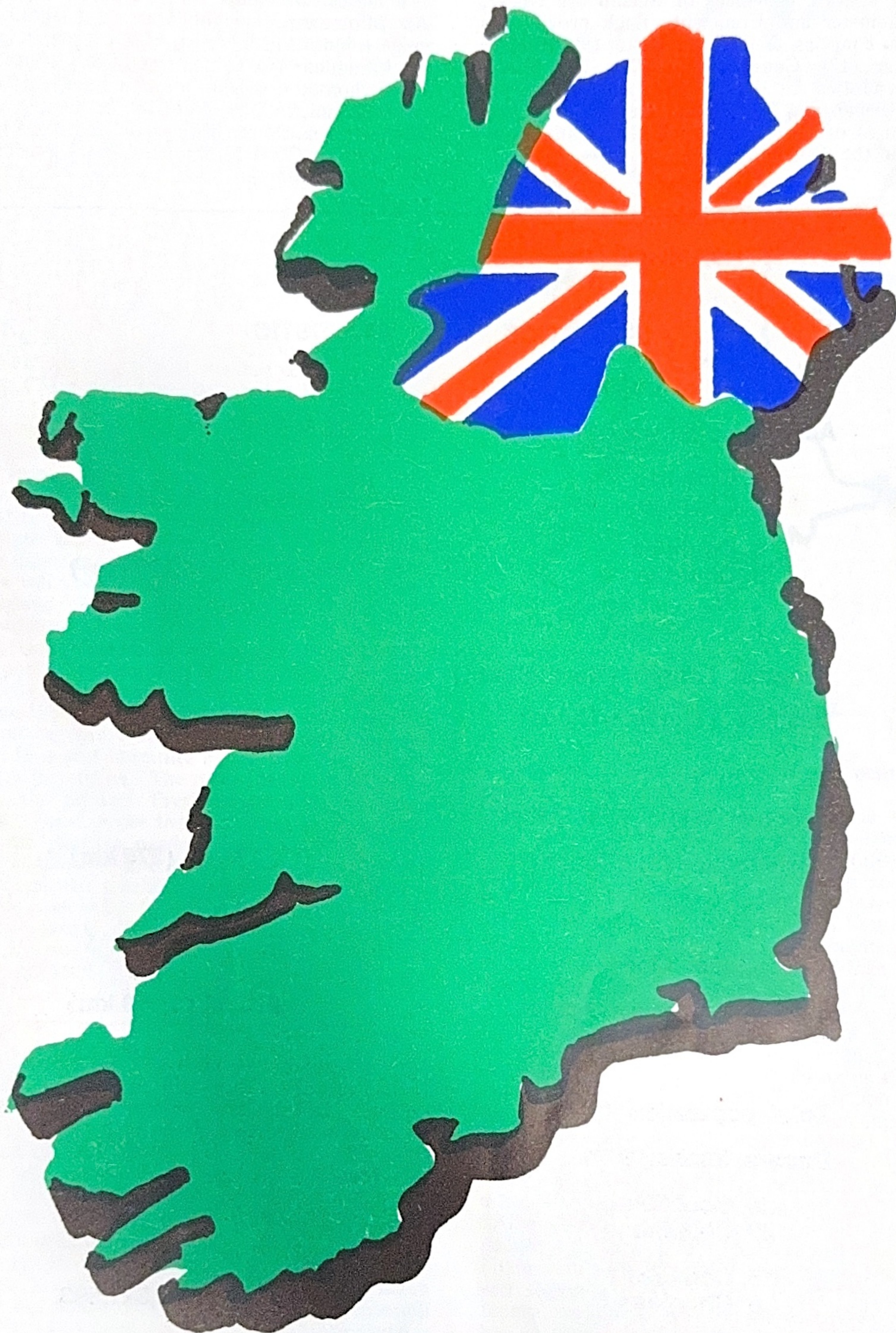


IRELAND : THE FACTS



ÉIRE : NA FÍORAIS

This booklet is published to explain to the Irish people at home and in exile, and to the people of the world at large the justness of the demand for the unity and freedom of Ireland. It is hoped that the information contained in it will help to counteract the widespread misrepresentation of the Irish Republican struggle for freedom.

The four historic provinces of Ireland are Ulster, Munster, Leinster and Connacht. Each province is divided into counties, as follows: Ulster (9), Munster (6), Leinster (12), Connacht (5). The six British occupied counties of Ulster are Antrim, Down, Armagh, Fermanagh, Tyrone and Derry. The other three counties of Ulster, Donegal, Cavan and Monaghan are in the 26-County state.

Tá an leabhrán seo á fhoilsiú chun cirte an éilimh ar son aontas agus saoirse na hÉireann a mhíniú do mhuintir na hÉireann sa bhaile agus thar lear, agus don domhan trí chéile. Tá súil againn go mbeidh tairbhe san eolas atá ann i leith na tuairiscí bréige iomadúla ar throid Phoblachtach na hÉireann ar son a saoirse, a chloí.

Is iad ceithre chúige stairiúla na hÉireann : Ulaidh, An Mhumhain, Laighin agus Connachta. Tá gach cúige roinnte i gcontaetha, mar a leanas : Ulaidh (9), An Mhumhain (6), Laighin (12), Connachta (5). Is iad na sé chontae in Ulaidh atá faoi smacht na Breataine ná Aontraim, an Dún, Ard Mhacha, Fear Manach, Tír Eoghain, agus Doire. Tá na trí chontae eile in Ulaidh, mar atá, Tír Chonaill, An Cabhán, agus Muineachán, i stát na 26 Chontae.

STATISTICS	STAITISTIC
Total area of Ireland	
Achar iomlán na hÉireann	32,595 ml ² (84,421 km ²)
26 Counties	
26 Chontae	27,136 ml ² (70,282 km ²)
6 Counties	
6 Chontae	5,459 ml ² (14,139 km ²)
Greatest Length (North-South)	
Uasfhad (Thuaidh-Theas)	302 ml (468 km)
Greatest Width (East-West)	
Uasleithead (Soir-Siar)	171 ml (275 km)
Total Coast Line	
Fad iomlán líne an chósta	1,970 ml (3,169 km)
Total population 1971	
Daonra iomlán 1971	4,498,843
26 Counties	
26 Chontae	2,971,200
6 Counties	
6 Chontae	1,527,593

1,500 YEARS A NATION

The division of Ireland into two separate states was imposed by England under the Government of Ireland Act passed in the Westminster Parliament in December, 1920. Yet the nationhood of all Ireland has been an accepted fact for more than 1500 years and has been recognised internationally as a fact. Professor Edmund Curtis, writing of Ireland in 800 A.D. says that "she was the first nation north of the Alps to produce a whole body of literature in her own speech"; and he continues: "The structural unity of Ireland had now remained intact for four centuries in language, law, religion and culture." There was national kingship in Ireland under the High King for more than five centuries before the foundation of an English or French monarchy, and a large number of these High Kings of Ireland came from Ulster. The Viking invasions of the eighth, ninth and tenth centuries were repulsed under the leadership of the High Kings.

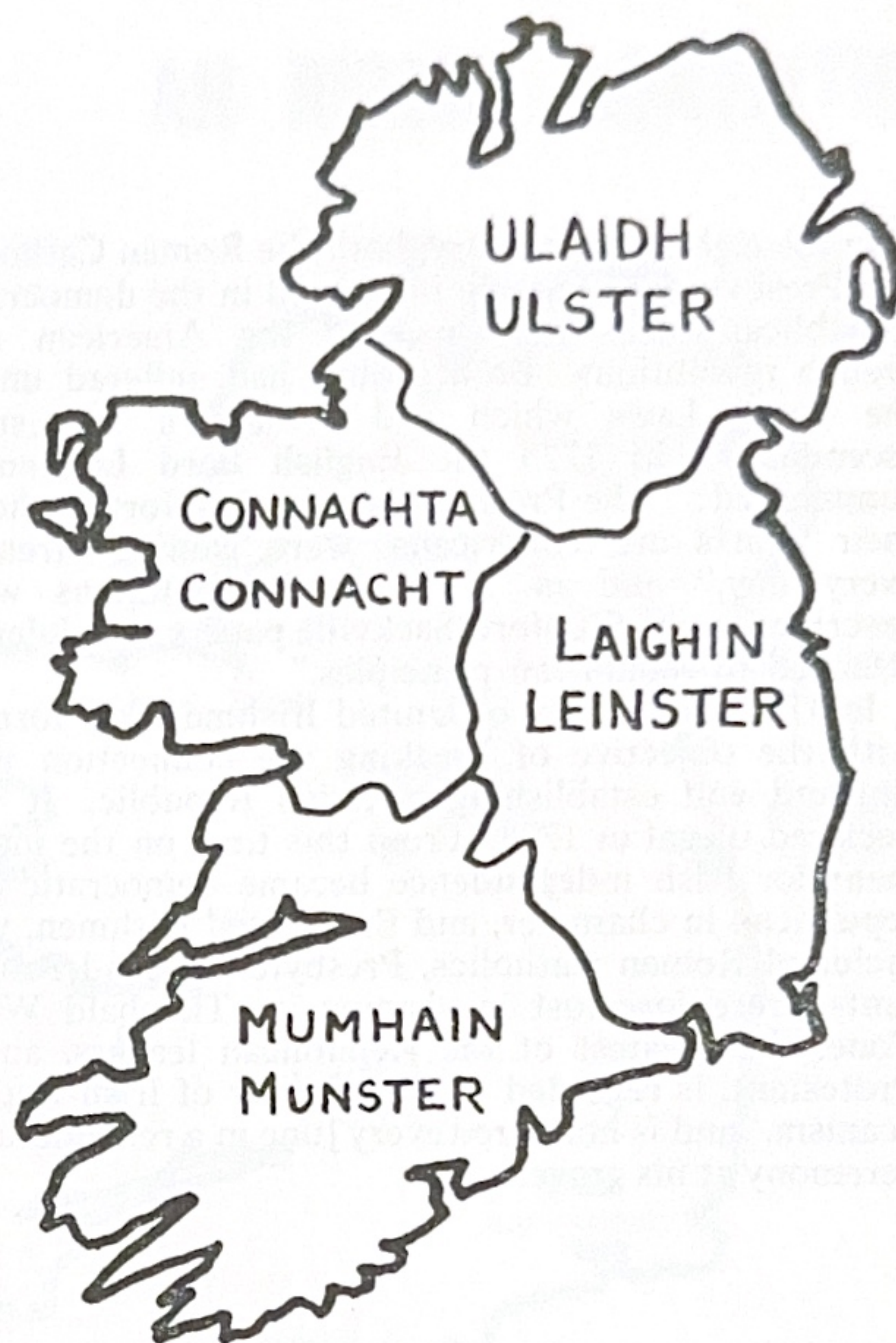
In 1169 the Norman invasion began. The Irish resisted strongly and it was not until 1601 in the reign of Elizabeth I of England that the Gaelic system of law and organisation was broken. In that year a combined Spanish and Irish force were defeated at Kinsale in Co. Cork in the province of Munster. In 1607 the resistance of the northern province of Ulster collapsed and the northern chieftains went into exile.

After being under attack for more than four centuries, all of Ireland was now under English control. During that time many of the English settlers had become "ipsis hibernicis hiberniores"—more Irish than the Irish themselves. In 1609 the lands of the Ulster chieftains were confiscated and planted with settlers from England and Scotland, many of whom were English soldiers.

County Derry was taken over by the city of London and the name changed to "Londonderry". The Scots predominated. Scotland had been colonised by the Irish some 1,000 years before and these Scots settlers came from another Celtic people who had the same language, laws and literature as the Irish but differed from them in religion. The native Irish were Roman Catholic, the settlers Presbyterian and Protestant (Anglican). Most of the Irish remained on their lands because the planters needed their labour, but they remained as tenants rather than as owners. By 1641 the Irish had revolted, establishing a National Parliament in Kilkenny which stood not only for independence but for the full liberty of religion and conscience. This national revolt was brutally crushed by Oliver Cromwell in 1649.

Is é Sasana a rinne Éire a roinnt i dhá stát scartha faoin Acht um Rialú na hÉireann a ritheadh i bParlaimint Westminster, mí na Nollag, 1920. Ach tá glactha le náisiúntacht na hÉireann go hiomlán le níos mó ná 1,500 bliain, agus tá sin aithinte go hidirnáisiúnta leis an bhfad céanna. Ag scríobh dó ar Éirinn sa bhliain 800 A.D., deir an tOllamh Éamonn Curtis gurbh í Éire "an chéad náisiún ar an taobh thuaidh de shléibhte na nAlp a chuir corp iomlán litríochta ar fáil ina hurlabhra féin"; leanann sé air: "Bhí aontas struchtúireach na hÉireann slán ar feadh ceithre chéad bliain ó thaobh teanga, dlí, creideamh agus saothúlacht faoin am seo." Bhí ríocht náisiúnta in Éirinn faoi cheannas na nArd-Ríthe ar feadh breis agus cúig chéad bliain sular cuireadh ríocht Shasanach nó Fhrancach ar bun. As Cúige Uladh ab ea líon mór d'Ard-Ríthe na hÉireann. Is faoi stiúir na nArd-Ríthe a fuarthas an lámh in uachtar ar na Lochlannaigh nuair

NÁISIÚN LE 1,500 BLIAIN



The Provinces of Ireland.
Cúigí na hÉireann.

a rinne siad sin ruathair ar an tír san ochtú, sa naoú agus sa deichiú céad.

Is sa bhliain 1169 a cuireadh tús le ruathar na Normanach. Throid na Gaeil go dian, agus ní go dtí an bhliain 1601, le linn réimfhlaithéas Éilís I Shasana, a briseadh ar chóras dlí agus reachtála na nGael. Sa bhliain sin, sáraíodh comhfhórsa Spáinneach-Éireannach i gcath ag Ceann Sáile i gCo. Chorcaí i gCúige Mumhan. Thit an chosaint a bhí á déanamh ar Chúige Uladh, sa tuaisceart, as a chéile sa bhliain 1607; agus chuaigh taoisigh an tuaiscirt ar imirce thar saíle.

Tar éis di a bheith faoi ionsaí ar feadh breis is ceithre chéad bliain, bhí Éire uile faoi smacht Shasana ansin. I rith an ama sin bhí mórchuid de na plandóirí Sasanacha éirithe níos Gaelaí ná na Gaeil féin—"ipsis hibernicis hiberniores." Gabhadh tailte na dtaoiseach Ultach sa bhliain 1609 agus cuireadh plandóirí ó Shasana is ó Albain ina n-ionad. Saighdiúirí Sasanacha ab ea cuid mhaith díobh seo.

Cuireadh Co. Dhoire faoi chathair Londan agus athraíodh an t-ainm go "Londonderry". B'iad na hAlbanaigh ba líonmhaire. Bhí cóilíneacht Éireannach déanta d'Albain ag Gaeil na hÉireann breis is 1,000 bliain roimhe seo, agus bhí na plandóirí Albanacha seo síolraithe ó dhream Ceilteach eile a raibh an teanga, na dlíthe, agus an litríocht céanna acu is a bhí ag Gaeil na hÉireann. Bhí a mhalairt de chreideamh acu, áfach. Caitlicigh Rómhánacha ab ea na hÉireannaigh dhúchasacha. Preispitéaraigh agus Protastúnaigh (Ainglicigh) ab ea an lucht plandála. D'fhan an chuid is mó de na hÉireannaigh ar a dtailte féin mar go raibh gá ag na plandóirí le sclábhaíocht uathu,

ach is mar thionóntaithe seachas mar úinéirí a d'fhan siad. Faoin mbliain 1641, bhí na Gaeil tar éis éirí amach agus chuir siad Parlaimint Náisiúnta ar bun i gCill Chainnigh. Sheas an Pharlaimint seo ar son, ní

hamháin an neamhspleáchas, ach ar son saoirse iomlán chreidimh agus choinsiasa. Chuir Oliver Cromwell an réabhlóid náisiúnta seo síos go barbartha i mbliain a 1649.

THE UNITED IRISHMEN

In the eighteenth century, both the Roman Catholics and Presbyterians became interested in the democratic Republican ideas that inspired the American and French revolutions. Both groups had suffered under the Penal Laws which had created a Protestant ascendancy. In 1775 the English Lord Lieutenant commented: "The Presbyterians in the North, who in their hearts are Americans, were gaining strength every day," and in 1779 the Presbyterians were described in the Stopford-Sackville papers as "violently attached to republican principles."

In 1791 the Society of United Irishmen was formed with the objective of breaking the connection with England and establishing an Irish Republic. It was declared illegal in 1794. From this time on the movement for Irish independence became democratic and republican in character, and the United Irishmen, who included Roman Catholics, Presbyterians and Protestants, were foremost in shaping it. Theobald Wolfe Tone, the greatest of the Republican leaders, and a Protestant, is regarded as the "Father of Irish Republicanism," and is honoured every June in a remembrance ceremony at his grave.

