

# COMMENT

PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITIES' BRANCH OF THE LABOUR PARTY EARLSFORT TERRACE DUBLIN



# comment

The views expressed in Comment are those of the Authors and should not be taken as official statement of the Universities Branch or of the Labour Party.

## CONTENTS

Editorial		page 2
Planning & Development in Ireland	Philip Donehy	9
What I Saw In Cuba	Larry Siegle	13
The Workers Republic	Pat Healy	20
Poems	Hayden Murphy	24
In Search of a Philosophy	Colm McNahon	25
A Message from Brendan Corish		29

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### Cover.

Our cover was designed by Victor McBrien and was taken from a photograph of the artisans on the O'Connell Monument.

## EDITORIAL: LABOUR AND COALITION

The political issue of "Co-alition" is once again headline news. No doubt the two bye-elections and hints of a general election have prompted commentators to discuss the prospects of a coalition government. The Local Elections have also prompted many people within Labour to elaborate and more clearly define the party's attitude on Coalition.

On September 17th, the Sunday Independent fired the first shots in its attempt to cajole Labour into a tacit promise of coalition in a last desperate effort to secure support for its mentor, the Fine Gael Party. The 'Independent' published two draft motions due to appear before Conference and claimed that 'pro Fianna Fail elements' would succeed in preventing Labour from entering any Coalition Government in the future, thereby ensuring that Fianna Fail would remain in office indefinitely. This gross mis-representation had its desired effect. It produced letters from readers such as 'disgusted Co. Galway' and 'ex-Labour voter' which received prominence on the following Sunday. Both readers condemned the Party's stand and accused Labour of 'endangering democracy'.

Why is the Labour Party against entering a Coalition with either of the two existing parties? Quite simply, neither of these parties, as they stand today, make the same objectives of the Labour Party and as such any Coalition would be contradictory and more important, would be against the interests of the workers of Ireland.

In 1948, after 17 years of Fianna Fail rule a general election saw them lose their majority. A motley band of opposition politicians formed a strange contradictory coalition Government with J.A. Costello, Fine Gael as Taoiseach and Sean McBride, Clann na Poblachta as Tanaiste. The Labour Party at that time was split and there

3.

were two groupings in the Dail.

This coalition was bound to collapse and inevitably it did, in 1951 over the famous Mother and Child Scheme. A scheme introduced by Dr. Noel Browne to provide medical aid for mother and children up to the age of sixteen for the whole nation, regardless of income. This was strongly opposed by the Catholic Hierarchy on the grounds that it contravened the moral law of the Church. The fine Gael Party, under heavy pressure withdrew support for Noel Browne. So did McBride, and in a Dail vote on the Bill, the Government was defeated.

In the General Election that followed, Fianna Fail were returned and Clann na Poblachta was virtually wiped out, Labour also suffered but by now it was re-united. Meanwhile, Fine Gael improved its own position.

In 1954 Fianna Fail was again defeated and once more a Coalition Government was formed with Fine Gael and Labour, with Costello again as Taoiseach and William Norton, Labour Leader as Tanaiste. During office, Labour had to stand by as Sweetman, as Minister for Finance moved the effects of the economic crisis of 1956 on to the backs of the workers with his severe deflationary measures. The same Labour Party - trapped in office, without effective power - had to enforce that fascist measure, the Offences Against the State Act, against members of the Republican Movement.

In 1957, a General Election was called and Fianna Fail produced their last policy statement made in opposition - a promise by Sean Lemass to provide 100,000 new jobs and spend £100 million in new investment. Fianna Fail were returned by a disheartened and disgruntled electorate. However, by 1959 De Valera had

become President and Sean Lemass as Taoiseach presided over Ireland's mini-boom, and acclaimed the benefits of indicative planning as shown in the First Programme for Economic Expansion, although only a few years previously he denounced planners as 'Reds'.

Labour was punished severely for her momentary madness in jumping into the Coalition bed with Fine Gael. When Brendan Corish took over leadership in 1960 there were only 12 deputies and 50,000 first preference votes. He set about re-asserting the aims of the Labour Party - the establishment of a Republic based on the teaching of James Connolly. During the 1961 Elections I stated firmly that Labour would not enter into Coalition with Fine Gael.

This statement had two effects. First, it brought howls of protest from Fine Gael who realised that their days of power with a weak Labour underdog were over. Secondly, it increased support for the Labour Party, so much so that after the last General Election, its number of deputies had been doubled and it had received 200,000 first preference votes.

What then is the present position in relation to a Coalition Government. The support and advocacy for a Coalition has always come from Fine Gael in order that they might oust Fianna Fail and have power for themselves. The effect of their government has not been any more beneficial to the interests of the majority of working people in Ireland. In fact, in 195 we saw the true hand of Fine Gael.

