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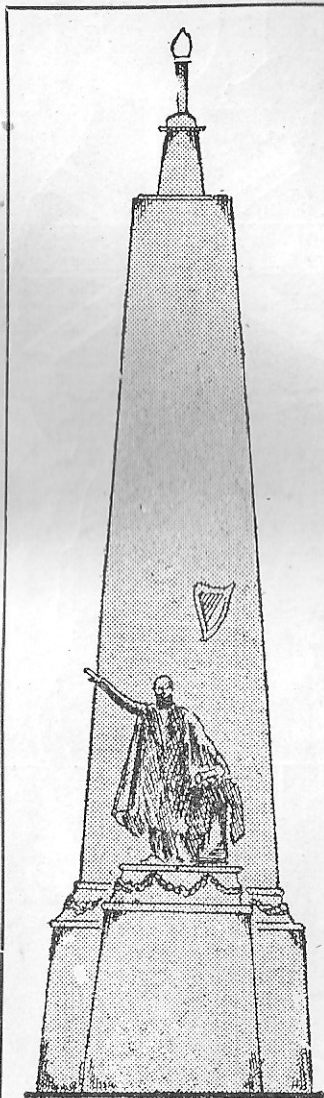
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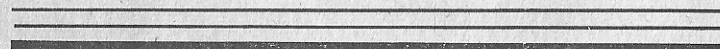
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Dúingaoir Deimnitheac fá Deizilt na héireann

Nuair a díceannuigeaó leaóic Šoušh, Mařarcal i nAřm Šarana, bí an Roimn Oibheaó Poiblí i n-Ác Cliaic as briaó cúiciú £1,700 a éileam ó Úářpař na Cařraó. Ar díceannú Éireann cao é an cúiciú a ba óóir a lořs ó ĩualcař Šarana ?

Tuigeann oaoine oearcaóca, a meabruig fá'n óeirc a'ř a óřuil řuim acú i leař na tíre, řo óřuil řeař-řá le ĩuirteaóic i nÉirenn má tá i noán oúinn ĩáiriún a óeanař oáiruib óe'n tíř řeo. ĩí řocał aióóeileac é ĩuirteaóic ĩř an óař řeo. ĩř léř oó óáó, řan meabřú nó maócařan ař bice, řo oteař-tuigeann ĩuirteaóic óun řaóó na teořanna a řeiceac, řan třaóic ař aon ĩiú eile. ĩíl řiaó cinnce, oe óařóe na teořanna, řo n-éireoaó řo řiú le ĩuirteaóic.

Óualó ařainn, cařeř an óeao óořaó oóřařnao, an řuaig a óur an ařm Šarana ař na 26 Connoaece, řiú naó óřuil cořaóic Šarana břirce annřin ař řao řóř monuař.

ĩř é řin an řuo acá le óeanař ĩř an tuairceair ařainn, an Union Jack ařur ařm Šarana a óeizean amaó. An óřuil aon řeař i n-aonóoř ařainn řan cořaóic uilig řo léř an oericeit a beic taob óiař oe'n ĩařraóic, bolłraireac, ařřeaó, řiř, ařur ař noóig řuřuice ?

ĩř an oericeair óualó ařainn an láim i n-uaccař a řáil ař na Šaranaig, mař tá řá lácař, oar ĩiom ař na nábař řeo leanař:—

1) ĩáireamař a řeiařáil ó 1916 řo 1921 tře řleař an óořaó řueřilla; tře dúingaoir řao-řulanřeac na řeořař-leaca áiciúla, na řeořiteana ařur oíúicú iocca óánaó, řan řuřiúoř na břeiriř a beic ař tinnreař ař Westminster ac ař óáil Éireann.

2) Tře bolłraireac óurce óuireamař ĩreac řo móř ař an tŠaranaó ař řuo an oóřař, beařnaó.

3) Óaineao řeioř ař cuimře ař tioneóur na nÉireannaó ĩř na Štaóai áoncuice.

4) Óain an óeao óořaó oóřařnao bionřaó ař Šarař řeim, řan ařmař, maioř le n-a ceannař i n-a ĩimřeac řeim. Ceanao, an ařraic óeař ařur mař řin oe ař ĩařraio cořaóic lonnoain a laigeaóú—řuo a o'éiriř leo a óeanař. An ĩnoia ař óur ĩreac uiré ařur an Éisire. ĩiořó řeioř léice řuo ař bice a ba ĩian léice a óeanař óun Éire a řmaóicú, mař bí i n-a cumař i náimřiř '98.

5) Οειρημίτην σο μόρη μόρη έυαίθ άς Saram έίρεανναίς ά μαδ τιονέυη μόρη αού άμεαρε αν ροβαίλ ά μέαλλάθ έυν ζλααθ έε οειζίλτ να τίηε, ζιθ έαθ ί ζοορύλαέτ ζο ρεαλαοαέ άρ τάρ. Δέ έυίςρεαθ άοιηναέ ά έοηναίε μαρ ρορκαίεαθ άη ραιηλίμέιθ ί μέαεί ρέηητε ί 1921, ρυλαρ έυίςρεαθ τάρ έε έοηηαθ ρά ρορ έοζαίθ ρέην, έιθηναρ μαρ ά θέαθ ηηρ άη οειηε.

Αη ρηίοή-ηυθ έε έαθαηρ ρά οεαρ—βίομαρ ζηίοήαέ!

Scuabamar ί έεαέ-ταοίθ να ροιηίίεοίηί έαηηέαέά ηεαή-έοηέαά. Δηίρ βίομαρ ζηίοήαέ, ίοι-βεαηταέ.

Δρ β'ρέιοηρ ηηη έεαζαη άμαέ μαρ ηύθ ά έυη ί βηείθμ οε έαηηε να **Σέ ζοηηθαέτε** άζυρ άη ηβέαθ οεαζ-έοηαθ άηρ? ζαη ηηηηρ ά (δ), άρ ηοθίς, ά έυη ηηρ άη άηεαή, ηρ οθίέε ζο οτίζ ηηη άζυρ ηηεηηη ζο η-έηηεοαθ ηηη άέ ρηηη **τυίλε** ά οέαηαή.

Ηρ ηύ τυίλε ά οέαηαή όηη ηί ραοηύ να ρέ ζοηηθαέτε άηάηη ατά ί ζεηηρ άέ ραοηύ να ηέηηεαηη, **32** έοηηθαέτε, οάηηηυθ.

είαηάηίλ ηήλεατα.

Ορ έοηηηε ζαέ ουηηε οά ηαδ ηηρ να έολύη ηυαηηηεαά ί 1920, άβαηη, β'ρέιοηρ ηηη άηοηρ ηίέε ουηηε ά έυη άρ ράη, άζυρ οά ηβέαθ ζά έεηρ, έαοζα ρεαρ — άζυρ ίαθ οίηε ί ζέηηρ άί ηήλεατα ί βηαθ έίηεαηη ηίοηρ ρεαηηρ άζυρ ηηεαηηαή αού οά ηέηη ρηη. ηή έαε οηαηηη οίηεαήαηηε ηήλεατα ά έαθαηρ οο ζο ηύ 300,000 ραοηάηαέ, ηηέ έαζηαίοέτ έορύη έεηρ να έοραη-έοηηί άηηύλα. Οειηηεαρ ζο ηβ'ρέιοηρ έε Saram 300,000 ραίζοιύηηί ά έυη ηηεαέ ί ηοηηέαρ ηλαθ άζυρ ά έοηηηείλ άηηηηη.

