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AND IRELAND LONG A PROVINCE, OR A NATION ONCE A -

A NATION OR A NATION ONCE A - GAIN, AND

IRELAND, LONG A... PROVINCE, BE A... NATION ONCE A - GAIN?

IRELAND  
AND  
THE COMMON MARKET

The image shows a musical score on the right page of an open book. The score is written in blue ink on aged, yellowed paper. It features several staves of music with lyrics underneath. A large, stylized blue text overlay reads "NATION OR PROVINCE?". The lyrics include "AND IRELAND LONG A PROVINCE, OR A NATION ONCE A -", "A NATION OR A NATION ONCE A - GAIN, AND", "IRELAND, LONG A... PROVINCE, BE A... NATION ONCE A - GAIN?", "IRELAND", "AND", and "THE COMMON MARKET". A circled "1" is visible in the first staff.

## A Nation Once Again

When boyhood's fire was in my blood,  
I read of ancient freemen,  
For Greece and Rome who bravely stood,  
Three hundred men and three men ;  
And then I prayed I yet might see  
Our fetters rent in twain,  
And Ireland long a province be  
A Nation Once Again.

A Nation Once Again,  
A Nation Once Again,  
And Ireland long a province be  
A Nation Once Again.

And from that time, through wildest woe,  
That hope has shone a far light,  
Nor could love's brightest summer glow,  
Outshine that solemn starlight;  
It seemed to watch above my head  
In forum, field and fane,  
Its angel voice sang round my bed,  
A Nation Once Again.

A Nation Once Again,  
A Nation Once Again,  
Its angel voice sang round my bed,  
A Nation Once Again.

So, as I grew from boy to man,  
I bent me to that bidding  
My spirit of each selfish plan,  
And cruel passion ridding;  
For, this I hoped some day to aid  
Oh, can such hope be vain?  
When my dear country shall be made  
A Nation Once Again.

A Nation Once Again,  
A Nation Once Again,  
When my dear country shall be made  
A Nation Once Again.

THOMAS DAVIS

**F**OR almost eight centuries the Irish people have striven to assert their right to freedom and to establish an independent sovereign state. That task has not yet been completed. A divided Ireland still endures British occupation and is ruled by professional party-politicians who have lost all concept of Nationhood.

Sinn Fein stands opposed to the latest attempt to sell Ireland's right to freedom, sovereignty and neutrality, and to allow our own Christian way of life to be swamped in a flood of European materialism.

To recollect the teachings of Tone, Davis, Pearse and Connolly and to ponder them now, is to realise that to allow ourselves to be pushed into the Common Market would be to betray the dead generations.

This year is the bi-centenary of the birth of Theobald Wolfe Tone, the founder of the Republican movement and the man who first formulated precisely the National Ideal. Tone was a statesman and thinker of the first rank and was very closely linked with the European thought of his day. It is at our own peril that we ignore his teaching when confronted with this vital issue.

January, 1963.

# SINN FÉIN OPPOSES E.E.C. TIE

*Sinn Fein formally declared its stand on the Common Market question in a statement issued by An Ard-Chomhairle on February 24, 1962, in which the Irish people were urged to fight this new sell-out :*

**T**HE lead-up, to what has now emerged as the commitment of "Ireland" to the full political and economic aims of the Common Market, has been very well camouflaged in the deluge of words used by professional politicians to commend its acceptance. The economic necessity of Ireland's adherence to the Community and the alleged benefits that would result from membership of it have been stressed over and over again.

To many thinking people the wisdom of Ireland entering the Community, as a strictly economic entity which until recently it was represented as being, has been questioned from the very beginning, because of the impact of such a plunge in the dark on the Nation's economy. The extent of this impact has gradually emerged to what is known of it to-day and to what may be reasonably assumed from its expansion in the future.

The sum of knowledge thus acquired has confirmed a view held by many people that Ireland has nothing to gain, and possibly a lot to lose by being "frog-marched" into such a Community, and the number of such people has increased considerably as additional evidence of the full economic ramifications of the Common Market has come to light.

## Influx of Foreigners

Gradually people are coming to realise that to survive in the intensively competitive conditions forecast to obtain within the Common Market, productivity within the Irish economy will have to be stepped-up considerably. And just as gradually, but just as surely, more Irish people are coming to understand that, practically speaking, stepping-up productivity can be achieved only by increasing unemployment and by expanding the deadly national drain of emigration.

The home market, which in a properly organised national economy would be reserved to native producers, and which forms the only practical basis for establishment of an export trade, will be contracted and further restricted for native producers because in the Common Market conditions it will be thrown open to foreign products from the other nations comprising the Community.

The labour force within Ireland, of which there are currently over 98,000 unemployed, will be further increased by the influx of foreigners in search of employment and prepared to sell their services at a cheaper rate of pay than what is currently the rate of pay to native workers. And because of the competitive conditions and other

considerations relevant to production costs, it may be anticipated that the native and foreign producers in Ireland will seek the cheapest available manpower, with a view to ensuring that Irish products can be placed on the home and common markets at competitive prices.

The higher transport costs entailed in getting Irish products to the common marketing centres will, if the products are to be competitive in price, reduce the financial returns to the home producer and, in the ultimate, home production will be restricted to such products as may be in short supply within the Common Market area. This likely development will deprive the home producer of anything like a free choice in selecting what production would be most profitable for him and most beneficial to his countrymen.

### **£50 Million More in Taxes ?**

The 26-County Minister for Finance is reported as stating at a function in Cork on February 12, 1962 . . . "I shall, from now on, have to take account of the effect which entering the E.C.C. must have on our tax structure, particularly customs duties. Many of these duties are entirely protective. . . . The protective element of both sets of duties will, in time, have to be eliminated with adverse consequences for the Exchequer."

The White Paper for 1959/'60 published by the 26-County Government listed Customs duties at £48 million and Special Import Levy at £1.75 million. Assuming no reduction of present Central Government costs, the residents of the 26 Counties should realise the sacrifices they will have to make in order to make good the deficit that will arise in Government Revenue from the annual loss of such a substantial amount.

In the economic sphere the emerging pattern of conditions within the Common Market may not be contemplated with complacency by vast sections of the Irish people, nor with any buoyant hopes for the economic salvation of the Irish nation. That salvation, already proven to be well nigh impossible whilst partition persists and partition economy is the rule, will, most likely, become utterly impossible once Ireland is forced to enter the Common Market Community.

### **The Sacrifices Now Demanded**

Part of the spate of verbiage used to mislead and confuse Irish people as to the true nature of what Ireland is being really committed to, is given to representing survival within the Common Market as a challenge to them, a challenge which, in the opinion of certain prominent people, the Irish people have the capacity to meet and surmount.

Undoubtedly the Irish people have the capacity required to meet this challenge, but to what end if their future is placed in jeopardy and doubt ? The generation of the time met the challenge of the British-engendered famine, and some of them survived. Having regard to Irish history over the past 800 years few will doubt or question the capacity of Irish people to meet any challenge, native or foreign, to submerge Ireland in a foreign enclave and to extinguish her identity as a nation. And we may rest assured that some at least of the present generation will combat this latest move of professional politicians to do just that.

A notable feature of the emphasis now placed on what will be required from the Irish people, and the nature of the sacrifices they most likely will have to make, to survive entry into the Common Market is the simple fact that over the past 40 years the advocates of adherence to the Community made no attempt to bring about the one internal requisite to establishment of a national economy suited to the needs of our people.

Given the very same requirements now sought from them and with their capacity to provide them, the people of Ireland could have established an economy suitable to their own interests and welfare. With such an economy, based upon national freedom, an increasing population and consequent expanding home market Ireland would now be positioned completely independent of whatever course Britain follows in relation to the Common Market. And who will honestly deny that even now there is a distinct possibility that, given a genuine effort to organise the country's economy on a national basis, this result could still be achieved. If, instead of calling upon our people to gird themselves for a fight to survive within a highly competitive international economy netting doubtful results, the call went forth urging them to gird themselves for a fight to survive independent of and clear from foreign commitments and alignments, the ultimate results would certainly be more beneficial to their interests and those of the nation.

