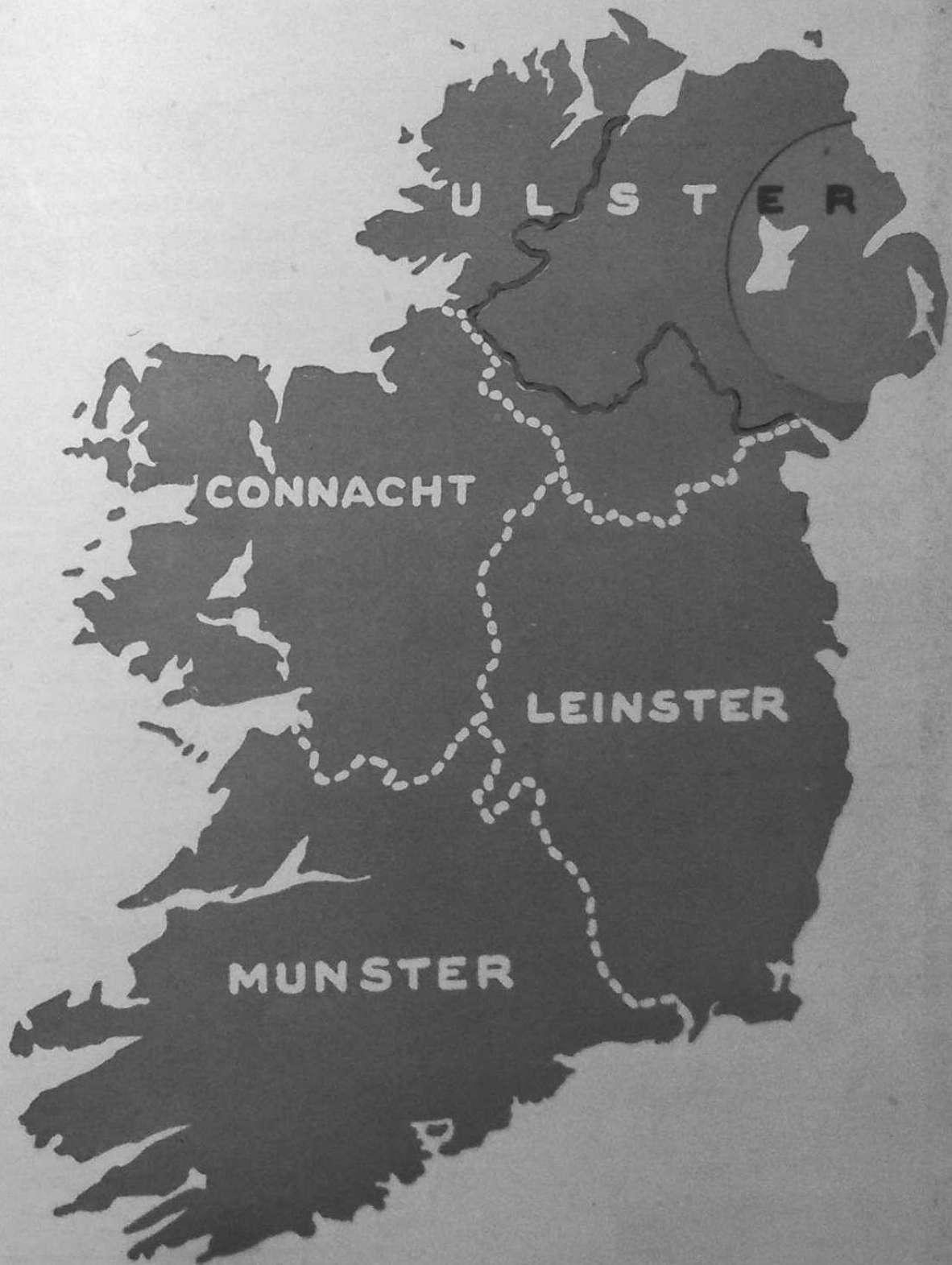


# IRELAND'S

## RIGHT TO UNITY



The case stated by the All-Party  
Anti-Partition Conference,  
Mansion House, Dublin, Ireland

# THE NEW "DEMOCRACY"

In this pamphlet it is shown that Ireland was partitioned by Britain in such a way as to give to a minority control over a section of the national majority. Within this partitioned area Nationalists, where they are in a majority, are debarred from electing local councils of their choice. Minorities are enabled by a systematic and widespread manipulation of electoral boundaries and by an unequal franchise to secure majority representation. A few examples from the 1949 elections are here given in diagrammatic form:

## FERMANAGH

### Population

55.3%

44.7%

### Representation

33.3%

66.7%

### Fermanagh Parliamentary Seats

In Fermanagh there are 30,196 Nationalists and 24,375 Tories. But the Tories get two of the three parliamentary seats. On the County Council the Tories have 19 seats and the Nationalist majority 6.

## TYRONE

### Population

55.2%

44.8%

### Representation

34.3%

65.7%

### Tyrone County Council

In Tyrone there are 70,595 Nationalists and 56,991 Tories. But the Tory minority have 23 seats on the County Council while the Nationalist majority have only 12.

