

MARY LOU McDONALD: WELCOME TO NEW IRELAND
TÁ FÁILTE ROMHAT CHUIG - ÉIRE NUA

**New
IRELAND**

SAMHRADH 2001 SUMMER

EAGRÁN ISSUE 1



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NUA**



WOLFE TONE

AND THE UNITED IRISH STILL SPEAK TO US

TODAY

**Taobh
istigh**

OUR EXILED CHILDREN
IRISH UNITY IS REAL AND DELIVERABLE
THE RISING OF THE MOON

#Time4Unity
Am d'Aontacht



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WELCOME TO
NEW IRELAND
TÁ FÁILTE
ROMHAT CHUIG
– ÉIRE NUA

BY **MARY LOU McDONALD**



Tseo ar an chéad eagrán den iris ráithiúil ar líne le Sinn Féin a bheas ag díriú isteach ar gach gné den díospóireacht ar Athaontú na hÉireann.

This is the first edition of a new quarterly online magazine by Sinn Féin, which is dedicated to examining all aspects of the Irish Unity debate.

In recent years, the conversation on the Good Friday Agreement provision for the referendum on a United Ireland, as well as the need to plan for that referendum and to win it, has gathered momentum. The British Brexit debacle; the enthusiastic support for Brexit by the DUP; that party's serious mishandling of this issue and its rejection of the democratic vote in the North to remain within the EU, has added impetus to this discussion.

When it comes, the Unity Referendum will be the most important constitutional debate about the future of the island of Ireland in 100 years. The questions it raises are fundamental to the future wellbeing of the people of this island. What criteria should the British Secretary of State apply when deciding on the date? What is the role of the Irish government? What will the question/s be that will be asked of citizens? How will the referendums be structured and what new laws might be needed to facilitate them? How do we merge the two political systems as well as the two economies? What sort of National Health Service will we have? How will our education systems, including Irish Medium Education, be impacted? What effect will all of this have on the Irish language sector? What will the effect be on rural Ireland and on agriculture? And so much more, the mind boggles at the challenges.

The referendums in the South on marriage equality and the repeal of the 8th Amendment provide important examples of how referendums can change public perceptions and affect real change in society. The Irish Government helped prepare for these by establishing citizen-

centred mechanisms – the Constitutional Convention and then the Citizen's Assembly – to examine constitutional and societal change. This process of maximising democratic engagement in the process of change and in the referendum process itself was a success.

Twenty-three years ago, the May 1998 referendums that were held North and South came at the end of an intense period of negotiation and a wide-ranging debate on the merits or otherwise of the Good Friday Agreement. Those referendums achieved a massive majority in favour of the Agreement.

In stark contrast, the failure of the Tory government of David Cameron to properly prepare for the Brexit referendum in 2016 resulted in an outcome that has sharply divided British society, encouraged the break-up of the British union, and created economic turmoil.

United Irelanders have to be attentive to all of this as we seek to achieve a United Ireland. We must be especially mindful of the need for inclusion in respect of our neighbours and fellow citizens who identify as British. To do this effectively and democratically, we must plan for the unity referendum and plan to win it.

New Ireland is one contribution to this discussion. As well as articles on different aspects of a United Ireland, the New Ireland magazine will have an appropriate cross word puzzle, an editorial, guest contributors, updates on developments and the latest opinion polls, commentary from the diaspora, reports of developments in the institutions, and much more. We also plan to have a letters page; so, if you have an opinion on the broad theme of Irish Unity, why not share it with us.

Email your letter to irish.unity@sinnfein.ie

Maya McDonald

#Time4Unity
Am d'Aontacht



Irish Unity is real and deliverable

COLIN HARVEY

In May, Colin Harvey, Professor of Human Rights Law in the School of Law, Queen's University Belfast and a Fellow of the Senator George J Mitchell Institute for Global Peace, Security, and Justice, addressed an online Sinn Féin conference in a personal capacity on the issue of Irish Unity. The following is an edited copy of his remarks:


In the course of my engagement over recent years with the constitutional change conversation, I have come in for some criticism. I know that none of this is personal. The objective is to stop other people from following this path. For my part, I won't be stopping and I know many others who will not be stopping. I believe in the imperative of conversation – of dialogue. That's the spirit in which I approached this invitation and the growing dialogue around a United Ireland. I am here because you invited me, you asked. The conversation needs to be conducted in the spirit of invitation, of a warm, welcoming invitation to a conversation about the future of Ireland.

We all know the momentum, the civic and political momentum, around Irish Unity is remarkable. What may have seemed abstract and theoretical has now become real, tangible and deliverable, in the decade that we are facing into.

The ground has shifted in a dramatic way, and Brexit is clearly part of this. Let us be clear, there are many people who have moved onto this ground reluctantly, but they are here because of the momentum for change that now exists.

There will be two referendums – one in the North and one in the South – and they are both going to have to be won. It is through building coalitions for change - a broad national coalition of people working together - right across the island that we can succeed in winning the referendums. That means working with people you might not agree with across a whole range of other social and economic policy areas but who, on this specific issue of securing a unity referendum and winning





“
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”

it, we can find common cause, and share a commitment to the same constitutional objective.

That's going to be uncomfortable for some, but it needs to be done. It is important to keep our eyes on the prize.

In terms of preparation and planning, what has been remarkable about the discussion so far is that those of us who are engaged in this conversation are the responsible, sensible people in the room. It is we who have been calling for proper planning and preparation for the change that is coming.

So, whatever is said – whatever political rivalries are out there - the reality is that people are now getting ready for the change that is coming. And that is good news.

In my view, this is the final stage of the journey that we are entering. A United Ireland is going to be forever, so we need to get it right and that's why we need to focus on planning and preparation. We want it to succeed.

The next phase won't just end when the

referendums are won. The work of building a New Ireland will be ongoing every day afterwards.

Even when the referendums are won, those who want a New Ireland - that is transformative and is about genuine change - must stay focused. This is an ongoing process. A process we must all be part of in shaping and designing a new United Ireland.

There is so much international support and goodwill toward Irish Unity, and there is evidence from the peace process how that has been harnessed in the past and can be again in the future.

Part of the recent debate has centred on what constitutes a majority in the Good Friday Agreement provision on unity referendums. Let me be clear. A democratic majority is 50%+1. Anything else is simply wrong. The outcome will be decided by a simple majority North and South. It is heartening to see how many parties now underline and support that position.



Let me be clear. A democratic majority is 50%+1. Anything else is simply wrong. The outcome will be decided by a simple majority North and South. It is heartening to see how many parties now underline and support that position.

In seeking to get answers to questions on the referendum, I have written several times to the British Secretary of State. He prevaricates. He stalls. The British do not want to set out the criteria or the relevant evidence. But that will not prevent progress being made or the work for change continuing.

Part of the current discussion is also about the future place of those citizens who identify as British. The Good Friday Agreement contains a number of guarantees that speak to a new and United Ireland, and one of them is the right to be British or Irish or both. In the section under Constitutional Issues, both governments: (vi) recognise the birthright of all the people of Northern Ireland to identify themselves and be accepted as Irish or British, or both, as they may so choose, and accordingly confirm that their right to hold both British and Irish citizenship is accepted by both Governments and would not be affected by any future change in the status of Northern Ireland.