However, the next general election could very well produce an indecisive result. Political commentators, realising this are now beginning to point the finger at Labour and demand that Labour should do its duty and enter a Coalition. Labour alone are told and reminded of their duty

not to endanger democracy.

The fact is, the Labour Party was not founded in 1912 by James Connolly in order that it would ensure the continued existence of Irish Capitalism. We will, therefore, no longer be tricked or cajoled into a Coalition with either Fine Gael or Fianna Fail unless they accept the aims of the Labour Party.

If Fine Gael and the Sunday Independent feel that democracy is being threatened, then let them and Fianna Fail join hands together. It would not be such a strange union, because originally they were all part of the same party, Sinn Fein, and only owe their present position to the split which was caused by the Treaty.

Labour intends to establish a 32 county Socialist Republic, and it is quite clear that she will get no assistance from either Fianna Fail or Fine Gael. Indeed Fine Gael's left-ward swing with the publishing of Declan Costello's 'just society' was seen by the public for what it was - an embarrassing attempt at head-stands. Costello's announced retirement has finally returned them to square one. Fine Gael are the official opposition in the Dail. However, in the three major issues which have recently been debated, the Anglo-Irish Free Trade Agreement, the E.S.B. trade union legislation and the Common Market, the official opposition party have found themselves in agreement with Fianna Fail. Labour alone opposed the Government.

Therefore, let there be no more illusions about the road to a Socialist Republic. It can only be achieved by a Labour Government.

We are entering our second year as an officially recognised student organisation in U.C.D. Political parties have been recognised in Trinity for quite some time. However, the Universities Branches in both Cork and Galway are still forced to hold meetings outside College grounds.

## **DITORIAL: ACTION FOR STUDENTS**

We are entering our second year as an officially recognised student organisation in U.C.D. Political parties have been recognised in Trinity for quite some time. However, the Universities Branches in both Galway and Galway are still forced to hold meetings outside College grounds.

Meanwhile, the Dublin Vocational Education Committee, the Democratic overlord of the Technical Schools and Colleges of Technology have refused to grant recognition to political party branches being established in their Colleges.

To whom do the Colleges of Ireland belong, the people or the Authorities. To whom are the Authorities answerable?

For years we were scolded and abused for being too immature and frivolous. We were condemned as being irresponsible. Now that we are beginning to wake up to the mess which is our rich national inheritance and are beginning to try and do something about it, the doors of constitutional action are slammed shut in our faces.

Maybe it is because in both Galway and Cork Irish students are demanding and advocating freedom and social justice which first was heard from the lips of Tone and has been echoed since by every Irish patriot who is now enshrined by the establishment: or maybe it is because the people who want to establish branches and student organisations are not within the 'official' Republican Party, in fact are members of the resurgent Irish Labour Party.

We can no longer accept the platitudes uttered on the side of Tone's grave each June by the official 'Republican Party' and then stand by and watch the death agony of our country. We can no longer listen to our leaders talk of Christianity and social action, and then read the encyclical of the head of Catholicism, especially the document on the Progression of Peoples.

We therefore find ourselves involved in Irish politics because we are part of Ireland, feel and educated by the labours of all her people. The Labour Party in College today is trying, within its own limitations to define more clearly

7.

and elaborate, the aims and objectives of the Irish Labour Party. These are, to establish a Republic based on the social teachings of James Connolly. It is for this purpose that 'Comment' is published. The Universities Branch is also a focal point where people concerned with the future of our society can come together and discuss and analyse the problems of our society, and consequently advocate measures for their solution.

We therefore welcome the return to college of all students and extend a special welcome to First Year Students. You will be always welcome at our meetings.

8.

## POSTSCRIPT

The Universities Branch of the Labour Party would like to extend its congratulations to two of its members who were elected to serve the interests of the people. Florence O'Mahony, a 21 year old Economics Student of U.C.D. who was elected to the Dun Laoire Corporation and is the youngest public representative in Ireland. Dermot O'Rourke, last year's Chairman of the Branch and a Commerce graduate who was elected to represent number 11 district on the Dublin Corporation.

We would also like to extend our congratulations to two other members of the Branch who were very nearly successful in the Local Elections. Niall Greene, who stood in number 12 district and Michael Byrne who was only defeated by a couple of votes in the elections for Dun Laoire Corporation.

To these and all those members of the Branch who were so active in the Local Elections, we convey the thanks of Brendan Corish and Brendan Halligan, Political Director of the Labour Party.

### EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE - 1967-68.

Chairman	Peter Heraty	4th Year Medical Student, U.C.D.
Vice Chairman	Rex Coughlan	3rd Year History Student, T.C.D.
Treasurer	John Dowling	3rd Year Science Student U.C.D.
Secretary	Jim Hickey	3rd Year Economics Student, U.C.D.
Social Secretary	Una Claffey	3rd Year History Student, U.C.D.
PRO. T.C.D.	Greg Murphy	2nd Year Law Student,
PRO. U.C.D.	Jim O'Mahony	2nd Year English Student, U.C.D.