NA hÉIREANNAIGH AONTAITHE

Ghlac na Caitlicigh Rómhánacha agus na Preispitéaraigh araon spéis sna tuairimí daonlathacha Poblachtacha a bhí mar bhun leis na réabhlóidí i Meiriceá agus sa bhFrainc, san ochtú céad déag. Bhí cos ar bolg déanta ar an dá dhream ag na Piandlíthe faoinar cuireadh ollfhlaithéas Protastúnach ar bun. Dúirt Tiarna-Leifteanant Shasana sa bhliain 1775: "Tá Preispitéaraigh an Tuaiscirt, agus iad ina Meiriceánaigh ina gcoir istigh, ag dul i dtreise ó lá go lá." Dúradh sna páipéir Stopford-Sackville sa bhliain 1779 go raibh na Preispitéaraigh "go fíochmhar ar son aidhmeanna an Phoblachtais". Cuireadh Cumann na nÉireannach Aontaithe ar bun i 1791 agus é mar aidhm acu an ceangal le Sasana a bhriseadh agus Poblacht Éireannach a chur ar bun. Cuireadh an eagraíocht faoi chois, i 1794. As seo amach, bhain tréithe an daonlathais agus an phoblachtais go dlúth leis an ngluaiseacht ar son neamhspleáchas na hÉireann. B'iad na hÉireannaigh Aontaithe, ar a raibh Caitlicigh Rómhánacha, Preispitéaraigh agus Protastúnaigh, a bhí chun tosaigh i mbunú na gluaiseachta seo. Féachtar ar Theobald Wolfe Tone, an té is mó ar cheannairí an Phoblachtais, is a bhí ina Phrotastúnach, mar "Athair Phoblachtas na hÉireann". Déantar comóradh air gach Meitheamh le searmas cuimhneacháin ar bhrúach a uaighe.

DIVIDE AND CONQUER

The English opposed the United Irishmen in several ways. They crushed with great severity the republican insurrection of 1798 in which Ulster Presbyterians, led by men like Henry Joy McCracken and Henry Munroe, took up arms for an Irish Republic and were joined by Irishmen of all denominations in various parts of the country. They were assisted by a number of French expeditionary forces. English propaganda represented the insurrection as a civil war, an attack by the Roman Catholics on the Protestants, and a "popish plot."

Most effective of all, the English government promoted the establishment in 1795 of the Orange Order, a sectarian and exclusively Protestant secret society which soon instituted widespread terror and persecution. This was the imperial policy of "divide and conquer" at work. "If I am permitted," wrote General Knox, Commander of the British Army in Ulster, "as I am inclined, to encourage the Orangemen, I think I shall be able to put down the United Irishmen." In reply, the English Chief Secretary, Thomas Pelham, approved the plan to "increase the animosity between the Orangemen and the United Irishmen." Later, Pelham's successor, Sir Robert Peel, also endorsed this view. Referring to Roman Catholics and Protestants, he said; "I hope they may always be disunited. The great art is to keep them so, and yet at peace or rather not at war with each other."

BUA TRÍ DHEIGHILT

Chuir na Sasanaigh i gcoinne na hÉireannach Aontaithe ar chuid mhaith slite. Chuir siad Éirí Amach na bPoblachtach i 1798 síos le barbarthacht uafásach. Chuaigh Preispitéaraigh Uladh, leithéidí Anraí Mac Reachtain agus Anraí Munroe, i muinín neart arm ar son Phoblacht Éireannach agus luigh Éireannaigh de gach creideamh i gcodanna éagsúla den tír isteach leo.

Fuair siad cabhair ó fhórsaí feachtais Francacha. Chuir bolscaireacht na Sasanach in iúl gur cogadh cathartha a bhí san Éirí Amach, is é sin, ionsaí a bheith á dhéanamh ar na Protastúnaigh ag na Caitlicigh Rómhánacha, nó "seift de chuid na bpápairí". B'é an rud ba mhó a rinne na Sasanaigh ná treoír a thabhairt i gcur ar bun an Oird Oráistigh sa bhliain 1795. Eagraíocht rúnda sheicteach nach raibh ach Protastúnaigh amháin mar bhaill de ab ea an tOrd seo, agus ba ghairid gur chuir siad tús le huafás agus le géarleanúint choitianta. Ba shampla é seo den pholasáí impiriúalach "Bua trí dheighilt" i ngníomh. "Má cheadaítear dom", a dúirt an Ginearál Knox, "scaoileadh le mo thoil agus tacaíocht a thabhairt do na hOráistigh, is dóigh liom go n-éireoidh liom deireadh a chur leis na hÉireannaigh Aontaithe". Scríobh an Príomh-Rúnaí Sasanach Thomas Pelham, freagra chuige á rá go raibh glactha lena phlean chun "an naimhdeas idir na hOráistigh agus na hÉireannaigh Aontaithe a mhéadú". Bhí an tuairim chéanna ar ball ag Sir Robert Peel, an

té a raibh post Pelham aige ina dhiaidh. Ag tagairt dó do na Caitliceigh Rómhánacha agus do na Protastún-
aigh, dúirt sé: "Tá súil agam go mbeidh easaontas

eatarthu go deo. Is í an mhór-ealaí iad a choinneáil
mar sin, ach fós gan iad a bheith ag troid i gcoinne
a chéile".

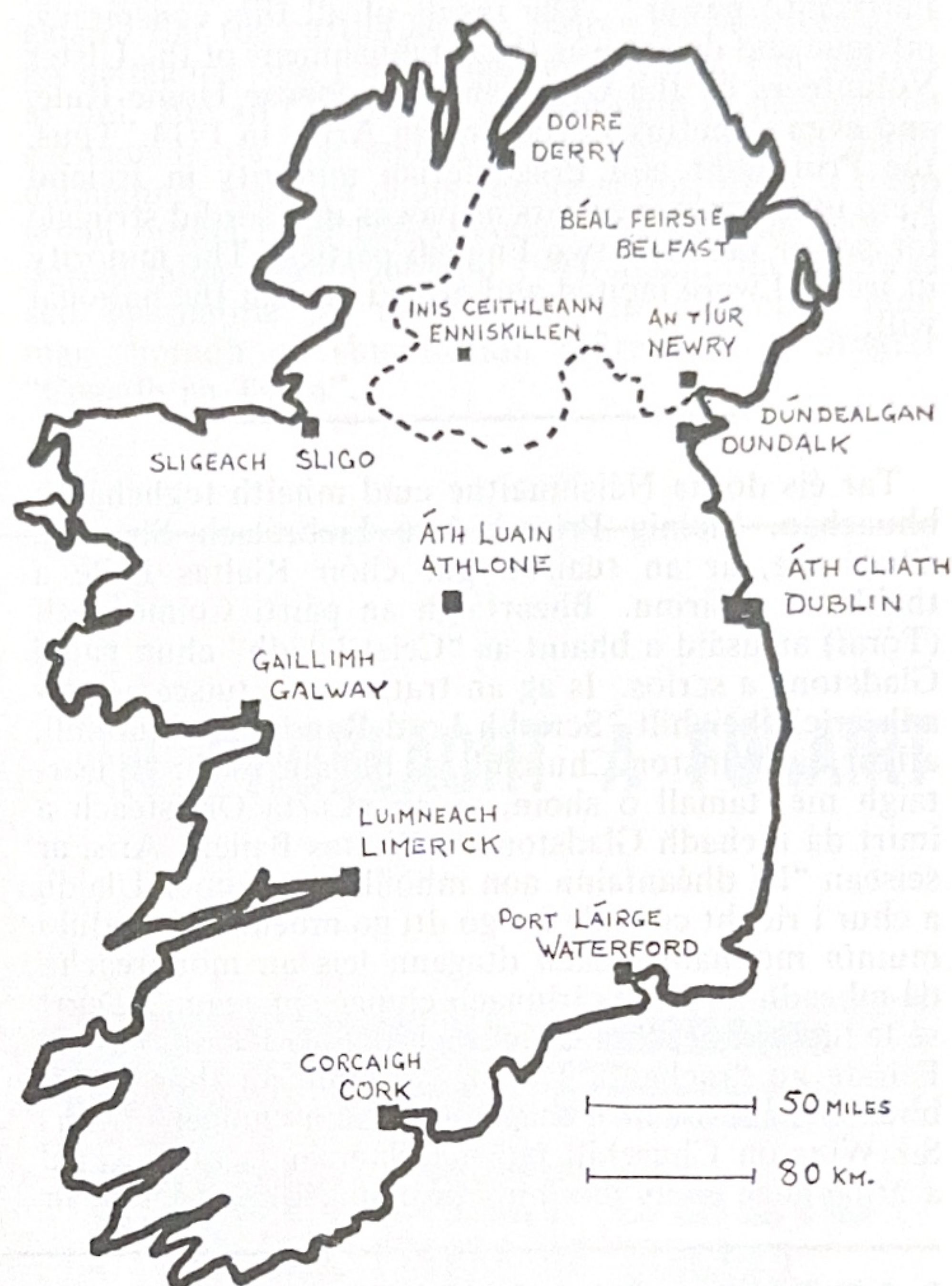
THE UNITED KINGDOM

Having crushed the insurrection of 1798 and having set about a deliberate policy of dividing and conquering along sectarian lines, the English government abolished the Irish Parliament (which had only limited powers) and enacted the Act of Union of 1800 which established the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. The Orangemen were encouraged and English propaganda spread the lie that if the mass of the Irish people attained their freedom they would persecute the Presbyterians. The movements for Catholic Emancipation and Repeal of the Union were misrepresented as being not for Ireland but against Protestantism.

Nevertheless, the Young Ireland Movement of the 1840s and the constitutional Home Rule Movement of the 1870s included many Protestants. The Presbyterian historian, Rev. James P. Woodburn, wrote: "There are not two races in Ireland; the whole population is a mixture of Celtic and Teutonic and the Ulsterman has probably as much Celtic blood as the Southerner."

Nuair a bhí Éirí Amach 1798 brúite faoi chois acu agus polasaí cinnte leagtha amach acu chun Éireann-
aigh a dheighilt óna chéile, chuir na Sasanaigh deireadh leis an bParlaimint Éireannach, Parlaimint nach raibh ach cumhacht an-teoranta aici. Rith siad Acht an Aontaithe i 1800 faoinar cuireadh ar bun Ríocht Aontaithe na Breataine Móire agus na hÉireann. Thug seo misneach do na hOráistigh, agus thosaigh bolscaireacht na Sasanach ar an mbréag a scaipeadh go ndéanfadh tromlach na nÉireannach géarleanúint ar na Preispitéaraigh dá bhfaighidís a saoirse. Cuireadh in iúl go mícheart nach ar son na hÉireann ach i gcoinne an Phrotastúnachais a bhí na gluaiseachtaí ar son Fhuascailt na gCaitliceach agus Aisghairm an Aontaithe. Ina ainneoin seo is uile, bhí mórchuid Protastúnach mar bhaill de Ghluaiseacht Éire Óg sna 1840í agus sa ghluaiseacht bhunreachtúil ar son Rialtais Bhaile sna 1870í. Scríobh an tOirmh. James P. Woodburn, an staraí Preispitéarach: "Ní dhá chine atá in

AN RÍOCHT AONTAITHE



Éirinn; is de mheascán Ceilteach agus Teutonach pór na ndaoine go léir. Tá an méid céanna d'fhuil Cheilteach san Ultach is atá i nduine ón Deisceart, de réir cosúlachta."

THE ORANGE CARD

Nationalist victories in several general elections convinced the English Liberal Prime Minister Gladstone that Ireland should have Home Rule. The Conservative (Tory) party set out to use the "Ulster Question" to destroy Gladstone's party, and the partition proposals date from that time. Lord Randolph Churchill, father of Sir Winston Churchill, wrote in 1885: "I decided some time ago that if Gladstone went for Home Rule the Orange Card would be the one to play," and again: "I should not hesitate, if other circumstances were favourable, to agitate Ulster even to resistance beyond constitutional limits." He told an Orange audience at the Ulster Hall in Belfast that "Ulster at the proper moment will resort to the supreme arbitrament of force." In later years, Sir Winston Churchill told of the riots his father's

AN CÁRTA ORÁISTEACH

speeches had caused: "So savage, repeated and prolonged were the disturbances, breaking out again and again in spite of all efforts to suppress them that they became in the end the subject of a Parliamentary Commission the evidence and report of which are not pleasant reading and proved, when finally published, damaging to the Orange party." The Tory campaigns of violence in North-East Ireland coincided with the periods in office of the Liberal Party: 1886, 1893, 1912-14.

In 1912 the Tory leaders F. E. Smith, Bonar Law and Austen Chamberlain went to Belfast and inflamed the Orangemen against Home Rule:

"There is no length to which Ulster would not be entitled to go, however desperate and unconstitutional"—F. E. Smith at Liverpool.

"If this Home Rule Bill should by any chance be forced through then heaven help the government that tried to enforce it"—Bonar Law at Larne, Co. Antrim.

The real inspiration behind the Tory campaign was not any concern for the Orangemen but to destroy the Liberal Party. Mr. Bonar Law declared: "We shall use any means to deprive them of power." Later in 1921, the Orange leader, Sir Edward Carson, declared in the House of Lords: "I was in earnest. I was not playing politics. I believed all this. What a fool I was: I was only a puppet and so was Ulster and so was Ireland in the political game that was to get the Conservative Party into power." The result of all this conspiracy, intrigue and deceit was the establishment of the Ulster Volunteers by the Orangemen to oppose Home Rule, and even a mutiny in the British Army in 1914. Thus, the Protestant and Presbyterian minority in Ireland were used for many years as pawns in a sordid struggle for power between two English parties. The minority in Ireland were incited and armed against the national will.

Tar éis do na Náisiúnaithe cuid mhaith toghchán a bhuachan, tháinig Príomh-Aire Liobrálach Shasana, Gladstone, ar an tuairim gur chóir Rialtas Baile a thabhairt d'Éirinn. Bheartaigh an páirtí Coimeádach (Tóraí) ar úsáid a bhaint as "Ceist Uladh" chun páirtí Gladstone a scrios. Is ag an tráth seo is túisce a móladh críchdheighilt. Scríobh Lord Randolph Churchill, athair Sir Winston Churchill, sa bhliain 1885: "Bheartaigh mé, tamall ó shoin, ar an gCárta Oráisteach a imirt dá rachadh Gladstone le Rialtas Baile." Arís, ar seisean "Ní dhéanfainn aon mhoill in aon chor Ulaidh a chur i riocht corraíle fiú go dtí go mbeidís sásta dul i muinín modhanna nach dtagann leis an mbunreacht, dá mbeadh an staid oiriúnach chuige sin agam." Dúirt sé le lucht éisteachta Oráisteach i Halla Uladh i mBéal Feirste go "rachaidh Ulaidh i muinín an fhórsa mar bhuaic-chéim nuair a thagann an uain chuige." D'inis Sir Winston Churchill faoi na clampair a raibh óráid a athar mar chúis leo, níos déanaí: "Bhí na clampair

chomh barbartha, chomh coitianta agus chomh buan sin go raibh siad mar ábhar le scrúdú ag Coimisiún Parlaiminte i ndeireadh na dála. Bhris na clampair amach arís is arís eile, d'ainneoin na n-iarrachtaí adeineadh chun iad a chur síos. Ní haon ábhar taitneamh léitheoireachta atá sa bhfianaise agus sa tuairisc a tháinig as an gCoimisiún sin agus, nuair a foilsíodh faoi dheireadh é, rinne sé ard-dhamáiste don pháirtí Oráisteach." Tharla feachtais foréigin na dTóraithe in Oir-Thuaisceart na hÉireann le linn tréimhsí an Pháirtí Liobrálach in oifig: 1886, 1893, 1912-14. Sa bhliain 1912 chuaigh ceannairí na dTóraithe, F. E. Smith, Bonar Law agus Austen Chamberlain go Béal Feirste, agus ghríosáigh siad na hOráistigh i gcoinne Rialtais Bhaile.

"Ba chóir d'Ulaidh rud ar bith a dhéanamh, is cuma cé chomh hantaisceach nó chomh míbhunreachtúil é, más gá é" — F. E. Smith i Learpholl.

"Má éiríonn leo an Bille seo um Rialtas Baile a rith ar aon tslí in aon chor, bheadh cabhair ó neamh anuas de dhíth ar an rialtas a dhéanadh iarracht ar é a chur i bhfeidhm" — Bonar Law i Latharna, Co. Antrama.

