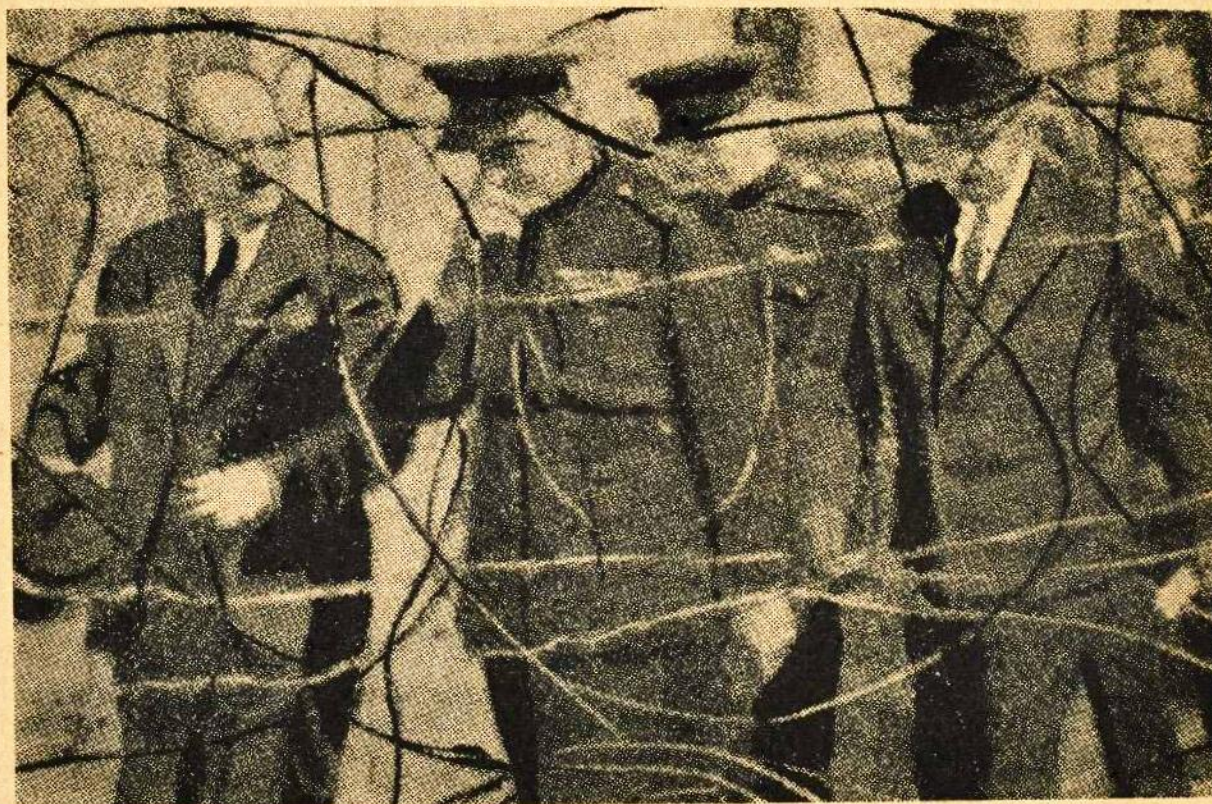


A REPLY TO STATEMENTS BY

# BUTLER AND LEMASS

1d.



*Mr. R. A. Butler (above) inspects British defences in Occupied Ireland. The headline below, from a Dublin evening newspaper, tells its own story.*

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# EVENING HERALD

(INCORPORATING THE "EVENING TELEGRAPH")

VOL. 69. No. 65

Dublin, Wednesday, March 16, 1960

PRICE TWOPENCE

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# 'BRITISH SOIL' IN IRELAND

WHEN British Home Secretary R. A. Butler—the man who, in effect, is Britain's Deputy Prime Minister—told the House of Commons that the Six Counties were "an integral part of the United Kingdom," that the Border between the Six and 26 Counties was a British Border, that Six County soil was British soil, he was stating an Imperial fact.

On April 1 the "Irish Times," commenting on Mr. Butler's remarks, noted editorially:

As an enunciation of harsh constitutional fact, it is a truism: the Customs officials who mount guard over every authorised entry into the Six Counties are employees of Her Britannic Majesty. . . .

The writer might have added that Her Majesty's land, air and sea bases in the Six Counties make the "harsh constitutional fact" more clear-cut.

When 26-County Premier S. Lemass replied to the Butler speech, he was on less sure factual ground than Britain's Home Secretary: England has an army of occupation backing up the "harsh constitutional fact" of her presence in Ireland. The Lemass claim to "fundamental sovereignty" over the national territory is a mere bandying of words; an abstraction opposed to the concrete reality of British domination.