## LISNASKEA

### Population

60.5%

39.5%

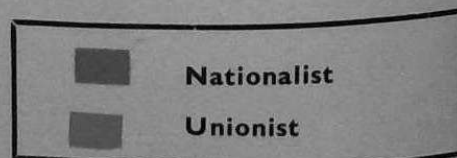
### Representation

38.2%

61.8%

### Lisnaskea Rural Council

In Lisnaskea, Co. Fermanagh, there are 12,026 Nationalists and 7,830 Tories. But the Tories have 21 seats on the Rural District Council while the majority have 13.



(Continued on Inside Back Cover.)

# IRELAND'S RIGHT TO UNITY

## THE FACTS OF THE PARTITION PROBLEM

**T**HE essence of democracy lies in the right of a people freely to determine how they are to be governed.

The accepted unit for this self-determination by which policies are decided and a government elected is the nation. If areas within the nation were permitted to disown national policy and to set up sovereign governments chaos would obviously follow.

**Great internal wars have been fought to establish this principle.**

In many nations a resistant minority has been compelled by the majority to accept the national will. The most notable of these struggles was that in the United States of America from 1860 to 1864. That war ensured that self-determination belonged only to the whole people of the nation. Abraham Lincoln speaking at Indianapolis on 18th February, 1861, said :

### THE MAP ON THE COVER

Within a radius of roughly thirty miles from Belfast lies the Tory concentration in the partitioned area. Inside that radius there are 77 per cent. Tories and 23 per cent. Nationalists. Outside that radius, in the rest of the partitioned area, the Nationalists are in a majority of 52 per cent. Therefore, as the map on the cover shows, there is a continuous area from the extreme south of Ireland to within thirty miles of Belfast with a solid majority for the unity and independence of Ireland. The section marked orange on the map is one-sixteenth of the whole of Ireland.

Abraham Lincoln speaking at Indianapolis on 18th February, 1861, said :

*"On what rightful principle may a State, being not more than one-fiftieth part of the nation in soil and population, break up the nation and then coerce a proportionally larger sub-division of itself in the most arbitrary way."*

No doubt exists as to what forms the unit for self-determination in Ireland's case. Geography and history have combined to establish it. Since the time of St. Patrick—more than fifteen hundred years ago—the nationhood of all Ireland has been an accepted fact and has been recognised as a fact by Europe and later by the New World.

### INCONTESTABLE

It could not have been otherwise, for the marks of Ireland's nationhood are incontestable—a geographic unit, a national language, a separate culture and code of laws, a homogeneous people, a distinctive national tradition. Her churches and religious bodies—Catholic, Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, the Religious Society of Friends, and other denominations—are now, as in the past, organised on a national all-Ireland basis. Her learned bodies, her major universities, her sports organisations are, and have been, nationwide. The people in all parts of the country are, and speak of themselves as, Irish.



[Courtesy of "Irish Press"]  
The statue of Abraham Lincoln in Government Buildings, Dublin

It is therefore to the people of Ireland that the right to self-determination belongs. It is they who must decide national questions and policies—the nation's status, Ireland's relationship with other countries, the form of its government.

And when, as in other democratic nations, there is a divergence of view on these matters that divergence must be resolved finally by the majority decision of the whole adult citizenry.

## NEVER QUESTIONED

The fact that Ireland was a national unit was never questioned until a British Government for its own purposes decided to cut the country into two parts—five-sixths and one-sixth. In the second decade of this century a struggle for power was going on between the two big political parties in Britain, the Liberals and the Tories. The Liberals were committed to giving Ireland self-government. The Tories were violently opposed to any such policy and decided to kill two birds with one stone and use the proposed grant of Home Rule to Ireland to drive the Liberals out of office. The

British Tory leaders therefore visited North-East Ulster, roused the passions of the majority there, armed the rank and file with guns obtained from Germany and faced the Liberals with a crisis. The Liberals, rather than leave office, solved the crisis by aban-



[Courtesy of "National Library"]

View of Armagh, religious capital of the Catholic and Protestant Churches in Ireland, showing (left to right) St. Patrick's Protestant Cathedral, First Presbyterian Church, and St. Patrick's Catholic Cathedral



Dail Eireann, the Parliament of Ireland, first met in the Mansion House, Dublin, on 21st January, 1919, and declared the independence of the nation.

[Courtesy of Art O'Murnaghan]

doing their pledges to Ireland and their own self-government Bill and adopting the expedient of partition.

For more than four years before December, 1918, several British efforts were made to secure Irish acceptance for some plan of dismemberment or partition. They had all broken down. On the 14th December, 1918, a General Election was held in which the whole of Ireland participated. The issue was whether Ireland, exercising the right to self-determination proclaimed by the victors in World War One, would declare her independence and set up a national legislature. Although the election was held under British law and was carried out while a British army occupied the whole island, the result was overwhelmingly in favour of national independence. Excluding the Universities, there were 101 parliamentary electoral divisions in Ireland. Seventy-eight of these declared for independence and only twenty-three against—a more emphatic verdict than in national elections in U.S.A. or Britain. (If we include the University members who were elected on a greatly restricted franchise the majority was still 79 to 26.)

**In pursuance of this expression of the national will the elected representatives of the people assembled in Dublin on 21st January, 1919, declared Ireland an independent nation and established a Government and legislature.**

In the following year, 1920, the British Parliament, refusing to accept the right of the Irish people to make laws for their own country, passed a statute by which the Irish nation was partitioned. No Irishman from any part of Ireland voted for that Statute. It was made law by the votes of representatives of English, Scottish and Welsh constituencies.

