

Cumann na ngaedheal Part 1

Part of Achievements/overcoming problems or Law and Order/security issues
1922-1932

Cumann NG Achievements/Law and Order/security

1The Irish Free State -existence on 6th Dec 1922, one year Treaty. IFS - Dominion of GB-parliament/ Oireachtas-Dail Eireann and Seanad Eireann. The D.-elected the President of the Executive Council. W. T. Cosgrave elected first President of the Executive with K. O'Higgin (Vice Pres_. 153 TDs each represented between Seanad 60 members-delay bills 270 days. Voting-PR-Article 17 –oath-BC- GovernorG.

2Civil war ended May 1923, acts of Violence cont.,Aug 1923 and Feb 1924 800 cases of arson and armed robbery. K. O H., Minister for Home Affairs,passed legislation 1923 Public Safety Act. Cobh March 1924 unarmed British soldiers attacked-led to another Public Safety Act-arrest,detention, flogging, for armed robbery and arson By the end of 1924 the country had returned to peace .

3The Garda set up 1922 to replace RIC-proved a lasting achievement of the Cosgrave era. First comm.-Michael Staines-soon replaced by Eoin O'Duffy (1922-1933.) End of 1922, 2,000 guard-190 Stations- enforcing Civil and Criminal Law inc the Intoxicating Liquor Act (1924).

4The Legal System reformed in Courts of Justice Act (1924-abolished British and Sinn Fein Courts. District Courts-The Circuit Court -High Court. The highest court –Suprem. The final court of appeal was the British Privy Council.

5Army Mutiny-most serious security crises in the history of the State. Trouble arose when the government envisaged demobilization of 2.000 officers and 35,000 men. Further tension was a proposed reduction of financial support for the army. Conflict also existed between the 'Old IRA' and ex-British army personnel. **6**Mutiny began 6th March 1924-Tobin and Dalton ('Old IRA'), sent an ultimatum -An end to demobilization and reorganization-removal of the IRB-orientated army council which the 'Old IRA' regarded as a threat to their ascendancy.-an assurance is given about the attainment of an Irish

Republic. 7 Mulcahy, Minister for Defense, been trying to use the IRB. O'Higgins and other members of the cabinet distrusted Mulcahy's tactics. Mulcahy ordered arrest of Tobin and Dalton, the cabinet saw a chance to outmaneuver him-appointed the Commissioner of the Garda, Eoin O'Duffy, as Supreme Commander of the army. O'Duffy, who was appointed over Mulcahy's head, now sought to reach a compromise with Tobin's group. This led to the resignation of R. Mulcahy and O'Higgins, by the 12th March, managed to end the mutiny with a compromise agreement: inquiry into army administration, review of army personnel no victimization, guarantee of army pension scheme. O'Higgins won the power struggle by showing that a civilian government could impose its authority on those, who, in effect, had brought it to power. 8 Conclusion

Very important usual question

Economic Policy, 1922-1932

Introduction 1st paragraph in 1st summary then go to this in 2nd paragraph

The IFS, face up to grave economic problems-Civil War -Partition also had cut off Ireland's major industrial area. The Free State could easily have become bankrupt-adopted an economic policy conservative. IFS success included the support -from banks, large farmers and the wealthy Anglo-Irish community. Credit abroad was also easily obtained. Ireland's decision to keep its link with Sterling in 1926 left the Irish pound over-valued ...this may have made life difficult for exporters, in the long run it was to prove advantageous. It allowed the Irish State to avoid the mistake of other European countries, such as Weimar Germany, where heavy inflation proved crippling to the economy.

