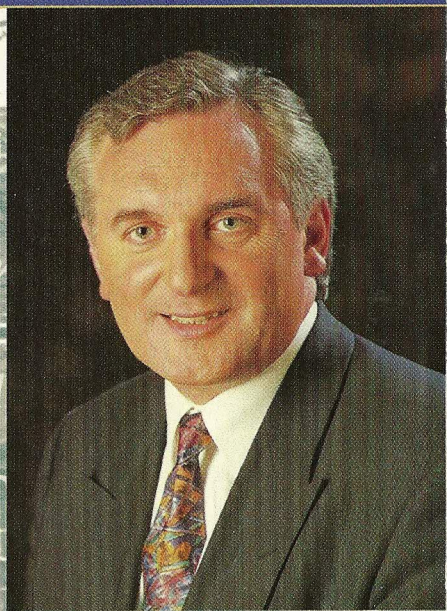
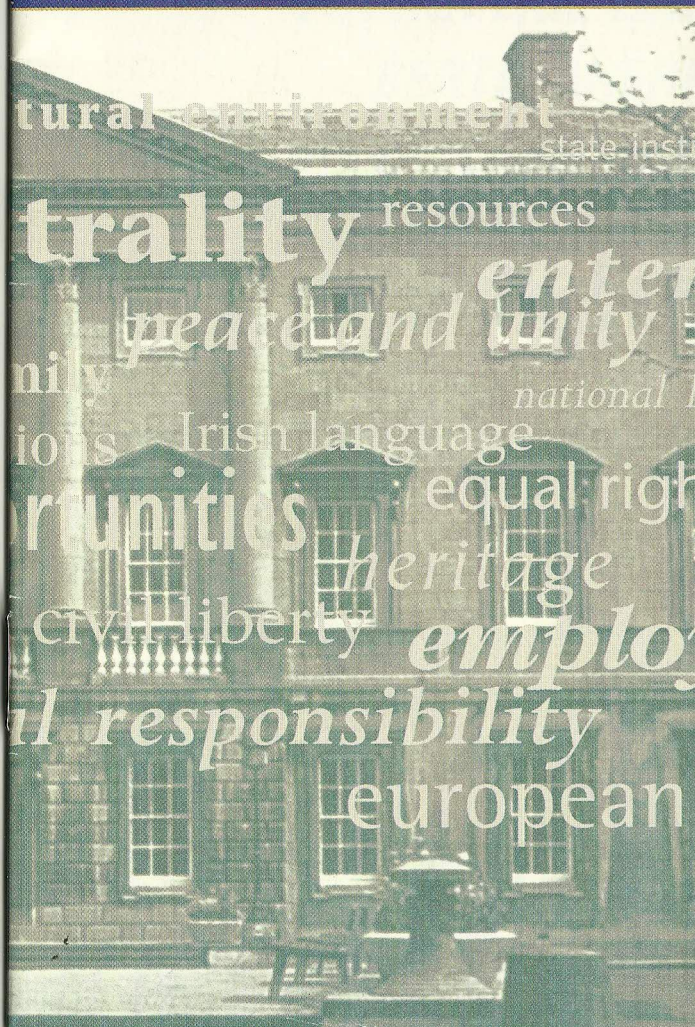




WHAT FIANNA FÁIL STANDS FOR TODAY



Fianna Fáil
The Republican Party

WHAT FIANNA FáIL STANDS FOR TODAY

BY THE FIANNA FáIL LEADER
BERTIE AHERN TD



The political choices in Ireland have become confusing for many people. There is now a multiplicity of smaller parties. Parties that were far to the Right and far to the Left have trimmed their sails, and repositioned themselves nearer the centre, in order to be in Government. During my first six months as leader, many members of the public as well as some of our own supporters have sought information and reassurance as to where Fianna Fáil stands with regard to its basic aims and values. Even in the political centre which is now becoming overcrowded, Fianna Fáil has a long, clear and consistent track record of achievement and a depth of conviction, which no other party coming as a late convert can match. One or more of those parties have at various times been opposed to social partnership and any meaningful economic role by the State; opposed to the Maastricht Treaty on European Union; opposed to continuing with the peace process before it resulted in ceasefires; opposed to what was needed to turn the economy around in 1987, and instinctively hostile to the market economy.