### **Deliberately Concealed**

It is doubtful in the extreme, if this latter course were pursued, that the future of Ireland and her people would be placed in any greater economic jeopardy; it is unlikely that the rate at which homesteads now housing families would be merged into rancher holdings could be any greater than the accelerated rate Common Market conditions will compel; nor is it likely that the risks of increased unemployment and emigration would be more than those to be expected from the conditions Common Market membership will impose.

But the full extent of the ramifications, the full scope of the measure in which Ireland will be committed as a member of the Community has been to date cleverly and deliberately concealed from the Irish people. And to what purpose ? The purpose of garnering support for Ireland's adherence to the Common Market on the specious grounds that it is in the economic interests of the nation. Now it is assumed that the point has been reached where a sufficient backing for the step contemplated has been obtained, that sufficient numbers of people have been trapped into committing themselves, and others for whom they purport to speak, to the point of no return, to the point where they cannot retract without losing face. Having reached this point it is now felt safe to reveal the full aim in view.

### **Surrender of National Rights**

In presenting the application of his partition Government for admission to the E.E.C., Mr. Lemass is reported as stating: "I desire to emphasise that the political aims of the Community are aims to which the Irish Government and people are ready to subscribe and in the realisation of which they wish to play an active part." We may ignore the blatant hypocrisy of this political party leader purporting to speak in the name of "the Irish Government and people." He cannot even sustain a just claim to speak for or on behalf of all the citizens in the partition state over which he and his partition Government exercise jurisdiction.

What Irish people cannot afford to ignore is his claim of a right to sell our country's birthright to freedom; to consign our nation and its people to what may eventuate in its utter extinction as a national entity within the cauldron of conflicting and selfish interests of international, political, military and economic rivalries and ambitions.

How many of our people have the slightest clue, the vaguest inkling of what the political aims of the Community are? Does Mr. Lemass know what they are? If he does know why is he withholding this knowledge from the Irish people whom, without consulting them, he presumes to commit to a full acceptance of their ramifications? It would seem that Mr. Lemass himself is not even aware of the full scope and significance of the political aims of the Community. If he is then he must be better informed than the "Fouchet Committee" which so far has not even made an impressionable beginning on the task assigned it, the task of formulating the political policy to be agreed and followed by the Community.

### No Opportunity of Deciding

Mr. Lemass is reported as stating at the Fianna Fail Ard-Fheis: "Henceforth our national aims must conform to the emergence in a political as well as in an economic sense of a union of Western European States, not as a vague prospect of the distant future, but as a living reality of our own times." He went on to state that Ireland had decided it was in the national interests to join freely with the Common Market group in creating the new European Community. "We will do so in full equality of status . . . acquiring the right to influence by our voice and our vote the Community's future development."

Need it be reiterated that Ireland as one unit is deprived of the right of deciding this or any other matter. More than one-fourth of the nation's population is subject to whatever decisions Britain makes in her own interests. The remainder of the population has yet to get the opportunity of deciding what the partitioned statelet should do in relation to the Common Market.

### Two Votes out of Twenty-seven

The value to Ireland of this statelet's "full equality of status" may be judged from the voting powers within the Council of the present member states of the Community: Federal Germany, France and Italy four votes each; Belgium and the Netherlands two votes each and Luxembourg one vote. Should Britain enter, her votes will be "weighted" on a rating equal to that of the first named three States. It may be assumed that the rating for the 26 Counties will not be greater than that of Belgium and that Norway and Denmark will also have two votes each. Hence this statelet will have, at most, two votes, out of a combined voting strength of 27.

Through the projected "sell-out" of Ireland's right to sovereign independence, a right that for centuries Irish men and women have fought to maintain, the 26 Counties will have acquired and may exercise a right, through the vote of professional politicians and with a possible two votes, to "influence the Community's future development." It looks very much like another "damned good bargain."

The 26-County Minister for Lands beams further light upon what may be expected, albeit he makes the "sell-out" more Gilbertian in profile than his boss. Addressing the Tralee Chamber of Commerce he is reported as stating: "Let us think of being

free citizens of a United States of Europe and ultimately living in a society in which we cannot impose a tax or duty on the import of any article or commodity unless we apply the same tax or duty to our own producers of the same article or commodity here. Let us also realise that in this United States of Europe while our people will have the same facilities in the other member countries, including property rights, as their own citizens so also will the citizens of Germany, Italy and France have equal rights and equal opportunities with our own citizens here." Bearing in mind the productive capacities of those states and the advantages available to them to develop further these capacities, the "equal rights and equal opportunities" available to Ireland lose practically all meaning.

### No Evidence of Approval

It is apposite to quote the opposition to Denmark's entering into the Community to which expression has been given by professional and other Danish people: "The limited and temporary economic advantage we might obtain by joining, cannot outweigh the assets we lose when Parliamentary powers are given to strangers and when foreigners may freely enter this country and get work or settle down, or buy Danish land and Danish companies. Our fate will be placed in the hands of political and economic forces who will ignore the interests of a small country and against whom we will stand defenceless."

(The resolution quoted above was signed on December 11, 1961, by 18 leading Danish farmers, doctors and engineers).

Outside the circle of professional politicians and some sectional and selfish interests there is no evidence that the Irish people approve the sacrifices which many of them will be compelled to make should Ireland be committed to involvement in a purely economic European Community. Fully apprised of the significance and full implication of such involvement, and of the sacrifices it will call for, there can remain little doubt that, left to a free vote, our people North and South would reject the proposal to enter.

### Equivalent to Joining N.A.T.O.

But on the military and political commitments, that are now emerging as the real and ultimate aim of the Community, how much more emphatic might we expect our people to be in rejecting the sacrifice of the Nation's sovereignty and in repudiation of those who presume to barter it for the yet unknown ingredients of a mess of pottage?

### NO RESERVATIONS

"We have made it quite clear that our desire is to participate in whatever political union may ultimately be developed in Europe. We are making no reservations of any sort, including defence."

—Mr. Lemass, speaking at a press conference in Bonn.

October 23, 1962,

If Ireland is to become part and parcel of the Common Market Community, committed to partake fully of its political aims, she must accept the common defence policy with all that it implies by way of military and material contributions. To the common defence policy Ireland is being committed notwithstanding that such common defence policy has not even yet been formulated. The nearest approach to such a policy is that embodied in N.A.T.O. to which the Common Market States belong.

Political party leaders in the 26 Counties have shied away from joining N.A.T.O. on the specious grounds that to do so would be tantamount to guaranteeing the integrity of the British-imposed land border that partitions Ireland. At present it is being affirmed by 26-County professional politicians that there is no change of attitude towards N.A.T.O. Of course there is no need for change and the Common Market states have no need to insist on a change as a prerequisite to admitting Ireland to the Community. The Six-County unit of Ireland is already securely ensconced within N.A.T.O., thanks to British Occupation, and it is becoming more apparent that the political and military alignments of the Common Market Community will be equally well served by the 26 Counties embracing the political aims of the Community and working for their realisation.

But even should the Common Market Community insist upon the 26 Counties becoming a member of N.A.T.O. none of the professional politicians need, or would, balk to any great extent at acceptance of such a condition. Who among them disapproves of the extensive use of the State's military and police forces in securing the border and in the protection of the British armed forces that help to maintain it? What more could the rulers of the State do to guarantee the integrity of the British-imposed border, what more or better evidence could N.A.T.O. ask from them of their intention, their willingness to fulfil the only N.A.T.O. obligation to which they profess an objection? Just how stupid do the professional politicians think the Irish people are? Just how blind, wilfully or otherwise, can their political followers and supporters become? In the past Ireland has suffered from famine conditions and from the blight of avaricious landlords. At present she suffers from the blight of professional party politicians avaricious for their own interests and for those of their relatives and party adherents.

### Colonialism and Communism

Some professional politicians, advocates of Ireland's adherence to the Common Market Community, have resurrected an old familiar and well worn theme, to arouse fears among Irish people and to make use of their religious beliefs in a contemptible

#### EFFECTS ON SIX COUNTIES

"The effects on Northern Ireland if the United Kingdom were to join the European Economic Community are difficult to forecast. It is hoped that satisfactory arrangements can be negotiated to meet the special needs of the region."

