

**VOTE**

*for*

**FIANNA FAIL**

*and*

**STABLE GOVERNMENT**

Published by Fianna Fail, 13 Upper Mount St., Dublin & Printed by  
LEINSTER LEADER, LTD., NAAS.

---

---

**IRELAND**



**1932**

**TO**

**1942**



**A STORY OF  
GREAT ACHIEVEMENTS**

---

---

---

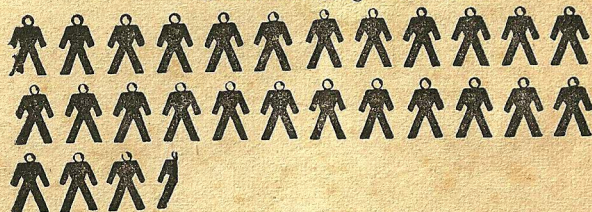


# THE STORY IN PICTURES

## EMPLOYMENT



From 1926 to 1931 only **8,073** additional workers were put into Manufacturing Industries:



From 1932 to 1938 **55,586** additional workers were put into Manufacturing Industries.  
Each figure represents **2,000** workers.



From 1931 to 1939 the volume of general employment increased from **342,000** to **417,000**, representing an additional employment of **75,000** wholtime workers.

Each figure represents **5,000** workers.

## WHAT THE WORKERS EARNED



**1931**—Salaries and wages of Industrial Workers—**£14,641,000.**



**1938**—Salaries and wages of Industrial Workers—**£21,319,025.**  
Each figure represents **£1,000,000.**



bróllaí.

**1**S mór agus is spéisiúil an sgeál a hinnsítear sa leabhrán seo. Cuntas é ar an aitheascáin is ar an bforas a cuir fianna fáil ar an gcuro is mó de tír na hÉireann.

Nuair a táinig fianna fáil in oifig i 1932, bí muintir na tíre tréit-las, tnaítte. Bí an pobal mí-muinsineac as a neart féin, bíodár ia amhreas a néireócaó leo go deo arís ar cáilleadár a fáil arais. Ac sul a raib bliain caítte, cruthaig fianna fáil go raib sé i muintir na hÉireann a beit com hacmuineac, com treisiúil is com deisriarta is n bí ariam pá cinnirí gusalaíca, neimeaslaíca.

Díreac i nriaró a céile, táinig buada móra polaitiúcta. D'éirig le Rialtas fianna fáil an tsaoirse a bí cailtte acu a baint amac arís do na Sé Condae píceaó. Cúig bliana tréis a tigeaíct i gcumhaíct doib, bí na slabraí sgaolte acu de muintir na coadaí seo d'Éirinn agus comarta deirí na daoirse glanta acu doib. Tugadár bunreacá nua d'Éirinn, reacaí as a bfuil féin-plaiteas is ceannas saeadeal mar bun—ruo a bí ón ár sinnsear ins gac uile aois—agus a tugas deis do muintir na hÉireann riar a cur ar a saol féin mar déanpaó Stát saor, neimspleadac do réir tola a pobail féin.

Ní gan a comsaotar i gcúrsaí seilleasair a bí an saotar polaitiúcta sin. Nuair a glac fianna fáil ceannas ar an gcuro seo d'Éirinn, ar éigim a bí tionsgal ann rompa agus ní raib ceapta don talam ac toraó a tabairt ar maite le tír eile. Ní gan duaó a hacraigeaó sin. Ac tug outraíct is gníom fianna fáil na céartaí tionsgal do na Sé Condae píceaó agus cuir an talam dá saotrú, do réir a dúcáis, cun biaó agus coctú a tabairt do muintir na hÉireann. Pásgaó an curo seo den tír ar cóir com maite sin ar a hacraí féin gur b oraimne, go mór, is fearr bail moiu de Stáit neoraíca na heoropa.

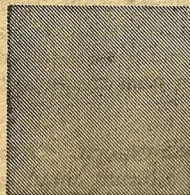
Ní a' taob leis an méro sin amáin a d'fás fianna fáil muintir na hÉireann. Rinne an Rialtas maite mór do na daoine ar an iomaó bealaí eile. hacraigeaó agus feabsaigeaó, amac is amac, seirbísí comdaonn-aíca an Stáit. Ar cuile caoi dár péad siad cuir an Rialtas cóir maite ar an mboct is ar an té a bí gan a ceart; rinne siad póirtín ar sean is ar easlán, ar dail is ar baintrig is ar dílleactaíde. An comar a bunaiseadár, pá sgeim móir, deisriarta, is péirí go dearbta a ráo paol gur cuir sé deimeaó le gáracall is le anós 1 meass ar ndaoine.

Cé mar dearnad sin ar fao, sin é sgeál an leabráin seo. Ní sgeál nó seandús páirtí polaitiúcta é. Cuntas é ar cinnirí a bí d'úilis don náisiún pré-céile is a rinne gníom dá réir.

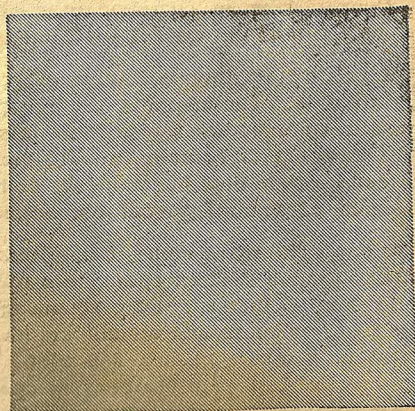


# THE STORY IN PICTURES

## AFFORESTATION

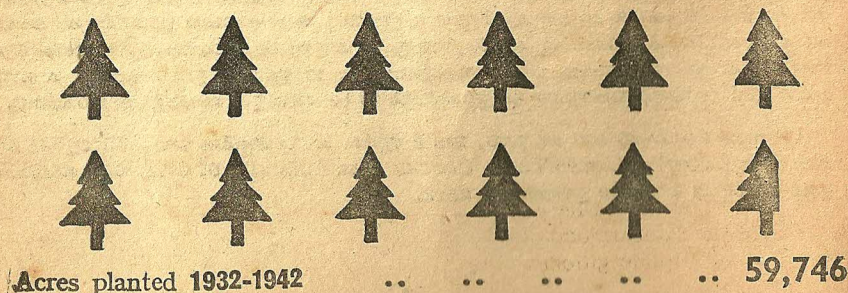


Acres acquired for  
planting, 1922 - 1932  
29,882.



1932-1942  
107,013

## TREES PLANTED



# A GREAT RECORD

## Fianna Fáil's Achievements in Office

**F**IANNA FÁIL, HAVING BEEN RETURNED AS THE LARGEST PARTY AT the General Election of February, 1932, took over the Government of the Twenty-Six Counties in March.

From 1932 to to-day Fianna Fáil has consulted the people four times and in each General Election it secured by far the largest vote of any party and, through the whole period, has held Governmental authority with the firm support of the people.

### THE SITUATION IN 1932.

To understand fully what Fianna Fáil has achieved it is necessary to recall the situation as it was when the movement first came to power.

