

Forestry

THE present acreage under state forests in the 26 Counties is about 450,000 acres (182,000 hectares). Privately owned forests, which include a considerable amount of ornamental or landscape planting and shrub, brings this figure to the region of 550,000 acres (223,000 hectares). The percentage of land planted is thus 3%, which is considerably below that of any other European country, including the Netherlands (where the area planted is 8%).

There has been a steady improvement in state planting in recent years, the average now running at 25,000 acres (10,000 hectares) yearly. State forests planted in the Six Counties cover an additional area of 120,000 acres (49,000 hectares)

There is only slight autonomy of management of the programme within the Department of Lands, which, of course, is Civil Service controlled. Forestry workers totalling 5,000 men, formerly among the lowest paid in the country are now somewhat better off, having for some time been placed on an incentive for output basis. There is not as much seasonal unemployment as formerly, as many of the workers are engaged on road works during the slack period. Local workers are employed where available, but this is not always possible and men from other areas are brought in, in a few cases. Three schools have been established and there is a Chair of Forestry at U.C.D.

Because of the inflexible nature of Civil Service control, the felling and marketing of timber has gone into the hands of private enterprises.

The cost of imports of timber, cork and cardboard, into the 26 Counties is considerable. The State here hopes eventually to make a yearly profit of £15 million from forest sales when its target of one million acres is reached. (If the target was doubled to two million acres the income would eventually double also to £30 million at present values).

Turf fuel production commenced under State control in 1934 and almost £30 million have been invested in it. With the use of peat fuel

for electric power production the output has increased substantially; the greater part is consumed by the ESB, and there is also briquette production. The number of workers employed is 6,400 (including 400 administrative) but about 1,000 workers are laid off during the off-peak period.

Upland grazing, turbary and sheep commonage rights are important factors in the rural economy, especially in mountain areas. Sheep production is considered wasteful, by grassland experts, unless the hill slopes are cultivated and protected for the purpose — which generally they are not.

Afforestation, improvement of upland grazing, and peat fuel production are complementary to one another; under a Sinn Féin government they will be brought under the control of a semi-State Authority. By means of such rationalisation and other means, seasonal unemployment would be entirely eliminated, and a high level of output and income per worker achieved. While mobility of up to 25 miles (40 km.) radius would be attained the higher degree of unemployment in a given area could permit the permanent settlement in urban villages created for the purpose or in accretions on existing towns of the workers maintained by the Authority.

The workers in such an Authority will be established in a Trade Union, and will be considered as and paid to be skilled operatives as planners, engineers, machine operatives, foresters, and office and administrative staff. There will be a basic wage scale, a system of incentives and a built-in social security scheme. Housing will be provided.

The Authority will plan and control afforestation, peat production and upland grazing in all areas of the 32 Counties. It will be possible to have a satisfactory interchange of unsuitable land with suitable land, and to establish a long-term sequence of peat production followed by afforestation or drainage for normal land use where the case requires it. The Authority will have in its ownership or under its control almost five million acres of bog, mountain, and underdeveloped land. It will be its responsibility to bring it rapidly to a state of production under whatever manner possible to create direct employment for 150,000 men, who in themselves would constitute a valuable increase in the non-food producing cadre of wage earners.

The Authority's head office will be in a major provincial area. It will maintain workshops, planning departments, and sales offices.

The afforestation programme will be planned to create a minimum of 2,000,000 acres (810,000 hectares) of commercial forestry apart from privately controlled plantations. Major emphasis will be in northern, western and Gaeltacht areas. Planting with a view to rapid industrial development and enlarged employment will be an important aspect in all Gaeltacht regions. Careful planning for the different needs of lumber forestry and chemical forestry will be foremost, with a major place given to future requirements for building, furnishing, and the new uses of timber engineering on the one hand with the heavy demands of a paper pulp, cellulose, plastic, alcohol, and chemical industry on the other.

The planting programme calls for the creation of 50,000 acres (20,000 hectares) of new forestry annually. This difficult target can be met only by the transposing of large areas at present used for sheep grazing to

forest uses, and by the improvement of suitable uplands to multiply the amount of sheep cropping upon it. The corps of skilled foresters and engineers would be permanently based in each production area to meet the three needs of forestry, peat and grazing cultivation. These teams would be available to work with local agricultural co-operatives in these enterprises and in laying down shelter belts. Private planting as such would be encouraged, and higher grants, together with full technical assistance made available.

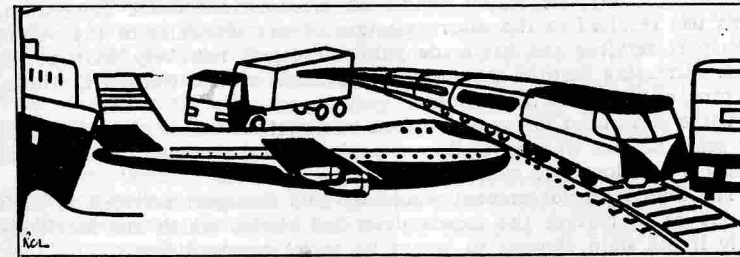
There would be a considerable reduction in the quota of foreign imported hardwoods, except where these were imported for processing as veneers, blockboards and laminates. The Authority would, where necessary establish under its control all industries, including a paper mill, necessary to consume the entire output, and together with the State agency would enter the export sales market in a major way.

The management of forest parks and mountain areas will be a minor but nonetheless important aspect especially in the field of tourism.

Subject to increased rationalisation on the lines required to enable stable and satisfactory employment to be maintained, no major change is envisaged in the programme already laid down for Bord na Móna. As its success must lie in the degree of liaison maintained between it and the Electricity Supply Board, close contact would be maintained to meet the power supply needs of the latter. The maintenance of peat production for electrical supply will eventually end and the Authority must plan what diversification is necessary to ensure employment in the transitional period.

Increased research into chemical production from peat is urgent, and must be undertaken as a profitable sideline. A marginal improvement in moss peat sales for export should be possible with the new sales team.

Despite the reduction of mountain grazing available, due to the increased afforestation programme, it is envisaged that as a result of measures outlined for afforestation the production of sheep in upland areas could be trebled.



Transport

THE main features of all types of transport are dominated by the strength of the link with Britain. Land routes converge towards Dublin or Belfast, where large populations have grown up on the basis of local orientation towards trade with Britain. The domination of the nation by one or two large centres is a feature of imperialism; it is not a necessary consequence of national economic development.

Land transport is bedevilled by competition between road and rail, public and private sectors. The total capital tied up in transport is high; overall utilisation is low, therefore costs are high. This is a consequence of the uneven demand for transport; a high proportion of the business is due to tourist and emigrant traffic.

The relative insolvency of the public sector is due to the fact that the cream of the bulk traffic is handled privately, while the public sector caters for holiday peak traffic and small occasional consignments of freight which inflate the manual handling and clerical costs. Some socially desirable services are of course provided, some of them free.

The cost of individual passenger transport by private vehicle is higher than is seen by the operator. Having bought the car, he sees only the cost of the fuel as proportional to distance, as he has to pay the prime cost whether he travels or not. It therefore, often appears cheaper to go a long journey by road rather than by rail, despite the increasing physical danger and waste of his time.

The decline of public transport services in outlying areas is one of the negative factors in rural economics. Dwellers in outlying areas are forced to tie up capital in private transport rather than in any other productive investment. Thus, the viability of the depressed areas is still further reduced and the drift into emigration augmented. Further, the type of transport to which the small farmer turns is dictated by what is available on the second-hand market. This is rarely of the type suitable as a farm transport vehicle. The 'landrover' type of utility vehicle, capable of carrying a load on rough ground, is reserved for farmers rich enough to buy them new.