—Hall Report on the economy of the Six Counties,  
published October, 23, 1962.

effort to gain support for the committing of Ireland to membership of the Community. One prominent political party leader is reported as stating: "the occupation of Ireland would be one of Russia's first objectives if she started on the conquest of Europe." The military and nuclear planners in Russia should be grateful to this budding military strategist for his help in planning Russian war strategy in the event of a Russian attempt to conquer Europe.

But the Irish people should measure this political tactic by its proper yard-stick. They should recall that in the 1939-45 conflict Ireland was to be visited by a German invasion. They should recall that during those years thousands of Irishmen were urged and inveigled by party politicians into joining the forces of Britain, then an active ally of Communist Russia. They should remember that during those years the Government of the 26 Counties professed a policy of neutrality and made this profession the ostensible reason for executions and jailings of Irish Republicans, against whom the allegation was made that they were endeavouring to embroil Ireland in the war. They should bear in mind that to the present day Ireland has known only one invader and that there is no need whatever for them to go chasing this "hare" of a Russian occupation whilst disregarding an occupation by foreign forces which is a living reality.

And lastly, the people of Ireland should bear in mind that for centuries Ireland has held true to her Christian faith and Christian way of life; that to maintain both she has had to endure persecution and slaughter of her sons and daughters; and that the persecution and slaughter were visited upon our land not by forces from the East but by elements native and British, elements whose ideology and vicious aims have considerable numbers of adherents to-day serving the same cause within Ireland, Britain and the Common Market states.

### Strength of Freemasonry

According to the "Irish Freemasons Calendar and Directory 1949" there were (excluding the exclusively Jewish B'nai B'rith lodges) 1,091 Masonic lodges in Ireland—294 in the 26 Counties and 797 in the Six Counties. According to the "Sunday Press" of July 31, 1958 Ireland has the distinction of ranking after the U.S.A. and Britain as the third most Masonic country in the world. This may be taken as an indication of the strength of Freemasonry within the so-called "Free World."

The vast majority of Irish people reject Communist imperialism and the sources from which it stems. By none among them is it more emphatically rejected than by members of the Republican Movement. The attitude of the Movement towards it has been emphasised in official statements issued on its behalf. These statements were no way ambiguous and their authenticity would seem to have been accepted by the Irish people and, in particular, by eminent persons within circles who sought to attach the "tag" of Communism to the Movement, because for quite a time now the "tag" has been dropped from attacks on its members.

Members of the Republican Movement believe that it is unnecessary for Ireland to become entangled in a European line-up in order to resist any overt act against our nation that may emanate from East of the Iron Curtain. Why should a vague possibility of aggression from Russia stampede Irish people into support for, and alignment with, the political, military and economic aims of a group of States having

no interest whatever in Ireland's survival, no interest in protecting her from any Communist threat there may be, and no interest in the future welfare and happiness of her people?

Whenever politicians or leaders of States make appeals to religious and moral values, thinking people treat them with added suspicion, since lovers of power and seekers of gain are always able to conceal their true motives behind the language of piety. Logically the most that could be claimed as advantageous to Ireland from involvement with the Community would be protection from an attack by forces from East of the Iron Curtain, an attack which may never materialise. But in the context of power politics so far revealed as the inspiration governing the aims of the Common Market Community, what may be represented as protection for our nation could more properly be described as annexation of it.

Within the present "Community" states there are Communist groups allowed free scope for their activities. If the individual interests of these states were served, if their own material aims were promoted thereby, allegiance and adherence to present day alignments could be switched overnight. Overnight what is emphatically termed the "Free World" could lose adherents and the Communist bloc gain strength from additional allies.

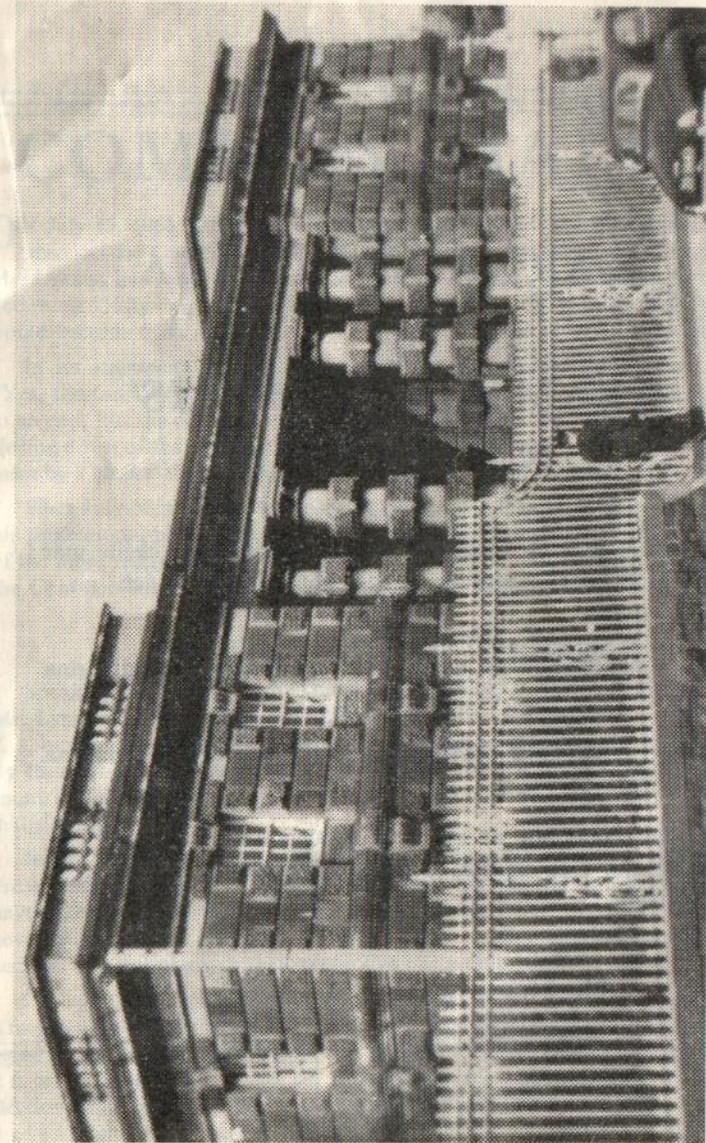
### Ownership of Ireland

In 1914 John Redmond sought to purchase a measure of Home Rule from Britain by offering a gift of Irish youth to the British war machine. Akin to Redmond's offer is the offer of present day professional politicians to commit Ireland to full acceptance of the aims, political, military and economic, of the Common Market Community. And this latest version of Redmondism is advocated and urged as the national view and in the nation's interest.

Sinn Fein in the years from 1914 to 1918 gave the Irish people an opportunity of demonstrating their opposition to, and detestation of, the Redmond policy. And true to the trust reposed in it, true to the tradition it has inherited, Sinn Fein will do its utmost to expose and condemn the 1962 brand of Redmondism.

The people of Ireland should fight for the ownership of Ireland by the Irish. They should therefore fight against all commitments that in any way tend to weaken their grasp upon Ireland and upon all things Irish. Ireland cannot rise to freedom, cannot achieve to her rightful status among the nations, except upon the shoulders of a people knowing their rights and prepared to take them.

The largest Communist parties outside the Iron Curtain are in Italy and France. In the recent parliamentary elections in France the Communist party made substantial gains, while all other parties except the Gaullists lost ground. Within the E.E.C. there is complete freedom of movement of persons, services and capital. Consequently, if we become members of the Community, no restriction can be placed on the entry to Ireland of Communists from Italy, France or any other Common Market country.



This picture shows the grim entrance to Crumlin Road Jail, Belfast, where Republican prisoners are held. A reminder of the fact that Ireland has not yet achieved freedom, and that the dream of Thomas Davis is not yet a reality.

