



**A SINN FÉIN DISCUSSION DOCUMENT (2016)**

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## Foreword

IN JUNE 2016, the people of the North of Ireland – nationalist and unionist and others – voted to remain within the European Union. They did so despite very many having legitimate concerns regarding the EU.

It is incomprehensible to have one part of Ireland operating within the EU and another outside it. However, the British Conservative Government insists that it will impose Brexit on the North of Ireland against the democratic wishes of the majority of people living there. This has highlighted the fundamentally undemocratic nature of the Union and partition.

The Brexit referendum result has swept away many of the previous political assumptions about the constitutional, political and economic status quo in Ireland. Ireland's political landscape, North and South, has been transformed dramatically.

Massive uncertainties have been triggered about the implications for business, trade, jobs, social protections, educational opportunities, and future

political and economic stability. This poses huge challenges for Irish national interests.

For English and Welsh votes to drag the North of Ireland out of the EU against the will of its people would, like partition itself, be yet another travesty of democracy and would undermine the Good Friday Agreement.

It is now vitally important that there is maximum co-operation to uphold the democratic wishes of the people of the North. Ultimately, the only realistic way to ensure this is through the unity of the island of Ireland.

The partition of Ireland in 1921 was a denial of the right of the Irish people as a whole to determine our own affairs. It created and sustained decades of conflict, discrimination and sectarianism.

In 1998, the Good Friday Agreement was endorsed by 71% of the votes in the North and 94% in the South. The Agreement established power-sharing institutions in the North, all-Ireland institutions and new

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institutions between Ireland and Britain. It included provision for a peaceful and democratic path to Irish unity.

The Good Friday Agreement and subsequent agreements have radically changed relationships within the North, between North and South, and with Britain. The Government of Ireland Act is gone. The institutional elements of the Good Friday Agreement and subsequent agreements have improved joint working. In almost every facet of life, co-operation has improved and people's lives are better.

However, in 2016, partition continues to stunt the political, economic, social and cultural potential of Ireland and its people.

The austerity agenda of the British Conservative Government has been rejected in the North of Ireland at every election. Despite this, consecutive British Tory administrations have imposed regressive cuts to services and welfare in the North. Meanwhile, Westminster continues to retain fiscal powers that are essential to manage and grow the North's economy.

The island of Ireland is currently administered by two states and three governments – in Dublin, Belfast and London. This system is wasteful, inefficient and incapable of successfully prioritising the interests of the Irish people that require an integrated vision for the island.

Brexit is bad news for the people of Ireland, North and South. Nevertheless, it also opens up a unique opportunity to look again at a future beyond partition, sectarianism and division, and to a new and agreed united Ireland built in the interests of all the people of this island.

Political partners, social partners, civic stakeholders and popular opinion must concentrate on working together to meet these challenges by designing new constitutional, political and economic arrangements that better suit Ireland's needs now.

Sinn Féin believes strongly in a new, united Ireland.

This discussion document aims to stimulate debate and to make the case for unity.

A united Ireland is not about welding together the two parts of Ireland.

It is an opportunity to build a New Ireland.

An opportunity to take the best of both states and build anew.

An opportunity to create a new state in which religious and civil liberties are guaranteed, where equal rights and equal opportunities exist for all citizens and where citizens have rights – including the right to a job, to a home, to a decent standard of education, a clean environment, and a health system that cares for all.

An opportunity to celebrate and include all our cultures and identities.

An opportunity to build a truly National Health Service.

This document is not prescriptive on the shape of a united Ireland, nor is it a comprehensive evaluation of the benefits of unity. Its purpose is to encourage debate on this hugely important issue and to give some shape to the type of new Ireland that is possible – a new Ireland in which the rights of all citizens are respected and which delivers prosperity, equality and inclusion.

The division of Ireland has failed; it continues to blight our present.

The Good Friday Agreement places the future constitutional position of Ireland in the hands of the people who share this island. There is an onus on us all to create the debate and plan for a new, agreed, united, equal and inclusive Ireland.

Sinn Féin is ambitious – ambitious for our country and for our people.

We should always have the highest hopes and understand that there is nothing we cannot do, nothing we cannot achieve, if we are determined to make it happen.

We need every party, organisation and individual who aspires to see a united Ireland to be equally ambitious and equally determined to set out their positions and to bring the debate to the next level.

We believe that a new, united Ireland is the best way forward. This discussion document aims to stimulate debate and to make the case for unity.

**GERRY ADAMS TD**  
Úachtarán Shinn Féin

# **Introduction – 'Brexit' Changes Everything**

# Introduction – ‘Brexit’ Changes Everything

At the heart of the Good Friday Agreement and the Peace Process is the issue of political consent.

Following the ‘Brexit’ referendum result putting the British state on course to leave the EU, however, the democratic wish of a majority of people in the North of Ireland is being disregarded by the British Government.

Sinn Féin supports the establishment of an all-Ireland forum to explore the impact of the Brexit referendum and to ensure that options for the future which safeguard the interests of citizens, North and South, are examined.

Sinn Féin believes that a new and united Ireland will deliver full democracy to the people of the whole island, including the right of people in the North to remain within the EU.

We believe Ireland would be better served by a single economy rather than two competing economies and that Irish people are disadvantaged by the duplication and disjointed nature of services North and South.

Those arguments are all set out clearly here for people to consider and to make up their own minds.

It is for the people of Ireland, North and South,



to decide the political future of the island. The Good Friday Agreement, negotiated in 1998, provides for a referendum on Irish reunification and Sinn Féin is campaigning for a Unity Poll to be held.

This discussion document presents one perspective on the benefits, structures and implications of a united Ireland. There will be other perspectives.

What is vital is that an open, inclusive and fully-informed discussion on the future of Ireland – and involving everyone – begins now.

For our part, Sinn Féin believes that the following key steps can assist the promotion and achievement of Irish reunification:-

- ▶ Promoting the democratic objectives of national self-determination, reconciliation and unity;
- ▶ Initiating an open and inclusive national conversation on Irish unity, involving citizens, political parties, social partners, and civil society, North and South;
- ▶ Publication of a Green Paper on Irish Unity which will identify steps and measures for a successful transition to a united Ireland;
- ▶ Establishment of an Oireachtas Joint Committee on Irish Reunification with the task of outlining, driving, monitoring and reviewing the transition towards Irish unity;
- ▶ Appointment of an Irish Government Minister of State with the dedicated and specific responsibility of developing strategies to advance Irish unity and co-ordinating the Government's all-Ireland policies;
- ▶ Establishment by the North-South Ministerial Council of a committee specifically tasked with harmonisation and maximising co-operation in all fields for the benefit of all our people;
- ▶ Co-ordination of economic planning on an all-island basis;
- ▶ Engagement by departments, North and South, in joint public service provision and publish a timescale and strategy for the full integration of public services, North and South;
- ▶ Discussion with the EU Commission and institutions to examine what practical support they can give to facilitate an efficient process of reunification;
- ▶ Fulfilment by the Irish and British governments of all their commitments in the Good Friday Agreement and subsequent agreements, including a referendum on Irish unity;
- ▶ The holding of concurrent referenda, North and South, on Irish reunification.

# **New Relationships in a New Ireland**

# New Relationships in a New Ireland

Changing political circumstances in mainland Europe, Britain and Ireland are creating fresh opportunities for new relationships between the two historic traditions on the island of Ireland.

There are those within unionism, particularly among the younger generation and among liberal and less conservative unionists, who are willing to explore these opportunities to create a better, shared society. The appeal of being part of a new, reimagined and outward-looking Ireland is proving ever more attractive to some unionists in the North.

Irish reunification will mean new and better relationships within Ireland, between Ireland and Britain, and between Ireland, mainland Europe and the rest of the world.

A new and unified Ireland will be pluralist, inclusive and accommodating to all our people in all their diversity.

The Orange tradition is an Irish tradition and the British identity of many people in the North must be accommodated in an agreed, united Ireland.

This could involve:-

- ▶ A new constitution for a new, united Ireland;
- ▶ A Bill of Rights for all citizens and an all-Ireland charter of fundamental rights;
- ▶ New symbols and emblems to reflect an inclusive, agreed Ireland;
- ▶ People who hold British citizenship continuing to hold such citizenship and having the right to pass this on to their children without prejudice to Irish citizenship;
- ▶ A constitutional guarantee of a pluralist education system that reflects the two main traditions on the island and those other cultures and ethnicities which have come to our shores in recent years;
- ▶ Irish language and culture being supported and encouraged by the state and made more accessible to all citizens, likewise with Ulster Scots;
- ▶ Constitutional recognition of the unique identity of Northern unionists and the British cultural identity of a significant number of people in the North of Ireland;
- ▶ Expression being given to the relationship between unionists and the British monarchy;
- ▶ Recognition of the place of the loyal institutions (including the Orange Order) in the cultural life of the nation;
- ▶ Changes to the Irish Constitution to remove the overt influence of any one church or faith.





# New Ireland – New Politics

***“May this historic gathering be the prelude of a day in which the Irish people, North and South, under one parliament or two, as those parliaments may themselves decide, shall work together in common love for Ireland upon the sure foundations of mutual justice and respect.”***

- King George V, message to the Stormont Parliament, 7th June 1921

***“It is the firm will of the Irish nation, in harmony and friendship, to unite all the people who share the territory of the island of Ireland, in all the diversity of their identities and traditions, recognising that a united Ireland shall be brought about only by peaceful means with the consent of a majority of the people, democratically expressed, in both jurisdictions in the island.”***

- From Article 3 of the Irish Constitution, as amended in 1998 and endorsed by 94% of voters in the South of Ireland

Currently, unionists in Ireland remain isolated on the margins of the British political system, where they make up less than 2% of the population.

There are also significant demographic changes occurring in the North as a result of which those who identify themselves as British are declining while those who identify as Irish or Northern Irish are increasing.

In a united Ireland, unionists would make up 20% of the population and exercise real authority, power and

influence – as opposed to being a tiny minority largely ignored within the British parliamentary system.

All of this creates an opportunity for a more open, imaginative and accommodating approach to reunification.

New accommodations and political arrangements could serve to transcend old communal, cultural and sectarian divisions.

All of us who wish to see a united Ireland need to be open to considering transitional arrangements.

This could mean:-

- ▶ Continued devolution to Stormont and a power-sharing Executive in the North within an all-Ireland structure;
- ▶ A federal or confederal arrangement;
- ▶ A unitary state;
- ▶ Other arrangements.

A new, united Ireland may require constitutional safeguards and protections for the political identity

of unionists who must be assured of their place and political influence in any new dispensation.

This could involve:-

- ▶ Weighted parliamentary majorities in relation to legislation on fundamental issues, where such fundamental issues are identified and agreed in advance of reunification;
- ▶ A guaranteed minimum number of parliamentary seats for unionist representatives in the upper house of a united Ireland;
- ▶ Other arrangements.



## A new relationship with Britain

Ireland and Britain have had a long and conflicted relationship. But the story of colonisation, conflict and division runs parallel with many positive and shared experiences over the centuries.

Irish writers have contributed enormously to English literature. Irish people have settled and worked in Britain for generations. We share a common language. In sport, our people enjoy a robust and healthy rivalry. Many Irish personalities and individuals of Irish descent have been prominent in the British politics, business and the entertainment industry.

The Peace Process and Good Friday Agreement have provided the basis for building a new relationship between Ireland and Britain based on partnership, equality and mutual respect.

The Irish and British governments and the Northern Executive must play a full role in further developing this process.

During her historic visit to Ireland in 2011, Britain's Queen Elizabeth made clear her desire to be part of a process of reconciliation and healing.

The subsequent meeting between Sinn Féin's Martin McGuinness and Queen Elizabeth in Belfast, the state visit by Úachtarán na hÉireann Michael D. Higgins to Britain, and Gerry Adams's meeting with Prince Charles in Galway were groundbreaking.

For further substantial progress to be made towards reconciliation between the island of Ireland and Britain, between North and South, and between the various traditions on this island, reconciliation must be felt on the streets and within our communities.

