

Ní cuspóir ann féin saoirse agus aontacht na hÉireann. Saoirse iomlán agus atógáil iomlán náisiúnta atá i gceist ag Sinn Féin. Tá léiriú ins an leabhar seo ar pholasáí Sinn Féin agus ar an mbealach oibre a mholtar leis an gcuspóir náisiúnta a bhaint amach.

20p

Published by Sinn Féin, 2A Lower Kevin Street, Dublin 8.

Printed by Elo Press Ltd., Dublin 8.



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ÉIRE NUA

The
Social and Economic
Programme
of
Sinn Féin

Sinn Féin, 2a Sráid Chaoimhín íoch., Baile Átha Cliath 8.
Eanáir, 1971.

Réamhrá

THE Constitution of Sinn Féin advocates not merely the complete overthrow of English rule in Ireland but also the setting up of a Democratic Socialist Republic based on the Proclamation of 1916.

Among our objectives are the establishment of "a reign of social justice based on Christian principles by a just distribution and effective control of the nation's wealth and resources," and the institution of "a system of government suited to the particular needs of the people."

Sinn Féin 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" (1916 Proclamation). In the words of the Democratic Programme of Dáil Éireann 1919 which quoted Pádraic Pearse :

"We declare that the nation's sovereignty extends not only to all men and women of the nation, but to all its material possessions; the nation's soil and all its resources, all the wealth and all the wealth-producing processes within the nation and with Pearse we re-affirm that all rights to private property must be subordinated to the public right and welfare."

Sinn Féin seeks to establish a system in which exploitation of man by man will not feature 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.)

Over the past few years much time and effort was devoted within Sinn Féin to preparing this Social and Economic Programme which we are now publishing. Some of those who were involved in an attempt to take over the Republican Movement had it suppressed, however, in favour of a more extreme draft outline which was never published. During the past 12 months the programme has been revised, updated and prepared for publication.

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 State control. The principal agent of major development in industry, agriculture and fisheries must be the State.*
- 4. The State will have complete control over the import and export of money.*

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 within 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 Irish as well as being co-operative or distributist in character. Each individual worker will own an economic unit of the means of production in the form of farm, workshop, business or share in a factory or other co-operative. Here is real 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. *An independent stand will be taken in foreign policy. Power blocs such as NATO and the EEC on the one hand and COMECON and the Warsaw Pact on the other will be avoided. 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. Trade links will be maintained with all countries and groups of states such as the Common Market, with which a trade agreement should be negotiated. The aim will be to have as much free trade 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 have special attention.*
10. *Pending the achievement of national independence of all 32 Counties, an Economic Resistance Movement will be built up to defend the interests of the Irish people against exploitation, whether from foreign take-overs or native gombeen capitalism; to democratise industry and to promote the Comhar na gComharsan philosophy. Efforts to push us into the Common Market will be rigorously resisted and a demand will be made for the revoking of the Free Trade Area Agreement with England.*

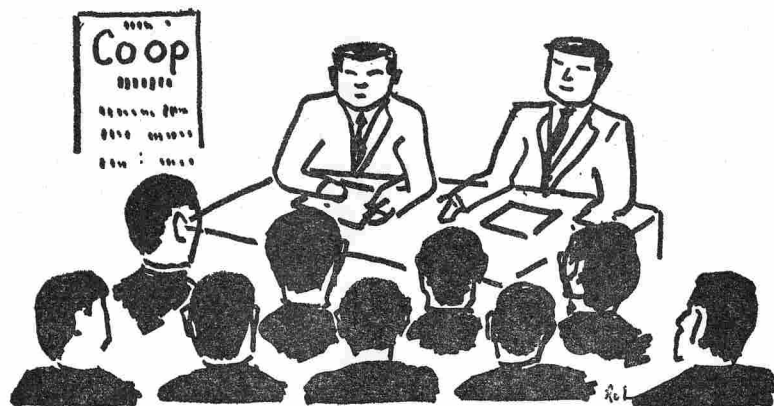
In the drafting of this programme our aim has been to outline a social and economic system which would strike a balance between Western individualistic capitalism with its poor and hungry amid plenty on the right and Eastern Soviet state capitalism (or any of its variations) with its denial of freedom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

We hope this document will be widely reported, read and studied.

Constructive criticism and comments will be welcomed because it is realised that as circumstances change, plans of this nature need to be revised and changed.

"It is the duty of the nation to assure that every citizen shall have opportunity to spend his or her strength and faculties in the service of the people.

"In return for willing service we, in the name of the Republic, declare the right of every citizen to an adequate share of the produce of the nation's labour." (Democratic Programme of Dáil Éireann, 1919).



Economic Resistance

THE object of this publication is to show that Sinn Féin is not only capable of looking forward to the future 32-County Republic and projecting its features in broad outline, but also that it is proposed to adopt a diversified struggle, on many fronts, in order to achieve it.

This programme will be said by some to be visionary. If it is visionary to propose means whereby Ireland may support an expanding population in increasing prosperity, cherishing all her children equally, then we are in the tradition of the visionaries of 1916.

It will be said by others to be perhaps possible, but too difficult; too many people benefit from the existing relationship with Britain; to cut links would involve hardship. If cutting off the supply of patronage money is hardship, then we promise hardship to those in receipt of it. We also promise hardship to those who regard it as a God-given right that they should be able to draw dividends from investments in the British Empire. We are prepared to forego the alleged benefits of the connection with Britain; we assert that these 'benefits' accrue only to a small fraction of the population, and that their abolition would leave us richer rather than poorer, in that it would enable us so to order society that the whole working population would be producing wealth.

That this is possible may be proved by a simple sum: consider the net subsidy paid to the Six Counties by England — about £150 million, —and add to it the net income from overseas investments (i.e., gross minus interest paid out to foreign investors here) which amounts to

about £30 million. This gives a measure of the benefit from the connection accruing to a minority of the population. Now consider the benefit from breaking the connection; an extra 150,000 people at work at existing levels of productivity would increase the national income by over £180 million.

This exposes the connection with Britain for what it is; a device for enriching the rich and keeping the poor in poverty. As a nation, by foregoing the alleged benefits we would be no worse off, but, in fact, better off in that we would have full employment in an expanding economy.

Why does Britain pay the subsidy? Because she considers it worth her while to pay out British taxpayers' money to keep Ireland divided and safe for British investors to draw profits. Also, by keeping Ireland divided, and by the device of imposing a unified financial system, she ensures that the bulk of the Irish economic surplus (the savings of the Irish people) is syphoned off and used to develop the British economy.

Thus, the nature of the connection goes much deeper than simply the occupation by foreign troops. It is therefore necessary to resist the forces of the connection in whatever form they manifest themselves; to broaden the scope of the national movement to include a conscious, organised economic resistance to the laws of imperialist economics which are keeping our country underdeveloped.

The ideas sketched here will be developed further in the sections which follow. These take the form of a sketch of things as they are now, followed by an indication of the changes that would be likely to be introduced under a 32-County Sinn Féin Government.

It remains to indicate the lines along which Sinn Féin may win the support of the majority of the Irish people for the realisation of its objectives. It is clear that resistance to the British forces of occupation in the Six Counties is alone insufficient. It will be necessary to develop the unity of the people around a programme of *economic* resistance to the *non-military* aspects of imperialist interference in Ireland. By this means it will be possible to safeguard the livelihood of the people, to frustrate the plans for a completely export-oriented, dependent, industrial economy on the East coast, and at major seaports, with the rest of the country a depopulated 'tourists' paradise', and to build up an institutional structure which will foreshadow certain state organs of the future Republican Government.