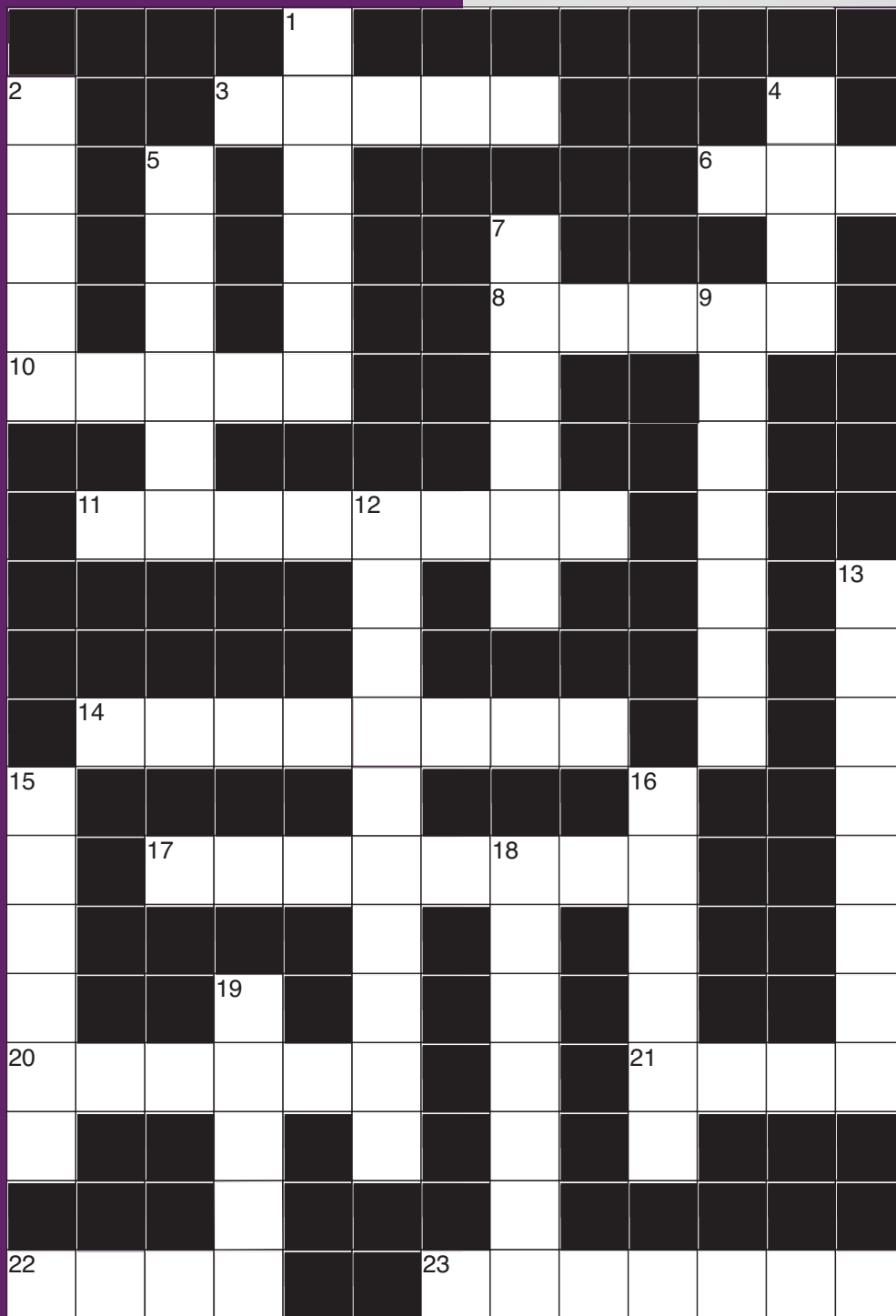
An Irish government cannot grant British citizenship. A future British government and Parliament will have to honour this commitment, but the international guarantee is there. The Good Friday Agreement is also explicit in its safeguarding of the rights of

every person and their sense of identity. The 'rigorous impartiality' provision states that both governments:

(v) affirm that whatever choice is freely exercised by a majority of the people of Northern Ireland, the power of the sovereign government with jurisdiction there shall be exercised with rigorous impartiality on behalf of all the people in the diversity of their identities and traditions and shall be founded on the principles of full respect for, and equality of, civil, political, social and cultural rights, of freedom from discrimination for all citizens, and of parity of esteem and of just and equal treatment for the identity, ethos, and aspirations of both communities;

We know that these concepts have been fundamentally disrespected in the North by the British government in the here and now, but it is absolutely vital that we don't repeat that neglect of the Agreement in the future and in a New Ireland. We must adopt a generous approach to the interpretation and application of the Agreement to benefit everyone on this island into the future.

We must not repeat the shameful approach that successive British governments have adopted. We are much better than that.



CLUES

ACROSS

- 3 (& 1 Down)** The year of the Rebellion (6,5)
- 6 (& 10 across)** The Belfast leader of the Rebellion (5, 3)
- 8 (& 11 across and 4 down)** the Father of Irish Republicanism (8 5, 4)
- 14** The class on which to rely: the men and women of no ----- (8)
- 17 (&15 down)** The first organisation to unite Pretestant, Catholic and Dissenter (6,8)
- 20** Town in Carlow where Fr Murphy was executed (6)
- 21** To break the connection with England, the never ending source of all our ---- (4)
- 22** Weapon of choice of the Croppies (4)
- 23** Town in Kildare near burial place of the Father of Irish republicanism (7)

DOWN

- 1 (&3 across)** The year of the Rebellion (6,5)
- 2 (&7 down)** Donegal inlet where the Father of Irish republicanism was captured (5,6)
- 4 (& 8 7 11 across)** He Father of Irish Republicanism (8 5, 4)
- 5** They landed during the rebellion in Killala and helped establish a short lived republic in Connacht (6)
- 7 (&2 down)** Donegal inlet where the Father of Irish republicanism was captured (5,6)
- 9** What was being sought from England (7)
- 12** A place of annual pilgrimage for Republicans (10)
- 13** Belfast hill where a solemn promise was made (8)
- 15** Title of book by Thomas Paine 'The ----- of Man' (6)
- 16 (&17 across)** The first organisation to unite Protestant, Catholic and Dissenter (6,8)
- 18** His wife's name (7)
- 19** Pádraig Mac Piarais described this grave as 'The holiest ----- in Ireland' (5)



scribble
pad



A profile portrait of Theobald Wolfe Tone, facing right. He has dark, wavy hair and is wearing a dark blue cravat and a yellow and red coat. The background is a solid green color.

THE FIRST DEMOCRATIC
MOVEMENT IN IRELAND
WAS THE UNITED IRISH
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THEY SOUGHT IRISH
INDEPENDENCE,
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WOLFE TONE

AND THE UNITED IRISH
STILL SPEAK TO US

TODAY

BY MÍCHEÁL Mac DONNCHA

The symbol was the harp with the motto 'It is new strung and shall be heard.'

It is time to re-string that harp and hear again the message of the founders of democracy in Ireland. They are necessary voices today because they re-defined Irishness as an inclusive nationality.

Theobald Wolfe Tone embodied the new alliance between Protestants and Catholics. He served as secretary of the Catholic Committee, though he was himself of Protestant background. He was a founder member of the United Irish Society and linked Dublin where he lived with Belfast where he

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“To unite the whole people of Ireland, to abolish the memory of all past dissension and to substitute the common name of Irishman in place of the denominations of Protestant, Catholic and Dissenter – these were my means.”

saw the best hope of political progress. This statement of Tone is famous:

“To unite the whole people of Ireland, to abolish the memory of all past dissension and to substitute the common name of Irishman in place of the denominations of Protestant, Catholic and Dissenter – these were my means.”

Less well known is how much the British government itself worked against such unity and fostered sectarianism in order to stabilise its rule in Ireland. Lord Grenville, British Foreign Secretary, wrote in 1791:

“I cannot help feeling a very great anxiety that such measures may be taken as may effectually counteract the union between the Catholics and Dissenters, at which the latter are evidently aiming. I may be a false prophet, but there is no evil that I would not prophesy if that union takes place in the present moment...”