εία'η ηαθ ά θέαθ ηί ζαηέθε έεηρ ρηη ά οέαηαή? έαθ έυίςε ηάρ έυηρ ηί 300,000 ζο ηέηηηηη ί 1920?

Οειηηεαρ ζο βηυίλ εηεαηηαηάί άς Saram άζυρ ζαηέαηαή.

βί ηάοάί ηήηέαηαέά έοζαίθ άίεε ί 1920 άζυρ βί ί η-ά έυμαρ Δέ έηαέ άζυρ έοηεαίς ά ηηαθαθ οε όηηηη άη οοηάηη. Δέ ηίοηρ ηοηηε.

Οά ηαηηηηηρ ροηηηε βηαηεαέ άς βαζαηηε — άζυρ έυηθ ουίηε έαοθ-έηαρ οε'η βαζαηηε—ο'έηηεοαθ Saram τυηηηεαέ, τά ρεαηρ, ηίοηρ ηυαίηε ηά ρηηηε. έαθ έ ηίοηρ άίεε ηαέ ηβηηηηί άμαέ ί η-ά έοηηηθ ηηρ άη έίςηηε ηό ηηρ άη ηηοία έε ηηη ί ά βεηέ ζηθίηεαέ ί ηέηηηηη? έαθ έ ηίοηρ ηαέ ηβαηηεαθ άη **Κύρ** ρεηθμ άρ άη ράηη έυν ουίηε ρεαηηεαέ ηό ουίηε τυίηε ά έαθαηρ ουίηε μαρ Saram άη έίςηη ρά'η ηηηηρ **Μεαηη** ηό ζο ηύ ί ηηηοία?

έαθ έ ηίοηρ άς Saram ρά'η οέε ά ηύηηηηηηρ ηηεαέ ηηρ να ρέ έοηηθαέτε, άζυρ ί άη βεαζάη έοηζαητα άηη, έυν ηεηθ ά ζλααθ άρ άη ηέηηηηη ηηη άρ ηαθ έαοθ ηηοίς οε οά υαηρ ά έλνις άρ ηεαήέαθ ουίηε ρέηη?

ηηηη ρέηη έά βέαλ ρεηηηε ηίοηρ ζηοηηα ηά τυηαρ υαηηε έε ζηυαηηεαή ό Ούν Οεαηζάη, ροηε άη Ούνάηη έοηη έοηζαηεαέ έε τυηαρ ηίέε έύς βομαηε. βέαθ να ρεθίηεί ηήλε οαοηη ηηρ να ρέ έοηηθαέτε ηέηθ, τά ηαθ ί ηβηηηο έυν ράηηε ά έυη ηόηηαηηη άζυρ έαθρύ άζυρ έοηηοηηηύ ηηη.

Σεαθ, ηί έαηηεοαίθ άη έίαηάη ηήλεατα ά οηηορραθ έε 300,000 έίηεαηηαίς οίηηε άηηηεα ά έαθαηρ ουίηε ηό-βηεαζ έε Saram ζο ηόρη ηόρη ηυαηρ ατά ηί ρέηη ί ηηοέτ ηηηηέαέτ ηηέηηε ά βεηέ άίεε έά άρ βίε ρεαητα.

Μαρ ρηη ρέηη ηί ηεαηαηηίθ άρ έοηρ άρ βίε ζο ηέηηεοαθ υηηηηυέαη ηήλεατα ραθθ να έοηηαηηα έεηρ ρέηη.

Ηρ έυηθ ηί-έαθαέταέ οε εοέαηη-βηεαη έ.

βοηηεαηηεαέτ.

ί ζοηηηηεαηρ έεηρ άη ηέηθ ά έίς ά οέαηαή ηηηη ηίοηρ ηηηηεαθ ρόρ, ζο ηύ ί 1916-1921, βοηηεαηηεαέτ άρ βίε ηοηη-ηάηηηηητα ά β'ηύ άρ ροη να ηέηηεαηη. έά ί η-άη ζέυμαρ άη-ρεαβαρ ά έυη άρ άη ζέέαρ ηηοοα ρεο άηοηρ.

έαθ ά οέαηηαθ Sarm ρέηη ηό όζλαίς να ηέηηεαηη έε ρέάηηηηηη ζεαηη-έοηηαέ έηαολαέαηη?

ηαέ ηήηηεοαί ρεάα να ηέηηεαηη οο ζαέ τίη άρ όηηηηη άη οοηάηη έεηρ άζυρ ζο ηηηη? ζαη έαθαηηε άρ ηηθ άρ βίε εηε ηαέ ηβέηηί οε ηίοηρ άς ζηίοηύ να ηζαεη έαρ έεαρ έυν έαθηηηε έεηρ άη έαλαηη αέαηθα? ηαέ ζεαοηοέαί έεηρ να ρηη βυί ζαέ έά ί ηηέ να βηαηα? ηαέ έέηηηεοαί ηηρ άη οθίς ρηη οθίθ άη ρέηηηηε ρά έίηηηηη άζυρ Saram, άη ηέηθ ά ζηθέοαθ ηαθ ρέηη άρ άοηηαέτ να τίηε άζυρ ροβλαέτ να ηέηηεαηη?

άζυρ να ρεαηηάηη—εία'η υαηρ ά βέηθ ρέ οε έέηηλ άζαηηηη έαηηεα ά βαηηε αρτύ οο έεαρ να τίηε?

ηίοηρ ηηηηεαθ έεαηη άηάηηη ζο ρόηηλ μαρ βοηηεαηηεαέτ ρά "ραθθ" να έοηηαηηα.

έά άηηί άς άη ηυαηεαρ η.η-άέ έηαέ ί η-ά έαη ρηίοηη-έαέηαέ ί ζέέηη. έαθ έ άη ράέ ά βηυίλ ηαθ ζο έέηη οε ζηάέαέ ί η-ά οτοηρ ί οταοίθ άη έαζέοηηρ ρεο ατά Saram ά οέαηαή ί ηέηηηηη? ί ηζεηηέθ ρέηη βεαήαηη ηόρηάη ά β'ρεαηη ηά έεαέ-έαζαηηε ά ηηηηεαθ ί ηηέ να ηβηαηηεαέ.

βί έαοηηηη οε βαλεηα έοηη ηαβάηηε ρηη ηηρ άη οειηε ζο

mb'riú le Saram agus bloc na himpireadta cabrú cun uadearán Connor na Náisiún a déanam de.

Tá aitheas agaim anois, mar nac maib 1919, cun an obair bollaireadta seo a déanam go rár-éirce — milliún púinnceáí or coimne sac míle dá maib as Sinn Féin.

NA STÁTAÍ AONTUIZTE.

Níl gar a réanaó gur luza an truum atá as na Saen Meiceánaea i nÉirinn ná bíod ré bliantaí ó roim. Mar rin féin tá gléarannaí agaim cun an truum rin a bíodas nac maib agaim—an máid, an reannaí. Agus oe bair an oul cun cinn i gcúiraf eiteallóireadta tá éire agus Meicead níor coisgaraisge dá éite ar cuimre, i gnóite cairtí.

An-buntáirce eile, go bfuil Saram rá éad níor mó i dtuilleamúí deis-méin na Státaí Aontuizte ná bí sí i 1921.

Níl oodair oúinne, Éireannaí, a cuisbeáit, áitead, nac bfuil ré beartuice i nóinseoir eadearnae Meicead Saram a déanam nó-las ar raó. Taca na Státaí Aontuizte inr an euidir í.