Ón am ar cuireadh tús le Fianna Fáil i 1926, tá áit lárnach bainte amach againn i gcúrsaí polaitiúla, sóisialta, cultúrtha agus eacnamúla na tíre. I ngach aon ghlúin freastalaimid ar ghánna na náisiúin toisc go n-éistimid go géar le guth an phobail agus toisc go bhfuil sé ar ár gcumas nithe a chur i gcrích. Gura fada buan an freastal sin.

The Nature of the Party

Fianna Fáil is a national movement with a democratic Republican ethos. We represent the mainstream of Irish life and traditions, and seek to include all sections of the population and all regions of the

country. Since our foundation, almost 70 years ago, we have been in Government for periods adding up to nearly 50 years. Most of Ireland's progress and achievements since Independence, political, economic and social, took place under Fianna Fáil. During our eight years in Government since 1987, Fianna Fáil was instrumental in bringing peace to Northern Ireland and in transforming our economy through social partnership and consensus. Ireland also made a strong commitment to Europe, that has been

reciprocated in large successive increases in EU funding in 1989 and 1993. We carried out an ambitious programme of social and legislative reform between 1987 and 1994.

Fianna Fáil has demonstrated over the years remarkable powers of renewal, which has enabled it, after relatively short periods in Opposition, to bring a new reforming vigour to the Government of the State and to involve new generations in our public life.

Fianna Fáil is the one central coherent and cohesive force in Irish politics. Our political strength is vital to the progress of the nation.



Sean Lemass TD celebrating election victory, 1925.



Eamon De Valera TD addressing a final rally in College Green, 1954.

THE AIMS OF FIANNA FÁIL

The Commission on the Aims and Structures of Fianna Fáil proposed an updating of the fundamental aims set out in the party's original 1926 Constitution. Irish society and the world of the 1990s are very different from the 1920s. My aim is to adapt and extend the original spirit of Fianna Fáil to meet and even anticipate the needs of the Irish people today and in the future. In this article, I am drawing loosely on the work of the Commission Report on the Aims of Fianna Fáil, which I intend putting before the Ard Fheis.

1. To Secure in Peace and Agreement the Unity of Ireland and its People

Fianna Fáil is distinguished by the strength of its continuing commitment to the democratic political ideal of a united Ireland, achieved by peace and agreement over the longer term. We have never advocated that it should be achieved by force. Fianna Fáil's democratic Republican philosophy provided a crucial bridge, which helped secure from the British in the Downing Street Declaration recognition of the right to self-determination to be exercised concurrently and to bring about the IRA ceasefire. We must not allow Northern Nationalists to experience again the sense of isolation and alienation that contributed to the violence of the last twenty years. At the same time, we recognise the existence of diverse identities and traditions within the Irish nation. We seek, on the basis of strength in our beliefs and ideals, to reach a greater political understanding with the Northern Unionist and Loyalist community, through developing dialogue, trust and practical cooperation. I am by instinct a conciliator, and intend to use the present period to get to know all sections of the people in the North better through regular visits there.

The immediate aim is to establish an agreed Ireland, through inclusive political talks, with structures based on partnership and equality within the North and between North and South. We all need to take full advantage of the Single Market on the island of Ireland.



