran, K.C., declared it to be Government policy to disfranchise many of the minority then on the register of local government electors and the Premier was one of the authors of the Bill that carried out this disfranchisement.

## DISFRANCHISE THEM.

This Bill imposed a property qualification on local government voters that pressed so heavily on the Nationalists that even Tory members protested. Major Curran appealed to the Labour members not to oppose the Bill for if the voting qualifications were left as they were it would result in

*"Nationalists getting control of the local government of the three Border counties plus Derry City."*

—in other words where they had majorities! A Socialist M.P. interjected that majorities were, therefore, being disfranchised and Major Curran replied

*"the best way to prevent the overthrow of the Government by people who had no stake in the country, and had not the welfare of the people of Ulster at heart was to disfranchise them."†*

With that purpose the Tories passed the Bill.

The United Nations Memorandum sets out another form of discrimination with which the head of the Six County Government publicly associated himself.

One of the discriminatory acts condemned by the Memorandum is :—

\* Official Debates : Belfast House of Commons. Vol. XVII, Cols. 72-73.

† These words of the Minister are quoted from the Parliamentary Report in the *Northern Whig* (an Administration paper) of January 11th, 1946. They cannot be quoted from the Official Reports for, realising how completely the words betrayed the injustice imposed deliberately on the minority by the Bill, the Administration had them deleted from the Report of Major Curran's speech in the debate. (See Photostats on pages 16 and 17.)



“ the denial or restriction of the right to buy property, the sale of which has been publicly offered to the highest bidder.”

On February 13th, 1947, the Prime Minister of the severed territory was one of the speakers at a meeting in Derry from which was launched the organisation of a fund to prevent members of the Nationalist minority from buying land at public auctions. He expressed his pleasure that a similar scheme had been successfully in operation in his own constituency for a decade. When taxed by the Nationalists in the Belfast Parliament on March 11th, 1947, with his presence and his statements as Prime Minister at the meeting, he repeated his wholehearted support for the project.\*

The United Nations Memorandum declares

“ The most harmful discrimination is that which denies the principles of equality established by the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and certain national laws.”

In the presence of the head of the Six County Government this principle of equality has frequently and publicly been denied in the cut-off area. Sir Basil Brooke was on the platform in Co. Fermanagh from which Mr. E. C. Ferguson, M.P., a member of his Party, announced on April 9th, 1948, that the Nationalist majority was still strong in the county though it had been by one means or another reduced by 336 in the year. “ We must ultimately reduce and liquidate that majority ” said Mr. Ferguson to an audience who fully understood what he meant.

## APPOINTMENTS—HOUSES.

In its issue of November, 1949, the organ of the Ulster Unionist Council, of which Sir Basil Brooke is the principal member, urged the Tories to use their votes to secure control of the local councils stressing as the important powers of these bodies

“ the making of appointments, the letting of houses, the provision of health, medical, education and other services.”

Finally Sir Basil Brooke was present and spoke at a meeting at Omagh on February 14th, 1950, and heard a member of his Party (Mr. Thomas Lyons, M.P.) say, as reported in the local Tory paper, *The Tyrone Constitution*, on February 17th,

“ There were, and it grieved him to say it, people enjoying large salaries and influential positions who refused to subscribe to Unionist (i.e., Tory) funds and were rude to the collectors. He wondered if these people realised that they were in their positions by virtue of the fact that the bodies they worked for were administered by loyalists.”

So completely are the ordinary rules of public appointments departed from in favour of “ loyalists ” that the recipients of the jobs can be called upon publicly in the presence of the Prime Minister to give a *quid pro quo* to the party funds. Only a Premier who had himself practised and urged discrimination could have listened to Mr. Lyons’ speech without immediately expressing disapproval of it.

## THE DEMAND

What has been quoted puts beyond dispute that discrimination has been advocated, almost demanded, by those holding the highest executive offices in the Six Counties and by their publications. What was openly said before the war—in 1933, 1934, and 1935—was repeated as soon as the war was ended—in 1946, 1947, 1948, 1949 and 1950 as our quotations show.

Let us now see this policy of discrimination in operation.

The United Nations Memorandum recognised that the denial of employment was one of the grossest forms of discrimination. It cited as "discriminatory conduct by an official authority" any action

"denying or restricting the right of individuals to be appointed to a non-political, non-confidential public office," or achieving the same end by, "any arbitrary administrative action or omission."

As well as this, the Memorandum cites "discrimination by private persons" by which

"opportunities for employment may be denied to individuals belonging to a particular social group, or members of such a group are given employment only in menial tasks; or, if they obtain better jobs, these jobs are restricted to a very small number; or they have to meet insurmountable difficulties in obtaining promotions; or the salaries paid to them are lower. . . ."

This use of employment, or the limitation or denial of it, as a political weapon against a minority is so profound an injustice that the system which permits it cannot be termed democratic.

As soon as one begins to examine this denial of employment, it becomes obvious that the warning given by the Memorandum applies—that these acts of discrimination are

"usually disguised in such a way that it is very difficult to prove the existence of any unfair motive."

Two recent cases (both in April, 1950) will illustrate this. A painter was refused a post by the Enniskillen Borough Council because, though otherwise well qualified and a World-War Veteran, he had no experience in sign writing. A few days later a Welfare Visitor was appointed by the Tyrone Health Committee "subject to getting examination." On the face of things, these two actions may have been perfectly impartial and just. When, however, it is seen that each appointment was decided by a party vote, suspicions are aroused. Then it is found that the rejected painter is a Nationalist and the Welfare Visitor, to whom consideration has been shown, is a Tory, and we realise that something else may have been at work.

Office. (2)	Salary per Annum. (including War Bonus) (3)
Town Clerk	£ 1,370 0 0
City Solicitor	545 0 0
Assistant Town Clerk and City Solicitor	740 0 0
Superintendent of Cemetery, Parks, etc.	438 12 6
Electrical Engineer	1,400 0 0 and Free House
Cost Accountant	490 0 0
City Surveyor	955 0 0
Engineering Assistant	690 0 0
Do.	590 0 0
Mechanical Engineer	533 15 0
Town Planning Consultant	150 0 0
Town Planning Assistant	465 5 0
Housing Architect	740 0 0
Under Sheriff	150 0 0
M.S.O.H. and E.S.O.	1,157 0 0
Assistant M.S.O.H. and E.S.O.	815 0 0
Mace Bearer	5 0 0
City Analyst	60 0 0
City Coroner	106 4 0 and 10/- per Analysis
Senior Sanitary Officer	450 0 0
Sanitary Officer	440 0 0
Do.	440 0 0
Mayor's Clerk	60 0 0
Clerk to Borough Justices	150 0 0
Pathologist	437 10 0
Secretary Health Committee	615 0 0
Clerk under Diseases of Animals Acts	20 0 0
Secretary, Welfare Committee	378 0 0
Welfare Officer	615 0 0
Sword Bearer	Nil
City Marshal	10 0 0

This is a photographic copy of one of the pages from the Abstract of Accounts of the County Borough of Derry for the year ending March, 1949. It gives a list of the chief officials of the Derry Corporation and their salaries. Although Derry City is overwhelmingly Nationalist not even one of these 29 offices is held by a Nationalist.