Thus there are two totally opposed concepts of Ireland in the future. On the one hand there is the Republican concept of a united, independent nation with its own independent financial system, planning the investment of its economic surplus in such a way as to give full employment with an expanding economy, trading in a diversified manner with a large number of different countries to mutual benefit, including Britain, with which relations will at last be regularised, and assuming for the first time its rightful place as the leader of the ex-colonial nations in the struggle against imperialism.

On the other hand there is the Leinster House concept of a depopulated countryside producing beef, with isolated islands of precarious prosperity in the coastal urban areas, containing a few large factories manned by a declining work force producing with increasing degree of automation specialised consumer goods for export, well-developed ports

to handle a substantial import/export trade, a well organised system for syphoning off potential discontent by subsidised emigration, an educational system tailored to fit the emigrant for work abroad. This concept excludes the Six Counties which will remain an economically depressed area dependent on British subsidies for its survival.

The choice for every Irishman worthy of the name is clear.

How therefore do we attain our objective ?

Ever since Tone, Republicans have always recognised that the only ultimate factor influencing the imperialists is force or the threat of force. They have also recognised the necessity for political organisation and agitation in order to harness effectively the forces of opposition to imperialism. It is also both possible and desirable to organise resistance to the imperialist economic forces, which, in the whole country, derive from the military occupation of part of it.

This new departure has the advantage that since the imperial economic forces apply throughout the whole country, every Republican, and indeed every Irishman can fight them on his home ground in his own area.

It also has the advantage that it suggests means whereby the Protestant working class, once the beneficiary of patronage, but now condemned to or threatened with the dole both in Belfast and in areas west of the Bann, may be won to support national objectives, thus undermining the basis of Unionist power in the Six Counties.

Just as working people organise themselves into trade unions in order to defend themselves against that economic force which tends to depress their wages, so the Irish Nation must organise itself in such a way as to defend itself against those economic forces associated with the imperial system which tend towards its depopulation and impoverishment.

Since the task of organising the nation to defend itself against the imperial economic assault is beyond the ability of either partition administration, even should it wish to do so, and since the 26-County administration has abandoned explicitly the half-hearted resistance that it once affected, this task must become the prime responsibility of the Republican Movement.

Failure to undertake this task will allow the completion of the process initiated in the Famine times, the transfer of our rural population to the industrial cities of the oppressor, will allow the smaller of our industries to be closed down, and the larger to be bought up, automated and run in the imperial interest by a declining work force. Ireland would be reduced to be a nation of renters, hoteliers and gillies.

Sporadic resistance to this process has already broken out in the Western parts of the country. This resistance must be organised into an *Economic Resistance Movement*, the weapons of which are the Co-operative and the Trade Union.

The present unorganised resistance contains the following elements which are, in the main, conscious only of their immediate objectives and do not see their struggle as part of a national movement. The task of the Economic Resistance Movement will be to make the national objectives clear to the people concerned and to raise the level of the present spontaneous activity to that of consciously establishing a Resist-

ance Economy independent of the imperial economy, except for mutually beneficial trading relations, where these are possible.

The elements are:—

(1) Farmers' co-operative trading organisations. These engage in bulk purchase of fertilisers, seeds, etc., and contract marketing of produce in such a way as to by-pass middlemen's profits. As well as increasing farm incomes and making more money available for the purchase of manufactured goods by farmers, this process reduces the role in the rural economy of middlemen's profits, which tend to find their way ultimately into foreign investment rather than native industrial investment.

(2) Farmers' co-operative production projects. These are mainly co-operative creameries, or tend to arise out of the trading organisations being financed by them, or else tend to arise in response to the possibility of obtaining vegetable contracts with the Irish Sugar Company.

(3) Fishermen's co-operatives. These also have based their recent breakthrough on getting control of a share of their trade and making it localised rather than Dublin-centred.

(4) Industrial Producer Co-operatives and Consumer Co-operatives.

(5) Co-operative financial ventures such as Credit Unions.

(6) Trade Unions, which in some industries, both North and South, are fighting a tenacious rearguard action with regard to redundancies. This action has not yet assumed any national consciousness but is objectively national in content.

(7) Local industry, which may or may not be co-operatively owned, but which is kept going by the business offered by local agricultural co-operatives, as for example, a mill kept going by orders for poultry and pig-feed from a local co-operative.

(8) State sponsored industries such as are concerned with sugar, alcohol and processed vegetables are under existing circumstances playing a useful role in developing an independent economy. They represent the fruits of a period when the 26-County administration concerned itself to a limited extent with economic development in the national interest. This period is now over. The existence of state industries serving the needs of the people is anathema to the British monopolists. In proportion as imperial economic penetration builds up in accordance with the 26-County administration's policy of putting Ireland up for sale, the existence of the state sector of industry will become increasingly precarious. Small units will be in danger of closure, so that their pattern of production can be made to conform with the imperial interests.

The workers and management of the state sponsored industries are therefore potentially part of the Economic Resistance Movement.

The objectives of the Economic Resistance Movement, based on the above elements, must therefore be as follows:—

(1) To develop agricultural co-operatives whose first step will be to gain control over trade and then to plough back the profits of trade into increased production.

(2) To develop a vigilance network so that any threatened closure of local industry will be met by the timely formation of a co-operative to raise the necessary funds both locally and by appealing to other areas and emigrant organisations, so that the local industry may be purchased and kept going as a co-operative enterprise. Refusal to sell out at a fair price can be countered by suitable local and national action, of such a nature as to redeem the price the foreigner is willing to pay.

(3) The development of links with the Trade Union Movement so that any threatened economic war by imperialist interests in the same industry would be defeated by the organised workers in the industry, by suitably organised actions.

(4) The development of the nation-wide 'Buy Irish' campaign into a national publicity campaign for support of the specific products of the Economic Resistance Movement, as well as Irish products in general.

(5) The development of a centralised co-operative trade organisation with the objective of facilitating trade between the various sectors of the ERM, to handle in an organised manner the trade between the ERM and those sectors of the imperial economy with which fair trade is possible, to protect the members of the ERM from the need to enter into trading agreements loaded against them, and to explore the possibility of entering into trade agreements with the Consumer Co-Operative Movement in Britain and in Irish cities, especially Belfast. To develop a foreign trade section, whose object would be to develop trade links with countries other than Britain, especially with the emerging African nations, with which *direct* trade routes should be established. (Present links go via Britain). This foreign trade section to assume the role of agent for any firm wishing to develop non-British trade links, and to foreshadow an organ of the future Sinn Féin Government, fulfilling a role at present inadequately fulfilled by Córás Tráchtála.

(6) The development of a co-operative financial system, including insurance, so that the financial resources of the ERM may be centralised and applied to its own expansion.

The central idea of the ERM is to replace the investor's greed for private profit, which is of such a character that it is not invested in anything which gives less than the average return on investment available within the imperial system, by the creative energy of the ordinary common people in the rural and urban areas, who will find means of making a viable economy without the need for the investment capital to yield the average imperial rate of profit to outsiders.