In 1932 the supreme law in Ireland was not the Free State Constitution of 1922 but the imposed "Treaty" of 1921. The 1922 Constitution expressly stated that if any clause in it conflicted with the "Treaty" that clause became, by that very conflict, "absolutely void and inoperative"; and the Constitution itself provided that it could not be amended "in any respect repugnant to any of the provisions" of the "Treaty," nor could any law be made under it that conflicted with the "Treaty."

*In other words the "Treaty" was made the ultimate basic law in the Twenty-Six Counties and no constitutional way existed by which the Irish people themselves could change it.*

### THERE WAS NO INDEPENDENCE.

It is important to grasp this supremacy of the "Treaty" because it exposes as worthless the claims made to independence on the basis of the 1922 Constitution. The fact was that the subordination of the Constitution to the "Treaty" left the British Parliament supreme. In addition the Constitution

- (a) made the British Crown an integral part of the Irish Parliament; declared Executive Authority in the Twenty-Six Counties vested in the British Crown; declared that in the British Crown was also vested the right to summon and dissolve Parliament; declared the Representative of the British Crown to have the right to appoint Ministers, to withhold assent to legislation passed by the Dáil, to appoint judges;

(Articles 12, 24, 41, 51, 68.)



**(b) imposed an Oath of Allegiance to the British Crown on every elected Irish representative, such oath to be taken in the presence of the Representative of the Crown or somebody authorised by him. Whoever refused to subscribe to that oath was to be debarred from occupying in the Dáil the seat to which the Irish people had democratically elected him;** (Article 17.)

**(c) made the British Privy Council superior to the highest Irish Courts by providing for appeals to that Council from the decisions of these Courts;** (Article 66.)

**(d) by binding the Irish Government to give to British military, naval, and air forces in time of war such facilities as the British Government might require it opened all Ireland to these forces in war-time.** (Article 7 of the "Treaty".)

Following the "Treaty" and arising out of the situation created by it, the Cumann na nGaedheal Government conceded a payment to Britain of £5,000,000 a year in respect of Land Annuities, R.I.C. Pensions, etc.

*What the sending out of this five millions a year meant to our national economy may be judged from the fact that it represented the value of all the store cattle, or all the fat cattle exported to Britain in 1931 or the combined value of all exports to Britain of butter, eggs and bacon in the same year. The result then was that each year these products of our farms, creameries or bacon factories were given to Britain for nothing, and this was to continue for a couple of generations.\**

This summary shows why a sense of frustration lay upon the country during the whole period of the Cumann na nGaedheal régime. Failing a courageous lead from the Government there was no way by which the people could escape from the political, military and economic shackles which had been fastened on them. That courageous lead was not given until in 1932 the people turned to Fianna Fáil.

## THINGS BEGIN TO HAPPEN.

When Fianna Fáil assumed office remarkable changes, in fulfilment of its election pledges, came quickly.

1. The payment of £5,000,000 a year to Britain was stopped.
2. The Oath of Allegiance imposed on elected representatives was abolished. The declaration imposed on candidates for the Dáil

\*The value, in 1931, of the various exports to Britain was: FAT CATTLE, £5,118,525; STORE CATTLE, £5,002,150; BACON, EGGS, and BUTTER, £4,926,678.

and Senate that they would take the Oath was also abolished. Thus the Dáil became fully representative of the people, with its authority as a democratic assembly beyond question.

3. The "Treaty" was removed from its over-riding position and the way opened for the peaceful amendment of the 1922 Constitution.
4. The right of appeal to the British Privy Council from the Irish Courts was abolished and the Irish Courts made supreme.
5. All clauses conferring rights and powers on the British Crown were removed: the office of Governor-General was abolished and the conduct of affairs in the Twenty-Six Counties freed from all outside interference.
6. The Free State Senate which had held up the Bill for the Abolition of the Oath and which might have blocked the way towards a free Constitution was abolished.
7. The way having thus been cleared and the need for a new Constitution having become obvious, the draft of such a free Constitution was introduced into the Dáil. On July 1st, 1937, it was submitted to the people in a national plebiscite, and the people themselves enacted the Constitution.
8. The Constitution thus made law by the people's direct vote, declares: "Ireland is a sovereign, independent, democratic State" and asserts the right of the whole nation to independence.
9. The status of the Twenty-Six Counties having been thereby definitely established, negotiations were opened with Britain on questions still in dispute between the two countries.

## THE NEGOTIATIONS.

The negotiations which began in January, 1938, aimed at

- (a) ending Partition;
- (b) recovering the ports, which in accordance with the terms of the "Treaty" were still occupied by British forces;
- (c) removing the clause of the "Treaty" by which the Free State Government had been bound to afford to

"His Majesty's Imperial Forces in time of war or of strained relations with a Foreign Power such harbour and other facilities as the British Government may require"; and

- (d) ending the Economic War which had developed from Britain's imposition of penal tariffs when the disputed moneys were retained in the Irish Exchequer, pending settlement or arbitration.



In April, 1938, the negotiations ended with success as regards :

- (b) **recovering the Ports ;**
- (c) **removing the war or strained relations " Treaty " clause which would have made the present neutrality impossible ; and**
- (d) **ending the Economic War, and thus saving the Irish nation the heavy burden of an annual tribute of £5,000,000.**

Agreements on these questions were signed by the two Governments and ratified by Dáil Éireann and by the British Parliament. A settlement of the Partition issue had not been reached, but the Agreements on the other questions meant that there could henceforth be a concentration of the national effort on that remaining issue.

### NEUTRALITY.

In consequence of the Agreements of April, 1938, and of the country's new constitutional position, the Irish Government, with the support of all parties in the State, was enabled to make effective the policy of neutrality in war which had been one of the declared aims of Fianna Fáil since its foundation.

In view of these facts who can deny that from 1932 to 1939 Fianna Fáil carried out a well-planned progressive national programme with both wisdom and courage? The success of that programme changed a situation of deep internal disunity and of grave external danger into one in which the people of the Twenty-Six Counties were made masters in their own house and had secured a basis of organised national life and progress upon which all could agree.

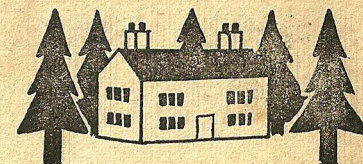
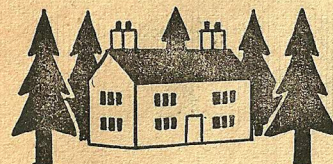
**The Fianna Fáil term of office then has, up to the present, brought the Irish people great and lasting political benefits. It has also brought them economic and social benefits scarcely less important—as is shown in the following pages.**

In reading what follows it is well to keep in mind the conditions under which these remarkable achievements were accomplished. For the major part of its term of office Fianna Fáil had to contend : first, with a world-wide economic depression which particularly affected agriculture, then with the Economic War from 1932 to 1938, and finally with the effects of the present world-war now in its fourth year.