The growth of private car ownership in urban areas has resulted in increasingly unstable traffic conditions arising from traffic congestion. This has resulted in the disorganisation of the schedules of the public transport services and has made public transport relatively unattractive thus increasing further the demand for more private transport, which, in turn, only adds to the problem.

There is no need for us as a nation to repeat the costly mistakes made by other nations who have allowed unplanned development of individual transport to dominate men's lives.

The Sinn Féin government would develop transport services, in such a way as to reverse the trends described above, which are inevitable only if the state chooses to ignore its social responsibility.

The main principle would be to provide a subsidised public transport service, so that traffic would be attracted back by low fares and good services. The bulk of inter-urban business traffic would be catered for by fast, frequent rail services. There is evidence that drastic cuts in passenger rail fares are possible without subsidy; the Canadian National Railways have introduced 50% fare cuts and have observed revenue increases. With modification in track, signalling equipment and better motive power speeds of 100 m.p.h. (160 k.p.h.) on main lines are technically possible, with safety unapproachable on any road system. Car-hire services would be associated with local rail terminals; local bus services would connect.

The subsidy necessary would decrease in proportion as local industrial areas built up, providing a business base-load of inter-urban traffic. The interim transport subsidy would be regarded as part of the investment necessary for the development of local industry. Fares would be so low that the drift to private transport would be postponed, so that steps may be taken rationally over a lengthy period to allow private transport to develop without destroying all other amenities.

Public transport in rural areas would be provided by small buses running frequently, single-manned, with low fares. Rural housing developments would be grouped in order to facilitate the provision of transport to the local town; rural public transport would fit in better with the village-type community rather than with the isolated farmhouse.

Areas in the north-west of the country whose economic life has been particularly hindered by partition will receive special attention as regards re-integration into the national transport system. The development of Derry in conjunction with Donegal and Sligo with Fermanagh will make possible the provision of transport services on a substantial scale in that region, including the re-laying of certain rail links as part of the fast inter-urban network of the future, serving major provincial cities of 100,000 or more where there are at present only declining rural towns.

City traffic problems will be tackled and the operation of private vehicles discouraged and, if necessary, restricted. City development will be so ordered as to avoid central congestion; cities will be regionalised. Industrialisation involving bulk traffic will, as a matter of policy, be developed, making the maximum use of rail links, to mechanised local storage and distribution centres, for local distribution by road.

Technical developments in freight handling will be introduced; mechanical handling, container traffic, automatic processing of informa-

tion by computer etc. The U.S. railroads are fighting a strong battle along these lines; railroads are far from obsolete, as some economists suggest.

Road developments will be made a national rather than local responsibility. The road development programme will be co-ordinated with the work of the National Development Authority and with the Town and City Development Authority. The basic principle will be how to combine speed, safety and accessibility with the need to keep through traffic away from population centres, so that the latter may be served by public transport and made safe for pedestrians.

The provision of motorways becomes an economic proposition once the heavy bulk is kept off. The cost per mile is very sharply dependent on the maximum allowable load. It will, therefore, be desirable to link the major population centres by motorway at an early date. This is not in contradiction to the policy of encouraging fast inter-urban rail transport; there will be room for both types of service; to some extent they complement each other.

Sea transport is completely in the hands of foreign shipping companies, with the exception of some of the long-haul freight trade which is carried by Irish Shipping Ltd., and the B. & I. Steam Packet Co., both state owned. Irish Shipping spends most of its time carrying foreign freight between foreign ports, however. Even coastal traffic is under monopoly control, Coast Lines Ltd., being the dominant firm. This is a privately owned British firm, which explains the abnormally high level of cross-channel freight rates. This holds for both parts of the country; it was adversely commented upon by Isles and Cuthbert in their 1957 report on the Six-County economy.

The harbour facilities are largely owned by the foreign shipping companies, which refuse to do business with anybody not playing the game their way.

A Sinn Féin government would build up the share of Irish trade carried in Irish (built and owned) ships to an equitable 50%. This would involve building up our own cross-channel fleet, investing in port facilities abroad where necessary, and nationalising those at home.

Direct links would be established for all long-distance trade at present going via London or Liverpool. An insurance co-operative will be initiated in collaboration with other small seafaring nations.

In the 26 Counties, Air Transport is at present in the hands of a state company; some private carriers are licensed also. The service is adequate, profitable and contributes substantially to the economy. Its profitability would be much greater if it were catering for the needs of the whole 32 Counties. However, an unhealthy trend of looking for foreign development capital has developed.

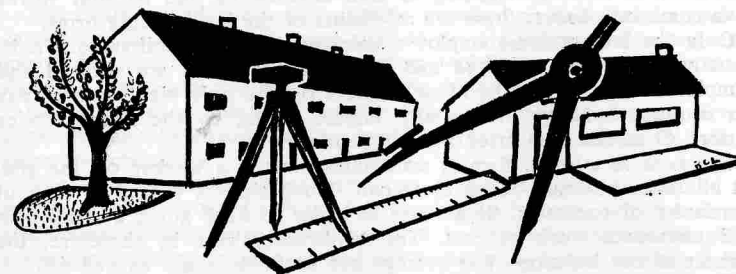
Foreign trade links by air freight, centred on Shannon, have begun to develop. The type of industry involved, however, has weak roots within the economy.

It will be the policy of the Sinn Féin government to develop air transport, both passenger and freight, as much as possible and economically desirable, using our own financial resources and keeping control within the state.

The question of the relation of the national aircraft factory to the national airline would arise. This would be the subject of serious study; it is possible that a mutually beneficial arrangement might be worked

out whereby part at least of the aircraft used by the national airline would be produced at home. The main future of the aircraft industry will be to diversify into industrial automation equipment, as well as to develop utilitarian, rather than prestige or military type aircraft for the developing nations. The economics of the national airline will not be put in jeopardy by any doctrinaire constraints as to what type of aircraft it will employ; nor will this question be considered in isolation, any more than the economics of the rest of the transport system. Nationalised transport will be expected to serve the economy first, not merely to balance its books.

The possibility exists that bulk transport by inland waterways for certain commodities may again become economic, this being European experience. In the meantime, the waterways will be developed as a recreation amenity, including the Shannon-Erne link.



Planning

IT is accepted in all countries that planning and construction are interlocked. Detailed planning must precede the construction of any building, but in addition, a nation must undertake comprehensive planning of its physical environment if the best use is to be made of natural resources. Natural resources include visual amenity; in other words, the landscape which must be safeguarded for the enjoyment of the citizens as a whole.

In Ireland, the need for physical planning has been grudgingly accepted under the name of 'town planning', owing to the complexity of modern living. Dublin has benefited from the planning which took place in the 18th century, to the extent that the street network laid down then is still usable. Had proper planning been imposed a hundred years ago, our rail system would be of greater use to us. Instead, military and strategic considerations dominated its layout. If we fail to plan properly now, our roads and industries will be wrongly located in relation to our needs in 20 years time, and our housing will be obsolete. The obsolescence period of houses and buildings is reducing; it is now regarded as about 60 years. Thus, towns can be expected to be continually in a process of change and much wastage will result if far-sighted planning methods are not adopted.

As a people, we have not an outstanding tradition in building, despite an early and promising start in pre-invasion times. History has since dominated the picture as symbolised by its visible remains. We should not feel ashamed of them. Whether these buildings were owned by the foreigner or not, they were built by Irishmen and in every worthy case we should try to preserve them.

The Irish building industry employs, North and South, about 100,000 men and is organised in about 500 firms, mostly small, but dominated by about six giant firms. There are also a large number of sub-contracting specialist firms for steelwork, flooring, asphaltting, painting, etc. The latter are more stable than the small general contractors. In recent years,

a number of firms specialising in civil engineering and harbour works have come into being; these are off-shoots of the big building firms.