Ní cúram i leith na nOráisteach ba chúis le feachtas na dTóraithe in aon chor, dáiríre, ach iarracht ar an bPáirtí Liobrálach a scrios. Dhearbhaigh Mr. Bonar Law: "Bainimid feidhm as modh d'aon saghas chun an chumhacht a bhaint díobh." Níos déanaí, sa bhliain 1921, dúirt Sir Edward Carson, ceannaire na nOráisteach, i dTeach na dTiarnaí: "Bhí mé lán-dáiríre. Ní polaitíocht a bhí ar siúl agam. Chreid mé é seo go léir. Nár mhór an pleidhce amadáin mé: ní raibh ionam ach uirlis agus ní raibh in Ulaidh agus in Éirinn ach uirlis sa chluiche polaitíochta chun an Páirtí Coimeádach a chur i gcumhacht." B'é an toradh a bhí ar an uisce faoi thalamh seo agus ar na bréaga seo go léir gur chuir na hOráistigh Óglaigh Uladh ar bun chun cur i gcoinne Rialtais Bhaile. Bhí ceannaire in Arm na Breataine i 1914, fiú amháin. Is sa tslí sin a baineadh úsáid gan náire as an mionlach Protastúnach agus Preispitéarach in Éirinn ar mhaithe le coimhlint ar son cumhachta idir dhá pháirtí Shasanacha. Deineadh gríosú agus armáil ar an mionlach in Éirinn i gcoinne na tola náisiúnta.

LABOUR ORGANISED

During the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first two decades of the twentieth, the workers of Ireland, including those of Dublin and Belfast were organised by James Connolly and James Larkin. In Dublin in August 1913 Larkin directed a tramworkers' strike, during which a public meeting of strikers was brutally attacked by police and three people killed. A federation of 400 Dublin employers refused employment to members of the Irish Transport and General Workers Union. English and continental organisations sent funds and food to relieve the distress of the 24,000 unemployed. At the time, housing conditions in Dublin were the worst in Europe and there were in the city 21,000 families each living in only one room. Early in 1914 the strike ended in failure, but a workers' militia known as the Irish Citizen Army was formed under James Connolly's command.

In November 1913 the Irish Volunteers were formed in Dublin "to secure and maintain the rights and liberties common to all the people of Ireland without distinction of creed, class or politics." The Irish Volunteers later became known as the Irish Republican Army, and they and the Irish Citizen Army and Sinn Féin (a national political organisation founded in 1905 whose name means "ourselves") were soon to play

LUCHT OIBRE Á EAGRÚ

important roles in the nation's life.

Other organisations which had a big impact were the Gaelic Athletic Association founded in 1884 to foster Irish games and the Gaelic League founded in 1893 to promote the restoration of the Irish language which had declined greatly after the Great Famine of 1845-47. In 1841 Ireland had over 8,175,000 people most of whom spoke Irish as their everyday language. By 1851 the figure should have been 9,000,000 but had dropped to 6,500,000 because between 1846 and 1851 a million people emigrated and a million and a half perished of hunger and disease. The emigration to America and other parts of the English-speaking world had begun and it still continues. The Great Famine was the result of English laissez-faire economic policies and deliberate neglect, combined with the failure of the potato crop. A feudal system of landlordism operated, but by 1903 this had largely been broken as a result of militant agitation known as the "Land War."

Le linn na ndéich bliana deiridh den naoú céad déag agus an chéad fhiche blian den bhfichiú céad dhein Séamas Ó Conghaile agus Séamas Ó Lorcain

eagrú ar lucht oibre na hÉireann. Mí Lúnasa, 1913, threoraigh an Lorcánach stailc oibrithe tram i mBaile Átha Cliath, agus thug na póilíní go barbartha faoi chruinniú poiblí stailceoirí. Maraíodh triúr. Dhiúltaigh bord ar a raibh 400 fostóirí i mBaile Átha Cliath aon fhostaíocht a thabhairt do bhaill de Cheardchumann Oibrithe Iompair agus Ilsaothair na hÉireann. Chuir eagraíochtaí i Sasana agus ar an Mór-Roinn airgead agus bia go hÉirinn chun fuascailt a dhéanamh ar chruachas an 24,000 duine a bhí dí-fhostaithe. Bhí cúrsaí tithíochta i mBaile Átha Cliath, ag an am, ar an sampla ba mheasa san Eoraip. Bhí 21,000 clann sa chathair nach raibh ach an t-aon seomra amháin chun maireachtan ann ag gach clann acu. Theip ar an stailc go luath i 1914, ach cuireadh arm de chuid na n-oibrithe ar bun faoi cheannas Shéamais Uí Chonghaile. Arm Saoránach na hÉireann a tugadh ar an arm seo.

Mí Samhna, 1913, cuireadh Óglaigh na hÉireann ar bun i mBaile Átha Cliath "chun cearta agus saoirse a bhaint amach agus a choinneáil do mhuintir uile na hÉireann, gan aird ar chreideamh, aicme, nó polaitíocht". Bhí gnó tábhachtach i saol an náisiúin ar siúl ag Óglaigh na hÉireann ar ball, i dteannta le hArm Saoránach na hÉireann agus Sinn Féin (eagraíocht

náisiúnta pholaitiúil a cuireadh ar bun sa bhliain 1905).

Ar na heagraíochtaí eile a raibh tionchar mór acu ar shaol na tíre bhí Cumann Lúthchleas Gael, a bunaíodh i 1884 chun cluichí Gaelacha a chur chun cinn; agus Conradh na Gaeilge, a bunaíodh i 1893 chun an teanga Ghaeilge a athbheochan. Bhí an Ghaeilge tar éis dul ar gcúl go mór tar éis an Ghorta Mhóir (1845-1847). Sa bhliain 1841, bhí níos mó ná 8,175,000 daoine sa tír agus bhí an Ghaeilge mar ghnáth-theanga ar bheola a bhformhór sin. Faoi 1851 ba chóir go mbeadh 9,000,000 sa tír ach ní raibh fágtha ach 6,500,000. Idir 1846 agus 1851 bhí milliún tar éis dul ar imirce agus bhí milliún go leith básaithe ag an ocras agus ag galair. Bhí tús curtha leis an imirce go Meiriceá agus go háiteanna eile i ndomhan an Bhéarla, rud atá fós ar siúl. Bhí an Gorta Mór mar thoradh ar pholasaithe eacnamaíochta den saghas laissez-faire agus an fhaillí d'aonghnó, nithe ba chúis leis an scrios, nuair a theip ar an bpráta. Bhí córas feodach i bhfeidhm faoi na tiarnaí talún. Faoin mbliain 1903, áfach, bhí an córas seo bearnaithe go maith. Bhí an dul chun cinn mar thoradh ar shuaitheadh míleata ar a dtugtar "Cogadh na Talún".

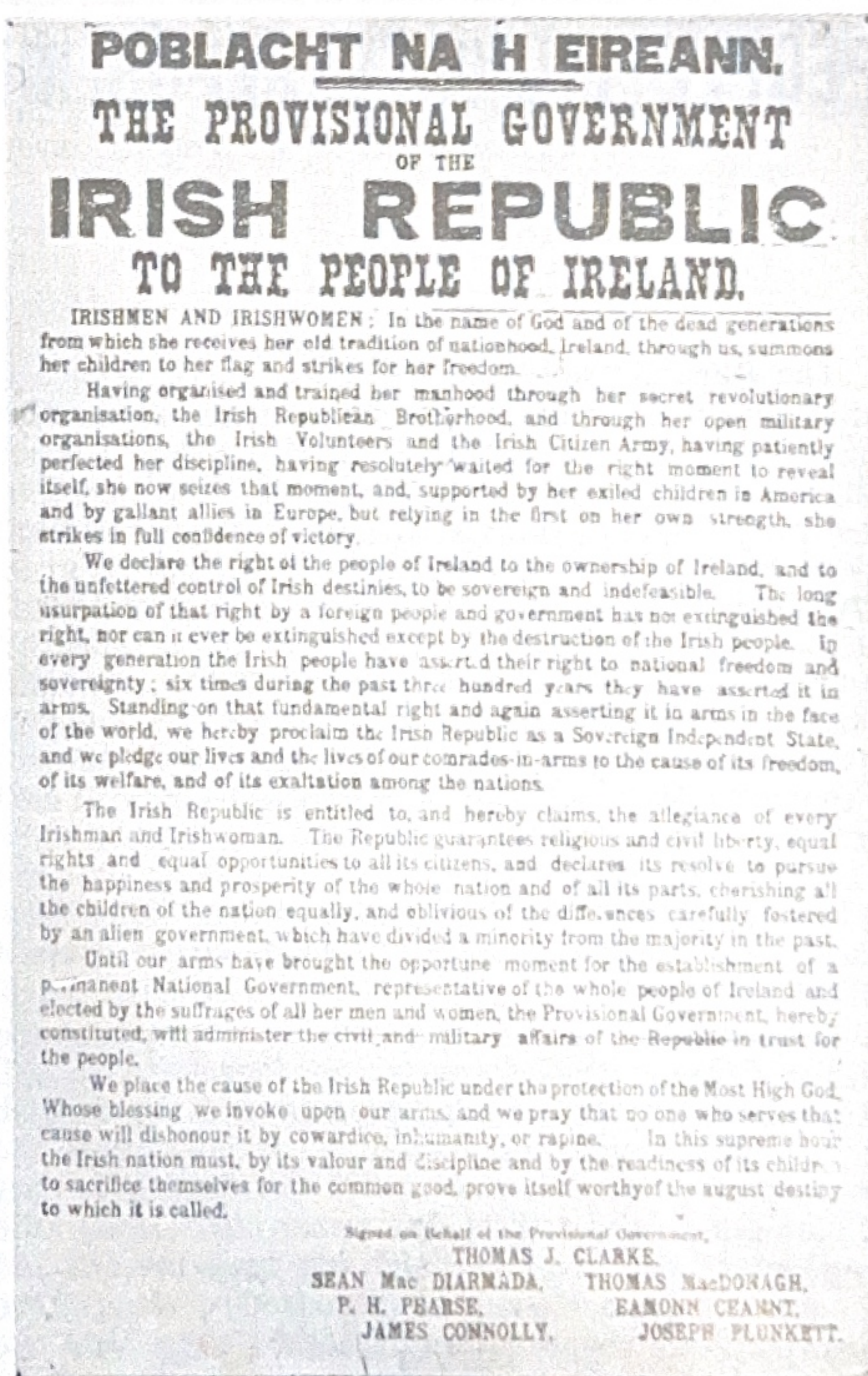
REPUBLIC PROCLAIMED

The Irish Republic was proclaimed in arms on Easter Monday, April 24, 1916. One thousand members of the Irish Volunteers and Irish Citizen Army seized the General Post Office and other buildings in Dublin. They issued a Proclamation declaring Ireland to be "a sovereign independent state": guaranteed "religious and civil liberty, equal rights and equal opportunities" to all citizens of Ireland; and set up a Provisional Government of seven men. Patrick H. Pearse, a 36-year-old lawyer and school-teacher was Commander-in-Chief of the Republican forces and President of the Provisional Government. James Connolly, the 47-year-old labour leader and Commandant of the Citizen Army, commanded the Dublin Division. Republican forces also attacked British garrisons in a small number of country areas.

After six days of severe fighting in which the English suffered heavy casualties, the insurgents were hopelessly outnumbered and forced to surrender unconditionally. Sixteen of the leaders, including Pearse and Connolly, were tried by courtmartial and executed. Hundreds were jailed while thousands were deported to camps in Britain. The executions caused a wave of indignation throughout Ireland and abroad, although John Redmond, leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party in Westminster, condemned the Rising.

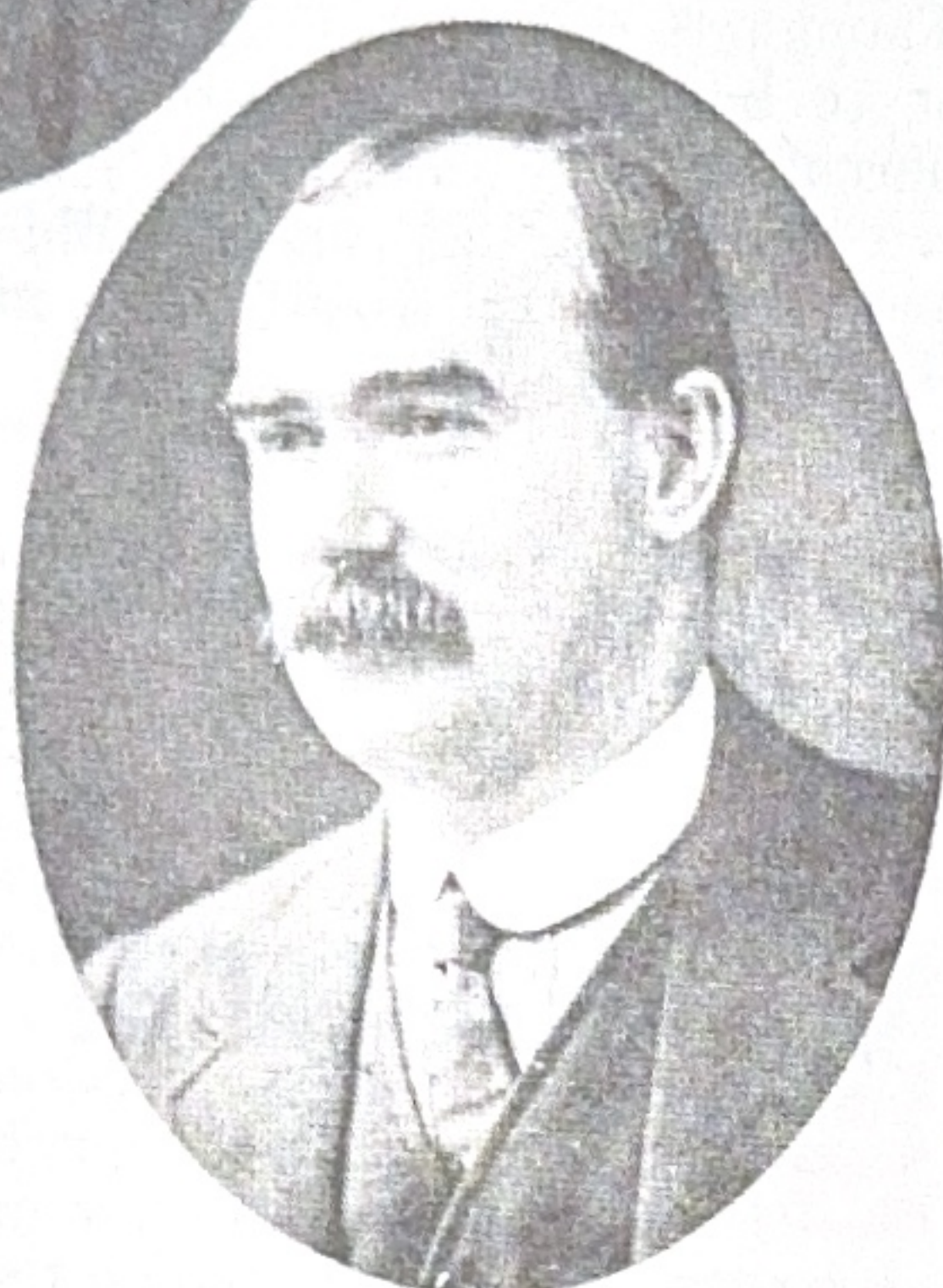
Fógraíodh Poblacht na hÉireann le faobhar arm Luan Cásca, 24ú Aibreán, 1916. Ghaibh míle ball d'Óglaigh na hÉireann agus d'Arm Saoránach na hÉireann Ard-Oifig an Phoist agus foirgintí eile i mBaile Átha Cliath. Chuir siad Forógra amach a dhearbhaigh gur "stát ceannasach neamhspleách" í Éire. Dheimh-nigh siad "saoirse chreidimh agus shibhialta, comh-chearta agus comhdheiseanna" do shaoránaigh uile na hÉireann, agus chuir siad Rialtas Sealadach ina raibh seachtar ar bun. Ba é Pádraic Mac Piarais, dlíodóir agus múinteoir scoile in aois a 36 bliana dó, a bhí mar Phríomh-Cheannasaí ar fhórsaí na Poblachta agus ba é a bhí mar Uachtarán ar an Rialtas Sealadach. Ba é Séamas Ó Conghaile, ceannaire na

AN PHOBLACHT Á FÓGAIRT



The Proclamation of the Irish Republic, April, 1916.

Forógra Phoblacht na hÉireann, Aibreán, 1916.



n-oibrithe agus Ceannasaí Arm Saoránach na hÉireann in aois a 47 bliana dó, a bhí i gceannas ar Rannóg Bhaile Átha Cliath. Thug fórsaí Poblachtacha faoi gharastúin Shasanacha i líon beag de cheantracha tuaithe. Tar éis don troid a bheith ar siúl go dian ar feadh sé lá, agus buillí géara buailte ar na Sasanaigh, bhí na réabhlóidithe thíos go mór ó thaobh líon a bhfórsaí, agus ghéill siad gan choinníollacha. Cuireadh sé dhuine déag de na ceannairí ar a raibh an Piarsach agus an Conghaileach, faoi thriail i gCúirt Airm agus cuireadh chun báis iad. Cuireadh na céadta i bpríosún agus cuireadh na mílte eile go campaí géibhinn sa Bhreatain. Bhí marú na dtaoiseach mar chúis le tonn feirge a bhrúcht ar fud Éireann agus thar lear; cé gur cháin Seán Réamann, ceannaire Pháirtí Pharlaiminteach na hÉireann, an tÉirí Amach go trom.