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SINN FÉIN

CLÁR AONTACHTA

agus

NEAMHSPLÉACHAIS

NÁISIÚNTA

1. Teachtaí tofa na hÉireann uilig do thabhairt le chéile mar Chomhthionól Náisiúnta Phoblacht Neamhspleách na hÉireann.
2. An Comhthionól sin do dhul i mbun reachtaithe d'Éirinn uilig.
3. Ar gcroí-dhícheall cóir do dhéanamh chun cur in éadan na Poblachta do shárú.
4. An uile chonradh, an uile shocrú, agus an uile dhlí a bhaineann i slí ar bith ó neamhspleáchas an Náisiúin, do shéanadh.

Ní Nearth go Cur le Chéile

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# THE BORDER

AND THE

## COMMON MARKET

ON July 15, 1961, the Sinn Fein Publicity Committee issued a statement in reference to the Common Market. In the course of the statement it was noted that Mr. Lemass had been reported in the press as stating: "In the context of European Economic Unity the partition of Ireland, which never made much sense at any stage, would become even more than ever now a patent and obvious absurdity."

In its statement the Sinn Fein Publicity Committee commented as follows: "Yes, the tariff border dividing the Six from the 26 Counties would possibly come to an end. But the disappearance of the Customs Posts on the border will not mean a closing down of the partition institutions of Government in Ireland and their replacement by a National Government, nor will it end British occupation of Irish territory."

Since July of last year Mr. Lemass has repeated this particular theme and some of his professional political colleagues have echoed his statements in relation to it. One of the more recent echoes of Mr. Lemass, on this particular aspect of Irish entry into the Common Market, has been his Minister for Industry and Commerce.

### Prevented National Development

Speaking at a function in Queen's University, Belfast, on February 19, 1962, Mr. Lynch was reported in the following day's issue of the "Irish Press" as stating: "... by the end of the transitional period, all tariffs will have effectively disappeared. By then," he said, "there would be free movement of goods between all member countries. The border between Ireland's North and South would have no reality in that situation."

In Mr. Lemass's opinion the border never made much sense at any stage. For the professional politicians in "Ireland's North and South" who, like Mr. Lemass have accepted the forcible partition of the national territory by Britain, the border never made much sense at any stage, except during election campaigns when it became a useful plank in their respective party platforms.

At such times the border question was aired in public because it was valuable as a means of garnering support for party politicians ambitious for power and financial gain, or for any other purpose that could serve their selfish interests. In one sense it is certainly true that, except for taking the border question out of cold storage at election times, the professional politicians in "Ireland's South" have not considered it of sufficient importance to do anything about its removal.

By them partition has not been rated for what it is, a blatant infringement of the nation's sovereignty, a barrier to the political and economic freedom of the Irish people. As against this Mr. Lemass and all the rest of the professional politicians

consider that the border has made enough sense at all stages to justify their use of the forces at their disposal, allied with coercive legislation, to maintain the border in defiance of the wishes of the vast majority of the Irish race and to the detriment of the interests, prosperity and happiness of the citizens of Ireland.

For the well paid professional politicians, parasites on many who are poor and in need, the border may not have made much sense at any stage, except to maintain it at all costs lest their professional political careers be placed in jeopardy. But for the taxpayers, for the unemployed and underemployed, for the emigrants, for the poor and undernourished the partition of Ireland has a significant meaning, because for over forty years it has precluded development of a properly organised economy within which the evils they have suffered and still suffer would have been eliminated.

### **Intended to Deceive**

The border has meant a lot for those Irish men and women within the Six Counties who have been sold by the professional politicians into slavery and subjection to British rule and British domination. It had a particular meaning for the Irishmen who since 1922 sacrificed their lives in protest against the partition of their native land in an effort to liberate the people of the Six Occupied Counties. And finally the border is of such importance to the future welfare and prosperity of the Irish People that its continuing existence and forcible maintenance justifies the Republican prisoners for their sacrifices to terminate it.

To state that, under Common Market conditions, the border will become "even more than ever now a patent and obvious absurdity" is a deliberate and calculated attempt to mislead people into the completely erroneous belief that with Ireland's membership of the Community the border and partition rule in Ireland will come to an end. To allege that under such conditions the border between "Ireland's North and South would have no reality" is likewise intended to deceive the Irish people and to induce them to "buy" the Common Market on "terms of sale" concocted by professional politicians with certain of their leaders acting in the role of auctioneers.

### **British Controlled Territory**

To understand just how little effect Ireland's entry into the Common Market will have on the border or partition of the national territory it becomes necessary to examine briefly how Central Government of the Six Counties is arranged and how it operates. Central Government of the area is vested in the Westminster and Stormont Parliaments. What are known as the "Reserved Services" are directly controlled and administered by Westminster. In either the control or administration of these services the Stormont Government or the people of the area have no more say or influence than the residents of Hong Kong.

These "Reserved Services" include the Post Office, Profits Taxes, etc., Income Tax and Surtax, Purchase Tax and Customs and Excise. Total "Reserved Revenue" accruing to the British Exchequer from the "Reserved Services" approximates to 86.5% of the total cost of Central Government taxation paid by the people of the Six Counties. The services under Stormont control and administration are known as the "Transferred Services" and the revenue accruing to the Stormont Exchequer from these services is known as the "Transferred Revenue".

To further illustrate and for purposes of comparison the respective (estimated)

figures for the year ended March 31, 1958, are as follows :—"Reserved Revenue" £84,159,000. "Transferred Revenue" £9,082,667. From "Reserved Revenue" the British Government deducts (a) the administration costs of the "Reserved Services" and (b) the "Imperial Contribution." For the year ended March 31, 1958, the respective (estimated) figures are: "Reserved Services" £7,716,000. "Imperial Contribution" £9,500,000. The sum of these combined figures subtracted from the sum of the "Reserved Revenue" gives what is known as the "Residual Cash Balance." After some minor adjustments this cash balance is returned, mainly through bi-monthly instalments, to the Stormont Exchequer.

From this brief thumb-nail sketch it will be seen that, for administration purposes, the border between Ireland's North and South is the land boundary, not simply between the partition statelets, but for all practical purposes between British occupied and controlled territory and the 26 Counties. Customs Posts on the Northern side of the border are manned by **British Customs Officials** just the same as the Customs Posts at Holyhead, Liverpool, Glasgow or any other British ports of entry. With the meaning of the Customs posts on the border, or with the general administration of the Customs barriers between the partitioned statelets the Stormont Government has no say whatever.

### **Occupation Forces Will Remain**

A declared aim of the Common Market is to establish free trade between the member states of the community. In other words to do away with customs and quota restrictions between member states and thus open up free movement of goods, capital and labour forces within the Community area. With Ireland and Britain admitted to membership of the Community the existing Customs Posts on the border will go, in the same way and only to the same extent as those at say Dublin, Cork, Holyhead and Liverpool. To that extent, and only to that extent, will the border "become even more than now a patent and obvious absurdity." Any claim that in such circumstances the border "between Ireland's North and South would have no reality" is a deliberate misrepresentation, a piece of political chicanery intended to mislead public opinion in general and the Irish people in particular.

The British Government will remain in control of the "Reserved Services" and will continue to administer them and to extract the annual "Imperial Contribution" from the residents of the Six Counties, a contribution that over the years since 1921 has averaged ten and a half million pounds per year. The British Forces of Occupation will remain on Irish territory to enforce Britain's domination of Irish affairs and to make certain that Ireland's right to full freedom will continue to be withheld to the end that British colonial and imperial interests may be better served.

### **Stormont Will Continue**

The Stormont Government will remain in existence to control and administer the "Transferred Services," to maintain "Law and Order," and enjoying exactly the same freedom it exercises to-day to employ at will those methods that since its inception, it has used to maintain a bigoted, sectarian and anti-national administration. Ireland will remain partitioned under the rule of two native partition Governments with Britain exercising identically the same powers over Irish affairs, that she exercises to-day.

For this crazy and unjust administration the people of Ireland are paying a rapidly

# ALL 32 COUNTIES

## The Basis For Economic Development

**SINN FEIN** is pledged to abolish the existing partition institutions of government in Ireland, and to replace them with an All-Ireland Parliament, having complete and effective jurisdiction over the entire national territory.