Meeting Gerry Adams, Sinn Féin



Meeting Dr. John Alderdice, Alliance Party



2. To Develop a Distinctive National Life in accordance with the Diverse Traditions and Ideals of the Irish People as part of a broader European Culture, and to Restore and Promote the Irish Language as a Living Language of the People

Fianna Fáil represents people who have a pride in their country, people who are not always denigrating our achievements, our values and our outlook. Our legislation should reflect our own needs, and the type of society that we want, not just import the norms that apply elsewhere. The very purpose of national independence is that it allows us to do things differently in our own way. We can be proud of our heritage and also of our contemporary achievements, which in part spring from that heritage. We are discovering new facets of our identity, new potential and forms of expression, which we must encourage. In a democratic age, the State itself must be to a considerable extent a patron of the arts. Fianna Fáil will maintain the level of funding which will have been reached on foot of the Three Year Development Plan of the Arts Council. In connection with the Arts, I intend to establish a Heritage Department to bring together all aspects of our cultural and physical heritage. I also intend to take initiatives to enhance both our capital city, which belongs not just to Dubliners but to all the people of Ireland, and our other main cities.

A fundamental part of our heritage is the Irish language. Special initiatives continue to be needed to ensure that it survives and flourishes into the future as a living language, that it is widely spoken, written and read. Fianna Fáil is a party deeply committed to that. We encourage the growth of Gaelscoileanna, will protect the status of Irish in schools and in the life of the State, and are fully supportive of Telefís na Gaeilge, which was planned during our time in office.

Tá spiorad an dúchais beo i gcónaí sa teanga, sa cheol agus sa chultúr. Ach is í toinn na cainte a mhúnláíonn crut an cheoil, insint na ndánta agus cur i láthair an chine. Gan an teanga bheo níl de chumarsáid idir an oidhreacht agus an nuachruthú. Ní Gaelachas go Gaeilge agus creideann Fianna Fáil sin go croí.

3. To Guarantee Religious and Civil Liberty, and Equal Rights, Equal Treatment and Equal Opportunities for all the People of Ireland

As a Republican party, Fianna Fáil is strongly committed to an ethos of equality and of levelling up, not down. The aim has equal application in our approach to Northern Ireland, where most of the problems have arisen from treating one community as second class citizens, and within our own State. Equality applies to communities as well as individuals, and is expressed by respect for the rights of minority groups as well as the majority. Fianna Fáil established the two Commissions on the Status of Women, which have identified the programmes needed to achieve greater equality between men and women. We will continually encourage the more active participation of women and young people in all aspects of our national life.

Fianna Fáil has always had a caring social philosophy. We will continue to look after the old, to care for and honour them, and pay regard to their special needs. In Government, we have substantially raised income payments for the old, the unemployed and their families, and at the very least we will maintain their real incomes, concentrating additional resources where there will be most impact on need. We are not just the party of the coping classes or of the bare social minimum. Nor do we believe that it is right to depress the living standards of vulnerable sections of society on the offchance that this might help to reduce unemployment. We believe in good, cost effective social services. But equally we should not try to put the cart before the horse. To provide the necessary resources for the social services we desire we need first to create a strong economy.



Feile '94



An Seisiún



'a helping hand'

4. To Develop the Resources and Wealth of Ireland to their Full Potential, while making them Subservient to the Needs and Welfare of all the People of Ireland, so as to provide the maximum sustainable Employment, based on Fostering a Spirit of Enterprise and Self-Reliance and on Social Partnership



Engineering

Development of the commercial business sector in Ireland, within a supportive framework by the State, is the main engine of economic growth. Fianna Fáil is an interventionist party with a pragmatic and non-ideological economic policy tradition. While it is important to create the right climate, we do not just wait for things to happen, we go out to make them happen. But equally the State on its own cannot create anything like the number of jobs required. A central focus of