An agreed and reunified Ireland will have a hugely beneficial effect for Anglo-Irish relations, initiating an entirely new relationship based on equality and mutual respect.

## The International Dimension

The Irish Peace Process is already held up internationally as a successful model of conflict resolution. A democratically reunified Ireland could become an example to the world and a genuine international voice for peaceful constitutional change and reconciliation.

The European Union and the international community have had an interest and investment in transitional processes of national reunification, including in Germany.

The process of Irish reunification will include examining supports for reunification from Britain, the EU and international bodies.

European Structural Funds were a major source of aid to the newly united Germany and proof of Europe's solidarity with this EU Member State.

The European Commission services are currently working on possible measures to support the reunification process in Cyprus.

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# The Irish Diaspora

There are 70million people around the world who can trace their roots back to Ireland. Many in Britain, in the USA, Canada, Australia and across the globe have been very supportive of the Irish Peace Process.

They – or their parents, or grandparents, or their family members going back hundreds of years – were forced to flee Ireland to escape religious or political persecution or for economic reasons.

Today, in those nations where they have settled, the Irish are active in political life, in business, the trade union movement, sports and entertainment, and within local communities – in all spheres of life in society.

For example, in 2001, there were 674,786 people in England (1.4 per cent of the population) who had been born in Ireland.

This is the greatest concentration of Irish-born (as distinct from persons of Irish ancestry) abroad

anywhere in the world. It has been estimated that around 35% of the population of Manchester has Irish ancestry. In a London poll several years ago, 11 per cent of those surveyed said that one or more of their parents were Irish. There is, consequently, enormous potential in Britain itself to mobilise support for a united Ireland.

In the United States, the number of Irish and those of Irish descent numbers in the tens of millions and they enjoy significant political strength. They are also already organised through a range of Irish cultural, sporting and civic society organisations, as well as in business, in local, state and national politics, and in the trade union movement. Many are openly supportive of a united Ireland.

So, in any conversation about Irish reunification we need to involve the Irish Diaspora, to reach out to it and to marshal its political strength in support of our goals.





# The Price of Partition



## The Price of Partition

Partition has held back economic growth across the island. For many decades, the South suffered as it was cut off from the more industrialised North.

Before 1922, £19.1million of Ireland's £20.9million of exports came from industries in and around Belfast. By 1926, only 7% of jobs in the South were in manufacturing; in the North the figure was 30%.

In the decades after partition, however, the economic performance of the South of Ireland significantly improved.

At the same time, the North's continued position as a distant region of the "United Kingdom" limited the scope of its economic performance.

In the 90 years following partition, with the

return of economic powers to Dublin, per capita GDP in the South of Ireland first caught up with and then surpassed that of Britain.

Meanwhile, per capita GDP in the North of Ireland has declined to just under 80 per cent of the level in the Britain. While incomes in the North have grown by five times in 60 years, incomes in the South have grown by twenty times.

Partition has resulted in Border regions being cut off from their natural economic hinterlands and they continue today to be disadvantaged from a lack of economic stability as a result of having two economies on such a small island.

It is clear that reunification would improve the economic outlook for the whole island and improve living standards, North and South.



# The Unaffordability Myth

Much of the debate around the financial aspects of Irish unity has focused on the question of whether Ireland can afford unity.

The truth is that the British subvention to the North annually could be as low as £2.7billion and this is in a scenario where the North's economic potential has been severely constricted by Westminster.

While there is a legitimate concern as to the cost and benefits of unity, the issue of affordability has been subject to wild speculation and the British Government has refused to fully open the books.

And while the affordability of the public

sector would ultimately be influenced by the financial position and policy choices of future governments in a reunified Ireland, a recent report by the Chartered Institute of Public Finance (A Balance Sheet for NI's Public Sector) showed that the North has greater assets (£51.8billion) than liabilities (£51.3billion).

Over-estimates of the North's fiscal deficit are a political ploy aimed at closing down any debate on Irish unity.

The following figures dispel some of the myths about £24.1billion – the figure which some commentators claim is spent by the British state on the North of Ireland.

- ▶ £2.9billion of this spent by the British Government on Bank of England Debt, defence, etc;

- ▶ £1.1billion of this is added due to the depreciation of British capital stock;

Of the other £20billion (the amount of money the Treasury in Westminster claims

is spent on public services relevant to the North):-

- ▶ £1.7billion of this is spent by Whitehall departments on areas which British civil servants decide are relevant to the North of Ireland including, for example, the Cabinet Office, the Home Office and the NIO;
- ▶ Approximately £1.3billion of this is Annually Managed Expenditure (AME) administered by British Government departments and should be devolved locally before it

can be considered and scrutinised as local spend;

- ▶ £19billion is allocated to the North via Departmental Expenditure Limit (i.e. the money which the Executive spends) and Annual Managed Expenditure (i.e. the money spent on welfare payments in the North);
- ▶ The British Treasury confusingly also claims that £18.3billion of public money is spent within the North.

In the absence of precise information from the British Treasury which can be independently verified, the variety of figures creates confusion – which is perhaps intentional.

What can be said with certainty is that the £24.1billion figure is not accurate and that public spending is probably in the £18.3billion to £20billion range.

It has been estimated that the amount of revenue

generated within the North ranges from £14.9billion to £15.6billion. This does not include the amount of Income Tax, Corporation Tax, NICs and VAT generated locally but paid in Britain by British and international companies which is booked in London.

These figures indicate that the difference between revenue and actual spending is in the region of £2.7billion – £5.1billion not including the multinational taxation booked in London.





# **Unity Makes Economic Sense**

# Unity Makes Economic Sense

Research has repeatedly demonstrated that – in terms of synergies, economies of scale and infrastructural development – a united Ireland makes economic sense.

There are simply no advantages for a small island nation of 6.4million inhabitants on the edge of Europe in having two separate tax regimes, two separate legal systems, and two separate and competing economic development programmes.

At different times, businesses on both sides of the Border have benefited or gone bust because of the fluctuating economic circumstances of two separated economies.

Business does not like such instability and it is not a sustainable long-term economic policy for this island.

A united Ireland would bring economic stability and create an environment in which business can thrive. Unity would deliver sustainable economic growth and employment throughout the island. It would particularly benefit areas along the Border which have suffered as a result of partition.

Unity would create a level playing field for trade which would not be dependent on the whim of currency exchanges or taxation differences on one small island.

Irish unity would clear the way to promote 'Brand Ireland', to replace competition with co-operation, to maximise inward investment and tourism, and to promote Irish products, produce and business.

Ireland is a byword for quality in agriculture and



food. An integrated agricultural administration on the island would remove obstacles presented by country of origin labelling, two jurisdictional tagging systems, trade and diverging animal health regulations. This will benefit farmers, North and South, and overcome the power of retailers and processors who have used such differences to manipulate prices.

A single, all-island energy market would be able to take full advantage of renewable wind, wave and biomass combined heat and power (CHP) energy and retain the benefits of the Single Electricity Market.

# Unity Will Accelerate Economic Growth

Irish reunification will be good for economic growth, jobs and living standards across the island of Ireland.

The recently-published and peer-reviewed Modeling Irish Unification study by Professor Kurt Huebner of Vancouver University (2015) projected the total combined Irish economy would in a short number of years be greater than the two separate economies, North and South, by approximately €35billion a year.

Modeling Irish Unification adds to the growing body of work pointing to the very substantial net economic benefits of Irish unification. No serious analysis or research exists that points to a contrary conclusion.

The different economic structures, North and South, undermine Irish economic growth. Companies and workers are impeded by currency fluctuations, different levels of vehicle registration tax, differing tax rates and varying costs.

Island-wide trade in manufacturing generates €3billion or £2.4billion for Ireland. Removing barriers to this trade would undoubtedly lead to significant growth in this figure. Full economic integration would allow for fair and progressive taxation, regulation and trade. It would provide the tools for growth, employment and a better business climate across the island.

## Unity is Better for Inward Investment

At present, differing bodies are competing to market Ireland for inward investment. This duplication incurs administration costs and the false competition drives down the benefits of investments as investors play the North off against the South and vice versa.

The combined leverage, networks and experience of inward investment agencies would deliver a significant synergy for increased investment.

A single, island-wide agency and policy

would drive investment and integrate the current efforts of the IDA, InvestNI and InterTradeIreland.

This would bring together the experience and expertise, North and South, to ensure a fully integrated approach to investment and innovation and facilitate a more strategic use of EU funds.

A new, unified Ireland would promote the island as a location for investment and access to the Single European Market.

## Unity is Better for Agriculture and Agri-food

As pointed out earlier, an integrated agricultural administration on the island would remove obstacles presented by country of origin labelling, two jurisdictional tagging systems, and diverging animal health regulations.

This will benefit farmers, North and South, and challenge the power of retailers and processors who have used such differences to manipulate prices.

Ireland's reputation for producing high-quality foods is second to none. An Bord Bia reports that the South of Ireland's food and drink exports reached €10.5billion in 2014. The North's exports account reached £3.4billion or €4.24billion (using average exchange rate of 1.24 for 2014) in 2014.

Currently, exchange rate fluctuations can inhibit where farmers can both source and sell stock. Producers of milk and livestock in the North feel they are unfairly exposed to additional



bureaucracy compared to their Southern competitors when their product is transported across the Border, all of which undermines the combined export potential of both parts of Ireland.

## Unity is Better for Exports

Unity would allow for the coherent promotion of a single 'Brand Ireland' across the world, free from wasteful duplication brought on by different state bodies promoting Irish products.

This has the potential to create thousands of jobs and double exports over the next ten years.

Post-Brexit, a united Ireland is more important

than ever for the agri-food industry. Unity would mean a single, cohesive voice better placed to ensure a fair price for produce from meat plants and processors, regulate the power of supermarkets, and deliver better deals from CAP reform discussions. Agri-business will also benefit from the free movement of animals across Ireland.

## Unity is Better for Tourism

Ireland is one of the world's favourite holiday destinations. However, tourism in the South has the tendency to stop at the Galway-Dublin axis while Border areas are underdeveloped and underfunded with respect to investment in tourism. For example, only 3% of the Irish Government's Tourism Capital Investment Programme from 2007-2015 was invested in Border areas.

A united Ireland would see all parts of Ireland reach their full potential. Ireland would be marketed as a single destination. Why should the Wild Atlantic way or Ancient East projects not embrace the entire coastline?

Development of all-island tourism would undoubtedly benefit areas on both sides of what



is now the Border. Tourism in a united Ireland would result in increased employment and tax revenue.

## Positively Transforming the Border Region

Partition has separated natural communities and economies in the Border counties. Derry was separated from Donegal, Fermanagh from Leitrim and Cavan, Tyrone from Monaghan, and Armagh from Monaghan and Louth.

Unity would bring together once again the local economies of these natural regions and remove all barriers to trade, including the impact of currency fluctuations.

It would also provide for investment to

redress the imbalances caused by partition in communities by linking into transport and technology infrastructure such as the development of the A5 linking Dublin, Derry and Donegal.

The spatial planning process in both parts of the island would benefit from harmonised and integrated data sets on population, employment, transportation, housing, retailing and environmental indicators.

## Unity is Good for the Knowledge Economy

There are clear synergies with the growing medical supplies business in Ireland. This is primarily within the private sector but this could be integrated with publicly-directed health services and supplemented with public R&D and education investment to become a key sector in a unified economy.

The North's economy is home to a series of large firms operating in sectors which would be complementary to Southern enterprises, including food processing, aerospace, building machinery, pharma, telecoms and IT.

Another established sector to benefit from a unified economy is the aerospace sector, where the South has well-established financial

engineering and services related to leasing and other areas, whereas the North has significant aerospace industrial capacity.

Public sector integration, North and South, across road, rail, postal, telecoms, water and energy could facilitate a significant increase in productivity and prosperity.

Expansion of the Irish home market by 25% or more would clearly increase Ireland's capacity to compete in the wider EU economy, raising the prosperity of the whole island.