## TERRORISM

By the use of the Black and Tans,<sup>1</sup> by the imposition of martial law, by the systematic killing of prominent persons—elected representatives, clergymen and others—by the murder of civilians and by the organised destruction of Irish towns and the means of production and employment, Britain tried to force from the Irish people the surrender of their declared independence. When that failed they passed the Act dividing Ireland into two parts and endeavoured to impose Governmental institutions of their own fashioning on each part. Though they used an army of occupation to enforce this "settlement" they were wholly unsuccessful in five-sixths of Ireland. They were successful in the remaining one-sixth and established in Belfast a separate Government for the six North-Eastern Counties.

## "ULSTER DOES NOT WANT IT"

But in setting up this separate Government Britain not only defied the democratically expressed will of the Irish people but also the majority inside the selected area. The Tories<sup>2</sup> of the North-East of Ulster were opposed to self-government for Ireland and to separation from Britain, but they were opposed also to the division of their country. For though when the separate Government and Parliament were set up they accepted partition, at no time did they desire it as a solution.

<sup>1</sup> An armed corps organised by the British Government to break, by a system of terrorism and outrage, the popular effort for freedom. For propagandist purposes they were called "police." They wore a mixture of the black police uniform and army khaki, hence the name "Black and Tans."

<sup>2</sup> The term used most often in the North-East is Unionist but this would lead to misunderstanding because they are at present opposed to the unity of Ireland. The name Tory carries a more exact meaning and it is also more fitting as the leaders regard themselves as members of the British Tory Party.

Sir Edward Carson, speaking in the name of the Ulster Tories against the Partition Bill in the British House of Commons on 29th March, 1920, said :

*"I cannot understand why we should ask them to take a Parliament which they never demanded and which they do not want."*  
Later in the same debate he said : *"I know Ulster does not want this Parliament."*

Her spokesmen did not want it in 1920 and they are of the same opinion to-day.

*"We never asked for Partition and we never wanted it,"* said Lord Glentoran, Belfast Tory leader, on 10th October, 1946.

*"The people of Ulster never wanted this Parliament. . . . The present Parliament of Northern Ireland was forced on the people of Northern Ireland against their will in 1920,"* said Sir Hugh O'Neill, M.P., leader of the Six County Tories in the British Parliament, speaking on 18th June, 1947.

*"We never wanted a Parliament,"* said Mr. William Grant, Six County Minister for Health, speaking on 5th June, 1949, in Belfast.

The British Statute which partitioned Ireland and set up a separate Government in the North-East had no mandate and no approval from any party in Ireland.

### A PARTITIONED STREET



[Courtesy of "Irish Press"]

Ireland is divided by a border which does violence not only to nature but to the economic life of the country. Mr. Lloyd George, then British Prime Minister, admitted in 1920 that he could not "conscientiously attempt to enforce it," and described it as "a frontier based neither upon natural features nor broad geographical considerations." Nevertheless successive British governments have enforced it. This photograph shows the border cutting through a street in the town of Pettigo.

### THREE LITTLE MAPS

In all Ireland there is an overwhelming majority for freedom



When partition was first imposed the population of the Six Counties was 1,250,000. More than half of this population occupied Belfast, Antrim, and half Down. In this area the political division was 552,000 Tories to 149,000 Nationalists. In the other four-and-a-half counties (Armagh, Derry, Fermanagh, Tyrone and the southern part of Down) there were 281,000 Nationalists and 268,000 Tories.

These figures are significant. They explain how it was that six counties came to be detached from the rest of Ireland. The numerical strength of the Tories in the one-and-a-half counties would enable them to outvote permanently the Nationalist majority in the adjoining four-and-a-half counties. Given a chance to vote, Armagh, Derry, Fermanagh,

In fact, within the partitioned area there was and is a majority in four-and-a-half counties for freedom and for unity with the rest of Ireland



## IN LESS THAN TWO

The Six County area cut off had never existed before as an entity in history or politics or economics. It was not Ulster, which is a province of nine counties. It had no natural boundaries. It had no unity within itself. The Tories—whose existence was made the excuse for partitioning Ireland—were in a majority in a continuous area not as large as two of the counties. Although there were smaller concentrations in other parts of the six counties their strength lay principally in Belfast, in County Antrim and in the northern half of County Down.

**In the rest of the area taken as a block—i.e. four-and-a-half counties out of the six—there was and still is a majority for independence.<sup>3</sup>**

Despite this national majority, Britain partitioned Ireland under the pretence that the six cut-off counties were pro-British



Tyrone and southern Down would as a block have declared for union with free Ireland. They were given no such choice. The British Statute which partitioned Ireland added to the corner in which the Tory votes were concentrated as much Nationalist territory as it was believed those Tory votes could always dominate.

## TO PREVENT A UNION

Capt. C. C. Craig, Deputy leader in the British Commons of the Ulster Tory Party, explaining on 29th March, 1920,

<sup>3</sup> In fact up to the 1918 General Election a majority of the Parliamentary seats in the whole of Ulster were held by those in favour of Irish independence; and in the Ulster local elections of 1920, 498 seats were won by Independence candidates and only 376 by the Tories.