In the National Parliament Sinn Fein is pledged to :

- (a) Adopt a monetary system which will equate the volume of money to the economic needs of the nation. Such an equation of the volume of money (currency and credit) to the national needs rather than to external foreign exchange will constitute the difference between a National monetary system and the present international system based on the Sterling link.
- (b) Break the link with Sterling. Maintaining this system is, in effect, placing our economic security in pawn with the monetary control of, and subordinating our monetary policy to, the Bank of England. The security that a National Government can provide and the productive capacity of the Nation would secure the backing for Irish currency in substitution for that now provided by Sterling.
- (c) Repatriate accumulated external assets and apply a policy aimed at securing that the savings of the Irish people and profits accruing from their labours will not go to Britain or elsewhere, to bolster up and maintain the economies of foreign countries, whilst capital development in Ireland suffers from under-investment. Particular attention will be given to

Banks, Insurance and Assurance Corporations, and all other concerns, especially those having their headquarters outside Ireland, which follow the practice of investing in foreign enterprises. Foreign investment in Ireland will be strictly curtailed (or, if necessary, abolished). Through the practice of allowing foreign speculators to invest capital in Irish undertakings, profits accruing from the labour and enterprise of Irish workers pass into the hands of foreigners.

The policy of Sinn Fein is such as to permit a Republican Government of the future to consider entering into international agreements of an economic nature, provided always that the interests of the Irish people were safeguarded.

The agricultural South has been severed from the industrial North. Following on this, frantic efforts are being made to bolster up the agriculture of the Six Counties and the manufacturing industries of the 26 Counties. Artificial vested interests have thereby been created, both North and South, which would resist the administration of the country as one economic unit. A united Ireland would have a balanced economy.

Sinn Fein is striving to achieve the unity and independence of Ireland, and the development of her natural resources in the interests of her people. We have had 40 years of the British-imposed system of partition government. That it be ended now is imperative.

The administration of a sovereign independent 32-county Republic on Christian Social Principles, will bring happiness and prosperity to all the people of Ireland.

increasing annual sum currently in excess of 250 million pounds, and this exorbitant and largely unnecessary drain on their resources will not cease on, will remain unaffected by, Ireland's entry into the Common Market. Ireland's economy will remain in all essential respects based on the exercise of two separate statelets, because the full freedom of the nation and the unity of the country, the two things that are indispensable to the organisation of a national economy, will continue to be withheld by an alien power occupying by force a part of the nation's territory.

At the function in Belfast which he attended Mr. Lynch is further reported as stating: "It could be argued with justification that the economic progress of Ireland as a whole has been and is being hindered by the existence of the Border." It will be noted how he avoided saying partition. He then went on to state "to the extent that reactionary politicians had contributed to the setting up and maintenance of this Border, it was difficult to absolve them from a goodly share of the responsibility for having put a brake on the country's economic progress." Those who seek and strive for Ireland's freedom and the welfare of her people can fully agree and endorse both of these statements.

### **They Maintain Partition**

They will, however, extend his reasoning and his summarisation to its true and logical end. They will point out that when Mr. Lynch castigated "reactionary politicians" for their part in the setting up and maintenance of the border he failed to recognise or to realise, that he was castigating himself and his professional political colleagues who govern the 26 County statelet. The members of the present 26-County partition Government may not have contributed to the setting up of the border. But since they and their political party predecessors in office achieved control of Government no "reactionary politicians" have been more assiduous in maintaining partition and no bunch of politicians in Ireland's North and South are more reactionary in this respect than they have shown themselves to be.

Using all the forces and resources at their disposal they have co-operated with Britain and her occupation forces in Ireland in maintaining the unjust partition of the nation's territory. Ireland's entry into the Common Market will make no change in this respect. It will not call for the repeal of the Offences Against the State Act in Ireland's South or for the repeal of the Special Powers Act in Ireland's North, Acts allowing for the deprivation of the civil rights and liberties of the people, for victimisation, for persecution and for police rule on a scale not exceeded by undemocratic laws in any other part of the world.

### **Stormont Minister's Assessment**

Compared with the prevarication of Messrs. Lemass, Lynch and company the forthright statement of Captain O'Neill, Six County Minister of Finance, as reported in the "Irish Press" 24/2/'62, has much to commend it as a factual assessment of the border situation after Ireland's entry into the Common Market. "The Six Counties would no more become a part of the Irish Republic if Eire joins the Common Market, than Yorkshire will become a German Province . . . it has been assumed by some people in London that the border between Eire and the United Kingdom will vanish. We wish Eire well if she joins the Common Market. But she should not try to sell

this idea to an unwilling electorate, by stating that Ulster will then fall into her lap like a ripe plum."

Only when the people of Ireland embrace the cause of full freedom and support a genuine and determined effort to break free from the foreign political and economic bonds that bind them in subjection to foreign interests and domination, and only then will the partition of Ireland be terminated. This much to be desired end will be realised when those who adhere to political and sectarian leadership extend their thoughts and their visions beyond the horizon of party interests, chicanery and make-believe by which reactionary politicians in Ireland's North and South have enshrouded them.

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SINN FÉIN

NATIONAL UNITY

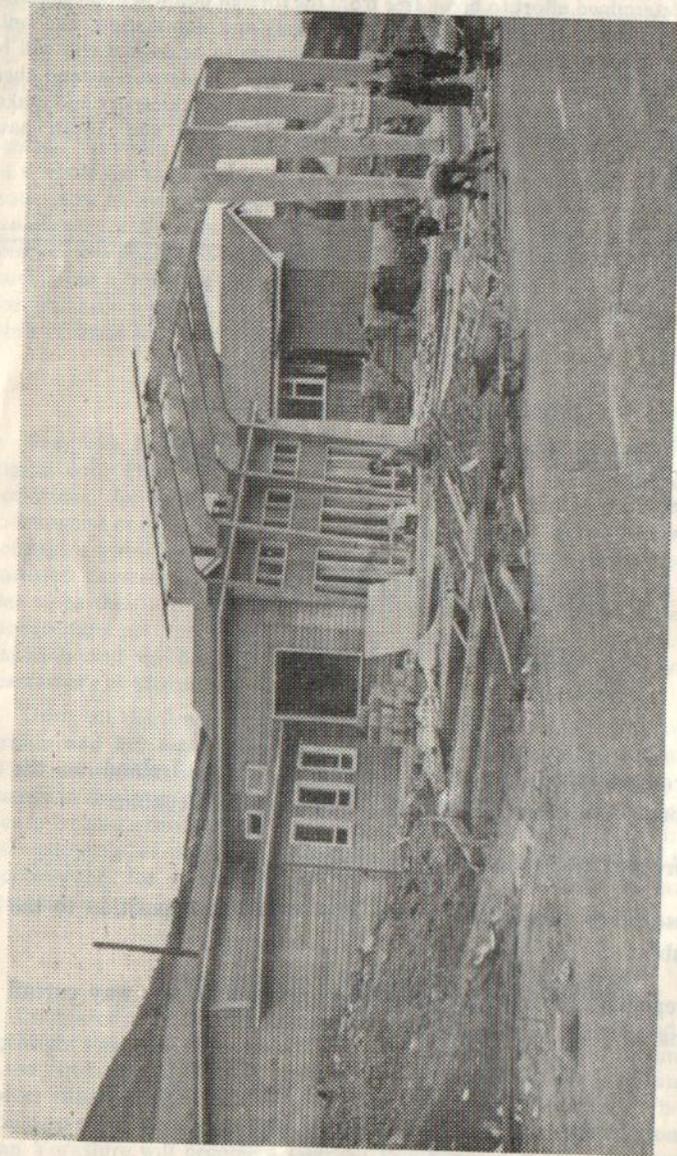
and

INDEPENDENCE  
PROGRAMME

1. To convene the elected representatives of all Ireland as the National Assembly of the Independent Irish Republic.
2. To proceed to legislate for all Ireland.
3. To use every means in our power to overcome opposition to the Republic.
4. To repudiate all treaties, pacts and laws that in any way curtail the nation's independence.