Those were days when aristocratic elites were the unelected governments and sustained their regimes by corruption and patronage. In 1795, the British government recruited two forces in Ireland to bolster its regime - the Catholic bishops and the Orange Order. Maynooth College was established with British government money to train priests in return for the loyalty of the bishops to the British crown. And the Orange Order was founded and proved useful to the British regime in keeping Protestants and Catholics divided.

Despite all this, many thousands of Irish people of all religions did indeed unite and rose in rebellion against British rule in 1798. They were brutally suppressed, but the legacy of the United Irish movement remained. It would be timely for us to reclaim that legacy today. To recall again the words of Tone:



"To subvert the tyranny of our execrable government, to break the connection with England, the never failing source of all our political evils, and to assert the independence of my country - these were my objects."

"To say all in one word, Ireland shall be independent. We shall be a nation, not a province, citizens not slaves."

"I have laboured to abolish the infernal spirit of religious persecution, by uniting the Catholics and Dissenters."

"From my earliest youth I have regarded the connection between Great Britain and Ireland as the curse of the Irish nation, and felt convinced that, whilst it lasted, this country could never be free nor happy."

"That the height of English influence in the government of this country is so great, as to require a cordial union among all the people of Ireland, to maintain that balance which is essential to the preservation of our liberties and extension of our commerce."





Building the all-island economy

BY CAOIMHE ARCHIBALD MLA

There is no doubt that Irish unity is now a part of the mainstream political debate on the island of Ireland. Brexit is often cited as a game changer and it was, but what is also increasingly obvious is that Irish unity makes sense, including economically. The so-called subvention figures have been exposed as a myth, the economic benefits have been modelled, and more people are looking at the potential offered by a unified Ireland.

Standing in stark contrast to that is the status quo. The Northern state in particular has suffered under partition; the lowest economic growth, the lowest productivity, and the highest economic inactivity in these islands. One fifth of workers earn less than a basic living wage and there is a 12% gap in average disposable income compared to the south. These things are the result of decades of structural inequalities that won't be fully addressed in a constitutional set-up which relies on the British block grant and the whims of Tory Chancellors.

Delivering constitutional change to create a fairer, more equal, and more prosperous Ireland for all its citizens unites and drives those of us involved in the campaign for unity and it is what piques the interest of those ambivalent or even opposed in the past.

Brexit completely exposed the democratic deficit of the political make-up of the 'United Kingdom'. One hundred years ago, partition was imposed against the democratic wishes of people on this island. In 2016, the majority of people in the North voted to remain in the European Union, but our vote was ignored. In fact, the outcome of the Brexit referendum would not have changed even if every single citizen in the North had voted to remain. And for many, that is hard to take. Over the course of four years, the ignorance of many English MPs to the North was laid bare; that they didn't care about our interests or peace, even more so. Painstaking negotiation over those four years was not helped by the belligerence of the DUP



who having campaigned for Brexit opposed any iteration of it which could have made the impact on the North less.

Eventually, the Irish Protocol was agreed. It came into effect along with the Trade and Cooperation Agreement on 1st January 2021. The Protocol is no panacea, but it is a least bad outcome for Ireland which protects the Good Friday Agreement, North-South cooperation and the all-Ireland economy, and prevents a hard border on this island.

The Protocol has been the focus of much discussion and a fair bit of political posturing and spin. It hasn't been without its issues, but

from businesses in the South in co-locating or expanding into the North.

In my view, we need an economic strategy and a trade and investment strategy which can build on this special status to bring jobs and investment to the North and strengthen the all-island economy. The protocol is not the equivalent of being in the EU and there will be barriers because of that. For example, we no longer have mutual recognition of qualifications with the European Union and the British rules on immigration also apply to the North - so we don't have the same freedom to recruit talented people.

In my view, we need an economic strategy and a trade and investment strategy which can build on this special status to bring jobs and investment to the North and strengthen the all-island economy.

there are mechanisms for resolving those issues diplomatically and politically.

One clear advantage to emerge since the beginning of this year has been the significant increase in cross-border trade. In the first quarter of this year, compared with the same period last year, there was a 44% increase in North to South trade and a 22% increase in South to North trade. Business surveys show businesses rethinking their supply chains and moving from suppliers in Britain to suppliers on this island and in the European Union.

As a result of the Irish Protocol, which provides unique access to the EU single market and its 450 million consumers, as well as to the British market, there has been significant increase in interest with Invest NI from potential investors. We also know there is significant interest

However, we must seek to build on the protections the protocol provides, and support businesses to identify and take advantage of its potential. We should use it to help grow, develop and rebalance the economy in the North and encourage greater all island business development and entrepreneurship to create well-paid, secure, unionised jobs driving the recovery, and importantly a green recovery from COVID.

Ultimately, we need to improve the economic performance of the North to create not just more, but better jobs and more opportunities for young people. This will help create a stronger economy across the island. It makes the case on the economic potential of Irish unity stronger and the potential dividends of Irish unity greater for workers, families and businesses across Ireland.



BY **CIARAN QUINN** SINN FÉIN REPRESENTATIVE IN NORTH AMERICA

The vision of a new and united Ireland is shared across the world. It is the hope of many Irish citizens who emigrated through choice or were forced by necessity. It is the dream of the generations who hold dear to a link to Ireland.

Every phase in our struggle for freedom and independence has relied on other nations. Wolfe Tone while exiled in the United States made contact with France and travelled from there to Paris.

Tom Clarke, twice exiled to the United States, became a naturalized citizen while planning and fundraising for the Rising.

The Proclamation makes clear the standing of our “gallant allies in Europe” and our “exiled Children in America”.

In Australia, Canada, and the US, dockworkers refused to unload British ships in protest over the 1981 Hunger Strikes.

The Good Friday Agreement is an international agreement, facilitated by a US Envoy, underwritten by the EU, assisted by various renowned Canadians, and others from Finland and South Africa. It is the foreign policy success story of a generation. The fact that these international players remain committed twenty-three years later is a testament to their ownership and engagement.

The internationalisation of our struggle has been



central to progress. It has been built on generations of our diaspora. It is led by the descendants of those who escaped An GortaMór and the great-grandchildren of 1916 activists who fled persecution following the civil war. It is led by the children of those forced into exile by partition, sectarianism, and discrimination.

All carry with them the stories of injustice and the desire to right the wrongs of the past. They are found in the communities across North America, in bars of Boston, the building sites of Toronto, the Union Halls of San Francisco, and in political office in Washington.

The Irish diaspora is a diverse group spanning the political spectrum, united in the cause of Irish Unity. If we achieve unity in Ireland, it will require building the widest consensus for unity at home, abroad, and between nations. Bringing together progressive and conservative forces to work together for Irish Unity. The successes to date have been built on a broad coalition.

In the US Congress, both the House and Senate voted unanimously to protect the Good Friday Agreement and

The internationalisation of our struggle has been central to progress. It has been built on generations of our diaspora.

its provisions for national self-determination.

The Friends of Ireland Caucus, bipartisan groups on Capitol Hill chaired by Rep. Richard Neal (Democrat) and Rep. Mike Kelly (Republican), have been instrumental in protecting the Good Friday Agreements in the Brexit process. The message is simple, an agreement made must be an agreement honored.

In the lead up to St. Patrick's Day, the Ancient Order of Hibernians, the Ladies Ancient Order of Hibernians, the James Connolly Labor Coalition, the Irish National Unity Conference, and the Brehon Law Society, joined with Friends of Sinn Féin in placing adverts calling on the Irish Government to plan and prepare for unity and for the British Government to set a date for a referendum.

In Ottawa, the Canadian parties united to call for the protection of the Good Friday Agreement to be considered if a Trade Deal with Britain was to be developed.

