

Rather, the Communist Party, now as ever, places its faith in the people. It is confident that the people, having smashed fascism, will go forward to pluck the fruits of victory, and will allow nothing to stand in their way. To-day, the peoples of the world are on the threshold of great events. Fascism is crumbling and bringing down with it the hopes of reactionaries throughout the world. A great perspective has opened up, and the possibilities of great social changes are bright. If the opportunities are grasped, we can see the end of wars, and the introduction of a great period of peaceful reconstruction.

Everything lies in the favour of the people. The three most powerful countries in the world—Britain, America and the Soviet Union—have given us the pattern for the future world—“a world family of democratic nations.” On the part of the people there is a strong determination to end wars, and to lead a peaceful and happy life. They never were as strong as to-day, and the forces of reaction never were so weak. If the progressive forces inside each country play their part, the ideas enunciated at Teheran can be realised, and the peoples of the world merged in a great association that can lead to peace and prosperity for the whole of mankind.

We in Northern Ireland have our part to play. We can best play it by ensuring that we forge a strong, united labour movement which will rally to it all that is best in the country; a labour movement that will be strong enough to defeat the Tories, overcome the problems of the future, and lead the people to socialism.

For a

# PROSPEROUS ★ ULSTER



*An explanation  
of the  
Communist  
Party's Policy for  
Northern Ireland*



by

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## **For a Prosperous Ulster.**

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A FEW short years ago the people could not allow their thoughts to travel very far into the future. Fascism, victorious on the continent of Europe, was casting its dark shadow over Britain and Ireland. While not allowing the thought of defeat to enter their minds, yet the people realised that the outlook was grim and foreboding. The immediate concern was to rally all forces in defence of the country against the fascist enemy.

To-day the black outlook is gone. Instead of facing a fascist invasion, Allied forces have gone to the relief of the peoples of the continent. Practically the whole of France, Belgium and Holland has been liberated. Italy is almost cleared of the invader, as also is the Soviet Union. A number of Hitler's satellite states are eliminated from the war. A ring of steel is closing around Germany.

The strategy of Hitler and his gang of murderers has been countered and defeated. No longer can they marshal their forces against one country at a time. Instead, the Hitlerites are faced with the united strength of the Allies. Joint blows are being delivered from the east, the west, and the south. The fascist enemy is reeling beneath them. Military defeats, involving tremendous losses in men and materials, are having their effect on the morale of the enemy. An increasing number of Germans are surrendering without a fight. The revolt of the Generals and the attempt to assassinate Hitler himself tell their own story.

Future prospects indeed are bright. Victory is in sight—but it is not yet won. Indeed it would be too dangerous to the cause of victory itself to allow ourselves to be lulled into complacency. Stalin's wise declaration that a wounded beast can be very dangerous is a timely reminder that all is not over; the beast has to be followed into its lair and destroyed. After Germany, Japan will have to be dealt with.

But nothing can shake the confidence of the people in victory. The last round of the fight will be fought as vigorously as the previous rounds. In fact, it will be fought with increased vigour, with increased determination, and no sacrifice will be counted too great to achieve speedy victory. Furthermore, the people will be inspired by the thought that with the defeat of

fascism the way will be cleared for great social advances—social advances which the people will look for as a right and which they are determined to obtain.

The people have learned innumerable lessons from the war. They have been inspired by the glorious achievements of the mighty Socialist Power, the Soviet Union. They have seen that, when united internally and with the peoples of countries inspired by the same high ideals of freedom and democracy against a common enemy and for a common cause, the dark forces of fascism can be conquered. The war has given the people increased confidence in their own initiative and ability. They know that, when the resources of the country are properly harnessed to the needs of the day, the production of essential goods can be stepped up to the required height.

The value of co-operative effort has manifested itself to millions as a new power in society, even though at times co-operative effort was restricted and limited by a section of reactionary and selfish employers. The lessons learned and the experiences gained during the war must be turned to good account in the post-war period, and the efforts of all directed to building a creative peaceful society which will bring happiness and a new life to the people.

With the prospects of the speedy defeat of fascism, thoughts of what is to be done in the post-war world are coming into the minds of the people. No one has any illusions about the difficulties that will confront the people at the conclusion of the war: mighty problems will have to be tackled and solved, and bitter struggles fought against the forces of reaction. But the Communist Party is confident that the people, having defeated fascism, will be sufficiently strong and united to defeat the forces of reaction and to solve the problems that will arise in their march towards a fuller and happier life.



**A**LL our efforts must be thrown into the task of defeating fascism, because lasting peace will not be secured until fascism is completely destroyed, all nations freed, and democracy and international co-operation achieved. After the war whole countries will have to be rebuilt. The Soviet Union has made sacrifices and incurred great destruction in the common struggle; large portions of the Continent have been laid waste and a great task of reconstruction faces the people of liberated Europe. Britain and Northern Ireland also have

suffered, but to a lesser extent. It is our responsibility to assist in the great tasks of reconstruction in the Soviet Union and in Europe, because our prosperity is bound up with that of the peoples who have fought and suffered with us in war.