The Lemass arguments have been used by successive 26-County Governments; British power in Ireland remains as firmly entrenched as ever.

But Mr. Lemass, the practical man who

believes in common sense, did not appear to be so worried about the Butler dicta as he was about its effect in drawing the attention of the Irish people (and other peoples too) to the continuing injustice of British Imperial domination. He was peeved.

And it would appear that his main reason for replying was to attack venomously those who are really asserting Ireland's right to freedom—the Resistance Movement in Occupied Ireland. In this he was at one with Mr. Butler—and not for the first time.

Said Mr. Lemass: "Whenever these activities look like dying out, there seems to be always some policy to provoke words or acts happening". He would prefer, it would appear, total silence on the fact of British Occupation and all it entails.

Referring to the Resistance, Mr. Lemass used the words "futile gun-shooting on the Border". He said they had not yet all realised that they were being "led by the nose by those whose sole purpose is to maintain the divisions between our people".

If he means that there are still men and women in Ireland who, keeping faith with our history, continue to fight British rule, he has a point. They will continue to fight until that rule has been broken for all time. No one leads them by the nose, and neither blandishments, taunts, threats, collaborationist activities or coercion will make them deviate from their purpose.

## AIDING THE BRITISH OCCUPIERS

IT is of some significance to note that Mr. Lemass did not see fit to refer to the words of thanks Mr. Butler bestowed on successive 26-County Governments for their help in maintaining the line of the Border since the Campaign of Resistance opened on December 12, 1956.

Butler said it was a cause "for some satisfaction" that both the present 26-County Prime Minister and his predecessor (now President) "have spoken against violence and are aware of the need to keep the peace in the Border area".

Well indeed might Mr. Butler thank them!

The full coercive powers which the 26-County Government assumed under the Offences Against the State Act have been used to collaborate with Britain in an attempt to crush the Resistance Movement.

Under the Act, a Concentration Camp was maintained from 1957 to 1959. Men are jailed for the anti-British crimes of being caught in Border areas or for "failing to account for their movements" in other parts of the country. A petty persecution of those who collect for Prisoners' Dependents has been initiated.

The truth is that Republicans are jailed because there is a struggle for freedom in British Occupied Ireland. The Offences Against the State Act, like its counterpart the Stormont Special Powers Bill, exists because coercion is necessary to maintain British rule in Ireland.

All this is elementary and Mr. Lemass knows it. Partition was a creation of England. When a 26-County Government collaborates with British rule in Ireland it is merely fulfilling its



partition function: **the 26-County Government must help maintain the Border because that is the basis of its relationship with England.**

It would be better were Mr. Lemass to admit these facts. Windy rhetoric will not solve the national or social problems of the Irish people. Ireland's case for freedom does not rest on the quoting of a pious platitude expressed by a British monarch. Was Mr. Lemass aware that

the King George V quotation he based his arguments on was actually written by Lloyd George? —the man who engineered partition and whose sole concern was to pervert the struggle for Irish freedom, which at that time was in sight of victory, so that England could maintain her grip on Ireland; she wanted a bridgehead in Ireland. The Butler-Lemass exchanges are living proof of how well she succeeded.

## THIS BANKRUPT ECONOMY

**T**O return to Mr. Butler. His speech on British policy in Ireland was occasioned by a question addressed to his Government on the deteriorating economic situation in the Six Counties.

This was never worse, as the Unionists themselves are now admitting. Indeed it was a Tory-Unionist who was forced to raise the matter. The reply he received is not calculated to reduce, by as much as one, the queues of unemployed at Six-County Labour Exchanges. Here is the grim reality of British control (economic and political) of Irish life.

The economic slum which Britain has created in Ireland—North and South—is a direct result of the policy so clearly enunciated by Mr. Butler. Mr. Lemass did not see fit to refer to this at all. And yet it is **OUR** people who are being impoverished, who are being forced to flee the country in their tens of thousands because there is no living for them at home. The fight for freedom is as much a fight to give them life in their own land as it is to give them liberty. The prerequisite is that they must control their own affairs without interference from any outside power.

The North now enjoys the unenviable distinction of being the most depressed area in Mr. Butler's United Kingdom. Its unemployment figures are at least four times the British average. Its industrial structure is so contracted that appeals are being made for more and more foreign investments. And there is no relief in sight. Meanwhile Irish capital is the North's biggest export to Britain; some £400 million is invested in British Empire securities. This forced export of capital is mandatory under the 1920 Government of Ireland Act which classifies Post Office Savings and Trustee Savings Banks as Whitehall concerns.

To complete the picture, we find that British capital invested in the North adds up to £60 million!

