

WAR NEWS

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Eire's Neutrality

HERE are some extracts from the official pronouncement of Mr. de Valera's representative in London, Mr. Dulanty, O.B.E. The article appeared in "Illustrated" of December 14th last, under the name of Mr. Dulanty's scrivener:

"... We are and ever will be bound up economically with Britain, as we are geographically ...

"Long before the war began Mr. de Valera said that he would keep Ireland out of it. This does not mean that we have any sympathy whatever in Eire for Germany, or the Nazi doctrine.

"There is, on the contrary, a profound admiration for the stand that England is making against a barbarous assault. ...

"The Irish Government has taken widespread steps to stamp out the possibility of treachery. **Some six hundred extremists have been interned and we have even gone to the extent of deporting Britishers suspected of Nazi sympathies.**

"The German legation has not a staff of eighty as one British paper said. There were only seven there at the outbreak of war. ...

"The staff of Sir John Maffey, the **very popular** British representative in Dublin is, in fact, twice that number. ...

"Whilst we have none of the family ties to Britain that South Africa and New Zealand and Australia have, **we are anxious to do everything we can to help the British people.**

"One way is Mr. de Valera's scheme for the evacuation of mothers and children. Then there is the all-important question of food supplies ... they amount

to £18,000,000 a year. All our prices which we obtain are rigidly controlled by the Ministry of Food to allow only a nominal profit. ...

"That is why I always argue that we can serve you best by being a food granary for you. ...

"If a small State like ours involves itself in war, we risk the loss of everything, including our liberty. And our 200,000 armed men will ... forget every other loyalty we ever had."

Mr. Dulanty earned his O.B.E.—Order of the British Empire—long ago.

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How to . . . END PARTITION

MR. DE VALERA says: "the only policy for abolishing partition that I can see is for us in this part of Ireland to use such freedom as we can secure to get for the people in this part of Ireland such conditions as will make the people in the other part of Ireland want to belong to this part."—Official Daily report.

This is exactly the same opinion that Mr. Cosgrave's party holds and the Labour Party goes a little further on the road of treachery by an appeal to the people to do nothing to end partition until there is a "union of hearts"—founded on a bigger dole.

What Mr. de Valera's policy amounts to is this—telling a man whose hand has been cut off that if he can do more work than if it had not been cut off he will be healed; or telling a man whose leg has been cut off that if he can run faster than his competitor he will get a prize.

While Mr. de Valera believed that the unity of Ireland was forever impossible he was writing a Constitution for all Ireland and the plain people paid £160,000 to say whether they agreed with his piece of cosmopolitan patchwork dream or disagreed with it.

To-day not a single politician mentions it except in the phraseology of the Government T.D. who says that "we have no grievance against Britain: everything has been settled though there is a slight disagreement about the border," or the famous Mr. McEntee, who, as a minister, "would welcome in years to come co-operation between the parliaments of the North and South."

The origin of what is called partition—really armed occupation by England—can be best shown by an analogy. If there were twenty negroes in a village of seventy people and an outside force paid these twenty for being negroes, gave them arms and money to oppress the other fifty; sent high officials to beat the negro drums for periodical pogroms; sent regiments of soldiers to overawe the fifty non-negroes, there would naturally be a new problem. No amount of reason would convince the

Three Policies Examined

twenty that they were not the proper rulers of the community and soon there would be artificially black negroes as well. Where originally the negro was the equal of the white he now became the superior of the white man and superior to all law. The more his superiority depended upon imported bayonets the more he shouted for bayonets and the more bayonets he got as long as it suited the outside force to keep him in a privileged position.

The cure for partition is to remove the foreign bayonets from the whole community.

"But," it is said, "to remove the foreign bayonets would be war." Quite so. When Norway was invaded by foreign bayonets, when Finland was invaded, when Poland was invaded, when Greece was invaded, even when Abyssinia was invaded it meant war. The people of each state did, as our own people have done repeatedly, oppose their inadequate arms to the overwhelming equipment of the invader and died bravely rather than live meanly. They knew that it is better that 100,000 should be killed in defence of the nation than that in a century 4,000,000 should die as paupers, exiles and slaves.

These are the reasons why the Army of Ireland re-declared war on England two years ago; why they still fight the might of Britain—for the life, for the honour, for the welfare of the Irish people now and in the future.

The army leaders, or the national leaders, have not sent regiments into Ulster to drive the British from there because such a fight is not in accord with the strategy of

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DEMOCRACY IN ACTION

Muzzling Fianna Fail

THE Fianna Fail Ard Fheis is not being allowed to meet this year—nor do the views of independent members of Fianna Fail find expression through the Press. The Censor sees to that. And so Fianna Fail opinion, like Republican opinion, is suppressed in this “democracy.”

In the old days the national democratic assembly, the Ard Fheis of Sinn Fein, used to meet even though the streets of Dublin were patrolled by British armoured cars, even though British enemy troops brought out their tin hats and their bayonets and English agents were everywhere. At that time Mr. de Valera was president of Sinn Fein and he welcomed every public expression of national solidarity even though such immense meetings were not unattended with danger to those who took part in them.

A similar demonstration of democratic determination would be desirable now. Why then is the Fianna Fail Ard Fheis not held? The Round Room is there. Public transport is normal. Public interest in the national destinies is intense. There is no danger, or if there were would it be too great for an armed nation to fear? It seems that we must look further for the reasons why the Ard Fheis of Fianna Fail is suppressed.