In Northern Ireland also there will be great work of reconstruction. Bombed areas must be rebuilt. Houses will have to be constructed on modern lines, providing the greatest possible opportunities for the people living in them to lead a healthy life. No new slum dwellings must be built, and those at present in existence, many of which have been condemned years ago as unfit for human habitation, must be demolished.

Our shipyards and engineering concerns must be utilised to the full in the reconstruction of industries destroyed by the war. Our agricultural and all other resources must be developed to the fullest extent. The production of goods in abundance for the needs of the people will ensure employment for all at good wages and under good working conditions. Monopoly and vested interests must not be allowed to stand in the way of securing the fruits of victory and the forward march of the people.

The war against fascism has united as never before all progressive sections of the people. Their strength is growing, and with the destruction of Nazism a heavy blow will be struck at the enemies of the people everywhere.

The value of this unity has clearly manifested itself in the present war situation. Before it was forged, fascism appeared strong; now it is the Allies who are showing their strength in their achievements. The lesson is obvious: strengthen the unity of the people and not only is victory certain, but also the future advance of the people.

At Teheran the basis was laid for the collaboration of all democratic nations and the organisation of world peace. The decisions there agreed to by Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin were not merely confined to the winning of the war. They also envisaged winning the peace. These agreed decisions are a guide to the future happiness of all peoples. By them the way is opened up for the co-operation of all democratic nations in a "world family," thus ensuring co-operation in the great task of reconstruction and guaranteeing the future peace and prosperity of mankind. It is the duty of the people to ensure that the decisions of Teheran are implemented.

It is with Teheran as a guide that the people of Northern Ireland must face the future. Doing so will ensure that not

only Northern Ireland is in step with all other progressive peoples, but also the whole of Ireland. The people of Northern Ireland hold the key to the future of the whole of Ireland. The successful tackling of the problems of the people here will find its reflection in the establishment of the friendliest relations between the people North and South, and the co-operation of Ireland with Britain and the rest of the democracies in a world family of democratic nations.

The people of Northern Ireland are determined to move forward with the people of Britain. Among all sections there is a growing hatred of those things which blight the lives of civilised people ; there is a growing determination to bring about social changes and a new life.

The social changes necessary after the war only can be brought about by the united strength of the people overcoming every obstacle of privilege and reaction. Unity, nationally and internationally, is indispensable during the war against fascism. It had to be built up in the teeth of the bitterest opposition from Tory reaction, both in Britain and in Northern Ireland. Unity will be required just as urgently after the war.



THE greatest obstacle to the unity of the people and the full mobilisation of the resources of Northern Ireland is the Unionist Party. In the early days of the war, the Unionist Party Government, led by the Andrews-Glentoran-Barbour Old Gang, took little or no heed of the urgent situation that existed, and continued to pursue the same old reactionary policy that had been pursued by Unionist Party Governments prior to the war. As a result, the people were not united as they should have been in face of the grave menace that was threatening the freedom of mankind. The Government made no effort to unite the people, and the war effort of the Province left much to be desired. The anger of the people eventually drove Andrews and his gang out of office ; a new Unionist Party Government was formed under the leadership of Sir Basil Brooke and pledged to conduct a policy for the utmost prosecution of the war.

Faced by the urgent necessity of improving the war effort, and by the rising demands of the people for improvements in their social conditions, particularly on health, housing and unemployment questions, the Brooke Government did make some changes for the better. Production Committees were given official support by the Government and co-operation between

managements and workers was encouraged. Efforts were made to secure more work for the people of Northern Ireland. The Brooke Government to a certain extent responded to pressure of public opinion and amended the Rent Restriction Act in an endeavour to end racketeering in rents. Public pressure forced it to alter its standstill policy in relation to the building of houses and it decided that 750 new houses should be erected—only a token in relation to the actual housing needs of the people, it is true, but this, and the Housing Trust scheme recently announced by Mr. Grant, were indications that the Brooke Government could be moved. Also as a result of pressure of public opinion, the Brooke Government was forced to set up a Ministry of Health for Northern Ireland, although as yet this Ministry has not much to show for its work.

The weakness of the Brooke Government is only too apparent. On the one side, it has the representatives of big business—the Old Gang—who are openly clamouring for a return to the old " freedom " for trusts and established interests to recommence plundering the public, and who will take the first opportunity presented to oust Brooke from the Premiership. On the other side are the people, growing in consciousness and increasing their demands for improved social conditions.

In this situation, Brooke seeks to ride two horses by making contradictory statements. He attempts both to appease the masses of the people and to reassure the business magnates. The Brooke Government cannot effectively measure up to present day needs, nor will it be able to measure up to the needs of the people after the war. It is a Unionist Party Government composed of those who, by virtue of their attachment to the Unionist Party and the reactionary policies that are irreconcilably bound up with the Party, are unfitted to govern the people of Northern Ireland.

The policy of the Unionist Party Government since its inception in Northern Ireland has been dominated by the narrow, sectarian and selfish interests of a handful of reactionaries. Prior to the war, its policy played havoc with the lives of the people : industries either were closed down or worked at much below capacity ; agriculture was neglected ; unemployment was abnormally high, and misery and poverty were the lot of the majority of the people ; housing conditions were allowed to deteriorate, the number of new houses erected being only a fraction in comparison to the numbers built in England and Scotland ; the health of the people compared unfavourably with the health of the people of Britain. In brief, Northern Ireland was allowed to become a distressed area in all but name.

