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brollac.

Isordé deirfead? Go mbéid Éire pós ag Aiséirge? Aict sin sean-scéal; nó b'férdir eisiompláir mar shéarang-sgéal. Ar scor ar bith scéal cinné é.

I ndiaidh "Aiséirge 1942" ní measaím go b'fhlil fior-riachtas le tuille a ráid le Saeóilseoirí. Iad san acaí atá d'áirír, tuigseád go leor agus misnáil go leór, béid siad linn. Is truaig linn ná c'ontúig linn i 1943 ar mbollaíreacht uilg a déanamh i nSaeóil. Aict sin fén, an t-éigeanas sin, cruacháin eile go b'fhlil séar-gád le n-ár leitéirí, dream rascanta réabhlóideac, ar bhealaí, ná c'ngéillfír do d'eactráctai dá méid dá mbéid ins an tsliúis. Anois, inoíú, má a c'oróige, Saeódealocárt Éire. Saeódealocárt Aiséirge ó bun go bárr i. I ndiaidh ciall ceannuigthe píche a h-aon blianta ag meas go b'fhlil d'óis ar bith ar éor ar bith eile d'iomaoite de leagan amach lucht Aiséirge?

Aict ní as Saeódealacás ná as éifeacht saoirse ar fad atá munisgin ag na h-Altití. Is ionadó dhúine (Criostairdeannais i n-ainm) a cabrocaidh san molí linn dá ndéanamh dearmad air comhglan ionlán agus a cleacútuigheas lucht polaiticiúil, aict ar a shon san a's uile is ar bhuainte agus ar fírinne agus ar bith-áitneacht na Criostiocta-áitá ár seasamh go h-uile. Do cun glóire Dé go fíor agus go follusac a shaothrocaimí agus éan éun onóra na h-Éireann amháin; agus is ar an aðbar sin atá ag éiríse linn d'ainmdeoin deactráctai a leagfaidh fadaí. Agus is ar an tséala sin a éireogaird linn go h-antapaird agus go h-iontac ionlán ins an am atá le teacht.

"Córas Criostúil Comh-aoannac agus Seilleagrac a cur i bperíom i n-Éirinn shaoir Saeódealais." I meagán focal sin é ar gcuispóir. Sátaí agus sár-uasal é. Agus táimíodh d'áirír pár shaoirse freisin, a chara. Éire shaoir ó cuinn go tuinn. An luac, go piú má's luac pola é, is gád iocfaidh Altití na h-Aiséirge é. Aris ní ar an tséala sur rudo

naomhá saoirse polaiticiúil inntre fén aict de brið sur bunriachtas i éin foighnéad mar náisiún de Óia ar an d'óis is ionláine a thíos.

An céad rudo munisgin as Óia. I gclionn oibre dháim, an dara rudo na daoine uilg a b'fhlil fonn ortha saoctrú go d'áilis do leas na h-Éireann agus leas pobal na h-Éireann a cabairt le céile, a aontú go d'áilis le céile i ngluaiseacht láidir do-bhriste náisiúnta a fiorocas le n-ár linn fén Aisling na h-Aiséirge. Baic fíor-fear, as gád dream, as gád roinn, teas agus tuairí, toir agus tiar, Saeódeal agus Sall-Saeódeal, Caitliceac agus neamh-Caitliceac a seasamh gualann ar gualann le céile. Teaghlach siovúil, Criostúil uasal náisiúnta a déanamh de'n iolimaoi treibéannaí suaraíca saolta sanntaca síor-ctrocaidh atá ag déanamh dochair do'n tsaoil náisiúnta inoíú. Ni déanfar é gan ceannaireacht, gan sár-cuspóirí—agus gan Criostaiocáit.

Agus anois targaireacht Cuilm Cille: "Éireogaird dream beag i n-ár measc nár airíse aoinneac trácht ortha agus is iad a criochnócas an obair."

Seardóid ó cuinneagáin.

Iad Thaglaí an Fheáthra 1943

2aod	„	Aibhléán	„
3aod	„	lúl	„
4aod	„	Meitheamh	1944.

"Aiséirghe Says . . ." is intended as an explanation of the sixteen points of the programme of Ailtirí na hAiséirghe, the national organisation which is pledged to secure in our time finally the realisation of the aspirations of our twenty generations of patriot dead.

As will be obvious a particular standardised method has not been adhered to in dealing with each point. Critics will ask : "Why not?" Well, why ! If Aiséirghe proposed to do things in the way the people of Ireland are accustomed to see them done, Aiséirghe would not possess the historic significance and national importance for the Irish people which it undoubtedly has. Yes, we are different ! As different as we are decisive. As different as we shall be dynamic, defiant of every obstacle, every barrier in the path of the onward march of the Irish nation.

We are the New Ireland, and we shall make and mould the New Ireland to our liking, forging out of the Aiséirghe movement a weapon of steel that shall be a Sword of Light. Under Aiséirghe leadership the brilliance and pre-eminence of the Cuchullian cycle and Colmcille epoch will be combined and renewed and enhanced. The free, Gaelic, Christian Ireland of our fathers will Re-Arise to the fulfilment of an even greater destiny, the dissemination and practical manifestation in a twentieth century way, amongst modern men the world over, of the enduring eternal truth of the Christian message.

Yes, under the aegis of Aiséirghe ever-young Ireland once more greets destiny, confident, courageous, mindful of the words of Naomh Pól : "I can do all things in He Who strengthens me."

"AISÉIRGHE Says . . ."

SIXTEEN POINT PROGRAMME COMMENTARY

INDEPENDENCE.

(1) The securing of the independence of our country as an essential preliminary towards the establishment of a state which, in the Christian perfection of its social and economic systems, will be a model for the whole world.



It is unnecessary to deal at length with this most important point here as the ground has already been covered extensively in our pamphlet "Ireland's Twentieth Century Destiny." Suffice it to say that the tasks confronting the nation to-day are overwhelmingly immense. How can such a weak, divided, impoverished nation as we compel a greedy, unwilling empire to concede us our political freedom and territorial integrity? How restore the national language 85% of the population cannot speak? How rid ourselves of the curse of emigration or secure Orange allegiance for Ireland only? We do such things, we who over a period of twenty years haven't even been successful in solving a housing problem or in establishing an independent central bank or in removing the memorial to the famine queen from the threshold of Leinster House !

And yet even greater, more exacting work than indicated confronts us—yes to make world-manifest as a people that the real answer to Communism is not Fascism, not British Imperialism, not Japanese expansion or transatlantic

commercial opportunism, that the answer is rather simply actualised Christianity.

It is common knowledge that the greater the stimulus the greater the work accomplished. The ideal of a Gaelic and free Ireland saved national honour in 1916, made possible the accomplishment of incredibly difficult tasks subsequently. A more lofty ideal, the establishment of a state that in the Christian perfection of its social and economic systems will be a model for the whole world, will carry us right to the end of the road. We seek national freedom and the revival of the national language not merely for the sake of national glory, but as affording the necessary foundation for world service, because only then can we fulfil adequately our modern international mission.

If we have faith that we are co-operating with destiny, co-operating in the development of a divine plan, shall we not possess the emotional and spiritual strength to overcome any difficulty? As our aims are noble, so our courage shall be proportionately great. And with unyielding faith in God, trust in our destiny, and courage in action nothing however seemingly difficult will be impossible for us, the re-arisen twentieth century Celt.

There is no question that with restored national morale combined with the mobilisation of all the cultural, economic, financial and manpower resources at our disposal we can win complete political freedom to-day, that is if we want it not merely as our national and rational right but more importantly that we may fulfil our national responsibility to God.

Not only individuals have rights which involve responsibilities, and vice versa, but nations also.

Foreigners, particularly Englishmen, point out to us that we have this international mission. When will we heed them?

Our claim to freedom is founded not on hatred of England but on hatred of injustice. We can and should maintain and cultivate friendship with England or with any other country, but it must be on the basis of justice and mutual recognition of each other's rights. England has nothing to fear from a free Ireland. On the other hand unfree Ireland must ever remain, well we all know what!

In the freed Ireland the sincerity of our professions of Christianity will be judged abroad not so much by our domestic as our international policy, our dealings with our neighbours particularly in matters political and commercial. Especially will world opinion be affected by the cordiality or reverse of our relations with England. But the basis of that friendship, we repeat, is complete mutual recognition of each other's rights.

LANGUAGE, CULTURE, MORALE.

(2) **The fostering and strengthening of national morale through the restoration of the national language and the protection and preservation of our national culture.**

In regard to no important national problem is the insincerity of the professional politicians in the south of Ireland so palpable and glaringly manifest as in respect of the Irish language. How will Ailtirí na hAiséirghe restore the national language? By educating the people into a consciousness of its necessity for the maintenance of national morale, and of the vital importance of *that*. This result will be achieved speedily by the adoption of twentieth century propaganda methods.

At the same time the public will be provided with every facility for acquiring a speaking knowledge of the language and with every opportunity and inducement for using it. To-day it is generally more expensive and entails loss of time to use the national language. We shall see to it that that will in due course be the position in regard to the use of English. We reject the heresay that Ireland can or should become bilingual. We shall have our national language, the language of our forefathers, Gaelic. In the six-county area the revival pace will be made to suit local conditions, so that no one will justifiably nourish a feeling of being wronged.

The habit of speaking a language is best acquired through constantly listening to it. Accordingly, Ailtirí na hAiséirghe will arrange that it will be possible for everyone in the land to be in daily contact with the spoken tongue of the Gaeltacht, through the radio, talkie film, low-priced gramophone record, trained Gaeltacht language instructors.

Over a period of years the talkie film and stage shows, and the drama, the newspapers and all publications will be entirely Gaelicised.

It will be one of the first tasks of Ailtirí na hAiséirghe, of course, to found a nationally controlled film industry for Ireland.

Through the energetic state promotion of the fishing industry and afforestation and land division, the Gaeltacht will be put on a proper economic basis and Cromwell's curse certainly in this area thoroughly undone. Inducements will be held out to native Irish speakers compelled to emigrate to return to reside in Ireland.

Civil servants both officially and in private life will be required to set an example for the rest of the public in regard to the language revival. There is no doubt that a great deal more Irish would be used even to-day in the Civil Service if the younger members got more sympathy from the higher officials, and also were it not for the sorry example offered by our political leaders, who use the language issue for window-dressing purposes merely. Stormont officials will be dealt with more leniently, but all of them retained will be required to take up the study of the language. The observations in regard to civil servants apply to all public employees, including the employees of local authorities and state controlled industries. The whole power and influence of the state will be thrown into the language revival movement. Either we must make a job of it within a few years or abandon the effort in shame as there will soon be no purely Gaeltacht area on which to base the revival. There has been enough talk about the restoration of the language. Further details of our policy under this heading are to be found in the publication "Aiséirghe 1942," including a scheme for Hostels for children in each county, where a pleasant holiday will be spent each summer by tens of thousands of children in a completely Gaelic atmosphere.