# PLANNING AND DEVELOPEMENT IN IRELAND

Author:

Philip Donehy, a past Student of C.B.S., Nth. Brunswick Street, is a Final Year Arts Student in U.C.D.

Since the foundation of the State official policy in its goal of advancing the national economy has pursued a two-fold objective, namely increasing the national income and stemming the flow of emigration from the country in general - particularly by way of the encouragement of industrialisation. Beneficial as this policy was, what was not realised was that it was inadequate as far as the rural areas were concerned. A legacy of State policy can be seen in contemporary Ireland as regional imbalance plagues us with its tantalizing problems of an under-developed West and a prosperous "over-developed" East.

From 1841 - 1951 the population of rural Ireland fell by about 68.6%. Side by side with this, towns began to grow. Dublin for instance tended to be disproportionately large sapping the life of the country as it became a focus of undue attraction for the entire country. By the 1960's, the situation had reached a crisis level for census reports showed that while the Dublin area had increased its population by about 1/3 since 1926, Sligo-Leitrim had lost almost the equivalent proportion of its people. The same pattern became evident over the rest of the country. Between 1951 and 1961, the cities of Cork, Limerick and Galway showed substantial increases in population while figures in the provinces continued to drop. Ireland looked like becoming a country with its people packed into a few huge cities, oases in a desert.

Facilities afforded by the Government for the setting of industries in the rural areas were quite generous but lacking in overall planning. The Committee on Industrial Organisation reporting in December 1962 put the figure for total grants in the under-developed areas

10.

stood up to then as just over £6½ million which pales into insignificance when compared with the very large sums of money made available during the same period from Government sources to a small number of very large industries in the vicinity of some of the larger cities. State policy instead of fostering a rational distribution of employment, population, investment and land use was found wanting in its efforts to adjust regional imbalance. Against this background one is not surprised to find that the majority of new industrial undertakings continued to gravitate towards the outskirts of the cities. One of the greatest shortcomings in development schemes which continued until of late was the absence of any co-ordinated planning, particularly regional. Neither in the First Programme for Economic Expansion of 1958 nor in the Second Programme issued in 1963 was there any specific provision for regional planning. The 2nd Programme did refer to the developing of "growth centres" but did so in a futuristic tone rather than as part of a present regional planning system.

The need for regional planning became evident as rural depopulation continued, aided still further by increased mechanisation. The first step in the introduction of regional planning in Ireland was the Local Government (Planning & Development) Act 1963 which came into operation in October 1964, providing the legal framework for decentralised planning for each planning authority (i.e. county council or urban council) is obliged by the provision of the Act to prepare a development plan within a three year period, showing objectives for the future development of its area. The Act makes interesting reading, planning authorities being empowered to develop sites for industry providing where necessary factory buildings etc., examination of the tourist potential as well as land use, traffic, demographic surveys are further duties placed upon the shoulders of the planning authorities. The Act also made provision for co-operation between contiguous planning authorities. March 1964 and the foundation of the National Institute for Physical Planning and Construction Research (Foras Forbartha) heralded another step in Ireland's new era in physical planning for the new institute made available a centralised pool of technical expertise at the service of the planning authorities.

During the course of 1964 the country was divided into nine regions for purposes of planning, regions like Dublin, consisting of Dublin City and county, Cork and Kerry, Mayo and Galway, Sligo and Leitrim etc. During the course of the same year the preparation of a plan for the Dublin Region was commissioned by the Minister for Local Government from Professor Myles Wright of Liverpool University and for the Limerick Region from the British firm of Nathaniel Lichfield. The newly designated regions were groupings of counties and parts of counties which possessed noticeable common interests and character. The Minister, however, emphasised that regional surveys should provide scope for a wide objective assessment of basic planning issues aiding the planning process by identifying the function which each town and city was performing or was capable of performing in the region and the country. Ministerial references to "growth centres" represents a dominant concept in Irish regional planning having been sharply under-lined as early as 1962 during the course of a visit to Dublin by representatives of French economic planning. It is now an accepted basic idea in regional planning that it is necessary to develop urban growth centres as focal sources of vivification of under-developed regions deriving from "the observable and measurable empirical fact that economic growth takes place at certain focal points, from which it radiates in different directions". It appears again in the 4th Interim Report of the Committee on Industrial Organisation (December 1962) which noted that "the choice of a number of centres, rather than an attempt to spread industrial development evenly, is in accordance with the pattern of development in the major industrial countries".

Towns which have the best prospects of rapid growth would constitute primary social and economic growth centres benefiting the surrounding towns and villages constituting them into secondary centres which in turn would have their own satellites which might be termed tertiary centres. The choice of a number of major centres far from depriving the smaller towns and villages near them of their population would act as a dynamo for the surrounding areas creating the most favourable

conditions for economic growth.