It is clear that the prize of a much larger, more prosperous economy across the island of Ireland is available through reunification.

**Unity Means  
Better Services**

# Unity Means Better Services

It clearly makes no sense for a small island nation to have disjointed, back-to-back health, education, transport and energy systems. This has weakened provision and increased costs.

Unity would see more efficient and effective investment in public services for citizens, North and South, through ending this wasteful system.

## An Irish National Health Service

Sinn Féin is committed to the establishment of an Irish National Health Service, free at the point of delivery and where patients are treated on the basis of medical need and nothing else.

There are very clear opportunities within a united Ireland to reconfigure how we deliver health services across Ireland.

At 9.5 per cent of the economy, the North's output of health services is in line with the OECD average; however, the South's 6.3 per cent output is way below that average.

The total money spent per person within the current regressive health system in the South is more than is spent per person in the north of Ireland or in Britain, yet the people of the North and Britain have access to better services which are free at the point of delivery.

There is clearly a body of expertise and capacity which has been accumulated and managed in the North which can and should be expanded across the island. An all-Ireland health service would benefit hugely from the sharing of acute hospital, community health and general medical services.

All-island health planning would develop and distribute health services in the most efficient manner. There are multiple examples in which better health services are delivered through an all-island approach. The joint cancer centre in Derry provides services for patients throughout the north-west. Patients from Donegal or Derry do not have to travel to Belfast or Dublin for treatments. A united Ireland means a modern, efficient Irish National Health Service delivering improved health and well-being of citizens.



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## Unity is Better for Education

An all-Ireland education system makes sense. Operating two systems on one small island has ensured that students are not able to choose third-level education institutions on the basis of preference and convenience.

It will also ensure that parents and students along the Border can access the closest and most appropriate pre-schools and primary and secondary schools.

A united Ireland with an education system that focuses on building a sustainable economy

would bring financial and efficiency benefits, sharing of resources and expertise, and greater ease of contact and mobility between and among institutions, partners and personnel involved in education.

The consolidation of all the universities across Ireland, North and South, into 'Universities Ireland' would strengthen Research & Development.

Unity would allow for the building of a genuinely free education system for all Irish citizens.

## Unity is Better for Transport

Unity will ensure that travelling around all of Ireland is significantly improved.

The transport system across the island of Ireland is currently incomplete. Joint economic and infrastructural planning ceased after partition.

Presently, there are only 53 return train journeys per week between Dublin and Belfast. This compares to 296 return journeys per week between Belfast and Bangor.

The journey by rail between Dublin and Belfast is two hours long and is non-competitive with private transport. The train journey is longer than

the road journey and this has facilitated a decline in user numbers.

Many existing transport routes across Ireland are characterised by congestion and bottlenecks, particularly within cities and in the Border areas.

A united Ireland means a stronger transport network which will make it easier for companies to transport, market and sell goods and services on a reliable, predictable all-island basis.

All of Ireland will be fully connected with the rest of the world by linking the entire island into a network that connects with all the island's international ports and airports.

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## Unity is Better for Policing and Justice

The efficient operation of policing and justice is undermined by partition. A united Ireland will provide the environment in which resources targeted towards policing and justice can be used better and more efficiently. A single criminal justice system and policing service would end the barriers to information sharing and co-operation.

Ireland, North and South, loses billions

every year through illicit cross-Border trade. A united Ireland will combat illicit cross-Border trade, reduce policing costs and allow resources to be targeted into other crucial areas. Unity would end the scourge of criminal gangs using the Border to their advantage, and an end to differential fuel prices would bring fuel smuggling to an end.

## Unity is Better for Irish Sport

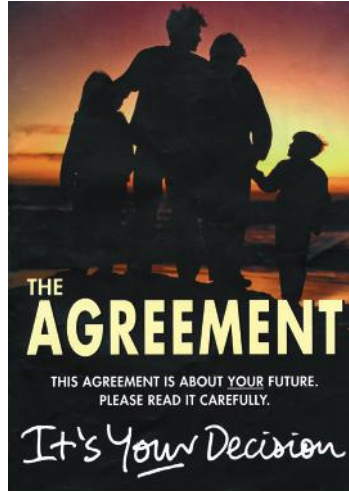
Irish teams are stronger and better when they are all-Ireland teams. All-Ireland rugby teams have won Grand Slams and Triple Crowns, boxers have had international successes, Irish golfers are leading the way in that sport. As an all-Ireland organisation, the GAA has been unmatched by any other amateur sports organisation.

Support for an all-island soccer team is growing. It makes no sense to have two 'national' teams competing on the international stage and splitting the talent pool that exists. We are stronger, better and more successful together. Unity would generate more income for sports clubs and more opportunities for talented players.





# Roadmap to Unity



## Roadmap to Unity

The people of Ireland, North and South, must have the democratic right to decide the future of our society.

The provision for a referendum on Irish reunification is enshrined in the 1998 Good Friday Agreement. The Good Friday Agreement provides the ground rules for peaceful and democratic constitutional change through concurrent referendums North and South.

All the people of Ireland have the right to shape the future of this island. Securing a referendum on Irish unity would be a momentous and historic opportunity for all the people of Ireland, allowing us to vote for the kind of government and society we wish to see.

The type of nation-building and island-wide reconciliation that Sinn Féin is working towards is not about grafting the North onto the current political, cultural and economic status quo of the South. It is, rather, about the creation of a new, agreed Ireland for all of us who share this island.

Those of us who desire Irish reunification are told by some that we are being divisive. We are told that there will be a united Ireland at some undefined time in the future. But the reality is that unity will not happen through wishful thinking. It needs a realistic political strategy with clear objectives and actions.

As a result of the Peace Process and the Good Friday Agreement, we have a mechanism to achieve unity. All of those in favour of unity must now act together to bring it about.

Sinn Féin has called for a Unity Poll to be conducted in the next political term. We are seeking an informed, reasoned and respectful dialogue on the issue.

This is the time to plan and to build the maximum support for unity. The leadership of those parties which support Irish unity, acting together, could provide the leadership to deliver it.

It is imperative now that the Irish Government prepares a real plan for unity. A first step in the next term of the Oireachtas would be the development of an all-party group to bring forward a Green Paper for Unity.

In addition, plans should be developed for an all-island National Health Service and for all-island public services through a 'United Ireland Investment and Prosperity Plan'.

The New Ireland Forum, in its time, created a space for discussion on constitutional options for change and developed a comprehensive 'Economic Options Paper on the Cost of Partition'. The Forum failed because it excluded Sinn Féin and operated at a time of a British veto on constitutional change.

The British veto is gone. Constitutional change is now in the hands of the people of Ireland, North and South.

Now is the time for all parties who support Irish unity to come together to design the pathway to a new, agreed, inclusive united Ireland – an Ireland that is built on equality and which is citizen-centred and inclusive.

**Conclusion -  
Now IS the Time**

# Conclusion - Now IS the Time

For Sinn Féin – and for many others across all sectors of Irish society – the undoing of partition and its effects are central to the building of a truly modern, progressive, inclusive, open and forward-looking society.

A realistic approach to the political divisions that currently exist and a genuine commitment to a process of national reconciliation must be central to any genuine effort to unite the people of this island.

A truly united Ireland means the unity of people and the only type of united Ireland that Sinn Féin seeks is one that is agreed, inclusive, pluralist and which is constructed by all our citizens, from all backgrounds and traditions.

Increased all-Ireland co-operation and the building of relationships between people from different political outlooks is key to the way forward.

Huge political progress has been made in recent years. The Peace Process and the Good Friday Agreement marked a historic shift in politics on this island. For the first time, the roots of conflict were addressed and a peaceful and democratic route to Irish unity opened up.

The agreement of a significant section of people who are now described as unionists is required for the building of a united Ireland.

A series of opinion polls taken over many years have consistently shown significant majorities in the South favour reunification.

Meanwhile, the North has been transformed in recent years as a result of the Peace Process and changes in attitudes towards unity are taking place since the Brexit referendum result.

Of course, the only poll that really matters is a referendum on the issue.

Sinn Féin does not want nor claim ownership of the united Ireland campaign or the demand for a referendum on unity as provided for in the Good Friday Agreement.

Nor should such a referendum be seen or portrayed as threat to any section of our community.

A referendum campaign can provide the opportunity for a real, inclusive and constructive



debate on the future of this island.

A Unity Poll would allow citizens, North and South, to participate in an informed, reasoned and respectful dialogue on Irish unity.

The current prospect of the North of Ireland being removed from the EU against the will of its people and the return of a hard border in Ireland has brought the issue of Irish reunification firmly back on to the political agenda.

We are entering a defining period in Irish political history.

We need everyone – from all political parties and from all walks of life – who wants to see a united Ireland to raise their voices on this issue now.

Let the debate begin.

**MATT CARTHY MEP**

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**TOWARDS A UNITED IRELAND**  
A Sinn Féin discussion document



**PLÉCHÁIPÉIS DE CHUID SHINN FÉIN (2016)**

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## Brollach

I Meitheamh 2016, vótáil muintir Thuaisceart na hÉireann - náisiúnaigh, aontachtaigh agus eile - ar son fanacht in Aontas na hEorpa. Rinne siad amhlaidh d'ainneoin údair dhlísteanacha imní a bheith ag cuid mhór mhaith acu faoin AE.

Is dothuigthe go mbeidh cuid amháin d'Éirinn ag feidhmiú taobh istigh den AE agus cuid eile taobh amuigh de. Éilíonn Rialtas Coimeádach na Breataine, áfach, go mbrúfaidh siad 'Brexit' ar Thuaisceart na hÉireann in éadan thoil dhaonlathach bhunús na ndaoine a chónaíonn ann. Leis seo, dírfódh aird ar nádúr bunúsach neamhdhaonlathach an Aontais agus na críochdheighilte. Chuir reifreann Brexit deireadh le go leor de na nithe a raibh glacadh forleathan leo roimhe seo ó thaobh an bhunreacht, na polaitíochta agus na heacnamaíochta in Éirinn. Tá athrú as éadan i ndiaidh teacht ar chúrsaí polaitíochta na hÉireann, ó thuaidh agus ó dheas.

Tá an-chuid éiginnteachta tagtha chun cinn faoi na himpleachtaí don ghnó, trádáil, poist, cosaintí sóisialta,

deiseanna oideachais agus comhsheasmhacht amach anseo maidir le polaitíocht agus eacnamaíocht. Tá leas náisiúnta na hÉireann faoi an-dúshlán dá thoradh seo. Dá dtarraingeodh vótaí Shasana agus na Breataine Bige Tuaisceart na hÉireann amach as an AE in éadan thoil na ndaoine, ba shárú eile, dála na críochdheighilte, ar an daonlathas é agus thiocfadh sé salach ar Chomhaontú Aoine an Chéasta.

Is den ríthábhacht anois go mbeidh a oiread comhoibriú agus is féidir le go gcosnófar toil dhaonlathach mhuintir an Tuaiscirt. Dáiríre, is é an t-aon dóigh amháin le hé seo a chinntiú aontú oileán na hÉireann. Is é a bhí i gcríochdheighilt na hÉireann séanadh chearta mhuintir na hÉireann ina n-iomláine ár gcúrsaí féin a shocrú. Is tríd a cruthaíodh agus a cothaíodh blianta fada den choimhlint, den leithcheal agus den seicteachas.

In 1998, faomhadh Comhaontú Aoine an Chéasta le 71% de na vótaí sa Tuaisceart agus 94% sa Deisceart. De thoradh an Chomhaontaithe, bunaíodh forais

chumhachtroinnte sa Tuaisceart, forais uile-Éireann agus forais nua idir Éire agus an Bhreatain. Cuimsíodh ann bealach síochánta, daonlathach i dtreo aontú na hÉireann.