LAISE INMEANAC IMPIREADT NA BREATAINE.

I me an oara cozaó oimhnao tuzaó léarsar go minic oúinn ar com lās agus tá an ceangal agus an ceannar impiriúil. Inr na traentaí i Saram agus inr na toizte óra beaó raizoírúí Ceanaea com oimearúit le raizoírúí na Sarama agus bíod na púncánaiz féin. Bí anérad inr an Airtreáil ar a oul i scoimar leir na Státaí Aontuizte i ngnóite poiliticiúla, eadearnaea agus míleata, ó ba léir nar b'féoir a beir as bnae ar éabair iontae ó Saram fearta. Tá n India ar rúcaó i scoimrib na himpireadta—oll-éampa púorúnaea í. Saram ré easla mur noéanaid sí rocpú réarúnta leir na Inoiaeaí san moill go mbéid na Rúis, i moe com-éumannaé, irtead inr an muillae uiréi cun reitb a fáil ar an réarla seo san tuac. Dá laizeao trioblóite taoib irtoiz de'n impireadé dá mbéid as Saram inr an am atá le teadé ir amlaio a b'feair léite féin é.

Or a coimne rin má leizeann sí oo éuro tábaeae amáin de'n impireadé imeadé uairé agus an impireadé a fáil go boz, tuizeann Saram gur oíod-fompla rin oo ná tíoréa eile inr an impireadé.

Ní béid romm nó-mór uiréi glacaó le poblaeé na

hÉireann, leir gur poblaeé na hAraice éar nó na Ceanaea an toiraó a beaó air tar éir bliain nó óo eile!

Má com-oibruizimio-inne go cuirte le sac gluireadé taoó irtoiz de'n impireadé i scoimrib ceannar Sarama méasoéar ar neair agus ir mó an mear a bear as Saram féin oraimn dá réir rin.

I scoimar leir na róiraf rúe-impiriúla inr an Araice éar, i n-India, inr an Éizirce, na Fraiceae-Ceanaeaiz, na náiriúnaiz i n-Albain agus an Breatain beas, beaó acaria tioda i n-ár láim cun rean-Saram a ceannrú, mar nac maib araim agaim i 1916-1921 féin.

DEIZILC.

Ní éiz linne reidm a baite ar an treaibe úr-ghánna seo! Ná bíod iontar oraimn amáireae nuair a éuimpimio curo oe na daoine as rá: "Glacaimio le Doine, Tír Eom, Fearmanaé, veirceair ar moíaca agus veirceair an Oúin. Fáilim inr an éuro eile, beaí fehirte agus an umircear móir-éimpeal air, as na rin bui agus na Saramaiz." Ní éiz linne ronar (real-aoae) curo de'n tír a ceannaeé ar oonar na cozae eile. Seib na hÉireann go huile a éarcuizear uaimn. Sac rian oe éumaéé Sarama i nÉirinn a reuor ar nintinne-me.

Ní cnearú éar goim ac leizear iomlán.

AN BUN INNIU.

Cao é an bun atá lear an teoraimn úreize?

Easla, éad, uabair, rainnt inniu!

Tá easla ar Saram leir go mbéaó comarpanae nó-comaeae, nó-éontabaireae—i gcúiraf míleata go móir-móir, i ngnóite triaéala b'féoir, aice i n-Éirinn. Easla uiréi go maéamir i scoimar le tír eile i n-a coimrib i cozaó lá éigin.

Dá néirizead linn a éur i gcéill oo Saram nac maib con-tabaire dá laizeao mar rin ann, ac í coérom na féinne a éabair oúinn, ní beaó ré com deacair aice reitb an náiriúin ar maó a fáil agaim.

Carar daoine oir ó am go ham agus ní áil leo ruo ar bíe ac daoine eile a beir raol rmaeé acú. Mar an gcéanna le tíoréa. Mar maite le glóir impiriúil, san cairbe airzio nó eile a éur inr an áiream, ba maie le Saram greim a beir aice i scoimnaí ar Éirinn. Í a geitircein oúinn tar éir reaeé-geaeo go léit bliain oe éoraioeé! i n-a oiaio rin agus uilz,

b'féiriúir go dtabairfeadh sí irteadh, sae ceart a tabairt dúinn, cun cur le n-a glóir (mar feictear oite réin i) mar éorantóir raoinne na náisiún beas. Cúin veiginear náisiún eite uiréi a méadóu agus veigiméin na héireann a shódeú tré beart nae scoirnódaio i dáiríub raic! Nárb iontae an éain a éunfeadh sí dá b'rádao sí éire go huile beal maione as na héireannaig? Faraor múineann rtaoi na tíre peo nae le plámar ad le píosa a éalrtaoi an Sapanac i n-éirinn!

Ní iocaimíio inr an veirceart cáin bliantúil le Sapan raio láeair! Ir éirdean oite réin veontar airgíio a éabairt sae bliain 'do rialtar scoirnont! Tá Sapan bóct as caiteadh airgíio ar an teorainn! Nae beart an reéilín gúinn é, 'oo báruil?

Seán Duí as caiteadh airgíio ar éirinn! Éirt, a leantó, nuair a bí gáir-gá as Seán Duí cun peidm beart a baint ar éirinn, i n-airíriú práinnead an éosaio, níor rtaon pé a dáe ar bíe a b'píú.

Ar sae conndaie de na pé conndaiee fuair pé mar éain éosaio £8,000,000, nó £36,000,000 go rialta ar feadh íoinne bliantae!

Fuair pé bádaí, eiteallánaí, oibhudeannaí éosaio, biaó. Fuair pé éaoi cun na céadtaí mílte de raíseoiríú Meiriceánae a oiteamaint.

O'n veirceart i hué an ama éanna, nuair a éeartuis éuroiú uair dáiríub fuair pé na reóiréai mílte raíseoiríú agus oibhudeannaí. Fuair pé na reóiréai míliúin púnncaí de biaó, £100,000,000 de gan pinzinn a íoc ar, readear gealltanarai páiréair. Fuair pé na reóiréai míliúin púnncaí ar beasán gámbín ar iaráct (An geearann aon amaóán éireannae go n-airíocair na hiaráctai éosaio peo? Léig an méio a reiríob Seán Mírteál ceao bliain ó íoin rá fárae náisiúnta Sapanac.) agus tá raoinne gáinn inr an veirceart ar reoir ar bíe! roblaect!

'Sé, níl de oíe ac mínead, mínead bunuice ar míunín ar Dia. Gan an mínead íin, dá áilleaect ar n-intinní, dá feabair an éaoi ní éis linn aon daadaio a véanaim.

Tá geearannaí rá n-ár láma inniu, mar nae rab aquaim, cun ceannar Sapanac i n-éirinn a reiríob i n-a ímionasair go b'ráe agus roblaect na héireann a bunú dáiríub anoir.

Cao a véanrao an raíarrae, Emmet, Tón, An Saírréalae, éoin Ruao, Aoó Ruao nó Aoó móir i 1946?

Dúinn go léir ir eol go maie! **Tréan-iarraect!**

Déanamar ámlaio.

Tá oirdeao as b'rae ar aonraect agus raoinne na héireann!

Sae uile unra íunnní dá b'rae ionainn taob éiar ve'n iarraect agus le congnaim Dé beio linn.

'Dubrao éeana—"ní ríeóain go raoinne." Oeir hué na h-áiréirge—"Ní raoinne go raoinne."

Ní éis eiríompraíir-rtae Críortúil a éógaí ar leae-éoir.