As a summary to planning and development in Ireland, one is inclined to favour a certain amount of flexibility in decision making in contrast to a doctrinaire approach to the fixing on centres for major industrial development. Again in spite of the success of the Shannon Industrial Estate and the proposals for the Galway and Waterford Industrial Estates, the dangers of excessive paternalism should be avoided. Finally, in view of the powers of the Minister of Local Government in co-ordinating the various regional plans submitted to him, one can only hope the Minister puts the national interest before his political sense for many of us remember the Ballymun Housing Estate being splashed across our newspapers on the eve of a major election.



It appeared in the magazine of the American Young Socialist Alliance. The author, Larry Siegle is a member of the YSA.

As the Cubana Airlines stewardess announced that we were preparing to land in Cuba, "Territorio libre de las Americas" we cheered - we had successfully defied the State Department's ban on travel to Cuba. And after crossing the Atlantic twice to go "90 miles from home" we felt we were, indeed, in free territory.

We arrived on June 12, 1964. There were 59 of us, mostly students, from the United States; and our trip was the second time in two years that a group of American students had attempted to crack the travel ban.

What struck us first was not Cuba itself, but the view of the entire world as seen from Cuba. It was as if we had gone through a magic looking glass; everything was reversed. Press reports came from Peking, not Hong Kong; from Prensa Latina (Cuban press service) not AP and UPI; from Hanoi instead of Saigon. In the U.S. we were branded "international criminals"; in Cuba we were representatives of what was decent and honest in the United States.

No matter how "radical" we had been at home, we felt the deep impact of living internationalism in Cuba. Everywhere there were posters reading "Vietnam - we are with you!" (The antiwar movement had not really begun in the U.S. at this time, and the concern with Vietnam was new to many of the students on the trip). To many of the North

Americans there seemed to be a contradiction: how could Cuba be so concerned about Vietnam and other revolutionary movements when Cuba itself was constantly harassed by the blockade, by provocations from Guantanamo, and faced with the ever-present U.S. gunboat, visible from the Malecon drive in Havana? For the Cubans it was simple. They saw it all as one struggle. The revolution in Vietnam and the Latin American guerrillas were fighting the same battle - a struggle that was helping to get the Yanks off the backs of Cuba, as well as all oppressed people.

We were provided with a tour arranged by the Cuban Institute for Friendship among Peoples (ICAP) but we were free to go anywhere at any time. We frequently found trips on our own to be more enlightening than the official tour.

We visited the internationally known Casa de las Americas, home of the Cuban artists and writers union. In talking with the officials of the union we were made conscious of the independence within the socialist camp that Cuban revolutionaries have fought so hard to maintain. A question was asked one of the Cubans about socialist realism, and whether Cuba would follow the Soviet Union in the area of the arts. He answered:

"No, we think that it is the right of each country to decide for itself the kind of art it wants. It would be just as wrong for Russians to interfere with Cuban art as for us to interfere with Soviet art". On the question of "proletarian culture", the Cubans maintained "it would be wrong for the revolution to try to create a culture of one class - the proletariat - when what we are trying to do is to abolish classes, to build a classless Cuba. It is natural that a writer should think of readers, during a revolution a writer should think of how to

15.

be most useful to the people. But first many Cubans were largely illiterate, and many others were so conditioned to mass media, popular art that they preferred soap operas to Maxim Gorky. The artist must also cultivate the taste of the masses, otherwise he will be writing soap operas. Writers published in Cuba in 1964 included Joyce Kilmer, Proust, Kafka. Edgar Allen Poe was the best seller of 1963.

In Havana we had an evening meeting with Blas Roca, former leader of the Partido Socialista Popular (pro-Moscow Communist Party in Cuba) and former editor of the newspaper Hoy. One of the students in our group asked him why the PSP had given support to Batista and even helped to put him in power as a "lesser evil" in 1939. He was also asked why the PSP had opposed the July 26th Movement up until it was clear that it was going to take power. Roca appeared to be on the defense throughout the evening and answered by claiming "There was always a united front in opposition to Batista". But then he went on to try to justify the PSP's opposition to the July 26th Movement. In defense of the "two-stage revolution" theory, Roca told us that, "In 1953 the problem for Cuba was not the communist revolution but the overthrow of tyranny. The second problem was to liberate Cuba from imperialist domination. The third problem was one of agrarian reform. The fourth problem was mass unemployment. The fifth problem was racial discrimination".

But when someone asked, "Wasn't it precisely the socialist revolution that was necessary to solve these problems?" Roca ignored the question and went on to another point.

16.

In contrast to the meeting with Roca was an interview we had with Che Guevara on August 9. Che's approach was one of complete frankness. He spoke of the necessity of basing socialist production on "moral incentives". Although at this time most of us were ignorant of the importance and wide-ranging implications of this discussion then being carried on in Cuba. In shops and factories that we had toured we were always shown the system of "socialist emulation" in which the worker with the highest productivity for the month was awarded the "vanguard worker" banner; and whereby the workers were given bonuses for over-fulfilling quotas, or fines for failing to meet quotas, in such a manner as to amount virtually to piece work.