## A COMMON-SENSE TEST

On this question of proof of motive, there is one over-all way of examining the problem, and of providing proof of discrimination which the common sense of ordinary observers will recognise and accept. In this Six County area there are 428,000 Nationalists and 851,000 Tories. Both sections are stratified in similar ways. Generally speaking, there are proportionally the same number in the professions, in the trades, in clerical groups, and so on. Generally speaking, too, they are of the same educational level, since the same curriculum is taught to both and the same examinations must be passed by both. Consequently it can be said that there are as well-qualified doctors, chemists, lawyers, accountants, clerks, artisans, in one group as in the other. There is no reason, therefore, why a third of any given section of public appointments should not be held by the minority. What is found is startlingly different, as will be seen in a moment.

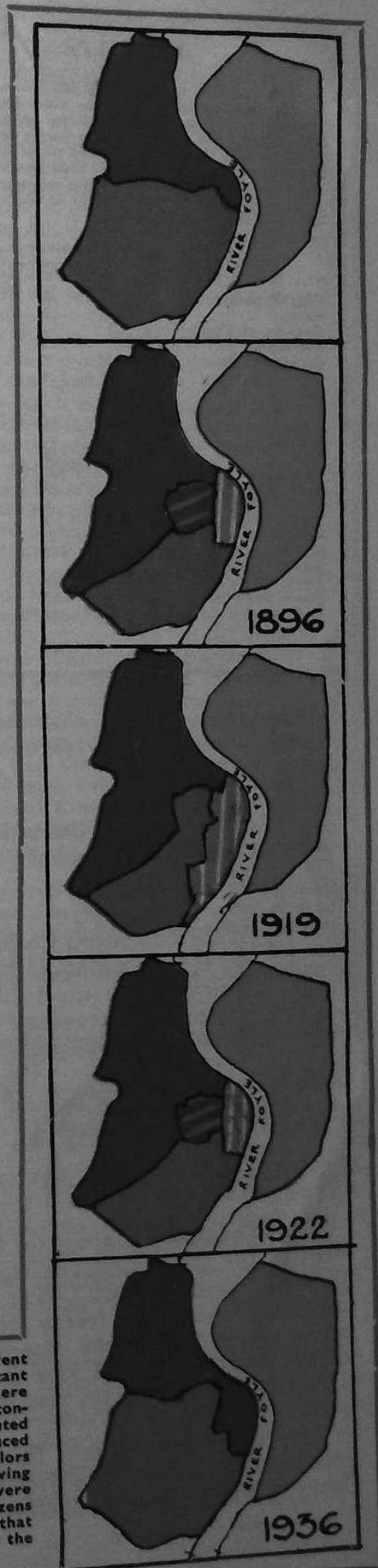
But first it is necessary to describe how public appointments by local bodies are made. It was shown in full detail in a previous pamphlet (*One Vote Equals Two*) how widely in the North-East of Ireland is practised what the U. N. Memorandum condemned :

*"The division of the population for electoral purposes in such a manner that the votes of members of particular social groups are widely diffused and therefore play a less important part in the voting procedure."*

By earlier Acts many of the electoral areas in which the Nationalists are in a majority were so manipulated that a Tory minority now secures the majority of the seats on the public boards. The Tory-controlled Council then elects Committees, and with these Committees lie much of the power of appointments, etc. If the Tories control those Committees effectively they can ensure that every Tory applicant for a job or a house gets preference.

The Tyrone County Council is an example of this system at work. The area which elects this body is Nationalist in majority—54.4 per cent. Nationalist to 45.6 per cent. Tory. But by boundary manipulation and disfranchisement the Nationalists, though a

Derry City has, for a century, had a Nationalist majority. To prevent this majority from controlling the city government required constant manipulation of electoral boundaries (here illustrated). At first there were three wards but as the Nationalists increased the Tories considered two of these endangered and five uneven wards were substituted in 1896. Nationalist strength grew and in 1919 the wards were reduced to four so arranged that the Tory minority elected more councillors than the Nationalist majority. A Nationalist victory in the following year showed this an unstable arrangement and in 1922 five wards were again created. By 1936 Nationalists formed 60 per cent. of the citizens and the wards were reduced to the present three, one so shaped that it contains the bulk of the Nationalists, leaving two wards safe for the minority



## IN BELFAST

In Belfast City there are 104,000 Nationalists which is 24 per cent. of the population according to the latest census. This 24 per cent. minority holds just seven per cent. of the salaried positions under the Belfast Corporation and that these are the posts with the smaller salaries is seen from the fact that there is not a single member of the minority in the salary grade known as Higher Division I. The details of the various sections of the Corporation Staff are :

Department	Number in Department	Number from the Minority
City Treasurer's	40	3
Rates	22	0
College of Technology	112	9
Education	73	6
Children's Act	7	0
Electricity	126	7
Estates	21	0
Executive Officers (Police Comm.)	10	1
Libraries	—	—
Gas	135	4
Public Health	125	19
Parks and Cemeteries	18	0
Motor Licensing	6	0
Stationery	3	2
Surveyors	110	4
Highways		
Street Cleansing		
Town Clerk's	29	1
Town Solicitor's	15	0
Transport	181	18
	<b>1,033</b>	<b>74</b>

majority, get only 12 seats out of 35. The Council then elects its Committees, and here is how the Nationalist majority in the area fares on these important bodies :—

General Purposes Committee	7 Members, 1 Nationalist
Finance and Tenders Sub-Committee	8 Members, 2 Nationalists
Roads' Committee	9 Members, 1 Nationalist
Education Committee	22 Members, 3 Nationalists
Health Committee	21 Members, 4 Nationalists
Welfare Committee	17 Members, 5 Nationalists
Agricultural Committee	9 Members, 1 Nationalist
Combined Hospitals' Committee	25 Members, 5 Nationalists.

The minority in every case is overwhelmingly represented, and, as an added safeguard, not a single chairmanship is allowed to the Nationalists, who represent the majority of the people. Not one principal officer of these Committees is a Nationalist. For instance :

Of the **Health Committee**, the Chairman, Secretary, County Medical Officer, County Nursing Officer, County Sanitary Officer, County Dental Officer are Tories ;

Of the **Education Committee**, although the children from Nationalist homes form a considerable majority over all others (11,064 to 8,845), the Chairman, the Chief Education Officer, the Deputy Chief Education Officer, the Accountant and the Schools Architect are all Tories, and the whole clerical staff is Tory.

The same story can be told of the other Committees and of the various departments of the Council's staff.