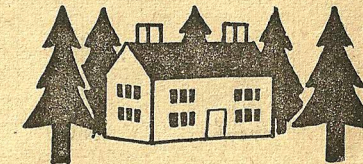
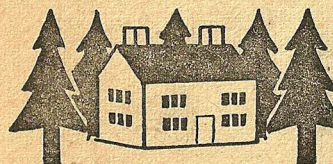
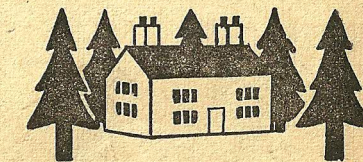
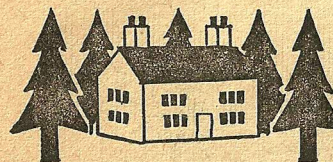
Despite these difficult conditions, Fianna Fáil put new life into both agriculture and industry, and, breaking away from the helplessness of Cumann na nGaedheal policy, tackled vigorously the problems of social security, housing and public health.

## THE STORY IN PICTURES

### LAND DIVISION



From 1923 to 1932 (March) **24,000** allottees got land.



From April, 1932, to March, 1942, **43,900** allottees got land.

Each figure represents **10,000** persons who got land.



# THE STORY IN PICTURES

## TILLAGE



Tillage 1931 .. .. . 1,425,000 acres

Each figure represents 200,000 acres.



Tillage 1942 .. .. . 2,424,000 acres

Each figure represents 200,000 acres.

# THE ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION.

## I—AGRICULTURE.

FIANNA FÁIL FOUND AGRICULTURE IN A DESPERATE CONDITION. PRICES had broken three years earlier, and the value of our exports had fallen by over **ten-and-a-half millions** in two years, and our entire external trade by **twenty-two millions**.\* It was to go on falling for another three years. World prices brought home prices down with them.

Between 1924 and 1931 the price the Irish farmer got for what he produced fell disastrously, in some cases by almost half. Here are a few examples :

		Price in 1924	Price in 1931
Wheat	.. ..	13s. 0d. per cwt.	6s. 11d.
White Oats	.. ..	10s. 2d. "	7s. 3d.
Black Oats	.. ..	8s. 10d. "	6s. 1d.
Barley	.. ..	13s. 0d. "	6s. 11d.
Wool	.. ..	1s. 3d. per lb.	6d.
Eggs	.. ..	14s. 5d. " 120	9s. 10d.
Hay	.. ..	£5 4s. 9d. " ton	£3 9s. 0d.
Creamery Butter	.. ..	193s. 3d. " cwt.	121s. 1d.
Farmers' Butter	.. ..	162s. 6d. " "	99s. 5d.
Bacon Pigs	.. ..	76s. 9d. " "	53s. 0d.
Fat Cattle	.. ..	£4 7s. 0d. " "	£3 9s. 3d.
Fat Sheep	.. ..	£5 13s. 0d. " "	£3 14s. 6d.
Fat Lambs	.. ..	£6 13s. 6d. " "	£3 18s. 9d.

How grievously these losses through falling prices pressed upon agriculture as a whole a few illustrations will show. In 1928, the value of butter exports was £4,536,000 ; by 1931 it had fallen to less than half—£2,086,000. The value of bacon exports in 1928 was £2,730,000 ; by 1931 it had fallen to less than half—£1,135,000. The egg exports in 1928 were valued at £3,120,232 ; by 1931 they were down by almost a million pounds.

This was a world-wide downward movement in prices.† It was in progress for several years before Cumann na nGaedheal left office. But nothing was done to lighten the blow to our agricultural economy. The farmers were left in the lurch: no agricultural development was attempted to make good their losses.

\*The total external trade in 1929 was £109 millions: in 1931 it was only £87 millions.

† From 1929 the wholesale prices of the three principal exports of New Zealand fell as follows:—100 is taken as the value in 1929:

Year	Wool	Mutton	Butter
1929 ...	100	100	100
1930 ...	55	102	81
1931 ...	45	88	72
1932 ...	45	68	70
1933 ...	60	77	58
1934 ...	65	83	44



**In 1932, the tillage area was actually 400,000 acres less than when the Cumann na nGaedheal régime began.**

Not even the home market was kept for our farmers. Though the dairy industry was in dire straits, £2,000,000 worth of dairy produce was allowed into the Twenty-Six Counties between 1928 and 1931, the dairy farmers being thus robbed of that valuable market. The pig and bacon industry was equally neglected. More than £6,000,000 worth of pig products were imported between 1928 and 1931 : in 1931 we actually imported more bacon than we exported. That £6,000,000 would have made a great difference to the Irish pig industry.

With the exception of the Shannon Scheme and the Carlow Beet factory, Cumann na nGaedheal stood by while not industry only, but agriculture also, were being stifled by foreign dumping.

### ACTION AT LAST.

Fianna Fáil tackled this joint industrial and agricultural problem with energy. They lifted both the fields and the factories out of the slump in which they found them.

They brought relief to the farmers :

- (a) by halving the Annuities ;
- (b) by doubling the Agricultural Grant ;
- (c) by a huge development of the beet industry ;
- (d) by the great wheat campaign ; and
- (e) generally, by keeping the home market for the farmers.

The dairy industry, which was dying, was saved by price stabilisation. The bacon industry was saved by excluding bacon and pig meat imports and by re-organisation. By 1935, the bacon and pig-products imports which used to cost £1,600,000 a year, had dwindled to £394, the difference being a new market given to all interested in the pig industry.

**In tillage, the area under cultivation increased year by year until, in 1942, ONE MILLION more acres were tilled than in 1931.**

### THE EXAMPLE OF WHEAT.

Let us see some of this in detail.

In the year that Fianna Fáil came into office the acreage under wheat in the Twenty-Six Counties was 20,848—less than three weeks' bread supply. Had the war come in 1932 instead of in 1939 what would now be our condition ?

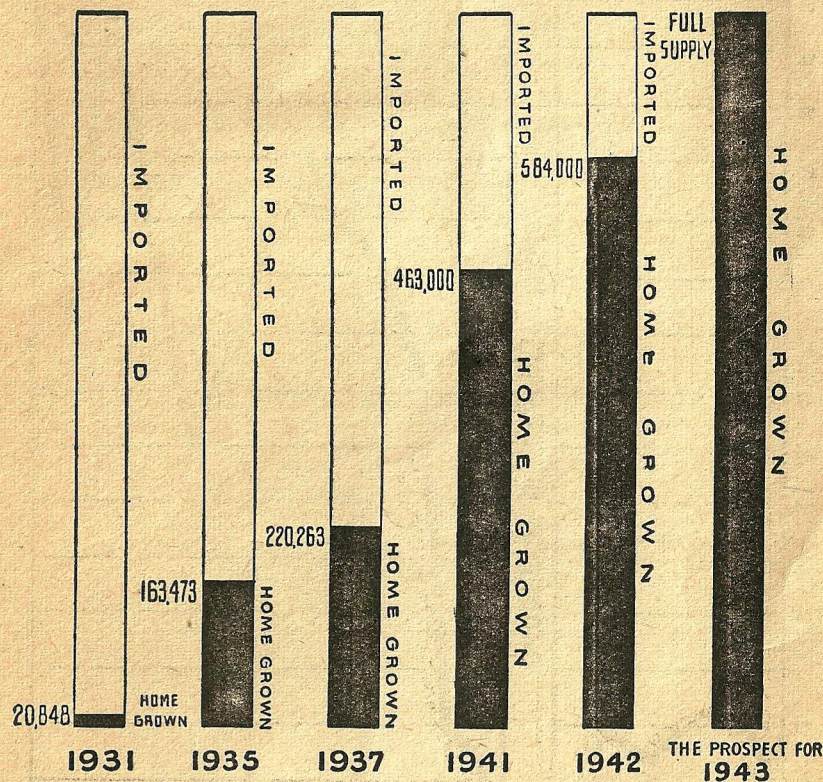
No farming economy can swing suddenly into the growing of wheat. Fianna Fáil had to face not only this fundamental difficulty but also the organised campaign against wheat-growing in which Cumann na nGaedheal, in a thousand speeches, played on Irish farmers' conservatism, trying to turn them away from producing the material for the nation's bread.