The I.R.A. differs from Fianna Fail in its methods. We will not stop here to labour the point which the last twenty years have proven, that a nation is not likely to regain its freedom through use of the very same organisation as that set up by its enemies for its destruction. The Civil Service will never make Ireland free, nor will the use of parliamentary machinery designed specially to divide the country, and keep it divided. Fianna Fail has thought since its inception

that such institutions can be made to serve. In that we disagree with them. We hold that a fine nation can no more grow from crooked beginnings than a fine tree can develop from a bent and twisted sapling. Nevertheless, so long as Fianna Fail avows itself to be Republican, as it does officially on paper, and also in the hearts of the great majority of its rank and file, we have at least that much in common.

For many years the Republicanism of Fianna Fail has not found expression; at Ard Fheiseanna those who wished to assert it notoriously failed to catch the Ceann Comhairle's eye. The one notable exception was Mrs. Tom Clarke, widow of Tom Clarke, and now Lord Mayor of Dublin, whose speech two years ago was most unwelcome to the platform. Widows, it was felt, should be seen and not heard as Mrs. Pearse was when Mr. de Valera used his influence on her to lend an appearance of respectability to his acceptance of English institutions in the Twenty-Six Counties. We suspect that one of the big reasons, perhaps the biggest, why the Ard Fheis has been suppressed, lies in the fear that there might be more damaging speeches of this nature and that they might prevent the election of some or all of the present ministers of Mr. de Valera's “Government” to the executive of Fianna Fail, or even secure the election of a Republican executive. That would be an inconvenient expression of “democracy” and one that the censor would find it hard to suppress.

There is plenty of material for speeches at the Ard Fheis, or anywhere else. The waste paper baskets in the offices of Fianna Fail are filled daily with resolutions of exhortation and condemnation from the country. If the Ard Fheis had been held these would have supplied the material for crowded days of discussion, unpleasant and most unwelcome to the platform. It was therefore thought simpler not to hold it. In that way the people on the top could stay on top—for the present. It is not unnatural that they should think this a very good solution of a troublesome situation.

Elections are suppressed also; there is no peaceful way to protest or effectively disagree—short of going to jail without trial. Hence the business of making Ireland free proceeds underground. We are glad to report, in this work, very favourable progress.

The Mugs' March

WHEN we voted for Mr. de Valera at the election we were voting for the following things :—

WE VOTED FOR :	WE GOT :
Democracy	—An autocracy.
Free speech	—The censor.
A civilian police force	—Police armed with .45 revolvers.
Parliamentary institution	A bought official opposition.
Abolition of the Senate	A new and more imperial Senate.
Economic independence	The right to take what we are offered.
Ending of partition	—300,000 British soldiers in Ulster.
Work for everyone	—120,000 unemployed.
An Irish army	—Offcast British rifles, guns, 'planes.
An Irish Executive	—A Defence Council so pro-British that their own censor has to forbid their speeches.
A movement at least towards a republic	1,000 Republicans interned ; 12 shot "resisting arrest" or "attempting to escape."

How to End Partition

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE TWO)

the army whose duty is to undo the conquest of Ulster with the least suffering to the people of Ulster.

They realised that the British Empire must be destroyed utterly, and that all that is sane and civilised must combine in different ways to bring about its destruction. The poisoned head in London, the octopus arms in the seas, the evil heart that has been fed with the blood of a billion victims and hundred peoples, must be reduced to dust. The 250,000 British soldiers that skulk in Ulster far from the war zone and inviting death to the people of Ulster must be withdrawn by Britain herself to defend, and vainly defend, the last citadel of her iniquity, the last sanctuary of her unforgivable sins.

That is the policy to end partition : by thought, word and deed, and at any present sacrifice to destroy forever the British Empire.

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Who Said These?

EXTRACT from Mr. de Valera's speech at Carrick-on-Suir, St. Patrick's Day, 1922. On the same day in Thurles he said :—

"If they accepted the Treaty, and if the Volunteers of the future tried to complete the work the Volunteers of the past four years had been attempting, they would have to complete it, not over the bodies of foreign soldiers, but over the dead bodies of their own countrymen. They would have to wade through Irish blood, through the blood of the soldiers of the Irish Government, and through perhaps, the blood of some of the members of the Government, in order to get Irish Freedom."

* * *

Extract from an official communique issued by Mr. de Valera, 5/11/'23 :—

"The principles which Republicans are defending are by their nature irreducible and not open to compromise. Victory for the Republic, or utter defeat and extermination, are now the alternatives."

* * *

On 22/2/'23 he wrote to the C/S. :—

"At present my attitude is that no matter what the consequences, the truce offer must be rejected."

Beware of Britain's Death Kick

IN whatever further dirty work against this country the British may be plotting, they are anxious involve Canadian and Australian troops rather than their own. Much energetic work by English agents is directed to bring about what may appear to be a spontaneous conflict between the de Valera troops and those from overseas at present posted by the British in our Six Counties.

Republicans should remember that neither Canadians nor Australians can be expected to have much knowledge of the situation here. Every effort should be made to inform them and to explain that any anti-Irish demonstration on their part is in effect a denial of the very principles on which they have founded their own nations.