Only the largest firms employ a complete range of craftsmen. Traditionally, these are employed and sacked as contracts are secured and completed. On average, building workers receive only eight months pay per annum; holidays are usually unpaid owing to the short service period. Conditions on sites are often primitive.

The boss in a small firm is sometimes himself a worker on the site. At all times he must be on close call. Much time is wasted by lack of continuity of contracts. Sometimes in order to keep going a small man will undertake work at cost. The bankruptcy rate is, therefore, the highest of any industry. The average net profit does not exceed 6%.

Quality of work is variable in both small and large firms. In prosperous times, quality suffers.

In the 32-County Republic the building industry will be re-organised with the following objectives:—

(a) Establishment of a central Planning and Building Authority responsible for all building and construction work.

(b) To meet the social and economic objectives of the developing Irish economy.

(c) To provide secure employment and proper working conditions for those engaged in it.

These objectives may be obtained by the following means:—

(a) An alive top-level and long-term direction; building needs should be programmed for ten years and projected in broad terms for another five, investment being planned accordingly.

(b) Re-organisation with the industry permitting the introduction of state-owned and co-operative firms alongside those which still choose to operate as members of the private sector. The policy of the state firms will be to think in terms of the industry as a co-operative enterprise for which they will bear the major responsibility. They will employ a full range of trades.

(c) An extension of schemes of education for those planning to enter the industry, and development of the apprenticeship system in conjunction with education in such a way as to raise the general level of skill.

(d) Constant employment at a high basic wage supported by productivity incentives; dry site conditions, mobile kitchens and toilet facilities.

(e) Democratic re-organisation of professional, management and workers' unions and institutes in order to achieve a common goal; more diversification of the professional groupings to be encouraged with a trend towards formation of schools of design.

(f) Maximum development of mechanisation and pre-fabrication, with use of standard modules and a computer control of scheduling, material allocation, and stocking.

(g) Encouragement of craft work where a particular standard or a one-off type building is involved.

The industrialisation of building will proceed rapidly, making use of the potentialities of the Belfast shipyard and aircraft industry, where skills exist easily adaptable to this end. Building raw materials will come increasingly under State control (cement and steel already are in part) in order to ensure co-ordinated expansion of the industry. The metric system will be adopted throughout and fittings will be standardised.

The State-owned firms will operate mainly on major works and on export building. It is estimated that at present money value we could export in the form of materials, system buildings, and site constructed building and heavy engineering work to the value of £30 million.

Co-operatives of building worker firms will be encouraged. Private firms will also be encouraged on condition that they conform to national rates and standards.

The existing trade union structure is not adapted to defend its members' security in the face of advancing techniques, without the introduction of restrictive practices. Due to the introduction of power tools, dry building techniques and other methods, trades become redundant, new trades emerge, while the skill required of the so-called 'labourer' is increasing. This latter category, once considered the lowest element in the industry is now often a trained machinery operator or an expert in the technology of concrete. It will, therefore, be necessary to initiate the re-organisation of the building trade unions, with the maximum of democratic discussion and participation of the membership, into a single union covering all trades and professions. The improved apprenticeship scheme will be integrated with the educational system, which will include Schools of Building Technology in the four major cities. These will be of university status and will be linked with a Building Materials and Methods Research Institute. The ordinary trained building worker would enjoy an educational level equivalent to the present graduate of the Secondary educational system. Thus, the building trade unionist of the future will be a highly skilled and versatile technician and will need an organisation of a rather different nature from those which have grown up historically; the objective of the Union will, of course, be unchanged, but it will be considerably easier to attain it.

The higher grade of building professional would include within his scope the present-day architect's, specialist engineer's and surveyor's qualifications, but he would be given opportunity to develop his talents beyond the design of individual buildings.

The schools of Building Technology will be linked with the Building Materials and Methods Research Institute, the objective of which will be continually to improve the quality of buildings and to reduce their cost in terms of human labour. By a system of refresher courses, all workers would be kept up to date on building technology.

Building land at present is subject to speculative purchase and sale and ground rents constitute an increasing fraction of the cost of new housing developments.

Under the Sinn Féin government, building land will not be the means of enrichment of private individuals. It will instead be the subject of compulsory purchase by the State or the municipality concerned, at a price related to its agricultural value. The land will then be transferred by the state to the individual or body developing it. The owner will be compensated or given an option on an equivalent holding elsewhere. Ground Rent will be abolished.

In accordance with the policy of using the interest rate on capital as a social planning device, the rate for capital invested in housing developments will be set at a maximum of 5%. Instead of the occupier of a house paying 50% of his outgoings in the form of interest on a loan

from a building society, local loan fund, or insurance group, he will now pay only a small fraction of that sum.

It will be open to anyone to build his own house on land purchased from the state or municipality.

The national housing programme will be planned in such a way as to create traffic-free environments where amenity is conserved and essential facilities conveniently placed. Village, small-town, city-central and city-suburban areas will be approached differently. Common to all will be the idea of a *Community*; a unit which provides the maximum of all types of amenity within convenient distance. Thus, farm houses and buildings will be grouped in hamlets sharing all services; rural towns will be encouraged to develop a communal and square structure rather than the present straggle of houses along one or two roads; cities will consist of noise-free and traffic-free groups of communities, served by adequate highways and rapid urban public transportation.

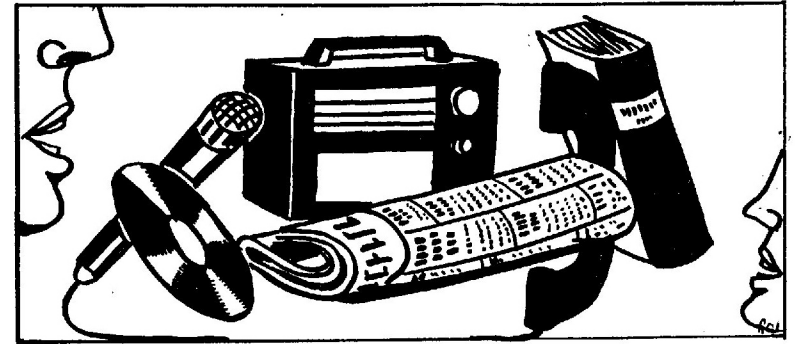
High-rise flats of adequate area with lifts will form the basis of central city renewal. The creation of linked parklands in valleys and along river banks will be a natural corollary of such planning. Standard flat and house plans of a sufficient number of types to cater for community needs will be developed and built on a large scale using layouts prepared in competition by young urbanists. Standard buildings and all types including outbuildings would be available for setting on free professional advice in rural areas.

Floor space areas inside houses will be increased; houses will be fully fitted with built-in storage and equipment including cookers and refrigerators. They will be planned for easy extension; for flexibility in room use to meet the changing needs of growing families.

Industry will be located with the intention of creating convenient and functional factories and other major structures as places of employment, to meet transportation needs as part of an export building programme.

Rational planning of industry will ensure the fullest development of port towns—especially those on our western coastline — and major inland towns. As far as possible export industries will be located in port towns.

Industrial building will be supported financially by the National Development Authority which will maintain staff competent to uphold environmental and planning standards.



An Ghaeilge

ONE of the primary aims of Sinn Féin is the re-establishment of the Irish language in its correct place as the principal community language of the Irish people. Sinn Féin realises that unless this is done complete national freedom will continue to elude the nation. Sinn Féin policy does not mean that the English language will be removed from the life of the nation but that it will be put in its proper place as secondary to the national language.

The case for the restoration of Irish has been stated many times since the founding of Conradh na Gaeilge in 1893 and we shall only repeat here a brief synopsis of the argument. Irish is an ancient language and over a period in excess of two thousand years, at least, successive generations have used it, moulding and developing this particular mode of speech so that the Irish nation possessed a distinctive mind of its own. This distinctive nationality enshrines all the spiritual and intellectual possessions and characteristics which we have and which distinguish us from other peoples.