[Courtesy of Keystone, London]

Asquith, British ex-Premier, who condemned the Partition Act of 1920, because, he said, its real purpose was to prevent for ever the union of Ireland

why only six of the nine counties of Ulster could be brought in under the Belfast Parliament said :

*"The three excluded counties contain some 70,000 Unionists and 260,000 Sinn Feiners and Nationalists and the addition of that large block of Sinn Feiners and Nationalists would reduce our majority to such a level that no sane man would undertake to carry on a Parliament with it. . . . We quite frankly admit that we cannot hold the nine counties."*

—(Hansard, Vol. 127, Col. 991).

Mr. Asquith, former British Premier, speaking against Partition, commented on Captain Craig's speech and the purpose of choosing six counties :

*"With six you have a majority which will enable you to defeat union . . . with the result the hon. and gallant member gloats over that they will always have a majority and be able to defeat permanently a union between the two Parliaments and the demand for a single Parliament for Ireland."*

—(Hansard, Vol. 127, Col. 1114).

In other words even the province of Ulster was partitioned to procure a lasting majority for the British division of Ireland.

By this device a wide Nationalist area—far bigger than the Tory stronghold, or as Lincoln put it, "a proportionally larger sub-division of itself"—was coerced to live under a Government to which they were opposed and which was, and has remained, bitterly opposed to them.

## IMPERIAL POLICY

It is well to repeat that Partition was contrary to the wishes of all Irish parties. In separating the North-East from the rest of Ireland Britain's real purpose was to hold a part of Ireland in pursuance of her Imperial policy. This was made quite clear in the British intimation to the majority in the cut-off area that they would not be permitted to re-unite with the rest of Ireland even if they willed it.

During one of the periods (1916) when Britain was trying to win Irish consent to partition, Mr. Lloyd George told the Nationalists that if they would agree now he would pledge himself that Partition would end "within a short specified period" after the 1914-18 war. To the Tories he was making at the same time a diametrically opposite statement. In a famous letter, only disclosed years afterwards, he said :



“ Whitehall Place, S.W.  
May 29th, 1916.

“ My dear Carson,

“ I enclose Greer's draft propositions.

“ We must make it clear that at the end of the provisional period Ulster does not, whether she wills it or not, merge in the rest of Ireland.

“ Ever sincerely,

“ D. LLOYD GEORGE.

“ Will you show it to Craig ? ”

Since that letter was written the personnel of the British Government has changed many times. But the determination persists to ignore any national demand for the unity of Ireland. Mr. Herbert Morrison, Lord Privy Seal in Mr. Attlee's Cabinet, has recently twice refused to say “ Yes ” when asked if Irishmen of the Six and Twenty-Six Counties agreed to a plan to restore Irish territorial unity would Britain accept ? He would only repeat what he had previously said in the British House of Commons that “ The British Government will give the matter consideration.”<sup>4</sup>

## ALWAYS THE ONE RESULT

Meanwhile the designed aim of Partition has been fulfilled. The area cut off was carefully selected, as Mr. Asquith, former British Prime Minister, said in 1920, “ to defeat permanently a union ” between the two parts of Ireland. It was chosen to give always but one result in any general election—an overwhelming Tory majority. It has automatically produced that result in every general election since 1921. It automatically

<sup>4</sup> At the Blackpool British Labour Party Conference, Whit week, 1949. Compare the British Labour Party's declaration on Ireland in the year following the imposition of Partition. Text on page 14.

## TWO PLEDGES

In May, 1916, when the British were endeavouring to “ settle ” the Irish Question by Partition, Mr. Lloyd George secretly gave a letter to Sir Edward Carson. That letter promised not only that Partition would be permanent but that it would not end even if the majority in the partitioned area wished to end it. The letter, not made public for many years, was as follows :

“ Whitehall Place, S.W.  
May 29th, 1916.

“ My dear Carson,

“ I enclose Greer's draft propositions.

“ We must make it clear that at the end of the provisional period Ulster does not, whether she wills it or not, merge in the rest of Ireland.

“ Ever sincerely,

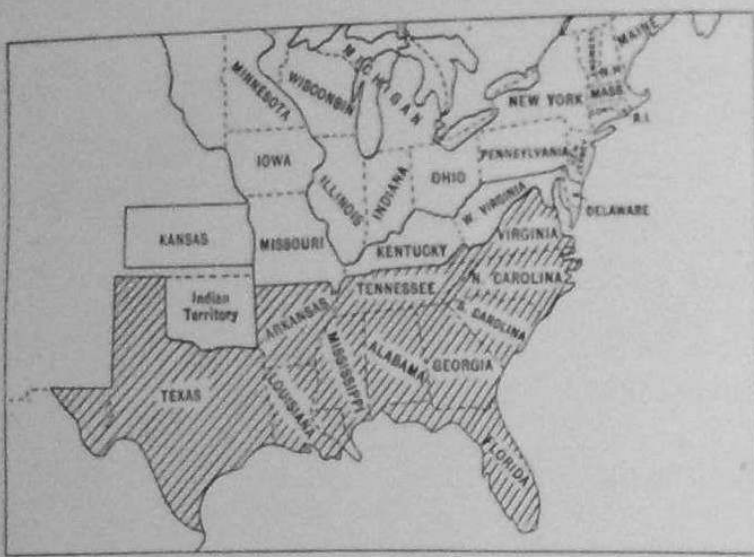
“ D. LLOYD GEORGE.

