

NORTHERN IRELAND PUBLICITY SERVICE



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MR. DE VALERA REPLIES TO LORD CRAIGAVON.

"CHICAGO TRIBUNE" INTERVIEWS.

In an interview published in the "Chicago Tribune" on October 27th. Lord Craigavon stated that it was well understood by the parties to the agreement on which the Act of 1920 was founded that, so far as "Ulster" was concerned it was a final settlement of all the differences between the two countries.

"There is no possibility", he stated, "of my meeting Mr. De Valera on the subject of an all-Ireland Parliament.

....."The last resort is arms. I do not believe in threats but feel it is much more honourable to say that plainly now before it is too late".

On the publication of this interview Mr. De Valera was asked by the "Chicago Tribune" to reply.

The following is the text of Mr. De Valera's interview.

"Mr. De Valera said that he was confident that the end of Partition was coming. He refused, of course, to prophesy but he said: "It is all so absurd and so contrary to right and reason that it could not possibly last in the world of to-day".

He does not believe in trying to bring the Unionists of North-East Ireland into the Irish State by coercion, but he added:

"We have similarly a right to demand that neither must the people of Tyrone, Fermanagh, South Down, South Armagh and Derry City be kept out by coercion. The people of all these areas, by local majorities, have expressed their desire to be with us. They were originally separated from us against their will. It must at least be a policy of no coercion all round.

"The hope that this question can be settled by striving, ostrich like, to ignore it is a vain one. The effort to make it appear that it was settled twenty years ago by an Act of the British Parliament is no better than the pretence that Europe had been permanently settled by the Treaty of Versailles.

"That pretence stood for years in the way of constructive statesmanship which would have saved Europe from the dangers which almost led to disaster a month ago. Those who adopt the policy of burying their heads in the sand so that they may not see unpleasant facts will, of course, find that facts cannot be ignored - that they will mould events in spite of likes or dislikes.

"The fact is that the territory of the historic Irish nation was arbitrarily carved up at that time against the will of the majority of its people."

At this point Mr. de Valera produced his now famous map showing the division of political sentiment in Ireland.

That map shows that the area of jurisdiction of the so-called Ulster Parliament is not the historic Irish province of Ulster, but only six of the nine counties of that Province.

It shows, further, that in two of these six counties, Tyrone and Fermanagh, there are majorities against Partition, and that in the old pre-Partition Act constituencies of South and East Down and South Armagh, as well as Derry City, there are also majorities opposed to it. These areas lie all along the 300 miles frontier, between the Six Counties and the rest of Ireland, and their inhabitants desire not to be on the side of it on which they were put by the Partition Act, but on the other side.

Thus, it is only in an area consisting of little more than two of the six counties that a majority of the inhabitants are willing to remain under the jurisdiction of the Belfast Parliament. This area is only some 2,700 square miles out of the total 32,500 square miles of Ireland - that is, just about one-twelfth.

It is only for this area, Mr. de Valera contends, that any case can be made for separation, for this is the only area in which there is a local Partitionist majority. Even in the city of Belfast, in which is the most concentrated Unionist population, twenty-four per cent. of the people are Nationalists and strongly object to being cut off from the rest of their fellow-countrymen.

"The Nationalist population in the whole of the Six Counties," he reiterated, "are outraged by Partition, and it is only by force that they are kept from joining up with the rest of the country.

"The arming of one political section of the population, to which Lord Craigavon refers, so as to intimidate the other section is evidence of a situation for which there is no parallel in any modern democratic State.

"Surely it should be clear by now that the Irish people are not of the kind who will submit indefinitely to be kept in the position of helots in their own land. The 'outrageous demands' are not those made by us, but are those made by the people who claim that this condition of political servitude must continue.

"DEMANDS ARE NOT NEW"

"Our demands are not new. The Irish people denied in 1920 as vehemently as they deny to-day, the right of the British Parliament to divide our country.

"The people of the United States know the demands we put forward twenty years ago. At the time of the negotiations and settlement with Great Britain last spring, I went out of my way to make it clear that although all other outstanding questions were settled, the

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good-will and co-operation between the peoples of the two islands, which I, and many like me, desire, could never be brought about while Partition lasted.

"The Irish people know it was the British Parliament created Partition.

"They know that were it not for the backing of the British troops, some of which still occupy the Six Counties, the Unionists of these counties would never dream of appealing to force as their ultimate argument for holding the peoples of Tyrone, Fermanagh, South Down, South Armagh, in a subjection against which they are in revolt.