The US and Canada have been central in defending the Good Friday Agreement in the Brexit process and unionist threats of violence. To realize the truly transformative potential of the Agreement will require all who value unity to work together at home and abroad.

The project of nation-building extends beyond the boundaries of the Island. It stretches across the Atlantic. The challenge that Gerry Adams extended to North America was to be the first generation of the diaspora to visit a new and united Ireland. It is a challenge that our diaspora is determined to meet.

Nathanna agus Eochiarfhocail:

Comhaontú Aoine an Chéasta

Reifreann ar an Aontacht

Éire Aontaithe

Críochdheighilt

Éire Athshamhlaithe

Tábhacht an phlé

Comhionannas agus meas ar a chéile

Is féidir linn athaontú na hÉireann a bhaint amach

Key words and phrases:

Good Friday Agreement

Unity Referendum

United Ireland

Partition

New Ireland

The imperative of dialogue

Equality and mutual respect

Irish Unity is doable and achievable



Planning for the Unity Referendum

BY EMMA McARDLE

SENIOR POLICY AND CAMPAIGN MANAGER; UNITING IRELAND PROJECT

The increasing public and political interest in the holding of the unity referendum provided for in the Good Friday Agreement has resulted in a comparable increase in academic studies on the issue.

Liverpool University, the University of Ulster, Dublin City University, the Royal Irish Academy's ARINS project, the Economic and Social Research Institute, and others have produced papers relating to the future constitutional and all-island arrangements. In May, University College London's Constitution Unit published its final report on 'Unification Referendums on the Island of Ireland'.

The report was researched and written by a working group made up of 12 academic specialists in politics, law, sociology and history based at universities in Ireland, Britain, and the USA. They were brought together to examine "how any future referendums on whether Northern Ireland should stay in the United Kingdom or become part of a United Ireland would best be designed and conducted."

Its starting point was the provision in the Good Friday Agreement that states:

"It is for the people of the island of Ireland alone, by agreement between the two parts respectively and without external impediment, to exercise their right of self-determination on the basis of consent, freely and concurrently given, North and South, to bring about a united Ireland, if that is their wish, accepting that this right must be achieved and exercised with and subject to the agreement and consent of a majority of the people of Northern Ireland;"

The Working Group spent two years examining what this clause means in practice, what technical and procedural questions arise as a result, and what steps are necessary to facilitate it and ensure that it is fair and democratic. They also received hundreds of submissions from individuals and organisations. The report runs to 260 pages.

The group made clear that it took no view on which outcome is desirable. It states that it ***"does not believe that referendums on Northern Ireland's constitutional future are imminent ... But opinion could evolve in either direction in the future and Brexit and the ongoing constitutional debate in Scotland only add to the uncertainty. A period when***

FOR ME THE BIG TAKE AWAY FROM THE REPORT IS THE NEED FOR PREPARATION. THIS MUST BE LED BY THE IRISH GOVERNMENT.

referendums are not immediately on the cards is precisely the time when care examination of the issues and options is best done."

The report examines the legal context for the unity referendum, when should the referendum be called, what are the legal obligations on the British Secretary of State to call the referendum, what should the design of the referendums be, the terms of the transfer of sovereignty in the event of a vote for unity, regulations governing the referendum, the franchise, the referendum questions, and much more.

The Working Group suggests the criteria the British government should use to determine when the referendum is held. These are; election results, opinion polls, qualitative research, a vote in Stormont, seats won at elections, and demographic data.

It asks whether the Irish government should present a clear model of the kind of United Ireland on offer before the referendum or instead propose a constitutional process to determine that after the referendum takes place and if voters say Yes. It asserts that; ***"A referendum should be called if a vote for***

unification appears likely, even if by a slender margin." And it accepts the Good Friday Agreement principle that a Yes vote requires a vote of 50%+1. The reports states: ***"It would breach the agreement to require a higher threshold than 50%+1."***

It also looks at the kind of political structures that might emerge as a result of the referendum and constitutional change.

For me, the big take away from the report is the need for preparation. This must be led by the Irish Government. The Irish Government has the resources at its disposal to immediately begin the detailed planning which the referendum will require. The Dublin Government also needs to urgently facilitate the input of citizens from across the island in this process. This should be done by convening a Citizens' Assembly to discuss the pertinent questions people have regarding unity; from governance in a new United Ireland, to healthcare provision, to the details the referendum such as the referendum question and who is eligible to vote. The reports of the Citizens' Assembly would then inform the direction taken by the government.

“holding unification referendums would be complex, and thinking the processes through is therefore necessary. Multiple jurisdictions would be involved, dealing with a series of interrelated constitutional and political questions. Coordination, particularly by the two governments, would be essential.”

The Working Group report is an important contribution to the unity referendum debate. It asks lots of questions and answers them from the perspective of its research. As Working Group Chairperson Alan Renwick says: **“holding unification referendums would be complex, and thinking the processes through is therefore necessary. Multiple jurisdictions would be involved, dealing with a series of interrelated constitutional and political questions. Coordination, particularly by the**

two governments, would be essential.”

As we seek to navigate the way ahead toward the holding and winning of the unity referendum, this report is an important contribution to the debate.

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The Working group report is available online at:

<https://www.ucl.ac.uk/constitution-unit/working-group-unification-referendums-island-ireland>



UNITY



A daily topic of conversation

BY JIM GIBNEY

In my life time of struggle, I do not recall a time like now when the issue of a united Ireland is a daily topic of conversation in all the areas of influence which have the potential of making it a reality.

There are a number of reasons why this is so. The strength of Sinn Féin nationally. The party is in government in the North, the lead opposition in the South and on the cusp of government there. And in both jurisdictions, it has put firmly on the public agenda the need

for referendums to decide, whether or not to end the union with Britain as outlined in the Good Friday Agreement.

The impact of Brexit which resulted in the people of the North; including a section of unionists voting to remain, a trade border in the Irish sea, the DUP in turmoil over the handling of Brexit by the party's leadership, and Arlene Foster and Nigel Dodds unceremoniously dumped in a leadership heave.

As I write, the consequences of this civil war in the DUP is

unfolding.

The outcome is unpredictable, but the crisis in the DUP will not assist its primary project of stopping the haemorrhaging of unionist votes to the Alliance Party, which has resulted in the unionist parties in the assembly being a minority for the first time since partition, one hundred years ago.

The united Ireland debate has encouraged the parties in the South to look afresh at their approach and some significant developments have also occurred there.



Jim O Callaghan TD, a potential leader of Fianna Fail, made a very significant speech on his views about the steps that need to be taken to bring about reunification.

Neale Richmond a Fine Gael TD, who championed its view of Brexit in an effective manner, also made a very significant speech mapping out Fine Gael's views on future constitutional change.

The leader of the Labour Party, Alan Kelly, put his party's position on a united Ireland into print.

The SDLP leader Colum Eastwood announced his party had advanced its New Ireland Commission plans with a 32-member panel to guide its research work into reordering public services, the economy and education to meet the needs of constitutional change.

Trade Unionists have established a 'Trade Unionists for a New and United Ireland' group to

participate in the national debate.

And, in a contribution to the economic debate, Sinn Féin launched two documents. The first is 'Economic Benefits of a united Ireland' examines the economic realities around unity and in particular the question of the British subvention to the North. It was well received. The second document was 'Inclusion and Reconciliation in a New Ireland'. This examines the role of sectarianism and proposes the upholding and safeguarding of the rights identified in the Good Friday Agreement. It outlines a range of measures on tackling sectarianism and promoting reconciliation.

The Seanad backed an all-party agreement calling for the full implementation of the Good Friday Agreement and the US Senate also backed a call for the full implementation of the Agreement.

