

PEACE

with

JUSTICE

- **A British Withdrawal**
 - **A New Ireland negotiated
by the Irish people
themselves**
 - **A general amnesty
for all political prisoners**
-
-

**SUPPORT THESE DEMANDS
FOR A
JUST AND LASTING PEACE**

STRUCTURE OF THE NEW IRELAND

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 government 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) **District (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 District 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 District 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.

DISTRICT GOVERNMENT (Local)

A system of District Government would replace the existing local government authorities North and South. It would consist of District 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 District 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 District 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 keynote and strength of the 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.

PROGRAMME FOR SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The Republican Movement has never looked on the ending of British Rule in Ireland as an end in itself, but rather as a means to restore the ownership of Ireland to the people of Ireland.

The Movement seeks to establish a system free of any exploitation of man by man and which will be truly democratic right down through society.

"We declare that we desire our country to be ruled in accordance with the principles of Liberty, Equality, and Justice for all, which alone can secure permanence of government in the willing adhesion of the people." (Democratic Programme of Dáil Éireann, 1919)

To give meaningful expression to the above principles of social justice, the Republican Movement has published a new Social and Economic Programme.

Some of the more important and fundamental features of the programme can be summarised as follows:

1. The wealth of Ireland belongs to the people of Ireland and is theirs to be exploited and developed in their interests.
2. To ensure justice for all, the means of production, distribution and exchange must be controlled by the people and administered democratically.
3. Finance, insurance and all key industries must be brought under public control. The principal agents of major development in industry, agriculture and fisheries must be the Federal and Provincial Governments.
4. The Federal Parliament will have complete control over the import and export of capital.
5. An upper limit will be placed on the amount of land any one individual may own. Large ranches will be taken over and leased to groups of families to run on co-operative lines. Only resident citizens of the Republic will be allowed to own, purchase or lease land with Ireland.
6. Apart from the sectors mentioned above, the main instrument of economic development will be co-operative enterprises in production, distribution and exchange. These will be based on the Comhar na gComharsan philosophy which is founded on the right of worker ownership and is native to the Irish way of life, as well as being co-operative or distributivist in character. Each individual worker will own an economic unit of the means of production — farm, workshop, business or share in a factory or other co-operative. This is true industrial democracy. Credit Unions will play an important role in this type of development.
7. Private enterprise will still have a role to play in the economy but it will be a much smaller role than it has today. It will have no place in key industries and State incentives will favour co-operative projects as the most socially desirable. No non-national shall be allowed to have a controlling interest in an Irish industry.
8. The New Ireland will pursue an independent foreign policy, unaligned with power blocs such as NATO on the one hand, and the Warsaw Pact on the other. Trade will be expanded with the smaller and neutral nations of Europe and with the countries of the Third World in Asia and Africa. We have more in common with the developing countries of the World (where two-thirds of the world's population live) than we have with the rich club of former colonial powers in the EEC. Irrespective of the recent referendum on the EEC, we would resist the implementation of any decrees or policies of the Community which would be detrimental to the best interests of our people, or any section of it. Trade links will be maintained with all countries and groups of states with which trade agreements will be negotiated. The aim will be to promote free trade as much as possible, bearing in mind that certain industries will need protection for a period.
9. The Irish language and Irish culture will have an important part in the national effort and their strengthening will be given special attention.
10. Pending the achievement of national independence for all 32 counties, an Economic Resistance Movement will be built up to defend the interests of the Irish people against exploitation, whether from foreign interference or native capitalism; to democratise industry and to promote the Comhar na gComharsan philosophy.

In the drafting of this programme our aim has been to outline a social system which would transcend both Western individualistic capitalism, with its poor and hungry amid plenty, on the right, and Eastern Soviet State capitalism (or any of its variations) with its denial of freedom and human rights, on the left.

CONCLUSION

The above programme is an outline of the New Ireland envisaged by the Republican Movement. Its adoption will ensure that the sacrifices of generations will not have been in vain. Peace, prosperity and security can be secured for all our people and foreign rule and dissension shall be buried for ever.