"The people of Ireland know also that were it not for financial subsidies from the British Exchequer the ordinary economic laws which operate against Partition and make for the unity of the whole island, would long ago have had very full effect.

"Knowing all this, isn't it obvious that the people of Ireland will continue to blame Britain for the wrong of Partition, and hold her responsible for inflicting and keeping open this deep wound upon our nation?"

"This being the case, how can one secure good-will whilst Partition lasts? It must, therefore, be the aim of statesmanship to end it. It is not true to suggest that it was since the recent European crisis or the Munich settlement that I voiced this view. I have stated it consistently for nearly a quarter of a century."

GERRYMANDER INC.

Speaking of the condition of the Nationalist minority under the jurisdiction of the Belfast Parliament, Mr. de Valera pointed out how by a system of gerrymandering, carefully devised and uniformly pursued, that minority were deprived of their due representation in Local Government in the areas in which they were a majority.

"The process of gerrymandering consists, in its essence," he said, of "cutting up the areas into constituencies so that the party to be discriminated against shall waste as many votes as possible. Whatever constituency is determined upon to give them a majority, it is so carried out that the majority may be overwhelming. Whilst in the constituencies in which it is intended they should be in a minority their opponents will have only a bare majority."

He gave an example of how it works, "Suppose," he said, "in a certain area there were 3,000 Nationalists and 2,300 Unionists and it is desired to carve up that area so as to give the Unionists, although a minority, a majority of two to one in the representation, something like this is done. Three single member constituencies would be arranged for with, say 1,000 Nationalists in each. Two of these constituencies would be so carved out that the Unionists would have a bare majority in them, say by putting 1,100 Unionists in each. In the remaining constituency the Nationalists would be given an overwhelming majority by putting only 100 Unionists voters in it. Thus the Nationalists numbering 3,000 would only have one member whereas the Unionists, 2,300 in number, would have two members."

TELL-TALE TABLE.

Mr. de Valera then produced a long Table showing how this system of discrimination had been carried out in the areas where the Nationalists had a local majority and where formerly they controlled the local governing bodies.

The Table showed some thirty instances of gerrymandering with results as above explained.

The following are a few:-

In the parliamentary constituency of the County of Fermanagh there are 32,455 Nationalists, but, through gerrymandering, these can secure only one seat in Parliament, whereas the rest of the population numbering only 25,529 secure two seats.

Similarly in the Fermanagh County Council the 32,455 Nationalists, can secure only seven seats whilst the 25,529 get 13.

In the County of Tyrone there are 73,683 Nationalists. On account of gerrymandering they can secure only eleven seats on the County Council whereas the remainder of the population - 59,109 - get sixteen seats.

In the area of the Derry Borough Council there are 27,062 Nationalists. These, owing to gerrymandering, can only secure eight seats. The remainder of the population - 18,097 get twelve.

One of the worst examples is that of the Enniskillen Urban Council. There, a Nationalist population of 2,727 get only seven seats, whereas the rest of the population - 2,156 - get fourteen seats.

As he put the table back into his desk, Mr. de Valera remarked that "it proved conclusively that the Nationalists in the areas in which they were a majority had been systematically cheated of their political rights."

He smiled broadly when I told him of Lord Craigavon's expression of loyalty to Britain.

"We know that loyalty," he said, "did not prevent them arming to resist by force an Act of the British Parliament even though duly and constitutionally passed. At any rate the loyalties of the majority have also to be considered and very large concessions have been made to meet the sentiments of the minority."

The interview ended with the note on which it began.

"The forces of history, geography, economics and natural patriotic good-will are at work to bring about the re-union of Ireland" he concluded, "and these will ultimately prevail."

"ANGLO-IRISH RELATIONS AT MOST CRITICAL TIME"

HON. F. PAKENHAM'S LECTURE.

"ANGLO-IRISH relations are to-day at the most critical time in their history," declared the Hon. Frank Pakenham, younger brother of the Earl of Longford, in a talk on "Eire", delivered in the Hall of the Clothworkers' Company, London, on November 10th.

It was one of a series, entitled "Problems of the Nations", which are being given in aid of King Edward's Hospital Fund.

"The new British policy which made the Anglo-Eire agreement of a few months ago, if it means anything, means that England believes that she can trust Ireland," said Mr. Pakenham. "There goes with it the recognition that only a united Ireland can be a satisfied Ireland, only a satisfied Ireland can be a friendly Ireland, and that only a friendly Ireland will, from the English standpoint, be a safe Ireland."