Agriculture: the problems

A was by far the most important industry in the Free State. Two thirds of the population lived in rural areas, agriculture itself involved 51% of the population. A which provided the backbone for industries such as milling, brewing, distilling and bacon curing. Responsibility for A was given to Patrick Hogan. Ireland's farms -small, uneconomic holdings...farmers could not afford to invest in new technology etc. farmers also proved reluctant to

hand over the farms to their sons, who were often old before they inherited 25% farmers were in their sixties in the 1920s. This bred conservatism. A Co-ops been allowed to deteriorate and Ireland's reputation abroad had suffered a serious blow, arising from the poor quality of produce sold during World War 1.

Steps were taken by Hogan to stimulate A... included re-organization of co-operatives -rebuilding of creameries burned down during the Civil War. The Hogan Land Act of 1923 was passed thereby enabling the Land Commission to buy out landlords' estates and sell the land to the tenant farmers. Minister for Finance, Ernest Blythe played his part in helping to keep farmers' expenses low. Between 1924 and 1926 cut income tax from 25p to 15p in the pound,-policy which helped the larger farmers. Acts was also passed by the D in 1924 governing the production of eggs and butter, with agricultural officials-inspections for cleanliness and standard of equipment. In 1925 further legislation covering the licensing of bulls and promoting a gradual improvement in the quality of livestock. In 1928 potatoes came under supervision. The government helped to improve the standard of Irish farm produce One of Hogan's great achievements was the capturing of the British market for agricultural goods.

Increasing specialization in cattle meant a consequent decline in tillage farming and increasing dependence upon imported foodstuffs. The exception to this was the growth of sugar beet .. a new cash crop for Irish farmers. Figures reveal an increase in Agric. overall for much of the period and the figure of 35.8m, which was reached in 1929. The world slump, brought about by the Wall Street Crash, and the Great Depression from 1929/1931, adversely affected Free State agriculture which was very dependent upon exports. Around the same time, Hogan realized that unless farmers could gain access to attractive farming loans. In 1927, the Agricultural Credit Corporation was set up to provide credit for farmers to improve their farms. In the early years, however, the services of the ACC were not readily availed of due to the conservatism of many Irish farmers and their unwillingness to take on the responsibility of loans.

Industry I

With A given state priority industry was, nonetheless nb. One problem was lack of a cheap source of power. Coal.. imported and while there were small electricity schemes in some towns, they were inadequate for industrial purposes. Water was the answer This was in the building of a hydroelectric station at Ardnacrusha near Limerick. Foreign skills, technology were provided by the German firm of Siemens. The scheme owed its origins to Dr. T.A. MacLoughlin, an Irish engineer, and received backing of J. McGrath, Minister for Industry and Commerce, Cost 5m, provided 4,000 with employment o (1925-1929), The State also set up the ESB in 1927 whose purpose was to supervise the distribution of electricity.

Industrial achievements

6 semi-state bodies set up. The ESB was the first and became the model for later semi-state bodies, through which governments developed industries which were too important, difficult or costly to be left to private enterprise. Others included the Irish Sugar Company , the ACC etc. On the question of free trade, government was divided. A Fiscal Inquiry Committee was set up in 1923. This found that small firms shoes, textiles, light engineering - were in favour of tariffs because they were dependent on the home market. The larger firms - brewing, distilling, biscuit-making - were not in favour. Consequently, tariffs were not widely imposed. In all, during the Cosgrave era, some expansion did take place in industry. Over 100 new enterprises were opened in the protected industries by 1930 only 13,000 new jobs. But by no stretch of the imagination could an economical renaissance be said to have taken place.

The Ultimate Financial Agreement

The settlement of December 1925, which followed the fiasco of the Boundary Commission, removed all liability on the part of the Free State government for the public debt of the UK. However other matters relating to the economy and to finance remained unsettled. Thus, between 1925 and 1926, Ernest Blythe (Irish Minister for Finance) Churchill held a series of meetings. The result of these was the **Ultimate Financial Agreement** of

March 1926. The British Treasury agreed to waive certain claims against the Free State, such as a claim for 250,000 for munitions supplied by Britain during the Civil War. At the same time the Irish undertook to honour the payment of other more essential outstanding debts e.g. land annuities and the pensions to ex-RIC. The Agreement was never passed by the D. and it was later dropped by Fianna Fail.