The dominant leaders of the Unionist Party always have been associated with the policy of the most reactionary section of the British ruling class. They are the Municheers of Ulster. Although Brooke is now the Prime Minister of a Unionist Party Government, the Unionist Party still is strongly influenced by the Andrews-Glentoran-Barbour Old Gang; Mr. Andrews still retains the Chairmanship of the Ulster Unionist Council.

The people of Northern Ireland have paid, and are still paying, a heavy price for the privilege of being ruled by reactionaries. A continuation of Unionist Party rule after the war would produce not the social changes desired by the people, but a state of social conditions similar to those in the years between the wars—riches for the few, and poverty for the many. The reactionary Old Gang—Andrews, Glentoran, Barbour and Co.—and their supporters must be driven out of the positions of authority which they occupy. The influence of the Unionist Party must be weakened and an end made of the domination of monopoly interests in Northern Ireland. The needs of the people will demand social changes that conflict with monopoly interests. The needs of the people must come before monopoly interests.

In order to carry through the necessary social changes and to initiate the various economic schemes that will be necessary, the greatest possible unity of the people will be required and the leadership of the people must pass into the hands of the labour and progressive forces of the country.

With unity of the people and a Labour-Progressive Government, the people will be able successfully to tackle post-war problems. And as their unity grows in strength, the people will be preparing the way for bringing about major changes in the social system and superseding capitalism by socialism. For, while social advances are immediate requirements, it is only through socialism that the people will be finally emancipated, will win those conditions wherein Irishmen will be living as a united and free people in friendly association with the people of Britain and the peoples of the whole world. In a Socialist Ireland there will be no room for sectarianism, no such thing as unemployment, no poverty, no bad housing conditions. The health of the people will be the concern of all, and will receive the best services that modern medical science can give. Equal opportunities for education will be the right of all citizens; every encouragement will be given to the development of culture, and the advancement of science will be considered a duty of the state.

In a Socialist Ireland, production and distribution will be based on the needs of the people, and the opportunity to work will be the right of every citizen. None shall go without the necessities of life, because essential goods will be produced in such abundance that there will be plenty for everyone. Socialism is the aim of the Communist Party; it also is the aim of the whole labour movement. The Communist Party believes that, with a united labour movement, supported by all other progressive forces, fighting for the immediate political and social needs of the people, strengthening the united will of the people, we can speedily create the necessary conditions for advancing to Socialism.

The urgent task facing the labour movement in Northern Ireland is to formulate a programme that will unite the labour movement with all progressive forces and win maximum support from the people.



AT the end of this war the people want to see a country in which every able-bodied person is given the opportunity to work. They want to see the resources of the Province developed to the full, with local industries set up where practicable. If this is done, the necessities of life can be available for all, and employment found for our returned soldiers and displaced war workers.

Insecurity and want are dreaded by the people. They want some measure of social security that will provide for periods off work, whether through sickness or any other cause; that will make ample provision for aged, blind and other afflicted persons. The Beveridge scheme, if operated, would be the nearest approach yet made to providing social security, therefore the people demand its introduction in Northern Ireland.

The people want not only homes for all, but better and healthier homes, equipped so as to lighten the work of the housewife. An immediate housing scheme will have to be put into operation to house the 100,000 families that are at present without homes of their own. Housing schemes will have to be planned to include schools, shops, community centres, and with good transport facilities.

The people want the best possible medical service; they want an educational system that will give equal opportunities to all; they will want facilities for the enjoyment of leisure in

both the fields of culture and of sport. At the conclusion of the war the people will want the comfort and enjoyment of peaceful holidays, they will demand legislation granting to all workers a minimum of two weeks' holiday per year with pay. And as speedily as the situation permits they will demand a 40-hour week.

The people, too, will want the extension of democracy and the ending of all legislation that interferes with their liberties. Above all, they will struggle to ensure that the peace settlement will be a lasting peace. The extension of democracy will be a step towards this end, but in order to make doubly certain that another war does not occur a few years hence, the people will not only punish the fascist war criminals but also will destroy every vestige of fascism, bring an end to the power of the monopolies, and to international trade rivalries.

The period after the war will demand that the peoples of the world co-operate in the great tasks of world reconstruction and bring into being the form of organisation envisaged at Teheran—a world family of democratic nations. On this basis future world peace is assured.



**T**HE aims of the people can be realised. Northern Ireland is not a poor country. It has rich soil and an industrious people; its mineral resources are as yet inadequately explored; it is as yet undeveloped.

Mr. Dennis Winston, M.A., B.Arch., senior architect, Ministry of Health and Local Government, speaking in Belfast (10.8.44), gave as his view "that Northern Ireland was on the edge of a great period of expansion because she was a relatively under-developed country next door to highly-developed England."

During a recent visit to Northern Ireland, Mr. Hudson, Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries, in paying a tribute to Ulster farmers, gave some indication of the remarkable development in recent years of agriculture in Northern Ireland. He said: "Northern Ireland has increased tillage acreage by about 80 per cent., compared with about 73 per cent. in England and Wales and 40 per cent. in Scotland."