Mr. Pakenham said that there was no question with regard to which British public opinion had made such intelligent progress during the last seven years as the question of Anglo-Irish relations. But they must distinguish between the development of public opinion and the development of governmental policy. But the very friendship temporarily arrived at since the recent Anglo-Irish agreement was not only a brittle, tender, precarious thing, but it brought with it a new and peculiar danger, and if England failed to realise the implications of the new course on which she had embarked, if the British Government failed to carry forward British official policy to the point demanded by public opinion to-day both in Ireland and England, the new friendship would be withered at birth, and both the countries would turn away in alienation all the more bitter because of the disillusionment that followed premature hope.

"BELFAST DIE-HARDS"

Pointing to Mr. de Valera's statement that partition presented the one barrier to final Anglo-Irish reconciliation, Mr. Pakenham said that, if the unity of Ireland became a declared British interest, the consent - nay more, the active support - of the great majority in the six counties could be secured for unity, even though a reactionary clique wnet down barking sectarian catch-cries to the grave.

The strongest card played by the small caste of die-hards in Belfast, Mr. Pakenham went on, was their insistence that to unite Ireland was to disrupt the Empire, undermine the Throne, and betray British interests throughout the world. The last shreds of plausibility would be torn off this argument; the natural forces making for unity would perform, unhampered, their beneficent task once the good offices of the British Government were harnessed to the cause of unity.

QUESTION FOR BRITAIN.

It rested with the British people to say whether it was to be partition or unity, whether Anglo-Irish reconciliation was to be finally achieved, or whether the gap between the two countries was to widen all the more dangerously through the very fact of its once having been so nearly closed.

Having pointed out that Mr. de Valera denounced to-day, as he had denounced in 1921, any suggestion that the six-county Government should be coerced, Mr. Pakenham said that, supposing the consent of the six counties were secured, no neutral observer could fail to say that unity should be arrived at; for it was absurd that four and a quarter million people inhabiting a small island should be divided by a Customs barrier and have to bear the cost of two Governments.

Mr. Pakenham said that the Council of Civil Liberties, in their recent inquiry on the spot into the Six County Government, had convicted it of the gravest violation of elementary human rights.

EIRE'S FUTURE CONQUESTS.

Underlining Mr. de Valera's warning that while partition remained the chances of Irish co-operation in a British war would be very, very slight, Mr. Pakenham declared that he was convinced that there was not one Englishman in a hundred to-day who really thought over these things without concluding that it was a British interest to establish the unity of Ireland if that could be effected without coercing the majority of the six counties.

Answering Lord Craigavon's favourite rejoinder that the matter was closed in 1920, Mr. Pakenham said that it was indisputable that Griffith and Collins would never have signed the Treaty unless the provisions were to have secured the unity of Ireland at no distant date.

Mr. Pakenham concluded by stating that material domination must ever remain outside Ireland's ambitions. Her future conquests would be spiritual ones.

BOMB OUTRAGE AT BELFAST MONASTERY.

On the night of November 4th. a crudely manufactured bomb was thrown into the grounds of the Monastery of the Passionist Fathers at Ardoyne, Belfast. It landed a few yards from a statue which stands near the Monastery doorway.

The explosion rocked the Monastery but happily no one was injured. A motor-car standing near the door was badly damaged.

(NOTE: About three weeks ago two land mines were discovered in a room at the rear of a Catholic Church at Willowfield, Belfast. Last year a bombing attempt was made on St. Teresa's Catholic Church, Glen Rd. No arrests have yet been made in connection with these outrages).

PARTITION TO COME BEFORE UNITED STATES CONGRESS.

The question of the Partition of Ireland and the denial of self-determination to the people in this matter is to come before the United States Congress.

This is stated in a letter from Senator Wagner to Mr. William Griffin, Editor of the "New York Enquirer".

"I shall be delighted, writes Senator Wagner, to take up with President Roosevelt the matter of Ireland's Partition and the extension of the right of self-determination to the people of Ireland. The case you make on behalf of Ireland and your contention that it is America's duty to lend the weight of her powerful influence to the campaign designed to achieve full justice for Ireland are unreservedly accepted by me and are, I know equally acceptable to the American people.

The present wholly unsatisfactory condition of Anglo-Irish relations occasioned by the failure of the British Government to do full justice to Ireland is not alone preventing the establishment of mutual understanding and cordial relationship between the Irish and British peoples but is also adversely affecting the relations between the British and other peoples the world over, to the serious detriment of world peace, concord and co-operation.

Englands own vital interests dictate the recognition of the complete independence of the Irish nation.