Ní Neart go Cur le Chéile

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On January 1, 1963, Mr. Lemass reduced tariffs by ten per cent., in preparation for joining the E.E.C. But as the New Year dawned, work was proceeding apace on the new 26-County Customs Post (pictured above) being built at Carrickarnon on the main Dublin—Belfast road. It will cost £13,000. A few hundred yards away at Killeen, a new British Customs Post has already been opened. It cost £20,000. This certainly does not look like the "disappearance of the Border." Yet Mr. Lemass insists "the Border will have no reality in the E.E.C."

# THE ALTERNATIVE TO THE COMMON MARKET

**W**HENEVER discussion centres on the problem of the E.E.C. or whenever any consideration is given to the matter of Ireland's entry into the Community, almost invariably the question is asked, what is the alternative to her joining? In a superficial way this question implies that the nation of 32 counties has a choice in the matter.

It is no harm to reiterate that the nation, as a unit, has no choice in this, nor, for that matter, in any other question affecting its national or economic welfare. The unjust forcible division of the nation's territory and the forcible maintenance of partition, by all three Governments that rule the country, preclude any chance, any hope of an overall national decision in the interests of the nation and its citizens.

In these circumstances, therefore, and since six counties of the national territory will be forcibly committed by Britain to whatever ultimate course, taken in her own selfish interests, she decides upon in relation to her joining the Common Market, the question of the alternative to Ireland's joining the Community boils down to the question of what is the alternative for the Southern partition statelet.

## If Application is Refused

There is one simple way in which an answer to this question may be given. It is, that the alternative is precisely that which the partition statelet will have to find and abide by if the application of its professional political rulers for admission of the area to the Community is rejected. And it may well be that just such a thing will happen. In such event what measures will the statelet's rulers, and other advocates of full acceptance of the unknown and undefined ramifications to which they would commit the area and its people, propose should be taken? Or is it their case that economic conditions will have deteriorated to the point where survival becomes impossible?

If this be their contention, and from the line of reasoning indicated in their advocacy it would appear to be just that, and if for this reason they are prepared, as they indicate they are, to forfeit the measure of freedom attained and the sovereignty of our nation, then they stand self condemned, and as accepting in its full scope and equity the judgment of the present generation and posterity, that they have abjectly failed to lead our people to the freedom, prosperity and happiness which is their rightful inheritance.

Any attempt to make an assessment of the relative merits of joining, or remaining outside the Common Market is made difficult by the fact that individual or collective judgments have to be made on the basis of what individuals, or groups, visualise as the economic conditions that will obtain if membership of the Community eventuates.

To premise consideration of the matter on the hypothesis that as a member it will be possible for the partition statelet to maintain present-day economic standards or to achieve any improvement of them, is sheer speculation. Likewise any consideration given to an effort to assess the economic conditions that would emerge from non-membership must have a hypothetical basis, because no one can say for certain what exactly the impact of a fully developed Common Market economy will have upon economic conditions within the partition statelet.

### Trade With Community

But if those who advocate membership claim a right, either as rulers or otherwise to commit the statelet to the full and yet unknown political, economic and military ramifications of a European bloc on the hypothesis that the interests of its people are thereby served, then those who stand opposed to what they believe to be, and regard as the intention of professional politicians, given the opportunity to sell, or otherwise surrender the nation's right to full sovereignty, have an equal right to assume that the present or an improved economic standard is feasible outside the Common Market.

A considerable part of the case made for joining the Common Market is based upon the assumption that the "Common Tariff" barrier will price the products of non-member nations out of the Community Market, or restrict their flow into it. There are indications that few substantial grounds exist for such an assumption. In the first place it is most unlikely that the Community can exist in complete economic isolation from the rest of the world. That nations adjacent to the Community either refuse to join or seek only association with it indicates their concurrence with this view. It will have to seek markets in non-member states for its surplus production. It will have to import goods not produced within the Community, or that are otherwise in short supply. Hence it will have to seek and obtain reciprocal trade agreements with non-member states, on terms of trade that can prove to be equally as favourable to them as if they were full members of the Community.

Further it must be borne in mind that the Community has deliberately made provision for trade with states outside the Common Tariff area. This provision is embodied in Article 238 of the Treaty of Rome. It is worded as follows: "The Community may conclude with a third country, a union of states, or an international organisation agreements creating an association embodying reciprocal rights and obligations, joint actions and special procedures."

### Associate Membership

Within this provision ample room is left for a wide variety of commercial treaties. And it is also noteworthy that whereas full membership is available only to European states, association, as outlined in the foregoing Article, has no geographical limitations. The wording of this Article leaves no room for doubts either on the score of its purpose or its scope. And it effectively disposes of the contention that non-membership carries with it an absolute deprivation of any share in the markets of the Community.

In the case of association the political and military implications are considerably less substantial than in the case of membership. Association permits a much more flexible trade arrangement less closely shaped to the rigid pattern of full membership. It also involves a much lesser surrender of national autonomy over domestic affairs, a very much lesser subjection to the common policies of the Community and it is worthwhile remembering that *common policies* will be decided by *majority vote*.

During 1961, according to details published by the Central Statistics Office, the Southern Partition Statelet imported goods valued at 35.3 million pounds from the E.E.C. area and exported to it goods valued at 11.3 million pounds. Imports rose by 5.9 million pounds over the figure for 1960. It may be assumed that the measure of these imports, and the possibility of a continuing expansion of them will cause the E.E.C. to hesitate before erecting a tariff barrier which would reduce, or completely stem this, to it, favourable flow of trade, simply because the Statelet opted to remain outside the Community. And even if the Community took such a step then an alternative for the Statelet would be to gear its production to providing internally the goods now imported from the E.E.C. rather than attempting to gear productivity at home to the competitive demands of the Common Market.

### The British Market

To date there has been no appreciable diminution of trade between East and West Germany or between the Community and countries east of the Iron Curtain. And what are future prospects? Some observers go so far as stating the only likely change will be that instead of trading as heretofore with individual states, comprising the Community, the Eastern Bloc countries will, from now on, deal with the Community as a unit. In point of fact it could be, if the Community continues to thrive, that countries East of the Iron Curtain will be provided with greater export opportunities. None of these countries seeks membership of the Community. They accept, in their own interests, the alternative available to them.

A principal plank in the platform of those who advocate membership is that to retain a share in the British market the Statelet has no option but to seek entry into the Common Market. But the simple and obvious fact remains that if Britain enters the Community her markets will be thrown wide open to nations better organised, better equipped, and with productive capacity far greater than that of this Statelet. In such circumstances the prospects of the Statelet's securing a share of the British market on anything approaching the existing scale are very remote.

An ironical aspect of the British market question is that, on the one hand, the case for the Statelet's entry into the Common Market is represented as an absolute essential because Britain's policy of subsidised support for her own agricultural producers devalued her market for certain of the Statelet's exports to it. On the other hand it is represented that to retain a share in the British Market the Statelet must join the Community. Didn't a prominent professional politician once make the ponderous statement "You cannot have it both ways"?

### Reduce British Imports

The alternative? The money volume of the Statelet's imports from Britain in 1959 exceeded 100 million pounds and its exports to Britain were in excess of 77 million pounds. For Britain the prospects of the Community, in view of its almost

self-sufficiency, providing an outlet for British exports on this scale are scanty. And just as Britain makes her membership of the Community conditional on some measure of freedom to retain Commonwealth trade on preferential terms outside the Common Tariff of the Community, so in her own interests it may be assumed she will seek similar accommodation in respect of her trade relations with the Statelet as a non-member of the Common Market.

In these circumstances, or even should these circumstances not arise, the common-sense thing would be to adjust the pattern of the Statelet's economy with a view to reducing the volume of British imports and, in addition, gear its productive capacity to provide at least some of the goods remaining to be imported from Britain. On balance, the deficit accruing to the Statelet would not necessarily be in excess of that which will probably arise because the superior competitive capacity of the Community states will enable them to "corner" the British market, and squeeze the Statelet out of any worthwhile share in it.