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PARTITION— A POSITIVE POLICY

WHAT (with the connivance of our feeble-hearted professional party politicians) has been camouflaged by Whitehall as the "Irish border problem" is simply the old problem of the continued military occupation and subjugation of Ireland by England. It is a cardinal principle of English foreign policy that Ireland must be kept WEAK, incapable of initiative in foreign affairs, politically, commercially, even culturally, ever.

No other body but our own peculiar native brand of self-seeking politicians would propose to build up Irish prosperity on the basis of a partitioned occupied nation. Emigration, mass unemployment, bad housing, malnutrition, etc., (all symptoms of exploitation, however cleverly camouflaged) can only end when British occupation ends. And not then either unless we plan resolutely a **vocationally organised** state in accordance with our Christian and Gaelic traditions.

The parasitic politicians give occasional lip-service to the ideal of a united Ireland. **Aiseirghe alone has a plan to end partition to-day.**

We do not propose to confuse the issue for readers with a mass of statistical information or by painting in an historical background which will give no clear indication as to what is to be done **Here and Now**. Rather shall we confine ourselves to concentrating attention on the present-day realities of the situation and on what we deem to be the clear-cut practical policy of the hour for the solution of this most vexatious

problem for the Irish people. Ireland partitioned for a quarter of a century, and as yet nothing decisively undertaken in a big way to undo this great moral wrong! Isn't it time for action?

Undoubtedly some things have been achieved in the twenty-six county area since 1922.

But how do these results, on the whole, in 1946, compare with what was visioned by the leadership of Easter Week?

Half-a-million emigrants from the South merely since the date the Treaty was signed! Adequate and eloquent answer!

Partition (as it is planned to do) threatens the mere **continued existence** of the Irish nation. We must do **anything and everything** we can to end it. It does not involve simply the emancipation of 430,000 Catholics under the heel of England's puppet Stormont junta. It involves emancipation for 1,300,000 **Irishmen** suffering under **that** form of British tyranny.

But it comprehends too peace, progress and prosperity for the people of the South.

The significance of this latter aspect of the problem is not so generally realised.

Ailtirí na hAiséirghe advocates that we do **not one** thing, but **everything in our power** to restore Irish territorial and political unity. Circumstances to-day are infinitely more favourable than after World War Number One, from the Irish viewpoint, in the matter of compelling England to concede the just claims of Irish nationhood. In international prestige, in economic, financial and military power, the England of 1946 cannot compare with the England of 1918. If the Irish position in the South, as our politicians there ask us to believe, has improved so enormously during the past quarter of a century, then why should it be impossible for us to recover the remaining **six counties** to-day as we secured the evacuation of the British Army from **twenty six** formerly?

Aiséirghe's partition policy is five-fold—propaganda, passive resistance, including economic penetration; provincial or regional assemblies; if unavoidable, physical force; and, of course, prayer.

Our party politicians, **North and South**, seemingly merely refer to or use partition for window-dressing purposes. It was during the Cosgrave administration that we had the farcical report of the treacherous Feetham Boundary Commission (and, **mark you**, a **Labour** Government in power in England at the time!) Mr. De Valera wasn't going to settle the land annuities dispute unless partition was disposed of in the ultimate agreement. But when Chamberlain told him he must not say another word about partition, during the course of the final London negotiations, he meekly assented. To fool the people in the good old style and to avoid awkward questionings on the signing of the London Agreement, Mr. De Valera immediately gave forth in Ireland that he intended to concentrate on the solution of the only remaining point of difference between ourselves and England—partition. Years have elapsed but we are still waiting for Mr. De Valera's active participation in an anti-partition campaign.

He replied very energetically and effectively some time ago to Mr. Churchill in a radio speech, but does any responsible person anticipate that **sporadic** utterances of this sort will secure the evacuation of the British Army from Northern Ireland?

How the British outmanoeuvred us diplomatically and in propaganda during the war!

When the ether should have been filled with the Irish demand for the return of the six Ulster counties, to which we have every moral claim, the attention of the world was instead paradoxically occupied, in so far as Ireland was concerned, with the demand of the English for the return of South of Ireland ports, to which they had no moral claim whatever!

They respected twenty-six county neutrality, of course, **at a price**—200,000 war workers from the South, tens of thousands of recruits for their army, scores of millions of pounds worth of food, which will probably never be paid for, a few hundred millions of Irish money on loan (at a much lower rate of interest than that which was available at home), **and virtually complete Irish silence and inactivity in regard to partition.**

BRITISH IMPERIALISM MAIN CAUSE OF IRISH TERRITORIAL MUTILATION.

As we have said above, it is part of the imperial policy of England to keep Ireland **weak**, never permit Ireland to become so strong or prosperous as to be a menace, militarily or economically, to herself, either singly or in combination with other nations. To-day England's objective can be obtained at least cost by partition, the six counties constituting her twentieth century pale. Yesterday the occupation of the whole island was necessary. If there were to-morrow a more economical method than partition that other method would be employed and the border disappear overnight. It is mere clever camouflage on the part of Whitehall, and at least shows carelessness on the part of public men in Ireland, to describe it as a "partition problem," "the boundary question."

It is in reality chiefly a problem of a retained military bridgehead in Irish territory—and a question of life and death for the whole Irish nation.

From this bridgehead England can continue to overawe the whole island.

The solution for this imperial and most difficult aspect of "partition" **in the last resort** after years of careful, meticulous preparation, is mass mobilisation, at a critical moment for England in other fields, of the whole of our national resources, man-power, cultural, financial, economic, propagandistic, under determined national

leadership. Of assistance would be to have had made it clear in the English mind through a preliminary intelligently conducted educative campaign that a free Ireland dealt with fairly **will not** constitute for England a grave menace. To emphasise that it is our paramount national objective to create in Ireland a model world State, in the Christian perfection of its social and economic systems, will evidently help considerably in inducing the Englishman to reconcile himself to the notion of an independent 32 county Irish Republican State with less apprehension.

However, it is futile for us to close our eyes to the fact that he, the Englishman, will not leave Ireland altogether, ultimately, until we make it extremely inconvenient and costly for him to remain, no matter what golden opinions he may entertain of our national aspirations.

In a worldly sense military occupation cannot be improved upon as a guarantee of good behaviour.

If we co-ordinate our anti-British activities with those of the nationalists in India, Egypt, South Africa, Canada, Scotland, Wales, with those of the numerous other anti-British forces in the world, our contribution will be something to be reckoned with. In any event with the new scientific methods of accomplishing swift results in war, we can be assured it is more important than ever for England to secure the friendship or at least placate such a close neighbour as Ireland.

If she realises that the Irish people in the event of the failure of all peaceful methods are fully determined to have recourse ultimately to extreme measures she will prove more helpful and conciliatory in her attitude.

The alternative for her is the permanent maintenance of a huge military establishment in North-east Ulster, and eternal watchfulness of all Irish activities throughout the world.

Consider, within sixty minutes, with plans carefully laid and rehearsed, after years of preparation of course, the whole of the Six-Counties could be over-run from the South any midnight, and England presented with a *fait accompli*! **Which midnight** would be **another** problem for Whitehall to resolve.

ECONOMIC INTERESTS FAVOURING PARTITION.

There are the six-county commercial interests which on present information seem to demand the maintenance of the closest connection with England. Before 1939 the **linen industry** exported 43% of its production to England. In the event of the establishment of an Irish Republic this market might be taken over by, or handed over to, the ever jealous Scotch rivals of the Irish linen industry. Do we in the south ask 43% of the linen employees to vote themselves permanently out of employment, or 43% of the employers to vote themselves ostensibly out of business? On points such as this the party politicians are notably and stupidly silent.