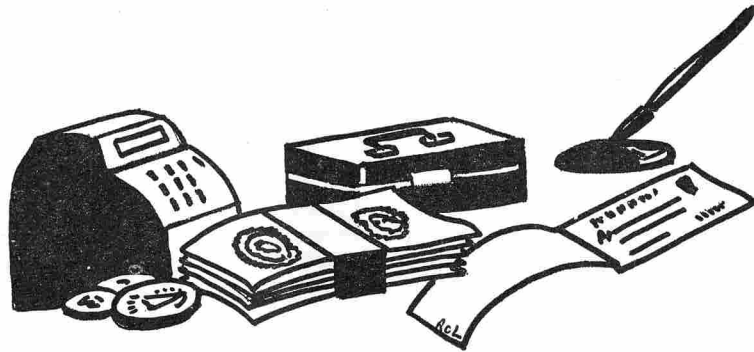
The Economic Resistance Movement must also organise itself to oppose effectively the purchase of land by foreigners. Such purchases may, for example, be countered by the formation of co-operatives, rais-

ing capital locally and through emigrants' organisations for the purchase of farms as units, and their co-operative working as units by local farmers' sons who wish to return from abroad.

It is also important that the people concerned with this Resistance Movement never lose sight of the national objectives and never become complacent on the basis of minor initial successes. The imbuing of the movement with a national consciousness must be the responsibility of Sinn Féin.

This short sketch of the Economic Resistance idea outlines the extent to which the Sinn Féin Social and Economic Programme can be put into effect here and now even within the context of the existing political system.

In the sections which follow it will be noted that the level of detail varies. There will be certain areas where the detail suggested will be considerable, while other areas will be quite sketchy. Broadly speaking, details are to be regarded as tentative and illustrative. The broad picture is the main thing; in the real world the detail will be influenced by the situation of the moment.



Finance

THE purpose of a financial system is to provide, as well as a medium of exchange, a fund of credit whereby the economic surplus may be re-invested, thus enabling the economy to expand. The latter purpose at present is not being fulfilled.

The Irish financial system is integrated with that of England. It consists of a banking sector and an insurance sector; there is also a Central Bank under the 26-County administration whose function is purely nominal.

In order of strength of connection with Britain the leading Banks (controlling over 80% of the assets of the business) rate as follows:—

(A) The Northern Bank and the Belfast Banking Company have been merged into one bank called the Northern Bank Limited, which is a wholly-owned subsidiary of the Midland Bank in England. The Ulster Bank is now owned by another English Bank, the Westminster Bank.

(B) The Bank of Ireland Group extends throughout the 32 Counties. Its Directors' other interests are mainly in old-established firms dating from Act of Union conditions. The Group includes the National Bank of Ireland, the Hibernian Bank and the Chase & Bank of Ireland (International). This latter bank is owned jointly by the Bank of Ireland and the Chase Manhattan Bank in America.

(C) The Allied Irish Banks consist of the Munster & Leinster Bank, the Provincial Bank and the Royal Bank. They are independently owned by Irish interests but pursue a policy in conformity with that laid down by the others which constitute the dominant force.

Thus, the whole banking system is based on absolute domination and is integrated with the British banking system.

The Insurance business is completely in the hands of the British Companies in the Six Counties and mostly so in the 26. The Irish and New Ireland Assurance Companies constitute a breach in an otherwise all-British structure. The former is state owned. They have consistently pursued a policy of investment in Irish industry. Together they control about 15% of the total insurance market.

Thus, firms controlling 8—10% only of the assets of the financial system as a whole (banking and insurance taken together) have oriented themselves towards investment in Irish Industry. The remainder has consistently pursued a policy of investing its assets in British securities (in the case of the banks) and British equities (in the case of the British-owned insurance companies).

This is the major contributory cause of the failure of the 26-County economy to expand up to 1959. The savings of the Irish people, instead of being put to work in Ireland, are syphoned off into Britain.

The post-1959 'boom' is due (a) to relaxation of control of foreigners investing in Ireland, (b) to the actual subsidisation of such investment at the taxpayers' expense. Not only is the country being sold out, but we, the people, are subsidising the price out of our own pockets!

When the English pound notes were called in (in 1926) and Irish ones were substituted, the English pounds were lodged in London to act as 100% cover for the Irish note issue. The present function of the Central Bank is to administer this fund, and to keep it in step with the Irish note issue. A small fraction of the 100% cover is now held in dollars as an empty gesture of 'independence.' The existence of this 100% 'Note Fund' (as it is called) is an effective guarantee against any genuinely independent measures ever being taken by the Dublin Government. Typical of the servility of Merrion Street financial thought is the fact that it is considered necessary to insure 100% against the eventuality that every Irishman might simultaneously wish to convert Irish to English money!

The present Act of Union financial system, as well as syphoning off Irish savings via banking and insurance into British investment, also facilitates private investors who wish to put their money into imperial interests. Much trading on the London Stock Exchange is done from Dublin; the financial pages of the Irish papers are a witness to this.

In fact, between banking, insurance and private investors in both parts of the country, well over £1,000,000,000 is held as foreign assets by persons and firms based in Ireland.

This link is strengthening; each takeover of an Irish firm by a British monopoly in a two-way transaction; British money comes in to buy up Irish firms, after which the Irish ex-owners invest the purchase money outside Ireland.

A Sinn Féin Government having jurisdiction over the whole 32-County area would proceed to the establishment of a genuinely independent Irish currency, based on the productive capacity of the Nation. International payments would be made with gold rather than sterling.

A National Development Fund would be set up, to which would be contributed all foreign assets at present idle. This Fund would be administered by a National Financial Authority who would see to it that this foreign exchange 'nest-egg' was correctly invested into certain strategically chosen capital goods.

The 'idle foreign assets' referred to above are:—

(a) The Note Fund.

(b) A substantial part (possible 75%) of the individual banks' external assets at present held in Britain for trade purposes. Centralisation of these assets alone would enable them to be reduced substantially, and still give the same degree of buffering against trade fluctuations as at present. Reduction of trade fluctuations, by exercising control over trade would enable the centralised assets to be reduced still further. The surplus sterling bank assets would be transferred to the National Development Fund against an issue of Irish Government Bonds. The total bank assets would remain unchanged, except that a greater fraction would be held in Irish securities.

The National Financial Authority would take over and extend the functions of the present Central Bank. It would have at its disposal a substantial fraction of the investment funds generated internally within the economy, would be responsible for the stability of the independent currency, and would function so as to regulate the amount of credit available in accordance with the needs of the expanding economy. In proportion, as the initial investment of 'nest-egg' foreign exchange became exhausted the National Financial Authority would become increasingly dependent on internally generated savings, which would by then, however, have become more substantial, thanks to the initial injection of productive capital.

The National Financial Authority would be directly responsible to An Dáil. It would consist of the nationalised banking and insurance system, re-organised and under democratic control, in order to serve the national needs instead of the needs of imperial monopolies. No other lending houses except those allowed by the State would be permitted to operate.

The Balance of Payments would be regulated by letting the Irish currency unit find its own level in accordance with the needs of trade. This would probably result in a revalued currency unit.

The regulation of the balance of payments by revaluation would be superior to the present method which operates in both parts of the country; restriction of the Irish market for cheap imports from Britain by a differential unemployment rate, supplemented slightly in the 26 Counties by tariffs and quotas. Cheap imports are of little use to the unemployed. Devaluation would act as an automatic universal tariff. It would only affect the cost of living in so far as this depended on import content. Thus, basic food, clothing and housing would be little changed in price in the home market.

The Stock Exchange would be restricted to the role of raising finance for the private sector of the Irish economy. Trading in foreign shares would be forbidden. Legislation would be introduced curbing speculative unproductive acquisition of wealth by individuals, but favouring raising capital for new productive ventures.

The interest rate on loans would be used as an instrument of economic planning by the National Financial Authority. Strategically important sectors of the economy would receive cheaper credit.