Mar gheall ar Chomhaontú Aoine an Chéasta, agus comhaontuithe eile ó shin, tá athrú ó bhonn ar chaidreamh taobh istigh den Tuaisceart, idir Tuaisceart agus Deisceart agus leis an Bhreatain. Tá deireadh le hAcht Rialtas na hÉireann. Tá feabhas tagtha ar an chomhoibriú de thairbhe ghnéithe institiúideacha Chomhaontú Aoine an Chéasta agus na gcomhaontuithe eile a tháinig ina dhiaidh. I mbeagnach gach gné den saol, tá feabhas ar an chomhoibriú agus saol na ndaoine níos fearr.

Mar sin féin, in 2016 tá an chríochdheighilt ag leanúint den bhac a chuireann sí ar acmhainneacht pholaitiúil, eacnamaíoch, shóisialta agus chultúrtha na hÉireann agus na nÉireannach. Diúltaíodh do bheartas déine Rialtas Coimeádach na Breataine ag gach toghchán i dTuaisceart na hÉireann. Dá ainneoin seo, bhrúigh Rialtais Tóraithe, ceann i ndiaidh a chéile, ciorruithe aischéimnitheacha ar sheirbhísí agus ar an leas sóisialta sa Tuaisceart. Idir an dá linn, leanann Westminster de chumhachtaí fíoscacha a choinneáil, cumhachtaí ar den ríthábhacht iad le geilleagar an Tuaiscirt a bhainistiú agus a fhorbairt. Tá oileán na hÉireann á riar faoi láthair ag dhá stát agus ag trí rialtas - i mBaile Átha Cliath, i mBéal Feirste agus i Londain. Tá an córas seo diomailteach, mí-éifeachtach agus ní éiríonn leis tús áite a thabhairt do leas mhuintir na hÉireann, a bhfuil fíis chomhtháite don oileán de dhíth ina leith.

Drochscéala é Brexit do mhuintir na hÉireann, ó thuaidh agus ó dheas. Mar sin féin, is féidir deis ar leith a thapú le breathnú ar am atá le teacht gan críochdheighilt, gan seicteachas ná scoilt agus i dtreo Éire nua a bheidh aontaithe agus comhaontaithe agus a bheidh le leas gach duine ar an oileán seo.

Caithfidh comhpháirtithe polaitiúla, sóisialta, páirtithe leasmhara cathartha agus an pobal i gcoitinne díriú ar obair i bpáirt lena chéile le tabhairt faoi na dúshlán seo trínár socruithe bunreacha, polaitíochta agus eacnamaíochta féin a chruthú a fhóireann do riachtanais reatha na hÉireann.

Creideann Sinn Féin go diongbháilte in Éirinn nua, aontaithe.

Is é aidhm na plécháipéise seo an díospóireacht a spreagadh agus an cás ar son an chomhaontaithe a

chur i láthair. Ní bhaineann Éire aontaithe leis an dá chuid d'Éirinn a tháthú dá chéile.

Is deis é chun Éire Nua a chruthú.

Deis leis an chuid is fearr den dá stát a ghlacadh le tógáil as an nua.

Deis le stát nua a chruthú ina gcinnteofar saoirsí reiligiúin agus sibhialta, ina mbeidh comhchearta agus comhdheiseanna do gach saoránach agus ina mbeidh cearta ag saoránaigh - lena n-áirítear cearta ar phost, ar áit chónaithe, ar chaighdeán fiúntach oideachais, ar thimpeallacht ghlan agus ar sheirbhís sláinte a thugann cúram do chách.

Deis lenár gcultúir agus féiniúlachtaí uile a cheiliúradh agus a chuimsiú.

Deis le Seirbhís Sláinte Náisiúnta chearta a fhorbairt.

Ní cáipéis saintreorach í seo maidir leis an chuma a bheidh ar Éirinn aontaithe, ná ní meastóireacht chuimsitheach í ar bhuntáistí an aontaithe. Is é is cuspóir dó díospóireacht a spreagadh ar an cheist ríthábhachtach seo agus léargas a thabhairt ar an Éirinn nua a d'fhéadfaí a chruthú - Éire nua ina mbeidh meas ar chearta an uile shaoránaigh agus ina soláthrófar an rachmas, an comhionannas agus an uileghabhálacht.

Theip ar chríochdheighilt na hÉireann; leanann sí de bhac a chur orainn.

I gComhaontú Aoine an Chéasta bronnadh todhchaí bhunreachtúil na hÉireann orthu siúd a chomhroinneann an t-oileán. Tá cúram orainn uile an díospóireacht a thionscnamh agus beartú i dtreo Éire nua, aontaithe, comhaontaithe ina mbeidh comhionannas agus ilchineálacht.

Tá Sinn Féin uaillmhianach - uaillmhianach ar son ár dtíre agus mhuintir na tíre.

Ba chóir dúinn i gcónaí a bheith thar a bheith dóchasach agus a thuiscint nach bhfuil aon rud ann nach bhfuil ar ár gcumas a bhaint amach má bhíonn muid tiomanta chun é a ghnóthú.

Is é atá de dhíth go mbeidh gach páirtí, eagrais agus duine aonair ar mian leo Éire a aontú, lán chomh huailmhianach agus chomh tiomanta céanna a dtuairimí a leagan amach agus an díospóireacht a thabhairt chun tosaigh.

Creideann muid gur Éire nua, aontaithe an bealach is fearr chun cinn. Is é aidhm na plécháipéise seo an díospóireacht a spreagadh agus cás an aontaithe a chur i láthair.

**GERRY ADAMS TD**  
Úachtarán Shinn Féin

**Réamhrá -  
Le 'Brexit' Athraíodh  
Gach Rud**

# Réamhrá - Le 'Brexit' Athraíodh Gach Rud

Tá ceist na tola polaitiúla ag croí Chomhaontú Aoine an Chéasta. I ndiaidh thoradh reifreann 'Brexit' is cosúil go bhfuil an Bhreatain réidh leis an AE a fhágáil agus go ndéanfaidh Rialtas na Breataine neamhiontas de thoil dhaonlathach fhorhóir mhuintir Thuaisceart na hÉireann.

Tacaíonn Sinn Féin le bunú fhóram uile-Éireann le tionchar reifreann 'Brexit' a fiosrú agus a chinntiú go scrúdófar roghanna a dhéanfar amach anseo a bheidh le leas shaoránaigh an Tuaiscirt agus an Deiscirt.

Creideann Sinn Féin go soláthrófar daonlathas iomlán do gach duine ar an oileán trí Éire nua, aontaithe, lena n-áirítear cheart bhunadh an Tuaiscirt fanacht san AE.

Creideann muid gurbh fhearrde Éire córas aonair eacnamaíochta a bheith againn seachas dhá chóras atá san iomaíocht lena chéile agus go bhfuil muintir na hÉireann faoi mhíbhuntáiste mar gheall ar dhúbailt agus easpa comhtháthú seirbhísí ó thuaidh agus ó dheas.

Tá na pointí seo uile leagtha amach go soiléir anseo le go dtig le daoine machnamh orthu agus a gcomhairle féin a shocrú.

Is faoi mhuintir na hÉireann, thuaidh agus theas, atá



sé todhchaí pholaitíochta na hÉireann a shocrú. Tá foráil i gComhaontú Aoine an Chéasta, a caibidlíodh in 1998, le haghaidh reifreann ar athaontú na hÉireann agus tá Sinn Féin i mbun feachtais le go dtionólfar Reifreann ar Aontú.

Tá peirspectíocht amháin sa phlécháipéis seo ar bhuntáistí, struchtúir agus impleachtaí Éire a bheith aontaithe. Is ann do pheirspectíochtaí eile.

Is den rithábhacht go gcuirfear tús láithreach le plé oscailte, uileghabhálach, bunaithe go hiomlán ar eolas agus ina mbeidh an uile dhuine páirteach ar thodhchaí na hÉireann.

I dTaca Linne de, creideann Sinn Féin gur cuidiú iad na croíchéimeanna seo a leanas le hathaontú na hÉireann a thabhairt chun cinn agus a ghnóthú:-

- ▶ Cuspóirí daonlathacha an fhéinrialaithe, an athmhuintearais agus an aontaithe a chur chun cinn;
- ▶ Plé náisiúnta oscailte, uileghabhálach ar aontú na hÉireann a thionscnamh, ina mbeidh saoránaigh, páirtithe polaitíochta, páirtithe sóisialta agus an tsochaí shibhialta, thuaidh agus theas, páirteach;
- ▶ Foilsiú Páipéar Glas ar Aontú na hÉireann ina sainaitheofar céimeanna agus bearta faoi choinne aistriú rathúil i dtreo Éire aontaithe;
- ▶ Bunú Chomhchoiste Oireachtais um Athaontú na hÉireann a mbeidh de thasc aige an t-aistriú i dtreo aontú na hÉireann a leagan amach, a thabhairt chun cinn, a mhonatóirí agus a athbhreithniú;
- ▶ Ceapachán Aire Stáit de chuid Rialtas na hÉireann ar a mbeidh de fhreagracht shainiúil straitéisí le haontú na hÉireann a fhorbairt agus beartais uile-Éireann an rialtais a chomhordú;
- ▶ An Chomhairle Aireachta Thuaidh-Theas coiste a bhunú a mbeidh de thasc sonracha aige an chomhoibriú i ngach réimse a chomhoiriúnú agus a uasmhéadú le go mbeidh sé le leas na saoránach uile;
- ▶ Comhordú pleanáil eacnamaíochta ar bhonn uile-oileáin;
- ▶ Ranna rialtais, Thuaidh agus Theas, dul i gceann comhsholáthar seirbhísí poiblí agus scála ama agus straitéis a fhoilsiú faoi choinne comhtháthú iomlán seirbhísí poiblí, Thuaidh agus Theas;
- ▶ Plé le Coimisiúin agus forais an AE lena scrúdú cén tacaíocht phraiticiúil a thig leo a thabhairt le próiseas éifeachtach athaontaithe a éascú;
- ▶ Rialtais na hÉireann agus na Breataine a gcuid gealltanais uile atá i gComhaontú Aoine an Chéasta agus i gcomhaontuithe eile ina dhiaidh sin a chomhlíonadh, reifreann ar aontú na hÉireann san áireamh;
- ▶ Reifrinn chomhthráthacha, Thuaidh agus Theas, ar athaontú na hÉireann a thionól.

# Caidreamh Nua d'Éirinn Nua

# Caidreamh Nua d'Éirinn Nua

TÁ TOSCA POLAITÍOCHTA ar mhór-roinn na hEorpa, sa Bhreatain agus in Éirinn ag cruthú deiseanna as an nua faoi choinne caidreamh nua idir an dá thraidisiún stairiúla ar oileán na hÉireann.

Tá siad siúd ann i measc na nAontachtach, go háirithe i measc an aosa óig agus i measc Aontachtach atá liobrálach nó nach bhfuil chomh coimeádach, atá toilteanach na deiseanna seo faoi choinne cruthú sochaí chomhroinnte, níos fearr a fhiosrú. Maidir le roinnt Aontachtach sa tuaisceart, is tarraingtí ná riamh a bheith mar chuid d'Éirinn a bheidh athshamhlaithe agus níos leathanaigeantaí.

Is é an toradh a bheidh ar athaontú na hÉireann, caidreamh úr agus níos fearr in Éirinn, idir Éire agus an Bhreatain agus idir Éire, mór-roinn na hEorpa agus an chuid eile den domhan.

Beidh Éire nua, aontaithe iolraíoch, uileghabhálach agus glacfar le hilchineálacht iomlán mhuintir na hÉireann. Is traidisiún Éireannach é an traidisiún Oráisteach agus caithfear teacht chun réitigh le féiniúlacht Bhriotanach a lán de bhunadh an Tuaiscirt in Éirinn a bheidh comhaontaithe agus athaontaithe.