“ Will you show it to Craig ? ”

During the same week, Mr. Lloyd George handed his proposals to Mr. J. E. Redmond, the Irish Nationalist leader, and gave him a pledge that there would be no permanent partition of Ireland. The Irish leader at a Conference of Nationalists in Belfast, repeated that pledge. The press report of the Conference says :

“ Mr. Redmond went on to deal with a statement in that day's *Irish Times* that Mr. Lloyd George had promised Sir Edward Carson that the exclusion of the six Ulster Counties was to be a permanent arrangement. (A Voice : ‘ Never. ’) ‘ I entirely re-echo that cry of “ never, ” ’ said Mr. Redmond, amidst cheers. ‘ That statement is an absolute lie. . . . The proposals are temporary and provisional. If they were not I would oppose them. ’

—*Irish Independent*, June 24, 1916.



"No Union without the consent of the South."  
Lord Palmerston thought that Britain would gain by the partition of the United States.

**If the American people had been told in 1860 that the continued existence of the Union would not be permitted without the consent of the Parliament of the Southern States they would have known that that was a complete perversion of democracy.**

To some it may sound fantastic to make that comparison, but during the 1860-64 war the British Prime Minister [Lord Palmerston] wished for the partition of the United States. In Bell's *Official Life* (Vol. 2, page 315), it is said :

**"Palmerston did indeed confide to [Lord John] Russell the not unnatural feeling that England would be a gainer by the separation of South from North."**

The vital help a strong America gave the British in two world wars shows the injury Britain might have suffered had the desired dismemberment of the United States crippled that nation. Time will also show what Britain's partition of Ireland is costing her in international goodwill and prestige.

## GERRYMANDERING

Britain has always been conscious that the greater part of the cut-off area wishes to return to Irish sovereignty. She does not want that to happen. In consequence, a systematic denial to the Nationalists of their proper franchise, particularly in the border counties, has been connived at by the British Government—and this, despite its responsibility under Section 5 of the 1920 Act to ensure that minority rights are protected.

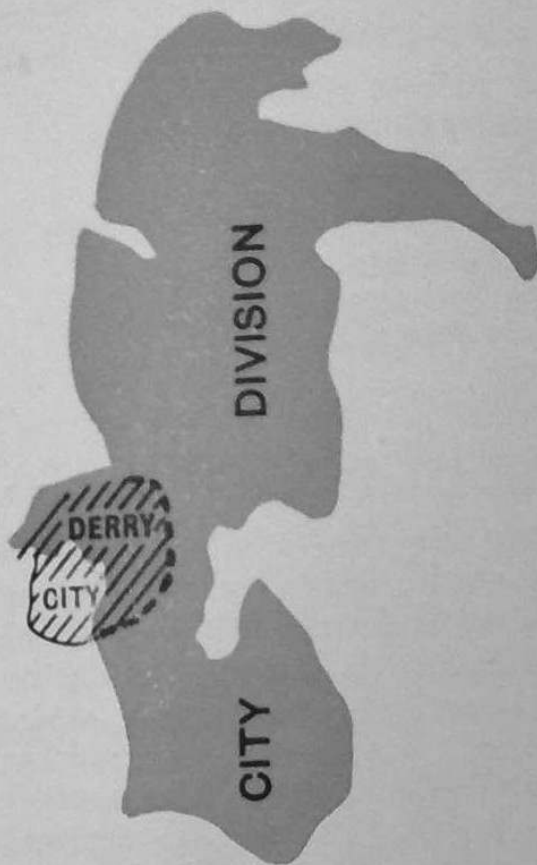
A flagrant manipulation or gerrymandering<sup>5</sup> of the electoral boundaries has been permitted to the effect that where Nationalists are in a majority they can secure only a minority of the representation.

<sup>5</sup> *Gerrymander*—To divide (a State, county, etc.) into election districts or other civil divisions in an unnatural or unfair way with a view to give a political party an advantage over its opponents, or for some other improper purpose.—*Webster's International Dictionary*.

produced it in the 1949 General Election. Then the Tories won forty seats leaving but twelve for all other parties. This is the fact which makes the apparent democratic provision in the recent "Ireland Act" so completely cynical. That Act, whose name signals interference by the British Parliament in Ireland's affairs, perpetuates Partition by declaring that it must not end "without the consent of the Parliament of Northern Ireland."



Lord Palmerston, British Prime Minister during the 1860-64 war.



**This is NOT an  
Orang-Outang**

To deny the representation of Derry City to the Nationalists, who have a strong majority there, the constituency was gerrymandered. First the city was cut in two and part of it excluded from the "City Division" in order to reduce the Nationalist vote. Then the boundaries of the "City Division" were moved eight miles into the country to collect enough Tory votes to outvote the remaining Nationalists.

there are 8,730 Nationalists and 8,411 Tories. The Tories elected 20 members of the Council but the Nationalist majority could elect only 8. In the Enniskillen Corporation area there are 2,780 Nationalists and 2,100 Tories. In the elections the majority could elect only 7 but the minority elected 14. These are a few of many examples.