A number of local councils in the north have also voted

in favour of establishing mechanisms to examine how best their region can maximise the benefits of unity for their citizens. These include Derry-Strabane, Belfast, and Mid Ulster.

Over 3,000 Antrim Gaels signed a letter to An Taoiseach asking him to plan for the future in an inclusive manner. The Antrim Gaels proposed that the government convene a Citizen's Assembly to "achieve maximum consensus on a way forward" toward an "agreed shared Ireland."

Sinn Féin held an internal united Ireland conference on zoom attracting over 900 people – one of the biggest turnouts for such a conference – a clear sign that republicans are highly motivated on this topic.

Those attending were encouraged to be active locally on Irish unity, to build alliances, develop work plans, and get involved in the party's national campaign for independence.

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Alongside these developments, a series of opinion polls from credible agencies have tracked the popular mood in relation to a united Ireland – the results from which have been broadly positive.

In June, Ireland's Future held an online conference 'The International Labour Movement' with contributions from Patricia King, Frank Connolly, and John Samuelson.

The Trade Unions for a New and United Ireland held a discussion on 17 June 'Everyone's Talking About it' on the theme of a United Ireland with contributions from Martina Devlin and Patricia McKeown.

Other issues discussed by have centred on the British and unionist cultural identity, the need for a Citizens' Assembly, the political structures –

unified or federated, the economy, a National Health Service, and membership of the EU.

The debate about national independence is in a healthy state and will continue to grow and expand as the pressure grows on the British and Irish governments to set a date to hold the referendums on Irish unity.



The Rising of the Moon

BY GERRY ADAMS

When the Sinn Féin Féin leadership began developing our peace strategy in the 1980's, one of our primary objectives was to get others to support self-determination.

In 1987, the party published 'Scenario for Peace' which said: "The Irish people have never relinquished their claim to the right to self-determination. What has been in contest is the right of the Irish people, as a whole, to self-determination and their freedom to exercise that right."

The following year during the Sinn Féin/SDLP talks, the issue of self-determination was at the heart of our conversation. "Sinn Féin accepts self-determination to mean a nation's exercise of the political freedom to determine its own economic, social and cultural development

without external influence and without partial or total disruption of the national unity or territorial integrity ..."

Four years later in 1992, Sinn Féin published 'Towards a Lasting Peace in Ireland' which said: "Peace is not just the absence of war but is also establishing conditions which will ensure a lasting peace. This means eradicating the root cause of the conflict by gaining national self-determination, which in turn lays the foundation for justice, democracy and equality – the safeguards of lasting peace."

Self-determination was also at the heart of the dialogue between myself and John Hume. In our first joint statement issued on 23 April 1993, we accepted that the most pressing issue facing the people of Ireland and Britain was the question of lasting peace and how it can



During the Good Friday Agreement negotiations Sinn Féin zeroed in on the need to get rid of the Government of Ireland Act. This Act – the Partition Act – preserved the right of Westminster to unlimited interference in Irish affairs. We succeeded.

best be achieved. This required a process of national reconciliation.

Crucially, we both accepted that “an internal settlement is not a solution because it obviously does not deal with all the relationships at the heart of the problem. We accept that the Irish people as a whole have a right to national self-determination. This is a view shared by a majority of the people of this island, though not by all its people.

“The exercise of self-determination is a matter for agreement between the people of Ireland. It is the search for that agreement and the means of achieving it on which we will be concentrating.”

Self-determination was also a key element in Sinn Féin’s discussions with the Irish government and Irish America.

During the Good Friday Agreement negotiations, Sinn Féin zeroed in on the need to get rid of the Government of Ireland Act. This Act – the Partition Act – preserved the right of Westminster to unlimited interference in Irish affairs. We succeeded. And we did so on our own and without the support of the Irish government. While Westminster retains control in the North, it is no longer unlimited or unconditional. It is only until a majority vote for a United Ireland. While this means a majority vote of 50%+1, United Irishers will obviously want the biggest majority possible.

The scrapping of the Government of Ireland Act and the process towards Irish Unity was a result of initiatives by republicans. This is an example of what is possible when you are strategic.



THE IRISH GOVERNMENT HAS A DUTY AND A CONSTITUTIONAL OBLIGATION TO PREPARE FOR UNITY. IT DOESN'T WANT TO DO THIS BECAUSE IT WANTS TO CLING TO POWER. SO IT'S UP TO US TO MAKE THE CASE WHILE WE CONTINUE TO CAMPAIGN AGAINST FIANNA FáIL AND FINE GAEL'S UNFAIR HOUSING AND REGIONAL POLICIES.

It is a reminder also that the journey to a United Ireland will be determined not just by Sinn Féin's political strength, but also by our willingness to work with others. Unity won't be achieved without Sinn Féin, but Sinn Féin cannot deliver unity on our own.

The reality now is that unity is a doable project. It is no longer an abstract aspiration. The realignment of public opinion is ongoing. Sinn Féin is now the largest party on this island. Mary Lou McDonald is the first woman and the first Sinn Féin leader of the Opposition in the Oireachtas.

The debate on the Unity Referendum has dramatically increased. Brexit has been a catalyst for this. But so too has the blatant self-serving attitude of the British government and the DUP. And the Irish government.

Civic nationalism is finding its voice. And so too are those within civic and political unionism who are uncomfortable or unhappy with the direction of the DUP. Irish Republicans need to engage with them. We need to make provision for those citizens who identify as British.

The Irish government has a duty and a constitutional obligation to prepare for Unity. It doesn't want to do this because it wants to cling to power. So, it's up to us to make the case while we continue to campaign against Fianna Fáil and Fine Gael's unfair housing and

regional policies.

Unity will unlock the national potential of our island people. We also need to advocate the social and economic benefits of a truly national democracy. Which will provide the opportunity to build national public services. To eradicate poverty.

All this needs to be planned – not ignored. The future needs to be planned. Critically, republicans also know that we cannot have a republican government unless we have self-government. Unless we have national freedom. Without the freedom of the working class, there cannot be national freedom. That means we must end partition in order to build the Ireland envisioned in the Proclamation.

We need to work with others. Against sectarianism. For rights. We need to be part of mass campaigns. We need to encourage active empowered civic participation.

All of this is achievable. Mass campaigns occurred in the in the years before the 1916 Rising and immediately after it. It happened with the Civil Rights Movement in the North in the 1960s. It happened with the anti-internment and especially with the H-Block/ Armagh Prisoners campaign.

In more recent years, mass campaigns were hugely important during the Right to Water campaign. In the campaign for Marriage Equality. For Irish Language rights. And with

WE NEED TO WORK WITH OTHERS. AGAINST SECTARIANISM. FOR RIGHTS. WE NEED TO BE PART OF MASS CAMPAIGNS. WE NEED TO ENCOURAGE ACTIVE EMPOWERED CIVIC PARTICIPATION. ALL OF THIS IS ACHIEVABLE.

the Repeal the Eighth campaign.

It can happen again if we strategize and work and reach out to others of like mind on these key elements of self-determination, ending partition, and building a new Ireland.

This is the national freedom phase of our struggle. The referendum on unity will happen. And we have to win that referendum. We can do this by building a consensus with others for the peaceful transition to a new national democracy. We can secure and we can win the unity referendum.

In this 40th anniversary year of the 1981 hunger strikes, I leave the last word to Bobby Sands.

“If they aren’t able to destroy the desire for freedom, they won’t break you. They won’t break me because the desire for freedom, and the freedom of the Irish people, is in my heart. The day will dawn when all the people of Ireland will have the desire for freedom to show. It is then we’ll see the rising of the moon.”



**LISTEN
IN ON
SUNDAY!**





Cá bhfuil triail na Gaeilge in Éirinn Athaontaithe?