We are convinced that the people earnestly wish the language to be brought back. They only require to be shown how it can be done—and to observe evidence of sincerity in high places.

In any case, without national enthusiasm maintained at a maximum we cannot successfully undertake other difficult national tasks that confront us. And it is preposterous to imagine we can build up or maintain national enthusiasm of a high order if we of set purpose abandon our language and national culture. It is in our spiritual power that lies our greatest inexhaustible strength.

The importance of the national language as a shield

against modern material and atheistic cultural influences is obvious. We shall be most Christian when most Gaelic, as in the past, for then we shall be nearest to recapturing the spirit of Colmcille.

LITERATURE, MUSIC, ART.



The cultural revival of course does not imply mere cultivation of the use of the language. It implies even more than the encouragement of the national games and dances. In Ireland of the Aiséirghe we must foster the growth of literature in the language itself, Irish music, Irish poetry, Irish sculpture, Irish architecture, and Irish philosophy. Many of the failures in our past, political, cultural, and in the case of individuals religious history, have been largely due to the absence of a philosophical background. We Irish can be emotional and sentimental enough on occasion. For the tasks which lie ahead of us, we repeat, we shall require not only national but *sustained national* enthusiasm—southern pugnacity, northern tenacity,

Mere sympathy will not encourage the development of a genuine school of Irish art, etc. Our artists of all categories must be assured an economic livelihood. There must be liberal state endowments to ensure that even the talented child of the working man will be furnished with every opportunity for the full trained employment of his gifts. We cannot afford to waste talent any more than time in the new Ireland. Incidentally, the meagreness of the state encouragement to-day given to national art, music, etc., is an indication of the intellectual quality and the true genuineness of the patriotic professions of our professional party politicians.

Church co-operation in the language and cultural revival is obviously essential. We have no doubt that this will be generously forthcoming when the national reawakening has been effected by Ailtirí na hAiséirghe.

GOVERNMENTAL SYSTEM.

(3) The establishment of a Christian democratic government on a vocational representative basis. Abolition of the alien liberal parliamentary system.

During our last great period of resurgent nationalism, from 1916 to 1921, we demanded the breaking of the political connection with England and the restoration of our national culture, the national language. Since that time a greater number of our thinkers has become conscious that there is need also for a social and economic revolution, or re-valuation at least, in Ireland if we are truly to undo the conquest. Changing the flag or changing the language is not sufficient if life for the man in the fields or in the shop or in the street proceeds as before otherwise unaltered. Speaking Irish, however eloquently, won't solve the emigration problem, although the revived use of our own language should generate the national enthusiasm and energy necessary for the application of the specific solution of that problem.

INCONSISTENCY?

Nevertheless, it is extraordinary that even among those who will not accept the rule of England, England's culture, or imposed liberalistic social and economic or financial systems, there is still a number not advanced enough to recognise that it is equally essential that we reject the godless liberalistic corrupt governmental system which is also our inheritance from England. After all, the most important decisions affecting the national life are made and implemented by the government. It is vital, therefore, that it be selected and that it operate in accordance with a method that is traditional, that is best suited to our national character. That cannot be said to-day of the plurality of political parties' system, which has so signally failed us during the past two decades of limited self-government.

The Irish method has always been the selection of a chief with the necessary qualifications, who thereupon was constituted leader for life. Our forefathers did not adopt this political principle by chance or accident. It was their experience that government through leadership best suited the native Irish character. We have an excellent illustration of the correctness of their judgment in the relations which existed between Eoin Ruadh Ó Néill and the corrupt hampering parliament of Kilkenny. The man of action was hindered in his great work by those who preferred to

deliberate and discuss and postpone, unceasingly, despite the fact that the nation was in gravest peril.

The defect of the old Gaelic system was a plurality of regional leaders with military forces at their disposal and the absence of a strong central authority. The modernised Ailtirí na hAiséirghe system, whilst remedying the defect retains the principle of leadership, a single national leader, but to safeguard against autocratic government limits the period of office to seven years, provides for the expression of national opinion through the ballot-box every three years in a way that will be a check on but not interfere unduly with the work of the central government. In regard to the seven years' period of office it should be recalled that the Cosgrave administration had ten years of office, whilst, so far, Mr. De Valera's has enjoyed longer than ten years. Seven years is the period of office prescribed for the presidency under the new constitution sponsored by the Fianna Fáil party.

The fundamental explanation of the failure of party governments in Ireland is probably their weakness when confronted by determined vested interests. And in Ireland vested interests are to the right and left of us.

If we are in earnest in demanding that our national independence and territorial integrity be recognised, that a progressive financial, social, economic and Gaelic policy be implemented forthwith, we must be logical and practical and put in power a government that will be strong enough to resist dictation from any quarter whatever.

Moreover, as even the party politicians grant, the present is a pronouncedly economic age, and it is consequently anachronistic to hold to a regional constituencies' system in elections for the national chamber rather than adopt the vocational representative basis, which is the obvious modern alternative. Under such a system farmers, business people, trade unionists, and cultural interests, would not have to complain of a lack of direct representation in the national council.

WORK — LESS TALK.

As a careful study will reveal the whole Ailtirí na hAiséirghe local and central governmental scheme is planned

to minimise talk and get work done. Heaven knows we have discussed and deliberated long enough in this country ! We know what requires to be done. Let us stop talking, or talk less, and get out and do the very necessary, very urgent, work ! We have an excellent opportunity to-day. Nations, like individuals, are only afforded a limited number of opportunities. If we fail to avail ourselves energetically of this current occasion it is plain to see that we Irish as a people will perish from off the face of the earth. Rural depopulation, emigration, falling school averages, the lowest marriage rate in the whole wide world, and our vanishing Gaeltacht are true if threatening pointers.

But we, Ailtirí na hAiséirghe, know that Ireland, through God's mercy, will rise again. The Aiséirghe of 1916 was a fresh beginning, not the final climax. But we shall only rise again successfully under strong and fearless and imaginative national leadership. Those slaves of political expediency, corrupt, incompetent and vacillating, the professional party politicians cannot offer us that resolute and inspired leadership. The political system they operate is designed not to serve the true interests of Ireland but to subserve English imperial policy.

AISÉIRGHE PROPOSE

To replace the existing foreign and British parliamentary system Ailtirí na hAiséirghe plan a National Council of 100 Deputies. The vocational bodies, farmers, professional men, trade unions, manufacturers, etc., will elect 50 Deputies. Thirty-five Deputies will come from the National Party. These 85 Deputies will elect the head of state or national leader for a period of seven years. The Ceannaire Stáit will nominate an additional 15 Deputies from amongst men of outstanding merit not otherwise selected, and thus his independence of all parties and cliques and vested interests will be emphasised.

The members of the National Council will have the right to discuss all legislation and national affairs generally and to propose legislation for promulgation by an Ceannaire Stáit, if considered by him desirable. They will have powers by a two-thirds vote to remove a head of state from office for

grave cause. With these limitations the powers of an Ceannaire Stáit will be unrestricted for his period of office.

We shall abolish the obsolete county councils, all of them of genuine English manufacture and origin, replacing them by four Provincial Assemblies. The members of the provincial assemblies will be elected by the vocational bodies specified above. Elections will be held triennially. For each province the head of state will appoint a Provincial Governor or Ceannasайдhe as Chief Executive Officer. Councils will be retained for the large urban areas as at present with the appointment of a ceannasaidhe or chief executive officer by the head of the state for Ath Cliath, Béal Feirste and Corcaigh. The creation of the provincial assemblies will be a contribution towards the solution of the alleged "partition problem"; as the abolition of political party strife will help towards the creation of a saner and more healthy atmosphere in the north.

We shall establish Parish Councils in the proper sense. The members of these will be elected triennially by the heads of families.

To avoid excessive and unintelligent bureaucratic interference with industry, the various corporations (agricultural, etc.) will be empowered to administer the affairs of and legislate for the industry concerned, after the manner of borough councils.

Ailtirí na hAiséirghe will, therefore, provide strong centralised national government, as is the apparent need of the country to-day, but there will be quite adequate, popular safeguards and popular participation in state administration.

In other words we believe in functional democracy combined with the principle of leadership characteristic of the Gaelic state.

NATIONAL PARTY.

Membership of the national party will be open to all genuinely concerned with the advancement of the welfare of the community as a whole (regardless of past political affiliations if any), as distinct from those having exclusively vocational or provincial interests. Members shall have a true appreciation of the national purpose, and be prepared

to serve the nation unselfishly in accordance with the old volunteer tradition and spirit. They will be recruited on a broad basis from every class in the state and an ultimate membership of 100,000 is envisaged. Leadership of the party may be determined by election. Clearly the maintenance of a strongly disciplined national party composed of men of real character, belonging to all categories of the Irish people, is a *sine qua non* to ensure the unfailing accomplishment of the Aiséirghe objectives. The next time success must be complete.

We have repeatedly emphasised the importance of national morale in the work that lies ahead in Ireland. It will be a principal task of the members of the national party to help towards building up that morale and towards its maintenance at the highest pitch. Our seven centuries of enslavement has not been without its ill-effects noticeable not only in the political, cultural, social and economic spheres, but manifested in latter decades by a degree of moral deterioration also. Many of us could work harder. The craving for pleasure amongst large numbers is abnormal. A nation is as its people is, and the Irish people in the Aiséirghe Ireland must be first of first. It will be a duty of the members of the national party by their unswerving example and constant exhortations judged from whatever angle to make them so.

Associated with the national party will be a nation-wide youth movement. A youth movement on dynamic twentieth century lines can only be properly organised by the state. Our youth will be the salt and salvation of the new Ireland, the real creators of the Aiséirghe era. We must see to it

na bion náire ort

ar

Siúlóe ar fion na h-Éireann, a
cáirn—ar a náimhde.



1943 Ireland prefers the Aiséirghe emblem. THEY know how the politicians have neglected youth.

Man — and
Woman — of
the West. But
vanishing stock.
Abandoned
people of
Gaeltacht can
prefer the most
formidable bill
of charge
against the
party politici-



aiséirghe
eile!

an tionscail
M.R.
Co. lugdair.



IASCAIRI
Sliomac.

We are islandmen all but fisheries is
peculiarly our Cinderella of
industries owing to government
neglect.

that they are properly trained and imbued with truly Christian and Gaelic and not merely jingoistic nationalist ideals.

CHRISTIAN CORPORATISM.

(4) The introduction of the corporative system with a view to ensuring the implementation of Christian principles in our social and economic life.