The economic truth of the matter is that nothing (or relatively little at any rate) can be done North or South to better the conditions of our people while partition and British rule remain. Unity and freedom are essential to the economic well-being of this country: Ireland is as much an economic unit as she is a political entity.

The industrial belt around Belfast, composed of secondary industries, depends on imports for its survival. Belfast's industries must be bolstered by exports which can only come from its natural agricultural hinterland—the rest of Ireland. This factor could be discounted during the 19th century when Belfast achieved industrial power and prestige. It can be discounted no longer. The former British colonies, the countries of origin for Belfast's raw materials, to-day process their own goods. Beef must now purchase steel. For the Belfast industrialist, Irish unity is an essential to-day—as much an essential as it is for the Belfast worker.

The British connection is a luxury no part of Ireland can afford any longer—even Belfast of the shipyards.

The natural corollary of this is that British rule in Ireland must be destroyed in this generation if we are to survive as a nation.

Here is the so-called Irish question stripped of all the factionalism, verbiage and sophistries with which our enemies and constitution-mongers love to surround it. Here it is reduced to the simple harsh fact:

**IF WE ARE TO WIN FREEDOM WE MUST  
FIGHT FOR IT BECAUSE BRITAIN WILL  
NOT HAVE IT ANY OTHER WAY.**

That is what the Resistance in the North is about. It is the old conflict of Ireland versus England. One or the other must prevail in this land.



# BECAUSE IT SUITS ENGLAND

**W**HAT are the political implications of the Butler pronouncement? His predecessors, including the Labour Government's Home Secretary Herbert Morrison, have used the same formula with different words.

The "Irish Times" leader-writer was correct when he said "the Border will continue . . . until it suits Great Britain to change her mind—". He was incorrect when he went on to say that this would be "when the majority of people in Northern Ireland" change their minds about the Border. In point of fact the 1949 Ireland Act states specifically that no change can occur in the constitutional status of the Six County area without the consent of the Stormont Assembly — which is an entirely different matter.

British-occupied Ireland is an artificially created area having no status historically, geographically, ethnically, culturally, economically or internationally. What does a majority

signify in such a Statelet where gerrymandering is rife, where one-party rule (Tory-Unionist) has obtained since its inception, where all rights are denied nationally-minded people and where indefinite jailing without charge or trial, under the infamous Special Powers Bill, is the lot of those who militantly uphold the right of Ireland to independence?

On this further: when Griffith and Collins signed the Treaty, they did so following a clear British guarantee that such Nationalist areas as Derry City, Counties Tyrone and Fermanagh, South Armagh, South Derry and South Down would be excluded from Stormont control. When Republicans condemned the Treaty they did so on the basis that Ireland had the inalienable right to sovereignty and independence and that Britain had no right to any part of Ireland. The use of the terms "majorities" and "minorities" to describe sectional interests within the nation is plain nonsense.

# ALL IRELAND FOR THE IRISH

**B**RTAIN has no right to Ireland or any part of it. Irish soil is **NOT** British soil and never will be. That British troops may have the power to occupy Irish soil is another question again: one which all of Ireland's people must attend to. Mr. Butler speaks in the name of Imperial England and Ireland must give him his answer.

Should this answer come from the head of a partition government created by England to further her Imperial ends, a Government that accepts the fact of British occupation and British domination of Irish life? We think not. What Mr. Lemass has to say is the sheerest hypocrisy. He may speak in the name of his Government and Party, but not in the name of the Irish people.

Only those who actively fight British Occupation and who hold in sacred trust the uncompromising Republican principles of Wolfe Tone, Robert Emmet, Thomas Davis, John Mitchel, Fintan Lalor, O'Donovan Rossa, Padraig Pearse, James Connolly, Terence MacSwiney, Cathal Brugha—principles personified in our time by Sean Sabhat and his comrades—only those have the right to speak

for Ireland in this generation's name. Their resistance to foreign rule is sanctioned by history for they speak with the authentic voice of their generation.

When the British Home Secretary terms part of our country a British possession and its soil British soil, there is only one possible reply—a defiant one and one in keeping with our past.

**TO FIGHT BRITISH RULE WITH ARMS  
IN OUR HANDS IN THE GREAT TRADI-  
TION OF THOSE BEFORE US WHO  
STROVE AND DIED FOR THE SAME  
CAUSE—IRELAND.**

Hundreds sustain this defiance in the jails of our enemy by refusing to surrender to his demands that they recognise his right to rule us. Their comrades continue to fight—and will continue—despite the terrible odds they face.

But Resistance to be fully effective must be the action of an entire people. The sacrifices involved must be evenly shared. Political words and actions will not by themselves win us freedom. As every free people in the world has discovered, freedom must be fought for.

**BRITAIN MUST WITHDRAW HER OCCUPATION FORCES FROM IRELAND  
—NOW!**