A national language is the medium of a nation's culture. By culture we mean the total network of knowledge, belief, art, customs, feelings and patterns of thought shared by a group of people; in short, a whole way of life or a community design for living. It is because the Irish language "grew up" with our people and was the medium of expression for our distinctive culture that it is best fitted to bring about the spiritual regeneration necessary to foster the self-reliance among our people which is a pre-requisite for the solution of our many social and economic problems.

Most people have a natural liking for the Irish language and would like to see it advance in use. There is no objection to a sentimental attraction towards the language but it is necessary that people learn that there is more than sentiment involved. All modern sociological and anthropo-

logical research and teaching prove the contention of the founders of Conradh na Gaeilge that unless Irish was fully restored the nation would die. It has also proved that language is one of the strongest forces affecting people—that it is not merely a mechanical thing, a means of communicating with fellow human beings.

Ironically, our English conquerors understood the importance of language and stressed its power 600 years ago. In 1367 we had the Statutes of Kilkenny — an avowed state policy for the destruction of the Irish language and the propagation of English, as being necessary for making the conquest permanent. Fynes Moryson, Secretary to Lord Mountjoy thought of English as the language of union and of Irish as the language of resistance:—

“In general all nations have thought nothing more powerful to unite minds than the community of language. But the law to spread the English tongue in Ireland was ever interrupted in Ireland by rebellious and much more by ill-affected subjects.”

In 1642, Sir John Davies one of the architects of the Ulster Plantation wrote despairingly to his monarch:—

“Where the tongue is Irish, the heart must needs be Irish.”

In a report published some years ago on the position of the English language in the educational system of England we read:—

“English is not merely the medium of our thought, it is the very stuff and process of it. It is itself the English mind, the element in which we live and work.”

The English language is the English mind, the French language is the French mind, the Irish language is the Irish mind. As things stand, we are losing the freedom of our minds, we are being assimilated completely at an evergrowing rate with an Anglo-American mass-culture. We are being fed daily on books, magazines, films, television programmes, songs, etc., which propagate a superficial international form of culture that is devoid of ideals and does not seek to better mankind. With it comes alien thought — the Anglo-American mind, Anglo-American ideas, Anglo-American attitudes. We are rapidly becoming a degenerate provincial people, with no imagination, forced imitation, second-rate and uncreative. We are selling our soul for a mess of pottage. We are rapidly bidding farewell to nationality.

Nationality divorced from language is an absurd and impossible doctrine, as the founder of Conradh na Gaeilge, Dr. Dubhghlas de hÍde said in 1914. It was the very fact that our people instinctively felt a sense of distinctiveness that generation after generation for hundreds of years struggled for freedom. It was no coincidence that it was during the great advance of Conradh na Gaeilge in the present century that another attempt to win national freedom began in 1916.

Not only were the leaders of 1916 all supporters of the language movement, and several of them actively involved in it, but the first Dáil Éireann (1919-1921) adopted as national policy the restoration of the language. The first meeting was conducted entirely in Irish apart from the reading in French and English of the Declaration of Independence and the Message to the Free Nations of the World, and the reading in English of the Democratic Programme.

But as in so many other aspects, the fine principles of the four glorious years were abandoned by many leaders, and from the betrayal has come

disillusionment. The language itself is indeed the victim of the great betrayal. With good reason in many cases a lot of people look on the whole restoration effort as hypocritical. The national ideal of “Saor agus Gaelach” still holds good. We have been living a lie since 1922. While Irish is taught in our schools, no coherent comprehensive plan has ever been drawn up to give proper meaning to the work of the schools. The Gaeltacht areas, which were already declining seriously prior to 1921 have been allowed shrink disastrously and many of those still remaining in these areas see little use in continuing to use the language.

Only Sinn Féin can restore the spirit, the enthusiasm, the idealism and give the leadership which existed prior to 1921. The politicians of Leinster House, pre-occupied with preserving their positions, can only lead the nation to the final stage of national apostasy.

Sinn Féin will evolve a plan for the restoration of Irish which will have as an immediate aim the development of the use of the Irish language as a medium of communication to the minimum degree required for creating a cultural milieu which will make possible the natural and organic national development essential for the moral, social, spiritual and material needs of the Irish people.

It will be a progressive step by step plan and will involve all our people in the political, social, religious, economic and cultural sectors of the nation. Such a plan cannot be put into practice completely in isolation — just as the language itself cannot be considered in isolation. All aspects of the life of the state and nation must be involved and taken into consideration. We visualise the following headings as being essential parts of the restoration plan:—

1. A vast continuous programme of education to explain the philosophy behind the restoration effort will be undertaken, and all the media of communication will be utilised. This programme will be based on the most modern research findings in sociology, socio-linguistics and anthropology, and will be so framed that it will appeal to all sectors of the people. It will include an authoritative study of the history and significance of the language in its proper historical context. Suitable adaptations of the programme will be prepared and used in all educational institutions.

2. For the restoration of the Irish language to its proper place it must not only have the full legal backing and leadership of the State, but a social atmosphere must be created so that people will be able to accept Irish as a natural aspect of their lives. It will not be enough that Irish has an honorary or a nominal legal status — leadership and practical direction must be given. Therefore, one of the first targets will be the transference of all Central and Local Government business through Irish from Cabinet level down. This may not be practicable immediately after political independence is achieved, but time-limits with targets will be set. These will be set within two stages — firstly, all internal work and correspondence through Irish; secondly, all communications with the public to be through Irish. This includes the work of all government, semi-government and state-sponsored bodies.

3. The development and expansion, economically, socially and culturally of the Gaeltacht areas will be given priority. A Bord na Gaeltachta, government-sponsored but independent of the Civil Service, containing as well as Government nominees, democratically elected representatives

from all Gaeltacht areas, will be set up as the principal authority for these regions. This authority will be completely autonomous and will control regional institutions, supervise and direct all services, including local government, industrial, publishing, radio and television, etc., for the Gaeltacht areas. Irish only will be recognised as an official language in the Gaeltacht areas as they exist at present. It will also be the policy and aim of Bord na Gaeltachta to develop new Gaeltacht areas along the lines of Ráth Cairn with proper facilities such as piped water.

4. The national radio and television service will be reorganised to play its full and proper part in national rehabilitation. A national film industry will also be set up.

5. The Irish versions only of all place names will be used officially, and signposts will be altered accordingly. Steps will be taken to ensure that roadmaps with the correct placenames are provided.

6. The publication of all forms of Irish literature and reading matter catering for all tastes will be actively assisted. Special attention will be paid to the needs of educational institutions in the matter of text books and all other teaching aids required.

7. A practical and comprehensive plan will be evolved in consultation with the various interests for the development of the use of Irish in the commercial life of the nation, and all assistance necessary, including adequate finance, will be given. Initially, incentives will be devised to encourage the use of Irish. These might include cheaper postal rates for letters addressed in Irish and increased benefits such as children's allowances for those whose home language is Irish.

8. Irish will be an obligatory subject and the first language in all schools. Eventually, all subjects (except other living languages) will be taught through Irish in all schools. In the early stages steps will be taken to ensure that all teachers, especially trainee-teachers at all levels, acquire competency in the use of Irish and that they are properly trained for teaching through Irish. It is recognised that in implementing this the rate of progress will be slower in the Six Counties than in the rest of the country.

9. A Minister for National Rehabilitation will be appointed and with the assistance of a fully equipped and qualified Department endowed with the necessary powers, will direct and co-ordinate the complete restoration effort. It will be his duty to set out targets, timetables, etc., for the restoration plan and ensure that all sectors of the nation are playing their part.