It is evident that the present social and economic system is unsuited to the needs of the Irish people. That is why the flower of Irish youth continue to flee the land; why emigration is perennially our most flourishing industry. The present system represents the implementation of the Manchester doctrine of rugged individualism, every man for himself, the strongest and craftiest to the front and the weakest and most ingenuous to the wall. Take all you can possibly get out of the world for yourself! Don't consider others! No man is your neighbour! It is the actuating principle of jungle life. It is nineteenth century, brutal, British and crude, the social and economic denial of Christianity. It is what Séamus Ó Conghaile had in mind when he denounced capitalism as being the most foreign thing in Ireland.

And the remedy and alternatives of Ailtirí na hAiséirghe? Simply that in the new Ireland economic production will be planned to meet the needs of the community as a whole, not in accordance with the financial interests of a section or privileged few. For unrestricted competition in every phase of economic life we shall substitute ordered governmental control of production and Christian co-operation.

Not only is a new orientation desirable in regard to the outlook or attitude towards the community of all those engaged in industry. It is equally clear that for maximum efficiency of production to a much greater degree co-ordination of contributing forces must be attained. A possible method is socialisation of all industry, which we reject both on moral grounds and on the score of efficiency. The most obtuse capitalist is a mild tyrant compared with the modern political commissar who has power not merely

to dismiss but imprison, torture, banish or execute. The Christian solution of the problem as so clearly laid down in papal encyclicals is corporatism, the modernisation of the mediaeval guild system, being so successfully reintroduced into Portuguese life by Salazar to-day.

Corporatism is, too, the only modern alternative to excessive bureaucratic interference with industry.

This is too often unintelligent interference, and always cold, official, impersonal. Under the Ailtirí na hAiséirghe scheme the various corporations (agricultural, etc.) will be empowered to administer the affairs of the industry concerned. This will incidentally facilitate decentralisation of a recommendable character in government administration.

Corporatism recognises that there are two distinct categories in each occupation, the employers and the employees. In order to cater for the interests of both an occupational union is created, its duty being to defend the interests of all who have a stake in that particular occupation. Side by side with this body the separate unions of workers and employers continue to exist, a fact which disposes of the popular fallacy that corporatism spells the end of the worker's organisations. What corporatism does insist on however is that the occupational council which is the governing body of the occupation shall have effective power to safeguard all parties. The danger of partiality on the part of the council is eliminated by the fact that the members of which it is composed are selected by both employees and employers, with state supervision to protect the interests of the community. Obviously such a system fosters social harmony and a Christian spirit of co-operation in contrast to the class strife which is the inevitable concomitant of the pagan liberalistic plan of unbridled and uncontrolled competition, with the complete absence of co-ordination.

Together with the provincial assemblies and parish councils the semi-autonomous vocational corporations will act as a check on the too arbitrary use of his great powers by a head of the new Irish state.

Corporatism is the only economic method of developing to-day that enviable spirit of social concord and harmony that was the characteristic of the Christian communities of the catacombs. For the attainment of true national solidarity and unity (so essential for national survival) the elimination of class hate and every social and economic injustice is as necessary to-day as the removal of the rancour engendered by our absurd imposed plurality of parties' political system. The Christian precept is that we love one another, not that we live in fear and dread, or worse still, continual hatred of one another. If we are to offer an example to the world (as we shall) of the practice of the Christian virtues, we have a very long road to travel indeed in the matter of the improvement of social

relations in Ireland. Corporatism certainly offers the ideal workable solution. Consider the available alternatives, Socialism or Communism, militarism, alien godless liberalism!

We await with interest the publication of the report of the Vocational Commission set up by the Fianna Fáil Government. Not however that we anticipate the enquiry will be productive of a more favourable reaction in government circles than was the report of the egregious Banking Commission. A considerable amount of valuable information relative to the situation in the twenty-six county area from the vocational angle should nevertheless be made available.

(5) The preparation and promulgation of a new legal code and the provision of a new democratic constitution for a Christian Vocational State based on the proclamation of the Provisional Government of the Republic, 1916.

Laws play a more important part in the life of the man in the street than he ever realises except, perhaps, when he is called for jury service, has to give testimony in the witness box, or maybe finds himself a charged prisoner in the dock. It is then he comes to understand a little of the significance of legal forms and procedure, and at the same time to appreciate how foreign and English and indeed in too many respects antiquated is the legal system in Ireland to-day. The speaking of the national language will not of itself Gaelicise Ireland.

The legal code of the new Ireland will be Christian and Gaelic and suited to the national character. A commission will be appointed to examine and report upon this question thoroughly, including a survey of alternative European and American systems and, of course, of Brehon law. This is work which it would be highly dangerous to the national welfare to have performed in a hasty, cursory fashion. Apart from Christianisation and Gaelicisation legal codification and the general reform and modernisation of legal procedure in Ireland is urgently called for on grounds of efficiency and economy.

The commission will also be entrusted with the drafting of the national constitution. Undoubtedly, the constitution sponsored by Mr. De Valera has many excellent features, and there is no reason on earth why these shouldn't be incorporated in the new constitution. The constitution of Mr. De Valera in our view has, nevertheless, such

blemishes as that it is not, however cleverly this is camouflaged, the constitution of a free Ireland; it ignores Easter Week; it does not cater for the needs of a corporate Gaelic state accepting as a political principle leadership; it was never accepted in a free vote by the whole people of 32 county Ireland; its social provisions, its most laudable feature, never have been, and apparently it is not intended that they ever shall be socially implemented.

The constitution of the new Ireland must be based fearlessly on the Proclamation of the Provisional Government of the Republic, 1916, guaranteeing equal rights and equal opportunities to all its citizens.

Anything else would be a gross insult to our martyred patriotic dead of every generation. Easter week was not a mere historic episode. It was a rebirth of an historic people and a historic nation. Incidentally neither shall we insult the memory of Mac Piarais and his co-signatories by the issue of a fresh republican proclamation.

The Ailtirí na hAiséirghe government will refuse to recognise the usurped authority of England in Ireland from the first moment of its being.

Its installation will be adequate signal that external association has ceased to be. The will of the people of Ireland was made clear in the first Aiseirghe of 1916. It was made perfectly clear in the all-Ireland general election of 1918. It is part of the Ailtirí na hAiséirghe task to ensure that England will respect that will, as it is also part of our task to adequately protect the people of Ireland from aggression by any other power.

**Dont be ashamed to pray for
Ireland,
her friends—and Ireland's enemies.**

FINANCE.

(6) **Financial and credit control to be assumed by the state. Connection with the Bank of England to be broken. New currency unit to be created based on the metric system.**



Ailtirí na hAiséirghe does not consider credit expansion in itself an easy road to national prosperity. We do not consider that money or credit has any wondrous power in itself. It is the right employment of money that matters.

Nevertheless, control of credit and the issue of currency is, of course, of immense importance in any modern economic system, when to-day the problem is not so much one of production as of organisation, distribution and consumption.

(Notwithstanding, there remains in Ireland a production problem to be solved as we are a very long way from having obtained our maximum industrial or agricultural production capacity or efficiency.)

In the modern state and the new Ireland monetary organisation should take the following form :—

- (1) A wholly autonomous credit and currency system. Whether Irish currency will be associated with the dollar or sterling group or the mark, and on what basis, will be determined by post-war circumstances.
- (2) To secure not merely national but social control of credit, the central bank to be subject to state control.
- (3) The financial system to be based not anachronistically on gold, but on the productive capacity of the country.
- (4) A two-fold monetary policy for internal and external trade purposes as, say, in New Zealand. In future the development of foreign trade cannot be left to the caprice of individuals, or for that matter the allocation of our national wealth abroad. Foreign trade simply means the purchase abroad for the community of socially necessary goods we are

unable to produce at home. It must henceforth be conducted on a properly organised basis.

The so-called central bank instituted by the Fianna Fáil government for the twenty-six county area will be made a really live institution with adequate powers for the pursuance of a progressive financial policy. It will be made independent of the commercial banks.

The establishment of an autonomous central bank, controlled by the state, will enable the adoption of a bold forward social and economic policy, and indeed is a *sine qua non* for the realisation of these objectives.

The successful repatriation and protection of the huge amount of Irish capital invested abroad (to-day approximately £500,000,000 for 32-county Ireland !), a proceeding so foolishly, so insanely, connived at by our incompetent party politicians, will be one of the most difficult problems facing the reconstituted national monetary authority.

It is as futile to discuss the prospects of a Cosgrave or De Valera administration establishing a central bank in the proper sense as it is to contemplate the possibility of their returning to their old allegiance to the republic. Both Fianna Fáil and Fine Gael (formerly Cumann na nGael) have fully demonstrated their pliability in the hands of the vested interests and their reluctance to adopt extreme courses, however warranted by circumstances, in relation to England. Is it not equally preposterous to anticipate a firm determined independent financial policy from a socialist party administration, which has not one word to say about the control of allegedly Irish trade unions from English head offices? We are aware that in one instance, at least, unemployment relief payments for members of a certain union, made in bulk to the union itself for distribution, have to be remitted by the department of state concerned here to a bank in Manchester ! Yet socialists talk of establishing financial autonomy, even of establishing the independent republic ! Yes, indeed, the sky is the limit !

The need for radical financial reform itself provides a very sound argument for the putting in office of a truly national government, strong enough to resist dictation from all vested interests and to take an unyielding, uncompromising stand in regard to the community's rights. When confronted with a major difficulty it is the party politician's custom to compromise and placate. He is vocationally incapable of decisive action. And the vested interests in Ireland opposed to the severance of the link with sterling are the most powerful.

AGRICULTURAL FINANCE.

Apart from central bank policy, there are other departments of national finance which will require the early attention of the Ailtirí na hAiséirghe government. Insurance, for instance, the control of which largely remains in alien and ascendancy hands.

There is the very important question of the introduction of an efficient and attractive credit scheme to meet the needs of Irish farming. The Ailtirí na hAiséirghe proposal is the adaption of the Belgian Boerenbond plan, with the co-operation of the Parish Councils. If we are to speed up the modernisation of Irish farming methods, increase agricultural production, make farming in practice really paying and secure, ample credit must be made available for the farmer on reasonable terms. And his credit organisation must be an approachable body, requiring the completion of the minimum of forms, and with a personal representative in his parish.

National monetary credit control will ensure that industrial or manufacturing initiative or enterprise will not be restricted for lack of credit. Industrial, agricultural, mineral and fishing productivity must be raised to a maximum. Twin white elephants of the Cosgrave—De Valera regime are the Agricultural Credit Corporation and the Industrial Credit Company. They are both typical politicians' remedies for national grievances—superficial and ineffective.

Credit for house purchasing is another department of finance in which we are extremely stagnant in Ireland.

In a Christian state the diffusion of the ownership of property should be a cardinal point of social and economic policy.