The answer of Ailtirí na hAiséirghe is that we shall recover for the linen industry its lost American market. The south used to purchase £3,000,000 of goods every year from the United States which took a negligible quantity of southern Irish goods in return. There was so little to export for which there was a real American need. Henceforth we could persuade the Americans to take more Irish linen, as well as other Irish goods, to balance **this** international trading account, when partition is ended. In addition we can guarantee the linen industry (as reconstructed of course) independence of Russian and continental sources of supply, largely, in the matter of flax. And so incidentally secure another lucrative guaranteed market for the Irish farmer.

As for **shipbuilding** virtually every order for Béal Feirste is placed by England. If we cannot assure the shipbuilding workers of continual employment it is stupid to denounce them **all** as **bigots** because they won't

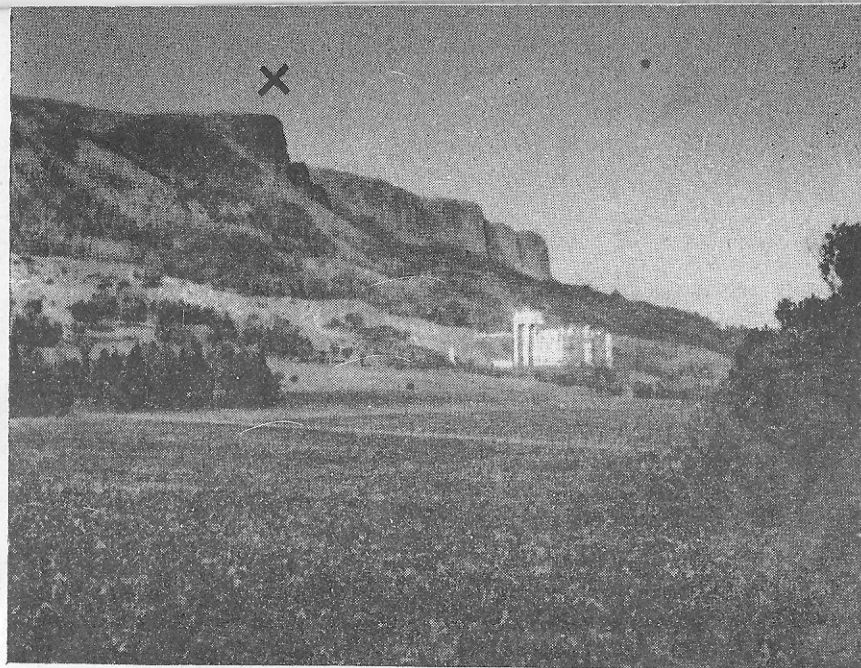
vote themselves into an Irish Republican state. The only remaining shipyard in Ath Cliath had to close down during even the Fianna Fail protectionist regime.

The answer of Ailtirí na hAiséirghe is the use of Béal Feirste to build up a modernised mercantile marine for all Ireland and for repair work. Half the work in shipbuilding to-day is done across the water in steel mills. We can arrange the erection of a second Irish steel mill of really big capacity to meet the steel requirements of the shipbuilders, Irish railways, car manufacturers, etc. This should absorb surplus shipyard workers and indeed provide them with more secure employment, as in the new Ireland they will not be so utterly dependent on England for orders. Many of them must still recall how badly they were treated by their beloved England during the protracted depression period prior to 1939, when the British Admiralty virtually ignored Béal Feirste.

There is also in Béal Feirste the **rope-making industry**, an international trading concern, with 3,000 on its payroll. **Naturally** those dependent on it would like to be convinced that its position will not be **detrimentally** affected in the new Ireland. It fortunately does not present a problem such as do linen and shipbuilding.

But **tobacco**, one factory alone in Béal Feirste could provide for the whole of the requirements of Ireland twice over! It exports greatly to England and is rather likely to lose that market to the Imperial Tobacco interests unless a branch factory is established in England with consequent transfer of employment. In that event what fate is in store for its disengaged workers in Ireland? Surely not emigration! **Of course whether after a period there will be any orders whatever for linen, ships, tobaccos, for the north from depressed and economically flattened out post-war England is a moot question.**

Through the pursuance of the policy of the protection and development of native industries in the six-county area (such a policy has scarcely been initiated there)



Above: Cave Hill, Béal Feirste. "X" indicates MacArt's Fort, where Tone, Russell, McCracken pledged themselves prior to 1798. Below: A view of Derry's walls to-day, with some of the old guns still in position.

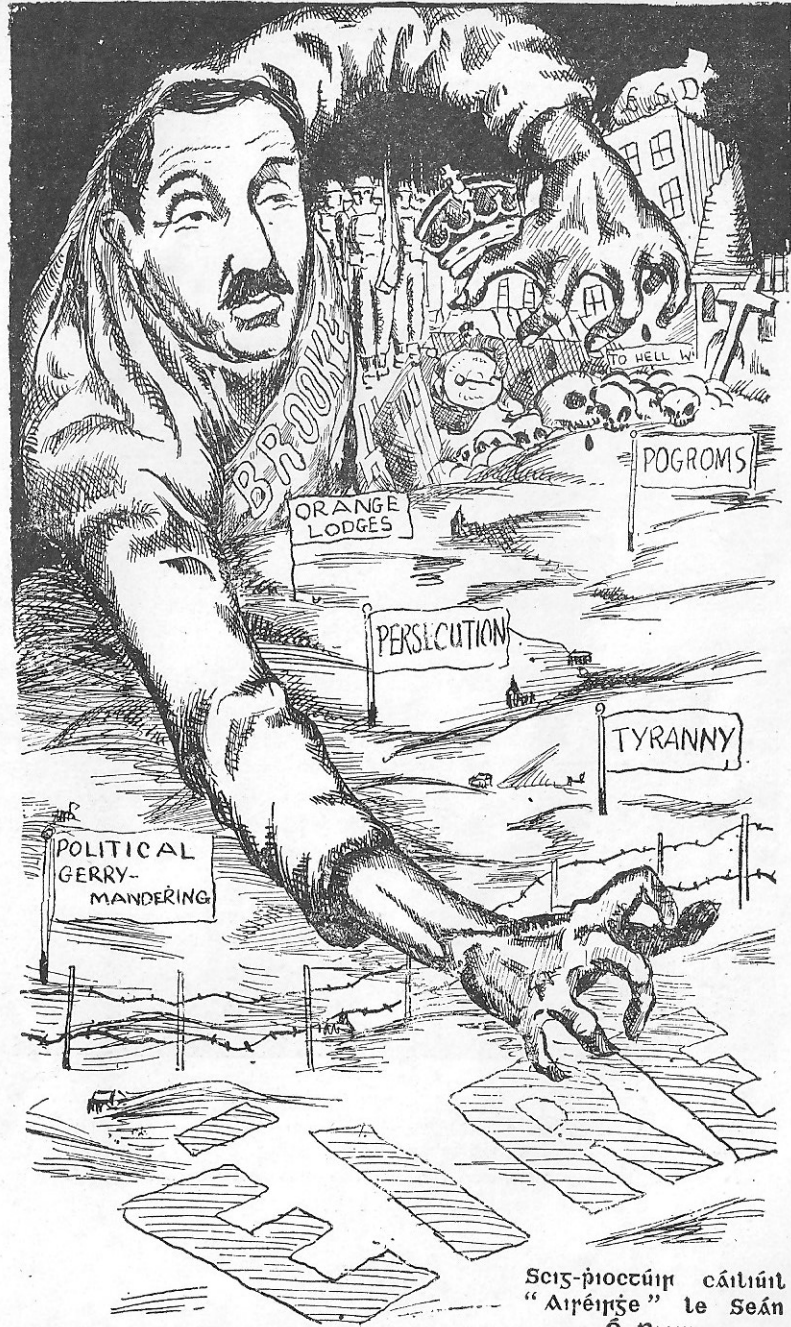




The grave of Ireland's National Apostle, *Óin pádraig*, Co. Down. *Dhúisio* and *Colmcille* sleep here also. Many of the nation's most historic places are in north-east Ulster.