*" I should blush with shame," said the Vice-President of the Cumann na nGaedheal Party in June, 1935, "to admit to wheat or beet-growing or any of that tomfoolery."*

Fianna Fáil persisted. In the year after they took office the 1931 acreage of wheat was nearly trebled. By 1935, that trebling had been trebled again. By 1937, there were over 200,000 acres of wheat. In 1941, 463,000 acres were grown, and last year that acreage was brought to 584,000. This year it is hoped that for the first time for over a century Irish soil will produce the full bread requirements of the Irish people.

If Fianna Fáil had not closed its ears to the Opposition and thrown its whole energy into the battle for bread from the first moment it came to office the long process of winning the farmers over to wheat-growing might have been begun too late to save us now.

Here, in a picture, is what has been accomplished in wheat :



What was done with regard to the primary food—bread—was done also in relation to sugar and other commodities.

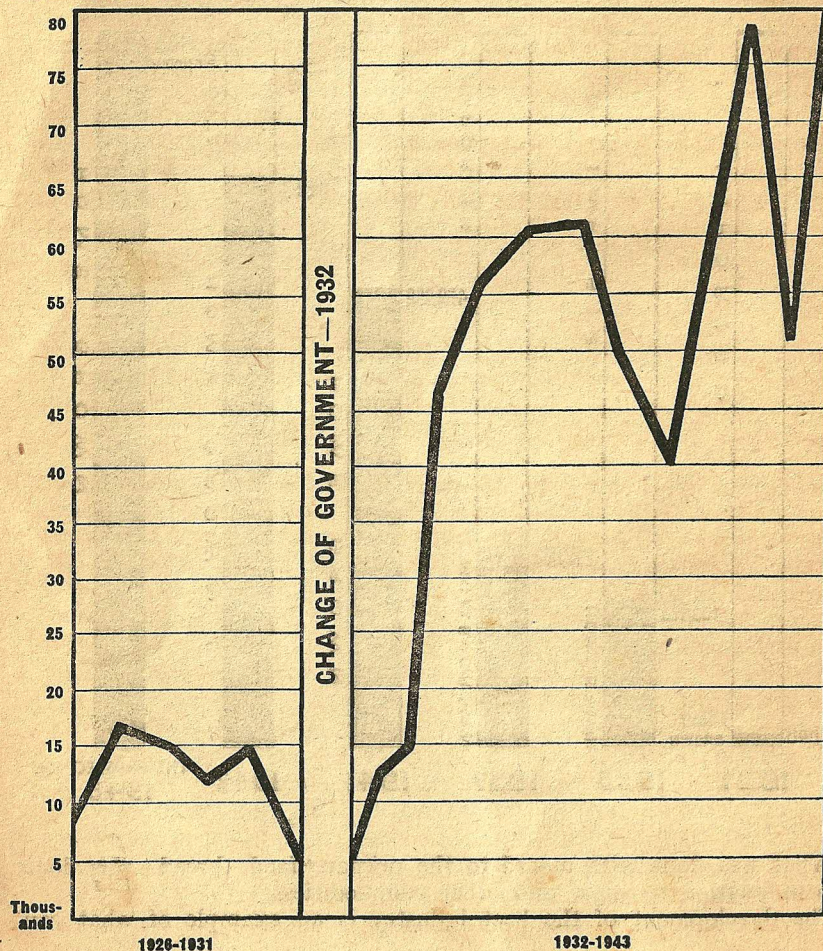
The development of the beet industry is an example of what can



be done if the will to do it is there. In 1931, only 5,012 acres of beet were grown in the whole Twenty-Six Counties. That was an exceptionally bad year, and it will be fairer to take the 1930 figure of 14,388 acres. In 1934, following the establishment of three additional sugar factories by Fianna Fáil, the acreage had already been raised to 45,581. In 1937, it was 61,606, and after a fall in 1938 and 1939, it rose rapidly again, and was 78,390 in 1941. Last year it fell back to 54,388 acres, but this year the record of over 80,000 acres is being grown, according to the contracts entered into by the farmers with the Sugar Company.

### SELF-SUFFICIENCY LINE

This graph shows how Fianna Fáil made us self-supporting in sugar from 1932 to 1943 with a comparison with the 1926-31 period:



### WHAT WAS IT WORTH?

What was the value of the tillage policy to the farmers? If we take wheat and beet alone, payments to farmers for these crops from 1933 to 1942 came to the remarkable total of

**£28,726,000.**

That was a substantial offset to the falling prices, but it was by no means the only help given to the farmers by the Fianna Fáil administration.

When the pressure of the world depression was reaching its peak the farmer got relief to the extent of nearly £2,000,000 a year by the halving of the Land Annuities. At the same time the agricultural grants were being greatly increased. Under these headings the farmers have received since 1932:

By reduction of Land Annuities and remission of arrears	.. .. .	£20,330,000
By stabilisation of prices for dairy products	.. .. .	8,250,000
By increased Agricultural Grant	.. .. .	11,142,800
		<b>£39,722,800</b>

If we add what wheat and beet brought to the farmers it will be seen that over and above what was available to them before the change of Government they got grants, reliefs and guaranteed prices to a total of more than SIXTY-EIGHT MILLION POUNDS.

The figures given on page 16 show that for eight years before Fianna Fáil took office the bottom was falling out of agricultural prices. For three years after Fianna Fáil came into power the price movement continued downward, although against the 62 points by which the Agricultural Price Index fell between 1924 and 1932, it fell by only 15 points between 1932 and 1935. After 1935, assisted by an upward movement in world prices, the Price Index began to rise again. These graphs\* show the position as it was in the years before Fianna Fáil took office and in the years afterwards.