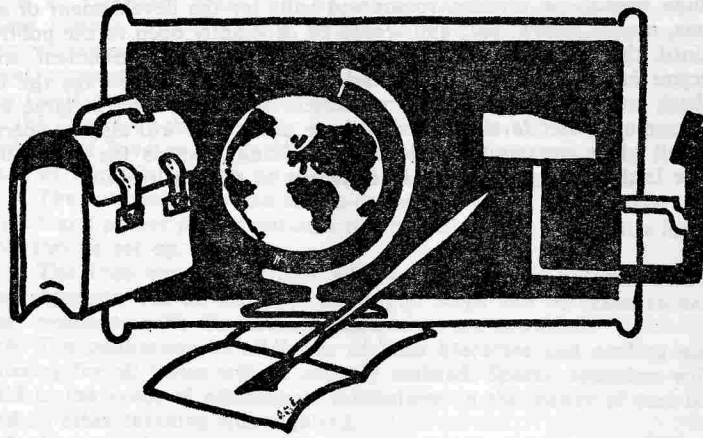
10. An Irish Academy will be established by the State. Its functions will include the publication of all text books, treatises and other matter required; it will be the deciding body on all questions relating to Irish grammar, spelling, phonetics, coining and standardisation of words and terms, etc.

The Folklore Commission and the Arts Council will be transferred to the Academy as subsidiary bodies and their powers and functions extended and developed. The Academy will also undertake to establish machinery for the study, development and teaching of Irish music, both classical and traditional.

It is envisaged that the Academy undertake expanded promotion and cultivation of art in all its forms, including cultural and exhibition centres in Dublin, Cork, Galway, Derry and Belfast. These centres would

include workshops, studios, rooms and halls for the development of art, drama, music, poetry, etc., and would be constantly open to the public.

Until the establishment of a National 32-County Parliament with effective jurisdiction over all Ireland, Sinn Féin will encourage the use of Irish among its members, sympathisers and the public at large and will promote other forms of Irish culture. Sinn Féin will also co-operate with all other organisations sincerely working towards the restoration of the Irish language and the development of the Gaeltacht.



Education

THE existing educational system in the 26 Counties differs little from that inherited from the period of direct British rule. Many schools are considerably understaffed; classes are excessively large and individual attention to pupils is difficult if not impossible. The orientation of the curriculum in Primary schools is towards minimal literacy. The Irish language, which should enrich the nation's educational system, has been, through government mismanagement and insincerity, placed in an unfavourable light. One major weakness of the Irish Language revival as practised by the 26-County administration is the fact that emphasis is placed on the learning of Irish by the children and little attention given to its being spoken by adults.

The secondary education system contains many good schools and dedicated staff. It is largely under religious denominational control, with the result that several problems are posed for the minority religions, unless their members live in a major population centre.

In the Six-County area, the state supports a non-denominational system but the Catholic community chooses to support its own primary and secondary schools. Segregated education, while serving to keep alive the national tradition in one section of the community, and preventing the complete imperial indoctrination of the whole population, nevertheless also serves to prolong the interweaving of religion with politics.

The shortcomings of the secondary education system are mirrored and amplified by the University system. Relatively meagre State support, large classes, poor facilities (crammed libraries, backyard laboratories) contribute to a high failure rate of first-year students, so that the exist-

ing slender resources are wasted. Cramming in school for examinations and lack of career guidance also contribute to this high failure rate.

Ireland's oldest university, Trinity College, has in the past contributed many famous figures to Irish scholarship and national leadership, including the father of Irish Republicanism, Theobald Wolfe Tone. It is regrettable that even in recent years it has in many respects remained a British oriented enclave outside the national mainstream. This is one of the side effects of the division of the Nation by Partition.

The next oldest college, Maynooth, has set a high standard of scholarship and dedication; as well as acting as a theological college it has produced a number of scholars of high scientific standing. The role of the Irish-trained priests in the foreign missions in providing education for the populations of the developing countries has not passed unnoticed in these countries. There is a fund of goodwill in this direction which will be of advantage in our future national efforts to break away from the British structure.

The National University, although nominally non-denominational, in fact acts as a denominational Catholic higher education system. It labours under severe difficulties from its constitution, which was framed under direct British rule and has not been amended since. One of the features of this is the conversion of university appointments into political contests, involving non-academic electoral bodies.

Some efforts have been made to make the Irish Language a medium of higher education, especially in Galway. This, however, due to lack of funds, has had only limited success. It would appear to be the aim of the 26-County administration to do nothing about this situation, so that it can claim that higher education through the Irish language has been tried and has failed. In other areas of higher education the language is treated with undisguised hostility.

Sinn Féin educational policy will aim to ensure the development and equipment of all the moral, intellectual and physical powers of our children so that they will become God fearing and responsible citizens of a free independent nation. The rights of the family as the primary and natural educator of the child and the spiritual interests of the various religious denominations shall be acknowledged within the framework of an educational system whose philosophy shall be to unify the people into one nation with one national consciousness.

Pre-primary schools (age 3-6) will be established by local communities, so that children may have the opportunity of learning social responsibility and becoming familiar with the learning process at the earliest possible age. As in Wales, these schools will have an important role in the restoration of the national language.

Primary education, from six to twelve years, will be so organised that no class shall exceed thirty and no teacher shall be expected to teach more than one class at one time. In many rural areas this will require the acceptance of inter-denominational schools; this should present no problem given the level of goodwill which even at present exists in many parishes between Catholics and Protestants, even in the Six-County area.

Teaching methods will become the subject for scientific research in an Educational Research Institute which will have close contact with the educational system. The objective of this Institute will be con-

tinually to improve teaching methods, especially in the case of languages and mathematics, where existing methods are weakest.

The key to the restoration of Irish will be its treatment as a living language and not as an academic subject, so that it will be taken seriously by adults. The introduction of Irish to small children whose home language is English will be by newly-developed methods so that it will not initially be a barrier to the acquisition of knowledge. For example, the vocabulary of the first year's Irish lessons might be so chosen to provide a medium through which in the second year some other subject might be taught. Thus Irish would become the vernacular of an increasing proportion of the subjects taught as the pupil progresses. This is only one of the many possible approaches; the main idea is that the best methods can be discovered by objective research and there will be set up a body technically fitted to carry out this research.

An understanding of the scientific basis of all crafts, techniques, agricultural and industrial processes, as well as the natural processes at work in the world, will be developed at an early age. The teaching of geography would be broadened in order to do this; expeditions outside the schoolroom will help to convey the idea that knowledge is more than the content of books.

A wide range of non-obligatory subjects will be available, including physical training, art, music, handicrafts and drama. Discipline will be imposed by methods other than corporal punishment. The learning process for small children will be made an interesting and exciting pastime.

The salary conditions and professional qualifications of the teachers will be raised and made commensurate with the nobility of the task that they undertake.

Examinations will continue to play a part but they will be redesigned in such a way as to play down memory work and to reward originality and initiative.

The existing largely denominational secondary educational structure will be encouraged to become inter-denominational in areas where minority educational facilities are absent. It will also be encouraged to broaden its scope to include crafts, technology, science, including agricultural science. Every school will be encouraged to develop relations with particular farms and factories, enabling practical experience to be gained.

The vocational education system would also be broadened to include all the subjects normally regarded as being the preserve of secondary schools. The ultimate objective will be to establish a universal comprehensive post-primary system for all up to the age of 16. This will range from fully secular through inter-denominational to fully denominational according to the historical background of the school. The teaching orders would continue to carry out their dedicated work within the broader framework. The present competition between lay and clerical teachers for senior posts would become an anachronism; there would be plenty of room for all.

The Irish language will be an obligatory subject and the first language in all schools. The whole educational structure will be gradually made bilingual and ultimately Gaelicised. This process would of course be slower in the Six-County area where little ground work has yet been done.