## IN DERRY COUNTY

It can be told, too, about the Committees and staffs of other Councils. In the employment of the Derry County Council there are 13 principal officers (Secretary, County Surveyor, County Medical Officer of Health, etc.). Of the community whose taxes maintain the Council, the minority forms 42 per cent. Not one of these thirteen key posts is held by a member of the minority. There are 32 other substantial posts (Assistant Surveyors, various Inspectors, Rate Collectors, etc.). One of these, an Assistant Surveyorship, is held by a member of the minority. The 42 per cent. minority holds 2 per cent. of the posts.

Perhaps it is different in Derry City where the Nationalists are 61 per cent. of the population (29,321) and the Tories only 39 per cent. (18,492) ? Not at all ! Under the Derry Corporation the discrimination against the Nationalists, in so far as the



principal civic positions are concerned, is 100 per cent. Not one position as head of any Department of the Derry Corporation, or even as assistant head, is held by a Nationalist. The Town Clerk, City Accountant, City Surveyor, Town Planning Consultant, City Electrical Engineer, Medical Officer, Director of Education, City Solicitor and twenty other key posts are all occupied exclusively by members of the Tory minority, who, by gerrymandering and franchise manipulation, have secured control of the Corporation.

## CAREFUL CHOOSING

This discrimination is not restricted to appointments on public boards. The reader will already guess from the speeches of the present and former Prime Ministers that all forms of employment, public, semi-public and private, are affected. From university to factory the ban against the minority operates.

In Belfast University a fifth of the students are from the minority. Yet not one of the principal offices, Chancellor, Pro-Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, Registrar, Secretary, Librarian, etc., is held by a member of the minority. Only two of the 36 Professorships are so held, and not one of the six Readers. Of the 203 lesser academic posts, the minority hold 17!

Of the administrative staff, the minority have 2 posts out of 76, and of the members of the Senate, 3 out of 41. Thus of the whole personnel of this University, which serves an area with a 34 per cent. Nationalist minority, that minority gets 6.4 per cent. of the appointments and not one of the foremost offices.

In County Fermanagh the Nationalists are in strong majority; yet when a factory is established in that county with Government aid, not one of the six key posts goes to a Nationalist and only 76 of the 242 ordinary jobs. In the same Nationalist county only 3 of the 27 Public Assistance Board Officials are Nationalists, and of the 9 principal judicial, legal and police officials not one is a Nationalist. Although children from Nationalist homes far outnumber those from all other homes, every official of the 13 in the Education Office of County Fermanagh is a Tory!

What the United Nations Memorandum said of a minority where it does receive appointments being penalised by getting the less-well-paid posts is, as we have seen, borne out in Belfast University as it is in most other places. For example, the Transport Authority staffs in Derry City number 666. If there were no discrimination, the Nationalists would have 402 of these posts, or 61 per cent., which is their percentage of the population. In fact they have 123, or 18 per cent. But of the higher-paid posts, their share is only 10 per cent.

## IN THE GOVERNMENT SERVICE

The following is from the analysis of the staffing of Government Departments published in the Bishop's Memorial mentioned in the text (page 15).

On the staff of the Parliament of the Six County area there are six senior officers. None of the six is from the minority.

In the Secretariat of the area there are six senior officers. Not one of the six is drawn from the minority.

The Civil Service Commission is comprised of three members and there are four members of the Land Purchase Commission. None of the seven is from the minority.

On the Unemployment Assistance Board there are seven principals, and not one is drawn from the minority.

In the Departments of State the Ministry of Finance has ten principals, the Ministry of Home Affairs eight, the Ministry of Labour five, the Ministry of Education five, the Ministry of Agriculture seven, the Ministry of Commerce five. Not one of these forty posts, says the Memorial, is filled by a member of the minority.

In the Higher Courts there are some forty Judges, Registrars and officials. Not one of them is drawn from the minority.

Of other Judicial and Legal posts (Recorder of Belfast, County Court Judges, Resident Magistrates, Law Officers) there are twenty-two—one is filled by a member of the minority. There are eight Crown Solicitors of whom none is from the minority and thirteen Crown Counsel of whom one is from the minority.

Thus, according to the Bishop's Memorial, of 123 key posts in the State not one of the highest grade is held by a member of the minority, and of the second grade only 2—a total of 1.6 per cent. for 34 per cent. of the population.

## COMPARE THESE

Statements by Spokesmen of the Minority in Free Ireland.

"Wherever I go I ask our people how they get on with their Roman Catholic neighbours and everywhere I receive the same answer, that they live in peace and goodwill. . . . In every town in my united diocese there are Protestants who occupy prominent positions in business and professional life and some of the strongest farmers are Protestants, too. To say they are ignored, despised, ill-treated in any way is certainly contrary to the facts."

—Right Rev. Dr. Day, Bishop of Ossory, Ferns and Leighlin speaking at the Diocesan Synod on July 22, 1934.

"I would like to pay the warmest tribute to our Government for the more than generous way in which they have treated us and met us in our desire to keep our schools open. No British Government treated us with a like consideration."

—Right Rev. Dr. Harvey, Bishop of Cashel, addressing the annual Protestant Synod of the Diocese of Cashel and Emly on July 1, 1938.

"I feel so far as we are concerned here in the South of Ireland we get a fair and square deal."

—Right Rev. Dr. Hearn, Protestant Bishop of Cork, at Cork on February 17th, 1940.

"One thing was quite certain and that was that when official jobs were going there was no question as to religious discrimination. If a Protestant youth was better than his Roman Catholic competitor he was going to get the job."

—Robert M. Smyllie, Editor, *The Irish Times*, organ of the minority, April 19, 1943.

"The fear of persecution or lack of freedom is entirely unfounded. I will go further than that and say that in worldly affairs the Protestant minority here are not merely well treated, but they are too well treated. The various governments of this country have been so anxious to be fair that they have awarded far more preferment to them than the numerical strength of the Protestant minority would warrant."

—Professor Joseph Bigger of Trinity College, Dublin, in the Senate on December 9th, 1948, *Official Report, Parliamentary Debates*, vol. 36, No. 2.

"He would like to say that since the coming into being of the State as an independent nation, and subsequently as The Republic of Ireland, the Protestant minority had been treated with the utmost tolerance and generosity by its fellowmen."

—Mr. Gibson-Brabazon (Protestant) at Westmeath County Council, March 27, 1950.

Statements by Spokesmen of the Minority in Occupied Ireland.

"Our people suffer grievances and disabilities which extend to every phase of their life, ranging from indignities which bitterly afflict all sensitive minds to discrimination in employment. Men whose higher abilities entitled them to a leading place in the community are obliged to seek careers elsewhere, and humble men and women often have been driven from their employment, and even from their homes, by brute physical force during the reign of pogroms which disgrace a civilised land."

—From statement by Catholic Bishops in Six Counties, 1941.

"For over two years with forty new positions created or to be created under the Health and Local Government Act only one small clerical job was given to a Catholic in a county where the Catholic population was 30,196 against 24,373 of all others."

