Whelan's from Goods

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éire óz YOUNG IRELAND

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 18, 1920.

Independence

We publish elsewhere the message which has been transmitted from Mr. Arthur Griffith in Mountjoy. As we should expect, it lacks nothing in clearness or definiteness. He tells us that the main strength of Ireland's cause to-day consists in the steadfast adherence of the people of Ireland to the principle of Independence. Today, Ireland is being put to the supreme test of this adherence. Every nation has to face this trial and pay the price. There is in all history no case of a nation winning her freedom without being put to a cruel and terrible test. It is the crucible which fuses the elements of a nation.

The great test has been applied to Cork. The City has been burned and ravaged as thoroughly as Dublin in Easter Week. Our hearts go out in sympathy to the noble people of Cork for their heroic endurance and unwavering and indestructible adherence to the cause of independence. The burning of the City is, in truth, a reprisal for its patriotism, its immovable

attachment to the principles of nationality, its brilliant revival of the Gaelic tongue of our ancestors, and, above all, its restoration of Irish commerce and industry. Cork is to the front in the intellectual and economic Ireland of to-day, and our enemies have paid it the supreme tribute of endeavouring to reduce it to ruins. But a still greater and nobler city will arise at the hands of millions of its compatriots.

There are signs and rumours that we are nearing the end of the long conflict. So far as policy is concerned, there is only one method to meet an invader. He must get every inducement to leave the country. But we must be cautious in opening overtures with him. People who still deny us the right to live in our own country are not exactly those who should be taken on trust at sight. Haste only excites suspicion in our minds. There is no need for speed in a case which has lasted for centuries. If England is in a hurry to make an alleged peace, she must be driven by some powerful motive, for some reason not disclosed. England has never been in such a hurry before. Let us take an example from the financiers. When a man presents a check in a great hurry, a banker goes slow and asks himself what the deuce does he mean. Now, England is in the deuce of a hurry to cash a cheque with us, and, like prudent bankers, we must examine her securities and her collaterals, We are not notorious as a nation for quick business. We like to take our time in money matters, and to see clearly what we are doing, and what the other fellow is doing.

Ireland has paid the full price of complete liberty. Her sacrifices have been as great or greater than those of Greece, of Poland, of Servia. Ireland has paid an enormous price in blood, in money, and in suffering. The goods must be equal to the price paid. Every act of further oppression, every burning and every shooting, every act of destruction of property, makes our price higher and raises the bill of indemnity.

Taxation and Loyalty

British policy in Irish affairs, being always a policy of exploitation; is resolvable into terms of money. Ireland is the profitable "dependancy" of England, and so long as the profits from commerce and revenue keeps up, the policy of the moment stands justified. The present frightfulness, for instance, will not lower the profits. All the destruction of property (that of life does not matter) will ultimately be made good from English factories, or through English middlemen, out of Irish pockets, with an actual increase of commercial profit to England. Nor will the destruction result in any serious loss of revenue to the British Exchequer-the Irish people will continue to smoke, drink, and make merry on taxable commodities-for it is a striking fact that throughout the present period of violent strife, the revenue from Ireland has remained unaffected. Political trouble appears never to affect the Irish revenue adversely. The bearing of this fact upon British policy in Ireland-upon the present policy, for instance-does not seem to be appreciated; yet it is really of the first importance, and needs examination.

The obligation to pay taxes to " the ruling Power" is held by many theologians to be a Christian obligation, so that even though Cæsar be, say, painted Black and Tan, the citizen must pay tribute to him. In Ireland, however, if the citizen does not love Simian rule, he possesses the advantage of an alternative government, and he is thus really a favoured individual, compared to the citizens of other lands. He can satisfy his religious conscience by paying either party, or, if scrupulous, he can pay both.

There is, further, the constitutional obligation to pay taxes to the State. This obligation may be considered under two heads, legal and ethical. In Ireland it happens that the obligation, under these two aspects, has a peculiar correspondence, or homology, with the two Governments, each to each-" legal" with British, and "ethical" with Republican: The two Govern-

ments, being strictly uncomplimentary and antipathetic, the one to the other. they are, of course, mutually destructive. Similarly, the legal and the ethical obligations are mutually destructive. However, as the two Governments have not yet cancelled each other, there remains likewise a residuum of legal and of ethical obligation. This being clear, the legal obligation may now be considered. As the obligation is legal just so far as it can be enforced, it follows that the citizen can pay his tribute and take his chance, or he can refuse his tribute and take his chance. The fulfilment of the legal obligation is thus quite a simple matter.

The ethical obligation needs more extended consideration, as the fulfilling of this obligation virtually constitutes "loyalty." The essence of loyalty consists in "giving service," not at all to the Government, as political partisans would have us believe, but to the State; and the service expected and demanded by the State, in modern times, is, ordinarily, merely the paying of taxes. The discontented citizen may attack the Government-everybody attacks a government more or less, now and then; but so long as he pays his taxes he cannot justly be accused of disloyalty. Now, the Irish people pay the Imperial taxes (both the direct and the indirect taxes), and have always paid them, just as willingly as the English or Scottish people. The religious obligation to pay Cæsar is, no doubt, a factor here; but it is so closely allied to the ethical obligation as, in practice, to be merged in the latter. and consequently may be ignored in this connection. It follows that the loyalty of the Irish people is complete and absolute. Even English Ministers, being all honourable and truthful men, admit this fact. Hence the extreme care with which the British Government fulfils its part of the social contract by protecting everybody in Ireland. If the protection is not exactly to our liking; it is doubtless as good as can be given for the tribute we pay. The payment by Ireland of Imperial

taxes is not only proof of loyalty; it is

proof also of contentment with the

existing system of Government. Ob-

viously a community suffering from

grave misgovernment would not voluntarily support the persons or the system responsible. Also, the refusal of "supply" is the most convenient weapon, as well as the recognised orthodox weapon, by means of which in these countries Parliament brings Ministers to order, and by which, when argument fails, the people bring Parliament and the Government to order. It is, in fact, the "strike" weapon on a national scale. We see it used to-day in Great Britain by the miners; the " supply " refused in this case being. as it happens, coal. And it may be observed that the use of this weapon for the redress of grievances does not constitute disloyalty, for, if it did, the mere intention to use it would also constitute disloyalty; and thus millions of people in England now, and most people in England at one time or another now-a-days, would be disloyal, which is, of course, absurd. Now, it is so strange to reasonable men-to English Ministers or Members of Parliament, for instance—as to be quite unbelievable, that, if the Irish people were really discontented they would, or could, ignore this weapon, lying ready to hand. By means of it they could embarrass the British Government seriously at its weakest point-its financial stomach; and they could, at the same time, peacefully demonstrate, beyond doubt or criticism, by their own universal abstinence and fortitude, the width and depth of their discontent. That this weapon might not be fully effective is neither here nor there. That it has not been used, nor tried at all, is the significant thing. Only one conclusion can be drawn-that the Irish people, as a whole, are contented as well as loval.

The present policy of the British Government in Ireland could not, therefore, be otherwise than it is. All right-thinking Englishmen, having at heart the well-being of Ireland, as a British preserve, see that the sole need of the Irish people is protection from pestilent revolutionary preachers. Being Englishmen, and not mere Huns or Bolshevists, they introduce the element of sport, and make a British battue of the business. It is, however, a regrettable oversight that the heads secured are not being preserved, for the building of a cenotaph at Westminster. In vindication of the majesty of the Law and the Profits of England, a monument of this kind, at the heart of Empire, would be a grateful offering to the God of David and his brethren.