

Democratic Programme: Before and After

Original Labour Draft

Repeating in the words of the Proclamation of the Provisional Government of the Irish Republic 'We declare the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland and to the unfettered control of Irish destinies to be indefeasible'.

And further in the opinion of its President, P H Pearse, we declare that the nation's sovereignty extends not only to all the men and women of the nation but to all the material possessions of the nation: the nation's soil and all its resources, all wealth producing processes within the nation. **In other words no private right to property is good against the public right of the nation** (Sovereign People, 31/3/1916).

We declare **further that as the nation in the exercise of its sovereignty may entrust its soil and its resources, its wealth and wealth producing processes to the care and charge of any of its citizens, to use and exploit for the nation's enrichment, on such terms and on such conditions as may be determined by the whole people, so the nation must ever retain the right and power to resume possession of such soil or such wealth whenever the trust is abused or the trustee fails to give faithful service.**

In the same manner as we affirm that the duty of every man and woman is to give allegiance and service to the commonwealth, so we declare it as the duty of the nation to ensure that every citizen shall have the opportunity for spending his or her strength and **faculties in the labour of wealth-producing** or the service of the people. In return for willing service in the name of the Republic we declare the right of the nation's citizens to an adequate share of the produce of the nation's labour.

The Irish Republic shall always count its wealth and prosperity by the measure of health and happiness of its citizens. It shall, therefore, be the first duty of the Government of the Republic to make provision for the physical, mental and spiritual well-being of the children, to ensure that no child shall endure hunger or cold from lack of food, clothing or shelter, that all shall be provided with amply means and facilities requisite for the education and training of free citizens of a free Gaelic nation. **A condition precedent to such education is to encourage by every reasonable means the most capable, sympathetic men and women to devote their talents to the education of the young.**

To promote the development of its resources, to increase the productivity of its soil, to exploit its mineral deposits, peat bogs, fisheries, waterways and harbours in the interest of and for the benefit of the Irish people, **the nation, exercising its right of sovereignty, shall deem it to be a duty to organise and direct into fruitful contact the labour of men with the land and raw materials and machinery and industry.**

Wherever the land, the mineral deposits and other forms of the production of wealth are wrongly used or withheld from use to the detriment of the Republic, then the nation shall resume possession without compensation.

In the sphere of overseas commerce the Republican Government to safeguard the interests of the nation shall itself undertake the organisation of the import and export of merchandise so as to prevent the shipment from Ireland of food and other necessities until the wants of the Irish people are fully satisfied and the future provided for and to obviate the waste of life and labour which competitive commerce involves and the risk of destroying Irish productive enterprises.

It shall be the purpose of the Government to encourage the organisation of people into trade unions and co-operative societies with a view to the control and administration of the industries by the workers engaged in the industries. It shall also devolve upon the National Government to seek the co-operation of the governments of other nations in determining a standard of social and industrial legislation with a view to general improvement in the conditions under which the working classes live and labour. (ILO)

Finally, the Republic will aim at the elimination of the class in society which lives upon the wealth produced by the workers of the nation but give no useful service in return, and in the process of accomplishment will bring freedom to all who have hitherto been caught in the toils of economic servitude.

Democratic Programme of the First Dail

We declare in the words of the Irish Republican Proclamation the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland, and to the unfettered control of Irish destinies to be indefeasible, and in the language of our first President, Pádraig Mac Piarais, we declare that the Nation's sovereignty extends not only to all men and women of the Nation, but to all its material possessions, the Nation's soil and all its resources, all the wealth and all the wealth-producing processes within the Nation, and with him **we reaffirm that all right to private property must be subordinated to the public right and welfare.**

We declare that we desire our country to be ruled in accordance with the principles of Liberty, Equality, and Justice for all, which alone can secure permanence of Government in the willing adhesion of the people.

We affirm the duty of every man and woman to give allegiance and service to the commonwealth, and declare it is the duty of the Nation to assure that every citizen shall have opportunity to spend his or her strength and faculties in the service of the people. In return for willing service, we, in the name of the Republic, declare the right of every citizen to an adequate share of the produce of the Nation's labour.