Che maintained that these material incentives, though they might be unavoidable in certain instances, should be relegated to second place, and that the principle incentives should be revolutionary enthusiasm and the examples set by consciously socialist workers.

The Cuban revolution was five and one half years old in the summer of 1964. But its dominant tone was one of youthful enthusiasm. The Cuban masses were learning for the first time to read and write. Two million people (out of a population of 6 million) were students in one form or another. Almost one-half million adults were going to night school. The number of children in primary school jumped from 600,000 before the revolution to 1,250,000 in 1964. Learning to read and write was not the only kind of education being carried out. In Camaguey Province we met with the head of a rehabilitation centre for prostitutes. The corruption of U.S. domination did not disappear immediately. It will take years for the wounds inflicted on Cuban society by its relationship to the U.S. to heal. But the revolution does

17.

everything it can to rehabilitate those individual like the prostitutes, who were personally victimized by the system. The rehabilitation centre claimed 95% success. The program was centered entirely on work; the majority of the women needed only the opportunity to get a decent job, or learn a skill. The magnitude of the problem facing the revolution in reconstructing Cuban society can be seen by the fact that in addition to an estimated 380,000 prostitutes, nearly 200,000 people were making a living by gambling before the revolution.

The tour took us to Santiago de Cuba for the 11th anniversary of the attack on the Moncada Barracks, which is regarded as the starting point of the Cuban revolution. Fidel delivered the main speech. I sat on the speakers' platform, along with visitors from Communist parties of Europe, Asia and Latin America; but the guests of honor were the relatives of those revolutionaries who fell in the assault on the Moncada Barracks.

Somewhere between 300,000 and 500,000 Cubans attended the rally. Fidel's tone, the attentive posture of the audience, and above all, the content of the speech completely disproved the charge that Fidel's speeches were nothing but emotional harangues designed to stir up a frenzy of hatred for the U.S. The four and a half hour speeches of Fidel are simply the most direct of educating an entire population in the thinking of the revolution. The focal point of the speech was the charge by the Organisation of American States that Cuba had intervened in the internal affairs of Venezuela by sending arms to the Venezuelan guerrillas. In answering this attack, Fidel reviewed, one by one, the situation in each of the Latin American countries, ending with Venezuela itself "a country where hundreds of young students have been assassinated."

18.

Our eight-week tour of Cuba coincided with the first of the "long, hot summers" in the U.S. When we returned to the United States everybody was talking about the Tonkin Gulf incident and the Johnson-Goldwater election campaign. On arriving at the airport, we were notified that our passports were being declared invalid, and three students were handed subpoenas to appear before HUAC.

The contrast between life in Cuba under the revolution and life in the U.S. under capitalism was so glaring, so startling, that it completely altered our perspective. Socialism had been an idea, a desirable goal. For many of us it had been at most an interesting concept. The trip to Cuba made us see that the road to socialism was at the same time both a possibility and a burning necessity. To aid the Cuban revolution, to defeat its enemies, to build a revolutionary movement here in the U.S. - this became the imperative.

The travel ban is still in effect and a person who defies it still loses his passport when he returns. However, a recent Supreme Court decision ruled that U.S. citizens cannot be subjected to criminal charges for travelling "without a valid passport". Unfortunately there was no coordinated attempt to organize meetings, tours etc. to tell the truth about the Cuba we saw or to organize an effective defense against the Government's attack on our right to travel. I spoke on several campuses in Minnesota and I know from the response I received that if all of us who went to Cuba that summer had spoken all over the country that it would have done a lot to help fight the travel ban.

The American Government is in a very weak position with regard to freedom of travel. If life in Cuba is so terrible, why not let Americans see for themselves? The simple fact is that LBJ knows full well that nothing would swell the ranks of the revolutionary movement

more than thousands of American students travelling to Cuba, seeing the revolution for themselves and returning to this country, as we did, determined to devote their lives to the battle for socialism.

For seven days the Tribunal heard legal, historical and scientific evidence concerning the questions of aggression, and the bombing of the Vietnamese civilian population. This evidence (much of it gathered by the various Investigating Commissions sent to Vietnam by the Tribunal itself) took the following forms: evidence of civilian bombardments, collected on the spot in Vietnam (e.g. photographs and fragmentation bombs); films (by the Japanese Committee for the Investigation of U.S. War crimes in Vietnam, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and Roger Pic, French film-maker and member of a Tribunal Investigating Commission); more than thirty reports, dealing with the history and legality of U.S. intervention in Vietnam, anti-personnel weapons, bombings of churches, pagodas, schools, hospitals, dikes etc., testimony and questioning of two North Vietnamese and two South Vietnamese victims of bombing attacks - three of them, including a small boy, victims of napalm and one a victim of fragmentation bombs.