The National Debt would be honoured in full, at its present level. But it would become relatively less important, as future government financing

would become independent of loans from private bodies. It would instead depend on direct control of the credit structure via the National Financial Authority, coupled with the direct control of re-investment of the economic surplus by a National Development Authority set up for this purpose. Current Government expenditure would be met out of taxation in full.

Import of capital would be controlled and foreign domination of any sector prevented. Foreign land purchase and export of capital by nationals would be forbidden. Income from existing privately owned external assets would be taxed heavily. Retired foreigners wishing to settle here may have this rule waived.

Credit Unions will be developed and extended on a local basis and will enjoy the right, now denied to them, of financing local community projects. Co-operative banks will also be developed, representative of such interests as the Trade Unions and Farmers' organisations.

The whole taxation structure will be reformed fundamentally. The basic unit for the payment of tax will be the firm or organisation rather than the individual; income tax will be restricted to the professional, managerial and other high income strata, distinction as at present being made between earned and unearned income. The objectives of taxation will be:—

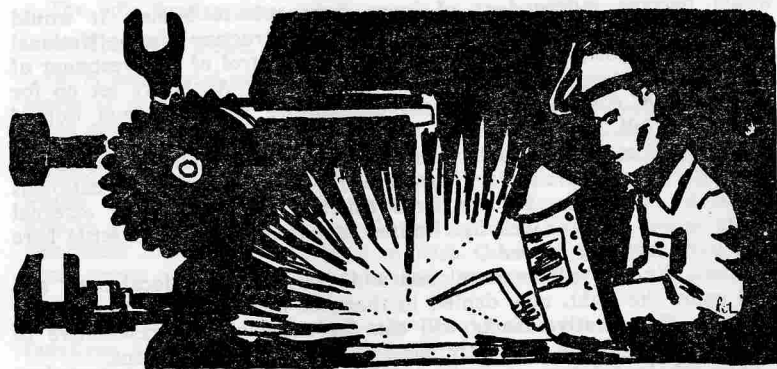
- (1) To finance the State.
- (2) To re-distribute wealth.
- (3) To favour initiative and enterprise.
- (4) To act as a planning instrument.

The basic tax will be a selective turnover tax, levied on production and services. The tax would fall less heavily on industries producing the basic necessities. (The definition of 'necessity' is likely to change as the economy develops). All industries will pay some tax; this will vary both on the above principle and on a regional basis according as it is desired to encourage industrial development in particular industries or regions.

Thus, the basic taxation policy will be to allow the provision of cheap necessities (food, clothing, housing, public transport, books, education, also the means of increasing productivity, tools, machines). Central funds will be channelled towards underdeveloped areas as a matter of policy.

Co-operative industry and agriculture will be favoured by tax concessions; private industry will be encouraged to reward workers' productive initiative by bonuses linked to productivity, and ultimately to convert to co-operative ownership.

The high tax on unearned incomes would be scaled down in the case of retired people who have no earned income. This may have the effect of encouraging retired foreigners to settle here, which form of permanent tourism would benefit the balance of payments and help the economy generally.



Industry

THE industrial wealth of Ireland is characterised by the domination of its 'commanding heights' by British owned firms, or by firms with substantial interests in Britain.

Dominating the Six-County economy are Gallahers, Harland and Wolff, and Shorts, all outright British owned. Of the linen firms, few still remain independent; the industry is in decline and the Linen Thread Co. of Glasgow is buying firms up one by one, while others are closing down. Scotch whisky firms have dominated and crushed the Six-County distillers. The price of survival for the Six-County linen industry has been the flotation of shares on the London market (e.g. 'Old Bleach' Linen Co.) and/or the setting up of subsidiaries in Britain (e.g. Kinnaird Textiles).

To find firms with purely native ownership it is necessary to go to less than £100,000 capital. Here about 1,000 small firms exist, 90% of which have independent ownership. These control about a quarter to a third of industrial capital.

So discriminatory is the Unionist structure that the rise of a Catholic property-owning class has been substantially prevented. Scrutiny of the names of the Directors of even the smallest firms (£10,000 to £30,000 capital) suggests perhaps 10—15% Catholic ownership, this being confined effectively to building contracting and small-scale retailing. Thus patronage in employment is a powerful weapon for keeping the Protestant working-class 'loyal' to Unionist mythology, even against its own true interests. Similarly, patronage of the small 'independent' firms by the British-owned giants is a factor which prevents the emergence of national mindedness in the smaller Protestant property-owning class. This patron-

age ultimately results in takeover; independent small property is unable to resist the economic power of the monopolies and is in decline.

The 26-County economy is dominated by a small group of old-established firms; Guinness, Jacobs, Carrolls, Gouldings and Sunbeam Wolsey, typify this group. All have subsidiaries or associates in Britain. Their directorships interlock with each other and with the financial structure. The policy of all these firms, having saturated the home market, is expansion by building factories in Britain (and the Empire in the case of Guinness) rather than diversification within the Irish economy. The Sunbeam Wolsey-Unidare-Pye complex is an exception to this; however, this diversification is in association with British monopoly-capital and is of a secondary nature (research and development is done in Cambridge; production in Ireland uses cheap Irish labour and middle-management).

Some sectors of the Irish economy are dominated by British subsidiaries (Dunlops, Ranks in the flour milling, Fry-Cadbury, the petroleum distributors).

An appreciable sector is dominated by State owned or sponsored industries; ESB, CIE, and the Sugar Company being among the largest.

The firms named account for about half of the assets of the 26-County public companies; they, therefore, may be regarded as the 'commanding heights' of the economy.

Significantly, recent growth rates indicate that following trends:—

(1) Small, nationally owned firms are in decline and are being taken over.

(2) The larger firms of the state sector are barely holding their own.

(3) The British associated or dominated sector is growing rapidly (Guinness, Gouldings, Fry-Cadbury, Rank) as are other foreign-owned firms (Shannon Industrial Zone).

Thus, the condition for rapid growth at present is to be integrated with the British economy. The trend is towards increasing specialisation under the control of British firms, a process the end-product of which is a Six-County type economy.

Looking at Irish industry from the angle of products, one can make a broad classification as follows: (a) industry based on local raw materials, (b) industries based mainly on skill and technical ability, (c) building and construction. There is also the classical subdivision into Producers and Consumers goods.

The outstanding features of the present divided economy are:—

(1) Distortion of the Producers Goods Industries (based mainly in the Six-County area) in the direction of supplying specialised products, for which demand is highly unstable, to the English market. Underdevelopment of the Producers' Goods Industries in the 26-County area, despite State subsidy of foreign ventures.

(2) Failure to develop agriculture-based industries to any great extent, owing to the British economic pressure for agriculture to specialise in the export of live cattle. This holds for both areas. The Sugar Company is beginning to reverse this trend in the 26-County area by proving that possibilities exist for industrial processing of agricultural raw materials in areas other than the East coast. Another important agriculture based industry is distilling.

It is noteworthy that most of the older-established East-coast food-processing firms are British owned (e.g. Batchelors) and as such are, of course, not interested in Irish social-economics, development of underdeveloped regions, etc. Similarly the mills, which are dominated by the Rank organisation, are operating a centralisation policy which puts their own profits before local social needs; the social capital to be written off does not enter the balance-sheet when a mill closure is decided.

Dairying is largely in the hands of old-established co-operatives which, by and large, have shown little enterprise and few have diversified into the other lines of business open to them, such as cheese manufacture. The reason for this may perhaps be traced to the dead hand of the British Ministry of Agriculture, under whose auspices they were formed, in Sir Horace Plunkett's time. This however requires analysis.