There should be no propertyless proletariat in Ireland, either rural or urban. If he is assured of nothing else, every Irishman must be put into the position of being enabled to become absolute master of his own house. That principal legacy of British misrule in Ireland, landlordism, must be eliminated in any shape or form in which it may present itself under Aiséirghe government.

Why has the development of the building society move-

ment not received proper official encouragement in Ireland, if we are in earnest about meeting the housing needs of our people? The movement has certainly results to show in England. (We need not reject *everything* that is English !)

STATE EXPENDITURE.

The reorganisation of state finances is also imperative in any national scheme of financial reconstruction. We must break the connection with the imperial traditions in the strongholds of bureaucracy also. Public officials must plan their expenditures in accordance with the capacity of the people of Ireland to pay, not in accordance with the capacity of an imperial power. State extravagance is a crime against the impoverished Irish peasant farmer, the ill-housed, ill-clothed, ill-nourished slum tenant. Unless our public departments are administered economically all other measures of economic reform will be of little avail. Remember the combined expenditures of the six county and twenty-six county governments to-day is in excess of £2,000,000 per week. It is self-evident that the party politicians have failed to act against the vested interests in the Civil Service. Fianna Fáil was to effect a saving of £2,000,000 per annum ! Characteristically, on the contrary it added to the cost of administration and expanded the army of civil servants as never before in Irish history.

Civil service reform can best be achieved by the allocation of real responsibility amongst the personnel; so enabling the elimination of the redundancy of supervising officials and better remuneration for the lower grades (who will be given more responsible duties) and greater flexibility of promotion.

Business standards of efficiency will be insisted upon. Keymen of the civil services will be replaced where necessary by men of the Aiséirghe outlook. We shall ensure militant, patriotic and Christian leadership in every department of national activity.

Measures to properly control and reform the system of Hire Purchase, which to-day is subject to so many really unchristian abuses in Ireland, will be taken by the Aiséirghe government.

To sum up, Ailtírí na hAiséirghe have in mind the thorough-going reorganisation of the whole system of Irish finance and credit on progressive Christian social lines. When there is work to be done or needs to be met and labour and material and directing ability are available, or are partially available, camouflaged short supply of money will not be permitted to constitute itself an insurmountable obstacle. That will be the Aiséirghe principle all through, maximum production through the maximum utilisation of power and credit. Neither the Bank of England nor the bankers of Ireland will be allowed to say to the Aiséirghe movement : "Thus far and no further." Facetiously speaking, should we establish a banking commission it will be to try bankers for crimes against society, not to write the epitaph of social and economic reconstruction in Ireland.

At the same time, Ailtírí na hAiséirghe will always bear in mind that it is not credit principally but work which creates.

The new Ireland will be the creation of work and faith and the Aiséirghe will to win.

If we really are determined to Christianise the social and economic systems of all Ireland for the benefit of the people and the edification of the world we shall have enough credit, if not in Threadneedle Street, at any rate in Heaven to win.

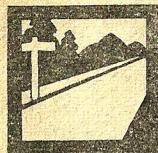
METRIC SYSTEM.

It is unnecessary to state a lengthened case in support of the popularisation of the use of the metric system in Ireland. The existing English system is archaic. The metric system is modern and efficient. Its gradual adoption will link us closer to continental Europe, tend to make us more a member of the European family. The substitution for the coinage imposed on the long-suffering Irish people in the south by the Cumann na nGael government of a set of coins really representative of Irish life, history and culture, is a measure that will be generally welcomed.

FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR ALL GUARANTEE.

(7) The solution of the problem of mass unemployment through the adoption of the following plan of national works :—

(a) Erection of 100,000 dwelling-houses; (b) Rural electrification and electrification (and nationalisation) of railways; (c) Construction of modernised road system; (d) National drainage scheme; (e) Construction of 500,000 gross tonnage of merchant shipping and war protective vessels; (f) Improvement and development of harbours, canals and lakes, and provision of air-ports; (g) Solution of fuel problem through planned turf development; and (h) Exploitation of the national mineral wealth.



Employment at fair and Christian rates of remuneration will be guaranteed every adult, mentally or physically capable of working, either in urban or rural industry, or in national work schemes as set out above. For decades to come there should be no question of unemployment in undeveloped, underpopulated Ireland. We do not, of course, expect that the above schemes will be simultaneously put into execution without a moment's delay and hustled through to rapid completion by a mere wave of a magic wand. Detailed, prudent, if also courageous, planning and co-ordination will be called for.

In regard to finance—the financing of such state schemes as these is dealt with in the commentary on point (6). Apart from anything else there are tens of millions of pounds of 'dead' unused money on deposit, in a savings bank sense, in our Irish commercial banks to-day.

The continued toleration of the housing conditions of the slum areas in the capital and elsewhere is the best possible evidence that we do require, and must have, some revolutionary changes in men and methods in the matter of government.

Although not specified above our construction programme

includes the building of modern school houses and parochial halls where necessary throughout the land, and the rebuilding of at least considerable sections of a number of Irish towns and villages. The construction of model modern agricultural villages will be exploited as a possible solution of the rural repopulation problem.

The electrification of Irish railroads, as well as our canals, is a work that should have been carried out long since. Why maintain an army at all if we are dependent for locomotion and transport fuel on the goodwill of a foreign country? Years ago even the Great Southern Railways of England, despite England's rich coal resources, electrified a large portion of their system. The only effort in this direction of which our party politicians have been capable is the Drumm Battery (quite a credit to the inventor but assuredly not a justification of subsequent government inactivity and negligence.)



The undertaking of the construction of a mercantile marine and national navy will be of double advantage as it will help in the solution of what is cleverly camouflaged as "the Irish partition problem," as well as enabling the development of direct trading with foreign countries. In 1944 there is no need to stress the obvious advantages of an independent mercantile marine in war time.

An island without shipping is as handicapped and unfit for life's battles as an individual without a pair of feet.

MINING.

Credit, with reservations, must be given Fianna Fáil for the establishment of native industries after a fashion in the twenty-six county area. The development of the national mineral wealth remains comparatively virgin territory. That the mineral wealth exists for exploitation has been proved. Vested interests have been extremely successful in arresting progress here. The firm national administration that will be established by Ailtírí na hAiséirghe will have little difficulty in subjugating the opposition of these.



In regard to fuel, it appears clear from disclosures of Fianna Fáil post-war planning that, if not by that time ejected from office, they propose to resume the policy of purchasing English coal, both for domestic and industrial uses, under the monopoly agreement. The handling of turf development by the Cosgrave and De Valera administrations, particularly as from the outbreak of the present war, has merely furnished fresh evidence of the gross incompetence of the present plurality of parties' political system to deal with any major problem of the country in a courageous, comprehensive and national manner. Note that outside the turf-producing areas the sale and distribution of turf has been entrusted by Fianna Fáil to Fuel Importers Ltd. (the very people whose livelihood has been the importation of foreign coal)!

In a recent Inchicore talk on post-war railways reorganisation, Mr. Lemass, according to the press report, had not a word to say on the important railway problem—freeing ourselves from dependence for fuel and power from the English coal monopoly.

AVIATION.

Praise may not be withheld from Fianna Fáil for the development of Faing and the provision of the Baile Uí Choileáin air-port (as it is dishonest and senseless to refuse credit to the Cosgrave regime for the Shannon scheme project). In the new Ireland it will be a task of Ailtírí na hAiséirghe to secure that in aviation we do not miss the tide as through British tyranny and commercial jealousy we did in all that appertains to shipping. We must strive to make our island the focal point of the aviation systems of the world, as with determination and vision we may. Already there is an aircraft industry in Béal Feirste. To-day it is Britain's. To-morrow if we will it is, together with the great ship-building and other industries, ours. Together with wireless, television, and the film, aviation will be of vital importance in the fulfilment of our international mission of spreading a true knowledge and true appreciation of Christianity throughout the modern world in a modern way.

Drainage has more or less been dealt with by our professional politicians in characteristic fashion. Commissions appointed, after a long delay their reports published and thereafter their recommendations automatically shelved. The value of the crops, the destruction of which by preventable river-flooding is complacently anticipated and witnessed annually, even in wartime, by our feckless party politicians !

AGRICULTURE.

(8) The rehabilitation of the agricultural industry on a co-operative basis and the raising and protection of the standard of living in rural Ireland.



Ailtírí na hAiséirghe plan for an Ireland of 15,000,000 inhabitants. It is consequently essential that our agricultural system is placed on a proper basis. Only a revolutionary policy can put Irish agriculture on a sound secure basis, and preserve rural Ireland from extinction.

Simply stated, our problem is to provide the farming community with at least the same economic security and protection as the townsmen. The farmer must be assured always of a just and adequate reward for his arduous labours.

This can be arranged principally by the continuation of the scheme of guaranteed prices for agricultural produce adopted regularly during war emergency periods, and as regularly abandoned by the party politicians when peace conditions have been restored. We cannot, of course, control the external price of exported agricultural produce, but we can and shall ensure that the Irish farmer will have a much wider and more remunerative market at home through our plans for energetic economic development in other spheres, the solution of the chronic mass unemployment and emigration problems and the general raising of the standard of living and progressive financial policy.

Ailtírí na hAiséirghe will vigorously promote the use of agricultural produce as raw material for urban industry.

For example, tens of thousands of acres of flax are annually required to meet the needs of the linen industry, but during wartime only is the native flax availed of to any extent by manufacturers. And there is the industry for the distillation of industrial alcohol from potatoes, established by Fianna Fáil. Wool from our sheep for our textile mills, too ! Our politicians would allow its export, even in wartime. Science abroad is continuously revealing new methods by which that which the farmer produces can be made the basis of a manufacturing industry. Constant Irish scientific research in this direction will be arranged for by the Ailtirí na hAiséirghe government. When animated by the Aiséirghe spirit we become accustomed to use our intelligence and resources courageously very little will be impossible for us.

The whole policy of the export of allegedly surplus agricultural produce to England must be reviewed in the light of post-war conditions. In any event, Ailtirí na hAiséirghe will, so far as possible, discontinue the export of cattle on the hoof (allowing England to support subsidiary industries, which might well be established here, with the by-products of the abattoirs), and the rich grazing lands, up to the point economically advisable, will be divided for tillage farming. The weakness or the incompetency or the corruption of the party politicians is once more illustrated by the hesitant fashion in which they have approached the age-old national problem of the ranch lands. Recently the Minister for the Co-ordination of Defensive Measures in the south of Ireland, according to a press report, stated that only 6.5% of the land of Meath, "probably the best wheat-growing land on the face of the earth," was under wheat in 1942. Yet Meath is not a twenty minute car run from Merrion Street and ministers are ever telling us that we are faced with a food crisis ! Seemingly economic development here cannot proceed in any sphere beyond a point where our economic subserviency to the imperial interests of England is endangered. We do not, of course, envisage that there will be no livestock industry whatever in Aiséirghe Ireland, but rather that our land will be used with the primary object of maintaining on it in frugal comfort always the largest population possible of people.