One of a series of famous *Aiseirse* wheel-posters in use in *Áit Chláir*.



Seis-riocúir cáiliúil
 "Aiseirse" le Seán
 Ó Riain.



Yes, the memorial to famine Queen Victoria, on the threshold of Leinster House itself! Symbol that England's rule is not wholly ended in the South either.

A corresponding memorial outside the main entrance to the City Hall, *béal ceannce.*

employment for surplus workers and many others will be quickly made available under the regime of Ailtirí na hAiséirghe. In any event our revolutionary financial and industrial policies will speedily make unemployment in Ireland as a whole as obsolete as the ascendancy methods of government in the north and alien financial, social, economic, and political organisation in the country generally.

The traditional industrial skill and talents of the people of the north will be allowed full scope and given every encouragement in Éirinn na hAiséirghe, but at the same time we shall insist on the fulfilment of Christian principles in the economic and social organisation of the six-county area as in the rest of Ireland. Exploitation of the female workers in the mills will not be tolerated and workers must be guaranteed their fair share of the profits of industry and participation in control.

Nor will the old pre-1920 regime of ruthless commercial competition be restored, leading to the economic and militarily unsound concentration of trade and industry in one area and the control of industry in the hands of an unprincipled few with probably an anti-Irish-Ireland outlook. Too high a moral price can be paid for mere ephemeral efficiency. In the democratic vocationally organised state of Ailtirí na hAiséirghe all manufacturing concerns will be licensed and industry evenly distributed throughout the whole island.

OTHER PRO-PARTITION VESTED INTERESTS.

Other vested interests in the north-east area are represented by those who hold well-paid posts in the government and local government services, a number of them sinecures. The jobbery and corruption which is rife in this connection in the puppet Stormont state is almost incredible in the twentieth century. One may be assured that the individuals concerned will never be convinced that the removal of

the border (as the problem is camouflaged) is a highly desirable thing indeed. Knowing how attitudes and loyalties have been changed and hardened in the south through judicious job-placing and far-sighted pension schemes one need waste no further time speculating on a solution of the northern problem created by wholesale jobbery. Ailtirí na hAiséirghe can promise those packed into redundant or superfluous posts from political or imperial motives nothing better than removal. Efficient public servants giving allegiance to Ireland only, have nothing to fear. (And we are aware there have been Stormont non-Catholic civil servants definitely interested in Ireland, or at any rate her culture, even a minister's private secretary !)

ORANGE BIGOTRY.

What can one do about Orange mob bigotry? Only a proportion of non-Catholics in the north-east are **incurably** affected, including men, women and children surely not more than 250,000. In the last analysis Ailtirí na hAiséirghe can offer these the alternative of residing physically as well as spiritually in the England they so dearly love, they to be replaced by a like number of our exiled Irish kith and kin.

As for the vast majority of northern non-Catholics they are quite reasonable folk and when approached **on a constructive national basis for the first time**, as envisaged by Ailtirí na hAiséirghe, we have no doubt a big number of the younger people will respond. There is ample evidence that the second world war has opened the eyes of many of them in regard to "this England" and the supposed benefits arising out of utter dependence on her. The danger is that those now disillusioned may become easy prey for Communist propaganda, if not quickly contacted by a national movement sincerely advocating the implementation in thorough-going fashion of a realistically Christian social and economic policy.

As is evident from meetings of the Presbyterian

Assembly there is a non-Catholic body in the north that demands economic and social reform along revolutionary **Christian** lines. We may not win the dour Ulster Protestant if we appeal to him to be **Gaelic**, but if we address our appeal to him as an **Irishman** to co-operate in the inauguration of a more realistically Christian social and economic regime for the whole Irish people Ailtirí na hAiséirghe are convinced he will not remain unresponsive. Those who have lived amongst them are aware that northern non-Catholics are Irish in blood and heart, but too often with prejudices carefully fostered by British propaganda. Propaganda that is pointed and truthful can eventually remove these prejudices, and propaganda is a weapon that Ailtirí na hAiséirghe will wield most vigorously. (For a moment recall to mind how our party politicians studiously avoid the constant intelligent use of Radio Eireann for propaganda in the national interest.)

A reconstituted Trinity College too, will be made play its part in restoring national harmony in Aiséirghe Ireland. Given a new charter it may be used as the entrance gate for many non-Catholics into "Hidden Ireland." We are informed that more than half its students hail from the six-county area. Here again the politicians in Ath Cliath have been almost utterly negligent and inactive for 24 years.

There is no doubt that to-day Catholics in the north-east live under conditions tantamount to eighteenth century penal law. It is our bounden duty to end these terroristic conditions of life for our betrayed fellow-countrymen as speedily as possible. But let us reflect that the tyranny imposed on the non-Catholic in the north is at least equally as vile. From the moment of birth until the last gasp of life he is not permitted for one instant **to realise that he has a fatherland, to know Ireland** the land of his birth and upbringing. The Catholic in the north-east is robbed of his political, economic and social rights. He is at least, however, permitted to **know** he is Irish, if he is not to any great

extent allowed to **act** as if he were Irish. On the other hand his Protestant fellow-citizen is compelled, coerced to go through life in the deepest, blackest cultural, social, political, and historic ignorance, that is in so far as the system can secure that end. Ailtirí na hAiséirghe shall end imperial and Stormont tyranny for both Protestant and Catholic alike. Again not 430,000 but 1,300,000 people are victimised in north-east Ireland to-day.

The more specific Ailtirí na hAiséirghe proposals for the solution of the camouflaged border problem are:—

FIRST STEP—PROPAGANDA.

An intensified co-ordinated **world-wide** propaganda campaign. Full use of radio, press, cinema. Frequent **demonstrations** throughout the world wherever Irishmen habitate. A National Partition Day of Prayer and Mourning when every Irishman will wear an appropriate emblem. Articles, pamphlets, books!

Propaganda to include the political education of the misled non-Catholics of the north-east. (They had stuff in them in '98).

A couple of hundred thousand of these won over and there is a majority against partition in the north-east itself.

But we must offer the oppressed northern worker also the inducement of the realistically **Christian** social and economic justice planned for the new Ireland by **Aiséirghe**.

Propaganda again also to make it clear to the **English people** that there is no real danger to England's **best** interests in a free, contented, united Ireland, having a Christian social, economic, and political orientation. On the contrary!

All this work to be generously financed by the State.

By propaganda alone we can make the continued occupation of any portion of Irish territory **extremely** embarrassing for England. But let us not mislead

ourselves into imagining that we can so make her position here **adequately** embarrassing.

Propaganda must be followed up by **action**. But it is the necessary preliminary and let us do the job completely and well.

The **next step** Aiséirghe suggests would be a 32-County plebiscite on the issue of national independence, as set out in the Republican Proclamation of 1916, and partition. 2,000,000 signatories can be sought and the statesmen of the world confronted with a definite expression of what is the will of our people to-day as yesterday.