Conclusion

In assessing CnG economic policies, it has to be remembered that, in the aftermath of the Civil War, a great deal of restoration and reconstruction was needed. Simply creating favourable conditions for economic advance in the future was a task demanding some considerable energy. CnG did manage to lay the economic foundations of the State must thus be regarded as an achievement. Yet economic growth as a whole was slow. As, despite all the efforts of its energetic minister, had not changed and I, though it had expanded was essentially small scale and unable to compete in the open market. The government did not consider that its responsibilities extended to providing work for everyone and redistributing wealth. Income tax remained low. Consequently, the government did not have the money to tackle the poor housing situation. In 1924, the Old Age Pension was cut by one shilling per week. Cuts in salaries for teachers, civil servants were also unpopular. Emigration continued at a high rate 1920s, while unemployment never fell below 6%. Hardship suffered by many families not eligible for the inadequate social welfare benefits available to the limited few. These problems were aggravated by the world depression (1929-1933) and this, more than anything else, brought the Cosgrave regime to an end.

Cumann na nGaedheal Foreign Policy

Introduction

Following the Treaty Ireland was given the same constitutional status within the British Commonwealth as Canada, Australia etc. All members of the FS parliament were to take an Oath of Allegiance while the crown was to be represented in Ireland by a Governor-General. From 1922-1928 this position was held by T. Healy, followed by J. MacNeill, brother to Eoin MacNeill.

Ireland was unlike the other dominions. The others were countries of settlement Ireland conquered. Other countries had evolved to DS through a process of evolution. The Irish had undergone struggle and revolution to arrive at DS. Added to this, Ireland was geographically closer to Britain and the temptation to curtail her powers would be greater than with other dominions. In spite of these differences, however, Ireland's entry into the Commonwealth took place at an interesting time as each of the dominions was expanding its sphere of influence. Ireland too sought to assert its independence in international affairs and showed itself determined to overcome its limitations as a dominion.

Early Performances Abroad

The CnG government gave credence to Collins' view that the Treaty was a 'stepping stone' to freedom and independence. Although Cosgrave's government accepted dominion status, it wanted to demonstrate its separate identity by making contact with other countries. Ireland's first independent move was to apply to join the League of Nations. The FS was admitted to on 10th September 1923. The Anglo-Irish Treaty was registered with the League in July 1924. Both of these moves were taken in spite of British objections. In the case of the Treaty, for example, the Irish rejected Britain's claim that Irish independence was due to an act of the British parliament, and as such was an internal affair and not the business of the League. Ireland argued the case and won the point. Ireland's growing separateness was again seen in 1930 when she was elected to the Council of the League of Nations. The Cosgrave government was also the first of the dominions to appoint its own representatives to foreign countries. This was initiated as a result of talks between D. Fitzgerald (Foreign Minister for the Free State government) and J.H. Thomas (Secretary of State for the Dominion) and resulted in the appointment of T.A. Smiddy as Minister plenipotentiary to the US in October 1924. By 1932, Ireland had an extensive foreign diplomatic service.

Boundary commission

Article 12 of treaty proposes a BC to determine the border between North and South "in accordance with the wishes of the inhabitants,,". For a variety of

reasons, including the civil War, the BC was not actually set until 1924. This delay gave the Northern Ireland state (which had been set up under the 1920 Government Of Ireland Act) time to consolidate its position. Consisted of three people.... Richard Feetham, a South African Judge who was to act as neutral Chairman (his neutrality was always suspect; in reality Feetham was an Englishman who had settled in South Africa). Eoin MacNeill, Minister for Education in the Free State a Belfast lawyer and a staunch Unionist. The first meeting of the BC was held on 6th November 1924 On 7th November 1925. the Morning Post, a Conservative paper, published a leak (probably from Fisher, who never respected the mission's decision to conduct deliberations in strict secrecy). The newspaper stated that the Free State get small parts of South Armagh and Fermanagh but was to lose part of East Donegal. Public opinion in the South was outraged. While the Free State had expected to get some territory, no one had predicted a loss. O'Neill resigned immediately from the Commission. An agreement was eventually reached whereby the report was to suppressed and the border itself was to be left unchanged while the powers of the of Ireland were to be transferred to the Northern Ireland government.