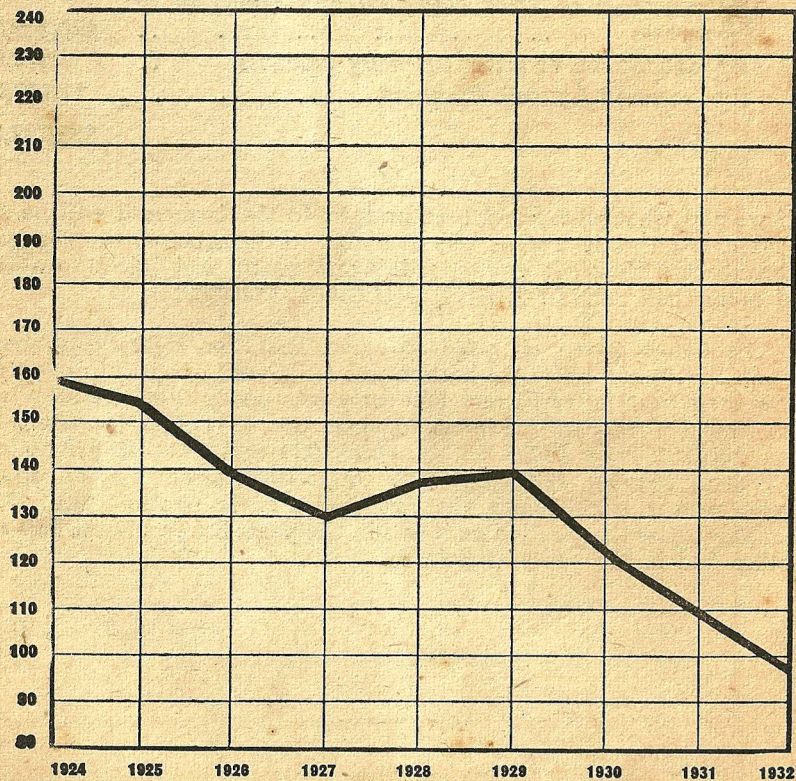
\* See pages 16-17.



Even before the present war influenced agricultural prices, the farmer was receiving substantially increased prices for much of his produce, comparing 1939 with the last year of the Cumann na nGaedheal régime. This list is instructive :—

			Price in 1931			Price in 1939	
Wheat	..	..	6s.	11d.	per cwt.		11s. 9d.
White Oats		..	7s.	3d.	„ „		8s. 11d.
Black Oats		..	6s.	1d.	„ „		7s. 11d.
Barley	..	..	6s.	11d.	„ „		11s. 5d.
Wool	..	..		6d.	„ lb.		1s. 0d.
Eggs	..	..		9s. 10d.	„ 120		10s. 4d.
Hay	..	..	£3	9s. 0d.	„ ton	£4	9s. 6d.
Creamery Butter	..	..	121s.	1d.	„ cwt.		142s. 5d.
Farmers' Butter	..	..	99s.	5d.	„ „		123s. 2d.
Bacon Pigs	..	..	53s.	0d.	„ „		73s. 0d.

**FALL IN AGRICULTURAL PRICES DURING CUMANN NA nGAEDHEAL REGIME, 1924-1932.**



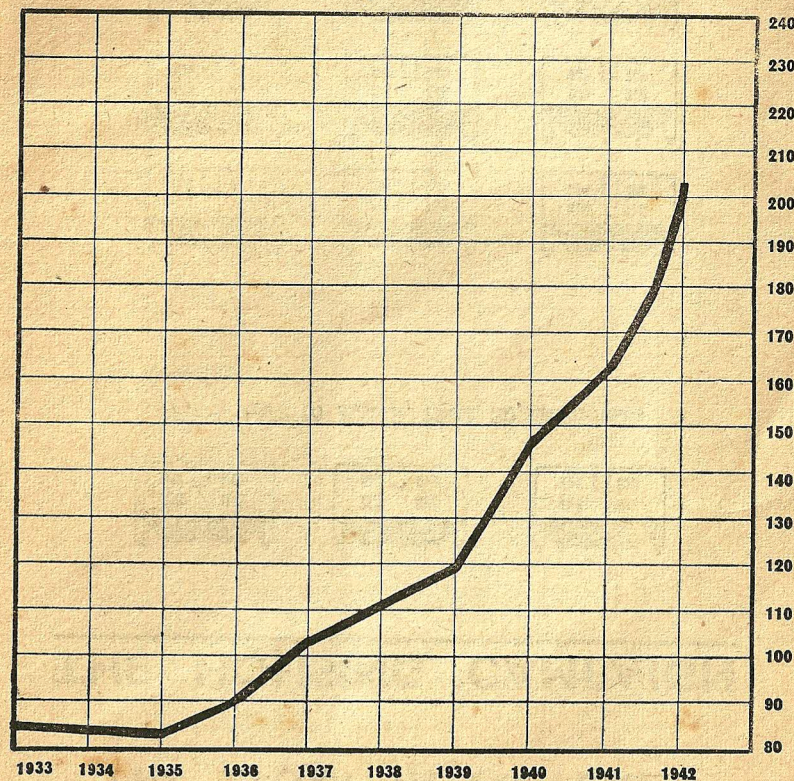
## AN ABSURD TALE.

There was never so absurd a tale as that Fianna Fáil neglected the farmers. Before the change of Government the farmers had to bear the losses created by the world depression—

- without remission of Land Annuities ;
- without the opportunities given by the wheat policy ;
- without the vastly-expanded beet policy ;
- without the great increase in the Agricultural Grant ;
- without the reservation of the home market which, between 1931 and 1938, gave the farmers an additional market worth over five million pounds a year ; and

without the stabilisation of prices which saved the dairy industry. They had to wait for the Fianna Fáil policy to provide opportunities for making good the losses they had sustained through the fall in world prices

**UPWARD MOVEMENT OF AGRICULTURAL PRICES UNDER FIANNA FAIL, 1933-1942.**

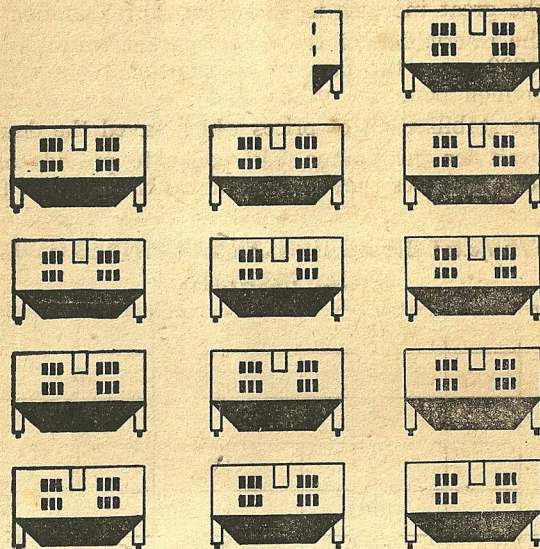




# THE HOUSING CAMPAIGN



From 1922 to March, 1932, 29,193 houses were built.



From April, 1932, to December, 1942, 132,220 houses were built.

Each figure represents 10,000 houses.

## ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION.

### II—GIVING IRELAND INDUSTRIES.

WHAT FIANNA FAIL DID FOR AGRICULTURE WAS ITSELF AN achievement. But it did still more for industry. Before it came to office the fiscal powers which the former Government possessed were hardly used at all, although the need for their use was being tragically emphasised by the closing down of 117 factories. These included :

- 14 Woollen Mills
- 11 Saw Mills
- 5 Cigarette and Tobacco Factories
- 9 Lingerie Factories
- 2 Bacon-curing Factories
- 8 Hosiery Factories
- 11 Flour Mills
- 5 Breweries
- 4 Distilleries
- 1 Cement Works
- 1 Boot Factory
- 1 Cutlery Factory
- 3 Paper Mills
- 5 Brick Works
- 3 Bottle Works
- 5 Tanneries
- 2 Glove Factories
- 2 Chemical Works
- 2 Flax-scutching Mills
- 6 Iron and Brass Foundries
- 2 Carpet Factories
- 5 Soap Factories (absorbed by British Combine)
- 2 Tin Box Factories
- 2 Yeast-making Works.