—Cahir Healy, Nationalist M.P., speaking in Co. Fermanagh, April 17, 1949.

"One fact could not be disputed, that was that at the present time there was not one Nationalist in the Co. Council Offices or on the administrative staff of any of the subsidiary bodies."

—R. H. O'Connor, Nationalist M.P., at Tyrone Co. Council on April 25, 1949.

"In the Six Counties of Northern Ireland Catholics are, even numerically, the greatest religious body. In the whole area we form more than a third of the entire population. Indeed, if we exclude Belfast and the country within a radius of 30 miles from it, Catholics are in an absolute majority (52.1 per cent.). In these circumstances we might expect fair play from those responsible for the government of the country and from those charged with local administration. It is with regret, but yet with a full sense of responsibility and from an intimate knowledge of the facts, that I must state that we, Catholics, do not receive either from the Government or from the local authorities even a semblance of fair play."

"The State Examinations show that our people are in no way inferior either in intelligence or application and yet, when public appointments are made, Catholics are by every subterfuge excluded from them so that if a religious census were taken of those in official positions under the public authorities the proportion of Catholics would be incredibly small."

—Most Rev. Dr. Farren, Bishop of Derry, speaking at Omagh on June 4, 1950.

This tale could be expanded indefinitely. Enough has been said to show that throughout the partitioned area a systematic campaign of discrimination is in operation. It reaches heights which have shocked every fair-minded inquirer.

## A CRY FROM PROTESTANTS

In 1940 a Committee of the Y.M.C.A. issued a report based on a study of a group of boys of various religious beliefs who had been at Ballymoyer Camp during June and July of that year. The report recognised the success of the campaign to refuse work to even young people among one religious group. It urged that

*"with the instruments of propaganda now in the hands of the Government it is of the utmost importance that the refusal by many to employ Catholic boys should be discouraged. . . . The evidence of quite good boys who have been constantly looking for jobs and who have failed to get them in works where at least the majority of workers are Protestant and where Protestant boys are constantly taken on is— to say the least of it— suggestive. We neglect this problem at our peril."*

No heed has been paid or is likely to be paid to that cry.

**For it is by the Government and its principal supporters that the campaign of discrimination is most steadily waged.**

Not content with words, the

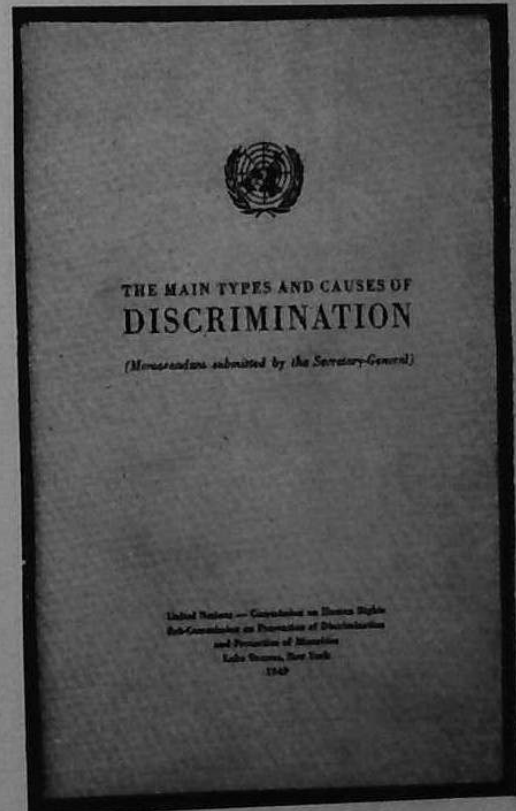


Government sets an example in deeds that for intolerance must be unique in Western Europe.

In 1941 the Catholic Bishops of the partitioned area published a Memorial dealing with the denial to the 34 per cent. minority of proportionate appointments to the principal official posts in Governmental Departments. The Memorial's analysis has never been disproved by the Six County Government although it showed that less than 2 per cent. of the principal posts were held by those who form more than a third of the whole population (see page 13). There have been changes since the list was compiled. One of the changes was the appointment of a member of the minority as a High Court Judge in 1949. But substantially the list is as accurate in 1950 as in 1941.

## JOB'S WITHOUT LOGIC

There is, therefore, no lack of example for the Tory-controlled local bodies on whom Prime Ministers of the area have urged a policy of discrimination in employment. These local bodies carry out that policy even to the point of complete illogicality. Of scores of cases of refusal to appoint Nationalists even in overwhelmingly Nationalist districts we cite the following. A doctor was refused a post in a Derry hospital because he came from the neighbouring County of Donegal and was, therefore, a "foreigner." He was a Nationalist.<sup>1</sup> But in Enniskillen a nurse, a native of the town with long experience and war service, was rejected and a nurse from Donegal appointed who was a Tory.<sup>2</sup> A foreman lorry driver was appointed in Strabane although he had no war service for which the advertisement for the post said preference would be given. He was a Tory.<sup>3</sup> But for the post of vandriver in Fermanagh the war-veteran clause was insisted upon because there was a Tory applicant with war service.<sup>4</sup> A clerk telephonist was appointed by the Fermanagh Welfare Committee who admittedly had "little experience" because the other applicant who had many years of experience in that work was a Nationalist,<sup>5</sup> but a little earlier a clerk typist in Armagh City was refused a post by a party vote on the grounds of inexperience. She was a Nationalist.<sup>6</sup> A nurse who was not only fully-qualified but was also the only applicant to respond to a call for interview was refused the post of Health Visitor by the Fermanagh Health Committee. She was a Nationalist.<sup>7</sup> Earlier an applicant who was not fully qualified for the post was appointed not only as Health Visitor but as County Nursing Officer in charge of fully-qualified nurses. She was a Tory.<sup>8</sup>



The title page of the United Nations Memorandum on Discrimination from which many quotations appear in this pamphlet.

## THE ONE QUALIFICATION!

One qualification supersedes all others for appointment to the public service in the Six Counties—to be a Tory.

**That outweighs suitability, experience, local knowledge,  
war service—everything.**

- <sup>1</sup> *Irish Echo*, 11th October, 1947.
- <sup>2</sup> *Irish News*, 12th November, 1947.
- <sup>3</sup> *Irish News*, 12th October, 1949.
- <sup>4</sup> *Irish News*, 5th December, 1949.
- <sup>5</sup> *Irish News*, 1st March, 1950.
- <sup>6</sup> *Irish News*, 17th September, 1949.
- <sup>7</sup> *Irish News*, Belfast, July 26, 1950.
- <sup>8</sup> Official Minutes of Meeting, May 24, 1948.

## THE TRUTH IS STATED—

**MR. CURRAN (UN GARRICK)** appealed to the Socialists to think twice before voting against the Bill. He made an attack on the member for Pottinger whose lead, if followed, would result, he asserted, in the obvious conclusion of the Nationalists getting control of the local government of the three Border counties plus Derry City. (Cries of "Why not?")