The Ultimate Financial Agreement

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Commonwealth Conferences

From 1921 onwards, the leaders of the Commonwealth countries met in London every two years to discuss mutual problems and ways of furthering the interests of all its members. These conferences showed how differences of opinion and conflicting interests could be resolved peacefully. The Irish had little time to prepare for the 1923 conference and consequently said little. Thereafter, however, the Irish were to play a much more active role. Ireland also found allies in the other dominions, most notably Canada and South Africa, who shared - though perhaps less intensely - the Irish impatience with the lack of precision which seemed to prevail in all statements of what dominion status really involved.

Statute of Westminster NB

It was at the conference of 1926 that the concept of full equality between each dominion and the United Kingdom was first formulated. This was the Balfour Declaration which stated that the dominions were "autonomous (i.e. self-governing) communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate ... though united by common allegiance to the crown". This laid the groundwork for further conferences, especially the 1930 Conference and the subsequent Statute of Westminster, which became law in December 1931. The main points included:

1. There would be an end to the British claim that laws were binding on the dominions, with or without their consent.
2. The Parliament of a dominion should have the power to legislate on matters which would have "extra-territorial operation".ie foreign affairs
3. The Parliament of a dominion should have the power to change any existing or future Act of Parliament of the United Kingdom.

In practice, however, the Statute of Westminster meant an end to any British involvement in Irish affairs.

Conclusion-their achievements in foreign affairs

Cumann na ngaedheal government performed well in the area of foreign affairs. The Statute of Westminster was undoubtedly the climax of a decade of achievements, whereby the presence of Irish representatives at the Imperial Conference influenced greatly its pace and development. Following the Statute, CnG did manage to clear up the use of British seals on Irish

documents. The government of the Free State insisted that it had a right to its own seal and, despite objections from the British government, produced the Great Seal of the Irish Free State. Yet, the Cosgrave government was unwilling to avail of the constitutional changes built into, or implied by, the Statute of Westminster. Rather, Cosgrave showed a spirit of co-operation with the British government which was often unpopular. This, along with other unpopular moves, ensured that two months after the Statute became law, the Cumann na nGaedheal government fell from power and DeValera and Fianna Fail took office. DeValera, in the years ahead, was to take full advantage of the terms of the Statute. His use of the Act did, in fact, go far beyond anything foreseen by its originators.

Early Life

Dev born NY in Oct. 1882...Spanish father **and** an Irish mother, Katherine Coll. After father died, the Dev was sent to Ireland to be raised by his grandmother in Brurce, Co. Limerick. Educated at the local national school, **then** Charleville and Blackrock College, Dublin. Having graduated with an Arts degree from the Royal University, he eventually secured a position as Professor of Mathematics at the Teachers' Training College at Carysfort, Blackrock. In 1908 he joined the Gaelic League and in 1913 he joined the I.V.E, where he displayed considerable organisational skill. As his political views became more republican, he also joined the I.R.B. During the Rising he was Commandant at Boland's Mills and, though sentenced to death, he was spared, possibly because of his American birth.