## D'FHÉADFADH NA GNÉITHE SEO A BHEITH I gCEIST

- ▶ Bunreacht nua, d'Éirinn nua, aontaithe;
- ▶ Bille Ceart do gach saoránach agus cairt uile-Éireann um chearta bunúsacha;
- ▶ Siombailí agus suaitheantais nua a léireoidh Éire uileghabhálach, chomhaontaithe;
- ▶ Coinneoidh daoine a saoránacht Bhriotanach más mian leo agus de cheart acu é seo a thabhairt ar aghaidh dá gcuid páistí gan dochar do shaoránacht na hÉireann;
- ▶ Ráthaíocht bhunreachtúil ar chóras iolraíoch oideachais ina léireofar an dá phríomhthraidisiún ar an oileán agus na cultúir agus eitneachtaí eile sin a tháinig chun an oileáin seo le blianta beaga anuas;
- ▶ An stát tacaíocht agus spreagadh a thabhairt don Ghaeilge agus don chultúr Ghaelach agus iad a bheith níos éasca a rochtain ag gach saoránach, agus a dhála sin ag an Ultais;
- ▶ Aitheantas bunreachtúil d'fhéiniúlacht uathúil Aontachtaigh an Tuaiscirt agus d'fhéiniúlacht chultúrtha Bhriotanach líon suntasach daoine i dTuaisceart na hÉireann;
- ▶ Aitheantas a thabhairt don ghaol idir Aontachtaigh agus monarcacht na Breataine;
- ▶ Aitheantas don ionad atá ag na hinstiúidí dílse (an tOrd Oráisteach san áireamh) i saol cultúrtha an náisiúin;
- ▶ Leasuithe ar Bunreacht na hÉireann le tionchar follasach eaglais nó creideamh ar leith a chealú;



# Éire nua - polaitíocht nua

**"Gura tuar é an tóstal seo ar lá a n-oibreoidh muintir na hÉireann, Thuaidh agus Theas, faoi Pharlaimint amháin nó faoi dhá Pharlaimint faoi mar a shocraíonn na Parlaimintí sin iad féin, i gcomhpháirt ar son an ghrá atá acu uile d'Éirinn ar dhúshraith dhaingean an chomhcheartais agus measa."**

- Rí Seoirse V, teachtaireacht do Pharlaimint Stormont, 7ú Meitheamh 1921

**"Is i toil dhiongbháilte náisiún na hÉireann, go sítheach cairdiúil, na daoine go léir a chomhroinneann críoch oileán na hÉireann i bpáirt lena chéile, in éagsúlacht uile a bhféiniúlachtaí agus a dtraidisiún, a aontú, á aithint gur trí mhodhanna síochánta amháin le toiliú thromlach na ndaoine, á chur in iúl go daonlathach, sa dá dhlínse san oileán, a dhéanfar Éire aontaithe a thabhairt i gcrích."**

- Ó Alt 3 de Bhunreacht na hÉireann, mar a leasíodh in 1998 agus mar a d'fhaomh 94% de vótálaithe Dheisceart na hÉireann

Faoi láthair, tá aontachtaigh in Éirinn scoite ar imeall chóras polaitíochta na Breataine agus gan iontu ach 2% den daonra.

Lena chois sin, tá athruithe suntasacha déimeagrafacha ag titim amach sa Tuaisceart mar gheall ar an líon daoine a deir gur féiniúlacht Bhriotanach atá acu a bheith ag titim agus an líon daoine a deir gur féiniúlacht Éireannach nó Tuaisceart na hÉireann atá acu a bheith ag méadú. Dá mbeadh Éire aontaithe, bheadh 20% den daonra ina nAontachtaigh agus bheadh údarás dáiríre acu le cois cumhachta agus tionchair - seachas

mionlach beag bídeach a ndéantar neamhiontas díobh, den chuid is mó i gcóras parlaiminteach an Breataine.

Cruthaítear leis seo uile cur chuige níos oscailte, níos samhlaíche, níos solúbtha maidir le hathaontú na hÉireann.

D'fhéadfaí comhréitigh agus socrúithe nua polaitíochta a úsáid le deighiltí pobail, cultúir agus seicteacha a sháru.

Sinne uile ar mian linn Éire aontaithe a fheiceáil, is gá dúinn a bheith réidh le breathnú ar shocrúithe eatramhacha.

D'fhéadfadh na gnéithe seo a leanas a bheith i gceist:-

- ▶ Déabhlóid leanúnach ag Stormont agus Feidhmeannas cumhachtroinnte sa Tuaisceart taobh istigh de struchtúr uile-Éireann;
- ▶ Socrú cónaidhme nó comh-chónaidhme;
- ▶ Stát aonadach;
- ▶ Socrúithe eile

D'fhéadfadh sé go mbeadh cosaintí bunreacha de dhíth ar Éirinn nua, aontaithe maidir le féiniúlacht pholaitiúil aontachtach

a gcaithfear a dheimhniú dóibh go mbeidh ionad cuí agus tionchar polaitiúil acu in aon dispeansáid nua.

D'fhéadfadh na gnéithe seo a leanas a bheith i gceist:-

- ▶ Móraimh ualaithe parlaiminte maidir le reachtaíocht ar cheisteanna bunúsacha sa chás go sainaithneofar ceisteanna bunúsacha den chineál seo agus go gcomhaontófar iad roimh athaontú;
- ▶ Líon íosta ráthaithe síochán d'ionadaithe aontachtacha sa teach uachtarach i gcomhthéacs Éire aontaithe;
- ▶ Socrúithe eile.



## Caidreamh nua leis an mBreatain

IS FADA CAIDREAMH naimhdeach idir Éire agus an Bhreatain. Ach chomh maith le scéal an choilínithe, na coimhlinte agus na deighilte bhí go leor eispéiris dhearfacha, chomhroinnte eadrainn thar na céadta bliain.

Chuir agus cuireann scríbhneoirí na hÉireann go han-mhór le litríocht an Bhéarla. Tá na Gaeil ag lonnú agus ag obair sa Bhreatain leis na glúine fada. Tá teanga chomhonta againn. Sa spórt, baineann muintir an dá tír sult as an iomaíocht bheoga, fholláin. Bíonn go leor Éireannach agus daoine ar de shíolrach na hÉireann iad go mór chun tosaigh i gcúrsaí polaitíochta, gnó agus i dtionscal siamsaíochta na Breataine. Tríd an phróiseas síochána agus Comhaontú Aoine an Chéasta, cuireadh dúshraith ar fáil le caidreamh nua a chothú idir Éire agus an Bhreatain bunaithe ar an chomhpháirtíocht, an comhionannas agus an cóimheas. Caithfidh rialtais na hÉireann agus na Breataine agus Feidhmeannas an Tuaiscirt ról iomlán a ghlacadh leis an phróiseas seo a fhorbairt a thuilleadh.

Le linn a cuairte stairiúla ar Éirinn in 2011, thug Banríon Eilís na Breataine le fios go soiléir gur mian léi a bheith mar chuid de phróiseas athmhuintearais agus cothú dea-chaidrimh.

Nuair a casadh Martin McGuinness ar an Bhanríon Eilís i mBéal Feirste, nuair a chuaigh Uachtarán na hÉireann, Michael D. Higgins ar cuairt stáit chun na Breataine agus nuair a bhuaill Gerry Adams leis an Phríonsa Charles i nGaillimh, ba cheannródaíoch na hócáidí iad.

Má tá tuilleadh dul chun cinn suntasach le déanamh i dtreo an athmhuintearais idir oileán na hÉireann agus an Bhreatain, idir an Tuaisceart agus an Deisceart agus idir na traidisiúin éagsúla ar an oileán seo, caithfidh an t-athmhuintearas a bheith le mothú ar na sráideanna agus inár bpobail.

Bheadh tionchar thar a bheith dearfach ag Éirinn a bheith comhaontaithe agus athaontaithe ar an chaidreamh Angla-Éireannach agus chuirfeadh sé tús le gaol nua bunaithe ar an comhionannas agus an cóimheas.

## An Ghné Idirnáisiúnta

Is eiseamláir idirnáisiúnta é cheana féin próiseas síochána na hÉireann mar shamhail réiteach coimhlinte ar éirigh léi. D'fhéadfadh Éire a aontófar go daonlathach a bheith ina sampla don domhan agus ina guth ionraic idirnáisiúnta don athrú síochánta bunreachtúil agus don athmhuintearas.

Tá suim ag Aontas na hEorpa agus ag an phobal idirnáisiúnta agus infheistíocht déanta acu i bpróisis idirthréimhseacha athaontú náisiúnta, sa Ghearmáin san áireamh.

Cuimseofar i bpróisis athaontú na hÉireann breathnú ar thacaíocht don athaontú ón Bhreatain, ón AE agus ó chomhlachtaí idirnáisiúnta.

Ba mhór an fhoinsé chúnaimh iad Cistí Struchtúracha na hEorpa don Ghearmáin nuair a aontaíodh ar dtús í agus ba chruthúnas é sin ar dhlúthpháirtíocht na hEorpa leis an bhallstát AE seo.

Tá seirbhísí Choimisiúin na hEorpa ag obair faoi láthair ar bhearta féideartha le tacú leis an phróiseas athaontaithe sa Chipir.



# Diaspóra na hÉireann

Tá 70 milliún duine timpeall na cruinne a dtéann a bhfréamhacha siar go hÉirinn. Bhí go leor acu sa Bhreatain, i SAM, Ceanada, san Astráil agus gach cearn den domhan a thug an-chuid tacaíochta don phróiseas síochána. B'éigean dóibh féin nó dá sinsir, ag dul siar na céadta bliain, teitheadh as Éirinn le héalú ar ghéarleanúint reiligiúin nó pholaitíochta nó ar chúiseanna eacnamaíochta. Sna náisiúin seo inar lonnagh siad sa lá atá inniu ann, tá na Gaeil go gníomhach sa saol polaitiúil, sa spórt agus siamsaíocht agus i bpobail áitiúla - i ngach gné den tsochaí.

Mar shampla, in 2001, bhí 674,786 duine i Sasana a rugadh in Éirinn (1.4 faoin chéad den daonra).

Is é seo an pobal is mó de dhaoine a rugadh in Éirinn ach a chónaíonn thar lear (seachas daoine ar de shíolrach na hÉireann iad) áit ar bith ar domhan. Táthar ag meas gur de shinsearach

Éireannach 35% de bhunadh Mhanchain. I suirbhé a rinneadh i Londain roinnt mhaith blianta ó shin, dúirt 11% díobh sin a ghlac páirt gurbh as Éirinn duine amháin, ar a laghad, dá dtuismitheoirí. Mar sin de, tá tacaíocht mhór fhéideartha sa Bhreatain féin le tacaíocht a fhorbairt d'Éirinn Aontaithe.

Sna Stáit Aontaithe, tá na milliún duine ar de shinsearach na nGael iad agus tá cumhacht shuntasach pholaitiúil acu. Lena chois sin, tá siad eagraithe trí réimse d'eagrais Ghaelacha chultúrtha, spóirt agus chathartha chomh maith le lucht gnó, sa pholaitíocht áitiúil, stáit agus náisiúnta agus i ngluaiseacht na gceardchumann. Tacaíonn go leor acu go hoscailte le hÉire a bheith aontaithe. Is gá, mar sin de, nuair a bhítear ag caibidil athaontú na hÉireann Diaspóra na nGael a bheith páirteach agus is gá dul i dteagmháil leo agus feidhm a bhaint as a gcumhacht pholaitiúil le tacú lenár gcuspóirí.





# Praghas na Críochdheighilte



## Praghas na Críochdheighilte

CHUIR AN CHRÍOCHDHEIGHILT bac ar fhás eacnamaíochta ar fud an oileáin. Ar feadh na mblianta, ba é an Deisceart a bhí thíos leis óir bhí sé deighilte ón Tuaisceart inar mhó an fhorbairt tionsclaíochta.

Roimh 1922, is ó thionscail i mBéal Feirste agus sa cheantar máguaird a tháinig £19.1 milliún de luach £20.9 milliún easpórtálacha na hÉireann. Faoi 1926, ní raibh ach 7% de phoist an Deiscirt in earnáil na déantúsaíochta; 30% an figiúr sa Tuaisceart. Sna blianta i ndiaidh na críochdheighilte, áfach, tháinig feabhas suntasach ar fheidhmíocht eacnamaíochta an Deiscirt.