When an interrupter declared that the Bill was an attempt to prevent the majority in the Border counties gaining control by disfranchising them, Mr. Curran said the best way to prevent the overthrow of the Government by people who had no stake in the country, and had not the welfare of the people of Ulster at heart was to disfranchise them.

**Mr. Diamond**—Is it right that any member of this House should be allowed to make a statement that those who are against the Government on this Bill should be disfranchised?

### No stake

**Mr. Curran**—I am simply pointing out that if you follow the reasoning of the member for Pottinger to its logical conclusion it would be that you would have those three counties controlled not only by Nationalists but by people who had no stake in the country, and who are in this country with the determination that as soon as they can, and in spite of the welfare of the true Ulster people, they will overthrow this Government.

**Mr. Maxwell** (Nat., Foyle) said the last speaker had let the "cat out of the bag" in telling them the real reason for the Bill. The reason was that the Government did not want the majority of the people in the three counties and in Derry City to gain control, and therefore sought to disfranchise them.

**Mr. Nixon** (Ind. U., Woodvale) expressed surprise to hear the Chief Whip say that if he had his way everyone opposed to the Government would get no vote.

A case which must be without parallel in the annals of public appointments was that of the Town Clerkship of Belfast itself. In January, 1942, from among several applicants Mr. W. Lawrence Allen, Town Clerk of Barrow-in-Furness in Britain, was unanimously chosen by the Selection Committee of the Belfast Corporation for his high qualifications (the Committee having first asked him his religion: he was a Protestant). He was then unanimously appointed Town Clerk of the City by the Corporation itself. But the Belfast Ministry of Home Affairs refused to sanction the appointment. They had discovered that Mr. Allen's wife was a Catholic! The post had to be readvertised!

Next to the refusal of employment, the most painful discrimination the minority have to bear is in the matter of housing.

Under the heading of "Inequality in services rendered" the United Nations Memorandum condemns

*"establishment or enforcement of . . . restrictions upon the access of individuals belonging to a particular social group to . . . public housing programmes."*

That discrimination has been suffered by Nationalists in the Six Counties ever since that area was separated from the rest of Ireland.

So few houses were built by Rural Councils, particularly in Nationalist areas, that an official Report of 1944 (Command 224), giving tables of new houses provided from 1919 to 1944, gives no figures for any rural areas, explaining that "some Rural District Councils are unable to supply this information." It was then known that in all the rural areas of the worst-housed county of the Six Counties, Fermanagh, not one house has been built since 1920! One of the reasons why no houses were built was made public in a letter read in the Belfast Parliament on 23rd March, 1937. The letter dated 16th June, 1936, addressed to the Deputy Chief Whip of the Government Party was from Mr. Robert A. Parke, who acted as secretary to the Tory Members of the Omagh Rural Council (on which a Tory minority of 38 per cent. get a majority of the seats) and enclosed a resolution passed by those Tory Members. The existing system of allocating

\* See *Northern Whig*, January 5, 1942, and subsequent dates

"The *Northern Whig*" of January 11, 1946, published the admission by Mr. (Major) L. E. Curran, Parliamentary Secretary for Finance, that the Franchise Bill he was then piloting through the House was meant to disfranchise the Nationalists wherever they were in majority. "The *Northern Whig*" regarded the passage as so important that it put it into a special type—See across.



new houses laid it down that those who had made representations to be rehoused, must get preference when houses are built. The resolution asked for a change in this, for it said, if representations were invited from those badly housed "there would be a flood from the Nationalist side," and if these had to be provided for, Nationalists would "outvote us in divisions where majorities are close." To keep down their voting strength, Nationalists must, therefore, be denied houses wherever Tory majorities are close. That this policy is as vigorously in force to-day as in 1936 was shown in a recent decision by the same Council.

When on 11th March, 1950, the Omagh Rural Council came to allocate 40 houses at Coneywarren, Co. Tyrone, the first built in the area for many years, the Nationalist members of the Council submitted the names of 22 desperately badly-housed families in the hope of moving the Council's majority to a just allocation. By a party vote, every Nationalist applicant was rejected and the houses were given to 40 Tories, a majority of whom were either not married at all or were married and without children or had but one child! Some who were allocated houses were already so comfortably housed elsewhere, that they refused to move.

**This 100 per cent. Tory allocation was made because in that Parliamentary constituency (North Tyrone), where Coneywarren is situated, the Tories have a slender majority and wish to increase it. They will house there only those who vote for them. Questions of need, or family distress, or just dealing vanish in such circumstances.**

On the same day twelve houses were allocated in the Carrickmore district of the same area. There the Nationalists got half the houses—Carrickmore is 92 per cent. Nationalist, and the Tory need to maintain a majority does not exist—nevertheless, they took half the new houses.

The *Derry Journal* of 12th July, 1950, reports a meeting of the Strabane Rural Council on which the Tories, though in a minority in the area, hold 71.4 per cent. of the Council seats. Twelve cottages were allocated at the meeting. Tory supporters were brought into the houses from other areas in addition to local Tory

## —BUT THE RECORD IS ALTERED

I would ask them to look a bit ahead to see what they are offering the Ulster people or if Nationalist control is not what they want themselves for heaven's sake see that this country of ours is kept right and safe for these people whose welfare they want to promote. I stand here and publicly declare that I want to see the welfare of the true Ulster people protected, and for that reason I am not going to walk into this trap, if there is a trap, set by the Member for Pottinger

Mr. BEATTIE: What interest have you?

Major CURRAN—to see that as soon as they can—

Mr. BEATTIE: What interest have you? Answer the question!

Major CURRAN—this Government is overthrown.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I must ask hon. Members on the opposite side of the House to give the hon. and learned Member liberty to proceed with his speech without interruption.

Mr. DIAMOND: On a point of order, is it right that an hon. Member in this House should make a statement that those opposed to the existing Government should be disfranchised? Is it permissible for him to make that statement?

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I believe it is perfectly legitimate.

Major CURRAN: I am simply pointing out that taking the reasoning of the hon. Member for Pottinger to its logical conclusion—

Mr. BEATTIE: You are not.

Major CURRAN: In my opinion I am. I am entitled to express my opinion and the logical conclusion would be that you would have in those three counties control not only by Nationalists but by people who have no stake in the country, and who are in this country with the determination that as soon as they can do it, and in spite of the welfare of the true Ulster people, they will overthrow this Government, which is a Government of and for the Ulster people. I ask my Socialist friends not to be rushed into this trap too easily if they have the sincere interests of the Ulster people at heart.

From the Official Report of the Parliamentary Debates the revealing passage was deleted as will be seen in the above photostat of the relevant section of the discussion as officially published. It will be seen, however, from Mr. Diamond's question and the Deputy-Speaker's reply at what part of the debate the statement was made. Other words were substituted in the Official Report for what Major Curran had said.