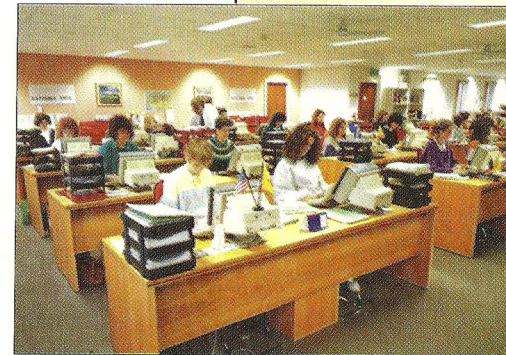
Fianna Fáil policy, as the principal means of providing maximum sustainable employment, will be the radical and imaginative fostering of Irish entrepreneurs, both men and women, especially in the small business sector. Fianna Fáil will support promising economic initiatives, and the removal of barriers to enterprise. We see tourism, financial services and modern hi-tech industry as key areas of growth. We will continue to encourage foreign investment as well as partnerships with corporations outside the State.



Pharmaceuticals

Agriculture, fisheries, forestry, mining and energy-related production also constitute a major and vital source of national wealth, which must be encouraged and sustained.

Fianna Fáil on its return to Government in 1987 pioneered successive partnership programmes, which, as their titles suggest, underpinned National Recovery, Economic and Social Progress and Competitiveness and Work. We have a strong belief in the value of social consensus and partnership between Government, trade unions, business and farmers, which has helped transform the Irish economy into one of the best performing economies in the Western world over recent years. On our ability to maintain high growth will depend our ability to do everything else. To continue in this vein, we need single-minded Government determination to keep borrowing and inflation low, to reduce Government expenditure steadily as a proportion of national output, and to lift from both individuals and business some of the burden of taxation. Too high a proportion of income is paid in tax at every level, negatively impacting both on our competitiveness and on the incentive to work or create work. The Service Sector, which is the main source of jobs, is also too heavily penalised.



Data Processing

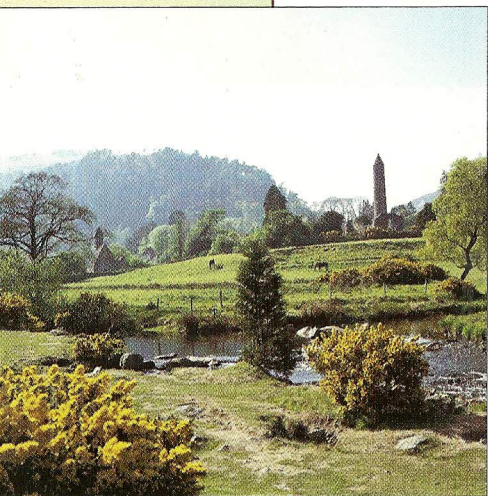


International Financial Services Centre

5. To Protect the Natural Environment and Heritage of Ireland and to ensure a Balance between Town and Country and between the Regions, and to maintain as many Families as practicable on the Land.

Ireland is fortunate to possess many of the elements of a high-quality environment, though there are serious deficiencies that require to be addressed, taking account of the best practice and thinking internationally. Fianna Fáil attaches a very high priority to the protection and improvement of our environment as an integral part of our economic and social policy. Fianna Fáil is strongly committed to balanced regional development and to the devolution of authority from the centre. All regions of the country should have fair access to different types of employment opportunity, to inward investment and small business support and diversification, to a good quality infrastructure, especially well-maintained country roads, and the full range of public services. We must combat trends towards rural depopulation, but also revive the core of our towns and cities, and provide the necessary infrastructure and facilities there also. In recognition of this I have appointed a spokesman for Rural Development and the Islands.

Maintaining the viability of the family farm, if necessary in conjunction with other sources of income, is vital for the protection of the fabric of the countryside. We are strongly committed to full implementation with the necessary resources of the MacSharry reform package, with its emphasis on rural enterprise and environmental protection, which is helping to support farm incomes and encourage farm development, even on less intensive farms.



Glendalough

6. To Promote the Family, and a wider sense of Social Responsibility, and to uphold the Rule of Law in the interests of the Welfare and Safety of the Public

Fianna Fáil believes in a caring and socially responsive society, which is pro-family, cares for the weak and socially excluded, and stresses the responsibility of each citizen as member of that society.