MODERNISATION.

Apart from the question of price and markets, Irish farming has terrific lee-way to make up in the matter of modernisation. We are fifty years behind such countries as an Darmairg and an Tír-fó-thuinn. In view of the innate conservatism of the farmer, the popularisation of more scientific methods of farming will be a problem of real difficulty requiring great tact. We are fortunate, however, in that the Irish farmer is an individual of exceptional shrewdness and intelligence and if approached in the right manner, and the reason for recommended radical changes made clear to him, he will readily comply. His compliance will be forthcoming all the more speedily when national morale has again been restored by the Aiséirghe movement. Rural Ireland, as is natural, has been the backbone of every national advance in the past. The farmer's instinctive conservatism can be overcome by active propaganda through the usual modern channels, through the work of the Parish Councils (which constitute an important part of the Aiséirghe local government plan), by means of the rural science and culture schools which are provided for in the Aiséirghe educational reforms, through the large model farms that will be established in each county as training centres and experimental newly constructed agricultural villages.

Our agriculture to-day, apart from war emergency measures, is merely the haphazard production of certain foods and fodder, and the raising of stock to consume the fodder and cross the sea for John Bull's dinner-table.

The Aiséirghe objectives are to instil in the minds of the farming community the value of every square yard of soil; to educate them in modern farming; to facilitate them in the purchase of modern agricultural machinery and equipment; and to provide controlled fair prices for agricultural produce that the standard of living of the farmer and the farm labourer may be substantially raised.

A more satisfactory and efficient scheme of credits than the Agricultural Credit Corporation will be established to enable farmers to build or repair dwelling-houses and out-houses, silos and liquid manure pits, reclaim land and pur-

chase necessary equipment and machinery. As indicated in the explanation of point (6) of our programme for farm credit, we have in mind a rural organization such as the highly successful Boerenbond of Belgium, which can be controlled by the farmers themselves through the corporation for agriculture and the parish councils in the new state. It is high time we realised in Ireland that cheap credit is as vital for agriculture as for any other industry.

Apart from price fluctuations, farmers are at an unfair disadvantage as compared with those engaged in urban industry in that, through absolutely no fault of their own, they may suffer severe losses in a single season through unfavourable weather conditions or sudden deaths of livestock. It should be possible to devise a comprehensive scheme of insurance in the new Ireland to protect farmers against extreme financial loss from such hazards. The introduction of such a scheme would necessarily be accompanied by measures to improve the quality of Irish livestock all round, more especially in the dairy industry, and by plans to increase soil fertility and to instruct the farmer as to the most suitable crops and seeds for the soil in his holding. Many Irish cows are as uneconomic a proposition for their owners as are certain figures to-day prominent in Irish public life for the community.

DAIRYING.

Our dairy industry is a striking example of the clumsy makeshift handling of the party politician, who seemingly can only be wide awake and intelligent when party privilege and patronage are involved. Irish butter heavily subsidised out of state funds for years so that the English merchant could obtain his requirements in London at a much lower price than the Irish merchant in Ath Cliath! One other unenviable position we Irish hold among the nations of the world is in regard to milk consumption. Even over-industrialised England can give us points on this score. Ailtirí na hAiséirghe will early see to it that the consumption of milk and Irish butter by the whole people of Ireland will be raised to a proper level. In this way a much enlarged and secure home market will be made available for those engaged in the dairy industry.

The malnutrition rampant to-day amongst the lower grades of society in fertile agricultural Ireland is a crime calling aloud to Heaven for punishment.

With the development of our scheme for the absorption in productive remunerative employment of all Irish labour available, this protected home market for our own farmers will become extremely valuable. 100,000 more men at work in Ireland means a new protected market worth many millions for the products of Irish farms and Irish factories. And the provision of employment for an additional 100,000 persons is not at all the limit Ailtirí na hAiséirghe has fixed for itself. *There must be no involuntary unemployment.* The taking over of the six-county area will provide further expansion. Export of dairy produce, as of meat and livestock, to England and other foreign countries, i.e. Germany the Argentine, etc., will be continued if this can be arranged in post-war circumstances on a satisfactory basis from our national standpoint. In such an event farmers will be paid a satisfactory guaranteed price in terms of the internal currency, as arranged modernly to-day in other countries, where governments are unaffected by a sterling-parity complex.

Associated with dairying is the problem of winter feeding, which with determination can be solved in this country as satisfactorily as elsewhere. Its history provides another illustration of the pusillanimous, pettifogging, tinkering policy so beloved of our professional politicians.

The national drainage, afforestation and electrification schemes and the improvement in road and rail communications envisaged in our programme will all be of immense benefit to the agricultural community, as will obviously be the alteration in the method of government. The Parish Councils elected by the heads of families will liberate the farmers from the incubus of the party political machine. Likewise through his corporation of agriculture the farmer will be always guaranteed direct representation in the Provincial Assemblies which will replace the obsolete costly County Councils, and will also be assured of direct representation in the National Council of 100 deputies in the capital.

The specific requirements of his own industry will be regulated for by his own vocational organisation or corporation, that is by farmers, not by traders or doctors or trade union secretaries, or uncontrolled higher civil servants.

No longer will the farmer be at the mercy of those slaves of political expediency, the professional politicians, who have played ducks and drakes with the development and prosperity of his industry in the past.

It will be a condition of the assistance and guarantees that will be afforded to agriculture in the new state that the farm labourer be assured of a just Christian family wage in return for his services. Everyone in Ireland, without exception, must participate in the profits and prosperity that will inevitably flow from the progressiveness of the Aisérghe era. No longer must the national economy be ordered for the benefit of a few or a section merely.

Ireland to us means the whole people of Ireland, the plain-speaking people of the west and the rural areas, as well as of their more sophisticated brethren of the towns and cities.

Ailtírí na hAisérghe shall serve all without fear or favour.

There is a number of other points of our agricultural policy which we should like to touch on. The possibilities of increased fruit-farming, the assurance of self-sufficiency in bread supplies through the encouragement of the sowing of rye on land unsuitable for wheat, or tobacco-cultivation. Unfortunately space does not permit.

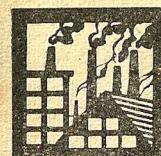
We realise that rural life to-day has to be brightened considerably in its social aspect as well as being made more attractive economically.

We shall depend on the Parish Councils to take the initiative with state aid and guidance in that sphere and in the sphere of culture in rural Ireland. Every idea, absolutely every thing, must not come from the central government in Éirinn na hAisérghe. A spirit of local enterprise and leadership will be fostered. It is primarily for the state to ensure that henceforth in no way, economically, socially, culturally, financially, or politically is the dweller in rural Ireland placed at a disadvantage as compared with his compatriot of the town or competitor abroad, that is to guarantee justice. But state interference should be as restricted as possible. No effort will be spared to restore farming to its proper important place in the economic

life, and to give to the Irish farming community a fair chance to demonstrate their national worth and mettle. For as agriculture prospers, Ireland will prosper.

INDUSTRY.

(9) The establishment and development of industry to be subject to state control. A family wage and profit-sharing to be guaranteed to every worker.



Before the completion of the conquest industry flourished in Ireland and ships left our shores to do commerce with all parts of the Atlantic sea-board of Europe. There is no foundation consequently for the charge that traditionally we are an incompetent people in commercial matters. It is an object of Ailtírí na hAisérghe to restore our former commercial importance and we are fully confident that with the recovery of our freedom and occupied Ireland we can do it.

Ireland's largest and most important industry is and must remain agriculture. That however doesn't mean we must possess a wholly agricultural and rural complex. If we are to support a much larger population (and to exist at all as a distinct national entity we shall have to), then there must be industrial and commercial expansion also. But, mark you, not in Ireland to the detriment of the farming community. Rather urban industry will be linked as closely as possible to rural Ireland in the Aisérghe plan, primarily serving the needs of rural Ireland and utilising to the maximum surplus agricultural produce as its raw material. As stated already, we know that science to-day in other countries has discovered many industrial uses for the products of the soil. Why not in Ireland likewise? May not here lie a positive solution to providing a much larger protected market for our farmer's surplus products? Characteristically, our Rip Van Winkle party politicians manifest little interest or intelligence in this direction.

Associated with agricultural and rural Ireland is afforestation. Through forestry, numerous new industries can be created and retained in rural Ireland to meet the

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problem of providing lucrative employment at home for farmers' younger sons.

In urban industry, as in agriculture, private enterprise and business initiative, individual responsibility and leadership, will be given full scope and encouragement by Ailtirí na hAiséirghe, provided always that the Christian standards of employment laid down by the state, and conditions as to quality and price, are faithfully complied with.

Through the national and social control of credit and banking in the Aiséirge Ireland, Irish industry will no longer be starved of the capital it needs so badly for progress and development.

Where, however, as definitely in transport and fishing and possibly mining, private enterprise shows itself unequal to the responsibility, the industry concerned will be conducted by the state unreservedly.

HEAVY INDUSTRIES.

In regard to heavy industries, many of these are already in existence in the to-day doubly occupied six-county area. This is one reason why Ailtirí na hAiséirghe will secure the return of our most historic territory at the earliest possible date. These industries are to-day employed producing for England, and incidentally to keep Ireland divided and in subjection.

With Ireland united the manufacture of motor-cars wholly here will become a practicable proposition. And the same observations apply to a number of articles presently only assembled in the south. The expanded national market made available to manufacturers will enable more economic production of commodities all round. Southern manufacturers may have misapprehensions as to severe competition from their more experienced northern rivals when unification of our national territory is achieved. These fears would be quite groundless as in a Christian corporate state unbridled competition in industry is prohibited. Under the Ailtirí na hAiséirghe regime, licences for the operation of industrial concerns will be issued only to persons of the highest integrity and Irish nationals and with due regard to the

amount of competition already in the particular industry or, if a new industry, whether it is genuinely valuable from the community's standpoint. As well as being stimulated and encouraged, industrial development and expansion in the modern state must be planned.

In all fairness, credit must be given to the De Valera administration for the establishment of a big number of industries in the twenty-six county area. But it was rather unplanned haphazard establishment. Aliens and masonic elements were allowed to secure control of industries in a number of instances, however cleverly camouflaged. British companies were permitted to open concerns here which never will be allowed by the parent company to develop an export trade or are ever likely to become independent of foreign sources of supply in regard to raw materials or technical direction.

On the other hand, it has been noteworthy that industrialists with Irish-Ireland traditions, given a fair field and no favour, have shown themselves the equal of men of enterprise abroad.