The above two quotations reinforce the views long held by the labour and progressive forces in Northern Ireland. If the

resources of the country had been properly organised and production properly planned; if, instead of dependence on other countries, local industries had been developed; if there had been no lag in the building of houses between the two wars—in brief, if Northern Ireland had not been saddled with a Unionist Party Government, its war effort would have given greater satisfaction, unemployment would not have been so prevalent, the people would have been more prosperous, and the housing shortage would not be so acute.

Is Northern Ireland strong enough to carry through the vast social changes necessary after the war? Are not the Government's powers limited in relation to its authority over finance? These questions naturally arise. To answer them involves an examination of the position, with particular reference to that apparently elusive thing, the Imperial Contribution.

In his book, *The Constitution of Northern Ireland*, Sir Arthur S. Quekett, LL.D., Parliamentary Draftsman to the Government of Northern Ireland and one of His Majesty's Counsel in Northern Ireland, states:—

"Customs and Excise Duties, Income Tax (including Super Tax), and any tax on profits, are reserved by the Act to the Government and Parliament of the United Kingdom, and continue to be imposed and levied by that Government and Parliament, and to be paid into the United Kingdom Exchequer. But the intention of the Act is to apply Northern Ireland taxes to Northern Ireland purposes, and, therefore, after a deduction of the required contribution to Imperial liabilities and expenditure and the cost of reserved services, the balance is paid over to the Exchequer of Northern Ireland on the certificate of a Board, consisting of one member appointed by the Imperial Treasury, one by the Minister of Finance for Northern Ireland, and a chairman appointed by His Majesty, and styled 'the Joint Exchequer Board.' Apart from these classes of taxation, the Parliament of Northern Ireland has power to impose and collect taxes for the benefit of the local Exchequer, but with the specific limitation that it may not impose a general levy on capital."

The Government of Ireland Act, 1920, originally made provision for an annual contribution from Ireland towards Imperial liabilities and expenditure. This contribution was fixed provisionally at £18,000,000. 56 per cent. was to have been paid by Southern Ireland and 44 per cent. by Northern Ireland. The initial Northern Ireland contribution was apportioned at £7,920,000 a year. But the setting up of the Irish

Free State imposed limitation on the Act. The Joint Exchequer Board was reconstituted and the Southern Ireland representatives eliminated. In January, 1923, the then Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Baldwin), after consultation with the Prime Minister of Northern Ireland, appointed the Colwyn Committee, "to consider whether, in view of the ratification of the Constitution of the Irish Free State, any alteration is needed in the present scale of the contribution of Northern Ireland to the cost of Imperial services."

Sir Arthur Quekett states:—

"The Committee sat for more than two years, and the most important outcome of its labours was a formula for the ascertainment of the taxable capacity of Northern Ireland, framed on the understanding that it would be acted upon by the Joint Exchequer Board in determining the amount of the Imperial contribution. The Colwyn Committee took the important point:—

"that the satisfaction of certain basic needs of local administration is essential before taxable capacity in an appropriate sense can be effective, and that it is in relation to a contribution to services other than those concerned with local administration that relative taxable capacity in the present circumstances has to be considered."

"They accordingly reported that in their opinion:—

"due regard will have been had to the relative taxable capacities mentioned in the Acts (i.e., the taxable capacities in Northern Ireland on the one hand and Great Britain and Ireland on the other hand) if the proportion to be contributed is based on the following lines:—  
**The extent to which the total revenue exceeds the actual and necessary expenditure in Northern Ireland shall be taken as the basic sum for determining the contribution. . . .**"

Quekett explains:—

"Actual and necessary expenditure is to be measured by the sum required from time to time to provide for Northern Ireland **an average standard of local service equal to the average standard obtaining at the same time in Great Britain.** The amount of the contribution for any particular year is to be ascertained by reference to the basic sum, and to a calculation based upon the deviation of the figures for the year of contribution from those of a standard year. The

financial year 1923-24 was taken as the standard, and for that year the Committee assigned to Northern Ireland a standard of local expenditure of £6,345,791 compared with £169,789,650 (subject to audit) assigned to Great Britain as the corresponding standard. The principles of the Colwyn Committee's report are open to be considered at the end of a period of five years, unless the results of their application have proved sufficiently satisfactory to both sides to enable their being applied for a further period."

From the 1922-23 figure of £6,685,000 Northern Ireland Imperial Contribution, a gradual shrinking took place until in 1934-35 the figure reached its lowest. In that financial year it was £24,000. In 1936-37 the figure rose again to £900,000. In the coming year (1944-45) the Imperial Contribution is estimated at £35,000,000, and since the war, including the current year, the Imperial Contribution amounted to £128,000,000. The Imperial Contribution is useful as a measuring rod; through it one can trace, year by year, the industrial decay of Northern Ireland under the rule of the Unionist Party. People are inclined to get heated to-day about the Imperial Contribution. Unionists, particularly the Andrews Old Gang section, protest vehemently against talk of its abolition, but under the rule of the Unionist Party the Imperial Contribution withered away to a negligible amount.