The family is the core building block of society. Its gradual disintegration in modern society leads to the aggravation of social problems, particularly the breakdown of law and order, and heavy demands on the health and social services.

Fianna Fáil is committed to supporting the cohesion of the basic family unit in all its policies, while responding humanely and effectively to situations caused by breakdown, stresses or human rights abuses inside families. With proper safeguards for vulnerable spouses and children, we are prepared to support a referendum allowing the right to remarry, where there has been separation for a certain length of time.

We are determined to take vigorous action to roll back the level of crime, both against persons and property and tackle drug abuse head on. The common good must prevail.



Garda on patrol



7. To maintain the status of Ireland as a sovereign State, as a full member of the European Union and the United Nations, contributing to peace, disarmament and development on the basis of Ireland's independent foreign policy tradition



European Parliament, Strasbourg

Even in the context of an enlarged European Union, Ireland must maintain direct representation in the different European institutions. We intend to remain eligible for full membership of Economic and Monetary Union, and we aim to achieve average European Union living standards early in the next century.

Fianna Fáil is deeply attached to Ireland's tradition of military neutrality, and non-membership of military alliances, but is willing, if that basis is respected, to contribute to genuine peace-keeping missions under the auspices of the European Union as well as the UN. We will continue to advocate a nuclear-free world and to support greater solidarity with developing countries.



Irish UN protection

8. To reform the laws and institutions of State, to make them efficient, humane, caring and responsive to the needs of the citizen

Fianna Fáil has a positive appreciation of those who work throughout the public sector, and recognises the value of their contribution. Fianna Fáil will seek to ensure rising incomes in line with the rest of society and better conditions of employment, but will expect in return a commitment to excellence and to high standards of competence and efficiency at all levels of the State and its institutions.

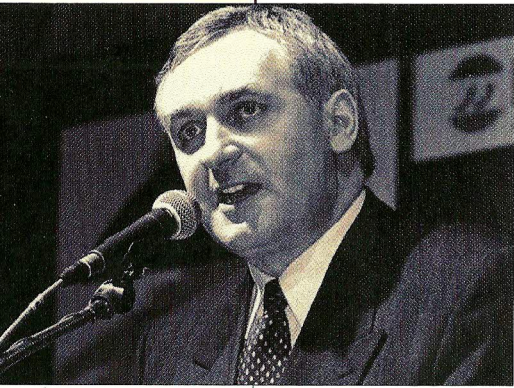
Fianna Fáil last autumn laid out in its negotiations for a renewed Partnership Government, an ambitious programme of reforms of the Dáil and the Public Service, to bring them closer to the people. We will encourage the semi-State sector to adapt to a changing commercial environment without embarking on wholesale privatisation.

In the provision of social services, education, health, welfare, prisons, the State will remain the primary provider, but will seek to provide greater choices, greater user participation, and local area delivery and responsiveness. We will continue to give priority to the most urgent social needs. Education is about the creation of good citizens, balanced and informed individuals, able and eager to make their contribution, and to help bring into being a better society.



CONCLUSION

This article is more concerned to assert the fundamental aims and values of Fianna Fáil today, on which all our policies and our approach to problems as they arise will be based. While some of the individual priorities have for the time being been adopted by other parties, that have succeeded us in Government, the combination of aims set out above, and the track record and consistency in achieving them, is unique to Fianna Fáil. Time and time again, Fianna Fáil in Government has proved to be the most effective political vehicle for change, development and progress. Fianna Fáil is the party best suited all round to lead Ireland into the 21st century.



Bertie Ahern TD
Uachtarán Fhianna Fáil

Mar sin, go hachomair, fealsúnacht Fhianna Fáil agus sinn ag druidim gar don Tríú Míle. Cuirfidh an ghlúin seo sa Pháirtí a crut féin air sin i bhfoirm polasaithe nua agus beartanna úra rialtais. Le greim docht daingean ar an oidhreacht agus luacha ár sinsear agus súil ghlan ar an todhchaí, déanfaimid beart de réir ár mbriathar.