One of the most impressive aspects of the Tribunal was the seriousness of its approach, and the thoroughness of its documentation and Investigating Commissions.

## THE WORKERS REPUBLIC

AUTHOR -

PAT HEALY IS A GRADUATE OF U.C.D. AND IS  
CURRENTLY A LECTURER IN BOLTON STREET.

At the coming Labour Party conference motions will be discussed calling for the reinsertion of the demand for a Workers Republic among the aims and objects of the party. This development, which is a reflection of the growing leftward trend in Irish politics, will be welcomed by all workers who see the need for the radical reorganisation of the economy in the interest of the working class. This need will become all the more apparent in the coming months when Fianna Fail, the executive committee of the exploiting class, will attempt to shackle the workers by enacting anti-trade union legislation.

The history of the demand for a Workers' Republic in the Labour movement is most instructive. It was the goal of James Connolly co-founder with Larkin of the Labour Party. It was clear to him that independence alone would not alleviate the plight of the toiling man. Consequently he instructed the citizen army to hold onto their arms in the coming fight lest those that were with them should stop short of his objective. In the thirties the demand for a Workers' Republic split the Republican Congress, its opponents holding that the national revolution must first be completed - shouts of De Valera's infamous dictum "Labour must wait." It was formally incorporated as an objective of the Labour Party in 1936. However, anti-progressive fans were soon to show their hand. The executive of the Irish National Teachers Organisation, who were then affiliated to the Party, sent a letter to the Hierarchy asking their opinion as to whether the aims and objects of the Labour Party were in any

way in conflict with Catholic teaching. This was referred by the Hierarchy to a committee of experts who replied that certain things were and gave as an example the fact that the Workers' Republic was the ultimate objective of the Party.

A series of amendments were placed on the agenda of the 1938 conference by the I.N.T.O. with the object of deleting the objectionable clauses from the constitution. It became apparent however, after a number of discussions between the executive of the I.N.T.O. and some members of the A.C. of the Party that the amendments would not be passed. They were accordingly withdrawn after an assurance by MORTON that he would use "other means" to have them adopted. The amendments again appeared on the agenda of the 1939 conference but were referred. However, the A.C. sought and obtained permission from the conference to redraft the constitution. This was supported by Tom O'Connell, a former Chairman of the Party, who remarked "people might think we're socialists." A new draft-constitution was circulated in April 1940 and in this draft all reference to the Workers' Republic had been omitted. This was finally passed in the 40's and following this the I.N.T.O. received the express commendation of the Bishops. Before this statement from the bishops no public mention had been made of the negotiations that had been going on between the executive of the I.N.T.O. and certain members of the A.C. of the Labour Party and Hierarchy. Even to-day it is not thought advisable to make public reference to the circumstances which led up to the alterations in the constitution. It is significant that no direct vote was ever taken on the deletion of the Workers' Republic clause.

The Labour Party has recently declared itself to be a socialist party, but declarations alone are meaningless unless the Party adopts a socialist programme for workers power centred around the demand for a Workers' Republic. There must be no ambiguity about the goal for which we are striving. We can learn much from the experience of the British Labour Party. This so-called socialist party were elected without a socialist programme and with no perspective outside the capitalist system. Now, having no other perspective, they govern in the interest of the exploiters and when these exploiters encounter difficulties which spring from the inherent contradictions in capitalism they unload the problems onto the backs of the workers by deliberately creating unemployment. This human suffering, this gross waste of resources which should be used to better the lot of those who work could

never take place in a planned economy. Anyone who has any illusions that the British Labour Party is governing in the interest of the workers should consult the growing dole queues.

This is not what we mean by a Workers' Republic. The Workers' Republic is the rule of the majority, organised through workers' councils, without standing army or permanent bureaucracy, needing repression initially only against the formerly exploiting minority. The electorate will retain the right of immediate recall of its representatives at all levels. Therefore the character of this semi-state of the working class is radically different. Whereas present "democracy" is based on a state of exploitation of the vast majority, and is only an empty, legalist formula masking an employers' dictatorship, the Workers' Republic means real democracy, the reality of the controlling will of the workers: it is democracy by and for the working people against the exploiters.

In the Workers' Republic the means of life will be social property. The factories, banks, insurance companies and means of transport and communication will be the common property of the working people, controlled democratically. All imperialist economic holdings will be expropriated. Large scale industry will be nationalised. (Nationalisation being understood as the transference of ownership to the workers' state under the direct socialist management of the working class. The existing state-capitalist enterprises will also be transferred into social property by the Workers' State. Large estates and capitalist agricultural undertakings will be nationalised. There will be state monopoly of the wholesale trade, nationalisation for use by the people of large houses in town and country. Small property in town and country will not be expropriated and non-exploiters will not be coerced. Only when the small farmers can see the advantages of amalgamation and large scale agriculture will there be any question of reorganisation here. Until that time, planning by the Workers' State will at least free the small farmer from the disastrous effects of the present anarchic capitalist system.