Bacon production, once an important export, has fallen on evil days, owing to a highly variable product. This is a result of lack of scientific control. A variable price has deterred producers. There are signs of improvement here, largely due to the work of the Agricultural Institute. The belated establishment of this body, a generation later than its European equivalents, is an illustration of the lack of attention paid to scientific research in Ireland.

(3) Failure to develop native industrial 'know-how'; neglect of potential 'know-how' (in the form of scientifically trained people) which is produced in abundance for export by our universities. Failure to build up an adequate indigenous research and development framework in which economically important discoveries and inventions might be brought to fruition (Norway, with the same population, spends ten times what we do on applied science). The cult of the 'foreign expert.' Any 'know-how based' industry at present in Ireland, of a foreign subsidiary, invariably depends on the parent company for its scientific research and development. There is, therefore, insufficient basis on which to grow a native applied-scientific tradition; there are not enough people doing scientific research to generate the necessary intellectual atmosphere. It is interesting to speculate how the Ferguson Tractor might have been developed by an Irish-oriented Belfast engineering industry, in order to revolutionise small-farm agriculture.

(4) Industries based on extracted mineral wealth are sacrificed to a policy of sale of rights to foreign concerns, whose sole concern is rapid exploitation when world prices are high, followed by neglect if the price drops. The melancholy history of Avoca may yet be repeated at Tynagh and other places.

(5) Relative backwardness of the Building Industry as regards stability and conditions of employment, as well as the use of modern methods. This contributes to the high cost of housing, although in this the interest rate is the dominant factor. A small number of highly mechanised, large-scale building firms exist; these are associated with British interests and are at present making large profits out of the rebuilding of central Dublin in the Imperial image. The same situation exists in Belfast; large office-blocks for importers' offices are replacing older industrial-type buildings.

The Sinn Féin Government's programme for industry will have as its central principle that control over the further growth of the economy shall be in the hands of the people.

It will, therefore, be necessary for the Government to obtain a controlling interest in the 'commanding heights' firms or key industries. The policy of the managements of these firms will then be to improve the performance of the economy as a whole rather than to maximise the profit of the individual firm, as at present. Likewise, the policy will not be to stamp out competitors, but to enable a rational structure within each industry to be obtained, taking into account local and national needs.

~~Firms which make reasonable efforts to orient themselves towards the development of the national economy will be left in private hands.~~

By this is meant the pursuit of a policy of low dividends to shareholders, high rates of internal development based on undistributed profits, a substantial portion of which should be spent on scientific research and development co-operatively within the industry (on the lines possibly of the Research Associations in Britain). State incentives would favour co-operative enterprises as the most socially desirable.

The investment programme will be planned with the aid of the National Development Authority and financed by means of the undistributed profits of the state-directed commanding heights of the economy, by State-created credit under the control of the National Financial Authority, by means of the external assets as re-organised for the purpose, and by foreign loans if necessary.

The Engineering industry will be modified and re-equipped in such a way as to enable it to manufacture products necessary for the mechanisation and control of most of the agricultural and industrial operations carried out in the 32-County economy.

Ship-building capacity will be retained and used to build and equip a merchant fleet large enough to carry the bulk of our trade; this will be an expanding and diversified trade with countries other than Britain, so that a substantial fleet will be needed. Revaluation of Irish currency could render ship-building for the export market highly competitive. But the main line for expansion of the heavy engineering industry will be in the direction of supplying the needs of the 32-County economy for mining and ore processing equipment, reactor vessels for the expanding chemical industry, mechanical handling equipment, heavy commercial vehicles, etc. The aircraft industry, as well as developing a work-horse type low-cost high-load plane suitable for internal freight and bus-type passenger transport in developing countries, would diversify naturally towards manufacturing automatic process control equipment of a relatively simple type directed at the needs of the developing countries, our own of course in the first place, as well as more sophisticated electronic equipment for the more advanced sectors of our own economy.

The motor vehicle industry, at present consisting of a diversity of small assemblers, will be integrated in such a way as to produce a small number of basic types adapted to the needs of the people, rather than to the imagined needs of the status-conscious, copied from the imperialist rat-race society. Modular construction devices will be adopted in order to get adequate variety with a few standard mass-produced elements.

The philosophy behind vehicle design will be durability, safety, reliability and comfort, rather than speed and built-in obsolescence as at present. A suitable public transport vehicle will be developed for the

rural areas. Tractor production will be similarly integrated and rationalised. An export trade will be developed of a suitable type of vehicle, adapted to small farm economics, to the under-developed economies, whose needs will overlap with ours in many ways.

Similarly, agricultural and horticultural machinery production is capable of considerable development. The use of electricity and compressed air as motive power for labour-saving equipment adapted for use over small areas (an acre or two) is in its infancy and should be developed rapidly with the aid of scientific research.

The electrical industry, similarly, will be oriented towards the needs of industrialising the nation and equipping its agriculture. Basic units such as electric motors will be standardised, avoiding the situation which exists in Britain where a multiplicity of firms make units that are not interchangeable. Portable power-tools will be developed, for all industries which at present depend on manual crafts, especially the building industry.

Considerable engineering research effort will be put into the standardisation and modernisation of all industrial equipment, in order to reduce breakdown delays and spare part stock-holding problems.

The extractive industries will be developed beyond the present role of production of ore for export. Refining will be done on the spot and an associated chemical industry will be built up. The rate of production of non-ferrous metals will be geared to the needs of the economy, with a modest surplus for export if this proves to be advantageous, instead of allowing wild-cat get-rich-quick speculative exploitation as at present. The coal-mining industry will be modernised; techniques and equipment adapted to thin-seam mining will be imported and adapted. The Geological Survey will be expanded and equipped in such a way as to improve rapidly the knowledge of the nation's mineral resources. The present level of knowledge is based largely on old work, before modern methods became available, and relates only to surface rocks. Irish geologists and geo-physicists will be invited to return from abroad to contribute to the national effort, which will include development of sea-bed gas resources. There will be no need for foreign experts; our people are the experts in many foreign countries.

Agriculture-based industries will be developed in proportion as agricultural production is diversified away from live cattle; the dead meat trade will be developed, with the northern European and tropical countries (where meat production is a problem). Bones will go towards fertiliser production, reducing our needs for imported phosphates. Offal will form a basis for a pharmaceuticals industry (already successfully initiated at Roscrea). Vegetable processing will be developed along the lines initiated by the Sugar Company, especially in the Western parts of the country.

The distilling industry will be among those to be nationalised and will be fully developed in the National interest.

The economics of local steel production will assume a different appearance with a 32-County economy supporting a heavy engineering industry. The logical place for this would be Derry with its port, direct rail links with the rest of the country, and relative proximity to Belfast. The economics of Haulbowline are already marginally sound. With Irish currency at its natural level the picture would become more favourable.

The planning of industrial development would be such as to avoid centres of population exceeding (say) half a million, to provide a number of well-spaced large industrial centres, providing a steady baseload of heavy freight for the rail network, and a high level of inter-urban business express passenger traffic.

The building industry would be re-organised in such a way as to give a steady employment to its work-people. The level of skill would be raised by means of education and training. Voluntary amalgamation of Trade Unions would be encouraged, the objective being the development of skilled building craftsmen, with wide technical knowledge, adaptable to the use of new methods and new materials. (Otherwise what would plasterers do when plastic panelling becomes universal?) In this process, training will be universal, there would be no redundancy, wages and productivity would increase.