NEUTRALITY : THE FIANNA FÁIL PERSPECTIVE

One of the most important questions Ireland will have to face, in relation to the next Intergovernmental Conference, which will review the Maastricht Treaty, is our attitude to the shape of, and possible participation in, an eventual common European defence policy.

Article J.4.1 of the Maastricht Treaty states that *'the common foreign and security policy shall include all questions related to the security of the Union, including the eventual framing of a common defence policy, which might in time lead to a common defence'*. But what is less often quoted is Article J.4.4, which was included at the behest of Ireland, to cover both our position and the position of future militarily neutral States joining the European Union. This clause says that *'the policy of the Union in accordance with this Article shall not prejudice the specific character of the security and defence policy of certain Member States'*.

A proper interpretation of both elements in Article J.4 means that Ireland is under no obligation to join a pre-existing military alliance, such as NATO or the Western European Union (WEU), with their heavy commitment to nuclear deterrence, including reserving the right to a nuclear first strike. But we do have an obligation to make our contribution to peace and security, either through new



Signing of the Maastricht Treaty, 7 February 1992. Gerard Collins, Minister for Foreign Affairs, and Bertie Ahern, Minister for Finance



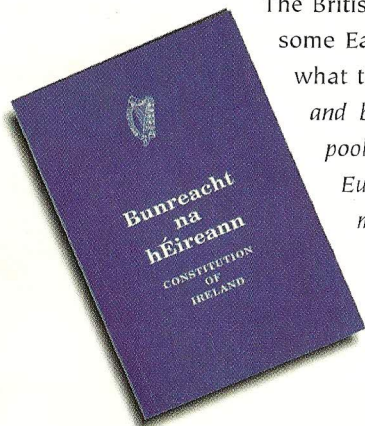
UN Observation post

structures and frameworks, that may evolve but that do not carry the baggage of the past, or by working in tandem with our partners in other ways that are in keeping with the specific character of our defence policy over the years.

There have always been two sides to our defence policy. Over many decades, we have been committed to collective security organised internationally or regionally through the UN or the OSCE, and have contributed to numerous international peacekeeping and humanitarian missions, in the Congo, Cyprus, in the Lebanon, Namibia and Somalia, for instance. The purpose has been above all to save lives, hundreds and even thousands of them. But we have refrained from joining military alliances, where we felt we would have little or no influence over decision-making. De Valera put the reasons succinctly in 1955, and they still hold good: *'A small nation has to be extremely cautious when it enters into alliances which bring it, willy-nilly into those wars. As I said during the last war, the position was that we would not be consulted in how war would be started - the great powers would do that - and when it was ended, no matter who won, suppose the side on which we were won, we would not be consulted as to the terms on which it would end.'*

The British Foreign Minister Douglas Hurd recently reminded some Eastern European countries anxious to join NATO, of what this would involve: *'It means the extension of specific and binding guarantees which amount to a more dramatic pooling of sovereignty than anything envisaged in the European Union. If a member of NATO is attacked in the morning, Britain is at war in the afternoon.'*

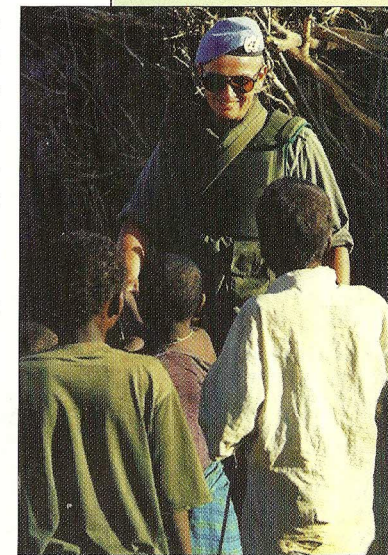
Our Constitution provides that Dáil Eireann will decide on questions of peace and war. Joining a military alliance would essentially take this out of our hands.