What immediately strikes one about the Imperial Contribution is that the basic sum for determining the contribution is the amount left over after actual and necessary expenditure is met, and "actual and necessary expenditure is to be measured by the sum required from time to time to provide for Northern Ireland **an average standard of local services equal to the average standard obtaining at the same time in Britain.**" According to the Act, Northern Ireland has first claim on the revenue collected. Sir Arthur Quekett makes this clear. As already quoted, he says: "But the intention of the Act is to apply Northern Ireland taxes to Northern Ireland purposes. . . ."

It is obvious that Unionist Party Governments of the past did not measure up to their responsibilities to the people under the Act. "An average standard of local services equal to the average standard obtaining at the same time in Britain" was not maintained. The people know this. And it was emphasised by the Northern Ireland Minister of Finance, Rt. Hon. J. Maynard Sinclair, in his Budget speech this year. Referring to the standard of health services and to the allied problems of water supply and sewerage, he stated: "The existence of consider-

able leeway on these and other vital services having been recognised some considerable time ago, a general understanding has been reached with the Chancellor of the Exchequer whereby means would be found to secure equality of standards with the remainder of the United Kingdom."

**There should have been no necessity to reach a "general understanding"; the people of Northern Ireland had already the right to equality under the Act. But it was denied them by the Unionist Party Government.**

Apart from the reserved taxes, the Northern Ireland Government has "power to impose and collect taxes for the benefit of the local Exchequer, but with the specific limitation that it may not impose a general levy on capital."

It is necessary to draw attention to these questions because many people are under the impression that the Northern Ireland Government is powerless where finance is concerned.

Whatever views one may have concerning the financial arrangements under the 1920 Act, and in particular concerning the Imperial Contribution (whether it is desirable to have it altered or not), it is obvious that the Act does not represent the most serious obstacle to achieving social advances for the people. To discover the real obstacle it is necessary to see what has been happening to Northern Ireland industries. The position in brief is that, slowly but surely, the dead hand of monopoly interests has stretched out and brought within its grip most of the Province's major industries.

Here are a few examples: Harland and Wolff is part of a big British heavy industry cartel, controlled largely by the Midland Bank; the £3,000,000 Glasgow Linen Thread Company (Chairman: Milne Barbour) owns a large number of mills including Wm. Barbour and Sons Ltd., Dunbar M'Master Ltd., and F. W. Hayes Ltd. Two of the three local Banks, the Belfast and Ulster, are owned by the Midland and Westminster respectively. The same story can be told of many other concerns formerly owned by Ulster people.

With the Province's industries controlled largely from outside, decisions as to whether these industries will be developed, or, as has happened in the past, closed down, rest with people who will not take into consideration the effect of their decisions on the lives of our people, but whose only consideration will be profits.

What has happened in Northern Ireland also has happened in Britain and other capitalist countries: the ownership of the

means of life—family necessities, the clothing materials of the people, the bricks, mortar, timber and other materials for homes, the ground beneath the house—as well as the Press, films, and other means of feeding the mind, have passed largely into the hands of monopoly interests. As a result the monopoly interests wield tremendous power, and their evil influence is felt everywhere.

Where whole areas have been made derelict, monopoly interests will be found. Where local industries and small business concerns have been swallowed up or put out of existence, monopoly interests will be found. And where there are reactionary politics, monopoly interests will be found to be the chief protagonists.

Monopoly interests were the chief supporters of Munich, many of them having common interests with German monopolies. They are still in the forefront where reactionary politics are concerned.



**T**HROUGH financial interests, people in big business are linked with the monopolies. They give allegiance to the monopolies, and all other things—including the interests of the people and country—are subordinate.

War requirements compelled the Government to introduce measures of State control over the economic life of the country. The efforts of the people were directed to the production of the necessities of war and the production of other goods was curtailed. This meant that many things were in short supply. To maintain economic stability, avoid inflation and curb racketeering, rationing and price control were introduced, thus ensuring a measure of equitable distribution. Although absolutely essential to the country and of great benefit to the people, particularly the lower-paid workers, who were at least assured of their rations, big business never took kindly to these measures. Already, with the prospects of the war ending, the representatives of big business are in the field with the demand for the removal of controls. They want a return to the pre-war conditions with no restrictions on their activity and complete freedom to exploit the people. Economic and political domination over the people is their aim.

One of the biggest issues facing the people is to combat the monopolies. The most effective way to do this is through

a united labour-progressive front leading the people to the defeat of Tory reaction at the next general election.

A Labour-Progressive Government pledged to achieve full employment and social progress, or a reactionary Tory Government that will endeavour to frustrate the aims of the people? This is the issue in deciding what kind of Government will be at Stormont in the critical years following the war.

Already the Tories are preparing, not with proposals that will mean better conditions for the people, but by raising the issue of the constitutional position (the "Border" and relations with Britain). They are well aware that this is not the real issue at stake, but know full well that they cannot hope to win support on anything else, and particularly on their past record. They are pinning their hopes, as always, on creating divisions among the people. In the resultant confusion, they hope to become again the Government of the day.