(NOTE: Senator Wagner is a former Lieutenant Governor and Supreme Court Justice of New York. He introduced the National Recovery Act in the Senate in 1933 and was later appointed Chairman of the National Labour Board by President Roosevelt.)

"ULSTER A 'DISTRESSED AREA'".

PARTITIONIST M.P.'s. SPEECH AT WESTMINSTER.

Sir William Allen - a Partitionist M.P. representing Armagh in the British House of Commons - stated during the debate on the King's Speech on the 8th. inst. that he could not understand why there was no mention of "his country" in the King's Speech.

He did not know whether his Government at home felt rather too proud to call itself a Government of a distressed area but in his opinion it was essentially a distressed area.

The conditions were appalling. He noticed reference in the speech to the cotton industry. Why could they not have some legislation with regard to the great staple industry of linen. Millions of pounds worth of goods had been sent to China and all that had now gone. They used to do a good trade with Spain but that also was finished, and Italy owed Ulster hundreds of thousands of pounds that could not be paid.

"In my own little town of 15,000 inhabitants there are between 4,000 and 5,000 people idle because of the depression in the linen industry. Ministers in the King's Speech refer to other parts of the United Kingdom. I think they ought to remember a little about Northern Ireland. They had the largest shipyard in the world but only a third of it was occupied. "Why don't you give us a little business?" he questioned. "Is that an unreasonable thing to ask?"

(NOTE: In a comment on the interview given by Mr. de Valera in which he suggested a settlement of the Partition issue along Federal lines - Captain Herbert Dixon - Chief Government Whip in the Northern Parliament - stated.

"Mr. de Valera asks Northern Ireland business men to remove the Border and place it across the ports of Belfast and Londonderry".

In an interview given to the Marquis of Donegall and published in the 'Sunday Despatch', Lord Craigavon stated:

"De Valera dreams dreams about shipbuilding and linen. He even tried to tempt us with an offer to build an Irish Navy in Belfast. Does Mr. de Valera believe that great British shipping concerns are going to order ships from a republic in preference to the Clyde and the Tyne".

If Lord Craigavon is going to rely on argument of this kind he should instruct his members in Westminster to conceal the true facts.)

BIG ANTI-PARTITION MEETING IN CO. TYRONE.

About six thousand people assembled on Sunday the 12th. inst. at Omagh which was the venue for a Anti-Partition demonstration under the auspices of the Northern Council for Unity.

Opening the meeting the Very Rev. Dr. McShane said that the object of the meeting was to make a contribution to the cause of peace;

peace within their own shores and peace with the neighbouring island of Britain, the only power on earth with which they had a cause of quarrel. British statesmen in their dealing with Ireland have always been true to type; one example would suffice.

In May 1916 Lloyd George proposed that six of the Ulster counties should be excluded from the jurisdiction of a Parliament which was to be set up in Dublin. He told the Irish spokesmen of that time that this exclusion would be temporary. At the same time he wrote a private letter to Carson as follows:

"My dear Carson, 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".

And to-day we have the spectacle of the British Prime Minister washing his hands in public and declaring that Partition is purely a matter for Irishmen to settle among themselves. That private letter of Lloyd George to Carson explains many things. It explains why we have here in the Six Counties a British Army of Occupation; why we have one section of the civilian population armed against the other and why financial help is forthcoming from British sources to maintain the petty assembly that masquerades as a Parliament in Stormont.

For the ordinary people here who do not see eye to eye with us, we have feelings of friendship and sympathy. These people have been fed on ghost-stories all their lives. Let it be clearly understood that we want no more concessions for Tyrone, Fermanagh, Derry and other parts of the Six Counties which have an overwhelming majority for re-union with the Motherland. We demand the freedom of all Ireland from Rathlin to Berchaven.

Mr. Eamonn Donnelly said that the re-actions of the Irish people to the mutilation of their country compared unfavourably with the attitude of other European countries similarly treated.

"Partition has now been in operation for 18 years," he declared, "and one shudders to think of the consequences should it operate for another ten".

That Ireland can support a system of two Parliaments with all its duplicated expenditure and officialdom is absurd and ridiculous. The Irish race is numerous and far-flung and the time has come if our island home is to be saved when every unit that is Irish or of Irish descent must be mobilised in the interests of their country's re-unification. Concluding Mr. Donnelly said that Mr. De Valera had made a more than generous offer for settlement. The generosity of this offer should be leavened by a time limit as to acceptance or rejection.

Other speakers included Mr. Cahir Healy, M.P. Mr. A. Milvey, M.P. Mr. P. Cunningham, M.P. Messrs. Hugh Corvin, Peadar Murney, and J. McNulty, Etc.