1929 - 1950

## PLACING THE POLLING BOOTHS

The Nationalist leader in the partitioned area, Mr. Joseph Devlin, M.P., spoke in the Belfast Parliament on March 21st, 1929. He referred to the electoral discrimination used against the Nationalist minority by the simple process of situating the polling booths either in hostile areas or at completely inconvenient places. The Government reply was that the polling stations were fixed by the county councils. Mr. Devlin commented:—

"Do you not know that the county councils at the present moment are the political agents of the Government? If these were county councils elected as the county councils are elected in England or in Scotland or in Wales or in any other civilised community except this, then there would be some force in the argument of the right hon. and learned gentleman. The argument would be irresistible. But I do not think there is a single county council in Ulster that is not dominated by the friends of the right hon. and learned gentleman and the Government. We know how these county councils got there. They got there by the tricks of gerrymanderers in Parliament and through the detailed trickery of their followers on whose behalf they picked out these constituencies." Having referred to the religious bigotry stirred up by the Tory leaders at election time, Mr. Devlin went on, "The result is that in the midst of this atmosphere of passion, hatred and religious feud voters will be asked to come to the poll, and the polling stations will be put at such places as will be detrimental to the interests of those we represent."\*

In the same debate, other speakers, Labour as well as Nationalist, commented on this partisan placing of the polling booths. Mr. Beattie (Labour) protested against it in his constituency. Mr. Sam Kyle (Labour) said in his constituency Labour supporters were forced to cast their votes in booths deliberately placed in predominantly Tory districts. Mr. Wm. McMullen (Labour) stated the booths in Tyrone and Fermanagh seemed specially placed to prevent people from voting. An Independent Tory member, Mr. T. Henderson, commented on the same practice. Even the Government spokesman, Attorney-General Babington, admitted that electors had in some county areas to walk ten miles to vote. Yet any remedy was refused.

Nearly twenty years later in the British Commons, on March 24, 1948, Mr. A. Mulvey, Nationalist M.P. raised the same question.† He described how voters living west of Omagh must pass through that town and its many polling booths and walk three miles to the east in order to vote. Others to the south-west of the town must go south-east for 5 miles. In Down, electors must cross a mountain and walk five miles further on to vote. Mr. Delargy, M.P., who represents Thurrock (Essex) in the British Commons, described how some voters must travel eight miles to vote. Others had to pass ten polling booths before they reached the one where alone they could cast their votes. These M.P.'s pleaded with the British Government to intervene and secure proper facilities for the minority at least in elections to the British Parliament. The British Home Secretary said it was a matter for the Belfast Government or for the local authority. If they did not act, he said, any 30 electors might petition for a change. In November, 1949, the Nationalists petitioned the County Councils of Tyrone and of Fermanagh to end these discriminations and suggested alternative polling stations. On a party vote each Council refused to make any change.‡ On the eve of the British General Election in February, 1950, pressure from Nationalist electors at last caused the British Home Secretary, the Hon. Chuter Ede to move and the polling stations for elections to the British House of Commons in some of the areas mentioned above were made more fair. But no general effort has yet been made to end this form of discrimination by which the minority have so long been penalised in elections for Parliament and for local councils.

\* Official Debates: Belfast House of Commons: Vol. X, cols. 1132 et seq.

† Parliamentary Debates: British House of Commons: Vol. 448, No. 92, Cols. 3202 et seq.

‡ See Belfast Newsletter, December 13th, 1949, and February 18th, 1950.

applicants. Strabane Rural District is probably the worst housed in Ireland, with many hundreds of families living in dwellings condemned as "totally unfit." Yet, only one cottage of the twelve was given to an occupant of an "unfit" house.

This neglect of Nationalist need for rehousing is reflected in the Report on Housing, already referred to, which is the latest all-over analysis of the housing position in the partitioned area. Though there has been considerable building in the last two years, the fundamental situation has not been changed.

**The Report shows the Nationalist areas as being left twice as badly off for decent housing as the Tory areas, bad even though some of these Tory areas are.**

The need for new houses (expressed in terms of existing houses) was 30.2 per cent. in the Six Counties as a whole, but it was in

**Derry City, 44.8 per cent.**

**County Fermanagh, 54.6 per cent.**

**County Tyrone, 51.5 per cent.**

Derry is a city with a strong Nationalist majority. Its need is 44.8 per cent., just twice that of Belfast, a city with a Tory majority, where the need is 22.6 per cent. of existing houses. Fermanagh is a county with a Nationalist majority. It is almost twice as badly

housed as Antrim County with a Tory majority, whose need compared with Fermanagh's 54.6 per cent., is only 29.5 per cent. In rural Tyrone, with a total of 27,500 houses, 10,104 are totally unfit for human habitation. In rural Down, which is predominantly Tory, only 3,400 out of 40,235 houses are totally unfit.



## UNIVERSAL DECLARATION of HUMAN RIGHTS

Article 2. (1) Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion,

Article 7. All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

Article 9. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

Article 12. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon

Article 17. (1) Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others.

(2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

Article 18. Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion;

Article 19. Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart

Article 20. (1) Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and associa-

Article 21. (1) Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.

(2) Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country.

(3) The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

Article 23. (1) Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.

The United Nations Declaration of Human Rights was passed in December 1948. The rights enshrined in the Articles from that Declaration given in whole or in part above are denied to the minority in the partitioned area of Ireland.

## IN THE CITY WARDS ALSO

This systematic neglect also shows itself in Nationalist districts as compared with Tory districts within the same area. The Housing Report gives percentages for unfit and overcrowded houses in the three Derry wards. The North Ward and Waterside Ward, both Tory, have percentages of 26.0 per cent. and 31.0 respectively; but the Nationalist South Ward has a percentage of 44.7 per cent. In Belfast City the average of unfit and overcrowded houses is 26.8 per cent. But in the three wards of that city where the Nationalists are strongest it is, in Smithfield 65.9 per cent., in Falls 47.8 per cent., and in Dock 41.9 per cent.

The same effects of long-continued discrimination show themselves throughout, in the smaller towns as well as in the cities and the rural areas. There are ten towns with Nationalist majorities in the partitioned area. The average need for new houses there is 35.4 per cent. of existing houses, but in the 23 towns with Tory majorities the average is only 23.5 per cent.

## DRIVE THEM OUT!

What is the motive for this particularly low form of discrimination, which is so systematic and so general that it reflects itself unanswerably in official statistics? The motive is, as already stated, fundamentally political.

**If the Nationalists are housed they will remain in an area to vote there. Bad housing will, it is hoped, drive them out.**

Therefore, though their need is desperate (take for example the 10,014 totally unfit houses in Tyrone which are still occupied) they do not get a just share of the comparatively few new houses that are built.