The level of qualification required of teachers would gradually be raised to the Honours university degree.

Libraries, debating and dramatic societies will have a place in all post-primary schools, in order to encourage initiative, self-reliance and self-expression. Creative work rather than passive appreciation of works of others will be encouraged.

Above all it will be the duty of the school to instil a sense of national purpose and achievement, to develop an understanding of the nation's history and the part played by both native and settler stock in the moulding of the national character, to avoid all idea of a national stereotype, to develop the idea of a many-sided and rich national culture. The concept of Ireland having a place among the nations of the world will be developed, making use of films and television.

Teachers will be encouraged to develop novel and original methods, in collaboration with the Educational Research Institute. Inspectors will be expected to seek out this type of initiative among teachers and see that any new ideas with positive content become generalised. Career guidance will become part of the programme of every school. This might include discussions with people prominent in the newly-developing areas of the national effort.

Candidates for places in the Universities and Technological Institutes will be selected on the basis of the results of the final post-primary school examination at the age of 16-17. Those achieving the necessary grade will be immediately offered places at the university or technological institute of their choice, with full maintenance by the State, provided they continue their studies satisfactorily. The number admitted will be related to the anticipated national demand, with a generous margin to allow for possible loss.

A five-year university course will be instituted; the first year will be a general studies course aimed at broadening the student's background knowledge; the decision as to the direction of specialisation will not be made until the third term of the year, and then only partially by the retention of two major subjects.

The number of places in the various faculties will be allocated in such a way as to satisfy the anticipated national needs. There will be a reasonable fraction of first year students whose interests will not yet have crystallised. Guidance will be given to the first year students so that their direction of specialisation will correspond to the national need, as reflected in the availability of second-year places. Thus a flexible system will be worked out for combining freedom of choice with the satisfaction of the national need, and with the minimum of wastage through failure and misfit. All students will be able to specialise finally in one or other of their first-year major subjects.

The next four years will correspond to the present Masters Degree course. Extensive library and reading-room facilities will be provided; tutorial classes will be made general; the large, impersonal lecture will cease to be the main method of instruction. Co-operative study among groups will be encouraged; students who reach a greater level of understanding will help their fellow-students.

The University Colleges and Trinity College will be linked under a reformed National University, which will include Queen's University,

Belfast, (possibly renamed McCracken College) and the new University of Ulster in Coleraine; TCD and UCD might also be renamed perhaps after Wolfe Tone and Kevin Barry, in order to emphasise the break with the past. The Constitution of the new University will be drafted in such a way as to safeguard academic freedom and integrity and to do away with anachronistic appointment procedures. Merit, judged by people universally recognised to be competent, will be the yardstick, having due regard to the overall educational aims.

The Dublin Colleges will to some extent specialise, especially as regards small faculties, so that good integrated schools may be built up and unnecessary duplication avoided. This specialisation will not be in the direction of science vs. the humanities; a balance will be kept in each college. The Technological institutes in Dublin will be integrated into the Dublin University structure; first-year courses will be shared. The state will assume full responsibility for financing the Universities.

Graduate schools will be founded, for the carrying out of research. The Applied Scientific Research Institutes (such as at present typified by the Agricultural Institute, the Medical Research Council and the Institute of Industrial Research and Standards) will form part of the graduate school structure, so that cross fertilisation of pure and applied research will occur, and the scientific body as a whole will feel themselves to be part of the national economy and culture as well as part of the international scientific community.

The application of scientific methods to the study of the economy and the management of industry and agriculture will be given high priority; this will form part of the applied scientific research structure and will be in touch with practical problems related to the national need.

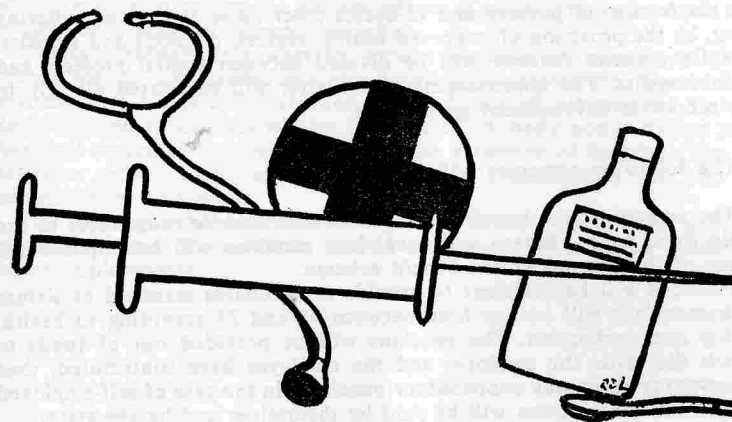
The Universities will become bilingual and ultimately Gaelicised. The building up of University College, Galway, as an Irish language centre will be given high priority.

There will be some specialisation between the universities directed at fulfilling local needs. Applied scientific institutes associated with local colleges would tend to concern themselves with industrial and agricultural problems of local origin.

As the economic principles of Comhar na gComharsan are based on industrial democracy or worker ownership all workers must be educated to the high standard that industrial efficiency and harmony demand. General principles of social and industrial co-operation will be taught in schools at all levels with a similar aim to that of the Folk High Schools founded by Bishop Gruntvig in Denmark.

A book on this subject "Den Danske Folkehoiskole" states: "The importance of the Folk High Schools to the co-operative movement lay in the fact that they prepared the minds attending them for the idea of voluntary association on the basis of self-government and solidarity and gave them the necessary education. The emphasis which the High Schools laid on the democratic as being that which concerns the people as a whole helped to create that social mindedness which became the soil in which the co-operative movement was to grow."

The technical aspects of co-operative industry and agriculture will be the function of the Universities and Technological Colleges. There will also be special short courses in various aspects of Comhar na gComharsan for members of the various co-operative undertakings.



Social Services

IT is unnecessary to stress the extent to which the social services, especially in the 26-County area, are unable to fulfil the needs of the people.

This inability is largely the consequence of the chronic depressed state of the economy and associated secondary effects. For example, the high emigration rate gives rise to a population containing an unusually high proportion of very young and very old people, who are in receipt of public funds, compared to people of earning age who contribute to them. Thus if the Government were to raise the social service level, the cost would fall more heavily on the shoulders of the earning population than in any other European country.

Adverse comparisons are often made between 26-County and Six-County social services. The latter are at the British level and were established in their present form by the 1946 Labour Government in the teeth of Tory Unionist opposition. They are maintained at their present level in the Six Counties by drawing on Westminster funds; in fact they constitute part of the subsidy paid by Westminster in order to perpetuate Unionist rule.

As in the case of Agricultural subsidies, it will be possible for the 32-County Republican Government to provide social services at as good a level as any other European country, once the united economic system has begun to pay off by giving full employment, cutting the emigration rate and raising the national income per head.

Even initially it will be possible to introduce budgetary measures to

lift the burden of poverty and ill-health from those at present suffering most, by the provision of improved health services, pensions and benefits. The Government revenue will be divided between capital projects and social benefits. The improvement of the latter will be related directly to the economic development programme.

The following structure will be aimed at:—

The unemployment benefit to be aimed at would be comparable to the basic living wage. Severe and exemplary penalties will be imposed for abuse of the unemployment benefit scheme.

Pensions will be sufficient to provide a reasonable standard of living; retirement age will be any time between 65 and 75 according to health, ability and inclination. The pensions will be provided out of funds to which the state, the employer and the employee have contributed, thus constituting three-way contributory pensions. In the case of self-employed people the contribution will be paid by themselves and by the state.

Special assistance will be given to handicapped people in order to supplement their earning ability. Specialised educational and training facilities will be a state responsibility; education of handicapped children in their appropriate centre will be compulsory and provided free.