Within a year the indifference that led to these collapses was changed and the industrialisation of the country had begun. Some of its more important achievements have been :

1. The establishment of over 100 new and separate industries.
2. The opening of over 900 new factories and workshops.
3. The increase in the net output of transportable goods from £18,218,000 in 1931 to £28,223,000 in 1940.
4. The increase in salaries and wages to workers engaged in the production of these goods from £8,009,000 a year in 1931 to £13,701,000 in 1940—while the increase in all industry was from £14,041,000 to £21,319,000 (the 1938 figures).
5. The finding of work for many thousands of additional workers in protected industries alone and the putting altogether of between 70,000 and 80,000 new workers into employment.

Fianna Fáil's industrial policy, therefore, has in the decade given an *increased* net output valued over the ten years at not far from ONE HUNDRED MILLIONS and has diverted into the homes of Irish workers a total of *additional* wages and salaries of FORTY MILLION POUNDS in the same period.

#### WORK AND WAGES—A COMPARISON.

Compare the records of the two periods. The total net output of industry in the last five years of the Cumann na nGaedheal régime was as follows :

				Net Output	Number of Workers
				£	
1926	..	..	..	23,078,000	102,515
1929	..	..	..	25,365,000	108,870
1931	..	..	..	25,602,000	110,588

Thus in five years the output of Irish industry increased only by £2,500,000 and employed only 8,000 workers more, and in the last three years 1929-1931 industry remained practically stagnant. The number of workers increased slightly but wages declined by over half a million pounds.

Four years after Fianna Fáil took office a new industrial census was taken and showed that in 1936 the net output had increased by £8,200,000 and the number of additional workers was 43,000. Salaries and wages had increased by £4,600,000.

Two years later, in 1938, the net output of all industry covered by the census had gone up to £35,500,000 and the number of additional workers was 55,500 over that of 1931. Salaries and wages had increased by £7,280,000.

A few examples of what this policy meant to individual industries will bring home its value to the Irish worker more forcibly.

In 1931 we imported 3,300,000 cwts. of wheaten flour.

In 1938 (the last pre-war year) we imported only 101,235 cwts.

Scores of idle mills had been set working again and our imports fell, in seven years, to less than one-thirtieth.

In 1931 we imported 5,158,104 pairs of boots and shoes.

In 1938 we imported only 266,544 pairs.

For every pair of boots imported we made forty pairs at home. Twenty-two boot and shoe factories and four tanneries were thus set going which but for Fianna Fáil would never have existed.

#### BOOT IMPORTS 1931 - 5,158,104



1938  
266,544

FLOUR IMPORTS, 1931



FLOUR IMPORTS, 1938



Or take the whole range of apparel, everything from overcoats to neckties. It forms an almost perfect illustration of the progress of Fianna Fáil's industrial policy.

These are the sums spent each year on the imports of wearing apparel :

1931	£5,336,048
1932	3,822,092
1933	2,983,208
1934	2,361,219
1935	1,929,081
1936	1,686,429
1937	1,140,061
1938	948,268



There it is at a glance! Every year without a halt the policy of reasonable self-sufficiency reduced these unnecessary imports until the last available statistics show by comparison a transference to Irish workers of a market worth nearly £5,000,000 a year. From 1932 to 1938, as the illustration just given shows, purchasing power to the total of £22,481,978 was kept at home in this group of industries alone.

Examples of this kind could be multiplied. There have also been the greater industries such as the cement factories which gave 100 per cent. of our needs in 1941 as against nil in 1931. Three sugar factories, four tanneries, five industrial alcohol plants, twenty-two boot factories, cotton mills, aluminium works, potteries, factories for electric bulbs, gramophones and wireless sets, cutlery, razor blades—the list is long and impressive.

### FIGHTING UNEMPLOYMENT.

When Fianna Fáil asked the electorate to return them in 1932 they undertook to do all in their power to put everybody then unemployed into work. There were no complete figures for unemployed before Fianna Fáil took office. To enable them to understand the extent of the problem and to deal with it, all those seeking work whether unemployed or merely under-employed were encouraged to register. The first complete yearly return of these registrations is for 1933. An average of the monthly returns over that year gives an approximate figure of 72,500 registered. Fianna Fáil's industrial policy from 1932 to 1938 put 55,586 additional workers into jobs in the 41 groups of industries covered by the Census of Industrial Production. The total of workers in those industries was still steadily growing when the emergency halted our industrial progress.

The Census of Production does, however, not include in its returns the small concerns of which there is a large number, together employing a considerable number of persons. The number in employment earning less than £250 a year is, however, to be found from the net contribution income of the National Health Insurance Fund. This shows that in 1931 342,000 such persons were employed whole-time (including employees in agriculture) and that in 1939 the number was 417,000. Under Fianna Fáil, therefore, at least 75,000 workers secured employment in these seven years.

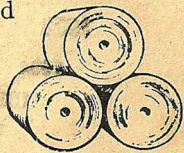
Let us see some of these increases in employment as they affected various industries:

**1931**



There were only **769** workers in the Paper-making and Stationery Industry in **1931**. But there were **2,302** in **1938**—an increase of **300 per cent.**

**1938**



**1931**



There were only **2,913** workers in the Sugar, Jam and Confectionery-making Industry in **1931**. But there were **4,921** in **1938**—an increase of **60 per cent.**

**1938**

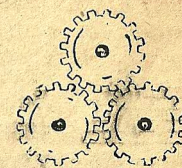


**1931**



There were only **1,594** workers in the Metal Industries in **1931**. But there were **4,613** in **1938**—an increase of nearly **300 per cent.**

**1938**



**1931**



There were only **5,846** workers in the Clothing Industries in **1931**. But there were **11,780** in **1938**—an increase of over **200 per cent.**

**1938**

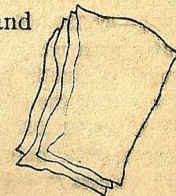


**1931**



There were only **278** workers in the Fellmongery and Leather Industries in **1931**. But there were **1,189** in **1938**—an increase of over **400 per cent.**

**1938**





1931



There were only **700** workers in the Brick, Pottery and Glass Industries in **1931**. But there were **3,025** in **1938**—an increase of over **400 per cent**.

1938



1931



There were **12,523** workers in the Building and Construction Industries in **1931**. But there were **19,548** in **1938**—an increase of over **7,000 workers**.

7

1938



In these seven groups of industries alone nearly **23,000** workers were enabled to earn a livelihood.

## WHAT THE E.S.B. ACCOUNTS SHOW

A significant index to the success of Fianna Fáil's industrial policy is found in the Reports of the E.S.B. In 1934 the industrial revival was under way. A feature of that revival was the dispersion of industry—factories and industries not huddled together in the capital, but spread throughout the country where employment could be given to farmers' sons and daughters near their own districts. Most of these new industries used electricity for their motive power. The total increase in the use of motive power is itself remarkable. It was—

1934—42,639,000 units: 1941—138,895,000 units. Thus for the country as a whole the increase was over 300 per cent. But while the increase in Dublin was 60 per cent., that in Cork was 100 per cent., and in the rest of the country the use of motive power rose from 11,800,000 in 1934 to 84,221,000 in 1941, an increase of over 700 per cent. These figures register both the extent of the industrial revival and also Fianna Fáil's success in ensuring that all parts of the country participated in the benefits of that revival.