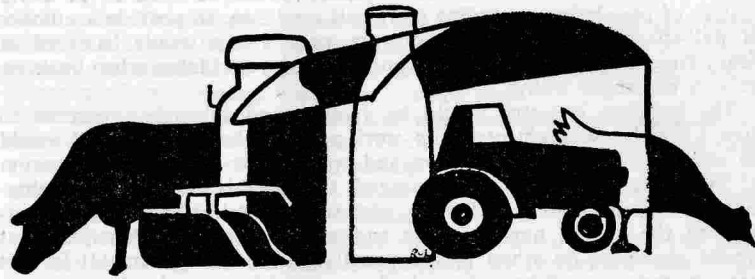
Co-operative builders' groups will be encouraged to develop to supplement the small contractor. The larger contracting firms would come under Government control.

Stability of employment will have absolute priority. Salaries and wages will be on the basis of equal pay for equal work as between men and women.

While Tourism can be a very important factor in the economic life of the country, neither the nation as a whole nor any particular locality should be so geared as to be solely dependent on tourism for prosperity. Dependence on outside factors should be kept to a minimum.

Tourism can sap the independence and strength of character of the people and is not a dependable source of income because it can be adversely affected by weather, wars, depressions or transport strikes.

In an expanding, diversified economy, however, tourism can be safely built up as a method of gaining foreign currency. Tourism will be encouraged by cheap air and shipping fares. Foreign owned hotels and holiday camps will be nationalised. A standard scale of services and charges will be laid down by the State Tourist Board and suitable promotion undertaken both at home and abroad.



Agriculture

THE ownership of agricultural land is unevenly distributed among the population of both parts of the country. About 60% of the agricultural holdings are of 30 acres (12 hectares) or less, while less than a tenth of the holdings are of 100 acres (40 hectares) or more. The latter group in the Six Counties occupies 20% of the land; in the 26 Counties it accounts for 36% of the land.

In both parts of the country most holdings are small and there is still a lot of land in large holdings, despite the activities of the Land Commission. The trend is for the small holdings to be amalgamated and their owners to emigrate, so that the middle group is increasing at the expense of the small group. The large group is stable.

Not only is the land inadequately distributed, but also the type of farming practised helps the robbery of the small producer in order to line the pockets of the large. The staple product of Irish agriculture, store cattle, is the instrument of this process. The production of this commodity is so ordered that the costly and risky operation of rearing calves is carried out largely by the small farmers in the North-West, West and South, while the large farmers finish the process with maximum gain and minimum risk and labour.

Thus, there is an inter-regional pattern of exploitation, which functions within the overall British-imposed pattern of national exploitation, whereby Ireland as a whole is kept economically dependent on Britain. This structure also encourages the growth of a merchant element which preys on agriculture as a whole, thriving on seasonal and regional price differences. Thus, the social structure for the whole country has wide regional variations; by and large the ranches, which are the main beneficiaries of the present system, are situated in the East and the small holdings in the West.

Agricultural Trade Unionism is strong in the East, among the workers on the large estates. This accounts for the idea, prevalent in Labour circles, that the farmer is basically an employer and, therefore, has

nothing in common with the urban workers. In fact, however, two thirds of the agricultural population enjoy a standard of living ranging from modest to absolute impoverishment.

Agriculture in the Six Counties enjoys a higher level of income than does that of the 26 Counties. This may be attributed to the greater emphasis placed on dairying, as well as to the high level of subsidy enjoyed.

The main feature of Irish agriculture, in farms of all sizes, is its variability of productive level. By and large, the more land a man has, the less per acre he gets from it. The pure grass-land large farm (ranch) is the least productive of all. Yet the pattern of production imposed by the live cattle trade perpetuates this wasteful type of land usage.

It is quite possible to obtain a family income of over £1,500 per year on a 30 to 40 acre (12 to 16 hectares) farm of moderate land. Large farmers having 1,000 acres (400 hectares) or so who farm at this level of intensity employ perhaps 100 men and are equivalent to an industrial firm with perhaps a quarter of a million to a million pounds capital.

The basic problems which prevent all farming being at this level of intensity, with corresponding increase in the national income, are (a) the uncertainties and fluctuations associated with the marketing structure, (b) the technical problems presented by farm management, (c) lack of capital to invest in elementary amenities such as piped water, as well as basic requirements such as fertilisers. The relatively few farmers who have been able to scrape together capital sufficient to make use of available state grants have prospered. The rest continue to exist in poverty on emigrants' remittances or have emigrated themselves, letting their land on conacre. "The absentee landlord" has assumed a new meaning.

The relatively few successful farmers who have managed despite everything to prosper on small or medium farms have done so by the following means:—

1. Investment of all available personal and government grants capital.
2. Establishment of a farm plan diversified enough for the various activities to complement one another, but not so diversified that the various activities interfere with each other and dissipate the effort.
3. Taking advantage of all available government services (scientific advice, artificial insemination, etc.)
4. Establishment of some control over market conditions by entering into regular contracts (milk, beef, vegetables, wheat, barley, etc.)
5. The cultivation of a methodical attitude to the use of their own time. (In industry this is known as "work study" and is imposed from above). A good farmer working for himself does this as second nature, considerably increasing his own productivity.

Despite this, the profit to be obtained from investment of capital and effort into a farm is substantially less than that to be obtained by investing a corresponding amount of capital in industry. The reason for this is that agricultural production is basically seasonal and supports a stratum of merchants who live by exploiting the seasonal variations in price. The farmer, therefore, on the average sells at a depressed price. A further reason is that industrial capital tends to be grouped in larger productive units and can take advantage of economies of scale.

It is possible to overcome this chronic agricultural depression within the existing framework to some extent. Two methods exist — the first, State subsidy, is widely practised in Western Europe. This, by relatively favouring the larger producers, has had the effect of developing an industrial-type agriculture, with considerable mechanisation, low wages, high profits, high dependence on the chemical industry and declining quality of produce.

The Irish agricultural price-structure is dominated by the existence of subsidised industrial-type agriculture in Britain, so that its effective independent development is prevented. The key factor in this dependence is the store cattle trade. A subsidiary factor in the case of the Six Counties is the fact that the farmers themselves benefit from the relatively high subsidy. This subsidy is, of course, outside their control; it depends on the whim of a foreign Government.

A further factor operating mainly in the 26-County area is the Dole, on which large areas depend. This Dole is so regulated that it constitutes a rural survival subsidy rather than an agricultural subsidy; increased production, if achieved, is penalised by loss of Dole. A system better adapted to perpetuating poverty would be hard to devise. Various other rural services exist in the 26 Counties which are effectively subsidised, such as rural electrification. The total rural subsidy in the 26 Counties, including also the butter export subsidy, is not so far off the rate paid in the Six Counties as to be unworthy of comparison. Thus, the argument that the Six-County farmers would lose their subsidies if they came in with the 26 Counties is not so potent as it appears at first sight.

It is, however, necessary to stress that Six/26-County comparisons are irrelevant; both parts are stunted by Partition. The correct basis for comparison is Six/26 versus 32 Counties. The point here is that the united Republic would have a sufficiently well developed industrial sector to be able to support agricultural subsidies on the European scale, should that method of raising agricultural production prove to be sound.

The second method of overcoming chronic agricultural depression is for the farmers to organise co-operatively in such a way as to control their own marketing channels, and to establish direct and close links with urban and export markets. Gains in farm income comparable with the average Six-County subsidy have been obtained without difficulty in the few areas where co-operative marketing of this type has been established. Further gains are possible by co-operating in the use of machinery and in production generally.