To aid industry and agriculture generally, electrical power development will require to be taken up on bolder and more imaginative lines throughout the land, including the six-county area. (The weird elongated border obviously interferes with electrical development in nine-county Ulster). We must definitely finally free ourselves from dependence on foreign coal for industrial power and in railway transport. Ireland free is not Ireland hamstrung economically whenever England has the whim or notion to do so through the stoppage of coal supplies. Of course the Irish coalfields with potentialities will be energetically developed also under the Ailtirí regime.

EXPORT TRADE.

It will be the policy of Ailtirí na hAiséirghe to secure remunerative export markets not only for the older industries of the north, but for the more suitable of the newer industries of the south. We may not be in a position to compete always with the mass production methods of other countries, but we can hope to build up international custom on a qualitative basis—and this applies to agriculture also.

To-day the exports of our northern linen industry are used to procure much coveted American dollars for British war purposes. The six-county area is of especial importance for the development of a rationally balanced, as between different foreign markets, export trade.

Urban industry, as well as agricultural and the fishing industry, will also benefit from the radical overhaul of the chaotic Irish transport conditions, and in the Aiséirghe Ireland will no longer have to bear a heavy burden of taxation for the maintenance of an army of compulsorily unfortunate unemployed and their dependents. Economies in state administration through the revolutionary reform of the civil services, and the abolition of the obsolete county council system will likewise have their beneficial and stimulating effects.

INDUSTRIAL HYGIENE.

Henceforth, all industrial production must be conducted under proper hygienic conditions. Apart from other considerations, the population of Ireland is presently too small for a national government to allow the health of a section of the community to be undermined and crippled in industry. It should be stated though that unhygienic workshops are usually found to be under the control of aliens of an undesirable type.

Our educational policy, which provides for a school-leaving age of sixteen, will put an end automatically to the employment of child labour. (Unfortunately there is still need in Ireland for somebody or something to put a stop to this evil).

The statutory right of the worker to a just family wage, and our scheme for family allowances will also in any event contribute to the elimination of this unchristian practice.

INDUSTRIAL HARMONY.

In the new Ireland employers and employees must work in close harmony. They will have their independent organisations both incorporated in the corporation for the industry or particular craft concerned. Jointly they will work for the development of their industry in the interests

leabhrá ar gáé uile aóbar, beagnád

bealtairneáiriú agus Dílseabhaileairneáiriú

leabhrá roinnt aor ós

leabhrá ar tairtealnuoict

teáct-leafra

airtí agus dréacháta

úinnealnuoict

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(S. CROSSE, PH.C., M.P.S.I.)

however that the expansion of this industry is not permitted to become a danger to the restoration and preservation of our national culture. When we are most national, most true to ourselves, shall we be of greatest interest to foreigners. Furthermore, there is not a great deal of economic value to be derived from a tourist industry, when, as in pre-war Ireland, the amount of money expended here by visitors barely equalled the aggregate of the sums spent abroad by our own tourist nationals.

The Irish tourist industry should be controlled and developed as a whole by an energetic national board representative of those engaged in the industry associated, together in a corporate body. But the board must, and shall be, national in the best sense of the word.

FORESTRY.

(10) National reafforestation on vigorous lines.



It is unnecessary to elaborate extensively on this point. Afforestation has been dealt with from every conceivable angle in other publications over the past few years. Here we possibly have a perfect example of the hesitancy and lack of courage and vision of the party politician. What juvenile tinkering since 1922 ! In the matter of forest coverage, as in a number of other respects, we virtually hold a world's record—to our disadvantage. Reafforestation is not only recommendable in itself, but, in addition, on account of the employment such a policy would provide for vast numbers in rural Ireland and because of the numerous subsidiary industries which can be formed on the basis of the forest as the raw material source, wood-pulp for the manufacture of paper, of artificial silk, and of some of the plastics which are assuming such great industrial importance. Reafforestation will assist in preventing flooding, and will have a beneficial effect on our climate. It can obviously be used to put the Gaeltacht on a more economic basis.

A reason why professional politicians, who are not accustomed to take the long view, are reluctant to tackle properly

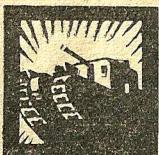
the solution of our reafforestation problem is probably the difficulty of finance. A proportionate return for the financial outlay involved cannot be looked for earlier than twenty years. (If only this task had been undertaken in a business-like manner twenty years ago in 1922 or 1923 in the south !)

Only a determinedly national government, enjoying the confidence of every section of the community, enabled to plan years ahead, can adopt a really progressive afforestation policy in Ireland.

And an essential is that control of our own financial and credit system be transferred from the Bank of England, that national and social control of banking and credit be instituted realistically. But our politicians, formerly ardent republicans and some of them still paying lip-service to republican idealism, are unable even to remove the Queen Victoria memorial from outside Leinster House ! How expect them to break the connection with the Bank of England or recast the foreign imposed, godless, economic, social and parliamentary systems?

ARMY.

(11) National military service for all males and the development of a National Labour Corps. Sectarian and class prejudices to be eliminated and national solidarity to be strengthened in this way.



By national military service for all males we mean a period of one year's army training. When finally we secure complete national freedom we must take steps to ensure that we do not easily and quickly lose it again through military negligence. Reflect on the gross inadequacy of the military forces and equipment that the Cumann na nGael and Fianna Fáil governments had made available at the outbreak of war in 1939. What a scramble to purchase materials, what a scramble to enlist and train men ! In other states such culpable negligence would warrant a treason trial. One would imagine that there had not been repeated warnings of impending hostilities on a stupendous scale.

Why the thousands spent annually on Geneva trips and representation, and what is styled "our

diplomatic service " abroad, if intimate touch was not being maintained with international developments?

Militarily or economically in regard to food, fuel, industrial raw materials, and shipping our collection of politicians didn't put themselves out a bit. And this applies to the opposition socialist party as well as the two other political organisations; in fact in a sense the socialists were more culpable as they have no national outlook at all.

Ailtírí na hAisírghe will not merely build up a large national army that will provide for us national security and win for us national freedom. It will ensure that that army is made independent of foreign supplies to the greatest possible extent in regard to munitions and equipment. The existing industries of the north-east will be a considerable help in this connection. The position on this score under the administration of the Ministers of Defence hitherto provided by the administrations of the political parties could be regarded as quite Gilbertian did it not involve very serious consequences for the Irish people.

We didn't possess even an ammunition factory in 1939 !

In human material we have the finest men in the world for soldiering. Let us equip them properly and let us pay them properly. Let us not frown on and virtually prohibit marriage in the army.

Apart from those in religion the soldier in the Aisírghe Ireland will be the most respected citizen—and not merely during a war-time emergency period.

He must be given his due honoured privileged place in the national life.

CLÓ-SCRÍOBÁD SAEOILSE

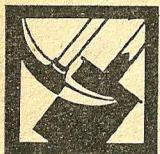
Scíobhne liceamhá ir Órámatála ; Táráetairí, iŋ gacé rásáir raoéidír a bheann le h-Ordeácas, le h-Asairí iolrígíol, Colártí iŋ sgol ; Saoráir luict 50ta ; aiftearánán Saeoilse.

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LABOUR COMRADESHIP CORPS.



The establishment of a National Labour or Comradeship Corps we have no doubt will be generally welcomed. Such a corps has immense potentialities for the national well-being. The service period we envisage will be six months.

By way of the corps we can break down the snobbery that is so rife to-day in Ireland amongst a large section in reference to decent honest manual labour. Exemptions will be accorded only to those intended for the service of the church. Rural youth and urban youth will be brought into the closest contact. Class distinctions will be abolished in the organisation.

In the north for the first time in history (or rather since '98) young Catholic and young Presbyterian and Protestant will associate freely with one another in a clean healthy atmosphere.

As well as engaging in manual work of national importance, but not in a manner that may tend to depress the standard of living of ordinary labour, youth in the new corps will be made nationally conscious, fluent enthusiastic speakers of the national language, physically fit, and given a sound adult training in the teachings of the church of which they are members. Through the National Comradeship Corps and the one year's period of army training Ailtirí na hAiséirghe will create a young Irish manhood that will be of developed physique, and of national and Aiséirghe morale, a manhood that may be depended upon in the most arduous tests.

POPULATION.

(12) **Measures to be taken for race preservation through the prohibition of emigration and the introduction of a scheme of state marriage grants and family allowances.**

This important point is more or less self-explanatory. As part of a social security programme we envisage family allowances payable for every child after the third under an extension of the revised National Health Insurance Scheme.

Our financial, agricultural and industrial policies and national works programme will of themselves solve the emigration problem.

A word perhaps should be added as to the real urgency that radical measures be taken to not merely maintain but to effect a rapid increase in Ireland's population. Every trade, profession and industry is affected by the decline in population. The blunt truth is that if we do not populate the country ourselves (the figure should be 15,000,000 not 4,250,000) some other more progressive race will take over the national territory and do it for us. The aborigines may once more be commanded west of the Shannon !

We cannot hope to hold Ireland militarily without a much larger population in the years that lie ahead.

Our population is what statisticians classify as 'old'—too high a ratio of old people on account of emigration and late marriage. If we are to be really alive, alert and active, go-ahead and courageous a 'younger' population is a vital necessity. Again a 'younger' population will mean more rapidly a Gaelic-speaking population. And an increasing population will mean an ever expanding market for industrialist and farmer.

There is no question but that we can maintain a very much larger population if we revolutionise our financial, economic and social systems and cultural standards of value as advocated by Ailtirí na hAiséirghe. The most compelling argument in a Christian state should be the biblical injunction to increase and multiply. May Divine Providence defend us from the racial suicide and immoral practices popularised in certain other countries which boast either of their unshakeable loyalty to the political principles of godless liberalism, or of their advanced socialism.

In the Aiséirghe Ireland we shall provide that woman can follow normally her normal vocation. We shall stress and emphasise that the marriage period for Irish girls is 18 to 22, not 26 to 36. As for men! Not only through marriage grants but also as a result of the general Aiséirghe programmes, particularly house purchasing and building and the stipulation of a family wage, will early marriage be facilitated.

We hope to deal at greater length with woman's pivotal

role in the new Irish golden age in a subsequent publication. The subject has already been dealt with very competently in the national language by **Moinice Ní Mhurchadha** in "Aiséirghe, 1942."

EDUCATION.

(13) Free education to be made available to all up to 16 and the educational policy generally to be re-orientated to meet the needs of the country.

We do not look forward to a country inhabited by a society of ants, in which the only justification for each member's existence is the degree to which he serves a remorseless communal will. On the contrary our vision is of an Ireland in which, while a strong disciplinary and hierarchic sense will be preserved, the individual and the family will be respected to the fullest measure of Christian conceptions.

EDUCATION AND THE LANGUAGE.