Institutional care of the aged and infirm will be in the hands of professionally qualified people who will make a scientific study of the ageing process with a view to alleviating its problems. Geriatric centres will be organised to help old people who are self-supporting and who live on their own, trained staff being employed to visit them at intervals. In rural areas this might well be part of the local Health Service.

Health Services, including medical care of all kinds, maternity services, hospitalisation and drugs, will be free; nominal charges, however, will be payable for prescriptions, for those who can afford to pay them. Old age pensioners, for example, will be automatically free of all charges. The various features of other national health systems will be studied and there will be consultation with the medical profession at all stages. The manufacture and import of drugs will be under state control and in the hands of technically qualified people with adequate laboratory and information services available. Costs will be kept down by the banning of drug promotion campaigns and by buying in competitive foreign markets, thus avoiding the drug monopoly price structure.

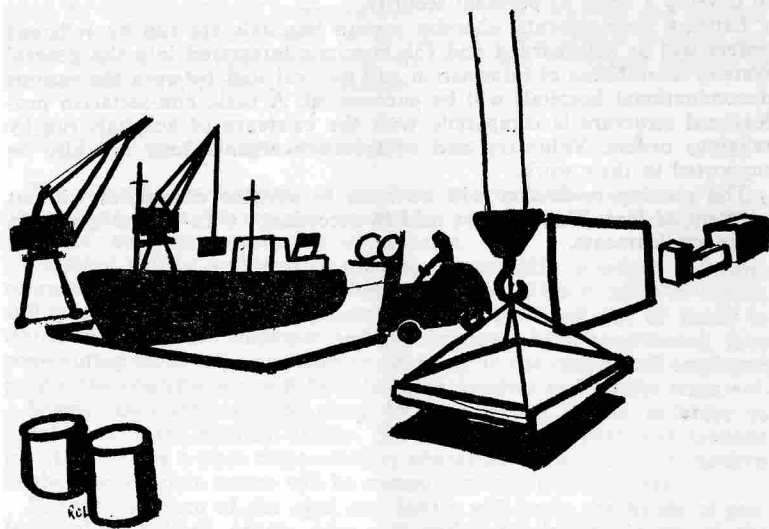
Administration costs will be kept down; hospitalisation will be under the administrative regions which will be as far as possible self-supporting. The doctors' time will be saved by providing the maximum of technical and administrative assistance. The GP will remain the basic unit of the profession but they will be encouraged to function in small co-operative groups, sharing administrative and technical services and with rapid access to specialist services in the main regional centres. The basic salary will be on a capitation basis for each local GP unit; special rates will apply in sparsely populated areas. This will be divided up among the participating doctors by agreement among themselves.

Steps will be taken to develop rapidly the study of social and preventive medicine, with particular reference to the mental health problem. Planned steps will be taken to improve the quality of the mental hospitals and to augment and upgrade their staff. The aim of all legislation (economic and

social) will be to reduce the adverse effects of social stress on people and to develop a sense of personal security.

Existing arrangements whereby certain hospitals are run by religious orders will be safeguarded and the hospitals integrated into the general system; interchange of information and medical staff between the various denominational hospitals will be encouraged. A basic non-sectarian professional structure is compatible with the existence of hospitals run by religious orders. Voluntary and co-operative organisations will also be supported in their work.

The nursing profession will be open to suitable candidates without payment of fees. They will be paid in accordance with similar grades in other employments.



Trade

THE present trade relations of Ireland are almost entirely with Britain.

The value of this trade is large compared to the National Income. This is especially true of the Six-County area, where Stormont politicians in public speeches like to point out their trade statistics as evidence of economic strength.

There is, however, no reason why there should exist any direct relation between trade figures and national income. In reality, far from being evidence of strength, this trade pattern is evidence of economic weakness, in that it suggests a high degree of dependence on imported consumer goods, paid for by exports of a relatively small number of specialised products. Thus the economy is particularly liable to fluctuations in prosperity due to changes in demand in the export market.

Six-County trade (for example in linen) is handled by British merchants. No foreign trade organisation exists whereby Six-County exports might be promoted, under a national type of 'image'. Indeed, this is expressly prohibited under the Government of Ireland Act.

Efforts have been made in the 26-County area, by means of State-sponsored bodies (Córas Tráchtála etc.) to establish independent national trade links in non-British markets, and to establish a positive 'image' for Irish goods in the British market. The surface of this problem, however, has barely been scratched. The vast bulk of our exports still go by

British-controlled channels and are haphazardly promoted by small independent agencies or producers. One positive step has been the initiation of a warehousing enterprise at Liverpool jointly owned by a number of Irish manufacturers.

Apart from the acquisition of the B. & I. Steam Packet Co. by the 26-County Government, no serious inroads have been made into the cross-Channel shipping monopoly, which extends to the ownership of the handling facilities at most of the major ports. This contributes to the high cost of trade, especially in the Six-County area, where it received adverse mention in the official Isles and Cuthbert report on the Six-County economy.

Imports are in the hands of a multiplicity of agents; in cases where imports require technical back-up services the latter are often seriously in default. There is little national control of the spending of foreign currency; the trade situation is made spuriously 'easy' by the ready convertibility of Sterling. The result is that importers are able to speculate with the world produce on the Irish market, although in the 26-County area to some extent restricted by tariffs; nearly all countries therefore have unbalanced trade relations with us. A 'balance of payments crisis' lurks continually round the corner, even under conditions of relative prosperity. Hence the alleged need for the high level of liquid sterling assets held in London.

Direct trade links with distant markets barely exist; tropical produce is handled by British firms and transhipped in Liverpool or London. Irish Shipping Ltd. spends most of its time carrying foreign produce between foreign ports. The means exist for developing direct trade links with the newly-emerging ex-colonial nations but it requires deliberate steps to be taken to break with the imperial structure in order to do this. Recently a Dutch shipping line was blackballed by the other shipping interests for daring to run a direct line from Dublin to Trinidad. Irish manufacturers, to their credit, supported the direct link. Similarly, efforts by Mayo farmers to import basic slag from Belgium through orthodox channels were unsuccessful; finally a direct shipment by Dutch coaster was arranged.

Efforts by exporters to gain the co-operation of the representatives of the 26-County Government have been met with rebuffs; Iveagh House diplomats seem to move in circles too high to soil their hands with trade. Thus various State agencies work away in watertight compartments labelled diplomacy, export trade and industrial development. Foreigners take advantage of this to deprive us of our wealth.

The Sinn Féin Government will seek to diversify trade as much as possible; it will seek especially to build up trade with the developing countries in the mutual interest, taking their exports at a fair price in exchange for industrial, agricultural and transport equipment suited to the early stages of economic development. For example rock phosphate from Algeria would be exchanged against farm implements. Dairy produce and meat will be increasingly in demand in areas where temperate agriculture is impracticable. Trade with Eastern European countries will be expanded. The general aim will be to have as much free trade as possible, but reserving the right to use tariff and quota restrictions where these are necessary.

Trade with Britain would of course continue but this would be ration-

alised by the development of marketing organisations as subsidiaries of Irish producers, suitably co-ordinated by an efficient State trading organisation. Links would be developed with all possible outlets to the British market, especially with the British consumers' co-operative movement.

The type of trade agreement which has in the past crippled or restricted our economy will be avoided; any export line subject to 'stop-go' treatment would be oriented towards some other markets with which long-term favourable trade agreements were possible, or else allowed to lapse in favour of some product less vulnerable.

The long-term trend would be for industrially processed agricultural goods and industrial goods to become the dominant exports, rather than agricultural raw materials.

The amalgamation of Six-County and 26-County economies would initially have the effect of reducing the relative importance of external trade to the economy as a whole. Thus, much of the heavy engineering potential of Belfast would be used to speed the rate of industrial development in the country as a whole, rather than as an earner of foreign currency.