Dev's Leadership Role, 1916-23

After his release from prison, Dev stood for SF **in** the East Clare by-election. He was the senior surviving Commandant of the 1916 Rising and he won by 5,010 votes to 2,035 votes. On 25 October, 1917, he became Pres. of the SF Party. On the following day, he was elected Pres. of the Volunteers. Thus, Dev as head the SF Party and its paramilitary wing, the Volunteers, emerged as the central figure **'in** the struggle for Irish freedom. The 1918 general election led to SF setting up the 1st Dail and the war of Independence began. Dev as president went to the US where he raised . Dev rejected the treaty signed in Dec 1921 and sided with the irregulars during the civil war. In the

end he realised that the irregulars could not win and he convinced Frank Aiken , the irregular chief of staff to stop fighting.

The Formation of the Fianna Fail Party

Dev his followers retained the name SF after the Civil War but would not enter the D because they refused to take the Oath of Allegiance. The policy of 'non-attendance severely limited the political influence of' Dev and placed great strain on his support f'rom the I.R.A. In Nov 1925, the I.R.A. decided to break with Dev and to pursue their aims by force. Then, in March 1926, Dev broke with SF, when the party refused to accept his proposal that its deputies should be allowed to enter the D, if the Oath was removed. He lost no time in setting up an alternative party, FF which attracted to it many disgruntled, moderate SF members. Sean Lemass played a key role in organising FF into local branches nationwide.

'The FF Party would not enter the D because of the Oath. There was the ever present danger that the general public would tire of' this abstentionist policy. In such a case FF's attractive policies would not become a new departure in Irish politics. FF promised to work towards the establishment of a 32 county Irish Rep., to foster and promote Irish industries behind a tariff barrier, to develop Agr. and to make Ireland as self-sufficient as possible. In the general election held in June, 1927, FF won 44 seats to CnG's 47. The massive support of FF could only be sustained by Dev's entry into the D but he had to be able to do this without losing face. The tragic death of K. O'Higgins provided the answers, when Cosgrave passed the **Electoral Amendment Bill**. Dev entered the D. declaring the Oath to be an 'empty formula'. Dev and FF went f'rom strength to strength and, following the results of the 1932 general election, formed the new government with the support of the labour party.

Dev and FF assume office, 9 March, 1932

Dev's staunch republicanism and his personal record of opposition to the state which he now governed, raised fears that he would establish a dictatorship. The political changes taking place in Europe seemed to confirm

this view. In 1932, the Great Depression was at its height and Hitler was about to come to power in Germany, while Mussolini had his dictatorship in Italy. However the handing over of power by CnG to FF did not prove to be the end of Irish democracy which continued to establish itself during Dev's period in office. A clash with GB was, however, inevitable as, in his election manifesto, Dev declared that he would dismantle the Anglo-Irish Treaty and withhold the payment of land annuities to Britain.

Dev's Cabinet

E. Dev	-	President + External Affairs
S. MacEntee	-	Finance
S. Lemass	-	Industry and Commerce
S. T. O'Kelly	-	Local Government and Public Health
J. Ryan	-	Agriculture
F. Aiken	-	Defence
J. Geoghegan	-	Justice
T. Derrig	-	Education

Dismantling the Anglo-Irish Treaty (changes in the constitution under FF)

1 One of Dev's first actions was to introduce a Bill into the D to abolish the Oath of Allegiance. Dev claimed that the powers given to him under the Statute of Westminster and his election by the people of Ireland gave him the right to do this. CnG protested and the passage of the Bill was blocked by the Senate. Dev broke the deadlock by calling a snap election in January, 1933, which increased his majority in the D. The Bill to abolish the Oath became law in May, 1933.

2 Dev knew that each of his attempts to dismantle the Treaty would be blocked by the Senate and so he had to remove this obstacle. In March, 1933, he introduced a Bill to abolish the Senate. The removal of the Upper House allowed Dev to make the constitutional changes he wished. The Bill became law in May, 1936.

3 The removal of the office of Governor-General was one of the objectives of Dev. In 1932, Dev began a campaign of personal insults against the Governor-General, James MacNeill, which eventually forced him to resign. Domhnall O'Buachalla, the new Governor-General, was a personal friend of Dev, and he deliberately failed to fulfil the duties of the office. He did not take

up residence in the Vice-Regal Lodge in the Phoenix Park, but continued to live in a suburban house. The office was brought into disrepute and was abolished in June 1937.