## HELPING THE PEOPLE—SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION.

WHILE FIANNA FAÏL WAS WITH SUCH SUCCESS EXPANDING BOTH tillage and industry it was also setting a record in social measures. The field covered by social legislation and reconstruction was wide but here are some instances:

1. In the greatest housing campaign ever known in Ireland 132,220 houses were built or reconstructed between 1932 and 1942 or over 100,000 more than in the Cumann na nGaedheal decade.
2. In land division 43,900 men got land under Fianna Fáil as against 24,000 under Cumann na nGaedheal.
3. In afforestation 107,013 acres were acquired for planting and 59,746 were planted under Fianna Fáil as compared with 29,882 acres acquired and 27,468 planted in the ten previous years.
4. The amount paid annually in Old Age Pensions has been increased by ONE MILLION POUNDS—from £2,702,000 in 1931 to £3,675,250 estimated in 1942-3.
5. There were no widows' and orphans' pensions under Cumann na nGaedheal. In 1942-3 £450,000 was voted for such pensions and the expenditure on them since they were introduced in 1935-6 is now over THREE MILLION POUNDS.
6. There was no Unemployment Assistance in 1931-2 and no acceptance by the State of responsibility for caring for the unemployed outside the insurable occupations. In 1933 the Unemployment Assistance Act was passed, bringing benefit to those—especially rural workers—hitherto excluded from assistance. The sum voted for Unemployment Assistance in the last two years totals £2,485,000, bringing the total since Fianna Fáil introduced this vital service nine years ago to ELEVEN MILLION AND A HALF POUNDS.
7. A sum of £156,000 was spent on Relief of Unemployment schemes in 1931-2 but in 1941-2 £1,000,000 was voted for this purpose and another £1,062,018 for Special Emergency Schemes. Since Fianna Fáil took office ELEVEN AND A QUARTER MILLIONS have been provided to give work to the workless. Less than one million and a half was provided in the whole ten years of the Cumann na nGaedheal régime, although the need of the workless then was greater and more urgent.
8. An additional means of providing work was the greatly extended programme carried out by the Office of Public Works, whose expenditure in 1931 was £609,281 but in 1941 £1,172,000 was provided.



9. As well as helping the old, the widows and orphans, the unemployed and their families, Fianna Fáil

- (a) Doubled the yearly expenditure on school meals.
- (b) Initiated yearly grants for free milk.
- (c) More than doubled the expenditure on medical treatment of school children.
- (d) Trebled the total expenditure on pensions for veterans of the War of Independence.
- (e) Ensured free bread, milk and butter for urban workless and their families and for old age pensioners and widows in urban areas.
- (f) Increased unemployment benefits, and
- (g) Arranged for fuel free or at nominal rates to the very poor and greatly extended the benefits to those who come under the National Health Insurance scheme.

In 1931 the total yearly expenditure on social security services was

**£4,551,000**

**Fianna Fáil has nearly trebled that figure and for 1942-43 the estimated expenditure on the Social Services is**

**£11,600,000**

**and this does not include the subsidy of £1,645,000 to keep bread prices stable.**

In addition nearly three-quarters of a million a year more is being spent on Educational services as compared with 1931.

Let us see in more detail what Fianna Fáil has done in the important spheres of Land Division, Housing, and provision of new and better schools.

### LAND DIVISION

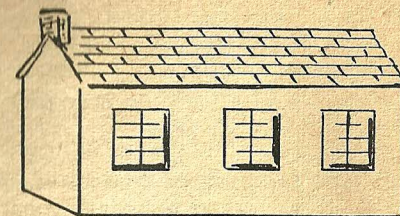
From April, 1923, to March, 1932, the area of land divided was .. .. . 452,300 acres.

But from April, 1932, to March, 1942, although there was less land available, the area divided was .. 568,700 acres.



From April, 1922, to March, 1932, **£777,000** was sanctioned for expenditure on new and reconstructed schools ; **173** new schools were built and **210** enlarged or reconstructed, a total of **383**.

But from April, 1932, to March, 1942, the total expenditure sanctioned was **£1,938,000** ; **365** new schools were built and **618** schools were enlarged or reconstructed— a total of **983**.



## THE GREAT HOUSING CAMPAIGN

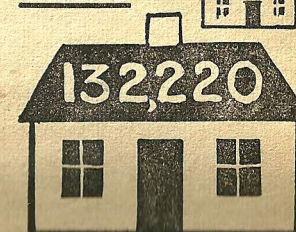
Although in the last three years shortage of building materials has held up many great housing schemes, nothing like the Fianna Fáil housing campaign has ever been known in Ireland. This campaign included housing in the Gaeltacht and that undertaken by the Land Commission.

In the ten years up to March, 1932, only **29,193** houses were built or reconstructed.

But

In the ten years from April, 1932, to December, 1942, the number of houses built or reconstructed was **132,220**.

Under Cumann  
na nGaedheal.



Under Fianna Fáil.



Taking the Gaeltacht separately only **58** houses were built under the former Government ; **5,973** were built under the present Government.

The Housing Schemes of the Land Commission shown separately are :—

**3,595** houses under the former Government.

But under this Government **13,993** houses.





**O** táinig fianna fáil i gcumácht, leanas, i gcoitcine, leis an mbeartas a bi tosaithe ag an rialtas a táinig rompu ar maite leis an nSaeóilge. Tugasóar go seasta don teangasó cuile cabair a tug an rialtas sin. Ad níor leor leo sin. Taob istis de bliam dá rialtas, bunad "Sgéim an £2," a tug deontais do thuismitheoirí na Saeóealtácta as uct sac páiste, roir sé is ceitire bliana déas, aró i an Saeóilge a gnat-teanga. Sé toras na sgéime seo go bfuil a neart dá comneál sa teangasó sa nSaeóealtáct agus go bfuil os cionn £20,000 a' tigeaéct istead sa gceannatar sin in aghó na bliana.

O 1934 i leit, tá an rialtas a' curóu le Coiste na bPáistí le páistí a cur ar saoire go dtí an Saeóealtáct cuile bliam. Tá deontais dá dtabairt cun orámaí Saeóilge a cur ar fáil sna sgola. Tá cuille muinteoirí dá gceapad i sgola ma bfuil teagasc na Saeóilge las agus tá ceitire píeasó muinteoir den éineál sin ceapta ceana. In éineáct leis sin, bunais an rialtas sgéim ar leit cun oréam timtíri gairmbeacta a oiliúm le cabrú le gluaiseacta áitiúla ar maite leis an teangasó. O feabra, 1942, i leit tá an muinteoirí a bíos ar dóir cláraithe mar muinteoirí Meán-Sgoile eólas éipeactúil a beit aca ar an nSaeóilge.

i 1935 bunais an rialtas an Coimisiún Béalrodeasa agus tug os cionn £25,000 do i ndeontais bliantúla roir sin agus 1942. Tá suas le 200,000 leatanaé de béalrodeas bailithe ag an gCoimisiún agus tá na mílte ceirniní gramapóin tógta aise de sgéalta ó béal Seanáiróte. Adóar píor-luachar iad na lámhsgribinní agus na ceirniní seo dóib siúd aca a' déanam stardóir ar an nSaeóilge is ar saol is ar saoréact na nÉireann.