### Dollar Exports and Home Market

According to the Central Statistics Office the volume of the Statelet's exports to the Dollar countries rose from 14.1 million pounds in 1960 to 16.4 millions in 1961. Expansion of this market would, in some degree at least, provide an alternative.

A further, and of all the alternatives that spring to mind, a most important alternative is to cease chasing around the globe seeking markets, which in all cases and in all circumstances place the future of the home economy in the hands of foreigners and entirely at their mercy to use as it suits their own interests, whilst the economic conditions such a policy enforces deprive thousands of our own people of the means to purchase the consumer goods of which they stand in dire need, and the purchase of which would provide, through an expansion of the home market, an outlet for goods for which export markets have not to be sought.

Within the Community the productive capacity of the Statelet will have to be organised and geared to provide products that will be in short supply within the Community area. And it will have to produce such goods on a costs basis that will enable them to be disposed of on cut-throat competitive terms. Hence low cost production and all it entails will be an absolute essential. Further, since the Community is intended to be a trading entity, a unit, member states may be precluded from seeking and negotiating bilateral trade agreements, or treaties with non-member states. All such trade agreements, or treaties will be negotiated by the Economic Authority of the Community with particular reference to its own interests and quite regardless of the impoverishment it may inflict upon a member state through depriving it of the right and the opportunity to negotiate trade agreements favourable to its own interests.

### Freedom to Negotiate

The alternative of remaining outside the Common Market will enable the Statelet to negotiate trade agreements or treaties wherever markets are, or become, available for surplus goods the production of which is organised and geared to serve the interests of the home economy. It will allow some freedom of choice in selecting what goods should be produced; having regard to the interests of our own people. And in the matter of production costs the competitive element will not be any greater; it may well be much less than that which E.E.C. conditions will compel.

It will also mean that instead of the home market being thrown wide open to the competitive capacity of member states to undersell native products and therefore place even the home market in jeopardy to the native producers, that the home market can be reserved entirely to the home producers for its requirements of those goods and services which the native economy is capable of providing.

It is frankly admitted by the professional politicians that the economic welfare of citizens of the Statelet may not be enhanced through membership of the Community. All their statements, all their propaganda advocating entry into the Common Market are a maze of qualifications, a combination of "musts" which will have to be complied with, in order that the Statelet's economy and the future welfare of its people will not in fact be jeopardised through membership.

The small word "if" keeps recurring at an alarming rate. Other qualifications are profuse and all are stressed as absolute essentials. To repeat just a few:—"Increased Productivity", "Workers and bosses must co-operate," "Amalgamation of Industries", "Merging of farms", "Co-operation among small farmers", "Rationalisation", "Specialisation" and so on through the whole gamut.

Here again the alternative springs to mind. Some of the requirements are unacceptable because of their nature, and the adverse elements inherent in them, but others if developed and applied to the home economy would help to expand the home market and would also go some part of the way towards enabling the products of the Statelet to pierce whatever common tariff barrier the Community may erect. Incidentally, trade-unionists and others whose means of livelihood may be jeopardised by "redundancy" within industry would be well advised to give earnest consideration to this drift.

### Political Alignments

It would be possible to go on suggesting alternatives to each of the points made in favour of membership. This, however, is unnecessary since alternatives will occur to those who give any worthwhile measure of thought to the matter. The alternatives suggested may, or may not, in the economic sphere prove more beneficial to the Statelet or to the interests of its people than those that would accrue from membership.

But there is one tremendous advantage for the Statelet and its citizens in the further alternative of keeping it clear of political and military alignments, involving commitments the scope of which is yet unknown, even to the rulers of the Statelet who, on the unwarranted presumption that they speak and act for the people of Ireland, now publicly proclaim the national heresy that for membership of the Common Market our people must pay the admission fee and that in the absence of any kind of preview, any sort of advance publicity which would reliably indicate the merits of the circus.

### Neutrality Bargained

It is very important that the citizens of the partition Statelet should now realise that the official policy of the professional political rulers now publicly accepts that the Statelet *should* join in the military defence of a Western bloc. In passing it may be noted that by this summersault the Statelet's rulers have discarded the mantle of neutrality formerly worn by them. They have discarded it without any mandate from the people unfortunate enough to have them as rulers. They have discarded it without regard for the sacrifices the people may have to make in defence and maintenance of foreign interests, survival of which brings no benefits, no succour in

its wake. They have discarded it without any great wish of the people, outside circles having vested interests, for European unity or alignments with military blocs.

Those who have discarded the mantle of neutrality are not prompted by considerations of this kind. They are influenced solely and entirely through the fear of forfeiting the British market to continental producers. They are prepared to commit the people to payment of any price, no matter how exorbitant, for something that may well prove worthless, since even on their own showing, on their own reckoning, European competition may deprive the Statelet of a substantial share of, if not the entire British market, in any event.

Mr. Lemass and his professional henchmen have a right to gamble with possessions in their rightful and private ownership. But they do not own the part of partitioned Ireland over which they rule and hence they have no legitimate right whatever to gamble it and the future of its rightful owners in a game of power politics, where the cards are "stacked" against the interests of the Irish people. Such a gamble reveals just how closed are the minds of the professional politicians to the interests of the nation and future welfare of its people.

### Undefined State of Slavery

Even should Irish people have to endure economic hardships as a price for remaining outside the Common Market, the nationally minded and thinking among them would prefer to make sacrifices to retain liberty of action in maintaining the nation's right to Sovereign Independence rather than to sell themselves into an undefined state of slavery as the bondsmen of the political manoeuvres and cut-throat economic competitive conditions of a foreign controlled and dominated alliance.

The purpose of this statement is an endeavour to attract attention to the probability that, taking the long term view, the Southern partition Statelet may have nothing to lose in the economic sphere, by remaining outside the Common Market. Further that, even if less favourable economic conditions evolve through non-membership, the Statelet and its citizens will be more than amply compensated, because they will not have to make the far greater and more devastating sacrifices the political and military commitments membership of the Community will compel.

It must not be assumed that because this statement deals almost exclusively with the area of one of the British imposed partition Statelets that recognition of the Statelet, for other than what it really is, is intended or even implied. The reason for confining the scope of the statement is given at the outset.

### The Enduring Alternative

The future welfare of Ireland in the economic, political and all other spheres, hinges on something far more fundamental than the party and anti-national manoeuvrings of the professional and overpaid politicians, ably abetted by the self-interested, to commit even a part of Ireland to any form of economic, political and military control designed and administered by foreign elements.

The real, worthwhile and enduring alternative to the Common Market and to partition can only be erected as a national structure on the secure foundation of Ireland's complete liberation from foreign occupation, from foreign domination and from foreign influence.

On this ground Sinn Fein stands fast to-day as in the past it has stood. Taking its stand on this fundamental essential for the nation's survival and future welfare, Sinn Fein opposes the sale, or other form of surrender, of a single iota of Ireland's just claim and right to self-determination and sovereign Independence.

# FORWARD NOW —TO FREEDOM

*Extract from the Presidential address delivered to the annual Ard-Fheis of Sinn Fein in Dublin, October 28, 1962*

**D**URING the past fifteen years the whole world has been in a turmoil of change and progress. New nations have emerged from the darkness of slavery to the light of freedom and old nations have led their people to undreamed of heights of prosperity and technical achievement.

In the midst of all this the Irish nation has remained prostrate and unmoved—her heartbeat slowed by the loss of her finest children, her lifeblood sucked away by financial vampires and the lion's paw firmly clamped around her windpipe shutting off the life giving breath of freedom.

The Republican Movement alone has continuously striven to rescue the nation from her terrible fate, but all attempts to drive off the marauding lion have been defeated with the aid of native slaves who treacherously give aid and succour to the enemy and bind the nation more securely in bondage.

### Treaty Is Relevant To-day

This is 1962 and we are continuously reminded that we must think in terms of to-day's conditions. But, if, in assessing the condition of the Irish nation to-day, we frequently refer to events of 40 years ago and in particular to the Treaty of Surrender of 1921, it is because to-day's conditions are a direct result of those events. Since Ireland, all Ireland, is bound to-day politically and economically by the terms of the 1921 Treaty, then that Treaty is as relevant to to-day's conditions as if it was signed yesterday.