But the Labour movement will not allow anything to divert the attention of the people from the main issue. It will not advocate any change in the constitutional position, and will sharply condemn the Unionist Party when it raises this question as doing so for the purpose of disuniting the people and cheating them out of the fruits of victory.

Against the Unionist Party's policy of fostering antagonisms towards Southern Ireland and embittering relations between sections of the people in Northern Ireland, Labour will advocate the need for good relations between North and South, and within Northern Ireland. It will fight for a genuinely democratic regime in Northern Ireland, and an end to all social and political privileges and discrimination in accord with the spirit and letter of the Atlantic Charter and the decisions of Teheran.

The Labour movement in Northern Ireland will fight for a Government that will be a good neighbour of the Government of Southern Ireland. It will see to it that good neighbourly relations take concrete form by advocating the exchange of ideas and co-operation in trade for the mutual benefit of the two parts of the country. Among the many questions on which exchange of ideas and co-operation could take place, the following are advanced:—

Exchange of ideas and experiences on agriculture, e.g., maintenance of joint seed-testing and animal breeding centres and meteorological stations;

Rationalisation of fertiliser distribution in Ireland, e.g., the use of Clare phosphates in Northern Ireland and of the artificial manures made at the Derry factory in Southern Ireland;

A comprehensive trade agreement that would envisage such things as the earmarking of a large proportion of Drogheda cement for Northern Ireland in exchange for ships: the question of merchant and fishing fleets will arise sharply in Southern Ireland after the war; these ships could be built in Northern Ireland;

Joint electrification schemes which would be of enormous value to agriculture and industry generally: the two Irish Governments could reach agreement to operate schemes jointly (e.g., on the Erne and the Foyle), and to electrify the Great Northern Railway;

Co-operation of Irish engineering concerns in the manufacture of Irish agricultural and textile machinery;

Co-operation for the development of the tourist industry;

Maintenance and development of existing ties in the fields of culture and sport.



**I**N any plans for the future prosperity of the people, success or failure will depend upon the part played by the State. The war-time measures of State control over production and distribution of goods were urgently necessary. Production was increased and efficiency improved, while the people were able to concentrate on producing goods immediately required. But whereas during the war the economy of the country was a war economy—production of the weapons of war and necessities—after the war the economy of the country will be directed to reconstruction, replacements, and the production of goods for the needs of the people.

Everyone recognises that it would have been impossible to overcome difficulties of the war emergency without measures of State control. While in the post-war period the economy of the country will be directed to the production of peace-time goods instead of goods of destruction, difficult problems have to be solved and mighty deeds performed. It will still be an

“ emergency ” period for the people, although of a different character. State control will have to be maintained and extended.

In Northern Ireland, the agricultural, shipbuilding, linen and transport industries must become to an increasing extent major responsibilities of the Government.

For years prior to the war, transport in Northern Ireland was in a chaotic condition. Despite numerous plans, reports, Commissions and Select Committees, it had become increasingly obvious that no real solution to the problem had been obtained. The war temporarily pushed the transport problem into the background, but it still remains to be solved. And there is only one solution—nationalisation.

For our shipbuilding industry the labour movement demands a greater measure of Government control and authority. The people of Northern Ireland cannot allow a reversion to pre-war methods of running the industry, which meant, incidentally, that the livelihood of shipyard workers was controlled by monopolies outside the country.

The linen industry, without Government assistance, will be unable to regain the place which it occupied in the past; and it is doubtful even whether it will be able to exist except in a limited form. The Report of the Linen Industry Post-War Planning Committee issued recently indicates the plight of the industry when it advocates “ the provision of credit facilities to the Linen Industry in the form of loans at low rates of interest to be advanced or guaranteed by the Government in approved cases of modernisation, improvement or development of plant and machinery.”

It is clear that the linen lords want to be financed with the people’s money, but without the people having any say through their elected representatives in Parliament as to how the money is to be spent or the industry run. Government assistance must be given to the linen industry for modernisation, improvement and development of plant and machinery, and for research. But the Government must also exercise control of the industry.

In the aircraft and armament industries, production of the weapons of war will cease. But this does not mean that there should be a large displacement of workers, nor that these factories should close down. Nor does it mean that Government factories should be handed over to private interests. On no account whatever must this be done: on the contrary, they

must be retained by the Government and some run for the production of civil aircraft and others to supply the needs of the people, such as agricultural and textile machinery, and household fixtures and equipment.



THE Communist Party, in submitting the following programme for the consideration of the whole Labour movement, believes it to be one in the best interests of the people of Northern Ireland and which meets the situation that will arise in the post-war period.

### SHIPBUILDING

Britain’s pre-war merchant fleet was 17,000,000 tons. Britain will require 9,000,000 tons of shipping to make up for 7,000,000 tons of war losses and 2,000,000 tons of worn out ships. Britain’s building capacity, including Northern Ireland, is estimated at 2,000,000 tons per annum, so that if it were all used for pre-war replacements it would take 4½ years. But normal annual replacement is about 6 per cent. This would mean 480,000 tons per year from the start, leaving only 1,520,000 tons of our capacity for war replacements. This is exclusive of Naval requirements and foreign orders. The product of 8 years’ work after the war would not be an underestimation of our requirements.