4 The abdication of Edward VIII, on 10 December, 1936, in order to marry an American divorcee, Mrs. Simpson, gave Dev the opportunity he needed to remove all references to the King from the constitution. Then, in order to clarify the position of the King in Irish affairs, he also introduced an External Relations Bill, which stated that so long as the Irish Free State was a member of the British Commonwealth, the British King would be recognised as the head of the Commonwealth. In practice, the legislation suggested that the King would be 'advised' by the Irish Government, which was in effect, a limiting of the King's powers.

5 In 1937, Dev replaced the 1922 Constitution with his own new Constitution, Bunreacht na hEireann. The move was a controversial one. In the referendum which was held, Dev's Constitution passed by a narrow margin, 685,105 for and 527,945 against, while 31% of those entitled to vote did not do so. The following points about the Constitution should be noted:

a Ireland is a sovereign, independent, democratic state. The state is referred to as Eire and its national territory consists of the whole island of Ireland, its islands and territorial seas. as the two parts of the country are reunited. The Constitution is thus quite republican, but oddly, no mention of a republic is made and neither is there a reference to the dominion status of the country.

b The government of the country was vested in the Oireachtas, i.e. Dill Eireann and Seanad Eireann. Members of the Oireachtas were elected on a P.R. system. The head of government was to be known as the Taoiseach. The Senate was again introduced, but with reduced powers. It could delay Bills for only 90 days, or a Money Bill for 21 days, after which they became law. A new, largely ceremonial office, that of President, was established, and the holder was to be elected for a term of seven years. The first President of Ireland was Douglas Hyde.

c The Constitution was very Catholic in outlook and begins with the words 'In the name of the Most Holy Trinity'. In drawing up the Constitution, Dev was heavily influenced by the teachings of Pope Plus XI, and he consulted the Catholic Hierarchy from time to time. The special position of the Catholic

Church is recognised because Catholicism is the faith of the majority of the people. However, other religious faiths are also recognised, and the Constitution makes it clear that freedom of conscience is each person's right.

d The importance of the family in Irish society is strongly upheld. The Constitution recognises it as the natural, primary and fundamental unit group. Parents could decide the education of their children, provided that they ensured that a certain minimum was achieved. Divorce was not allowed, in order to protect the institution of marriage.

Bunreacht na hEireann gave stability to the Irish State and was accepted by Britain.

The Blueshirts(comes up as an essay on its own)

Dev released political prisoners, when **his** government took office. Soon afterwards, he lifted the ban on the I.R.A. and suspended the Military Tribunal. The I.R.A. reorganised itself, increased in numbers again, drawing its support from the working class and small farmers, and began drilling openly. The I.R.A. then began to attack CnG meetings, because, in their view Cumann na ngaedheal had betrayed the Irish Republic during their period of office. In response to these attacks, the Army Comrades Association was set up to protect CnG meetings. The A.C.A. originally consisted of ex- officers and members of the Free State Army, but was later thrown open to the public at large. During Dev's general election campaign in Jan, 1933, there were frequent clashes between the I.R.A. and the Blueshirts (as members of the A.C.A. were called), and the presence **in** the country of two extra-parliamentary forces threatened the stability of Dev's government.

On 22 February, 1933, General Eoin O'Duffy, Commissioner of the Gardai, was dismissed by Dev. He then became leader of the A.C.A. in July, 1933, which changed its name to the National Guard. They were, like other fascist movements of the time, very nationalistic and anti-Communist, though in the case of the National Guard, they were also pro-Catholic. The influence of Mussolini's Blackshirt Movement was obvious in the uniform and drill of the National Guard. They wore a blue shirt and black beret, adopted the straight-arm salute and greeted their leader with 'Hail O'Duffy'. The Blueshirts

favoured an authoritarian form of government and wanted to set up a corporate state, along the same lines as that established by Mussolini in Italy.