By this simple democratic process partition can be made an international issue.

Already resolutions have been passed by a number of county councils and urban councils in favour of this Aiséirghe proposal. An excellent opportunity for the holding of such a plebiscite immediately after the war in Europe was offered to our politicians last June, but was characteristically not availed of. On the 14th of June, 1945, a presidential election was held throughout the 26 counties, whilst **on the same day** the parliamentary elections were held throughout north-east Ulster. Had the election in the south been frankly for a president of the Irish Republic (1916 and 1919) and **republican** candidates nominated for every constituency in the six-counties!

After the national plebiscite the **third step** proposed by Aiséirghe is that the **elected representatives (for the time being non-voting) from the six-counties be invited to sit in Leinster House**. Thus giving us a national assembly at least analogous with the Dáil Éireann of 1919, which represented all Ireland.

Isn't it extraordinary that no Merrion Street Government has as yet invited northern representatives to take their seats in Leinster House?

But no hesitation in calling it "Dáil Éireann!" And Sir John Keane nominated regularly a senator! And to the Council of State!

PASSIVE RESISTANCE.

Passive resistance is the next and **fourth step** in the positive partition policy of Aiséirghe. This means the implementation to the fullest extent possible of the Sinn Fein plan of non-recognition of the usurped English authority in the six-counties, including non-payment of taxes, boycotting of courts. This policy to receive strong encouragement and financial support from the south. Eventually—invariably—the machinery of government **such as it is to-day** in the north-east must break down.

It will be asserted that such a policy would be impossible of implementation in the city of Béal Féirste, because of the hostility of the large majority of the citizens.

However, why may it not be put into operation where there are strong nationalist majorities, in the counties of Tyrone and Fermanagh, South Down and South Armagh, a large area of County Derry and the whole of Derry City?

Remember it is our fourth step. Morale will have been built up **already** throughout the whole island through the intensified propaganda campaign, tens of thousands of enthusiastic fresh adherents won for the nationalist cause in the north-east (perhaps an adult majority against partition secured there, and in Stormont itself); the appropriate atmosphere prepared abroad by propaganda, the 32-county plebiscite, the admission of six-county representatives to Leinster House.

Again let us not make the mistake of presuming that passive resistance **alone** on however extensive a scale will compel the evacuation by the English of their **last stronghold**, and foothold, in Ireland. It can accomplish much, as in India, and as formerly in the south **but not all**. Except perhaps at an especially critical period in world affairs for British imperialism.

We must, however, use **every means** to hand, bring

maximum pressure to bear, attack on **all fronts**, if we are in this generation finally to end British domination in Ireland. We cannot neglect passive resistance.

We can be aggressive **peacefully** in another effective way. Apart from bigotry the principal reason why Catholics (almost always “nationalists”) are not given fair-play in employments in the six-county area is **fear**. Fear that in course of time the nationalists (as a rule they have larger families) will outnumber the unionists. If the nationalists had been given employment in north-east Ulster on a fair basis since 1921, it is not unlikely that in 1946 they would almost equal numerically their unionist opponents.

This is a contingency to be provided against—through discrimination in employment on religious grounds! What school were you at!!

How deal with this economic, industrial, tyranny, apart from state and local government employment? There is available a quite simple remedy!

In the years before 1939 we had in the south a splendid opportunity of **buying out the controlling interest** in Harland & Wolffe's (the big shipbuilding firm in Béal Feirste). This could have been done with a mere fraction or percentage of the money invested in English stocks and shares by south of Ireland residents. So too in regard to almost any other large northern industrial firm. Gallahers' huge tobacco factory was bought over by Belgian Jews. Large drapery stores, bakeries, provincial papers, even some of the Béal Feirste dailies might have been bought out. The shares of many northern public companies were quoted at extremely low figures for years prior to the second world war.

Of course our Rip Van Winkle politicians in the south were and are too astute to avail themselves of an idea like this. Irish money is safest **sunk** in British war vessels.

How about such a plan of economic penetration and

conquest in the future? Once more its adoption would not suffice in itself (and we could anticipate counter measures). But it would be a **contribution**. Let us **leave no stone unturned**, before we are compelled to resort finally to physical force or the serious threat of its use.

PHYSICAL FORCE.

No responsible person seeks additional bloodshed in Ireland. Yet had southern neutrality been violated openly by England during the recent world war, who would deny that physical resistance, however hopeless the odds against us, would have been fully justified? How much more justifiable the employment of physical force to secure the real independence of the whole island?

It is the lesson of history that we can never **talk** England out of Ireland. Pressure! Economic, propagandist! Moral force! Yes, **but should all these fail** then ultimately must be considered physical force also. But properly organised, equipped and disciplined! 100,000 men, 200,000 men, 300,000 men if possible. Train every available man. Muster **all our** strength.

If we set about the task in that determined fashion it is unlikely that there will be any need to **employ** physical force. Hardly need even for a *fait accompli*! With widespread unrest in India, anti-British agitation in Egypt, anti-British activities in Palestine, South Africa, French Canada, the powerful backing of Irish-American pressure, with all these factors in **our favour** if we are combative enough, we shall be successful enough.

Let us not assume a physical clash with England on the partition issue and the issue of the recognition of the Republican Proclamation of Easter Week as inevitable. Nevertheless let us courageously envisage and **thoroughly prepare** ourselves for it as a **possibility**.

PROVINCIAL OR REGIONAL ASSEMBLIES.

The setting up of the Provincial or Regional Assemblies with which Aiséirghe plan to replace the alien-created, inefficient and expensive county councils in Ireland will help in solving the partition problem and the kindred new problems which the mere persistence of partition during the past twenty-four years has created. The Ulster Provincial Assembly can be representative of the nine counties, so that by this means alone the danger of ascendancy control will be removed, apart from the other measures that in the ordinary way will be taken by Ailtirí na hAiséirghe. The knowledge that there will still be some sort of a semi-autonomous chamber legislating for his specific provincial interests will enable the average Unionist to accept the abolition of the Stormont hotbed of party and parliamentary corruption with less apprehension. Dún Geanainn we have in mind as the meeting centre of the Ulster Provincial Assembly—the town of the Grattan Volunteer Convention and the seat of Clann Ui Neill. This will help to emphasise that there is to be a clean break-away from the old corrupt regime of the Béal Feirste Glengall Street political clique. The local government affairs of Béal Feirste, as of Áth Claith, Corcaigh, will continue to be administered by a City Council, with, however, **special ceannasaithe or managers appointed as chief** executive officers.

VOCATIONAL ORGANISATION.

The plan of vocational organisation by which the corrupt alien party political system will be replaced by the Ailtirí na hAiséirghe government, will have very beneficial effects indeed in the north. (The corruption possible under the godless liberalistic British parliamentary system—its cant and hypocrisy—could perhaps not be better illustrated anywhere to-day than in the north of Ireland). Our vocational organisation for each craft or profession will bring not only employer and

employee together in harmonious co-operation in the six-counties, as in the rest of Ireland, but also Catholic and non-Catholic.

The vocational system of democratic representation will secure too that the industrialists and farmers and workers of the north will be directly represented on the National Council in the capital by experts of their own choosing, not by callous professional political opportunists.

In no sphere of Irish life have party politics played such havoc as in Béal Feirste and its hinterland.