Patrick Pearse and James Connolly, leaders of the 1916 Rising.

Pádraig Mac Piarais agus Séamas Ó Conghaile, fir cheannais Éirí Amach 1916.

PEOPLE ENDORSE REPUBLIC

The Republic was approved by the Irish people in 1918. In the British General Election held in December of that year Sinn Féin won 73 of the 105 Irish seats and the Parliamentary Party was eclipsed. The Sinn Féin candidates were pledged not to attend the Westminster Parliament but to convene an Irish Parliament in Dublin. On January 21, 1919, Dáil Éireann was established. This Parliament of the democratically elected representatives of the Irish people ratified the establishment of the Irish Republic and declared the independence of the nation. They also adopted a Democratic Programme in which they declared their desire to have Ireland "ruled in accordance with the principles of Liberty, Equality and Justice for all." A cabinet was appointed, courts established and the Irish Republican Army (IRA) brought under the control of the Minister for Defence.

In September, 1919, a British military proclamation declared Dáil Éireann to be an illegal body. All Republican papers were suppressed and the English unleashed a reign of terror which continued until the signing of a truce in July, 1921. A British Labour Commission reported in December, 1920 that "the atmosphere of terrorism which has been created and the provocative behaviour of the armed servants of the Crown, quite apart from specific 'reprisals', are sufficient in themselves to arouse in our hearts feelings of the deepest horror and shame." The IRA fought back against the British terror, using guerrilla tactics which were afterwards adopted in other countries

AN PHOBLACHT Á MOLADH

fighting for freedom. In the Local Government Elections of 1920, Sinn Féin obtained 80% of the seats, winning a majority in 28 of the 32 Counties.

Ghlac muintir na hÉireann leis an bPoblacht sa bhliain 1918. Bhuaigh Sinn Féin 73 suíochán as iomlán 105 suíochán Éireannach in Olltoghchán na Breataine. Deineadh slad ar an bPáirtí Parlaiminte sa Toghchán. Bhí geallta ag iarrthóirí Shinn Féin gan dul i láthair ar Pharlaimint Westminster, ach, in ionad sin, Parlaimint Éireannach a ghairm i mBaile Átha Cliath. Ar an 21ú Eanáir, 1919, cuireadh Dáil Éireann ar bun. An Dáil seo a toghadh go daonlathach mar theachtaí do phobal na hÉireann, ghlac siad le bunú Phoblacht na hÉireann agus dhearbhaigh siad neamhspleáchas an náisiúin. Ghlac siad, freisin, le Clár Daonlathach trínar dhearbhaigh siad gur theastaigh uathu go rialófaí Éire "de réir prionsabail na Saoirse, an Ionannais agus an Chirt do gach duine". Cuireadh rialtas ar bun, cuireadh cúirteanna ar bun agus tháinig Óglaigh na hÉireann (IRA) faoi riar an Aire Cosanta.

Meán Fómhair, 1919, d'éiligh forógra míleata Breataineach gur comhdháil neamhdhleathach ab ea Dáil Éireann agus cuireadh gach páipéar Poblachtach faoi chois. Chuir Sasana tús le réim uafáis, réim ar leanadh de anuas go dtí an Sos Lámhaigh, mí Iúil, 1921. Thuariscigh Coimisiún Lucht Oibre na Breataine, mí na

Nollag 1920, gur "leor iontu féin atmasféar an uafáis atá cruthaithe agus an t-iompar gríosach atá faoi ghiollaí armtha na Coróine, chun déistean agus náire a mhúscailt sa chroí, gan trácht ar 'eachtraí díoltais' faoi leith". Throid na hÓglaigh i gcoinne uafás na mBreataineach trí mheán na treallchogaíochta, nós ar glacadh leis i dtíortha eile i gcogaí ar son na saoirse ar ball. Bhuaigh Sinn Féin 80% de na suíocháin i dToghchán Rialtais Áitiúil 1920. Bhí tromlach acu i 28 de na 32 Chontae.

Terence Mac Swiney, Republican Lord Mayor of Cork, who died after 74 days' hunger strike in Brixton Prison, London, in October, 1920

Traolach Mac Suibhne, Ard-Mhéara Poblachtach Chorcaí a fuair bás tar éis stailc ocras 74 lá, i bPríosún Brixton, Londain, Deireadh Fómhair, 1920.



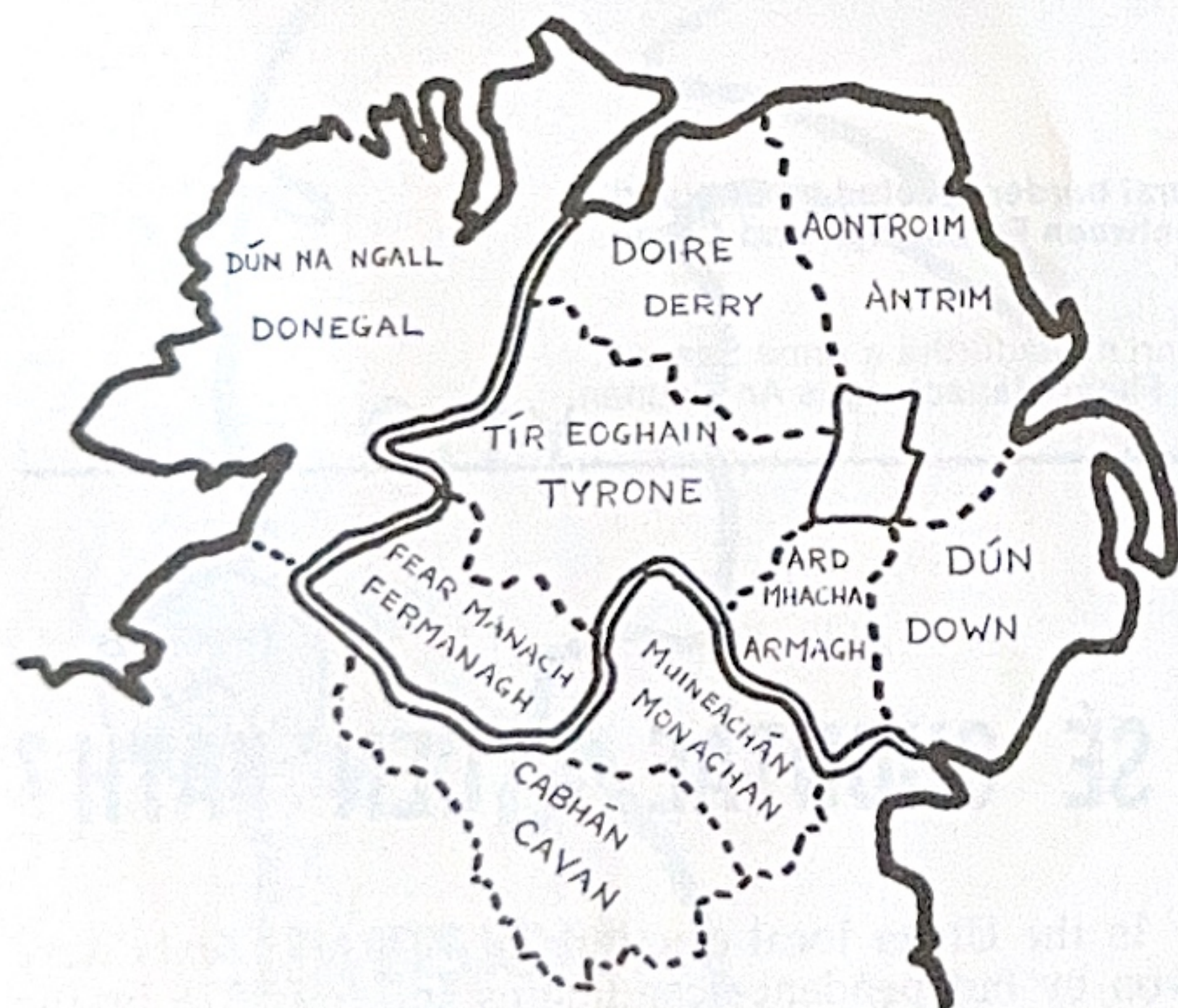
GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND ACT

ACHT UM RIALÚ NA hÉIREANN

England's answer to the risen people of Ireland was the Government of Ireland Act passed in Westminster in December, 1920. This set up two subordinate parliaments in Ireland: one for six counties, another for 26 counties. The Six Counties remained under direct British control with 80% of the powers of government reserved to Westminster. The 26 Counties got Dominion status. No Irishman from any part of Ireland voted for this statute, for even the Unionists (the 22% of the population of Ireland who approved of union with England and most of whom lived within 50 km. of Belfast) did not want their country to be divided. Carson, the Unionist leader said: "I know Ulster does not want this parliament." But when the

Six-County Parliament and government were set up they accepted partition.

The scheme for partition government was also put to Dáil Éireann representatives in London in December, 1921, and under a threat from English Prime Minister, Lloyd George of "immediate and terrible war" they signed a "Treaty" incorporating these terms. The Six-County State was imposed on the Irish people by the might of British arms. The 26-County state was imposed by a Civil War against Republicans, who have never accepted the partition system.



The creation of the Six-County state also meant the partition of the historic province of Ulster.

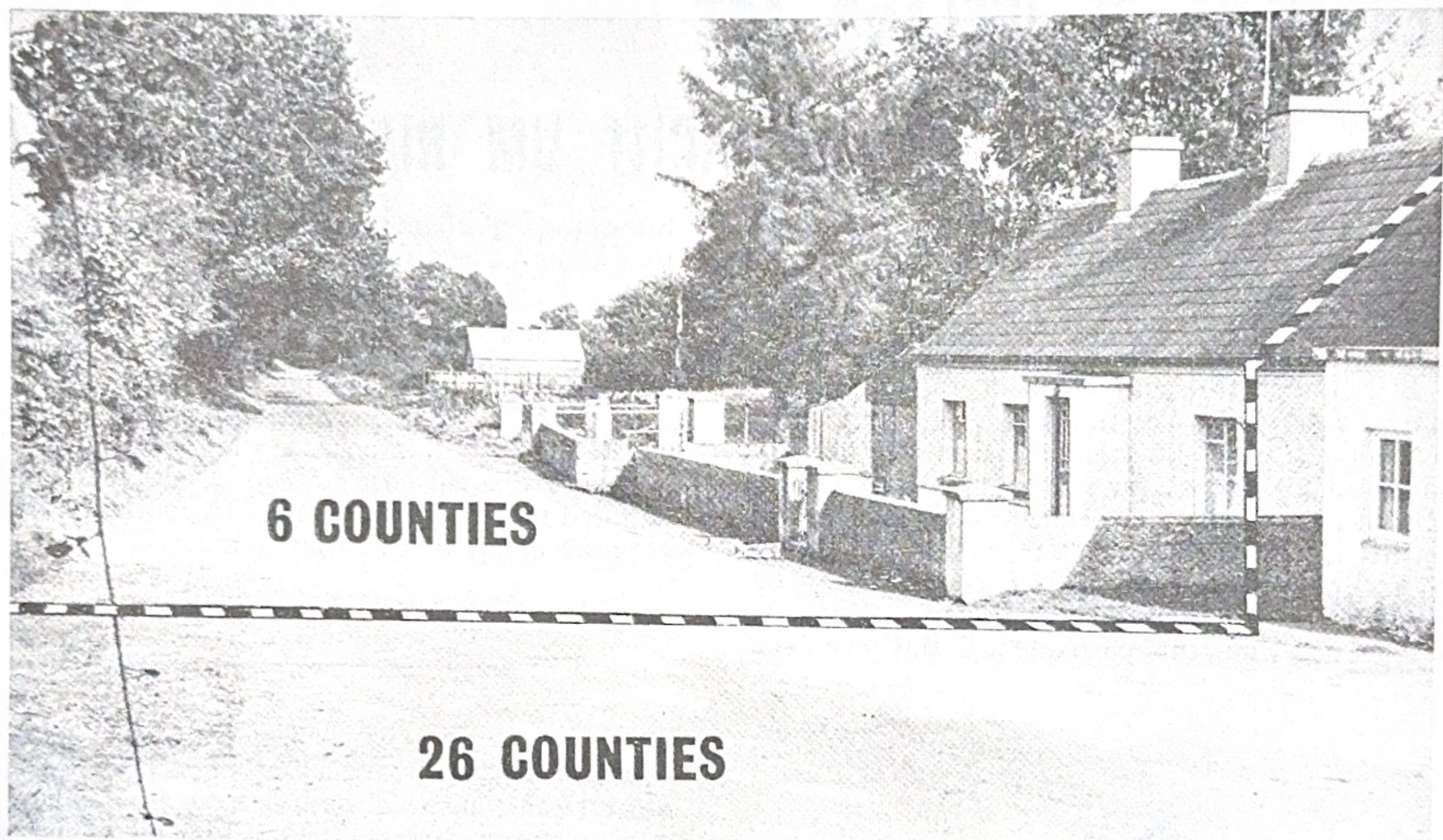
Nuair a cuireadh stát na Sé Chontae ar bun rinneadh cúige stairiúil Uladh a roinnt freisin.

Ba é freagra Shasana ar athbheochan na hÉireann ná an tAcht um Rialú na hÉireann a ritheadh i Westminster, mí na Nollag, 1920. Chuir an tAcht seo dhá fho-pharlaimint ar bun in Éirinn, ceann amháin thar ceann sé chontae, ceann eile thar ceann 26 chontae. D'fhan Rialtas na Sé Chontae go díreach faoi smacht Shasana, le 80% de chumhachtaí rialtais i lámha Westminster. Fuair na 26 Chontae staideas tiarnais. Níor chaith aon Éireannach ó aon chuid d'Éirinn vóta ar son an staidis seo. Fiú amháin na hAontachtaithe féin (22% de dhaonra na hÉireann ar theastaigh uathu bheith ceangailte le Sasana, agus ar mhair a bhformhór i ngiorracht 50 km. do Bhéal Feirste), níor theastaigh uathu go ndéanfaí a dtír a roinnt. Dúirt Carson, ceannaire na nAontachtaithe: "Tá a fhios agam nach dteastaíonn an pharlaimint seo ó Ulaidh." Nuair a cuireadh Parlaimint na Sé Chontae ar bun, áfach, ghlac siad leis an gcríchdeighilt. Cuireadh an scéim seo na críchdeighilte os comhair teachtaí de chuid Dháil Éireann i Londain, mí na Nollag, 1921, agus shínigh siad "Conradh" a raibh téarmaí sin mar chuid de. Faoi bhagairt ón bPríomh-Aire Sasanach, Lloyd George, go gcuirfeadh sé tús le "cogadh uafásach láithreach bonn boinn," a síníodh é. Cuireadh Stát na 6 Chontae i bhfeidhm ar mhuintir na hÉireann le neart airm na Breataine. Cuireadh Stát 26 Chontae i bhfeidhm trí chogadh cathartha i gcoinne na bPoblachtach. Níor ghlac na Poblachtaigh riamh ó shoin le córas na críchdeighilte.

AN ARTIFICIAL BOUNDARY

The Six-County area (called Northern Ireland) cut off from the other 26 Counties (called the Irish Free State) had never existed before as an entity in history or politics or economics. Containing six of the nine counties of Ulster, it was a completely artificial area, made by drawing an artificial boundary and creating an artificial Unionist majority. Even Lloyd George called it "a frontier based neither upon natural features nor broad geographical considerations." In four-and-a-half counties out of the six there was, and still is, a majority for independence. The numerical strength of the Unionists in the other one-and-a-half counties enabled them to outvote permanently the Nationalist majority in the other four-and-a-half counties.

(Wm. Coulston, Ballyconnell)



A PARTITIONED HOUSE

Even houses are divided by the unnatural border created by England. This picture was taken on the border between Fermanagh and Cavan.

TEACH ROINNTE

Tá fiú amháin tithe roinnte ag an teorainn mí-nádúrtha a rinne Sasana. Tógadh an pictiúr seo ar an teorainn idir Fhear Manach agus An Cabhán.

WHY SIX COUNTIES?

The 70,000 Unionists in the other three Ulster Counties were annoyed at being forced to live under a Dublin government. But the other three counties also contained 260,000 Republicans and Nationalists. This was why Britain would not keep the whole of Ulster in the United Kingdom. The inclusion of Donegal, Cavan and Monaghan would "reduce our majority to such a level that no sane man would undertake to carry on Parliament with it," said Sir James Craig, first Prime Minister of the Six Counties.