Imports would be controlled and rationalised. The agency established by the Government for controlling imports would have at its disposal a technically competent staff with laboratory facilities, so that a rational choice may be made from the goods on the world market. A restricted but sufficient range would then be imported and assembled cheaply in bulk, or manufactured under licence if necessary. This agency, which would be part of the National Development Authority, would be responsible for seeing to it that any specialised equipment imported had adequate spares and service back-up. A licensing system would operate, with priority in the allocation of foreign currency going to goods needed for national development.

The State importing agency would also be responsible for standardisation of imported specialised components, so that spare parts will become increasingly interchangeable between different types of equipment.

The change-over to the metric system will become possible at an early date if suitable standards are imposed from the start by the National Development Authority and its associated agencies.

Sinn Féin will oppose vigorously all attempts to push us with Britain into full membership of the European Economic Community. On balance, the disadvantages of full membership outweigh the very doubtful advantages. Sinn Féin seeks a democratic National Parliament, not a rubber stamp assembly taking orders from the undemocratic Commission in Brussels. Nor is the EEC Council acceptable in which we would have at most two votes out of 30. Ireland's sovereignty, independence and neutrality are not for sale to any foreign power or group of powers.

Sinn Féin would do as Sweden, Switzerland, Finland, Austria, Iceland, Yugoslavia and many other European countries have done; seek Associate Membership or a trade agreement with the EEC while diversifying trade as much as possible. The campaign for the revoking of the 1965 Anglo-Irish Free Trade Area Agreement will be intensified and its disadvantages publicised.

Should Ireland be forced into the EEC on England's heels Sinn Féin will resist and oppose Brussels domination just as the Irish people have resisted British domination for centuries.

THE STRUCTURE

The object of the Republican Movement is to establish a new society in Ireland—EIRE NUA. To achieve that aim, the existing system of undemocratic Partition rule must be abolished and replaced with an entirely new system based upon the unity and sovereignty of the Irish People. The new system shall embody three main features:—

- (1) A New Constitution.
- (2) A New Governmental Structure
- (3) A New Programme for Social and Economic Development.

A NEW CONSTITUTION

The New Constitution would provide:

- (a) A charter of rights which would incorporate the principle of securing to the individual protective control of his conditions of living subject to the common good.
- (b) A structure of government which would apply this principle by providing for the maximum distribution of authority at provincial and subsidiary level.

DRAFT CHARTER OF RIGHTS

We suggest a Charter of Rights on the following lines:

"We, the people of Ireland, resolved to establish political sovereignty, social progress, and human justice in this island do hereby pledge that we will practise tolerance and live in peace with one another in order to achieve a better life for all and we declare our adherence to the following principles:

Article 1. All citizens are born free and equal in dignity and rights. Every person is entitled to the rights of citizenship without distinction of any kind, such as distinction of race, sex, religion, philosophical conviction, language or political outlook.

Article 2. Every person has the right to life, liberty and security of person. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest or detention.

Article 3. Every person has the right to freedom of conscience and religion and the open practice and teaching of ethical and political beliefs. This includes the right of assembly, peaceable association, petition and freedom of expression and communication.

Article 4. Every person has the right to participate in the government of the country and to equal access to public service.

Article 5. The basis of government is the will of the people. This is expressed in a direct participatory democracy and free elections by secret ballot. The right of the citizen as an individual to follow his conscience and express his opinion is valid against any mathematically contrived attempt to repress him.

Article 6. Every person has the right to education according to personal ability, work and a standard of living worthy of a free citizen. This right extends to food, housing, medical care, and security against unemployment, illness and disability.

Article 7. Every person has the right to equal pay for equal work and to join a trade union for protection of his interests. Motherhood and childhood deserve society's special care and attention. Men and women have the equal right to marry and found a family.

Article 8. In the exercise of his rights, every person shall be subject only to such limitations as shall secure recognition and respect for the rights of others and the welfare of the democratic community."

In addition, it is intended that the European Convention on Human Rights should be made part of the internal domestic law of the New Ireland.

GOVERNMENTAL STRUCTURE

The proposed governmental structure would be federal in character and would consist of four levels:

- (a) **Federal (Central) Government:** based upon the unity and sovereignty of the people of Ireland.
- (b) **Provincial Government:** based upon the four historic provinces.
- (c) **Regional (Administrative) Government:** based upon clearly defined economic regions.
- (d) **Community (Local) Government:** which would replace existing local government North and South.

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

1. The Federal Parliament, Dail Eireann, would be a single chamber of approximately 150 deputies elected as follows:—

- (a) 50% by direct universal suffrage on the Proportional Representation System.
 - (b) 50% in equal numbers from each provincial parliament.
2. The Federal Parliament would control all powers and functions essential to the good of the whole nation.
 3. The Federal Parliament would elect a President, who would be both Prime Minister and Head of State.
 4. The President would nominate a Government consisting of a limited number of ministers for election by the Federal Parliament.
 5. Members elected to the Government would relinquish their seats in the Federal Parliament. There would be a provision for electing a restricted proportion of the Government from outside Dail Eireann.
 6. The independence of the Supreme Court and judicial system, as the guardian of the Constitution, would be secured.
 7. National legislation would be initiated by any of the following agencies:
 - (a) Federal Parliament deputies.
 - (b) The Central Government.
 - (c) A Provincial Parliament.
 - (d) Referendum.
 8. National legislation would be adopted by:
 - (a) Federal Parliament.
 - (b) Referendum in specified cases.

PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT

Four democratically elected Provincial Parliaments (Dáil Uladh, Dáil Laighean, Dáil Chonnacht and Dáil na Mumhan) based on the four historic provinces of Ireland — Ulster, Leinster, Connacht and Munster — would deal with their respective areas. The establishment of Dáil Uladh would be the first step towards the creation of this new governmental structure for the whole island. By thus creating a Provincial Parliament for the nine counties of Ulster within a New Ireland, the partition system would be disestablished and the problem of the border removed. Dáil Uladh would be representative of Catholic and Protestant, Orange and Green, Left and Right. It would be an Ulster Parliament for the Ulster people. The Unionist-oriented people of Ulster would have a working majority within the Province and would therefore have considerable control over their own affairs. That power would be the surest guarantee of their civil and religious liberties within a New Ireland.

REGIONAL GOVERNMENT (Administrative)

Regional Development Councils would be established to promote and co-ordinate the economic, social and cultural affairs of clearly defined economic regions. For example, East Ulster and West Ulster, having different economic problems, would require separate Regional Development Councils.

The Regional Development Council would be a single chamber consisting of:

- (a) Representatives of Community Councils within the region concerned.
- (b) A Commission of experts appointed by the Provincial Government.

As well as assessing and co-ordinating the work of Community Councils, the Regional Development Councils would be responsible for collection of rates and taxes, Third and Higher Level Education, Hospitalisation, Communications, and development of growth centres.

COMMUNITY GOVERNMENT (Local)

A system of Community Government would replace the existing local government authorities North and South. It would consist of Community Councils democratically elected by the people on a Proportional Representation basis. A Council would govern an area which has physical and social unity, and on the basis of justice and efficiency would take and implement decisions appropriate to its area, with the minimum control by Central Government, in accordance with the principle of subsidiarity of function. In brief, a Community Council would be a local people's assembly. Councils would vary in size and area of jurisdiction. In determining a Council's area of jurisdiction, physical and social unity would be the principal factors along with the wishes of the local inhabitants.

The purpose of a Community Council would be to foster the social, economic and cultural development of a specific area. Involvement in the decision making process at this level of government would be the keystone and strength of the new governmental system.

The above proposals for a governmental structure are put forward as a realistic basis for discussion and are not to be deemed either definitive or exclusive of alternative proposals.