The Aiséirghé plan for a National Labour Corps and one year's army training, will evidently be exceptionally helpful in eliminating sectarian prejudices amongst the young men of the north. They can be given there consciousness of what is the real Ireland and by being temporarily stationed in widely separated parts of the country have brought before their very eyes what Ireland and the people of Ireland in reality are.

The northern visitors who flooded Ath Claiith and its environs during the war period got food for thought, as well as ample quantities of other supplies! We should facilitate and encourage intercourse between north and south in every way.

BENEFITS TO THE SOUTH.

People nowadays frequently discuss partition in the south in a manner that implies that the south of course will not gain materially through national unification; she desires the recovery of occupied Ireland solely from motives of the loftiest patriotism. "We would be taking over a bankrupt state." This, of course, is a lot of arrant nonsense the source of which can be traced to our professional politicians, who in their own interests wish for no action presently on partition.

Let us, therefore, recount hereunder some of the benefits that should accrue from unification:—

Manufacturers in Áth Cliath point out that the next stage is the establishment of heavy industries in "Ireland." The heavy industries however are very largely already established in Ireland, in Béal Feirste, with the difference that to-day they are operated exclusively in the interests of England, the interests of the people of Ireland not being taken into consideration at all. Heavy industries, unlike the small factories, workshops and assembly sheds, of Fianna Fáil cannot be founded overnight. More than capital is required. An **extensive** market is an essential. Obviously the incorporation of the six-county area in an all-Ireland state is our solution. As well as linen, shipbuilding, ropemaking, and tobacco manufacture, there are the foundries, the valuable textile machinery industry and the aircraft factory.

There is, maybe more importantly, the wonderful aptitude for business so traditional in the north-east. Under national leadership that can be employed very successfully to the advantage of the whole of Ireland.

SHIPPING.

One of the many lessons of the war is that Ireland urgently requires a modern **mercantile marine**. Norway with a population smaller than ours had a mercantile marine of **3,000,000 tons**. Is it over ambitious of Ireland to hope to possess a merchant navy of 500,000 tonnage? Why not have the ships built in our own port of Béal Feirste? As it is Béal Feirste firms have under their control a certain amount of shipping and their experience and world-wide connections, and the big export trade of Béal Feirste will be extremely useful in the operation of the mercantile marine of the new Ireland.

INTERNATIONAL TRADE.

In recent history only during wartime has the south enjoyed what is described in official jargon as a favourable balance of trade. The adverse balance may range from twelve to seventeen millions and higher. This is caused by the circumstance that the exports of the twenty-six county area consist mainly of agricultural products, and Spain, the Argentine, the United States, etc., are not very much interested in importing agricultural produce. The manufacturing export industries of the north offer the solution of this trying problem for every Minister of Industry and Commerce of the south. These henceforth could be a valuable help in building up foreign credits to be used for the purchase abroad of socially desirable goods for the Irish people. During the last war northern Irish linen was used by the British Government in a big way to meet bills for American munitions.

DEFENCE—FUTURE NEUTRALITY.

The value of national unity to the whole nation from the standpoint of military defence need not be stressed. With a large foreign army strongly entrenched in a portion of our territory any defensive measures are likely to be crippled and neutrality, even in the south, always imperilled.

Ireland's national God-given boundary is the sea, and it is certainly less difficult to protect against invasion than a long sinuous land frontier.

INCREASED POPULATION.

In the elaboration of point 12 of general Aiséirghe policy we stressed the supreme importance of an increased population if we are to retain our moral right to the possession of the national territory and put ourselves in a stronger position to defend it

militarily. The population of the twenty-six county area to-day is approximately 3,000,000, before making allowance for the mass war exodus of our young people to England. **This is, of course, a preposterously low figure.**

The total number of residents in most of the important capital cities of the world is much higher.

Such a population allows of only very restricted development of manufacturing industries.

National unification would immediately increase the the population by roughly 40%. Even at the figure of 4,250,000 it is still ridiculously inadequate.

HISTORY.

Then there are the historic places of the north—Árd Macha, where our national apostle established his Primatial See, Slemish, Doire of Columcille, Bangor of Comhghall, and Dún Geanainn, the Yellow Ford and Benburb, Béal Feirste, where Tone, Russell, etc., pledged themselves to the service of the people of Ireland, Dún Pádraig, where lie the remains of Pádraigh, Brighid and Columcille, Eamhain Macha of the Red Branch knights. Can we imagine Ireland a nation, Ireland prosperous, at peace, and such historically important places under the foreign flag of the usurping English?

How successfully make the twenty-six counties Irish-speaking, if the six-counties remain English-speaking and alien-ruled?

And Lough Erne (so useful for electrical development) and Lough Neagh, largest lake in this part of Europe, (at the very least valuable as a sea-plane base)!

BENEFITS FOR NORTH-EAST ULSTER.

What are the advantages from Irish unity and

independence for the inhabitants of the six-counties? A number of them have been indicated already.

In summarised form they include freedom from being involved willy-nilly in England's imperial wars, (freedom from night-bombing).

At last political harmony, cultural unity restored, economic security and prosperity, a national government taking **direct interest** in the development of its industries including agriculture, not completely indifferent or hostile as England has proved at least since 1918, and as she is most likely to prove in the present post-war period.

Already announced that the Ferguson tractor will be made in Coventry not in Béal Feirste, as so eagerly expected!

The people of the north, both Catholics and non-Catholics, will be given wide scope for the employment of their undoubtedly great talents in the united free Ireland. They will participate with their fellow-countrymen of the south in the re-building up of the historic Irish nation that, akin to Greece in the Pagan era, will lead the whole world along the path of **Christian** regeneration through the splendour and beauty of its own perfect, fearless implementation of Christian principles in its political social and economic life.

Northern realism and southern idealism blended will make Ireland a nation, will make Ireland the nation. Northern tenacity, southern pugnacity—Ireland unconquerable.

The recovery of occupied Ireland, our most difficult problem, calls for enlightened and inspired leadership, national, firm and uncompromising, and national solidarity and national morale in the south and the north of the very highest order. Only through the adoption of the system of government and leadership

and the whole programme of Ailtirí na hAiséirghe can a solution in our time **even be hoped for.**

And partition (or what is camouflaged as such) as well as other specified problems must be solved in our day or the historic Irish nation will have disappeared beyond human power of restoration.

PRAYER.

Prayer we **do not** consider the last step, but the **first** step, and **every** step, or rather **at every** step. As Christians we believe it the most effective weapon of all. Aiséirghe believes in trust in God.

But WE must do OUR bit also.

If our whole anti-partition activities have a true Christian orientation, that in itself will make our task easier. If our attitude towards those collectively colloquially known as "the Orangemen," towards England itself, is one of true Christian tolerance a peaceful reconciliation of differences will be the more likely realised.

But Christianity does not connote that we Irish must reconcile ourselves to perpetual national enthralldom.

Christianity does not connote that we need not be men, when patriotic duty calls.

Why should we Irish, who believe in God, fear anything, fear England?

Rather animated by the true spirit of 1916, the real spirit of Aiséirghe, let us know **fear never, faith always.** Be men of one alliance only—with God, of one allegiance only in the whole island—to the Republic of the sovereign people of Ireland.

It is the lesson of history that men of faith, aye of Christian, Republican and Aiséirghe faith never, never, fail.

If we sincerely desire a free united Ireland, that our country may be enabled in an unhampered manner to work as a co-ordinated national unit for the restoration of Christendom in the twentieth century world, (not firstly for its own glorification and mere material prosperity) then our prayers will be heard, our efforts will be crowned ultimately with success.

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WILL LIVE

A GAIN!

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