Since we conceive that a rich and independent civilisation can never flourish on this soil unless the Irish people turn their backs once and for all on English as a medium of everyday speech, it follows that our educational system from the kindergarten to the university will be based solidly on the Irish language.

We do not propose to continue the temporizing policy of previous governments in this respect. Parents may be assured that time spent on Irish will not be time wasted as at present, since equally uncompromising measures will be taken to restore the language outside the schools. To those who may object that temporary sacrifices which may have to be undergone during a difficult intermediary period would not be worth while we reply in the first place that no individual and no nation ever became great except by ruthlessly imposing sacrifices on itself when the necessity arose, and in the second place, that for the elevation and ennoblement of our race which will follow the restoration of the language every sacrifice is worth the making.

EDUCATION AND NATIONALITY.

In all other civilised countries except Ireland it is expected and demanded of every school that the students

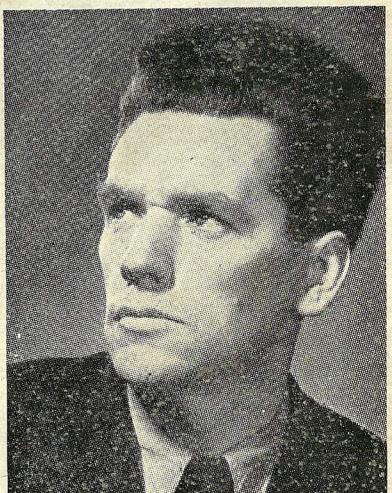
Seán Ó Cinnéasáin,
Ceannaire,
ailtíni na hAigéipse.

Born Béal Feirste.

Resigned executive position in Department of Defence in 1932 to study Irish in nGaeltacht Thírchonaill, and because even at that time it was clear Fianna Fáil was just one other characteristically insincere political party.



eoin ó coigilín.
Ceannaire i gComháe Luighe.
Youngest County Councillor in
Ireland? Resigned Labour Party
some time ago, because of its
bankruptcy as a national organi-
sation.



tomás ó dochartaigh
Timéipe naíriúnta.
Nephew of Cathal Brugha.



Trees cannot grow in Ireland ! But they appear to grow all right in Ciarraige ! Proportionately Ireland has the second smallest forest area in Europe. Trees not merely enhance a landscape, they have an extremely important value as a raw material source of a whole series of modern industries. They arrest soil erosion, and extensive afforestation would have an improving effect on Ireland's climate. It would provide a new source of employment for tens of thousands in urban and rural Ireland. Yet how our hesitant, indecisive politicians have trifled with afforestation north and south !

therein be taught to be loyal to the constitution of their country, to respect its laws, to guard jealously its independence, and to love it because it is their own. One would have thought that owing to the unfortunate circumstances which have moulded the history of Ireland a clear-sighted native Government would have taken vigorous steps to ensure that every future citizen would become one in fact as well as in name. How signally they have failed ! In every school under our jurisdiction it will become treasonable to educate children as anything other than as loyal citizens of a Christian Gaelic and independent Ireland.

TRAINING IN CITIZENSHIP.

In most European countries nowadays provision is made for education in citizenship. So far our country has remained unenlightened upon this point with the consequence that our children leave school with none, or but the slightest idea of how the complex life of the community of which they are soon to become adult members, is organised, or of what are their duties in respect of it. They are taught nothing of hygiene, of the necessity for respecting private and public property, of the manner in which those national and local government administrations function which are destined to affect their lives so intimately. We shall see to it that this defect is remedied.

PHYSICAL TRAINING.

We do not visualise a nation of book-scholars with precocious brains and weak undeveloped bodies, any more than we desire one in which athletic prowess irrespective of mental powers or spiritual refinement shall be the criterion of excellence. Our ideal is a healthy mind in a healthy body, and in order to ensure that the latter condition is fulfilled we shall make the necessary reform in regard to school buildings, provision of trained physical instructors, of playing fields, of medical inspection. Instruction in traditional dancing in the primary schools will be compulsory.

ADMINISTRATION.

Our educational system is at present administered predominantly by Civil Servants. It need scarcely be emphasised that this state of things has singular drawbacks. We therefore propose to reorganise administration in the following manner. At the head of this Department will be the Minister for Education. Under him and acting in an advisory capacity will be a national council of education on which will sit representatives of the churches, university professors, secondary, technical and primary teachers, and in addition, men eminent in agricultural, professional and industrial spheres also will be selected from the organised vocational groups. This council will be convened by the Minister twice yearly in order that progress made may be reviewed and criticised and advice tendered on whatever reforms may prove to be necessary. In this way the Minister will be kept in touch with the best and most modern educational thought by those whose function it is to educate, and besides he will benefit by the criticism and suggestions of representative men, including parents, outside the purely educational sphere. In addition the personnel of the Department of Education will be required to possess distinct qualifications in the educational field, and we do not see why it should be impracticable to devise a scheme whereby teachers, primary, secondary, and technical, of exceptional merit may be promoted to appointments in the Department of Education other than as inspectors.

VOCATIONAL PRINCIPLE IN EDUCATION.

The present curriculum of our primary schools may be said to be based upon a fallacy, in that it makes little or no provision for the vocation which the pupils will follow in later life.

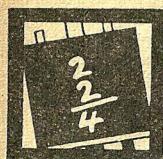
In general, it has been shaped on the apparent presumption that the bulk of the nation's school-going youth are either going to take holy orders or enter the learned professions. This is a heritage from an epoch in which such a presumption actually held good, but with the wider spread of education in modern days it is demonstrably absurd.

It can scarcely be doubted that the almost complete neglect of vocational instruction in Irish primary schools is in a measure responsible for the small progress that scientific farming has made

in this country, and also for that flight from the land which is the bane of our national life. The same defect is evident in the primary education of girls. The school curriculum now in force may aid them towards becoming competent shop assistants and short-hand typists, but it in no way makes provision for the possibility of their someday becoming wives and mothers, which is, we take it, a no less noble necessary and universal calling than either of the two mentioned.

The reform of this aspect of the educational system will be among our first preoccupations as a government.

PRIMARY SCHOOLS.



Our first reform in primary education will be to raise the school leaving age to sixteen. When this has been done the curriculum will be revised with a view to placing it on a vocational basis and in addition with a view to lightening the burden on the present day harassed teacher. We propose two stages in primary schooling, one from the age of six to twelve, the second from twelve to sixteen.

The earlier period will cover elementary schooling proper, the later will proceed on more advanced lines with probably an extension of the range of subjects.

In each stage such adequate provision will be made for religious instruction as will impress the child that his religion is not merely a part of but is in very fact his whole life.

In country schools a grounding in rural science and such aspects of scientific farming management as may be comprehensible by children of that age will be given in the second period, while in city schools boys will be induced to take up those handicrafts which may become the basis of their future trade.

In girls' primary schools housecraft in the widest sense of the word will form an integral part of the curriculum, and it will be seen to that every school is provided with adequate cooking appliances.

CONTINUATION SCHOOLING.

For those boys and girls who will not pass into the universities we have in mind the introduction of continuation education. The duration of the course would be two years, that is until the age of eighteen, and it would be binding for every pupil to attend for 320 hours in each year, which would be counted at eight hours per week for forty weeks.

The present system of technical schools could be the foundation on which continuation education could be based. The curriculum here again should be to a considerable degree vocationally shaped, but there should be certain obligatory subjects, the value of which would be moral and cultural and the aim of which should be to broaden the interests of the pupil and to deepen his understanding of the world in which he lives. In those cases where the boy or girl is already working the employer would be legally bound to release them for the periods prescribed. Since the obligation to attend continuation schools would be general the possibility of victimisation by an individual employer will be precluded. It may be objected that the difficulties of organising such a scheme and the incidental expenses will make it impossible to put it into practice. The reply is that the thing has already been done in dTír na hEibhise, and An tSualainn, to mention only two small countries whose resources do not exceed our own.

In these matters obstacles exist only where the will is weak and the vision clouded.

SECONDARY EDUCATION.

We plan to modify the classical and professional bias of the curriculum in secondary schools and to provide for a much greater degree of specialisation than is possible at present. We do not see the utility of compelling pupils with no mathematical gift to bewilder themselves with the differential calculus, whilst they are prevented from devoting adequate time to the study of those subjects in which they display a real proficiency.

The study of continental languages will be facilitated and encouraged.

It will be seen to that in secondary, as well as in primary and continuation schools, full use is made of the film and the radio as educational media and the mistake will not be made of permitting the work done in schools to be nullified by failure to impose restrictions on the type of film which may be seen by children outside the school.

Departmental programmes must be framed henceforth to allow greatly increased latitude to teachers in all schools, primary, secondary and continuation.

UNIVERSITIES.

University education will be made possible for all who are desirous and are intellectually capable of availing them-

selves profitably of it. In nÉirinn na hAiséirghe, if for no other reason than that our population presently is absurdly restricted, every citizen must be trained, both physically and intellectually, to the highest pitch attainable in each individual case. In that way and by building up national morale and a realistically Christian attitude to life, each of our citizens may be made the equivalent of two, or may be ten, citizens of any other state.

Of our universities much will be expected in the Ireland towards which we strive. Their privileges are many, and their duties will be assessed accordingly. The time is past when they can function merely as repositories of learning. In an age such as ours they have a vital part to play in building the nation intellectually and economically. The new state will seek the co-operation of university experts in working out its plans for social, agricultural and industrial rehabilitation. A great task awaiting the universities is the institution of a system of adult education and we shall request them to do this.

Towards Trinity College the feelings of every loyal Irishman must be mixed. He remembers it gratefully as the nurse of Tone, Emmett, Daibhis, but he cannot help reflecting with some bitterness that these patriots were in a sense its strayed of the flock and that its tradition has consistently been one of implied or expressed hostility to the ideal of a sovereign and independent Ireland. This tradition we are pledged to uproot uncompromisingly. Under the national government Trinity College can be used as an effective instrument towards winning the loyalty of the descendants of that section of our countrymen, particularly in the north, whose eyes have traditionally been turned away from their own country. For them it can be made the gateway to the hidden Ireland.

Ailtirí na hAiséirghe will not, of course, countenance the subsidisation of universities as institutions for the training of professional men for export. That is an export industry we can very well do without. In any event at home there will be wide scope for the employment of university trained men of the right type, particularly graduates of the engineering and architectural faculties, in building up the new Ireland.

So far our plan for the reform of education. Some may say it is ambitious; we reply that it is necessary if our country is to become that which we hope and dare to believe she will be, a spiritual and cultural model for the new world age.

It is to beget sorridness. Bringing a superabundance of national wealth, it need never undergo a revolution that although a little spent on the land may not bring young farmers and their future wives would thus come to contend with an increased knowledge of the farmer's problems. Our compensation to the solution of the scientists most recent refreshed, broadened with a new vision of solidarity, and bring a superabundance of national wealth, it need never beget sorridness.