It is, therefore, possible in the short run for considerable gains to be made, even within the existing framework, along co-operative lines. This is a national objective, worthy of the full attention of the Republican Movement; failure to proceed along these lines, as noted in the Introduction, will allow rural and national decline to continue to the point of national extinction. Development of this co-operative movement on a 32-County basis is likely to run into political obstacles, the overcoming of which will raise the level of political consciousness of the people, and render the unification of the Nation more rapidly possible.

A 32-County Sinn Féin Government, would be in a position to allocate funds for agricultural investment into projects which would strengthen the farmers' own organisations and encourage the growth of production

and marketing co-operatives. Guaranteed prices and market stability would enable investment to be properly planned. Subsidies would be tailored in such a way as to reward small-farm enterprise and to develop a broad, well-balanced and diversified agriculture. The existing 'Dole' would be consolidated into a 'depressed area' subsidy which would remain, irrespective of increase of production, becoming relatively less important as the areas became economically awakened. (This latter point is also a short-term objective, realisable by agitation within the present framework, and with positive consequences for strengthening the national co-operative movement if successful).

The 32-County Government would be concerned with the redistribution of land to those who needed it and were capable of working it. Large farms at present at a low production level would be taken over. There would be established a maximum amount of land to be owned by any citizen. In all cases, where the state takes over land which is naturally a productive unit, these would be leased to families who would work them as co-operative units. These would act as pilot schemes to help the spread of the co-operative idea.

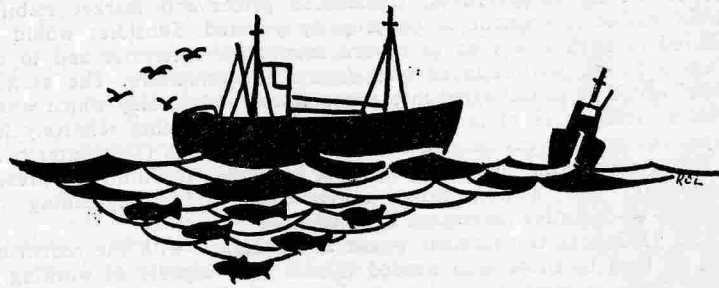
The land of absentee landlords would be subject to compulsory purchase by the state; where the absentee is an emigrant small farmer he would be encouraged to return and participate in co-operative development; if he did not wish to do so, he would be given the option of taking the purchase price in the form of a pension fund for retirement to Ireland when he wished.

The State would assume immediate control over marketing arrangements and would establish a guaranteed price system for all agricultural produce. At the same time, the formation of marketing co-operatives would be encouraged so that the profits at present enjoyed by merchants, (these often accumulate into personal fortunes which are invested abroad against the national interest) would be ploughed back into farm enterprises under co-operative control.

Existing scientific services (soil-testing, etc.) available to farmers would be extended and popularised. Credit facilities at nominal interest rates would be provided for farmers. The maximum support would be given to the development of regional markets under co-operative control. Likewise, the supply of local industry with suitable crops for processing would be organised on a co-operative basis.

The pattern of production would be mainly oriented towards intensive livestock production and fodder-crops, as well as horticultural type developments. This is quite consistent with growing enough wheat for the home market while a situation of underdevelopment exists in the country. Cheap imports of such commodities would be in the national interest only in a state of full development when they could be bought with Irish exports without an adverse balance of trade. Meanwhile, the trend would be to supply most needs of an expanding industrial home market and to export only certain specialist products commanding high prices, such as processed food of all kinds and dead meat.

It should be the aim of the 32-County Republican Government to increase rather than decrease the rural population, which stands at the moment as the lowest in Europe. It would be socially desirable to encourage village settlements rather than isolated individual farms.



Fisheries

THE Fishing Industry, after a long period of decline, has begun to increase its production again. This process has been based on the growth of fishermen's co-operatives employing boats in the 30-50 ft. (9-15 metres) class well adapted to inshore fishing based on a large number of small fishing ports.

The 26-County Government, operating through a state-sponsored body (An Bord Iascaigh Mhara) is making attempts to develop the industry, but on a basis and in a direction considered to be unsound by the fishermen themselves.

Taking the advice of foreign experts, whose contacts when in the country did not include spokesmen of the principal fishermen's co-operatives, the Bord has established a policy of calling a halt to the supply of 30-50 ft (9-15 metres) boats and concentrating on boats considered by them to be large (70-90 ft.) (21-28 metres) in order allegedly to build up "deep-sea" fishing, and to concentrate development on five major ports only.

This policy is based on slavish imitation and misunderstanding of the foreigners' practice; this consists in building large boats to fish *other peoples'* waters (mainly ours and Iceland's) their own already being well exploited by a large fleet of small locally-based boats.

Our own waters, however, are so underdeveloped by our own efforts that there is ample scope for considerable expansion of numbers of small locally-owned boats; the need to concentrate capital immediately in large boats is not evident.

The concentration policy, in fact, makes it more difficult for fishermen co-operatively to become owners of boats and favours an exploitative industrial structure, with large boats, privately owned or State owned and employing crews for wages. This favours the existing privately-owned wholesale trading and fish-processing factory network, as might be expected in view of the fact that these interests are represented on the Bord, while the interests of the fishermen are not.

The domination of the marketing structure by the private wholesalers has had the effect of fostering disunity between Six-County and 26-County fishermen, the former on occasions having become locally unpopular on the grounds that the landing of their catch at a 26-County port has depressed the price. This, however, is a consequence of the fishermen's lack of control over their market, rather than any objective conflict of interest between the two groups.

There is, therefore, scope, as an immediate objective, for a 32-County fishermen's co-operative organisation, to develop a co-operative marketing structure, with retail outlets, as well as co-operative local processing establishments (smoking, salting, pickling, canning, etc.).

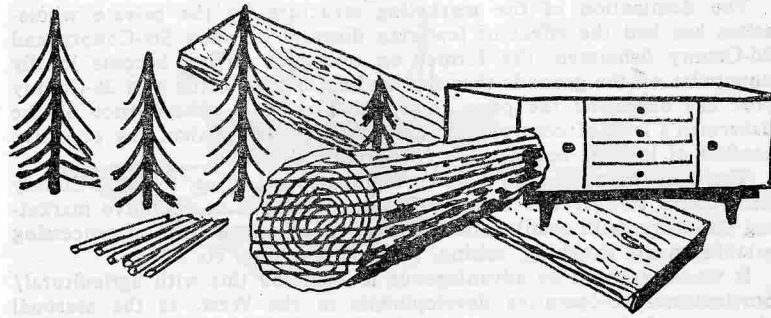
It would perhaps be advantageous to combine this with agricultural/horticultural co-operative developments in the West, as the seasonal character of the vegetable work might be made to interlock with fish-processing in the off-season. An interlocking of the financial aspects of the two co-operative groups would enable development funds to be allocated in a productive manner on a scale impossible for either movement separately.

While considerable possibilities exist for developing the industry by local initiative and co-operative effort within the existing framework, such efforts, as in the case of agriculture and forestry, are liable to meet with political obstacles, due to the entrenchment of monied trade and industrial interests in the political structure. However, the maximum development of a national co-operative movement will constitute a step towards the changing of the political structure; it is therefore our policy to give the maximum support to these developments.

Ultimately, a Sinn Féin Government will foster to the full the development of local fishing fleets, local processing, boat-building etc., and will recognise and give credit to all types of co-operative development. When the inshore waters are adequately exploited by small locally owned boats, a deep-sea fleet will be established, complete with factory ships, oriented towards the fish-hungry export markets of central and eastern Europe.