TEORAINN BHRÉIGE

Ní raibh riamh cheana ó thaobh staire, polaitíochta nó eacnamaíochta, a leithéid de rud ann agus ceantar na Sé Chontae (ar ar tugadh "Tuaisceart Éireann") gearrtha amach ó na 26 Chontae eile (ar ar tugadh "Saorstát Éireann"). Bhí sé cinn as 9 gcontae Uladh i gceist. Ceantar bréige mar aonad ab ea é, agus gearradh amach é trí theorainn bhréige a líniú agus trí thromlach bréige Aontachtaithe a chruthú. Fiú Lloyd George féin, dúirt sé gurb é a bhí ann ná: "teorainn nach bhfuil bunaithe ar ghnéithe nádúrtha ná ar chúinsí tíreolaíochta d'aon saghas." Bhí, agus tá fós, tromlach ar son an neamhspleáchais i $4\frac{1}{2}$ Chontae as na 6 Chontae. Chuir líon na nAontachtaithe sa $1\frac{1}{2}$ Chontae eile ar a gcumas an tromlach Náisiúnaíoch sna $4\frac{1}{2}$ Chontae eile a shárú ó thaobh vótála de go buan.

SÉ CHONTAE – CÉN FÁTH?

In the Ulster local elections of 1920, 498 seats were won by Independence candidates and only 376 by the Unionists. In a nutshell, the idea was to keep as large an area as possible, but with a safe Unionist majority. Ireland and Ulster were partitioned and a wide Nationalist area, far bigger than the Unionist stronghold, was coerced to live under a government to which its people were opposed. A line was drawn which enclosed 420,000 Nationalists in an area dominated by 820,000 Unionists.

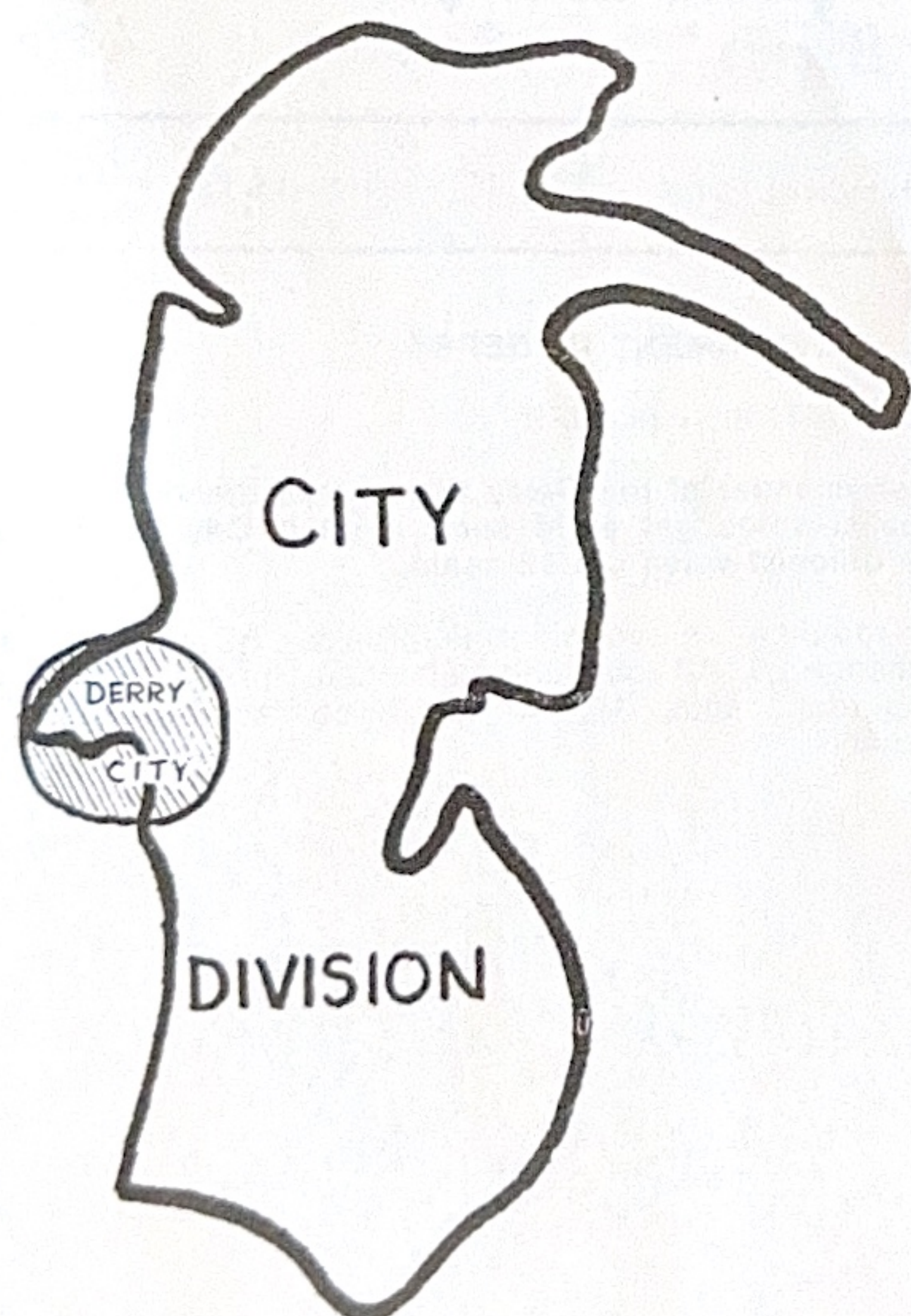
Chuir an smaoineamh go gcaithfidís maireachtan faoi rialtas i mBaile Átha Cliath isteach ar an 70,000 Aontachtaithe a raibh cónaí orthu sna 3 chontae eile de Chúige Uladh. Ach bhí 260,000 idir Phoblachtaigh agus Náisiúnaithe, sna trí chontae céanna. Ba é seo an chúis nach gcoinneodh an Bhreatain Ulaidh ar fad san Ríocht Aontaithe. Dá gcuirfí Tír Chonaill, an Cabhán, agus Muineachán isteach leis na 6 chontae eile "bhainfeadh sé chomh mór sin den tromlach a bheadh againn nach dtabharfadh aon duine a bheadh ina mheabhair cheart faoi Pharlaimint a choimeád ar siúl ann," a dúirt Sir James Craig, an chéad Phríomh-Aire a bhí ar na 6 Chontae. Sna toghcháin áitiúla 1920, bhuaigh iarrthóirí ar son an neamhspleáchais 498 suíochán i gCúige Uladh. Níor bhuaigh na hAontachtaithe ach 376 suíochán. Ba é a theastaigh, mar sin, ceantar chomh mór agus ab fhéidir a choimeád, ach tromlach slán Aontachtaithe a bheith ann. Cuir-eadh crích-dheighilt a dhein Éire a roinnt, agus a dhein Ulaidh a roinnt, i bhfeidhm ar an tír. Cuireadh d'éigean ar cheantar mór Náisiúnaíoch, a bhí i bhfad níos leithne ná daingean na nAontachtaithe, bheith faoi smacht rialtais a raibh a mhuintir ina choinne go dóite. Tarraingíodh líne a chuir 420,000 Náisiúnaithe faoi ia i gceantar a bhí faoi riar ag 820,000 Aontachtaithe.

In four-and-a-half of the Six Occupied Counties there is a majority in favour of an Irish Republic. Only in the one-and-a-half counties around Belfast is there a Unionist majority. Between 75% and 80% of the people of all Ireland demand a free and united Republic.

Tá tromlach ar son Poblachta Éireannaí i gceithre cinn go leith de na Sé Chontae atá faoi smacht ag arm Shasana. Níl tromlach Aontachtaíoch ach i gcontae go leith timpeall ar Bhéal Feirste. Éilíonn idir 75% agus 80% de phobal na hÉireann Poblacht saor aontaithe.



THE GERRYMANDER



AN CHLAONROINNT

Despite their 66%-34% majority in the new Six-County state the Unionists immediately embarked on a systematic denial to the Nationalists of their proper franchise. The British government connived at this despite its responsibility under Section 5 of the 1920 Act to protect minority rights. In 1922 the local government electoral divisions were altered, to take from the Nationalist majorities their control of the local councils. In the elections of 1923, fifteen public bodies, including Derry Corporation, Enniskillen Borough Council, Armagh and Omagh Urban Councils, Tyrone and Fermanagh County Councils and nine Rural Councils which had Nationalist majorities were either abolished altogether or turned into councils with Unionist control.

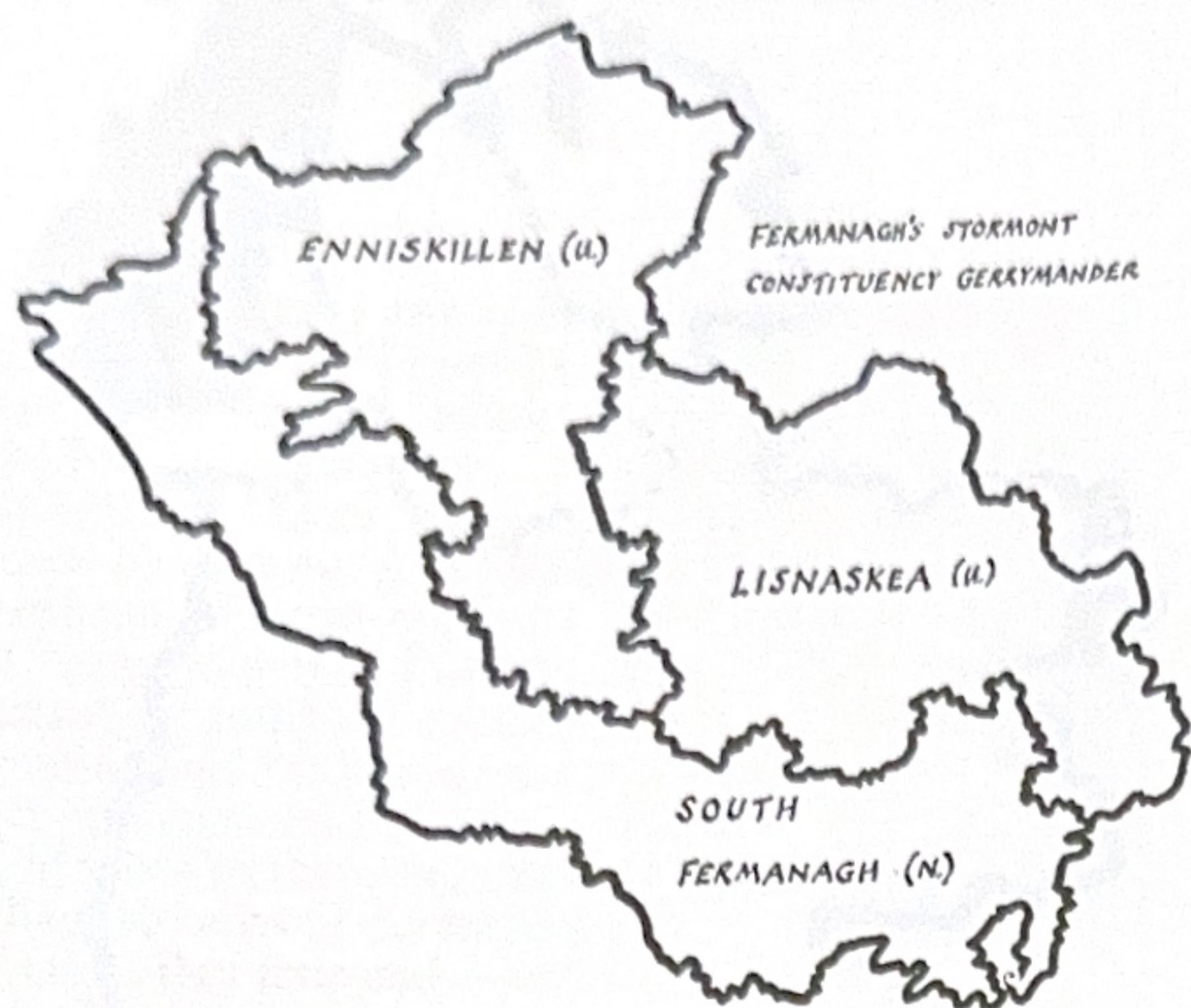
This gerrymander (or manipulation of electoral boundaries) ensured that where Nationalists were in a

DERRY—A GERRYMANDERED CITY

Two-thirds of the people of Derry City are Nationalist. Because it is the second city of importance in the Six-County area the Unionists were determined that Nationalists would not represent it in Parliament. They cut the city in two and created a "City Division" which included rural areas up to eight miles away.

DOIRE—CATHAIR CHLAON-ROINNTÉ

Is Náisiúnaithe iad dhá thríán de phobal Chathair Dhoire. Is í an dara cathair is tábhachtaí sna Sé Chontae í. Chinntigh na hAontachtaithe nach labhródh Náisiúnaithe ar son Dhoire sa Pharlaimint. Roinn siad an chathair i dhá chuid agus chruithaigh siad "Rannán na Cathrach", ina raibh ceantracha tuaithe, cuid acu ocht míle slí ón gcathair féin.



THE GERRYMANDER OF FERMANAGH

CLAONROINNT AR FHEAR MANACH

County Fermanagh, with a Nationalist majority has been divided into three Parliamentary constituencies, giving this result—

Cé go bhfuil tromlach Náisiúnaíoch i gContae Fhear Manach, roinneadh é i trí thoghlach Pharlaiminteach. Seo é an toradh—

	U.	N.
ENNISKILLEN	5.706	4.729
LISNASKEA	5.593	4.173
SOUTH FERMANAGH	2.596	6.680
	13.895	15,582

Unionists get two seats, Nationalists one seat.

Faigheann na hAontachtaithe dhá shuíochán, na Náisiúnaithe suíochán amháin.

majority they could secure only a minority of the representation. With the control of local government went the giving of employment, building and allocation of houses and the spending of public money on health, education and amenities.

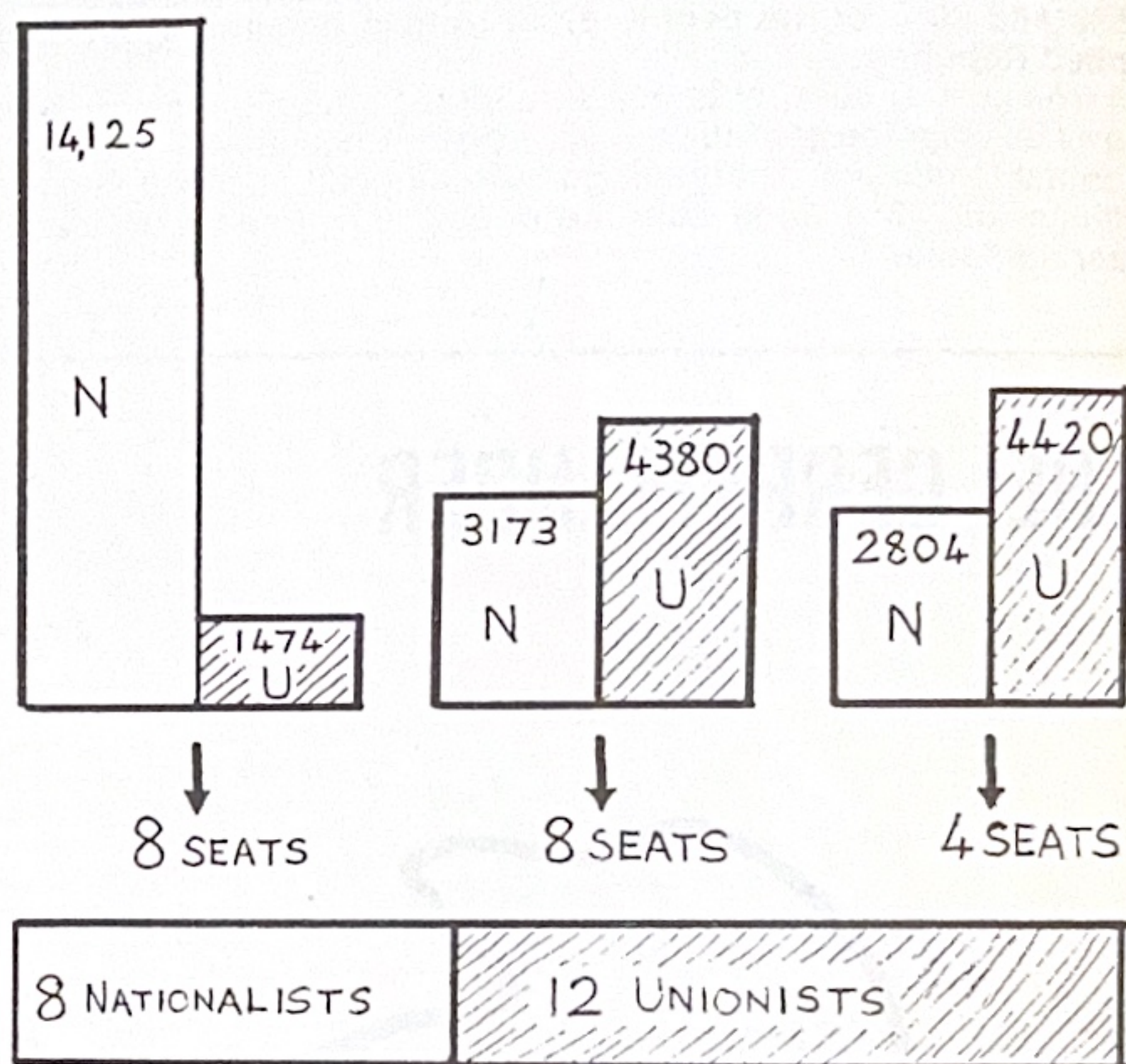
In 1929, the boundaries of the Six-County Parliamentary divisions were also gerrymandered and Proportional Representation in elections to the Stormont (Six-County) Parliament was abolished. Partition itself is a giant gerrymander—by a major boundary manipulation, a minority of the whole of Ireland was given a veto on the majority's right to decide policy for the nation. The illustrations and statistics give examples of gerrymander in local and parliamentary elections.