On a local level workers management will be the rule; on a national level, economic functions will be centralised in the hands of the democratically controlled workers state. The central and local will interact and mutually adjust to the other. For the first time a rational economy planned in the interests of the self-controlling working man will be possible.

In relation to the Labour Party conference a word of warning is necessary. Past experience has shown that the cleverest careerists often adopt left-sounding phrases as a means to their own ends. When Hugh Gaitskell sought to delete Clause IV from the British Labour Party constitution his most vigorous opponent was Harold Wilson (Clause IV states that the aim of the Party is the control of the means of production by those who labour by hand or by brain). Now Wilson and his fellow traitors not alone ignore Clause IV but even their own election promises. It will not be surprising, therefore, if the conference accepts the Workers' Republic motion by a large majority with strong vocal support from all manner of opportunists and place-seekers. But let us not be deceived. Let us elect officers who will struggle for Connolly's glorious goal and after conference let us wage a constant determined struggle within the Party lest any bureaucrat, blackleg or traitor should renege on the battle for socialism and place his own selfish interests before those of the working class.

Onward to a Workers' Republic!!

## POEMS

BY HAYDEN MURPHY.

### 1. A WAKE FOR A CITY'S NIGHT.

City  
Nights  
Wrapping public company  
Ever around and about you.

Huge shadowed; black peopled  
Buses, trundling  
Streets.

Head lit taxies  
Populating yellow lamp lit  
Streets.

And feet with voices  
Whirl about, ever  
Providing the flight of a  
City's night.

30th January, 1967.

### 2. THE WORLD AWAKE.

They march  
Millions  
Of feet

TRAMPING  
POUNDING  
STRIDING

PROJECTING

THE CONSCIOUS HUMANITY  
ARRIVALS DEPARTURES  
noise resounding  
again, again and again  
and

again  
a silence

and the wind stirs  
MY shadow  
in the silence

30th January, 1967.

# IN SEARCH OF A PHILOSOPHY

Author.

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A very obvious facet of Irish life today is the almost total lack of a coherent, if indeed any, philosophy of national development. What must cause the greatest concern is the fact that no philosophy (perhaps too grandiose a title, but effective nevertheless) is in the process of being formed. We are living in a spiritual vacuum from which no-one is even trying to escape. Nobody has to be told of the many grave social problems which need to be tackled with determination and courage. Among those which spring to mind are problems in the agricultural sphere, in industrial relations, in distribution of income. Education too requires many changes. U.C.D. is the preserve of the middle-class, a middle-class conspicuous by its ineptitude and mediocrity. Indeed the paralysing hold of the middle-class grips all sections of Irish life. Across the water we can see that a social revolution is taking place, and has been for a number of years, with ever-increasing rapidity. The elite which is coming to the fore is an intellectual elite, a technological elite, and it is their type of elite which is necessary for survival in the world of today. Of course, an intellectual aristocracy brings, along with the usual problems of any aristocracy, a special set of problems which will have to be tackled as they arise. But one thing is certain, no country, including Ireland, can survive unless it has its most intelligent and most aggressive types at the head.

What then is the case with Ireland? It is probably no exaggeration to say that the best brains of the country are wielding pick and shovel in constructing the motorways of Britain. This dreadful haemorrhage is regarded with a cool complacency by those whose business it is to do something about it. But the new Establishment which has grown up since "Independence", largely self-perpetuating, is characterized by a lack of any original thought or action. The tendency is

26.

to imitate. The massive inferiority complex of the Irish manifests itself by a slavish imitation of the attitudes of other nations, especially the Anglos, and this tendency is most evident in the middle-classes. Everyone (the British) is going into Europe, and so it is good for Ireland to go in. End of Discussion. One might say "well, if Britain goes in, we just have to follow". Perhaps. But has any serious thought and debate taken place as to the problems, the implications or the other options (if any) to membership of the E.E.C.? Of course not! That's too much like hard work. And of course the Irish language, in this day and age, has no place, no place at all. Primitive, barbarian tongue. One could bring up more examples, Vietnam, the Church. But to refer to one particular characteristic of the middle-class, its Christianity. For the middle-class Catholicism implies Mass on Sunday, benediction even, convent education for the girls, "liberal" moanings at T.C. about the Trinity man, adequate money in the plate (the pledge, strangely, is somewhat infra dig - must be too much effort) and a complete dis-regard of the basic concept of Christianity - charity, love of one's fellow man. The arrogant priest has been replaced as the curse of Irish Catholicism by bourgeois selfishness. A sort of negative Christianity which consists in keeping the rules as far as one's own position is concerned in society. But care for the less fortunate brethren, specifically those who have to exist in poverty or wander on the waves of the world, does not concern those of well-fed suburbia. One does not want to turn into a sort of religious dogmatist, but it seems plain enough as to what charity consists of in Ireland today. It consists of the elements of social justice, a more equitable distribution of income, more protection for the poor and sick in the way of financial benefits, equal opportunity to all to better themselves in their own land, a willingness to forgo more consumption for oneself so that others less fortunate might enjoy more, recognition and implementation of the need for hard work to improve the conditions of society generally and for all. The list is inexhaustible. This is not a call for doctrinaire socialism, for a class conflict

27.