Belfast has excellent facilities for shipbuilding, with workers who have a long tradition of skill. In 1930 Belfast built 168,068 tons of shipping—the highest for any year in the ten that preceded 1937. This tonnage could be increased to 200,000 tons and possibly 250,000 tons.

One of the first things that must be done is for the Government to set up a Commission on the shipyards for the purpose of bringing forward proposals for the use of more modern methods and for improvements in the working conditions of the men (the latter is closely connected with efficient and speedy production of ships); for the extension of the graving docks so that the largest ships can be built; for plant to be brought up to date; for improved lay-out of the yards; for depth improvement by dredging; for improved transport facilities, including transport for the workers. In respect of the latter, tunnelling under the Lagan or an overhead bridge would relieve traffic, always a bone of contention in this congested area.

## ENGINEERING

One of the biggest handicaps to the engineering industry of Northern Ireland is the absence of a smelting works. At the earliest opportunity the Government must see that one is established.

After the war, new plant and machine tools will be required by many concerns. At present, only one Ulster engineering firm is doing this class of work, and this in a small way. We have concerns here that can do this work, and we have the skilled workers.

New locomotives will be required by the railways: there is no reason why these should not be built here, instead of in Britain. Textile machinery will be required to re-equip mills and factories whose machinery has either been destroyed by enemy action or is worn out. There will be demands for all classes of engineering machinery including steam and diesel marine engines, stationary engines, turbines, pumps, fans, electrical equipment, etc. Machinery will be used to an increasing extent in agriculture. More metal work also will go into building than ever before, not only for the actual construction but also for furnishing.

Without taking into consideration the reconstruction needs of other countries, which will be substantial, Ulster's engineering industry, to cope with home needs alone, should be working to capacity for many years hence.

## AIRCRAFT

It is obvious that after the war there will be a curtailment of aircraft construction. Nevertheless, peacetime requirements will not be inconsiderable. Civil aviation is still in its infancy, and has tremendous scope for development. This industry, from 'plane construction to management of air lines, should be completely under the control of the Government and run in the interests of all the people and not for the profits of a few.

Ulster has proved its value by the large numbers of war 'planes produced. Modern factories and skilled workers are at hand for the production of 'planes for the peace period. Our demand is for retained Government control of aircraft production. Ulster workers must be given a share in the necessary production of 'planes after the war.

## LINEN

Prior to the war, the chief market for Ulster's linen goods was America and the colonies. After the war, although there are some doubts as to whether the American market will ever be as good as it was in the past, there also will be possibilities in the European market, and definitely the home market (British Isles) can be extended.

The linen industry, however, will have to face competition from other textiles and from synthetic fibres. Also, there will be greater competition from suppliers in which American and Russian linen will play a big part.

If Ulster's linen industry is to be maintained and to thrive, drastic re-organisation will have to be effected. Prior to the war, flax was grown in Northern Ireland at the call of local markets. As Ulster firms sometimes found it cheaper to buy foreign crops, our farmers had to contend with fluctuating demands. This cannot be allowed after the war.

The supply of all flax must be placed in the hands of the Ministry of Agriculture, which also would be the negotiator for foreign crops should the local supply be insufficient.

The Ministry also would be responsible for seeing that the fullest utilisation was made of land for the growing of flax. It should provide a market for flax grown in Eire, be responsible for research to ensure that seeds used are those best suited to land and climate and give the highest yield, and conduct flax retting in national retteries, thus ensuring a uniform straw. National retteries would solve the problem of river pollution, and remove the just grievances caused by fish poisoning. Giving effect to the above would mean greater Government control of the industry and resultant safeguards for the farmers.

On the manufacturing side, it is essential that a Linen Board be set up to eliminate cut-throat competition of the larger firms against the smaller. This Board could be composed of representatives of the Government (both Ministries of Agriculture and Labour), the manufacturers, and the trade unions. It would allocate raw materials and contracts to the various firms, and decide questions of buying and selling finished or processed goods. This Board would have control over research, and all discoveries and improvements should be the property of the industry as a whole.

As speedily as possible, modern machinery must be installed in mills and factories. Immediate improvements in wages and working conditions of all linen workers must be made. It is

of the utmost importance that better safeguards be provided for the health of the workers. In wet-spinning mills, in which workers are liable to chills, colds, pneumonia and tuberculosis, the Government must ensure that the workers receive regular X-Ray examination, and that milk and protective foods are supplied either free or at reduced rates. In scutching mills, where the atmosphere is laden with solid particles, close investigation must be carried out as to incidence of silicosis and industrial cancer, and, if necessary, protective meshes, goggles, etc., supplied. Stricter regulation must be introduced and enforced for the protection of scutch mills from fires.

## AGRICULTURE

With the requirements of the home market and the British market at its doorstep, Ulster's agricultural industry is in a most favourable position. If the opportunity is embraced, there is no reason why Ulster cannot become a modern Denmark. The main task is to ensure that every available acre of land is made arable and tilled. Land drainage and irrigation must be improved until not an acre is wasted. Increased mechanisation must be adopted, with pooling of resources and Government assistance in providing the necessary machinery.