D'ainneoin go raibh tromlach 66%-34% i Stát nua na 6 Chontae, chrom na hAontachtaithe láithreach ar a gceart vótála a dhiúltú do na Náisiúnaithe. Chabhair Rialtas na Breataine leo sa mhéid seo, d'ainneoin go raibh de dhualgas air faoi Alt 5 d'Acht 1920 cearta an mhionlaigh a chosaint. Sa bhliain 1922, deineadh athruithe ar na dailcheantracha do thoghcháin áitiúla chun a smacht ar na comhairlí áitiúla a bhaint de na tromlaigh Náisiúnaíocha. I dtoghchán 1923, cuireadh deireadh ar fad le, nó cuireadh faoi smacht chomhairlí Aontachtais, cúig chomhairle poiblí déag. Orthu seo bhí Bardas Dhoire, Comhairle Bhaile Inis Ceithleann, Comhairlí Cathrach Ard Mhacha agus na hÓmaí, Comhairlí Contae Thír Eoghain agus Fhear Manach, agus naoi gcinn de Chomhairlí Tuaithe.

An chlaonroinnt seo (nó an chaimiléireacht seo ar theorainneacha do thoghcháin), cinntíonn sé nach mbíonn ach guth mhionlaigh ag Náisiúnaithe in áiteanna a bhfuil tromlach acu. Tá an leatrom céanna á imirt orthu i gcás dáileadh fostaíochta, tógáil agus dáileadh tithe agus caitheamh airgid phoiblí ar shláinte, oideachas agus riachtanais eile, mar go bhfuil na nithe sin go léir ag brath orthu siúd a bhfuil smacht acu ar an rialtas áitiúil.

Sa bhliain 1929 deineadh claonroinnt ar dháilcheantracha na Parlaiminte sna 6 Chontae, agus cuireadh deireadh le hionadaíocht chionmhar i dtoghcháin do Pharlaimint Stormont (6 Chontae). Claonroinnt ollmhór is ea an Chríchdeighilt féin—trí chaimiléireacht ghlic a dhéanamh ar theorainneacha tugadh cead diúltaithe do mhionlach chomh fada is a bhaineann le cearta an tromlaigh polasaithe a leagadh amach don náisiún. Tugann na léaráidí agus na staitistic samplaí den chlaonroinnt a chleachtaítear i dtoghcháin áitiúla agus i dtoghcháin Pharlaiminte.

SOUTH WARD NORTH WARD WATERSIDE



LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN DERRY

RIALTAS ÁITIÚIL I nDOIRE

The gerrymander of the Derry City Wards means that 20,102 Nationalist votes get eight seats on the City Council, and 10,274 Unionist votes get 12 seats.

Is é an toradh ar chlaon-roinnt na mBarda i gCathair Dhoire go bhfaigheann 20,102 vótálaithe Náisiúnaíocha ocht suíochán ar an mBardas, agus 10,274 vótálaithe Aontachtaíocha 12 shuíochán.

SPECIAL CONSTABULARY

Between 1920 and 1922, the Nationalist minority in Belfast were attacked by Orange mobs in a series of ferocious pogroms. Whole streets were burned out, business houses and shops looted, and thousands of Roman Catholic workers driven from the shipyards. Over 400 people were killed. The British army provided no protection for the Nationalists, but instead raided their homes for "illegal weapons," while, from the ranks of the Orange mobs, the Ulster Special Constabulary was recruited.

In March, 1922, Stormont had at its disposal 13 battalions of British troops and 50,000 men in a number of different police forces who were supplied with rifles by the British Government. The Ulster Special Constabulary, a part-time force consisting entirely of Protestants, was recruited from the Ulster Volunteers to supplement the Royal Ulster Constabulary. (The term Protestant is now generally used to include both Presbyterians and Anglicans). "It is from the ranks of the Loyal Orange Institution that our splendid Specials have come"—Sir James Craig. The USC were used to frighten Westminster off making any adjustments in the new boundary between the Six and 26 Counties and to cow and terrorise the Nationalist minority. Between 1920 and 1970, the strength of the USC varied from 10,000 to 50,000, and they were for the most part fanatically anti-Catholic.

CONSTÁBLAUGHT SPEISIALTA

Idir 1920 agus 1922 thug daoscarshluaite Oráisteacha faoin mionlach Náisiúnaíoch i mBéal Feirste i sraith d'ionsaithe barbartha. Dódh sráideanna ó bhun go barr; deineadh slad ar ghnólaigh agus ar shiopaí; agus cuireadh na mílte Caitlicigh Rómhánacha as obair ar na longchlósanna. Maraíodh níos mó ná 400 duine. Is as na daoscarshluaite Oráisteacha sin a fuarthas an Chonstáblacht Speisialta (USC). Níor thug arm na Breataine aon chosaint do na Náisiúnaithe. Ina ionad sin, rinne siad ruathair ar a dtithe ag lorg "airm mhídhlisteanacha."

Mí Márta, 1922, bhí trí chathlán déag de thrúpaí Breataineacha agus 50,000 fear i bhfórsaí póilíní éagsúla a raibh raidhfíli acu ó Rialtas na Breataine, faoi cheannas Stormont. De bhreis ar Chonstáblacht Ríoga Uladh (RUC) bhí an fórsa páirtaimseartha, Constáblacht Speisialta Uladh (USC), a bhí earcaithe ó Óglaigh Uladh agus ar Phrotastúnaigh iad go léir. (Úsáidtear an téarma seo 'Protastúnach' go coitianta anois nuair a bhíonn Preispitéaraigh agus Ainglicigh araon i gceist). "Is ón Institiúid Dhílis Oráisteach a fuaireamar ár Speisialaigh bhreátha," a dúirt Sir James Craig. Úsáideadh an USC chun eagla a chur ar Westminster aon athruithe a dhéanamh ar an teorainn nua idir na 6 agus na 26 Chontae, agus chun an mionlach Náisiúnaíoch a choinneáil scanraithe ciúin. Idir 1920 agus 1970 bhí ó 10,000 go 50,000 fear i gcónaí san USC, agus an líon ag athrú ó am go chéile. Bhí an chuid is mó acu go fóchoimhar i gcoinne na gCaitliceach.

SPECIAL POWERS ACT

ACHT NA gCUMHACHTAÍ SPEISIALTA

The Civil Authorities (Special Powers) Act was passed in 1922 and it is still part of the law of the Six Counties. It confers on the police and military exceptional powers of search, arrest and detention; imprisonment without trial (internment); suspension of coroners' inquests; prohibition of meetings; banning of publications; confiscation of property; flogging of prisoners; and denies to those accused under the Act any claim to trial by jury. A person held in custody can even be deprived of his right to see or communicate with his legal adviser. Regulation No. 22B-3 says:

A person examined under this regulation shall not be excused from answering any question on the ground that the answer thereto may criminate or tend to criminate himself.

In 1935 a British Civil Liberties Commission described this law as "contrary to the fundamental principles of democratic government."

This legislation and the conditions in the Six Counties have often been quoted by Ministers of the South African government to justify their own repressive legislation. (See South Africa and the Rule of Law, published by the South African Department of Foreign Affairs, April 1968) where extensive quotes from the Special Powers Act, 1922 justify the South African Government's own draconian laws. In fact Mr. Vorster is on record as saying that his detention legislation was less severe than the Special Powers Act of 1922.

Ritheadh Acht na nÚdarás Sibhialta (Cumhachtaí Speisialta) i 1922, agus tá sé fós mar chuid de dhlí na 6 Chontae. Tugann sé cumhachtaí neamhghnáthacha faoi leith do phóilíní agus do shaighdiúirí i leith cuardaigh, tógaint agus coimeád; géibheann gan triail (imtheorannú); coistí cróinéara a chur ar ceal; cruinnithe a chosc; foilseacháin a chosc; maoín a ghabháil; príosúnaigh a sciúirseáil; agus triail os comhair ghiúire a dhiúltú dóibhsiúd a gcuirtear coir ina leith faoin Acht. Is féidir, fiú amháin, an ceart ar chomhairleoir dlí a fheiceáil nó labhairt leis a bhaint de dhuine atá á choimeád. Deir Riail Uimh. 22B-3:

Duine a gcuirtear scrúdú air faoin riail seo, ní bheidh cead aige diúltú do cheist a fhreagairt ar chúis go dtarraingeodh, nó go mb'fhéidir go dtarraingeodh, an freagra amhras air féin.

Sa bhliain 1935, dúirt coimisiún Breataineach ar son Chearta Saoránach go raibh an dlí seo "i gcoinne na bprionsabal is bunúsaí a bhaineann le rialtas daonlathach."

Is minic a rinne Airí le chuid Rialtas na hAifrice Theas tagairt don dlí seo agus don staid sna 6 Chontae chun a ndlíthe diansmachta féin a cháiliú. Tugann foilseachán de chuid Rialtas na hAifrice Theas ("South Africa and the Rule of Law," foilsithe ag Roinn Ghnóthaí Eachtracha na hAifrice Theas, Aibreán, 1968) sliochtanna fada ó Acht na gCumhachtaí Speisialta, 1922 chun a n-olldlíthe féin a chosaint. Tá ráite ag Mr. Vorster nach bhfuil na dlíthe atá i bhfeidhm aige féin i leith daoine a choimeád chomh dian leis an Acht céanna na gCumhachtaí Speisialta.

DISCRIMINATION

IDIRDHEALÚ

Discrimination in employment and housing has been used on a large scale by the Unionists against the non-Unionist population. The reason behind this is to ensure that the Nationalist minority never rises above 35% of the population and that where Nationalists are in the majority they are deprived of work and forced to emigrate. Here are two significant quotations:

Sir Basil Brooke, Stormont Minister for Agriculture and later Prime Minister, in 1933:

"There are a great number of Protestants and Orangemen who employ Roman Catholics. I can speak freely on this subject as I have not a Roman Catholic about my own place. I appreciate the great difficulty experienced by some in procuring suitable Protestant labour but I would point out that Roman Catholics are endeavouring to get in everywhere. I appeal to Loyalists, therefore, wherever possible, to employ good Protestant lads and lassies."

Mr. E. C. Ferguson, Unionist M.P. for Enniskillen, in 1948:

"The Nationalist majority in Co. Fermanagh, notwithstanding a reduction of 336 in the year, stands at 3,604. I would ask the meeting to authorise their executive to take whatever steps, however drastic, to liquidate this Nationalist majority."

Every conceivable effort has, in fact, been made to "liquidate" the Nationalists. Figures taken from the Fermanagh County Council paysheets in April, 1969 show that in this county which has a Roman Catholic majority, 338 local government employees were Protestants and only 32 were Roman Catholics. People are not deprived of jobs and homes just because of their religion but because most Roman Catholics are

Nationalists. Once the electoral boundaries had been manipulated and the Unionist minority had assumed control of the County Council, full scale discrimination was the order of the day. There are 74 school busmen employed by Fermanagh Education Committee. Three of them are Roman Catholics.

Tá úsáid an-choitianta bainte as an gclaonroinnt ó thaobh fostaíochta agus tithíochta ina gcoinne siúd nach Aontachtaithe iad. Is é an chúis atá leis seo ná a chinntiú nach mbeidh choíche sna Náisiúnaithe breis ar 35% den daonra. In áiteanna a bhfuil an tromlach ag na Náisiúnaithe ní bhíonn obair le fáil acu agus bíonn orthu dul ar imirce. Seo anois dhá thagairt a bhfuil tábhacht leo:

Sir Basil Brooke, Aire Talmhaíochta Stormont, a bhí ina Phríomh-Aire níos déanaí, 1933:

"Tá mórchuid Protastúnach agus Oráisteach ann a thugann fostaíocht do Chaitlicigh Rómhánacha. Tá cead cainte agam féin ar an ábhar seo, ós rud é nach bhfuil oiread is Caitliceach Rómhánach amháin in aimsir agam. Tuigim na deacrachtaí móra a bhaineann le hoibreoir Protastúnach oiriúnach d'fháil uaireanta, ach ba mhaith liom daoine a chur ar a n-aire. Tá Caitlicigh Rómhánacha ag iarraidh a ladhar a chur isteach ar gach aon ghnó. Iarraim ar Dhílseoirí, mar sin, buachaillí agus cailíní fóna Protastúnacha a fhostú chomh minic agus is féidir."

Mr. E. C. Ferguson, M.P. Aontachtaíoch Inis Ceithleann, 1948:

"Tá 3,604 de thromlach ag na Náisiúnaithe i gCo.

INTRODUCTION CARD. Class of placing

MINISTRY OF LABOUR, NORTHERN IRELAND.

Order No. Date..... Class No.....

ALFRED STREET Employment Exchange Phone No.....

To..... *Mr. E. C. Ferguson* *Enniskillen*

In reply to your request for..... *Job*

I am sending the bearer, M..... *Mr. E. C. Ferguson*

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

193..... **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. Signature..... *J. Brotherton*

N. Ireland. Date..... *30/9* 193..... *6*

F.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

The reason for refusal of employment is given—RELIGION

Cuirtear in iúl cén fáth gur diúltaíodh fostaíocht—REILIGIÚN

Fhear Manach anois, sin d'ainneoin titim 336 i rith na bliana seo caite. Iarraim ar an gcrúinniú a n-údarás a chur le cibé iarracht, is cuma cé chomh hantaisceach í, chun deireadh a chur leis an tromlach Náisiúnaíoch seo."

Deineadh gach aon saghas iarracht ar "dheireadh a chur" leis na Náisiúnaithe. De réir figiúirí na gcáipéisí tuarastail de chuid Chomhairle Chontae Fhear Manach, Aibreán, 1969 bhí 338 Protastúnach agus 32 Caitliceach Rómhánach fostaithe i ngnóthaí an rialtais áitiúil, cé go raibh tromlach Caitliceach

Rómhánach sa Chontae. Ní mar gheall ar a gcreideamh amháin a dhiúltaítear postanna agus tithe do dhaoine, ach toisc gur Náisiúnaithe iad an chuid is mó de na Caitlicigh Rómhánacha. Chomh luath agus a bhí greim faighte ag an mionlach Aontachtaíoch ar an gComhairle Chontae trí chlaonroinnt a dhéanamh ar na teorainneacha toghchánaíochta, tosaíodh ar an idirdhealú a chleachtadh go forleathan. Tá 74 fear bus scoile fostaithe ag Comhairle Oideachais Fhear Manach. Caitlicigh Rómhánacha is ea *triúr* acu.

HOUSING

Between 1945 and 1970 there were 1,589 local authority houses built in Co. Fermanagh. Roman Catholics received 568 of them and Protestants 1,021. Ghetto housing schemes have been built all over the occupied Six Counties. Mr. George Elliott, Unionist member of Enniskillen Borough Council, has declared:

"We are not going to build houses in the South Ward and cut a rod to beat ourselves later on. We are going to see that the right people are put into these houses, and we are not making any apologies for it." Mr. Harry West, Unionist M.P. for Enniskillen, has said: "I readily admit that there is a clear indication that segregation exists in Enniskillen the facts prove its presence."

Idir 1945 agus 1970 tógadh 1,589 tithe de chuid an údaráis áitiúil i gCo. Fhear Manach. Fuair Caitlicigh Rómhánacha 568 as an méid sin, agus fuair Protastúnaigh 1,021. Cuireadh scéimeanna tithíochta deighilte ar fud na 6 Chontae atá faoi smacht Shasana. Tá ráite ag Mr. George Elliot, ball Aontachtaíoch de Chomhairle Bhaile Inis Ceithleann:

"Nílimid chun botún a dhéanamh agus tithe a thógáil sa Bharda Theas. Féachfaimid chuige go gcuirfear na

TITHÍOCHT

daoine cearta isteach sna tithe sin, agus nílimid chun aon leithscéal a ghabháil faoi sin." Dúirt Mr. Harry West, M.P. Aontachtaíoch do Inis Ceithleann: "Admhaím go toilteanach go bhfuil idirdhealú i bhfeidhm in Inis Ceithleann ní gá ach féachaint ar na figiúirí."

"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."

—United Nations Memorandum on Discrimination, 1949.

"Dream daoine a bhfuil leatrom á dhéanamh orthu, is gnáthach gurb iad an mhídhílseacht agus an réabhlóideachas an toradh a bhíonn air. Baintear úsáid as an easpa muiníne seo thar n-ais, mar leithscéal dona thuilleadh den leatrom."—Cáipéis na Náisiún Aontaithe ar an Idirdhealú 1949.