We must talk in the language of the 60's not of the 30's. We do not want a divided society, but a society which is united. We need a philosophy which will recognise that this country cannot survive without radical changes, changes which will upset the social status quo, still the natural development from British rule, finally and irrevocable we need a philosophy of self-reliance which will do away with the old inferiority complex. And we need new leadership, leadership which will successfully combine the old with the new, which will assert Ireland's place in the world, not of course in terms of physical power, but in terms of moral power. Leadership must give a degree of emotional intensity to the country, the urge to develop and fulfil. One hesitates to use dated terms such as "national destiny", but this cynicism and false cosmopolitanism of the so-called educated must be attacked. Cynicism is a cover for ineptitude, we have both in plenty. The imitation of the Angles, referred to previously, is regarded as a mark of being up to date, whereas in reality it is a vicious form of parochialism, vicious because it puts, in a largely uncritical fashion, the values and customs and beliefs of another people before one's own, parochial because the standards of the Angles are taken as the sole criterion.

No-one knows where Ireland is going, how she will face the new Europe and a changing world. Values alter and the pace of change itself is so fast that we are bewildered. The old ideals seem to lose their potency, their attractiveness, and in our frantic groping for a set of practical and relevant new values we are in the process of throwing overboard all of the old indiscriminately. But there is one value which must go - the slavish subservience to authority. It seems as though to oppose national government smacks of disloyalty, although one would have thought that after so many years the realisation would have effectively dawned that native Government is no panacea. On the contrary, who can deny that if ruled by Britain today Ireland would be better off materially? If the concept of national independence, to be more

28.

specific, of political independence, ceases to have any validity or meaning, what then is to be the criterion? Materialism?

But it seems clear enough that before real progress can be achieved in this country, in any sphere, what is needed is leadership and vision, and as yet there is no sign of either appearing.

## MESSAGE FROM

# 29 BRENDAN CORISH

I welcome the opportunity to speak to the students of U.C.D. and Trinity College. We in the Labour Party have realised for a long time that if a Labour Government is to be returned by the people of Ireland it will have to represent more than one section of our people. The Party therefore is proud of the position of the Labour Party Branch in the universities. For in our universities are contained the brains of our country, or so we would hope. Unfortunately economics rather than intelligence usually decides who enters our universities.

The Labour Party believes that it is only through socialism that Ireland can fulfill the promises of the 1916 Proclamation which are accepted and embraced by all sections of the community. The form that socialism will take in Ireland is to be decided by Irish men and women. It is here that students and the universities can play a major role. They have the skilled training and education required to formulate coherent and competent policies.

For too long they have grumbled over the lack of intellectual debate in Irish politics. While this was true, it was because the political stage was dominated by Treaty parties and Treaty issues. Labour, advocating socialism in the thirties, forties and fifties, was like a voice in the wilderness. We now have to listen to lectures on the merits of indicative planning by the recently converted. However, they still do not know how to plan, or more important, they don't want to plan. The Taoiseach's graveside address over the famous Second Programme is a striking example of their incompetency.

Labour has advocated full scale economic planning of the nation's resources with public enterprise as a major instrument of action as the only effective solution to the nation's problems. For years we were condemned and abused as communists.

30.

To-day, however, things are changing. The old Treaty issues are dead. Labour is steadily advancing, as witnessed by our success in the last general election and this year's local elections.

There is room in the Labour Party for anyone who cares sufficiently about the people, of this country and who is prepared to work for the solution of their problems. Students especially welcome, for we will need the help of doctors, engineers, economists, teachers, scientists, architects and intellectuals in the formation of comprehensive and detailed policy and in the development of socialist solutions to Irish problems.

The Labour Party contains people with a wide variety of opinions and views. This is not seen as a hindrance but rather as a stimulus in the development of our own political thinking. We are however united in one aim, that is the establishing of an Ireland which will be free from the degradation of unemployment and bad working conditions, the anguish of hunger and sickness, and the agony of poverty and humiliation.

Anyone who shares these aims is welcome to enter the Labour Party and join us in our difficult struggle to achieve a Socialist Republic of Ireland.

**JOIN THE  
IRISH LABOUR PARTY  
UNIVERSITIES BRANCH  
20 EARLSFORT TCE.**