A Fisheries Research Institute will be established, whose task will be to keep fish populations under constant surveillance, to develop and adapt new methods of locating shoals, to look into methods of fish farming, etc. A communication network will be established, so that transport and marketing facilities can be made to adapt themselves to the continually changing needs of the fishing fleets. The promotion and popularisation of sea food will be given a high priority.

All fishing rights in inland lakes and waterways and within the territorial waters of the nation will be vested in the National Government acting as trustees for the Irish people and will be administered co-operatively at local level. The right to fish and use these waters will be granted to all citizens under licence. Adequate provision will be made for the protection of our territorial waters from foreign poachers.



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.

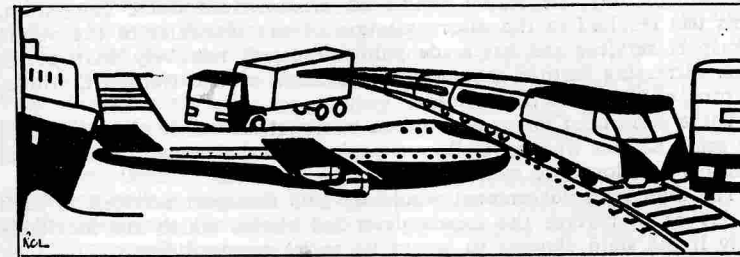
There would be a considerable reduction in the quota of foreign imported hardwoods, except where these were imported for processing as veneers, blockboards and laminates. The Authority would, where necessary establish under its control all industries, including a paper mill, necessary to consume the 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.

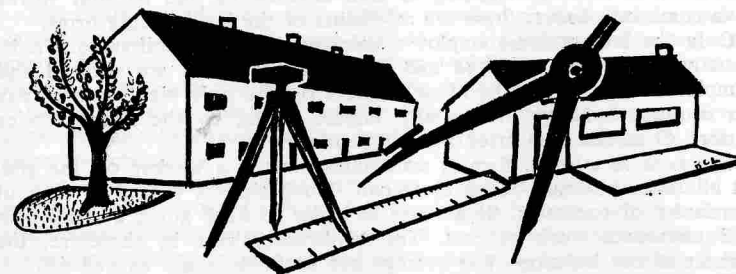
Foreign trade links by air freight, centred on Shannon, have begun to develop. The type of industry involved, however, has weak roots within the economy.

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.

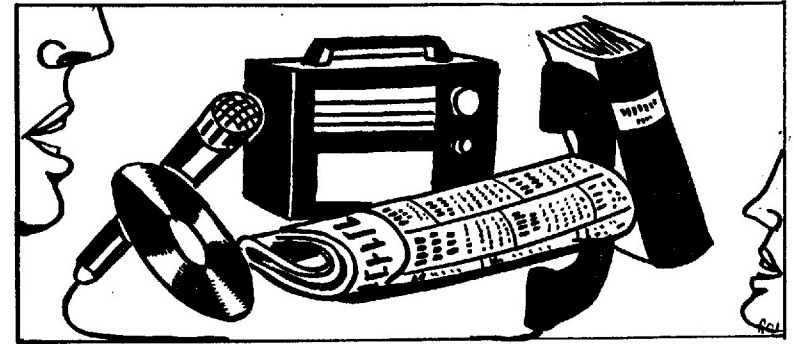
High-rise flats of adequate area with lifts will form the basis of central city renewal. The creation of linked parklands in valleys and along river banks will be a natural corollary of such planning. Standard flat and house plans of a sufficient number of types to cater for community needs will be developed 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.

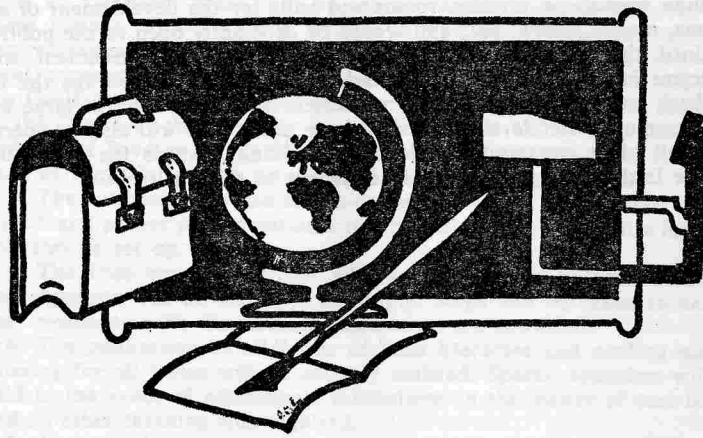
10. An Irish Academy will be established by the State. Its functions will include the publication of all text books, treatises and other matter required; it will be the deciding body on all questions relating to Irish grammar, spelling, phonetics, coining and standardisation of words and terms, etc.

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.

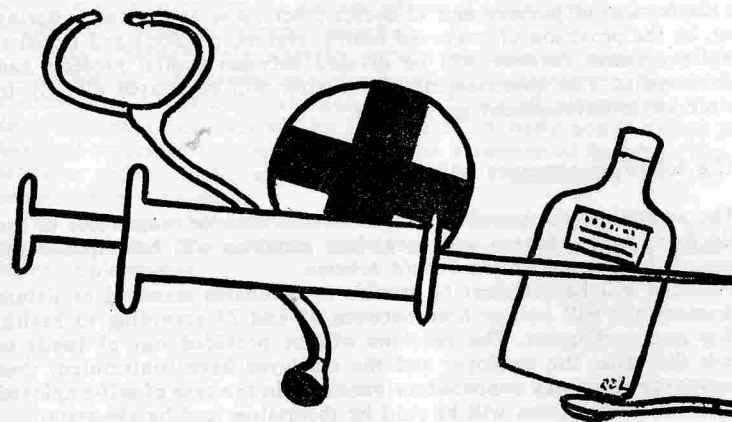
The Universities will become bilingual and ultimately Gaelicised. The building up of University College, Galway, as an Irish language centre will be given high priority.

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.

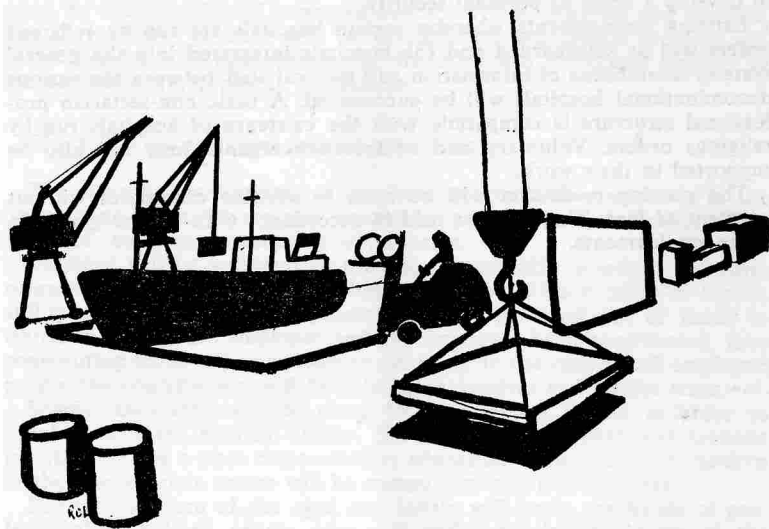
Administration costs will be kept down; hospitalisation will be under the administrative regions which will be as far as possible self-supporting. The doctors' time will be saved by providing the maximum of technical and administrative assistance. The GP will remain the basic unit of the profession but 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.