BIRMINGHAM PROTEST AGAINST 'SPECIAL POWERS' ACT.

At a meeting of the 'Prisoners National Aid Society' held last week in Birmingham the following resolutions were passed:-

- (1) That this meeting wishes to call public attention to the treatment of the minority in North-East Ulster under the infamous 'Special Power Act'. This Act has abolished every scrap of democratic rights; freedom of the Press and of the individual are non-existent. Raids, arrests, detentions and deportations are everyday happenings. Men and boys are thrown into jail without any charge being brought against them. Women and girls are jailed for wearing emblems. The British Government created this puppet state in Northern Ireland and they are alone responsible for the present reign of terror existing there.
- (2) Calling for the immediate release of the political prisoners in jails in North-East Ulster under the Craigavon dictatorship.

detention of Mr. J. McNabb who was arrested stripped and searched and a copy of the Report on the Special Powers Act - issued by the Council of Civil Liberties - seized from him when he reached Belfast from Manchester where he had addressed a meeting and had dealt with the persecution of the minority in North-East Ulster.

"LOYALTY" OF THE PARTITIONISTS.

(With acknowledgment to "The Derry Journal")

"Mr. de Valera smiled broadly when I told him of Lord Craigavon's expression of loyalty to Britain.

"We know that loyalty," he said, "it did not prevent them arming to resist by force an Act of the British Parliament, even though duly and Constitutionally passed".

(Excerpt from interview with Mr. de Valera published in the "Chicago Tribune".)

"We are going to exhaust constitutional methods of protest first. If those fail then we will have to fall back on other methods and we are not going to be caught unprepared".

(Lord Londonderry. December 1913)

"The Home Rule Bill, in spite of us, may go through the House of Commons. There are things stronger than Parliamentary majorities. I can imagine no lengths to which Ulster will go in which I shall not be ready to support them".

(Bonar Law, speaking at Blenheim, July, 1912)

"It is a fact which I do not think that anyone who knows anything about Ireland will deny that those people in the North-East of Ulster from old prejudices perhaps more than from anything else, from the whole of their past history, would prefer I believe to accept the Government of a foreign country than submit to be governed by the honourable gentleman below the gangway".

(Bonar Law in the British House of Commons, January 1913)

"Sir Edward Carson had the honour of receiving an invitation to lunch with the Kaiser last week at Hamburg."

("Belfast Evening Telegraph", August 27, 1913)

"It may not be known to the rank and file of Unionists that we have the offer of aid from a powerful Continental Monarch who, if Home Rule is forced on the Protestants of Ireland, is prepared to send an army sufficient to release England from any further trouble in Ireland by attaching it to his Dominions, believing, as he does, that if our King breaks his Coronation Oath by signing the Home Rule Bill, he will, by doing so, have forfeited his claim to rule Ireland.

Contd.

And should our King sign the Home Rule Bill, The Protestants of Ireland will welcome this Continental Deliverer as their forefathers under similar circumstances did before him."

("The Irish Churchman," 14th. November, 1913.)

"Can King George sign the Home Rule Bill? Let him do so and his Empire shall perish as true as God rules in Heaven. Therefore, let King George sign the Home Rule Bill - he is no longer my King."

(An open letter to Asquith in the Colerain "Constitution," July, 1913.)

"I am not sorry for the armed drilling of those who are opposed to me in Ireland. I certainly have no right to complain of it. I started that with my friends."

(Carson, in a speech to the Ladies' Grand Council of the Primrose League.)

"I intend to break every law that it is possible to break".

(Carson, at the Criterion Restaurant, June, 1912.)

"What Ulster did in 1912 to 1914, she will do in 1939 or 1940, if necessary to maintain her Imperial position."

(Mr.H.Minford, M.P. at Mossley, Belfast, on Wednesday 9th.Nov.1938.)

"I say emphatically that any attempt to meet Mr.De Valera's recent manifesto would lead to Civil War. No 'Ulster' leader could possibly prevent the 'Loyalists' of the North taking matters into their own hands. Such action would have disastrous results for Ireland and the Empire."

(Lord Craigavon, October, 1938)

THE RETORT DIRECT.

Sir - With all due deference to Mr. Milne Barbour, my ancestors and I have been Irishmen for 320 years, and "in spite of all temptations to belong to other nations," I remain an Irishman. A "Britisher?" No, thanks! -

Yours, &c.,

Hugh Montgomery, Major-General.

Blessingbourne,

November 8, 1938.

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