It shall be the first duty of the Government of the Republic to make provision for the physical, mental and spiritual well-being of the children, to secure that no child shall suffer hunger or cold from lack of food, clothing, or shelter, but that all shall be provided with the means and facilities requisite for their proper education and training as Citizens of a Free and Gaelic Ireland.

The Irish Republic fully realises the necessity of abolishing the present odious, degrading and foreign Poor Law System, substituting therefor a sympathetic native scheme for the care of the Nation's aged and infirm, who shall not be regarded as a burden, but rather entitled to the Nation's gratitude and consideration. Likewise it shall be the duty of the Republic to take such measures as will safeguard the health of the people and ensure the physical as well as the moral well-being of the Nation.

It shall be our duty to promote the development of the Nation's resources, to increase the productivity of its soil, to exploit its mineral deposits, peat bogs, and fisheries, its waterways and harbours, in the interests and for the benefit of the Irish people.

It shall be the duty of the Republic to adopt all measures necessary for the recreation and invigoration of our Industries, and to ensure their being developed on the most beneficial and progressive co-operative and industrial lines. With the adoption of an extensive Irish Consular Service, trade with foreign Nations shall be revived on terms of mutual advantage and goodwill, and while undertaking the organisation of the Nation's trade, import and export, it shall be the duty of the Republic to prevent the shipment from Ireland of food and other necessities until the wants of the Irish people are fully satisfied and the future provided for.

It shall also devolve upon the National Government to seek co-operation of the Governments of other countries in determining a standard of Social and Industrial Legislation with a view to a general and lasting improvement in the conditions under which the working classes live and labour.

Different definitions of National Sovereignty

- Repeating in the words of the Proclamation of the Provisional Government of the Irish Republic 'We declare the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland and to the unfettered control of Irish destinies to be indefeasible'.
- And further in the opinion of its President, **P H Pearse**, we declare that the nation's sovereignty extends not only to all the men and women of the nation but to all the material possessions of the nation: the nation's soil and all its resources, all wealth producing processes within the nation. **In other words no private right to property is good against the public right of the nation** (Sovereign People, 31/3/1916).

We declare in the words of the Irish Republican Proclamation the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland, and to the unfettered control of Irish destinies to be indefeasible, and in the language of our first President, **Pádraig Mac Piarais**, we declare that the Nation's sovereignty extends not only to all men and women of the Nation, but to all its material possessions, the Nation's soil and all its resources, all the wealth and all the wealth-producing processes within the Nation, and with him **we reaffirm that all right to private property must be subordinated to the public right and welfare.**

State's Rights and obligations to Citizens

- We declare further that **as the nation** in the exercise of its sovereignty **may entrust its soil and its resources, its wealth and wealth producing processes** to the care and charge of any of its citizens, to use and exploit for the nation's enrichment, on such terms and on such conditions as may be determined by the whole people, so **the nation must ever retain the right and power to resume possession of such soil or such wealth whenever the trust is abused or the trustee fails to give faithful service.**
- We declare that **we desire our country to be ruled in accordance with the principles of Liberty, Equality, and Justice for all, which alone can secure permanence of Government in the willing adhesion of the people.**

Minor differences in claiming allegiance of the people

- **In the same manner as** we affirm that the duty of every man and woman is to give allegiance and service to the commonwealth, so we declare it as the duty of the nation to ensure that every citizen shall have the opportunity for spending his or her strength and faculties **in the labour of wealth-producing or** the service of the people. In return for willing service in the name of the Republic we declare the right of the nation's citizens to an adequate share of the produce of the nation's labour.
- **We affirm the duty of every man and woman to give allegiance and service to the commonwealth, and** declare it is the duty of the Nation to assure that every citizen shall have opportunity to spend his or her strength and faculties in the service of the people. In return for willing service, we, in the name of the Republic, declare the right of every citizen to an adequate share of the produce of the Nation's labour.

Labour wants 'most capable... to devote their talents to the education of the young'

- **The Irish Republic shall always count its wealth and prosperity by the measure of health and happiness of its citizens.** It shall, therefore, be the first duty of the Government of the Republic to make provision for the physical, mental and spiritual well-being of the children, to ensure that no child shall endure hunger or cold from lack of food, clothing or shelter, that all shall be provided with **ample** means and facilities requisite for the education and training of free citizens of a free Gaelic nation. **A condition precedent to such education is to encourage by every reasonable means the most capable, sympathetic men and women to devote their talents to the education of the young.**
- It shall be the first duty of the Government of the Republic to make provision for the physical, mental and spiritual well-being of the children, to secure that no child shall suffer hunger or cold from lack of food, clothing, or shelter, but that all shall be provided with the means and facilities requisite for their proper education and training as Citizens of a Free and Gaelic Ireland.