BY **CÓNALL Ó CORRA**
SOIFIGEACH NÁISIÚNTA GAEILGE SHINN FÉIN

Tá an comhrá fá athaontú na hÉireann idir camánaibh anois ar bhealach nach raibh roimhe. Tá na buntáistí geilleagrach a chothódh Éire aontaithe ina cuid lárnach den chomhrá sin, cuid rithábachtach den chomhrá gan amhras.

Tá an comhrá fá chosaint a thabhairt d'fhéiniúlachtaí ar siúl chomh maith, an fhéiniúlacht Bhriotanach i dtosach. Leoga, níl trácht ann fán fhéiniúlacht Ghaelach a chosaint san Éirinn nua seo. Tá sé léirithe le tréimhse do bhlianta anois nach bhfuil daoine dall ar an Ghaeilge agus an tábhacht a ghabhann léi.

Tréimhse chorrattheach atá amach romhainn, tréimhse na cinniúna mar a ndúirt ár dtaoiseach Mary Lou le gairid. Leoga, sa chaint ar fad atá cluinte agam, is beag caint fán tseod is luachmhara atá cluinte agam. Níl tuairisc feicthe agam ag aon ollamh faoi ná caint dá laghad sna meáin faoi. Is sin, cá mbeidh an Ghaeilge in Éirinn Aontaithe. D'fhéadfá an cheist a chur ar bhealach eile, cá mbeidh Éire Aontaithe gan an Ghaeilge?

Is í an tseoid is luachmhara atá againn ar chupla chúis. Bheir sí léargas dúinn ar an tír mar a bhí agus beireann sí bealach chun tosaigh dúinn le rudaí a cheartú. Tagraíonn sinne uilig fán athmhuintearas agus fán dá phobal agus an pobal nua a thabhairt le chéile sa Bhéarla. Fairíor, sa Ghaeilge, níl againn ach 'pobal' amháin, is sinne uilig le chéile gan deighilt eadrainn. Tugann sí spléachadh dúinn ar shochaí agus modh maireachtála ársa ach na rudaí is dlúithe dúinn uilig istigh inti. Cuireann sé a shamhail ar radharc agus ghleanntán na tíre, tá sí ionainn.

D'fhéadfaimis feidhm a bhaint di lehathmhuintearas a chothú sa tír seo. Tá an obair seo ar siúl ag



Poblachtánaithe le fada, ach tá scuid misniúil fá Oirthear Bhéal Feirste le gairid tosaithe ar an aistear sin acu. Dream nach sílfeá a samhlódh na ‘fadúdas’ nó na ‘cad é mar atá tú’s’ leoariamh. Gléas atá inti an pobal ó thuaidh a thabhairt le chéile cinnte, ach níos tábhachtaí arís, an pobal thuaidh agus theas a thabhairt le chéile.

Tá togra pobail ar siúl ag an dream seo in Oirthear Bhéal Feirste. Sa bhliain 2021, chuir siad Cumann Lúth Chleas Gael curtha ar an fhód, leoga ní hé an chéad Chlub CLG fá oirthear Bhéal Feirste é. Tá an Ghaeilge agus an cultúr á thabhairt daoine le chéile anseo. Tchítear don phobal i gcoiteann go dtí sinne uilig dul chuig an aon tobar amháin agus féiniúlacht choitinn againn. Tá sí ann d’achan duine ar an oileán seo. Má roinneann muid an t-oileán seo, roinnfidh muid an teanga inti.

Thuig Poblachtaigh ariamh gurb í an uirlis is fearr le díchoilíniú a dhéanamh ar ár gcuid intinní. Ná déanaimis dearmad nach de thaisme nach bhfuil sí i mbéal an aois óig, cé gur sean an tagairt, is ábhartha é le cur chuige rialtas na Breataine i leith an chultúir Ghaelaigh a thabhairt chun cuimhne. Is éard a leanas na ráiteas a dtáinig mé air ag léamh domh legairid fán Chóras Oideachais in Éirinn ó bhunú na scoileanna náisiúnta in 1831 a fhad le 1981, duine de na coimisinéirí ar na scoileanna náisiúnta in 1904 i litir dó le Dubhghlas De hÍde, “I will use all my influence, as in the past, to ensure that Irish as a spoken language shall die out as quickly as possible.” Thuig na Briotánaigh riamh anall gurb é scríosadh na teanga agus scríosadh meon na ndaoine, rud a chleacht siad níos faide i gcéin san India agus áiteacha nach é.

Níor chuala daoine iomrá fán phróiseas córasach a tharla an Ghaeilge a ruaigeadh de chaint agus sochaí na ndaoine, tá géarghá an comhrá seo a bheith mar chuid den dioscúrsa fá Éirinn Aontaithe.

Is práinneach na riamh go dtugann muid aird agus fuinneamh ceart ar na ceantracha Gaeltachta thuaidh agus theas beag beann ar an neamart agus aineolas ar léirigh Fine Gael agus Fianna Fáil ag an Ghaeilge agus na ceantracha seo le céad bliain anuas. Is tábhachtach a chuimhneamh i gcónaí nach ceist teangaidh amháin atá ann, ceist shóisialta atá ann chomh maith. Is ríthábhachtach na riamh neamart a dhéanamh d’ionsaithe an DUP agus grúpaí nach iad fán Ghaeilge agus fá lucht labhartha na teangaidh. Léiríodh muid ár bhfreagra trí Ghaeilge bhreá a theacht uainn. Ní thabharfaidh muid athbheochan na teangaidh i gcrích mura gcuireann muid léi a fhoghlaim.

Bheir an dioscúrsa nua seo fá Éirinn Aontaithe deis amháin eile dúinn an athghabháil féiniúlachta agus cultúrtha a chur i lár an chomhrá. Is cinnte go mbeidh cur chuige náisiúnta i leith earnáil na Gaelscolaíochta mar uirlis na hathbheochana agus na ceantracha Gaeltachta chun socair na teanga. Tá léirithe ag na páirtithe eile thuaidh agus theas an neamart agus uaireanta naimhdeas atá acu don teanga, tá rialtas náisiúnta de dhíobháil le straitéis agus fíis cheart a leagan amach d’athbheochan na Gaeilge.

Ní hionann naimhdeas agus cur i gcoinne poiblí i gcónaí, is leor neamart uaireanta. Mar sin féin, nuair a phléann muid anois ceist Éireann Aontaithe agus an togra againn tosaithe léi a bhaint amach, déanaimis an Ghaeilge a lárnú sa chomhrá. Déanaimis í a fhoghlaim. Mar a dúirt Ó Cadháin tráth:

“Is í an Ghaeilge athghabháil
na hÉireann, agus is í athghabháil
na hÉireann slánú na Gaeilge”

The conversation about Irish Unity is well and truly under way. The potential economic benefits of a re-united Ireland have been widely covered in recent conversations, an issue of immense importance.

The conversation pertaining to the protection of identities has been begun in earnest also, the British identity is mentioned primarily. However, there is little to no mention of the protection of the Gaeilge tradition, the native tradition of this country. Interest in the language and its value has been re-realised in the past few years.

Irish is the most precious jewel that we have in our possession, there are many reasons. Gaeilge gives us an insight into life as it was in this country and it gives us a destination to strive for. We all discuss reconciliation and the harmonizing of the 2 communities and newcomer communities on this island while we converse in English. This notion of 2 communities does not exist in the Irish worldview, there is only one community, and we all are of it; Pobal. Irish gives us an insight into a way of life and society that once was which holds many of our notions and ways still. She reflects the landscape and glens in way English does not, we are of it.