**A DELIBERATE POLICY**

This is a deliberate policy permitted by the British Government. A recent Bill changed the qualifications required of local electors. It gave those with property several votes and deprived many with lower incomes of the single vote they had. As the Bill was going through the Belfast Parliament a member of the Administration admitted that its purpose was to prevent Nationalist voters, where they formed the majority, from controlling their own public boards.

In the County of Fermanagh at the last General Election the Nationalists polled over 15,000 votes. They won one seat. The Tories polled 13,000 votes. They won two seats. Derry city is Nationalist in substantial majority (29,000 to 18,000). To deny the seat to the Nationalists the city electoral division was re-arranged. Part of the city was omitted altogether. Then the "city" boundaries, for Parliamentary elections only, were stretched eight miles into the country to gather enough Tory votes to eclipse the Nationalists in the truncated city itself.

But it is in relation to elections for local bodies that the gerrymandering of the electoral divisions has been brought to a fine art.

**In district after district it is made impossible for the Nationalist majority to elect a majority of the local representatives. The Tory minorities are given substantial majorities of the seats on County Councils, Urban District Councils and Rural District Councils in areas where the population is predominantly Nationalist.**

Local elections were held in the partitioned area in May and June, 1949. Here are typical results: In Fermanagh there are 30,196 Nationalists and 24,373 Tories. The County Council elected in June, 1949, consists of 19 Tories and 6 representatives of the Nationalist majority. In Tyrone Nationalists number 70,595 and Tories 56,991 yet the County Council elected in June, 1949, has 23 Tory members and only 12 Nationalists! Lisnaskea Rural District Council has 12,025 Nationalists and 7,830 Tories. But the Nationalists could elect only 13 while the Tory minority elected 21. In the Strabane Rural District

Major Curran, Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister for Finance was reported on 11th January, 1946, in the *Northern Whig*, a Tory paper, as urging the Socialists in the House not to oppose the Bill as that would result :

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

When a member of the House suggested that that meant disfranchising the majority in those areas the *Northern Whig* gives Major Curran as replying :

*" 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."*<sup>6</sup>

IS NOT 80%  
ENOUGH ?

ALL IRELAND has a population of 4,248,165--80 per cent. of that population want Ireland to be One National Unit.

ALL IRELAND has 32 Counties. Of these a block of 30 Counties with a population of 3,402,126 or 80 per cent. want Ireland to be One National Unit.

ALL IRELAND elects 199 Parliamentary representatives for the two areas into which the country has been divided. Of these 159 or just under 80 per cent. want Ireland to be One National Unit.

## EVERYBODY INJURED BY IT

Partition has been a calamity for all concerned with it. Britain has not gained by it. She has encouraged a recalcitrant minority within the boundaries of another State and has there established a Government favourable to herself. She has thus destroyed her moral case for opposing similar action by other powers in Europe. She has also deprived herself of the best protection to her own security which must always be a friendly Ireland determined to resist with all its strength any attack on its own liberties or any attempt to use Irish territory to attack Britain.

The Tories in the Six Counties have not benefited by Partition. Because the creation of the State was based on a patent injustice there is an irremovable sense of insecurity throughout the area.

*The latest General Election, like most of the six which preceded it, was fought on the cry : " The State is in danger."*

This sense of insecurity, inseparable from Partition, has led to the unjust and tyrannical measures taken against the minority. In the case of the majority there is obvious frustration in the political life of the area as the undemocratic nature of elections there amply proves. In many districts there has not been a contested election for twenty years and over.

In democratic countries the ordinary citizen is taking an ever greater part in creating and controlling his own Government. In the Six Counties privilege and reaction dominate the Parliament and the local elected bodies.

<sup>6</sup> Some days later it was realised that this disclosure by a member of the Administration of the real purpose of the Bill was damaging and so the Official Reports were altered to omit the statement altogether, although it had been reported, as quoted, in both the Tory and Nationalist daily papers on 11th January. It is still evident from the altered Official Report that a passage has been omitted.

## SPECIAL POWERS

A series of statutes gives to the Government what are known as "Special Powers" —which are now part of the ordinary law.

**These powers as summarised by a Commission appointed by the British National Council for Civil Liberties in 1934 include arrest without charge, imprisonment without trial, search without warrant, seizure of property without compensation.**

They also include suspension of coroner's inquests, forcible detention and "examination" of witnesses, compulsion on a citizen to live in a special area and not leave it without penalty, and the deprivation of a person, held in prison without trial, of his right to see or communicate with his legal adviser.

## IMPERILS FREEDOM

The British Commission which went to the Six Counties in 1935 and there examined these extraordinary Powers, 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."*

It is no defence for the Six County Government to say it does not use all these powers all the time. Actually while this pamphlet was in the press it was announced on 26th August, 1949, that 41 of the Regulations which for the last twenty-seven years have enabled the Civil Authorities under the Special Powers Acts to penalise the Nationalist minority were revoked. The regulations were withdrawn only after the question of human rights had arisen for discussion at the Council of Europe at Strasbourg. The Legal Committee of the Council listed eleven basic rights for submission to the Consultative Assembly. Of these eleven rights, nine were infringed in the partitioned area by regulations under the Special Powers Acts.