'A sympathetic native scheme for... the Nation's aged and infirm'

- Labour did not refer to the Poor Law System. If it had known the form 'abolition' would take – ie drastic cuts in the provision of services, especially the closure of workhouses and infirmaries - and reliance on voluntary bodies such as religious orders and the NSPCC to look after 'the Nation's aged and infirm' – it would probably have opposed what sounded like a progressive measure
- The Irish Republic fully realises the necessity of abolishing the present odious, degrading and foreign Poor Law System, substituting therefor a sympathetic native scheme for the care of the Nation's aged and infirm, who shall not be regarded as a burden, but rather entitled to the Nation's gratitude and consideration. Likewise it shall be the duty of the Republic to take such measures as will safeguard the health of the people and ensure the physical as well as the moral well-being of the Nation.



OAP was 5s a week
 or 7s 6d for a
 married couple
 Sick pay 10s a
 week for 13 weeks
 and 5s a week for
 next 13 weeks
 Unemployment
 Benefit was 7s a
 week for 15 week
 ITGWU Strike Pay
 was 10s (men) and
 7s 6d (women)
 Wages ranged
 from 18s to £2 a
 week for most
 workers

THE DAWN OF HOPE.

Mr. LLOYD GEORGE'S National Health Insurance Bill provides for the insurance of the Worker in case of Sickness.

**Support the Liberal Government
 in their policy of
 SOCIAL REFORM.**

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Dail's limited view of economic sovereignty

- To promote the development of its resources, to increase the productivity of its soil, to exploit its mineral deposits, peat bogs, fisheries, waterways and harbours in the interest of and for the benefit of the Irish people, **the nation, exercising its right of sovereignty, shall deem it to be a duty to organise and direct into fruitful contact the labour of men with the land and raw materials and machinery and industry.**
- **Wherever the land, the mineral deposits and other forms of the production of wealth are wrongly used or withheld from use to the detriment of the Republic, then the nation shall resume possession without compensation.**
- **It shall be our duty** to promote the development of the Nation's resources, to increase the productivity of its soil, to exploit its mineral deposits, peat bogs, and fisheries, its waterways and harbours, in the interests and for the benefit of the Irish people

Dail omits trade union rights and aim of eliminating capitalist class

- In the sphere of overseas commerce the Republican Government to safeguard the interests of the nation shall itself undertake the organisation of the import and export of merchandise so as to prevent the shipment from Ireland of food and other necessities until the wants of the Irish people are fully satisfied and the future provided for and to obviate the waste of life and labour which competitive commerce involves and the risk of destroying Irish productive enterprises.
- **It shall be the purpose of the Government to encourage the organisation of people into trade unions and co-operative societies with a view to the control and administration of the industries by the workers engaged in the industries.** It shall also devolve upon the National Government to seek the co-operation of the governments of other nations in determining a standard of social and industrial legislation with a view to general improvement in the conditions under which the working classes live and labour. (ILO)
- Finally, **the Republic will aim at the elimination of the class in society which lives upon the wealth produced by the workers of the nation but give no useful service in return,** and in the process of accomplishment will bring freedom to all who have hitherto been caught in the toils of economic servitude.
- It shall be the duty of the Republic to adopt all measures necessary for the recreation and invigoration of our Industries, and to ensure their being developed on the most beneficial and progressive co-operative and industrial lines.
- With the adoption of an extensive Irish Consular Service, trade with foreign Nations shall be revived on terms of mutual advantage and goodwill, and while undertaking the organisation of the Nation's trade, import and export, it shall be the duty of the Republic to prevent the shipment from Ireland of food and other necessities until the wants of the Irish people are fully satisfied and the future provided for.
- It shall also devolve upon the National Government to seek co-operation of the Governments of other countries in determining a standard of Social and Industrial Legislation with a view to a general and lasting improvement in the conditions under which the working classes live and labour.