UNEMPLOYMENT

Industries are sited according to the Unionist plans of discrimination against Nationalist areas. While the unemployment rate in England rarely rises above 2-3%, it is usually around 8% in the Six Counties and generally nearer to 25% in Nationalist areas.

The Protestant ascendancy have done well out of British exploitation. The Protestant working-class, however, are only marginally better off than their Roman Catholic fellow-workers. Both have suffered from exploitation, but the Protestants have been used as pawns to suit imperial policies. "We are a Protestant Parliament and a Protestant state. I am an Orangeman first and a member of this Parliament afterwards."—Lord Craigavon 1934. Furthermore, they have suffered cultural alienation from the rest of the Irish nation.

DÍFHOSTAÍOCHT

Cuirtear tionscail in áiteanna a oireann do phleananna na nAontachtaíthe i leith na Claonroinnte i gcoinne na gceantracha Náisiúnaíocha. Cé gur annamh a bhíonn an ráta dífhostaíochta níos airde ná 2-3% i Sasana, is gnáthaí é timpeall ar 8% sna 6 Chontae. I gceantracha Náisiúnaíocha, is cóngaraí é do 25%, de ghnáth. "Parlaimint Phrotastúnach agus stát Protastúnach atá againn. Ar an gcéad dul síos is Oráisteach mé. Is ball den Pharlaimint seo mé, leis, rud nach bhfuil an oiread céanna tábhachta ag baint leis": Lord Craigavon, 1934.

Ba mhór an sochar don uasaicme Phrotastúnach é dúshaothrú na Breataine ar na Sé Chontae. Níl an lucht oibre Protastúnach, áfach, ach beagáinín níos fearr as ná a gcomhoibrithe Caitliceacha Rómhánacha. Chaill an dá dhream go mór de bharr an dúshaothraithe seo, ach baineadh úsáid as na Protastúnaigh a oirfeadh do pholasaithe an impiriúlachais. Anuas air seo, tosaíodh deighilt chultúrtha idir iad agus an chuid eile de náisiún na hÉireann.

UNEMPLOYMENT		DIFHOSTAÍOCHT	Percentage out of work Céatadán as obair
Strabane, An Srath Bán :	80%	Nationalist, Náisiúnaíoch	28%
Newry, An tIúr :	80%	Nationalist, Náisiúnaíoch	24%
Dungannon, Dún Geanainn :	51%	Nationalist, Náisiúnaíoch	25%
Derry, Doire :	66%	Nationalist, Náisiúnaíoch	25%
Fearmanagh, Fear Manach :	52%	Nationalist, Náisiúnaíoch	25%
Portadown, Port an Dúnáin :	80%	Unionist, Aontachtaíoch	5%
Ballymena, Baile Meánach :	80%	Unionist, Aontachtaíoch	4%
Coleraine, Cúil Raithne :	75%	Unionist, Aontachtaíoch	4%

CIVIL RIGHTS

In 1967, a broadly-based, non-political and non-sectarian Civil Rights Movement composed of all shades of non-Unionist opinion and of members of all religious denominations was formed in the Six Counties. By peaceful protest demonstrations it demanded such reforms as one man one vote, a race relations act, reform of local government and the abolition of the Special Powers Act. Many of those who then supported Civil Rights were not interested in a free and united Ireland; they merely wanted justice within the British system.

Sa bhliain 1967, cuireadh Gluaiseacht na gCearta Sibhialta ar bun sna 6 Chontae. Gluaiseacht ab ea é a

CEARTA SIBHIALTA

bhí bunaithe ar bhonn leathan agus ní raibh aon bhaint aige le polaitíocht ná le seicteachas. Bhí daoine le gach saghas tuairimí páirteach ann ach amháin na hAontachtaíthe, agus bhí reiligiúin éagsúla acu. D'éiligh siad, trí mheán agóidí síochánta, go gcuirfí leasuithe éagsúla i gcrích. Ar na leasuithe seo bhí vóta amháin in aghaidh an duine, acht um chaidreamh idir chiníocha, leasú ar an rialtas áitiúil, agus go gcuirfí deireadh le hAcht na gCumhachtaí Speisialta. Ní raibh cuid mhaith de na daoine a thug tacaíocht do Ghluaiseacht na gCearta Sibhialta ar son Éire a bheith saor agus aontaithe. Níor theastaigh ó na daoine áirithe seo ach go mbeadh cothrom na féinne le fáil laistigh den chóras Breatainaigh.

PRO-BRITISH VIOLENCE

On October 5, 1968 a peaceful Civil Rights march in Derry was brutally attacked by the RUC on the instructions of Mr. William Craig, Stormont Home Affairs Minister. A peaceful students' march from Belfast to Derry in January, 1969 was attacked in an organised fashion by Unionist extremists and the RUC joined in an attack on the Nationalist Bogside area of Derry on January 4.

Pro-British violence (both official and unofficial) culminated in a brutal attack on the Bogside on August 12-14, 1969 and an invasion of the Nationalist area of Belfast and other centres on August 13-15. In the ensuing pogrom 500 houses were burned out, 1,500 people forced from their homes, and nine people killed. Realising that Stormont rule had broken down, the British Government in Westminster ordered troops into action to perform a rescue operation and save the system. A reform programme was promised by the British Labour Government. The gerrymandered Derry Corporation was abolished and replaced by an undemocratic commission. Local Government reform was promised but has not yet been implemented. The Ulster Special Constabulary was abolished and replaced

FORÉIGEAN AR SON SHASANA

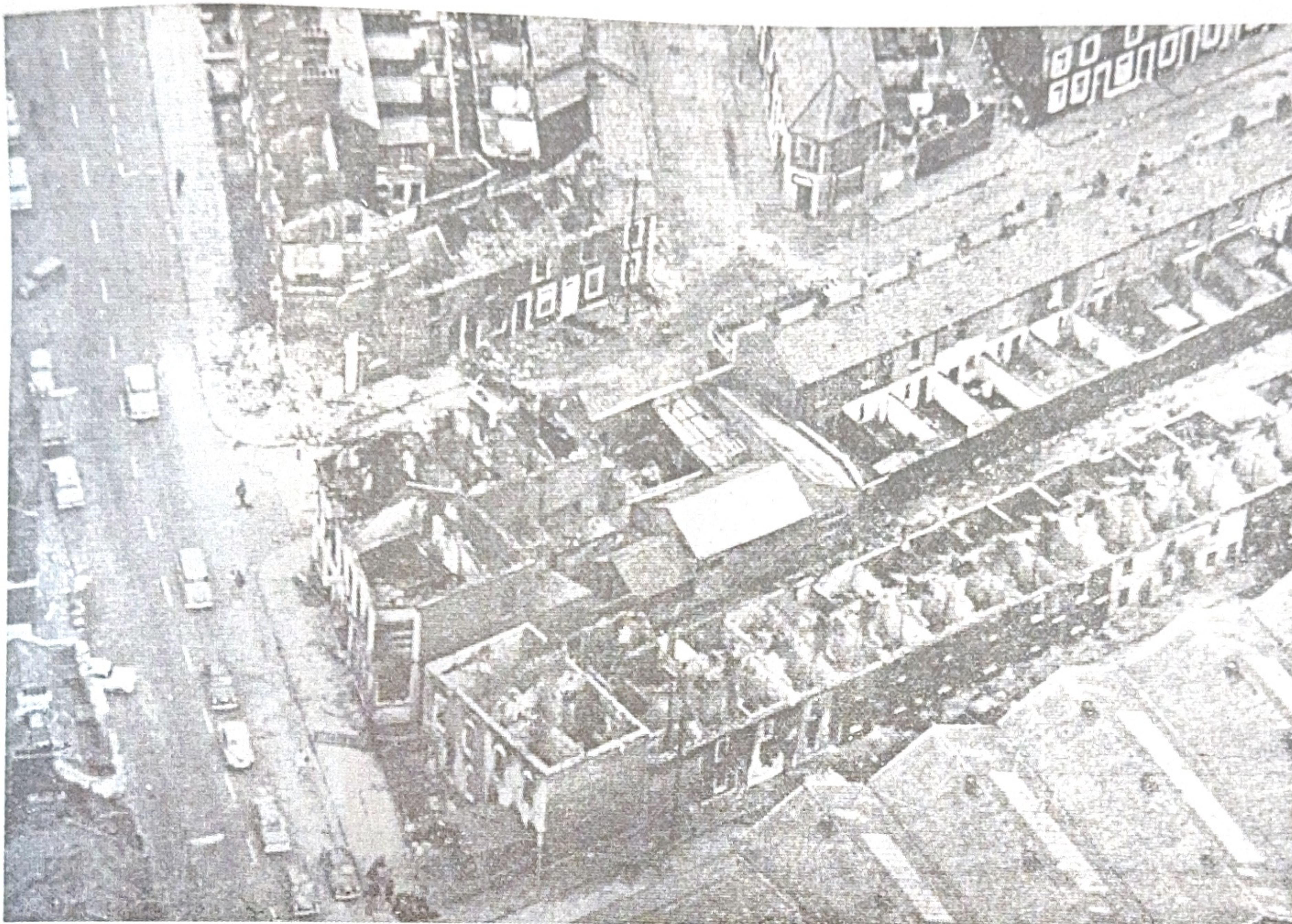
by the Ulster Defence Regiment of the British Army. The ex-members of the USC reorganised themselves into gun clubs and were allowed to hold licensed arms. By 1971 there were 102,000 licensed firearms in the Six Counties, the vast majority of them in the hands of members of these gun clubs. No change was made in the Special Powers Act.

Thug Constáblacht Ríoga Uladh (RUC) go fóochmhar faoi shiúlóid shíochánta ar son Chearta Sibhialta i nDoire, 5ú Deireadh Fómhair, 1968. Bhí na póilíní ag obair de réir orduithe Aire Gnóthaí Baile Stormont, Mr. William Craig. Deineadh ionsaí eagraithe ar shiúlóid shíochánta mac léinn ó Bhéal Feirste go Doire, mí Eanáir, 1969. Antoisceigh Aontachtais a dhein an t-ionsaí seo. Luigh an RUC isteach leo guair a thug siad faoi Thaobh an Bhogaigh, ceantar náisiúnaíoch i nDoire, an 4ú Eanáir.

Ba é críoch a bhí ar an bhforéigean seo go raibh ar son Shasana, idir oifigiúil agus neamhoifigiúil de, ná go tugadh fogha fóochmar faoi Thaobh an Bhogaigh. Lúnasa 12-14, 1969. Deineadh ionradh ar an gceantar

Náisiúnaíoch de Bhéal Feirste agus ar áiteanna eile ar an 13-15ú Lúnasa. Dódh cúig chéad teach go talamh ann, bhí ar 1,500 daoine teitheadh óna dtithe, agus maraíodh naonúr le linn an ionraidh. Níor fhan aon chumhacht i lámha Stormont. Chuir Rialtas Westminster na Breataine líon mór saighdiúirí go hÉirinn a shábháil. Gheall Rialtas Pháirtí an Lucht Oibre sa Bhreatain go gcuirfidís roinnt leasuithe i bhfeidhm. Cuireadh deireadh le Bardas Dhoire a bhí bunaithe ar chlaonroinnt na dtoghlaigh, agus cuireadh coimisiún

mídhaonlathach ina ionad. Gealladh leasú ar chóras an rialtais áitiúil, ach níor cuireadh i bhfeidhm fós é. Cuireadh deireadh leis an gConstáblacht Speisialta (USC) agus cuireadh Reisimint Chosanta Uladh de chuid Arm na Breataine ina áit. Dhein iarbhaill an USC atheagrú orthu féin i bhfoirm chlubbanna gunna agus ligeadh dóibh airm faoi cheadúnas a bheith acu. Faoi mbliain 1971 bhí 102,000 airm thine faoi cheadúnais sna 6 Chontae. Bhí a bhformhór mór sin i lámha ball de na clubanna gunna seo. Ní dhearnadh aon athrú ar Acht na gCumhachtaí Speisialta.



Nationalist houses in Belfast, burned out in the Orange pogrom of August, 1969.

Tithe Náisiúnaíocha i mBéal Feirste, a dódh sa sléacht Oráisteach, Lúnasa, 1969.

BRITISH ARMY ATTACKS

ARM NA BREATAINE AR AN IONSAÍ

Following a change of government at Westminster, the British Army launched a punitive military action against the people of the Lower Falls area of Belfast on July 3-4-5, 1970. An illegal curfew was imposed and four innocent men were killed by British troops. From July 4 on all confidence in the British Army as "peace-keepers" and protectors of the people evaporated. The troops were seen as the agents of Stormont, replacing the RUC and fulfilling this role with the blessing of Westminster.

Between July 1970 and July 1971, the British Army made several brutal attacks on Nationalist areas and shot several innocent civilians. Defence of the Nationalist areas was then organised by the Irish

Republican Army, which also took retaliatory action against the British Army. Sinn Féin organised the people and told them that only in a free Irish Republic could full civil rights be implemented.

Tar éis athrú i rialtas Westminster, chuir Arm na Breataine tús le feachtas míleata i gcoinne ceantair Bhóthar Íochtarach na bhFál i mBéal Feirste mar phionós, Iúil 3-4-5, 1970. Cuireadh cuirfiú neamhdh-leathach i bhfeidhm agus mharaigh na trúpaí Breataineacha ceathrar fear gan chúis. Ón 4ú Iúil arach, ní raibh a thuilleadh muiníne as Arm na Breataine, agus

níor fhéach aon duine feasta orthu mar "lucht caomh-naithe na síochána" nó mar chosantóirí na ndaoine.

Tuigeadh anois nach raibh sna trúpaí ach gníomh-aithe thar ceann Stormont. Tuigeadh go raibh ionad an RUC glactha acu, agus go raibh beannacht Westminster ar an obair go léir. Idir Iúil 1970 agus Iúil 1971 dhein Arm na Breataine mórchuid ionsaithe barbartha ar

cheantracha Náisiúnaíocha agus lámhaigh siad mórchuid sibhialaí gan chúis. Dhein Óglaigh na hÉireann (IRA) eagrú ar na fórsaí cosanta, agus throid siad thar n-ais i gcoinne Arm na Breataine. Chuir Sinn Féin eagar ar na daoine agus mhínigh dóibh nach bhféadfaí cearta sibhialta d'fháil go hiomlán ach amháin laistigh de Phoblacht shaor Éireannach.

TERROR AND BRUTALITY



A British Army marksman prepares to murder Irish citizens.

Ullmhaíonn aimsitheoir de chuid arm Shasana chun saoránaigh Éireannacha a dhúnmharú.

ÁR AGUS BRÚIDIÚLACHT



British terror and brutality.

Ár agus brúidiúlacht Sasanach.

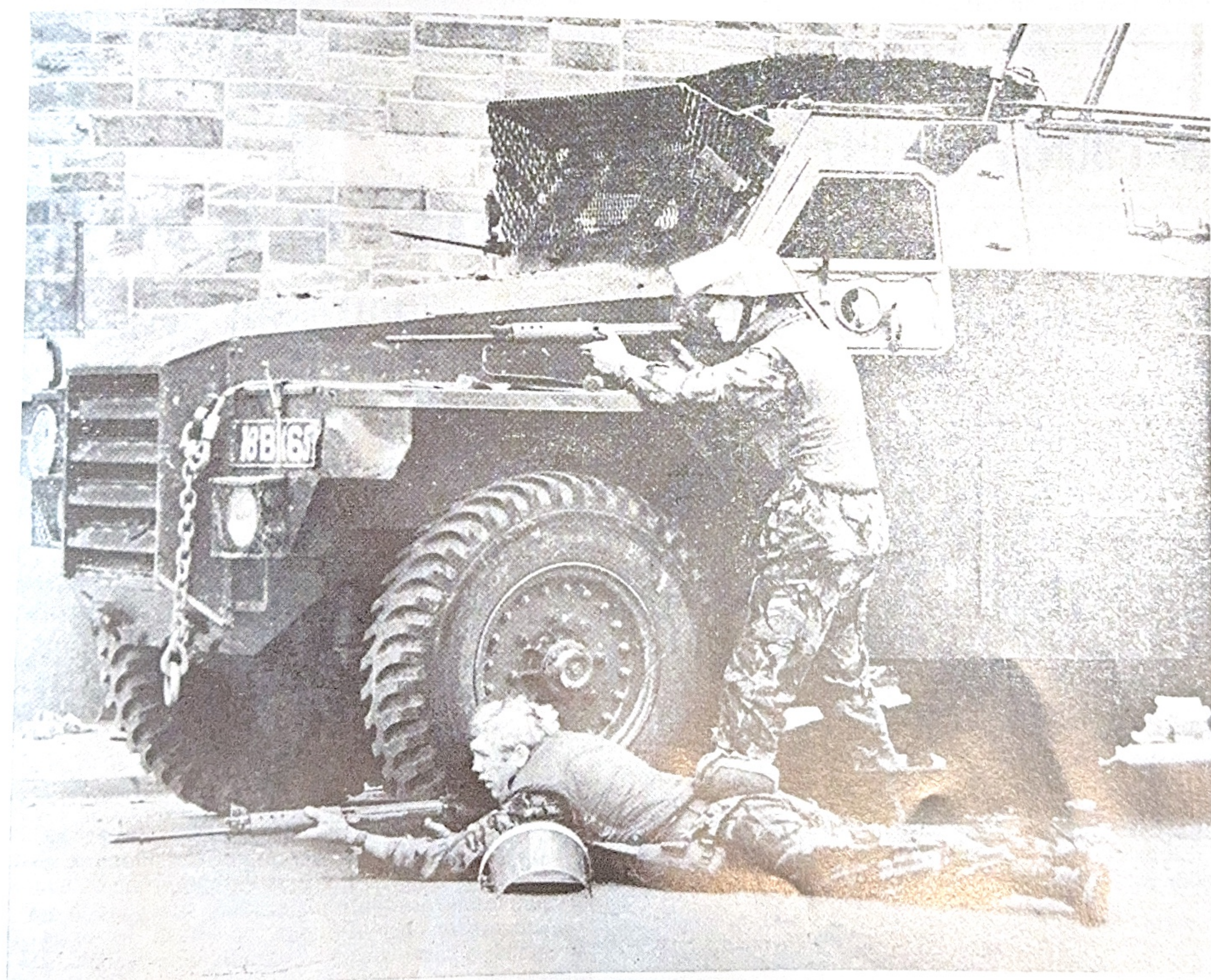


An Irishman is arrested.