Rinne fianna fáil maite don Saeóilge freisin i gcúrsaí áiróiléiginn. Tugasó deontais nua bliantúla don Coláiste Iolsgoile i mBaile Áta Cliaé le cur le Dáim na nua-Saeóilge annsin agus le áitriar a déanam uirtí. Tugasó deontais den éineál céanna don Coláiste Iolsgoile i nGaillim le haighó Dáim na nua-Saeóilge agus le léigteóireacta Saeóilge a bunú i Matamaiticí, i Seanús, agus i nSeilleasgar, in Oideas agus sna Teangasá Clasaiceada. Cruúnas eile ar an tús a tug an rialtas do saoréact na Saeóilge an Sgoil léiginn Ceiltis a bunaiséasóar san Institiúro Áiróiléiginn.

Tug fianna fáil cabair agus curóu don Saeóilge ar bealaí eile seacas sin. Tá deontas dá fáil uacu ag Oireactas na Saeóilge; tá a oet noireasó sgoláireact dá fáil anois ag daltaí léiginn na Saeóealtácta is a bí i 1931; tá curta go mór le Seirbisi na Saeóealtácta; tá sgéim tigte na Saeóealtácta ann; tá coiléacta Saeóealtácta bunaithe ar taltaí meite na Míde agus in áiteada eile; tá céim níos mó dá fáil ag an nSaeóilge sna gráio is áirde com maite leis na gráio is iste sa Stáit-Seirbis, agus tá tús áite dá fáil i gceapacáim Stáit agus seirbise poiblíde ag cainteoirí Saeóilge a bfuil coetrom cáilíocta acu don posta nó don gairm.

Saoctar leanúnac, éipeactac é saotár fianna fáil ar maite leis an nSaeóilge.

## LAWS FOR THE PEOPLE.

**T**HE ACHIEVEMENTS SET OUT IN THE FOREGOING PAGES NECESSITATED the preparation and passing of much legislation. The list of Acts put through the Dáil from 1932 to 1942 (many of them bitterly fought by the Opposition) is itself proof of how Fianna Fáil carried out its duty to the people. It would be impossible to give anything like a summary of this great body of legislation but here in the briefest possible form is an indication of what was done. Laws were passed dealing with:

### In 1932

control of manufactures, prevention of profiteering, simplifying Old Age Pension procedure, reducing age for Blind Pensions, providing for War of Independence veterans, stabilising dairy prices

### In 1933

reorganising road and rail transport, providing loans for factories, giving unemployment assistance to rural workers, unifying National Health Insurance, widening Land Purchase, protecting sea fisheries, encouraging home milling

### In 1934

controlling imports, preventing foreign dumping, setting up Industrial Alcohol Industry, expanding Gaeltacht housing, aiding allotment holders, assisting Irish tobacco growers, regulating inland fisheries, town planning

### In 1935

extending adult suffrage to local elections, improving milk production conditions, giving widows and orphans pensions, establishing Irish citizenship, further helping the dairy industry, reorganising the pig and bacon industries

### In 1936

conditions of employment, controlling bread prices, promoting turf development, developing air services, harnessing the Liffey, enabling labourers to purchase their cottages, further extending Land Purchase, pensioning Connacht Rangers who revolted against repression in Ireland, promoting flax-growing, increasing agricultural wages and setting up Agricultural Wages Board

### In 1937

further controlling prices, making increased provision for 1916 dependants, further developing inland fisheries, giving Ireland a new Constitution

### In 1938

regulating shop hours, reorganising industrial insurance, providing for fair wages and conditions for shop-assistants, setting up Irish Red Cross Society



#### **In 1939**

providing holidays with pay for all workers, planning for tourist development, humanising the giving of public assistance to the poor, providing for air-raid protection

#### **In 1940**

easing unemployed's access to assistance, acquiring unworked mineral deposits, providing for setting up local fire brigades, establishing Bed Bureau to facilitate poor's access to hospital, reorganising Local Government, providing for war risk insurance, arranging credit for farmers wanting seeds and fertilisers

#### **In 1941**

developing coal mines, providing trade unions with means of obviating rivalry among them and of reorganising themselves to the benefit of their members, compensating for war damage, establishing Institute for Advanced Studies

#### **In 1942**

extending borrowing powers of building societies, providing for E.S.B. pensions, establishing a Central Bank, providing for insurance for broken time in building trades.

That in briefest form is a selection of the laws passed by the Fianna Fáil Administration. There is not a section of the community which has not benefited by one or many of these laws.

### **WHAT OF THE FUTURE?**

Fianna Fáil is content to be judged by its record. It goes to the people confident that it has acted as a good steward of the people's interests. It asks to be returned to office that what it has begun it may be able to complete.

Much has been done and there is much to be done. The national political problem is not completely solved. Fianna Fáil, which has brought a solution in the 26-Counties, is obviously more likely than any other to avail of every opportunity to bring an end to Partition.

The economic problem is not completely solved. Fianna Fáil has changed this country from being in a state of dependence on foreign investment and foreign manufacturers into one of using its own means and resources to provide work and livelihood for its people, but the transformation is but half-way through.

The agricultural problem is not completely solved. The farmers who would be bankrupt to-day if the old policy of raising livestock for export had dominated our farming, are now in a position of independence and self-reliance they have not known. Fianna Fáil, which has brought about that agricultural revolution, has a special right to ask the people to allow it to complete its task of giving our farmers a better title to prosperity.

The industrial problem has not been completely solved. Fianna Fáil, which has covered the country with a net-work of new and enlarged factories, has much more to do before its chief aim is reached—that we shall make for ourselves everything which we have the means and the capacity to make.

**The work of making the Irish language safe remains to be completed. Although the foundations have been laid through what has been done in the past twenty years in the schools, much more is necessary.**

If the language is to be put beyond all danger there must be a national drive to get all classes of the community to realise the importance of this great work and to secure their active co-operation in it by providing opportunities for the speaking of Irish after school and for its use in the normal life of all adults who have learned it.

Fianna Fáil proposes to take all the steps that will be necessary to ensure that everything possible will be done to save the language in our time.

Above all, the present Government has had the responsibility for maintaining the national security for nearly four critical years and has had the experience of meeting the recurrent crises those years have brought. That experience is of inestimable worth in facing the dangers ahead. Although full credit must go to all the other Parties which co-operated in preserving the State through this long period of trial, the leadership has been Fianna Fáil's, and no one, until the eve of this election, showed any anxiety to share with Fianna Fáil the burdens and difficulties of national direction.

**LEAVE THE RESPONSIBILITY  
WITH THOSE WHO HAVE  
SHOWN THAT THEY KNOW  
HOW TO SERVE AND SAFE-  
GUARD YOUR INTERESTS**