Republicans have long-since understood that Irish is the best tool in the decolonization process. We must never forget the reason for the destruction of our language. Although this quote has aged, it provides an analysis of the attitude of subsequent British Governments to that of the Gaelige Culture. The extract that follows is one that was gleamed from an article detailing the use of Gaeilge within the Irish Education System from the foundation of the National Schools in 1831 to 1981, this is what one of the commissioners of the national schooling system wrote in a letter to de hÍde in 1904: "I will use all my influence, as in the past, to ensure that Irish as a spoken language shall die out as quickly as possible." Britain has long understood that the destruction of the language would result in the destruction of the people's shared conscious and spirit, they have practiced this in India and countless other colonies.

We have another opportunity to centralise the revival in the conversation around Unity in a way we have not since the foundation of the Free-State. This might be the last opportunity to meaningfully revive the language. What reason have we to work toward freedom if our only shared difference from our nearest neighbour is the colour of our passports. As Republicans, we have to give it our commitment and sustained attention, through doing that, we materialise an Cadhnach's vision:

"Is í an Ghaeilge athghabháil
na hÉireann, agus is í athghabháil
na hÉireann slánú na Gaeilge"



THIS IS AN EDITED VERSION OF A LONGER ARTICLE PUBLISHED IN THIS MONTH'S EDITION OF AN **PHOBLACHT** BY GERRY MURPHY IN A PERSONAL CAPACITY.

Irish Unity *and the* Unity of the Working Class



BY **GERRY MURPHY**
ICTU PRESIDENT

Trade Unionists for a New and United Ireland (TUNUI) is a dynamic and growing pressure group within the broader Irish trade union movement.

Its membership is made up of trade unionists from most of the unions affiliated to the Irish Congress of Trade Unions (ICTU). The group's membership consequently reflects the variety of opinions and ambitions that enrich trade unionism across this island. TUNUI was established to encourage the labour movement to engage actively in the debate around Irish unity, to ensure the workers voice is central in shaping a new Ireland.

What sets TUNUI apart from other groups inside the trade union movement is the wealth of campaigning and negotiation experience that its membership possesses. The reservoir of skills, abilities, and network of relationships the group can draw on leave it

ideally placed to promote and encourage the active participation of organised labour in the discussion on reunification.

The two states that emerged following partition, north and south, allowed conservative interests to shape public policy and practice. Workers were divided along sectarian lines and the interests of workers were subordinated to the interests of big business and ruling classes. Societal change was inhibited by partition and sectarianism, homophobia, misogyny, and poverty have been allowed to fester for too long.

The work of undoing these injustices and their accompanying inequalities has been taken up by the trade unions and other progressive forces with limited success over the last century, their efforts frustrated by the ruling classes and their allies in industry and business. TUNUI is determined to play

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its part in encouraging and assisting the trade union movement to involve itself positively and proactively in the refreshed debate for Irish Unity as a pathway to righting these institutionalised wrongs. A truly NEW and united Ireland.

TUNUI has published an initial policy pamphlet setting out its views on the key issues affecting everyone who lives on this island, with a particular focus on working people and their families. It lays out a trade union vision for a united Ireland and why every trade unionist should embrace this vision.

The pamphlet confirms the Good Friday Agreement as the pathway to delivering the opportunity to build this New Ireland. It articulates how trade union members can involve themselves in achieving this goal. This pamphlet is a working document that can evolve as the debate continues and new voices enter the space. The pamphlet is the first in a series of such publications that TUNUI is working on. Issues such as workers' rights, climate change, health and social care, and education will each be the subjects of future pamphlets.

In tandem with these publications, TUNUI has hosted a series of webinars which can be accessed on our website and social media platforms and plans are advanced for a series of further webinars over the summer; the first of which will be held on June 17th at 7.30pm with contributions from well-known trade unionists Jack O'Connor and Mick O'Reilly, Unison Regional Secretary Patricia McKeown, and Author and Journalist Martina Devlin.

Trades Councils, community groups and trade union executives and branches across the 32 counties have been inviting TUNUI

into address their meetings and participate in progressive forums. Speakers have been sharing TUNUI's vision of a new and united Ireland and just as importantly providing an opportunity for fellow trade unionists and others to raise directly with the group questions and concerns they may have.

To date, these engagements have proved to be positive and encouraging events clearly demonstrating trade unionists of every hue are interested in and wish to be part of the discussion. What has been especially encouraging so far has been the spirit and tone of these engagements.


To achieve an Ireland which is different, better, and fairer, it is essential that the unity of the working class is maintained. The trade union movement already serves as a model of the unity TUNUI seeks, encompassing as it does workers in both parts of this island, from both established traditions and none. This has been achieved by carefully building a structure that is accessible to all, permits everyone a voice, where difference is respected, and agreed positions are arrived at through respectful debate.

This is the same model TUNUI is bringing to the work it is undertaking encouraging the discussion on a new Ireland. Trade unions as the voice of organised labour are best placed to advocate for workers and to contribute more widely on the social and wider economic changes, needed to give meaning to the idea of a new Ireland. TUNUI is the only vehicle actively facilitating the trade union voice in the wider discussion on this issue across the island now and it is open to and welcomes trade unionists not already engaged in the discussion to join us.



You can read more about the group on www.tu4ui.com

THE COMING REFERENDUM



Unity is the Goal

BY **MATTHEW O'REILLY DEEHAN**

DERRY SINN FÉIN

AND LEAS CATHAOIRLEACH
OF ÓGRA SHINN FÉIN DHOIRE

Pádraig Pearse described the Gaelic Revival as the 'great deed of the last generation' prior to the Rising. The great deed of the generation before us was the achievement and sustenance of peace, contemporaneous with the advancement of civil and human rights for nationalists and republicans in the North. The deed of today's youth is to achieve a New Ireland predicated on equality, peace, widespread prosperity and progression.

Partition stymies the economic development of Ireland. The Hubner report, an economic model on re-unification led by Professor of Economics at the University of British-Columbia, Dr Kurt Hubner, exhibits explicitly the economic benefits of

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reunification. Within the first 8 years, reunification could bring about an economic increase in the region of €23.5 billion to €35.5 billion. A plethora of economic models have accentuated this likely economic boost. Such a scenario is accepted by many major economists, from Hubner himself to David McWilliams. This does not even begin to take into account potential investment from the US and Europe, and the benefits for the North in re-joining the EU.

CLIMATE CHANGE AND IRISH UNITY

Perhaps the most important stimulus a United Ireland could deliver is the rejuvenation of the environmental movement. The majority of environmental activists recognise the necessity of a 32 County movement to tackle Climate Change in Ireland. With the influence of the climate sceptic DUP in the North, to the terrible performance of the Dublin government with respect to emissions reduction, there is much scope for improvement. A United Ireland allows us to tackle issues pertaining to climate change in a much more assertive and aggressive manner than is possible with the impediment of partition.

RIGHTS FOR ALL

Malcolm X once said that you can't have capitalism without racism. By the same token, I believe it is impossible to retain partition without discrimination, inequality, and injustice. Partition was conceived upon these three things and it is the antithesis of these that must bring about the denouement of the Union.



The modern Irish society we see today is an increasingly progressive one, releasing itself from the shackles of conservatism and embracing diversity. Yet still, the current leader of the largest Unionist party is opposed to most basic LGBTQ+ rights.

Unionists will never be abandoned in a New Ireland. What will be abandoned however are the draconian and incredibly antiquated lines of social thought that simply have no place in a progressive society: this should be true regardless of the position you take on the constitutional issue. Opposition to equality is indefensible. The progression and achievement of rights for all ought to define the New Ireland.

WORKERS SOLIDARITY

Beneath divisions in the North lies the more substantial and pernicious disease of social inequality and class hegemony, which ought to unite us all. We have already seen solidarity between workers North and South. When Debenhams' workers fought for improved redundancy pay, who did they receive solidarity donations from? The workers of Harland and Wolff. When the 8th Amendment was repealed, the deafening cry from Derry to Cork, Antrim to Tralee was 'the North is next'. Imagine what could be achieved without the hindrance of partition?