The political situation in the country became increasingly difficult for Dev when, early in 1933, the I.R.A. held a General Army Convention, which criticised the FF Government and reaffirmed its intention to achieve its aims by force. Then Eoin O'Duffy announced his intention to hold a march of the Blueshirts on 13 August, 1933. The march was to be held to commemorate the deaths of Griffith, Collins and O'Higgins and would pass Leinster House before making its way to Glasnevin Cemetery. Dev, fearful that this would be a coup d'état similar to Mussolini's march on Rome, and aware that the I.R.A. threatened to attack the march, banned it. He revived the 1931 Public Safety Act and the Military Tribunal, but the threat passed when O'Duffy called off the March.

O'Duffy then adopted a different strategy by involving himself in party politics, to which he was not suited and for which he had little taste. In September 1933, Cumann na nGaedheal and the National Centre Party united to form a new party, Fine Gael, led by O'Duffy and with W.T. Cosgrave as one of the party's Vice-Presidents. In the meantime, the National Guard had changed its name to Young Ireland and then to the League of Youth. Every member of the movement was enrolled as a member of the Fine Gael Party. Fine Gael was pledged to keep Ireland in the Commonwealth, to end the Economic War with Britain, which was then in progress, and to establish Corporations with **legislative** powers. O'Duffy failed to gain a seat in the Dáil, and his speeches so embarrassed the party that, in September, 1934, he was forced to resign his leadership. The Blueshirts Movement began to collapse, but there was still one last gesture to be made. In 1936, O'Duffy and seven hundred of his followers went to support Franco in the Spanish Civil War. They returned six months later, and thereafter O'Duffy retired to private life. He died in 1944, aged fifty-two, and was given a state funeral. W.T. Cosgrave succeeded Eoin O'Duffy as leader of the Fine Gael Party, but the party continued to lose support and by 1938 it had only 45 seats in the Dáil.

The I.R.A.

At first the I.R.A. supported Dev and the FF Government as they dismantled the Treaty. Gradually, however, the I.R.A. became more critical of Dev's progress in achieving complete independence, though a lot of the attention of the I.R.A. was focused on the Blueshirts. Dev managed to wean the more moderate I.R.A. supporters over to his side by recruiting them into a new Volunteer force (LDF), which was set up under army control, and a special police force, the BroyHarriers, named after O'Duffy's successor as Police Commissioner, Eamonn Broy. In 1934, members of the I.R.A. were given pensions. Only the more militant I.R.A. members continued in their opposition to Dev, and they served notice of their intentions when they refused to hand over their weapons to the government.

The I.R.A. movement also had internal problems, which resulted in a split between the more traditional republicans and the socialist republicans among them. Nonetheless, the I.R.A. were always difficult to deal with because they were an underground movement and they did not wear a uniform. After a number of murders were carried out by them, Dev banned the Organisation in 1936 and arrested its leaders. The I.R.A. Chief-of-Staff, Maurice Twomey, was sentenced to three years hard labour. In 1939, the I.R.A. began a bombing campaign in Britain, aimed at ending partition, but it achieved little. Dev dealt with this situation by passing a Treason Act, which prescribed the death penalty, and an Offences against the State Act, which allowed internment of prisoners without trial. When World War II did break out, the I.R.A. was **in** a very weakened state and was unable to take any great advantage of it.

The Economy under Fianna Fail, 1932-39 Introduction

The economic problems of the country proved 'ust as difficult to solve for the Fianna Fiil Government as they had been for Cumann na ngaedheal. Ireland had few raw materials, markets were limited and highly competitive, due to the world depression, and Irish agriculture was **in** a depressed state. Fianna Fdll's solution was to try to make the country selfsufficient, and they argued that this would generate enough economic growth to lift the country out of the

depression. Irish industry was to be protected by tariff barriers and a quota system. Fianna Fiill's strategy in agriculture was to modernise farming, increase the size of existing farms (58% were under 30 acres), and to encourage a changeover to tillage. The chance of success of these policies received a severe setback when the Economic War, 1932-38, broke out with Great Britain, the major Irish market.