When the course is over they would return to their farms and its literature masters can be developed in them. In residence

talks they can discuss and find enlightenment about their mutual problems. A love of their native speech, of its songs, its legends and its literary masterpieces can be developed in them. In residence association learn the inestimable wisdom of comradeship and co-operation. Learn the strict sense in agriculture, but they would be to impart instruction in the strict sense in agriculture, but they would also be schools of communism or women; one in winter course, three months. The main purpose of these schools would for men and one in summer, who are above the age of eighteen years. Two courses can be held annually, one in winter members of the agricultural community, who are open to all rural High-Schools. These schools are residential, in English, country of what we shall call Ard-Scotianna Tuath, in English, This innovation consists in the establishment throughout the

towned in Turlach, an Turlach, and in Fionnlainn. successfully in other countries among which may be mentioned in Fionnlainn, and in Turlach, and in Ard-Scotianna Tuath, in English, though for many years now the system has been developed tried and proven chiefly in its place of origin, Dammarie, for our rural population. The experiment has already been the beneficial effects of which we believe will be far-reaching. We contemplate an innovation in our educational system

COUNTRY HIGH SCHOOLS.

We envisage the establishment of a new university college in Donegal Cholmille for Gaeltacht Thrichonaill, (Galilim for Connara and Coircaigh for Gaeltacht na Mumhan). Circumstances may also favour the building of a new residential and truly national university city, say at Teamhair na Rioch.

Apart from Ireland, Ireland is the only island nation of Europe. Great credit is therefore reflected on our party. Ireland is an important national industry.

(14) The nationalisation and re-establishment of the fishing industry as an important national industry.

FISHING.



We propose to nationalise the sea-fishing industry and put an end to petty ticketing and packing. As well as any other work for his fisherman is entitled to a minimum financial reward for his labours and we propose to ensure that adequate provision for the value of the catch, with in the industry irrespective of the amount income to all engaged in the industry.

Sea-fishing in Ireland is calling out loudly for reorganisation and in Britain a massive strike it is one industry which will surely get it.

The English, we have read somewhere, consume 34 pounds of fish per head per annum; we Irish manage to get along all right on 4½ pounds. Maybe it is because we don't need more brains; as we obviously make previous little use of those we have already and economically.

Sea-fishing in Ireland is politically and economically.

Every other workman is a human being, not as it he were born to gamble for his livelihood.

The minimum income guarantee will not prove exception-ally expensive as periods of plenty can be used to compensate for periods of scarcity. In any event, we have no real conception in Ireland of the possibilities of our fishing industry when once established on a proper organised basis and energetically developed and protected. If a government cannot protect its own national fishing interests in its own territorial waters what can it protect? How is it going to prevent military invasion? An Murachu is surely an excellent representation of the type of ship of state our corrupt politicians have been steering for the people of

Ireland during the past twenty years. Ailtirí na hAiséirghe will, of course, provide adequate protection for our fishermen in our territorial waters around all Ireland.

Surface seafishing, herring and mackerel is the class favoured largely by Irishmen. Characteristically it is inferior and more uncertain than its alternative the deep sea-fishing of cod, plaice, etc., of countries whose governments realistically conceive of fishing as an industry. The fault is not that of our fishermen, who are as brave and courageous and industrious as their counterparts anywhere. The responsibility attaches to the Rip Van Winkles of Merrion Street, who have not yet begun to realise that this is the 20th century, not the day before or the day after the Battle of Clontarf. If we are to have a flourishing fishing industry in Ireland our fishermen must be provided with modern equipment and trawlers, not merely motor boats, and put in a position to compete on an equal basis with their foreign competitors.

Ailtirí na hAiséirghe propose that the fishing industry will be directly promoted and controlled, in any event for a lengthy initial period, by a semi-autonomous board, similar to the E.S.B. set up by the state to deal with every aspect of the industry on a corporative basis on progressive business-like lines.

As two-thirds of the prosperity of a fishing industry depends on modern equipment, Corpoíad na hIascaireachta will arrange for the installation at the fishing harbours of gutting, salting, and icing plant and for adequate transport for the inland markets. Of course all this is quite elementary.

But in a state where paper is accepted to-day in payment of exported cattle it is necessary to be elementary.

An efficient transport service is of vital importance to the fishing industry as its product in the ordinary way must be marketed with the minimum loss of time. The decline of the industry in Gaillimh is certainly not unconnected with our crude transport arrangements. The railway will principally be utilised for carrying but a fleet of fast fish transport vans will, in addition, be maintained by the board to provide for the daily requirements of the inland towns. We likewise envisage the employment of the aeroplane to regain our lost continental market for fish. In the middle ages under the Gaelic polity the fishing industry flourished here and enjoyed a ready market abroad. By the adoption of direct marketing methods and intelligent co-ordination it will be possible for the fishing corporation to assure the fisherman of prices that will be both fair and remunerative, and at the same time secure that fish will be available to the public at more reasonable prices than are usually current in Ireland. Fish here is virtually a luxury commodity, although there is no point in Ireland at a greater distance than 100 miles from the sea.

It will not be the objective of the fishing corporation to

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secure a profit for itself, but rather to make fishing profitable for fishermen consonant with the superior interests of the community.

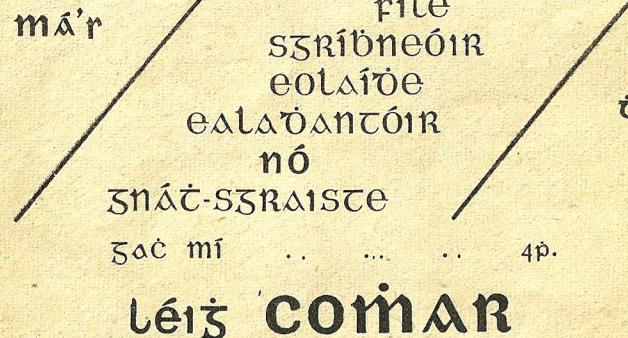
Some may enquire where shall we find a market for the planned greatly increased landings of fish at our harbours. As already stated, the average Irish fish consumption is 4½ lbs. per head.

The figure is even more ridiculous than that for our milk consumption.

Combined with an efficient supply service, propaganda through cinemas, wireless, newspapers, hoardings and the schools will quickly expand the national market. The raising of the general standard of living as a result of the implementation of the policy of Ailtirí na hAiséirghe will have its effect also in this regard.

Better facilities for vocational training will be made available for fishermen in the technical schools and in training ships.

The energetic development of the fishing industry, will of course, encourage the development of a number of subsidiary industries such as canning, cooperage, ship-repairing and ship-building, and net-making. It will make an important contribution towards the economic rehabilitation



Sac eoláir ón Stiúrteoir, "Comhaontúine," Dún
Oírrí, Co. Átha Cliath.

of the Gaeltacht, and as such the fishing industry has a particular interest for Ailtirí na hAiséirghe. Industries using as raw material fish products can also be established elsewhere. Constant research work will be carried out under the auspices of the board for new possibilities in this regard.

We in Ailtirí na hAiséirghe as a national organisation cannot overlook the military importance to Ireland of a flourishing fishing industry; although, of course, our superficial professional politicians can.

Ailtirí na hAiséirghe will address itself to the problem of inland fishing also. It will secure the control and proper development of the inland fisheries in the national interest. Our rivers and lakes will be properly stocked. One way to be exploited to make rural life more attractive would be to make fishing, fowling and hunting activities available at an economic cost for the ordinary Irish farmer.

ALIEN, MASONIC AND ALLIED INFLUENCES.

(15) The elimination of the controlling influence of aliens and freemasons and the expropriation of ground landlords.

There is little point in winning political freedom if we are to continue to be dominated socially, economically and culturally by aliens. Many enterprises in the south of Ireland alone are controlled by foreigners. The proportion of aliens in industry and commerce in the principal cities of our country, and especially Ath Cliath, has been growing menacingly during the past twenty years. And virtually similar observations apply to masonry, as well in the twenty-six-county as the six-county area. The influence of this latter body (which extraordinarily enough, seems to include a number of harmless, well-meaning, but duped individuals) will be ruthlessly destroyed. Its history since its introduction in Ireland is one long story of betrayal and corruption and anti-Irish-Ireland and anti-Christian activities. Its benevolent activities, which presently appear to be a screen for anti-national and anti-racial intrigue with self-aggrandishment as the motivating objective, will however be allowed to continue in a reorganised form. In every other respect, masonry in Ireland will be utterly eliminated. Irish

language workers come up against the influence of masonry most frequently in the life of the capital. There can be no question of the implacability of the masonic hatred of the Irish-Ireland ideal. Honest, straightforward Irish business and professional men experience the power and pull of masonry to their detriment time and time again.

How any Irish government can tolerate the existence of this anti-national, anti-Christian secret society for twenty-four hours is as mysterious as the ramifications of masonry itself.

Ailtirí na hAiséirghe will destroy the power of the alien and the mason most definitely and of kindred anti-social organisations likewise.



Like its industrial policy, though praiseworthy, Fianna Fáil's housing policy as implemented was in a number of respects an example of how *not* to do things. A limited privileged number of owners of land suitable as building sites were enabled to not only double but treble and quadruple and even, in instances, increase ten times the value of their capital in land, without its being necessary for them to raise a finger or as much as bestow on the matter preliminary consideration. Obviously these increased property values were community-created and by every moral right belonged to the whole of the community. Through Fianna Fáil pusillanimity hundreds of thousands of pounds of money to which the community had a just title found its way into the pockets of private individuals and land speculators. The reign of ascendancy landlordism in its worst features has virtually been ended in rural Ireland. Ailtirí na hAiséirghe will destroy its power as effectively in urban Ireland. True to type and tradition a number of our ground landlords to-day are absentees, reside permanently abroad, contributing not one farthing in income tax or surtax to state revenue.

To make matters worse, it is noteworthy also that in recent years alien speculators have been buying up land in Ireland almost recklessly. Compared with these, *some* of the old landlord stock are inclined to become patriotic and

public-spirited according to their lights. And with encouragement and as a consequence of destroyed English prestige and power as a result of the present war they may become more so. Standish O'Grady, Mac Giolla Brighde, Lady Gregory in the past, for example. To-day Arland Ussher, An Tighearna Longphort. Provided they yield allegiance to the sovereign Irish state based on the Republican Proclamation of 1916 we should not repel such people.

(16) The revolutionary reorganisation of the two Civil Services.

This point has been dealt with in the section of the elaboration of our financial policy (Point 6) which touches on state finances (page 15). See also the elaborations of Points 2 and 4.

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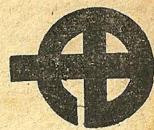
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