There is no concealment of this

political motive. On June 11th, 1949, the *Strabane Weekly News*, organ of the party which by gerrymandering, controls the Rural Councils in the area, said editorially :

*"Every Unionist (Tory) who sells a farm or lets a house to an Anti-Partitionist is assisting the Anti-Partitionists to win the local Government representation in that area at the next election and their action can only be regarded as treachery to their party."*

This determination to force out Nationalist voters goes to revolting lengths at times. The Enniskillen Rural Council, on March 7th, 1950, decided by a party vote to eject Joseph Owens, a cripple (two of whose brothers had fought for Britain in two World Wars) from the cottage built for his father in 1906 and since occupied by his family, of whom he was the last member.\* The cottage was given to a Tory. The Omagh Rural Council on December 10th, 1949, by a party vote proposed to eject the existing tenant Miss Mary McGuigan, a Nationalist who had occupied the cottage for 37 years and to give the cottage to a Tory. She was only saved by a round robin of supplication from all the residents of the area, an action which illustrates the point we have already made that if left to themselves neighbours will be neighbours the whole world over.†

It was to permit actions like this that under an Act of the Belfast Parliament the boundaries of the electoral districts were manipulated to give control to the Tory minorities along the Border counties.

**For this, too, the Franchise Acts were revised in January, 1946, immediately after the War for the Four Freedoms, in order to deprive as many Nationalist voters as possible of the one defence they had against these flagrant injustices.**

This discrimination in voting qualifications is subtle in its operation. The Tory community, in their guise as property owners, receive multiple votes ; in the case of business firms one person may have as many as seven votes. Thousands of the Nationalist community, on the other hand, because they own no property, lose the one vote they have had.

## DISQUALIFICATION

In free Ireland and in Britain there is only one qualification required of the voter in both parliamentary and local elections. If this were operative in the Six Counties the Nationalists would naturally control the public bodies in all the districts in which they form a majority of the population and these areas cover more than half the total area of the Six Counties. The 1946 and previous Acts took this democratic right from them. Those Acts could not of course limit the electorate without also taking the vote from some of the Tories but the discrimination was nicely calculated. In many places for every two Nationalists who lost their votes only one Tory lost his and at other places, although the disproportion was not so marked, it was sufficient to give the Tories majorities in Nationalist areas. There are 1,853 Nationalist voters on the Parliamentary Register for the Borough of Enniskillen and 1,777 Tory voters. By the operation of the Acts limiting the franchise, the Nationalist voters are reduced for local elections by more than half to 790 but the Tory voters lose less than a third and become the majority with 1,294 votes ! In Derry City there are 17,150 Nationalists voters and 11,093 Tory voters on the Parliamentary Register. But by the operation of the Franchise Acts, the Nationalists now have only 9,782 local Government voters while the Tory voters number 8,282.

\* *Strabane Chronicle*, March 11, 1950.

† *Irish News*, December 12, 1949.



In the whole of County Fermanagh the Parliamentary voters numbered 17,915 Nationalists and 16,159 Tories, but by franchise restriction this Nationalist majority became a Nationalist minority for the local vote was denied to 8,660 Nationalists but only to 6,847 Tories. So throughout the whole area down to the smallest electoral division.

**It is all done in accordance with law, but the law is shaped to ensure in the words of the United Nations Memorandum that the Nationalists will "play a less important part in the voting procedure" and that a "lesser weight" will attach to the votes of that group.**

There is one more example of discrimination that must be mentioned. In its way it is probably as grave as any hitherto set down. It is specified by the United Nations Memorandum under the headings of

*"Inequality in personal security" including that of privacy, family, home and correspondence,*

*"Inequality in freedom of movement and residence" including compulsion as to place of residence, etc., and*

*"Inequality in the enjoyment of the right of freedom of peaceful association."*

### EDUCATION—A Contrast

On April 5th, 1950, the Minister for Education in the Twenty-six Counties of free Ireland announced the composition of a Council of Education to advise him on educational matters. Of the 32 members, six were drawn from the religious minority. That minority which forms 6 per cent. of the population was given a 19 per cent. representation on the Council.

On June 17th, 1950, the Minister for Education of the Six Counties of occupied Ireland announced the composition of a working Committee to advise him on aspects of School building in that area. Of the 12 members of the Committee not one was drawn from the religious minority. That minority which forms 34 per cent. of the population was thus given no representation whatever.

These inequalities are visited upon the Nationalist minority in the Six Counties through what are known as the Special Powers Acts. These are Acts of so drastic a nature that under them an individual may be arrested without any charge being laid against him, may be imprisoned without trial, his home can be raided and searched without warrant

(and these searches usually take place after midnight), his property can be seized without compensation, he may be compelled to leave his home and reside in a specified area from which he cannot depart without penalty, his correspondence may be censored and he and his associates forbidden to assemble peacefully. All these powers have been put into operation over long periods since Britain founded the Six County State. Invariably they have been used against the Nationalist leaders and rank and file.

### CONTRAST TO DEMOCRACY

A British Commission set up by the National Council of Civil Liberties in 1935 visited the North-East of Ireland and studied the operation of the Special Powers Acts on the spot. They reported

*"In the considered opinion of the Commission the operation of the Special Powers Acts is contrary to the fundamental principles of democratic government, in that it imperils the rights and freedom of law-abiding citizens."\**

To show that the use of the Special Powers has not changed since the Commission reported it need only be said that under them a procession at Moneymore, Co. Derry, in honour of St. Patrick organised by a wholly peaceful and constitutional Nationalist organisation was banned on March 17th, 1950.

\* This British report also contained this passage: "Persons arrested and detained whether under charge or not have been subjected to interrogation frequently of many hours duration, by large numbers of police. The prisoner having been questioned as to his name, address and movement by one squad of police, is passed on again and again to other squads by whom the process is repeated. During the interrogation the prisoner is surrounded by his questioners and unsatisfactory replies may produce blows. These interrogations are often held late at night and are carried on until the prisoner's strength is well-nigh exhausted."

The effect on the political rights of the minority of giving such powers to the police is obvious. They have been used against only one political group—the Nationalists—and the very existence of these powers has been and must always be a curb on normal political opposition to those in office. The Nationalist minority know that under them they may without warning have their homes raided and that they themselves may be taken away to indeterminate imprisonment without any charge or trial. This implied threat to them is all the more real as one of the governmental organisations charged with implementing the Special Powers is the body known as the "B" Special Constabulary. These are an auxiliary police force set up, armed and paid for by Britain in the years following the establishment of the Six Counties as a separate state and since maintained by the Six County Government out of public taxation. The British Civil Liberties Commission already cited thus describes them :

*"In practice membership of the 'B' Specials is confined to persons professing the Protestant faith who are also members of the Orange Order—that is to supporters of the Unionist (Tory) Party."*

It can be imagined what frustration must be felt by the minority at this handing over of the administration of the law to a purely partisan body. Sections of the minority have shown bitter and violent resentment at this. But that, too, is provided for. As the United Nations Memorandum says :

*"A group suffering from discrimination frequently becomes disaffected or rebellious and the evidence of its disaffection in turn is used as a new ground for discrimination."*

The more the minority struggles the more the noose tightens around its neck.