San am céanna chuir staid an Tuaiscirt mar réigiún iargúlta de chuid an "Ríocht Aontaithe" bac ar scóip a fheidhmíochta eacnamaíochta.

90 bliain i ndiaidh na críochdheighilte, agus

cumhachtaí eacnamaíochta ar ais i mBaile Átha Cliath, d'éirigh OTI per capita i nDeisceart na hÉireann lán chomh hard leis an Bhreatain agus ar deireadh d'éirigh sé ní b'airde. Idir an dá linn, tháinig laghdú ar OTI per capita i dTuaisceart na hÉireann go dtí beagán faoi bhonn 80% de mheán na Breataine. Mhéadaigh ioncain sa Tuaisceart faoi chúig le 60 bliain anuas ach mhéadaigh siad faoi fiche sa Deisceart. Ba é an toradh a bhí ar an chríochdheighilt réigiúin na Teorann a bheith scoite óna gcúlchríocha nádúrtha eacnamaíochta agus tá siad faoi mhíbhuntáiste go fóill mar gheall ar easpa comhsheasmhacht eacnamaíochta de dheasca dhá chóras geilleagair a bheith ar oileán chomh beag seo. Is léir go dtiocfadh feabhas ar a bhfuil i ndán do gheilleagar an oileáin ina iomláine ar chaighdeán mhaireachtála, Thuaidh agus Theas, ach an tír a athaontú.



# Miotas na Do-Acmhainneachta

IS É fócas chuid mhór den díospóireacht a bhaineann le haontú na hÉireann cé acu atá nó nach bhfuil sé ar acmhainn airgeadais na hÉireann a bheith aontaithe. Is é fírinne an scéil go bhféadfadh fóirdheontas na Breataine a bheith chomh híseal le £2.7 billiún sa bhliain agus bac dian curtha ag Westminster ar chumas eacnamaíochta an Tuaiscirt.

Cé go bhfuil údar dlísteanaigh imní ag baint le costais agus buntáistí an athaontaithe, bíonn go leor tuairimí gan aon bhunús á gcur in iúl agus tá diúltaithe ag Rialtas na Breataine an fhaisnéis ar fad a chur ar fáil.

D'ainneoin gurb é an cás airgeadais agus na roghanna polasaithe ag rialtais amach anseo in Éirinn

athaontaithe a rachaidh i bhfeidhm, ar deireadh thiar, ar inacmhainneacht na hearnála poiblí, léiríodh ar na mallaibh i dtuairisc de chuid na hInstitiúide Cairte Airgeadas Poiblí (A Balance Sheet for NI's Public Sector) gur mó na sócmhainní (£51.8 billiún) ná na dlísteanaigh (£51.3 billiún) atá ag an Tuaisceart.

Is seift pholaitiúil iad rómheastacháin ar easnamh fioscach an Tuaiscirt ar aidhm dóibh deireadh a chur le díospóireacht ar bith ar aontú na hÉireann.

Bréagnaíonn na figiúirí seo a leanas cuid de na miotais faoin £24.1 billiún - an figiúr a chaitheann stát na Breataine ar Thuaisceart na hÉireann, de réir roinnt tráchtairí.

- ▶ £2.9 billiún de seo caite ag Rialtas na Breataine ar Fhíachas Bank of England, cúrsaí cosanta, srl;

- ▶ £1.1 billiún de seo curtha leis an fhiúir mar gheall ar dhímheas stoc caipitil na Breataine;

Den £20 billiún eile (an tsuim airgid a maíonn Roinn Airgeadais Westminster

a chaitear ar sheirbhísí poiblí sa Tuaisceart):-

- ▶ Caitheann ranna Whitehall £1.1 billiún de seo ar réimsí a socraíonn státseirbhísigh na Breataine a bheith bainteach le Tuaisceart na hÉireann lena n-áirítear, mar shampla, an Oifig Comh-Aireachta, an Oifig Gnóthaí Baile agus an NIO;
- ▶ Is Caiteachas a Bhainistítear ar Bhonn Bliantúil thart ar £1.3 billiún de seo arna riar ag ranna de chuid Rialtas na Breataine ar chóir é a dhéabhlóidiú go

háitiúil sular féidir é a mheas agus a scrúdú mar chaiteachas áitiúil;

- ▶ Leithdháiltear £19 billiún ar an Tuaisceart tríd an Teorainn Caiteachas Roinne (.i. an t-airgead a chaitheann an Feidhmeannas) agus Caiteachas a Bhainistítear ar Bhonn Bliantúil (.i. an t-airgead a chaitear ar íocaíochtaí leas sóisialta sa Tuaisceart);
- ▶ Maíonn Roinn Airgeadais na Breataine, go mearbhlaich, fosta go gcaitear £18.3 billiún d'airgead poiblí sa Tuaisceart.

D'uireasa eolas beacht ó Roinn Airgeadais na Breataine ar féidir é a dhearbhu go neamhspleách, mearbhall is toradh don réimse figiúirí - rud a dhéantar d'aon turas, b'fhéidir.

Is féidir a rá go cinnte, nach bhfuil an figiúr £24.1 billiún cruinn agus gur dócha gur sa raon £18.3 billiún go £20 billiún atá an caiteachas poiblí.

Measadh gur sa raon £14.9 billiún go £15.6 billiún atá an méid ioncain a chruthaítear sa

Tuaisceart. Níl san áireamh anseo an méid Cáin Ioncain, Cáin Chorparáideach, NICanna agus CBL a chruthaítear sa Tuaisceart ach a íocann comhlachtaí Briotanacha agus idirnáisiúnta atá cláraithe i Londain.

Léirítear leis na figiúirí seo gur tuairim ar £2.7 billiún - £5.1 billiún an difríocht idir ioncam agus caiteachas iarbhair, gan cánachas ilnáisiúnta a chláraítear i Londain san áireamh.



**Tá Ciall Eacnamaíochta  
leis an Aontú**

# Tá Ciall Eacnamaíochta leis an Aontú

Léirítear i dtaighde arís is arís eile - i dtéarmaí sinéirgíochtaí, barainneacht scála agus forbairt infreastruchtúir - go bhfuil ciall eacnamaíochta le hÉirinn aontaithe.

Is é fírinne an scéil nach bhfuil buntáiste ar bith ag náisiún beag oileánda dar daonra 6.4 milliún duine ar imeall na hEorpa dhá chóras ar leith cánach, dhá chóras dlí agus dhá chóras forbairt eacnamaíochta a bhíonn in iomaíocht lena chéile a bheith aige.

Ag amanna éagsúla, bhain gnólachtaí ar an dá thaobh den teorainn leas nó a mhalairt as tosca athraitheacha eacnamaíochta dhá chóras ar leith geilleagair.

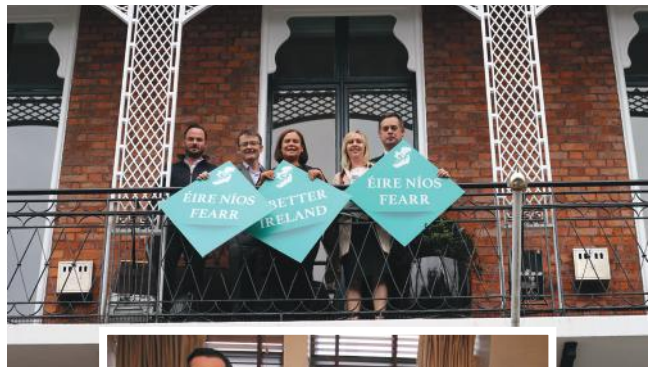
Ní thaitníonn a leithéid de mhíshocracht le lucht gnó agus ní polasaí inbhuanaithe fadtéarmach é don oileán seo.

Socracht eacnamaíochta an toradh a bheadh ar Éirinn aontaithe le cois cruthú timpeallachta ina dtig le gnólachtaí dul chun cinn. Fás inbhuanaithe eacnamaíochta agus fostaíochta ar fud an oileáin an toradh a bheadh ar an athaontú. Bheadh buntáiste ar leith le breith ag ceantair teorann, ceantair a bhí thíos leis an chríochdheighilt.

Bheadh cothromaíocht ann i gcúrsaí trádála agus ní bheifí i dtuilleamaí malairtí airgeadra nó difríochtaí cánach ar oileán beag amháin.

Réiteodh aontú na hÉireann an bealach faoi choinne 'Branda na hÉireann' agus ghlacfadh an comhoibriú áit na hiomaíochta le hinfheistíocht intíre agus turasóireacht a uasmhéadú agus le táirgí, torthaí agus gnó na hÉireann a uasmhéadú.

Tá clú ardchaighdeán talmhaíochta agus bia ar Éirinn



ar fud an domhain. Chuirfeadh riarachán comhtháite talmhaíochta ar an oileán deireadh le bacainní a bhaineann le lipéadú tír thionscnaimh, dhá chóras clibeála dlínsiúla, trádáil agus rialacháin dhifriúla sláinte ainmhithe. Beidh sé seo le leas feirmeoirí, Thuaidh agus Theas, agus sáróidh sé cumhacht na miondíoltóirí agus na bpróiseálaithe a bhain feidhm as difríochtaí den sórt le praghsanna a ionramháil.

Le margadh aonair fuinnimh, bheifí in ann iomlán tairbhe a bhaint as fuinneamh gaoithe, toinne agus cumhacht agus teas in éineacht (CTÉ) bithmhaise agus na buntáistí a bhaineann leis an Mhargadh Aonair Leictreachais a choinneáil.

## Cuirfidh an tAontú Luas faoin Fhás Eacnamaíochta

IS LE LEAS fhás eacnamaíochta, post agus caighdeáin mhaireachtála ar fud oileán na hÉireann a bheidh athaontú na tíre.

Ar na mallaibh, foilsíodh staidéar piarmheasúnaithe de chuid an Ollaimh Kurt Huebner ó Ollscoil Vancouver (2015) dar teideal Modelling Irish Unification. Sa staidéar seo, measadh gur mó comhchóras eacnamaíochta na hÉireann ná an dá chóras ar leith, Thuaidh agus Theas, faoi thart ar €35 billiún sa bhliain.

Cuireann an staidéar seo leis an bhailiúchán saothair ina ndírítear ar na glanbhuntáistí suntasacha a bheidh le gnóthú as aontú na hÉireann. Ní hann d'aon anailís nó taighde fhiúntach a bhfuil a mhalairt de tháta le baint astu.

Tagann na struchtúir éagsúla eacnamaíochta, Thuaidh agus Theas, salach ar fhás eacnamaíochta na hÉireann. Cuirtear bac ar chomhlachtaí agus ar oibrithe trí luaineacht airgeadra, leibhéil éagsúla clárúchán feithiclí, rátaí difriúla cánach agus éagsúlacht costas.

€3 billiún nó £2.4 billiún a ghineann trádáil uile-oileánda na déantúsaíochta d'Éirinn. Dá gcealófaí na constaicí atá roimh an trádáil seo, thiofadh fás suntasach ar an fhiúir seo. Dá mba ann don chomhtháthú iomlán eacnamaíochta, thiofadh cánachas, rialú agus trádáil chothrom, fhorchéimnitheach dá réir. Chuirfí ar fáil na huirlisí faoi choinne an fháis, na fostaíochta agus timpeallacht ghnó níos fearr ar fud an oileáin.



# Is fearrde an Infheistíocht Isteach an t-aontú

Faoi láthair, tá comhlachtaí éagsúla in iomaíocht lena chéile le hÉire a mhargú faoi choinne infheistíocht isteach. Tá costais riaracháin ag dul leis an dúbailt seo agus laghdaítear an leas atá leis na hinfeistíochtaí de réir mar a chuireann na hinfeisteoirí an Tuaisceart agus an Deisceart in éadan a chéile.

Ba shuntasach an tsinéirgíocht a thiofadh de bharr comhthionchar, gréasáin agus taithí gníomhaireachtaí infheistíocht isteach leis an infheistíocht a mhéadú.