Gabhtar Éireannach.

Irish
Streets
– British
Troops

Sráideanna
na hÉireann
– Trúpaí
Shasana



INTERNMENT

When the British Army brutally murdered two unarmed civilians in Derry in July, 1971, the opposition members withdrew from the Stormont Parliament. On August 7 another civilian was murdered by the British Army in Belfast. On August 9, 1971, almost 300 men were arrested in dawn swoops and interned under the Special Powers Act. It has been noted that no Unionist extremists were interned. The Nationalist population reacted strongly. Councillors withdrew from local bodies and a widespread and effective campaign of civil disobedience began. A wave of anti-British feeling swept Ireland, north and south, as 8,000 refugees fled the British Army terror and sought refuge in the 26 Counties. The IRA took strong retaliatory action and guerrilla warfare on a scale exceeding even that of 1919-21 developed. Irish people throughout the world organised and collected funds to make the Republican campaign the final and victorious one in the 800 years' struggle for freedom. It is not a religious war but the continuation of a nation's fight for independence.

IMTHEORANNÚ

D'éirigh baill an fhreasúra as Parlaimint Stormont tar éis d'Arm na Breataine beirt sibhialaí neamharmtha a dhúnmharú go fealltach i nDoire, mí Iúil 1971. Dhúnmharaigh Arm na Breataine sibhialaí eile i mBéal Feirste, 7ú Lúnasa. Ar an 9ú Lúnasa, 1971 gabhadh beagnach 300 fear i ruathair le breacadh lae agus cuireadh i ngéibheann iad faoi Acht na gCumhachtaí Speisialta. Níor cuireadh aon antoiseach Aontachtaíoch i ngéibheann. Bhí na Náisiúnaithe ar buile. D'éirigh baill de chomhairlí áitiúla as oifig, agus cuireadh tús le feachtas leathan éifeachtach easumhlaíochta sibhialta. Leath tonn feirge i gcoinne na Breataine ar fud na hÉireann, thuaidh agus theas. Theith 8,000 teifeach ón uafás ag lorg dídin sna 26 Chontae. Bhuaileadh Óglaigh na hÉireann buillí crua thar n-ais ar Arm na Breataine, agus cuireadh treallchogaíocht níos déine ná troid na mblianta 1919-1921, fiú, ar siúl. Tháinig Éireannaigh le chéile ar fud an domhain agus bhailigh siad airgead chun a chinntiú go mbeadh rath ar an bhfeachtas seo is déanaí i dtroid ar son na saoirse a mhair 800 blian. Ní cogadh creidimh atá i gceist, ach leanúnachas in iarracht náisiúin ar son na saoirse.

26 - COUNTY COLONY

The 26-County state has also fared badly under partition rule. The men who advocated the 1920-21 settlement looked on it as a "stepping stone" to the Republic. But despite some constitutional changes, it has, in fact, served to implement and preserve the partition system. The economy continued to be dominated by England. Unemployment and emigration persisted, and the state never got beyond the stage of an underdeveloped and dependent colony. It is now in fact a prime example of neo-colonialism.

Efforts by Republicans to change the system and to help in the liberation of the Six Counties were thwarted. The Offences Against the State Act (the counterpart of the Special Powers Act) was enacted in 1939, powers of internment were used and military courts set up. Several Republicans were executed while three died on hunger strike. The 26-County Parliament was prevented from functioning, or endeavouring to function, as a National Parliament by the legislation which set up both itself and the Six-County Parliament. In 1965, a Free Trade Area Agreement with Britain virtually integrated the economies of both countries.

CÓILÍNEACHT NA 26 CHONTAE

Bhí droch-rath ar rialú na Breataine trí mheán na Críchdeighilte chomh fada agus a bhaineann leis na 26 Chontae, freisin. Dúirt siad sin a bhí ar son an tsocráithe a deineadh, 1920-21, nach raibh i gceist leis an socrú ach céim ar an mbóthar i dtreo na Poblachta. Lasmuigh de chúpla athrú sa Bhunreacht, áfach, ba é príomhghnó an stáit ná córas na Críchdeighilte a oibriú agus a bhuanú. Lean córas eacnamaíochta an stáit go hiomlán faoi smacht Shasana. Lean an dífhostaíocht agus an imirce ar aghaidh. Níor éirigh leis an stát, dáiríre, dul níos faide ná bheith ina chóilíneacht spleách neamhfhorbartha. Sampla paiteanta den nua-chóilíneacht is ea an stát i láthair na huaire.

Sáraíodh gach iarracht a dhein na Poblachtaigh ar an gcóras a athrú agus ar chabhair a thabhairt i saoradh na 6 Chontae. Cuireadh an tAcht um Chiontaí in Aghaidh an Stáit (Acht na gCumhachtaí Speisialta sa Deisceart) i bhfeidhm i 1939; deineadh imtheorannú ar dhaoine; cuireadh cúirteanna míleata ar bun. Cuireadh cuid mhaith Poblachtach chun báis agus d'éag tréir eile ar stailc ocrais. Cuireadh bac ar Pharlaimint na 26 Chontae feidhmiú mar Pharlaimint Náisiúnta. Bhí an rialacháin a chur í féin agus Parlaimint na Breataine ar bun le chéile. Sa bhliain 1965, ceanglaigh an gcóras eacnamaíochta na hÉireann go dlúth le Breataine nuair a síníodh Conradh Saoráide agus d'fheallmhuineadh cuid den Bhreatain, beagnach, do 26 Chontae.

A DEMOCRATIC SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

POBLACHT DAONLATHACH SÓISIALACH

Sinn Féin does not ask the people of the Six Counties to join the 26-County state: it seeks to replace both states with a Democratic Socialist Republic of all 32 Counties in which Church and State would be separate. Its Social and Economic Programme envisages the nationalisation of finance and key industries, mines, fisheries and building land; the division of larger estates and ranches; the setting up of worker-owned co-operatives on a wide scale; a trade agreement with the European Economic Community; and a neutral role in international affairs. The free Irish Republic would have regional government under the National Parliament. In August, 1971 the first steps were taken to convene Dáil Uladh—a regional parliament for the nine counties of Ulster—as a first step towards a new governmental structure for the 32 Counties of Ireland.

Like the United Irishmen of 1798 and the Volunteers of 1916, the Republican Movement seeks an independent Republic in which all Irishmen, irrespective of religious beliefs, will live in peace and prosperity, and in friendship with all other nations, including England. But full reconciliation of Unionist and Nationalist in the Six Counties cannot be achieved until the British power structure is first destroyed.

On the fundamental national issue 75-80% of the people of Ireland have always wanted a free and united Irish Republic. If the United Nations or any other agency were to conduct an All-Ireland Plebiscite now, this overwhelming majority demand would be confirmed once again.

The struggle, therefore, is for the freedom of the historic Irish Nation. The full support of all the Irish people and the assistance of other freedom-loving peoples throughout the world will help to bring this about.

Ní theastaíonn ó Shinn Féin go dtiocfadh pobal na 6 Chontae isteach i stát na 26 Chontae: teastaíonn Poblacht Daonlathach Sóisialach, ina mbeadh iomlán an 32 Chontae, a chur ar bun in ionad an dá stát atá ann. Bheadh an Eaglais scartha ón Stát sa Phoblacht sin. Is é atá i gceist le Clár Sóisialta agus Eacnamaíochta Shinn Féin an t-airgeadas agus na príomh-thionscail, na mianraí, an iascaireacht agus an talamh tógála a náisiúnú; eastáit agus feirmeacha móra a roinnt; comharchumainn ar leis na hoibrithe iad a chur ar bun go forleathan; conradh trádála a dhéanamh le Comhphobal Eacnamaíoch na hEorpa agus seasamh neodrach a bheith againn i gcúrsaí idirnáisiúnta. Bheadh rialtais áitiúla ar bun i saor-Phoblacht na hÉireann faoi cheannas Parlaiminte Náisiúnta. Mí Lúnasa 1971 chuathas i mbun Dáil Uladh a thionól. Parlaimint réigiúnach do 9 chontae Uladh a bheidh sa Dáil seo. Beidh sí mar chéad chéim i struchtúr nua rialtais do 32 Chontae na hÉireann.

Teastaíonn an rud céanna ó Ghluaiseacht na Poblachta is a theastaigh ó na hÉireannaigh Aontaithe i 1798 agus ó na hÓglaigh i 1916, is é sin go mbeadh síocháin agus rath i saol gach uile Éireannaigh, is cuma cén creideamh atá aige agus go mbeadh cairdeas idir Éire agus gach náisiún eile, Sasana san áireamh. Ach ní féidir na hAontachtaithe agus na Náisiúnaithe a thabhairt le chéile go hiomlán go dtí go mbristear struchtúr cumhachta na Breataine ar dtús.

Ar an gceist bhunúsach náisiúnta theastaigh riamh ó 75-80% de mhuintir na hÉireann go mbeadh Poblacht Éireannach againn a bheadh saor agus aontaithe. Dá gcuirfeadh na Náisiúin Aontaithe nó aon eagraíocht eile toghchán pobalbhreithe ar bun d'Éirinn uile, bheadh toil seo an tromlaigh mhóir soiléir arís.

Is ar son saoirse náisiún stairiúil na hÉireann atá an troid ar siúl, mar sin. Bainfear an tsaoirse seo amach le cabhair iomlán ó mhuintir na hÉireann agus le cabhair ó dhreamanna éagsúla eile ar geal leo an tsaoirse, ar fud an domhain.

THE IDEAL SOLUTION

The ideal solution is a phased English withdrawal from Ireland and the creation of a new federal socialist system which would give each of the four provinces its own parliament and each local community control of its own affairs. The Unionist-minded people would still have a working majority in the historic nine-county province of Ulster.

Such a solution would:—

- Solve the problem of Ulster
- Restore power to the people
- Correct economic imbalance

This is the Republican programme for a New Ireland.

AN RÉITEACH IS FEARR

Is é an réiteach is fearr cumhacht Shasana a tharraingt amach as Éirinn i gcéimeanna agus córas nua fiodrálach sóisialach a chur ar bun. Thabharfadh an córas seo dáil dá chuid féin do gach ceann de na ceithre Chúige, agus thabharfadh sé smacht os cionn a ngnóthaí féin do gach pobal áitiúil. Bheadh tromlach oibre fós ag lucht aigne an Aontachtais i gCúige stairiúil Uladh na naoi gcontae.

Bheadh i gceist leis an réiteach sin

- Fadhb Uladh a shocrú
- Cumhacht a thabhairt ar ais do na daoine
- Ceartú a dhéanamh ar an míchothromaíocht eacnamúil

Seo é an clár Poblachtach le haghaidh Éire Nua.

It is true that the problems in Northern Ireland are not new : they may be said to have existed ever since the partition of Ireland in the early 1920s. However, recent protests and acts of police brutality in the area, together with the obvious sectarian policies of successive Northern Ireland Governments, have highlighted the issues.

Two main areas of concern arise : from discrimination based on religious and political grounds and the provisions of the notorious Civil Authorities (Special Powers) Act of 1922. In Northern Ireland historical factors have rendered political and religious differences nearly synonymous. Over sixty per cent of the population favour unity with Britain and are usually Protestant; and the remainder of the population who are Catholic mostly favour unity with the Republic of Ireland. This is only a rough approximation; some Protestants are opposed to the present regime and some Catholics support it. The political-religious discrimination also has economic overtones; the Catholic minority is for the most part under-privileged economically.

The rate of growth of the Catholic population is higher than that of the Protestant section of the population; accordingly through the efflux of time, the Catholic population could become the majority. This basic factor accounts for much of the political and economic discrimination which has been systematically and ruthlessly exercised by the Belfast Government since the 1920s. Discrimination in housing and in employment has been utilised in order to weaken economically the Catholic minority and thus to preclude Catholics from acquiring property rights and to induce emigration.

International Commission of Jurists,

Geneva, June 1969.

Is fíor a rá nach fadhbanna nua iad na fadhbanna atá i dTuaisceart na hÉireann.

Is féidir a rá go raibh siad ann ó cuireadh Críchdeighilt na hÉireann i bhfeidhm go luath sna 1920í. Tá aird faoi leith tarraingthe ar an gcás ag agóidí agus ag brúidiúlacht phóilíní le déanaí, áfach, chomh maith leis na polasaithe soiléire seicteachais a bhí ag rialtais éagsúla na Sé Chontae i ndiaidh a chéile.

Táthar buartha faoi dhá phríomh-fhadhb : idirdhealú atá bunaithe ar chúrsaí creidimh agus polaitíochta; agus a bhfuil san acht míchlúiteach úd, Acht na nÚdarás Sibhialta (Cumhachtaí Speisialta) 1922. De bharr cúiseanna staire, is mar an gcéanna, beagnach, i dTuaisceart na hÉireann difríochtaí ó thaobh na polaitíochta agus difríochtaí ó thaobh creidimh. Teastaíonn go leanfaí den aontas leis an mBreatain ó níos mó ná seasca faoin gcéad den daonra agus is Protastúnaigh iad seo de ghnáth. Caitlicigh is ea an chuid eile den daonra agus teastaíonn aontas le Poblacht na hÉireann óna bhformhór seo. Níl sa mhéid seo ach garbh-chuntas; tá Protastúnaigh áirithe i gcoinne an rialtais atá ann i láthair na huaire agus tá Caitlicigh áirithe ar a shon. Tá tábhacht ó thaobh na heacnamaíochta, freisin, ag an idirdhealú atá bunaithe ar an bpolaitíocht agus ar an gcreideamh; tríd is tríd, is é an mionlach Caitliceach atá thíos leis ó thaobh na heacnamaíochta.

Tá fás níos mó faoin daonra Caitliceach ná mar atá faoin gcuid sin den daonra ar Protastúnaigh iad. Le himeacht aimsire, mar sin, d'fhéadfadh tromlach Caitliceach a bheith ann. Míníonn an tosca bunúsach seo an chúis atá leis an idirdhealú eagraithe míthrócaireach, atá á chleachtadh ó thaobh polaitíochta agus eacnamaíochta, ag Rialtas Bhéal Feirste ó na 1920í i leith. Tá úsáid bainte as an idirdhealú ó thaobh tithíochta agus fostaíochta chun an mionlach Caitliceach a lagú ar an leibhéal eacnamaíoch, agus, sa tslí seo, a chinntiú nach mbeidh caoi ag Caitlicigh cearta sealbhachais a bheith acu agus go mbeidh luí acu le dul ar imírce.

Coimisiún Idirnáisiúnta na nDlí-Eolaithe,

An Gheinéiv, Meitheamh, 1969.



A simple shrine marks the spot on a Belfast street where Harry Thornton was shot dead by British troops on August 7, 1971. He was an unarmed civilian driving to work in his van when he was murdered. His companion was arrested and brutally beaten. Scores of Irish citizens have been murdered in this way. Many more have been arrested and tortured by the British army.

Scrín shimplí ar shráid i mBéal Feirste ar an láthair ar ar chaith trúpaí Sasanacha Anraí Ó Droighneáin, Lúnasa 7, 1971. Sibhialach neamharmtha a bhí ann agus bhí sé ag tiomáint chun a chuid oibre ina veain. Dúnmharaíodh é. Gabhadh a chompánach agus bualadh go mí-thrócaireach é. Dúnmharaíodh na scórtha saoránach Éireannach ar an mbealach seo. Gabhadh agus céasadh go leor eile ag arm Shasana.

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