Industry

In 1933, Sein Lemass, Minister for Industry and Commerce, set up the Industrial Credit Corporation (I.C.C.) to advance loans, with which to establish new Irish industries. Tariffs and quotas were introduced to protect industries and to safeguard the home market. The larger companies suffered because of the tariffs, depending as they did on the export markets. Guinness solved this problem in part by developing their Park Royal Brewery, near London. The government also set up thirteen state-sponsored companies to deal with a wide range of industries and services. These included the Industrial Credit Corporation, Aer Lingus, Bord na M6na and the Irish Life Assurance Company. Employment was also created by a massive slum clearance programme, the construction of new factories, and the building and renovation of 132,000 houses. FF placed priority on manufacturing and service industries and the importance of agriculture was reduced. Did the FF policies succeed? Their success was limited. Incomes remained low, poverty was still widespread and the number of people employed in industry rose from 111,000-166,000, which only slightly eased the economic problems of the country.

The Economic War, 1932-38 also used in foreign policy

Land Annuities

The land annuities were the repayments of loans advanced to Irish farmers under the various land Acts introduced by the British governments before Irish Independence.

When Dev came to power in 1932, he withheld the land annuities, because, he said, the decision to pay them had never been ratified by D. Angered, Britain imposed a 20% tax on Irish cattle and other agricultural exports to Britain. Dev retaliated by placing a 5% duty on British exports to Ireland and

these included machinery, iron and steel and coal. 'Burn everything British but their coal', became a catchcry of the day. The Economic War was a disaster for Ireland and in 1935 Irish agricultural exports to Britain amounted to only £13.9 million. This caused great hardship in Ireland and resulted in unemployment and emigration. The Irish farmers were hardest hit and they found it extremely difficult to make a living. They were forced to slaughter calves in order to reduce the number of cattle, and beef was given away free to poor families. Leinster and Munster were the hardest hit areas and when some farmers in these areas refused to pay their rates, the Broy Harriers were sent to seize their cattle. In 1935, a Coal-Cattle Pact was agreed between Britain and Ireland. Britain agreed to accept more Irish cattle in return for increased imports of British coal **into** Ireland. This agreement improved the situation a little and **it** was renewed and extended in 1936 and 1937.

The Anglo-Irish Trade Agreement, 1938

A solution to the Economic War was reached in March, 1938, when the Anglo-Irish Trade Agreement was signed. The rise of Fascism in Europe had disturbed the peace greatly and, encouraged by the wish to preserve peace, both de Valera and Neville Chamberlain agreed to settle their differences. Under the terms of the Anglo-Irish Trade Agreement, **it** was agreed that:

1 The Irish Government would pay Britain a final £10 million for the amount still owed under the Land Acts. 2 The duties imposed on the exports of both countries would be lifted. 3 The three treaty ports, Queenstown (Cobh), Bearchaven and Lough Swilly, would be evacuated by Britain and returned to Ireland.

When World War II broke out in September, 1939, de Valera declared that the country would remain neutral. Neutrality was possible only because the treaty ports had been returned. It **must** also be pointed out that neutrality was a clear sign Ireland was an independent and sovereign **nation**.

Post war Ireland

By 1948 Fianna Fáil in power 16 years ...election of 1948 ...get a change of government with Costello(FG)

Becoming Taoiseach in an inter party government. Get the passing of the Republic of Ireland Act 1949 ..repealed the external relations act of 1936 and making Ireland a Republic... Northern Ireland would remain part as long as Stormont Govt wanted part of GB