Thabharfadh gníomhaireacht agus polasaí aonair uile-oileánda infheistíocht chun tosaigh agus dhéanfadh siad iarrachtaí reatha ÚFT, InvestNI agus InterTradelreland a chomhtháthú.

Thabharfaí le cheile taithí, saineolas, Thuaidh agus Theas, le cur chuige lán-chomhtháite a chinntiú i leith infheistíochta agus nuála agus le húsáid níos straitéisí chistí AE a éascú.

Chuirfeadh Éire nua, aontaithe an t-oileán chun cinn mar ionad infheistíochta agus rochtana Mhargadh Aonair na hEorpa.

# Is fearrde an Talmhaíocht agus Agraibhia an tAontú

Mar a míníodh cheana, chuirfeadh riarachán comhtháite talmhaíochta ar an oileán deireadh le bacainní a bhaineann le lipéadú tír thionscnaimh, dhá chóras clibeála dlínsiúla, trádáil agus rialacháin dhifriúla sláinte ainmhithe.

Beidh sé seo le leas feirmeoirí, Thuaidh agus Theas, agus tabharfaidh sé dúshlán na miondíoltóirí agus na bpróiseálaithe a bhaineann feidhm as difríochtaí den sórt le praghsanna a ionramháil.

Níl a shárú le fáil maidir le clú na hÉireann as táirgeadh bia ardchaighdeáin. Tuairiscíonn an Bord Bia gur bhain easpórtálacha bia agus dí Dheisceart na hÉireann €10.5 billiún amach in 2014. Shroich easpórtálacha an Tuaiscirt £3.4 billiún or €4.24 billiún (má úsáidtear meánráta malairte 1.24 do 2014) in 2014.

Faoi láthair, cuireann luaineachtaí ráta malairte laincisí ar an áit a dtig le feirmeoirí stoc a dhíol agus a cheannach. Mothaíonn táirgeoirí bainne agus beostoic



sa Tuaisceart gur mó an maorlathas breise a gcaithfidh siad plé leis i gcomparáid lena gcomhghleacaithe sa Deisceart nuair a bhíonn a dtáirgí á dtabhairt trasna na teorann agus cuireann sé seo uile as do chomhchumas easpórtála an dá chuid d'Éirinn.

# Is Fearrde Easpórtálacha an tAontú

D'éascódh aontú na tíre cur chun cinn comhtháite 'Branda na hÉireann' aonair ar fud an domhain, agus muid saor ón dúbailt dhiomailteach ag comhlachtaí difriúla stáit ag cur tháirgí na hÉireann chun cinn. Tá de chumas leis seo na mílte post a chruthú agus easpórtálacha a dhúbailt sna deich mbliana atá romhainn.

I ndiaidh 'Brexit' tá Éire aontaithe níos tábhachtaí

na riamh don tionscal agraibhia. Chiallódh an t-aontú guth aonair, comhsheasmhach lenar fearr a d'fhéadfaí praghas cothrom a ghnóthú ar tháirgí ó mhonarchana feola agus ó phróiseálaithe, le cumhacht na n-ollmhargaí a rialú agus margaí níos fearr a sholáthar ó idirbheartaíochtaí athleasú CBT. Bainfidh Agra-ghnó leas fosta as gluaiseacht shaor ainmhithe ar fud na hÉireann.

## Is Fearrde an Turasóireacht an tAontú

TÁ ÉIRE ar na cinn scríbe is mó tóir ar domhan. Ach tá claonadh sa turasóireacht ó dheas, áfach, go stopann sí ag an líne idir Gaillimh agus Baile Átha Cliath agus tá tearcforbairt agus gannmhaoiniú i gceist i gceantair na teorann maidir le hinfheistíocht sa turasóireacht. Mar shampla, níor infheistíodh ach 3% de Chlár Infheistíocht Caipitil Turasóireachta Rialtas na hÉireann i gceantair na Teorann ó 2007-2015.

Dá n-aontófaí Éire, bhainfeadh gach cuid den tír a lánacmhainneacht amach. Dhéanfaí Éire a mhargú mar cheann scríbe amháin. Cad chuige nár chóir an cósta ar fad a bheith i gceist i dtionscadail Shlí an Atlantaigh Fhiáin nó Sean-Oirthear na hÉireann?

Bheadh forbairt turasóireachta ar bhonn uile-oileáin le leas ceantar atá anois ar dhá thaobh na



teorann reatha gan amhras. Fostaíocht mhéadaithe agus tuilleadh ioncam cánach an toradh a bheadh ar an turasóireacht in Éirinn aontaithe.

## Réigiún na Teorann a Athrú go Dearfach

BA É A RINNE an chríochdheighilt pobail nádúrtha agus córais gheilleagair nádúrtha i gcontaetha na teorann a scaradh óna cheile. Scaradh Doire ó Dhún na nGall, Fear Manach ó Liatroim agus an Cabhán, Tír Eoghain ó Mhuineachán agus Ard Mhacha ó Mhuineachán agus an Lú.

Dá n-aontófaí an tír, thabharfaí le chéile arís córais áitiúla gheilleagair na réigiún nádúrtha seo agus chealófaí gach bacainn ar thrádáil, tionchar luaineachtaí airgeadra san áireamh. Sholáthrófaí

infheistíocht leis an mhíchothromaíocht a tháinig de bharr na críochdheighilte i bpobail a réiteach trí nascadh le hinfreastruchtúr iompair agus teicneolaíochta amhail forbairt an A5 a nascaídh Baile Átha Cliath, Doire agus Dún na nGall.

Bheadh buntáistí i gceist sa phróiseas pleanáil spásúil sa dá chuid den oileán mar gheall ar thacair sonraí chomhoiriúnaithe agus chomhtháite ar tháscairí daonra, fostaíochta, iompair, tithíocht, miondíol agus timpeallachta.

## Is Fearrde an Geilleagar Eolasbhunaithe an tAontú

Is léir go bhfuil sinéirgíochtaí le gnó soláthar cógas na hÉireann atá ag fás. Is san earnáil phríobháideach atá sé seo go príomha ach d'fhéadfaí é seo a chomhtháthú le seirbhísí sláinte atá faoi stiúir phoiblí agus cur leis trí infheistíocht phoiblí T&F agus oideachais le gurbh earnáil lárnach é i ngeilleagar aontaithe.

Tá sraith comhlachtaí móra lonnaithe i ngeilleagar an Tuaiscirt a fheidhmíonn in earnálacha a bheadh comhlánach le fiontair sa Deisceart, lena n-áirítear próiseáil bia, aeraspás, meaisínre tógála, earraí cógaisíochta, teileachumarsáid agus TF.

Earnáil fhadhbhunaithe eile a bhainfeadh leas as geilleagar aontaithe is ea an earnáil aeraspáis.

Tá innealtóireacht airgeadais fhadhbhunaithe agus seirbhísí a bhaineann le léasú agus le réimsí eile sa Deisceart agus tá acmhainneacht shuntasach thionscal an aeraspáis ag an Tuaisceart. Dá gcomhtháthófaí an earnáil phoiblí, Thuaidh agus Theas, i réimsí bóithre, iarnróid, postais, teileachumarsáide, uisce agus fuinnimh, d'éascófaí méadú suaithinseach táirgeachta agus rachmais.

Dá méadófaí margadh intíre na hÉireann faoi 25% nó níos mó, mhéadófaí acmhainneacht na hÉireann dul san iomaíocht i mórgheilleagar an AE agus mhéadófaí dá réir saibhreas an oileáin ar fad.

Is léir gur féidir an sprioc a bhaineann le córas geilleagair níos mó, níos rachmasaí ar fud oileán na hÉireann a bhaint amach tríd an athaontú.

# **Is Fearrde na Seirbhísí an tAontú**

# Is Fearrde na Seirbhísí an tAontú

IS LÉIR nach bhfuil ciall ar bith le náisiún beag oileánda córais scoite, scaoilte sláinte, oideachais, iompair agus fuinnimh a bheith aige. Lagaigh sé an soláthar agus mhéadaigh sé costais.

Leis an athaontú, thiocfadh infheistíocht éifeachtach, éifeachtúil i seirbhísí poiblí do shaoránaigh, Thuaidh agus Theas, trí dheireadh a chur leis an chóras dhiomailteach seo.

## Seirbhís Sláinte Náisiúnta na hÉireann

Tá Sinn Féin tiomanta do bhunú Sheirbhís Sláinte Náisiúnta na hÉireann, saor in aisce ag an phointe soláthair agus ina dtabharfar cóireáil d'othair ar bhonn riachtanas leighis seachas aon ní eile. Tá deiseanna an-fhollasach i gcomhthéacs na hÉireann aontaithe le hathchumraíocht a dhéanamh ar an dóigh a gcuireann muid seirbhísí sláinte ar fáil ar fud na hÉireann.

Tá aschur an Tuaiscirt maidir le seirbhísí sláinte, 9.5% den gheilleagar, ag cur le meánfhigiúr an ECFE; tá figiúr an Deiscirt, 6.3% áfach, i bhfad níos ísle ná an meán.

Tá an tsuim iomlán airgid a chaitear in aghaidh an duine sa chóras reatha chúlchéimnitheach sa Deisceart níos airde ná mar a chaitear in aghaidh an duine sa Tuaisceart ná sa Bhreatain, ach bíonn fáil ag muintir an Tuaiscirt agus na Breataine ar sheirbhísí níos fearr agus iad saor in aisce ag an phointe soláthair.

Is léir go bhfuil stór saineolais agus acmhainneachta cruinnithe agus bainistithe sa Tuaisceart ar féidir agus ar chóir a sholáthar ar fud an oileáin. Bheadh an-tairbhe le baint ag seirbhís sláinte uile-Éireann as comhroinnt seirbhísí ospidéal géarmhíochaine, sláinte phobail agus leigheas ginearálta.

Tríd an phleanáil sláinte uile-oileánda, d'fhorbrófaí agus dháilfí seirbhísí sláinte ar an dóigh is éifeachtaí. Tá an iomad samplaí de sholáthar seirbhísí sláinte níos fearr trí chur chuige uile-oileánda. Cuireann an comhionad ailse i nDoire seirbhísí ar fáil d'othair ar fud an iarthuaiscirt. Ní gá d'othair as Dún na nGall ná as Doire taisteal go Béal Feirste ná go Baile Átha Cliath le cóireáil a fháil. Ciallaíonn Éire aontaithe Seirbhís Sláinte Náisiúnta na hÉireann a bheidh comhaimseartha, éifeachtach ag soláthar sláinte agus folláine fheabhsaithe do shaoránaigh.



## Is Fearrde an tOideachas an tAontú

TÁ CIALL LE CÓRAS OIDEACHAIS uile-Éireann. De dheasca feidhmiú dhá chóras ar oileán beag amháin, cinntíodh nach bhfuil daltaí in ann institiúidí tríú leibhéal a roghnú ar bhonn rogha agus áisiúlachta.

Chinntedh sé fosta go dtig le tuismitheoirí agus daltaí cois teorann na réamhscoileanna, bunscoileanna agus meánscoileanna is cuí agus is gaire a rochtain.

Bheadh buntáistí airgeadais agus éifeachtúlachta le hÉirinn aontaithe ina bhfuil córas oideachais trína

ndírítear ar gheilleagar inbhuanaithe a chothú, ar chomhroinnt acmhainní agus saineolais agus a éascaíonn teagmháil agus soghluaisteacht idir agus i measc institiúidí, comhpháirtithe agus pearsanra a bhfuil baint acu le cúrsaí oideachais.

Dá dtabharfaí le chéile gach ollscoil ar fud na hÉireann, Thuaidh agus Theas, mar 'Ollscoileanna Éireann', neartófaí Taighde & Forbairt.

Leis an athaontú, d'éascófaí córas saor in aisce oideachais dáiríre do gach saoránach Éireannach.