Do we really want to be automatically involved in any military quarrel that embroils one of our partners, for example over an Aegean island, or a territorial dispute in Eastern Europe, or do we wish to be free to form our own judgement and make our own decision? It is virtually inconceivable, with the ending of the Cold War, that any country would decide to attack the European Union as such.

NATO is still a military alliance, and as Michael Mandelbaum, a Professor of American Foreign Policy at Johns Hopkins University, argues in the current issue of the U.S. periodical *Foreign Affairs*, NATO is still in the business of counterbalancing the potential instability in the countries of the former Soviet Union, especially Russia, much weakened though they may be compared with the past. I am not criticising NATO, or our partners who are playing their part in it. But we have to consider what our role should be, given our distance from actual or political zones of conflict. Our geographical and strategic situation is not the same as that of Sweden, Finland and Austria, who have all joined the NATO Partnership for Peace, which is a half-way house offering a form of associate membership. Indeed, Russia itself may decide to participate in such an arrangement which is concentrated on countries in the Eastern half of Europe.

The main requirement of any positive or forward-looking defence policy would be the contribution it would make to settling national and regional conflicts. The Irish peace process itself makes an important contribution to peace, that is internationally recognised. There is a distinction to be drawn between peacekeeping, where Ireland has made an important contribution down the years, and peace enforcement which has been largely left to Alliance members. It is often better perhaps not to try to mix the two, if that can be avoided. Either can involve uncomfortable, messy and undignified situations, but before writing off the operation we should ask ourselves, what would have been the loss of life, or indeed the scale of injustice, if there had been no



'meeting the peacekeeper'



international intervention? Should the world stand by, while mass slaughter is going on? Hardly.

The European Union clearly has an obligation to contribute to peace in bordering countries as well as other regions of the world, especially those with which it has links. From the conversations which our Foreign Affairs Spokesman Ray Burke and I had with President Santer, I think there is a growing recognition in Brussels that different roles can be played by individual member States, and that this would be in accord with the spirit of the Maastricht Treaty.

It was for this reason I made my proposal that Ireland should be prepared to put its forces, on a case-by-case basis, at the disposal of the European Union for the type of mission that we have undertaken on behalf of the UN. It would be for each national Government under a cooperative European umbrella to assess the risks to be undertaken and the value and nature of the contribution being made on a continuing basis.

The distinctive contribution that we can make is far more valuable than simply submerging ourselves in a military alliance, where the scale of our resources would not enable us in most cases to make a significant difference. What the Intergovernmental Conference needs to do is to work out ways and means, which would enable us and other like-minded countries to play such a role. We would not become directly involved in punitive actions, or resource wars. That way we could contribute alongside our EU partners to the common foreign and security policy, or indeed an eventual common defence policy.

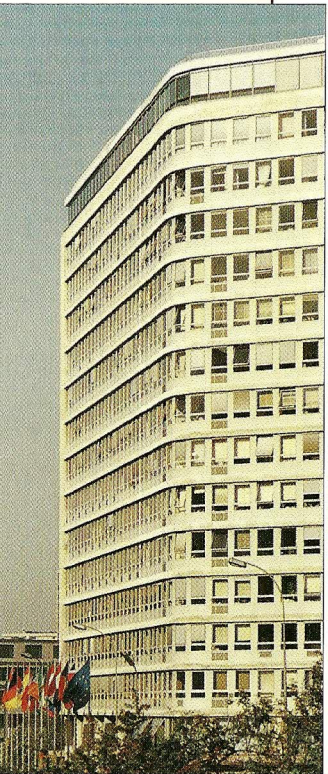
The fact is that there will not be homogeneity, even without us, in the defence area. Two countries possess nuclear weapons, which they have no present intention of submitting to the authority of the European Union. Other countries, like Germany, have present restrictions on sending troops outside their borders. Most of our European partners also wish to retain their transatlantic links based

on NATO. A continued plurality of roles and of organisational instruments as well as flexible attitudes are required. Improved effectiveness is needed, but there are many who believe that the European Union, like Japan, should rely more on its political and economic strength, and not attempt to become a military superpower in its own right.