For 120 years no one could intelligently discuss the political, social or economic condition of Ireland without reference to the infamous Act of Union of 1801, and it is patently obvious that for the past 40 years no one could intelligently discuss the political, social or economic condition of Ireland without reference to the equally infamous and disastrous Treaty of 1921.

The Act of Union was as real and as offensive in 1901 as it was in 1801 and the Treaty of Surrender is as real and offensive in 1962 as it was in 1922. In fact the Treaty of 1921 was a ratification of the Government of Ireland Act 1920 which was passed by the British Parliament as an amendment to the Act of Union.

The substance of the 1921 Treaty and subsequent amendments was that approximately one fifth of Irish territory and one-third of the Irish people were ceded to Britain and are to-day regarded internationally as an integral part of Britain. The remaining four-fifths of Irish territory and two-thirds of Irish people were granted a limited control over their own affairs. Politically they were bound to operate only the institutions of government set up by British Act of Parliament; militarily they were bound to purchase only such equipment as was permitted by Britain and the size of their army was controlled, and economically they were rigidly restricted as control of credit and currency remained in the hands of Britain.

This is the position we are faced with in 1962. Those who accept the institutions of Government set up by Britain and the Military, Financial and Economic conditions laid down by Britain thereby accept the Treaty of Surrender. Republicans reject the shameful Treaty and will neither operate the institutions nor accept the conditions arising from it. They claim the whole territory of Ireland in the name of the Irish people and will operate only such institutions of Government as are established by the universal suffrage of all the Irish people.

### We Have Been Living a Lie

Untold damage has been done to the Irish mind during the past 40 years. By lies, deceit and hypocrisy party politicians have persuaded a large section of the Irish people that they have now achieved the Sovereign Republic of their dreams. The result is that the people, seeing poverty, unemployment, emigration, broken homes and denuded countryside all about them, are asking: "What good is freedom, sovereignty and independence? We were better off as a colony of England. What we want is a job and a decent livelihood in our own country. Let us back to the Empire or let us sink our sovereignty and independence in Europe." They do not realise that we have been living a lie, that we have never had independence or control of our own affairs.

The people are being emasculated by the teachings of the modern disciples of O'Connell—that the freedom of Ireland is not worth the shedding of one drop of blood. The strong manly, straight and true teachings of Tone, Mitchel, Connolly and Pearse are suppressed and silenced. A nation indoctrinated with O'Connellism is doomed to slavery. O'Connell made craven slaves of a fine, upright people. He made them ashamed of their native tongue, ashamed of their cultural heritage, ashamed of their proud history and taught them to look for salvation to their masters in Westminster. Thus indoctrinated they were ready to die by the roadside or fly from their homeland in millions rather than fight for what was theirs by God-given right—the right to life and to the unfettered control of all the resources of their own Nation.

### Pawns in a Nuclear Holocaust

Is the situation not similar to-day? Have our people not reached the stage where they are ashamed of their native tongue, their culture and their history? Do they not look to England, and latterly to Europe, for salvation rather than seek their own salvation with their strong right arm? Have they not for years been ready to close up their homes and fly from their homeland in millions rather than fight for what is theirs by God-given right?

This is an attitude of mind which we must fight. The Republican Movement has not as yet succeeded in rescuing the nation from subjection, but it has preserved in the nation the **will to live and the will to be free**. Let us ensure now that this is not lost in the current stampede to barter the very soul of the nation for nothing but the vague hope of some temporary economic advantage.

The Irish people, either of the Six or 26 County areas, are to be given no opportunity of saying whether or not they want to join the European Economic Community. The outcome of Britain's negotiations will decide the issue for the people of Ireland. Although the politicians of the 26 County government will negotiate

separately with the E.E.C., they are in fact tied to Britain's decision. These men have already acquiesced in the sale of part of the nation, which was called "a damned good bargain," so they will now have no qualms about selling the remainder. In fact they have sold out in advance by stating categorically in the name of the 26 County State, that they accept without reservation all the implications, political and economic, of membership of the E.E.C.

The latest statement from the leader of the 26 County Government is "We have made it quite clear that our desire is to participate in **whatever political union may ultimately be developed in Europe**. We are making no reservations of any sort, including Defence." "Whatever political union may ultimately be developed" be it Capitalist, Fascist or Communist, we are to be pushed into it. We are also to be committed to any military alliances established by the E.E.C. and must provide bases both for nuclear and conventional operations when requested by the Western European colonial powers, including Britain.

No economic advantages could compensate for loss of sovereignty and independence of action to become pawns in a nuclear holocaust. Instead of casting aside what little freedom remains to us we should be gearing all our energies to regain complete sovereignty and independence for the whole nation.

### Industrial Labour Will Suffer

In actual fact no tangible economic advantages are being offered either to the people of Six County or 26 County areas. All that is certain is that industry north and south of the border will suffer severely and, of course, industrial labour will suffer most of all.

Major redundancy is certain, estimates ranging from 30,000 to 100,000 in the 26 County area and anything from 10,000 to 40,000 in the Six County area. Agricultural policy for the E.E.C. has not yet been decided so that economists' forecasts are mere speculation.

However, it appears certain that the heavy subsidies to farmers in the Six Counties must cease, wheat farmers will be obliterated and small dairy farmers will, as a matter of policy, be wiped out. All this will be called "Rationalisation" and will be duly proved to be in the best interests of the victims.

It is not necessary to deal at any length here with the ridiculous plea that entry to the E.E.C. by Britain and the 26 County State will mean the end of partition. This is a blatant and hypocritical lie. The economic barriers between the Six and 26 Counties were set up by the 26 County government and can be withdrawn at any time whether inside or outside the E.E.C. But this will not end British occupation or reduce in any way British domination of Irish affairs.

### Materialism of Every Brand

All arguments against the political implications of the Rome Treaty are answered with the slogan "We can't be neutral in the fight against Communism." This is supposed to kill all opposition. In so far as the Communist menace is a battle for men's minds, we should undoubtedly be playing a leading part in the fight against it, as we should in the fight against materialism of every brand. Our greatest weapon in the fight against all material philosophies is our essentially spiritual nature. This life of the spirit in the Irish people is being slowly asphyxiated by American and

British materialism and it is now to be finally extinguished in the new materialist Europe on the specious plea that we are aiding in the fight against Communism.

### The Task Ahead

The finest method by which the Irish people can fight Communism or any other of the social or political ills of our day is :—

1. To restore the territorial integrity of the nation.
2. Re-unite the Irish people within a sovereign, independent Republic.
3. Re-assert our nationality and that pride in our race which we have almost lost.
4. Take control of all the resources of the nation and use them to build a social and economic system suited to our individual character.
5. To restore, build and strengthen our native language, culture and traditions.
6. To give leadership to the Irish people throughout the world and protect their interests constantly, wherever they might be.

A weak, divided and dying nation can be of no help to anyone in any fight. Only when full strength, vigour and glory is restored to the Irish nation can she give a positive and valuable lead to others and take her rightful place in any community of nations.

The Irish nation may not have great natural resources but it has undoubtedly **the finest people** in the world—strong and vigorous in body, keen and quick in mind, progressive in ideas, brave in battle, generous, tolerant, and kind in nature.

This is a nation which has made an enormous contribution to the evolution of modern democratic thought and has pointed the way to freedom for enslaved peoples throughout the world. We have destroyed empires and built free nations. Let us now in God's name bend our energies to building our own.

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## EASTER 1916



*'We hereby proclaim  
the Irish Republic a  
Sovereign Independent  
State'*

We stand for the Proclamation  
of the Republic  
**WILL YOU?**

Fight the  
**COMMON MARKET**

**Sell-out**

*Support Sinn Féin*

*Ard-Rúnaíthe: Tomás Mistéil,  
Éamonn Mac Thomáis,  
30 Plás Gardiner,  
Baile Átha Cliath 1.*

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**Title:** Nation or Province? Ireland and the Common Market

**Organisation:** Sinn Féin [Pre 1970]

**Date:** 1963

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