Certain of the more objectionable of the regulations have not been revoked and the Special Powers Acts have not been repealed. They still remain part of the ordinary law of the Six County area and the Minister of Home Affairs still has the power to reimpose all the regulations at a moment's notice. If these regulations had never been made at all, the existence in permanent statutory form of powers to make them in itself constitutes political intimidation directed against the Nationalist population<sup>7</sup> to prevent them from exercising their political rights.

## ECONOMIC DEPRESSION

During the inter-war years the economic situation in the cut-off area was so bad that the British Government listed the region as Depressed Area No. 1, worse even than the mining towns of South Wales. As the post-war boom subsides there are signs that this position is returning.

As for Ireland as a whole the mutilation of the country prevents the fullest development of the nation's resources through the co-ordinated efforts of all her people. It also dislocates the commerce of both areas by a costly land border with customs' restrictions.

<sup>7</sup> Which is more than half as large as the Tory population, i.e. 430,000 to 850,000.

Partition causes energy that would otherwise go to building up the country to be devoted to undoing a wrong that no spirited nation would suffer quietly. It compels the Irish people to maintain two governments with all the duplication that that entails.

Partition is not only a permanent injury to its principal victim, Ireland, in both its parts, but as long as it remains it must do immense moral damage to Britain. Her dismemberment of Ireland is an example of an Imperial power using its strength to defy a people's will and impose and maintain by force a system which denies to them the very essence of democracy.

moment, without limitations or fetters, whatever constitution for Ireland the Irish people desire.

The time has passed when any difficulty can be made about names and titles and forms and ceremonies, insistence on which only creates suspicion and results in misunderstanding. So far as Ireland itself and Irish affairs are concerned, the Labour Party is unequivocally prepared to allow Ireland to assume whatever form of self-determination the great mass of the Irish people desire, with whatever constitution, under whatever designation, and with whatever arrangements for local autonomy, and thereby allow Ireland to face its own difficulties in its own way—subject only to two conditions (which were accepted by the Irish Trade Union Congress at its meeting on November 16) that it afforded protection to minorities, and that the constitution should prevent Ireland from becoming a military or naval menace to Great Britain.

But self-determination for Ireland involves also self-determination for Great Britain. Whatever may be the form or the substance of the future relations between Great Britain and Ireland, there are, and must necessarily be, many matters (whether postal, fiscal,

Photostat of manifesto issued by the British Labour Party in 1921

## SUMMARY

In this statement it has been pointed out 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.

THE NEW "DEMOCRACY"—continued.

Strabane Rural Council.

Strabane, in Co. Tyrone, has a population of 17,141 of whom just over half are Nationalists. But the Nationalists have only 8 seats on the Rural Council while the minority have 20.

STRABANE

	Population
[Redacted]	50.9%
[Redacted]	49.1%
	Representation
[Redacted]	28.6%
[Redacted]	71.4%

Derry Corporation.

Derry City has a strong Nationalist majority (Nat. 29,321 ; Tories 18,492). But the Tory minority of less than 40 per cent. get 60 per cent. of the seats, i.e. 12, while the 60 per cent. Nationalists get 40 per cent., i.e. 8.

DERRY

	Population
[Redacted]	60.1%
[Redacted]	39.9%
	Representation
[Redacted]	40.0%
[Redacted]	60.0%

Enniskillen Borough Council.

Enniskillen elected its first Borough Council in July, 1949. There are 2,780 Nationalists in the town and 2,100 Tories. On the new Borough Council the Tories have 14 seats but the Nationalist majority have only 7.