## Is Fearrde Iompar an tAontú

LE hATHAONTÚ NA TÍRE, cinnteofar go bhfeabhsófar go mór taisteal timpeall na tíre. Níl bailchríoch ar chóras taistil oileán na hÉireann. Cuireadh deireadh leis an chomhphleanáil eacnamaíochta agus infreastruchtúir i ndiaidh na críochdheighilte.

Faoi láthair, ní bhíonn ach 53 turas traenach fillte idir Béal Feirste agus Baile Átha Cliath sa tseachtain. Cuir é seo i gcomparáid leis an 296 turas fillte idir Béal Feirste agus Beannchar sa tseachtain.

Maireann an turas traenach idir Béal Feirste agus Baile Átha Cliath dhá uair an chloig agus níl sé iomaíoch leis an taisteal príobháideach. Is faide an

turas traenach ná an turas bóthair agus tá laghdú ar an líon paisinéirí dá réir. Tranglam, brú agus scrogall a bhíonn i gceist lena lán de shlite iompair na hÉireann, go háirithe sna cathracha agus i gceantair teorann.

Ciallaíonn Éire aontaithe líonra taistil níos fearr, rud a d'fhágfadh é níos fusa ag comhlachtaí earraí agus seirbhísí a iompar, a mhargú agus a dhíol ar bhonn iontaoifa, intuartha uile-oileáin.

Beidh an tír ar fad ceangailte den chuid eile den domhan tríd an oileán ar fad a nascadh le líonra a cheanglaíonn de chalafoirt agus aerfoirt idirnáisiúnta an oileáin.

## Is Fearrde an Phóilíneacht agus Ceartas an tAontú

Tagann an chríochdheighilt salach ar fheidhmiú éifeachtach na póilíneachta agus an cheartais. Le hathaontú na tíre, tiocfaidh an timpeallacht inar fearr agus ar éifeachtaí is féidir úsáid a bhaint as acmhainní a bheidh dírithe ar an phóilíneacht agus ceartas. Chuirfeadh córas aonair ceartas coiriúlachta agus póilíneachta deireadh leis na constaicí a bhíonn roimh chomhroinnt faisnéise agus comhoibrithe.

Cailleann Éire, Thuaidh agus Theas, na billiúin euro

agus punt gach bliain tríd an trádáil mhídhleathach trasteorann. Rachaidh Éire aontaithe i ngleic le trádáil mhídhleathach trasteorann, laghdófar costais phóilíneachta agus beifear in ann acmhainní a dhíriú ar réimsí ríthábhachtacha eile. Chuirfeadh an t-athaontú deireadh le dronganna coirpeach ag úsáid na Teorann lena leas féin agus dá gcuirfí deireadh le praghsanna difriúla breosla, chuirfí deireadh le smuigleáil breosla.

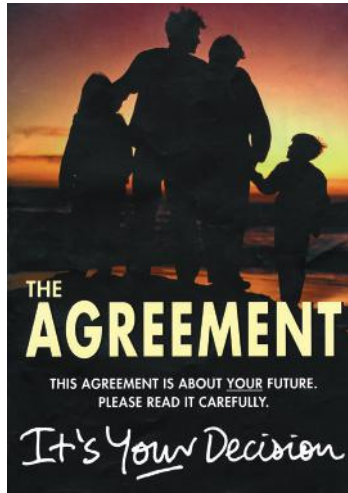
## Is Fearrde Spóirt na hÉireann an tAontú

IS LÁIDRE foirne na hÉireann nuair is foirne uile-Éireann iad. Tá ollchraobhacha agus corónacha triaracha buaite ag foireann rugbaí na hÉireann, d'éirigh go hiontach le dornálaithe ar bhonn idirnáisiúnta, tá galfairí na hÉireann ar thosach an tslua. Mar eagrais uile-Éireann níl sárú CLG le fáil mar eagrais spóirt amaitéarach. Tá níos mó tacaíochta ná

riamh ann faoi choinne foireann sacair uile-Éireann. Níl ciall ar bith le dhá fhoireann 'náisiúnta' a bheith san iomaíocht go hidirnáisiúnta agus an líon beag imreoirí a scoilteadh. Is láidre agus is fearr a éiríonn linn i gcuideachta a chéile. Chruthódh aontú na hÉireann níos mó ioncaim do chlubanna spóirt agus d'imreoirí a bhfuil tallann acu.



# **Plean Oibre i dTreo an Aontaithe**



## Plean Oibre i dTreo an Aontaithe

CAITHFIDH MUINTIR na hÉireann, Thuaidh agus Theas, an ceart daonlathach a bheith acu toadhchái a sochaí a shocrú.

Tá foráil faoi choinne reifrinn ar Athaontú na hÉireann mar chuid dhílis de Chomhaontú Aoine an Chéasta 1998. I gComhaontú Aoine an Chéasta tá na bunrialacha le haghaidh athrú síochánta, daonlathach bunreachtúil trí reifrinn chomhthráthacha Thuaidh agus Theas.

Tá de cheart ag gach duine in Éirinn toadhchái an oileáin seo a mhúnlú. B'íontach agus ba stairiúil an deis é reifreann ar aontú na hÉireann do gach duine in Éirinn, a chuirfeadh ar ár gcumas vótáil ar son an chineáil rialtais agus sochaí atá de dhíth orainn.

Ní bhaineann an cineál tógáil náisiúin agus athmhuintearais uile-oileáin a bhfuil Sinn Féin ag obair ina dtreo leis an Tuaisceart a dhingeadh isteach i gcóras reatha polaitíochta, chultúrtha agus eacnamaíochta an Deiscirt ach cruthú Éire nua chomhaontaithe dúinn féin uile a chónaíonn in éineacht lena chéile ar an oileán.

Sinne a bhfuil athaontú na hÉireann de dhíth orainn, deirtear linn gur ag cothú imris atá muid. Deirtear linn go n-athaontófar Éire am éigin feasta. Ach is é fírinne an scéil nach dtarlóidh an t-athaontú go díreach cionn is gur mian linn é. Tá straitéis réadúil pholaitiúil de dhíth ina leith ina bhfuil cuspóirí agus bearta follasacha. De thoradh an Phróisis Síochána agus Chomhaontú Aoine an Chéasta, tá córas againn le haontú a ghnóthú. Sinne uile atá i bhfách leis an athaontú, caithfidimid comhbheart a dhéanamh dá réir lena bhaint amach.

Tá Vóta ar Aontú iarrtha ag Sinn Féin le bheith ar siúl sa chéad tréimhse pholaitiúil eile. Tá muid ag iarraidh díospóireacht réasúnach ar an cheist atá bunaithe ar eolas agus meas.

Seo é an t-am lena oiread tacaíochta agus is féidir don aontú a phleanáil agus a chothú. D'fhéadfadh ceannairí na bpáirtithe sin atá i bhfách le haontú na tíre, má ghníomhaíonn siad le chéile, an cuspóir sin a bhaint amach. Ní mór do Rialtas na hÉireann plean cuí a ullmhú don aontú. Céim thosaigh sa chéad tréimhse Oireachtais eile a bheidh i bhforbairt grúpa uile-pháirtí le Páipéar Glas um Aontú a thabhairt chun cinn. Lena chois sin, ba chóir pleananna a fhorbairt faoi choinne Seirbhís Sláinte Náisiúnta uile-oileáin agus seirbhísí poiblí uile-oileáin trí 'Plean Infheistíochta agus Rachmais Éire Aontaithe'. Tráth a mhair sé, chruthaigh Fóram Nua-Éireann spás faoi choinne plé roghanna bunreachtúla le haghaidh an athraithe agus d'fhorbair páipéar cuimsitheach; Economic Options Paper on the Cost of Partition. Theip ar an Fhóram ar an ábhar gur coinníodh Sinn Féin amach as agus go raibh sé ag feidhmiú nuair a bhí veto ag an Bhreatain ar an athrú bunreachtúil.

Tá deireadh le veto na Breataine. Is faoi mhuintir na hÉireann, Thuaidh agus Theas, atá an t-athrú bunreachtúil. Anois an t-am ag gach páirtí a thacaíonn le hAontú na hÉireann teacht i gceann a chéile le cosán a dhearadh i dtreo Éire nua, chomhaontaithe, uileghabhálach, athaontaithe - Éire a bheidh bunaithe ar an chomhionannas agus a bheidh dírithe ar gach saoránach.



**Conclúid -  
ANOIS an tAm**

## Conclúid - ANOIS an tAm

DAR LE SINN FÉIN - agus le go leor eile i ngach cuid de shochaí na hÉireann - is de chroí sochaí a thógáil atá comhaimseartha, forchéimnitheach, uileghabhálach, oscailte agus ag breathnú chun cinn dáiríre, an chríochdheighilt as bhaint as a chéile.

Is gá gur cuid dhílis d'aon iarracht ionraic le muintir an oileáin seo a aontú cur chuige réadúil i leith na n-easaontuithe reatha agus tiomantas dáiríre do phróiseas athmhuintearas náisiúnta.

Ciallaíonn Éire a bheith aontaithe mar is ceart aontas na ndaoine agus is é an t-aon chineál Éire aontaithe atá de dhíth ar Shinn Féin, Éire atá comhaontaithe, uileghabhálach, iolraíoch agus ina mbeidh rannpháirt ag ár saoránaigh uile, de gach cúlra agus traidisiún, ina thógáil.

Is de chroí na ceiste comhoibriú uile-Éireann agus cothú caidrimh idir daoine de thuairimí éagsúla polaitíochta.

Rinneadh dul chun cinn iontach le blianta beaga anuas. B'ionann an Próiseas Síochána agus Comhaontú Aoine an Chéasta agus claochlú stairiúil polaitíochta ar an oileán seo. Don chéad uair, tugadh aghaidh ar chionsiocair na coimhlinte agus osclaíodh slí dhaonlathach i dtreo aontú na hÉireann.

Is é atá de dhíth le hÉirinn aontaithe a thógáil comhaontú cuid shuntasach de na daoine a gcuirtear síos orthu san am i láthair mar aontachtaigh.

De réir sraith pobalbhreitheanna a rinneadh thar thréimhse de bhlianta tá formhór mór bhunadh an Deiscirt i bhfách leis an athaontú.

Idir an dá linn, tá claochlú tagtha ar an Tuaisceart le blianta beaga anuas mar gheall ar an Phróiseas Síochána agus tá athruithe meoin maidir le haontú ar siúl ó bhí reifreann Brexit ann. Ar ndóigh, is é reifreann ar an cheist an t-aon vóta faoi athaontú a bhfuil tábhacht leis.

Ní éilíonn ná ní mian le Sinn Féin úinéireacht ar fheachtas Éire Aontaithe nó an t-éileamh faoi choinne reifreann ar an aontú faoi mar a fhoráiltear i gComhaontú Aoine an Chéasta. Lena chois sin, níor chóir go bhfeicfí a leithéid de reifreann mar bhagairt ar aon chuid den phobal.

Le feachtas reifrinn, tiocfaidh deis faoi choinne díospóireacht cheart, uileghabhálach, chruthaitheach ar thodhchaí an oileáin seo.



Chuirfeadh Vóta ar Aontú ar chumas saoránach, Thuaidh agus Theas, a bheith páirteach i ndíospóireacht réasúnach a bheidh bunaithe ar eolas agus ar mheas faoi athaontú na hÉireann.

Is mar gheall ar an fhéidearthacht reatha go gcuirfeadh Tuaisceart na hÉireann amach as an AE in éadan thoil na ndaoine agus go dtabharfar ar ais fíortheorainn in Éirinn atá ceist athaontú na tíre i gcroílár an chláir polaitíochta arís.

Tá muid ar thairseach tréimhse chinniúnach i stair pholaitiúil na hÉireann.

Is gá do gach duine - as gach páirtí polaitíochta agus as gach cúlra agus slí bheatha - ar mian leo an tír a bheith aontaithe a nguth a ardú ar an cheist anois.

Cuirimis tús leis an díospóireacht.

**MATT CARTHY BPE**

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