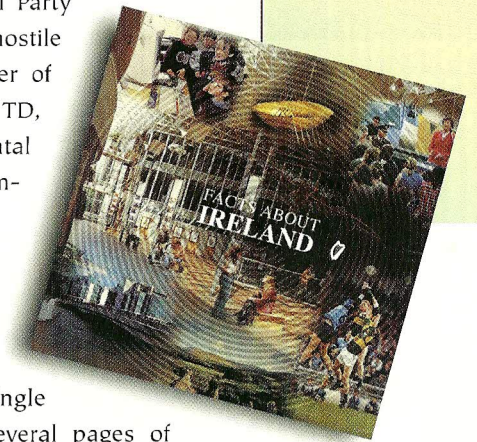
My party would be concerned that there be no hidden agendas. In the 1980s, when we were last in Opposition, we had to contend with a situation, where we sensed instinctively that there was indifference, if not hostility, to our continued neutrality. The Taoiseach of the time Dr. FitzGerald has since made it clear that he regards our wartime neutrality as immoral and that he believed that we should have joined NATO. The Fine Gael Party under John Bruton's leadership is now openly hostile to our continuing neutrality, and the Minister of State for European Affairs Mr Gay Mitchell TD, charged with preparing for the Intergovernmental Conference has long advocated full Irish membership of WEU.

The Tánaiste Mr Spring has been keeping his options open. I note with astonishment, for example, that the latest edition of *Facts about Ireland* of April 1995, apart from a single historical reference to World War II, in several pages of description of our foreign policy makes no reference to our neutrality or to the fact that we do not belong to any military alliance. We are concerned that the recent draft before the Dáil Committee on Foreign Affairs, in setting out principles ambivalently worded, was trying to edge us in a direction that the Irish people do not want us to go. By not subscribing to them, we were serving notice that Fianna Fáil will not be part of any cosy consensus to abandon quietly our neutrality with the minimum of popular consultation.

All parties that supported the passage of the Maastricht Treaty



European Council of Ministers Building, Brussels.





Coastal patrol vessel and
boarding party

promised that no substantial change would be made in our defence policy, without first consulting the people. It is very likely that new arrangements emerging from the negotiations for the Intergovernmental Conference will require to be put before the Irish people. No important decisions, marking a significant departure from our existing defence policy, should be made, until the Irish people have had the opportunity to be consulted directly.

Finally, security policy covers a wider range of matters than just defence. The members of the European Union clearly need to intensify the fight against drugs and organised crime and to protect our vulnerable shorelines. Fianna Fáil fully supports a more effective and co-ordinated security policy in that regard.

First published in the Irish Times on 2nd June 1995



Layout & Artwork: Hive Design Associates
Film Outputting: DOTS Ltd.
Printing: Colour Books Ltd.
Paper: Réalt Paper Ltd.
Binding & Finishing: Alpha Bookbinding Co. Ltd.

We acknowledge with thanks photographs from: John Crimmins, Oval Print; Photocall Agency; Comhaltas Ceoltoirí Eireann; Friends of the Elderly; International Financial Services Centre; Bórd Fáilte; Garda Press Office; Photo European Parliament; Defence Forces Press Office; European Commission Office; Department of Foreign Affairs; Cathal Dawson, Hot Press.

Published by: Fianna Fáil Headquarters
13 Upr. Mount St. Dublin 2.
JULY 1995.





na

neu

the fa

united na

oppo

soci