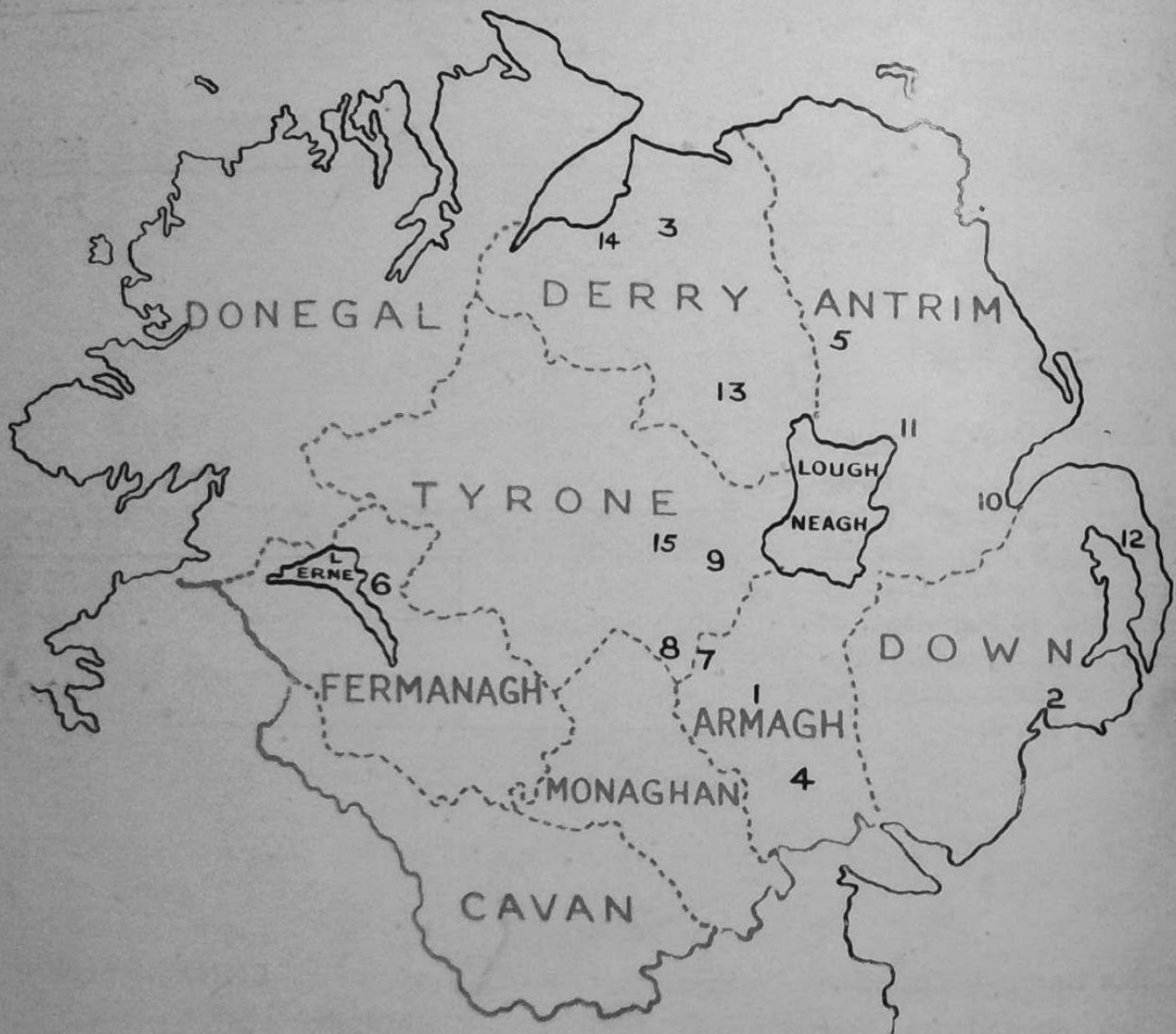
ENNISKILLEN

	Population
[Redacted]	56.9%
[Redacted]	43.1%
	Representation
[Redacted]	33.3%
[Redacted]	66.7%

The All-Party Anti-Partition Conference held its first meeting in the Mansion House, Dublin, on the 27th January, 1949, in response to an invitation addressed to the leaders of all the political parties in Dáil Éireann by the Taoiseach, Mr. John A. Costello. The Conference consisted of Mr. John A. Costello, Taoiseach; Mr. William Norton, Tánaiste and Minister for Social Welfare; General Richard Mulcahy, Minister for Education; Mr. Seán MacBride, Minister for External Affairs; Mr. Joseph Blowick, Minister for Lands; Mr. James Everett, Minister for Posts and Telegraphs; Mr. James Dillon, Minister for Agriculture; Mr. Éamonn de Valera, Leader of the Opposition; Deputy Frank Aiken and Deputy Patrick Smith. The Conference appointed a Committee consisting of the Taoiseach, the Tánaiste, the Minister for External Affairs, the Leader of the Opposition and Deputy Aiken.

# THIS IS ULSTER

Ulster, the Northern province of nine counties, has played a great part in Ireland's national life. From Ulster came twenty-five of the forty-three High Kings of Ireland. Of the six partitioned counties each is intimately connected with events which helped to shape Ireland's national greatness and to strengthen the movement for Independent nationhood. The figures on the map indicate some of these events.



1. Armagh, primatial see and ecclesiastical centre of Ireland since St. Patrick's time.
2. Downpatrick, the burial places of St. Patrick, St. Brigid and St. Columbcille.
3. Drom Ceat, in Derry, where a National Assembly was held in A.D. 574.
4. Belleek, where, in 1258, Brian O'Neill was chosen King of Ireland to check the Norman penetration.
5. Connor, near Ballymena, where Edward Bruce defeated the Anglo-Normans in 1315 and initiated nation-wide effort to expel the invaders.
6. Enniskillen, where the Nine Years' War in defence of the Gaelic way of life began in 1594.
7. Yellow Ford, scene of Hugh O'Neill's defeat of the English in 1597.
8. Benburb, where Owen Roe O'Neill defeated the English forces under General Monroe in 1646.
9. Dungannon, where a National Convention of Volunteers, in 1782, asserted Ireland's right to legislative independence and led to the establishment of Grattan's Parliament in Dublin.
10. Belfast: on Cave Hill, just outside the city, the Society of United Irishmen, pledged to make Ireland an independent Republic, was founded by Wolfe Tone in 1791.
11. Antrim, where the United Irishmen gave battle for independence on June 9, 1798.
12. Grey Abbey, where Rev. Mr. Porter, Presbyterian Minister, was hanged for his part in the 1798 insurrection.
13. Dungiven, birthplace of John Mitchel, author of the *Jail Journal*, and a leader of the 1848 movement for independence.
14. At Brougher, near Limavady, was found, in 1891, a gold hoard containing a beautifully embossed collar regarded as the most perfect known example of Irish craftsmanship in pre-Christian times.
15. Thomas Clarke, First Signatory of the Proclamation of Independence issued by the Provisional Government in the Insurrection of 1916, lived the formative years of his life in Dungannon.