A NATIONAL HEALTH SERVICE

COVID has accentuated the fact we desperately require a single-tier All Ireland Health Service, free at the point of use. Campaigners across Ireland have initiated a drive for a singletax-funded health-service covering the North and the South. Motions in support of this have been passed in the north by three councils; Mid-Ulster, Fermanagh and Omagh, and Derry and Strabane – motions of a similar nature have also been passed in Dublin and Sligo.





This is an idea that has garnered significant support. The Irish Congress of Trade Unions has called for, “a public healthcare system free at the point of use, an integrated properly funded health and social care system with a proactive system of public health.” Irish Nurses and Midwives Organisation General Secretary Phil Ní Sheaghda has also voiced support for the proposal. It makes sense to unify the country under a single-tier Health System.

UNITY MAKES SENSE

Simply, Unity makes sense. Indeed, it has support from figures who have championed the radical social, economic, and environmental change Unity can bring; one such individual is Professor Noam Chomsky.

In a private exchange I had with him, Professor Chomsky told me: “My intuitive feeling, based on reading and several wonderful trips to Ireland, Republic and North, is that unification should be a goal and that efforts should be made to work for it.”

We must strive for something better; an Ireland where all of us, British, Irish, both or neither, have our part to play in a truly progressive country. A country that is a beacon to all nations, great and small. A nation that effectively tackles social and economic inequality and gives a lead on challenging the impending Climate catastrophe. United, we can do it. Partitioned, we cannot. Let this be our great deed.

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www.anphoblacht.com

podcast



NEW AN PHOBLACHT PODCAST WILL CHALLENGE ESTABLISHMENT PERSPECTIVE

Irish republicanism is in the midst of historic and exciting times as Sinn Féin continues to grow in size and political strength and the struggle for a United Ireland and a fairer, equal society increases in momentum.

In 2018, reflecting the development of our struggle in a changing media environment and the growth of online activism, An Phoblacht moved from a monthly newspaper to an expanded online presence and a new magazine format.

Now, in another signpost of change, progress and growth, An Phoblacht has embarked on an exciting new project.

To meet the demands of a growing audience for the politics of radical republicanism, and to adapt to the fast-developing world of social media,

An Phoblacht has launched a new Podcast series, which complements, enhances and deepens the experience offered by our quarterly magazine and online articles.

More importantly it establishes another valuable platform in our struggle, challenging the establishment media narrative on political events and offering fresh, new and progressive ideas, perspectives and analysis.

There remains a huge imbalance within conventional Irish political coverage, which is dominated by a narrow circle of 'opinion formers', mainly supporting the perspective of the political establishment.

We want to contribute to addressing this imbalance, focusing more on grassroots, progressive activism and ideas. And, as we have always done, we intend to go way beyond party political coverage, providing stimulating content on media, the arts, sport and the true life stories of ordinary people.

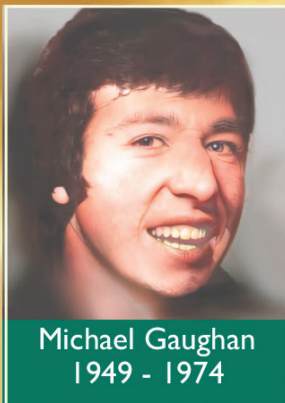
An Phoblacht Podcast episodes can be downloaded and listened to whenever you want: out for a run, in the car, while doing the ironing!

So, join us in another exciting chapter in the development of An Phoblacht by listening to the podcast which is available on Spotify, iTunes, Twitter, Facebook and Instagram.



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Am d'Aontacht**

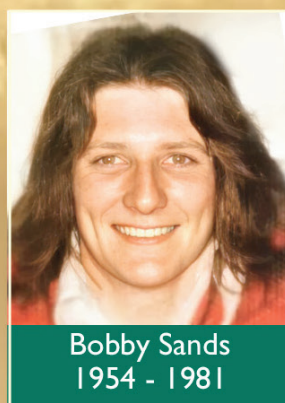




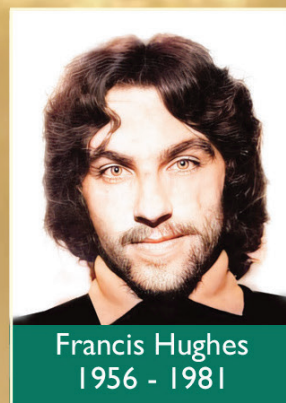
Michael Gaughan
1949 - 1974



Frank Stagg
1941 - 1976



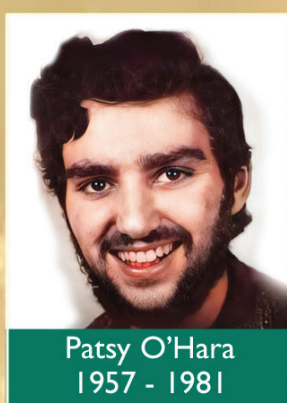
Bobby Sands
1954 - 1981



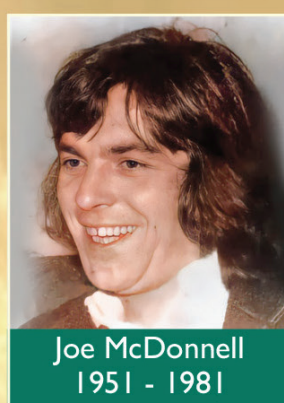
Francis Hughes
1956 - 1981



Raymond McCreesh
1957 - 1981



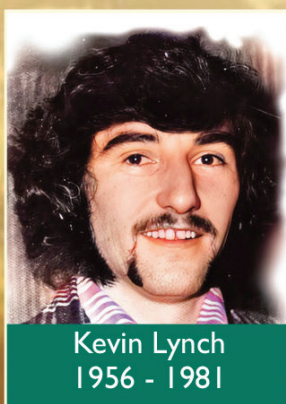
Patsy O'Hara
1957 - 1981



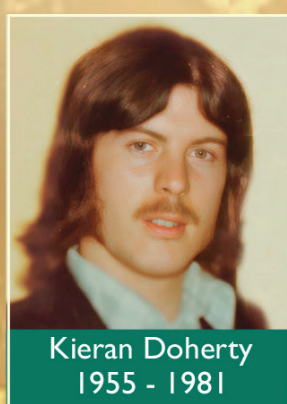
Joe McDonnell
1951 - 1981



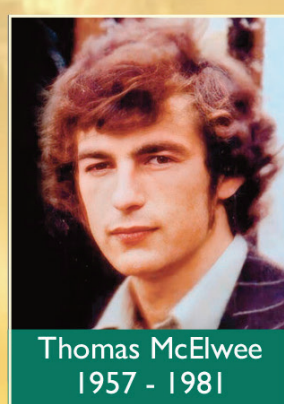
Martin Hurson
1956 - 1981



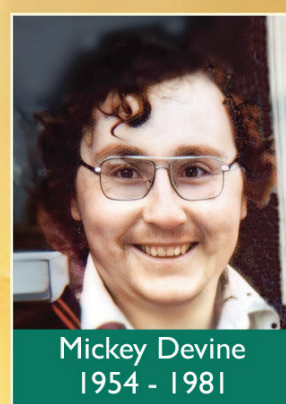
Kevin Lynch
1956 - 1981



Kieran Doherty
1955 - 1981



Thomas McElwee
1957 - 1981



Mickey Devine
1954 - 1981

*‘There is no source or foreign force
Can break one man who knows,
That his free will no thing can kill
And from that freedom grows ,*

Bobby Sands



#Time4Unity
Am d'Aontacht