**When the Council of Europe was discussing Human Rights in August, 1949, and the pernicious nature of these Special Powers was exposed at Strasbourg, the operation of some of them was suspended. But since then many of the suspended powers have been reimposed. The police have again been authorised to make forcible entry to any house ; to search houses without warrant ; to seize and dispose of property without compensation. They are empowered to hold up citizens in the streets and search them without producing any authority. They can arrest without charge and imprison any "suspect" without trial. They are empowered to remove those arrested to any district they themselves decide on and to take, forcibly if need be, the fingerprints of all they arrest.**

## THE CORONER'S WORDS

Though the members of the Belfast Government and the leaders of the Tory party in North-East Ireland must share with Britain the responsibility for the penalisation of the minority which has been outlined in this pamphlet—with chapter and verse for every statement—the rank and file of the supporters of that Government and party are not charged with these injustices. These ordinary men and women who normally desire to be just and kind to their neighbours are the victims of constant incitement and propaganda.

In 1935 the Orange mob in Belfast had been roused to acts of savage violence against the unprotected Nationalist minority by speeches such as have been quoted in the foregoing pages. Later an inquest on the dead was held. The Coroner of Belfast, Mr. T. Alexander, himself a member of the majority, spoke words over those dead bodies with which this pamphlet might most suitably come to an end—

*"The poor people who commit these riots are easily led and influenced," he said. "They are influenced almost entirely by the public speech of men in high and responsible positions. There would be less bigotry if there were less public speech-making by so-called leaders of public opinion."*



# CANNOT BE EMPLOYED BECAUSE—



## INTRODUCTION CARD.

Class of placing

### MINISTRY OF LABOUR, NORTHERN IRELAND.

Order No. .... Date ..... Class No. ....  
**ALFRED STREET** Employment Exchange Phone No. ....

To: *Messrs Hamon & Co  
 Lincolne*

In reply to your request for *Yip*

I am sending the bearer, M. *of Miller  
 18 Cascade St*

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

.....183 **H. G. STEVENSON** Manager.

### EMPLOYER'S REPLY.

Have you engaged the worker? *NO*

Date worker is to start .....

If the worker is not engaged please state overleaf the reason.

Please impress  
 business stamp.  
 E.O. 12.  
 N. Ireland.

Signature *J. Brothers*  
 Date *3/7/36* 183  
 P.T.O.

## 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.

*Religion*

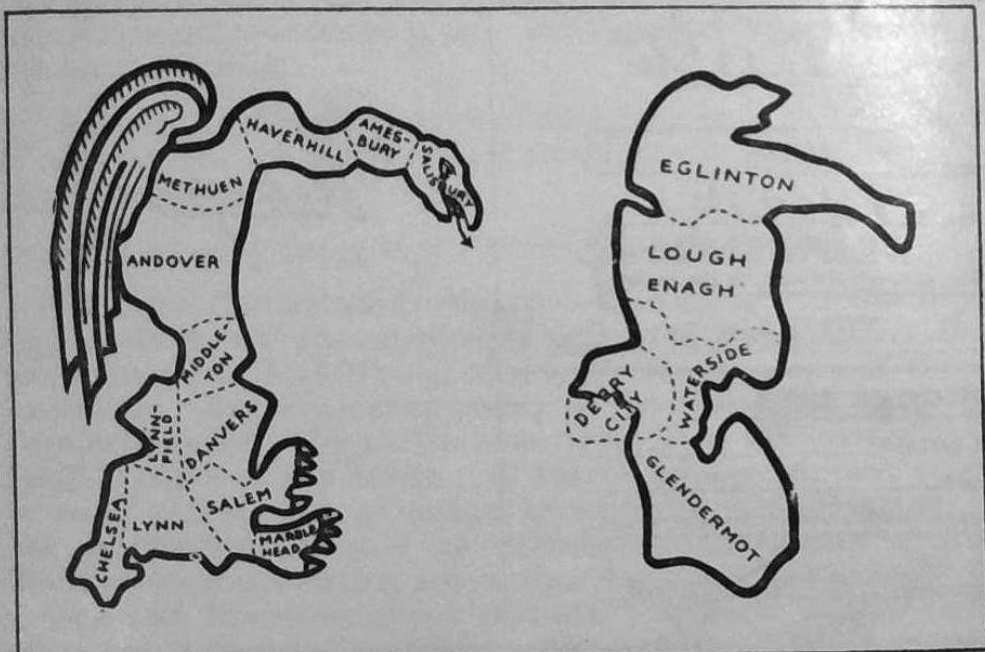
G.1224 Wt.544 P1090 10,000 Gp.101 8/39 N.W.Ltd.  
 G.2626 Wt.1275 1154 10,000 Gp.101 1/36 N.W.Ltd.

Sir Basil Brooke's and other speeches quoted in this pamphlet show how a third of the people in the partitioned area of Ireland are discriminated against simply because they worship at another altar. The Report of the Y.M.C.A. Committee also quoted shows how on the same grounds young lads are denied work even where work is available. Here we reproduce an official document indicating that employers regard "religion" as a sufficient reason for not employing a worker sent to them officially by the Belfast Ministry of Labour.

The British Government in 1920 knew that the minority in the partitioned area were in danger of receiving the treatment that has been described in these pages. The Act of the British Parliament which dismembered Ireland had a mandatory clause making any form of discrimination illegal, and the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921 had an even more specific section providing safeguards for the minority. Both have been flagrantly violated almost since the day they were passed, and though the major responsibility for governing the area rests with the British Government, that Government has made no attempt to carry out the pledges to protect the minority.

# ONE VOTE EQUALS TWO

A STUDY IN THE  
PRACTICE & PURPOSE  
OF BOUNDARY  
MANIPULATION



## ONE MONSTER—

The classical example of Boundary manipulation for which the name Gerry-mander was coined. The electoral areas in Essex County, Massachusetts, U.S.A., were re-arranged when Governor Gerry was in office, giving an outline to which the artist, Gilbert Stuart, finding it in the office of Benjamin Russel, the Boston editor, added wings, beak and claws, and said it was like a salamander "Better say a Gerry-mander," growled Russel; and a new word entered the world's dictionaries.

## —AND ANOTHER

A modern example of boundary manipulation in the partitioned area of North-East Ireland. In order to Gerry-mander the Nationalist majority in Derry out of representing that city in Parliament, a new City Division was designed by the Belfast Government. Part of the city is omitted altogether, and rural areas up to eight miles away have been brought in to outvote the Nationalists in the city proper.

Issued by the All-Party Anti-Partition Conference, Mansion House, Dublin, Ireland.

This is a reproduction of the cover of the pamphlet on Gerry-mandering published by the All-Party Anti-Partition Conference, Mansion House, Dublin. It shows in detail how electoral boundaries in the partitioned area are manipulated in order to deprive of their just representation those who stand for the restoration of Ireland's unity.