A Committee representing the Government, farmers, and farm workers must be set up. This Committee should have authority to plan for the industry—seeds, crops required, their rotation, etc.—and to provide for research and education.

Our demands are: continuation of the present subsidies to farmers in the post-war period; guaranteed prices to the farmers for three years ahead; an agricultural college in every county, also winter day schools; a minimum wage of 70/- per week for all farm workers, a guaranteed 48-hour week in summer and 40 hours in winter, and two weeks holidays with pay per annum; facilities in health services, water supplies and sewerage for the rural areas equal to those that exist in the municipal and county boroughs and urban districts; abolition of the tied cottage system.

## TRANSPORT

The transport industry of Northern Ireland never has given the people an efficient service. That the railways are antiquated is obvious to all. Their rolling stock, with the exception of one or two of the main lines, has been out of date for the past twenty or thirty years; most of it should have been scrapped long ago. Large stretches of the permanent way requires over-

hauling, and stations require to be modernised. The smaller railways, notably the County Down, should be electrified and more frequent services introduced, particularly during rush hours and holiday periods.

Despite many attempts, co-ordination of road and rail services is still unsatisfactory. Competition between the two services, although officially not supposed to exist, is still in operation.

Taking the industry as a whole, it is obvious that a considerable amount of capital expenditure will be required and complete re-organisation must take place before the people will be provided with an efficient and satisfactory service.

There is only one solution to the problem—nationalisation. The Government must take the necessary action as speedily as possible to see that this is done.

## BUILDING

Neglect by past Governments, enemy action, and ordinary wear and tear, particularly the first, have combined to present the people with a very grave housing problem. Including slums and near-slums that must be abolished, 100,000 houses are required immediately. If this problem is to be tackled with speed it will require bold decisions and herculean efforts.

To give just a glimpse of the picture, it is sufficient to note that of the 323,000 houses in Northern Ireland, 42,000 are totally unfit for habitation, 129,000 require repairs from £20 to £200, and 90,000 require minor repairs up to £20. In the rural areas approximately 80 per cent. of the houses are without running water, and approximately 70 per cent. have no proper sewerage system. On top of the housing needs, schools, hospitals and clinics also are required.

The building problem appears even graver when we consider that the number of building trade operatives in Northern Ireland is only 22,000 (rising probably to 30,000, if the numbers that have left the industry are taken into consideration). 5,000 houses is the peak number built in any year of the 15 prior to and including 1937. The present output from Northern Ireland brickyards is estimated at 7,000,000 bricks per month—an altogether insufficient quantity for a substantial building programme. And this is not taking into consideration shortages of other essential materials.

Apart altogether from the important questions of men and materials, Belfast also has the problem of space. For its population of 438,000 it has an average of 28.7 persons per acre, which compares unfavourably with cities of comparable populations in Britain.

The Northern Ireland Government's Housing Trust scheme is a welcome move, although, instead of bearing full financial responsibility as it should, it proposes to shift part of this on to the ratepayers.

Future building will not only require planning but also that authority is vested in the hands of the people responsible for building—authority which will prevent anything standing in the way once plans are made and decisions taken. The need for such measures will be appreciated when it is realised that the Government's decision to build 750 houses in Belfast, taken nearly a year ago, has not as yet produced any results: not a brick has yet been laid.

The Communist Party's proposals are that the Government should set up a committee along the lines of the proposed Housing Trust. This committee, which would be answerable to Parliament, would have authority to plan and build. It would take an inventory of all resources, materials and manpower available to the industry. It would, for instance, ensure that the output of bricks is increased by extending present brick-yards, opening up new ones, and by introducing more modern methods of production. The committee would ensure that materials at present in short supply were produced in greater quantities, and examine the possibilities of utilising substitute materials such as concrete blocks, gypsum blocks, plastics, metals, etc.

The programme for building should be planned over a period of six years and include the following:—100,000 new houses; 200 new schools; at least one large hospital **in every town with a population of 5,000 or over** and a smaller one in every town with a population below that figure; at least one polyclinic in every town; in Belfast, extension of the City boundaries, and at least four blocks of modern self-contained flats, each to house 500 tenants—single persons and married couples. All houses should be built on a community basis, with shops and in each community a large building which would contain a library, reading rooms, sports rooms for gymnasium, etc., and a central hall to be used by the people of the community for lectures, concerts, theatre shows and cultural activity.

## ELECTRIFICATION

Progress in electrification has been slow in Ulster. In the rural areas, electricity is virtually absent. Electrification is a job that must be tackled. Electricity is required to provide power for industry and to bring comfort to the homes of the people. Ulster cannot become a prosperous Province without it; its absence would be too great a handicap for industry and agriculture.

There are water supplies in abundance in Ulster: the rivers Bann and Lagan, and loughs Foyle and Erne, and Strangford Lough, are but a few examples. Immediate steps must be taken to harness these supplies. Any schemes in connection with the Foyle and the Erne would have to be joint schemes with the Eire Government. Consultations between the two Irish Governments to obtain agreement on the exploitation of the waters of these two loughs must commence at once. At the same time, the Northern Ireland Government must proceed with plans for the establishment of generating stations at suitable sites throughout Northern Ireland.

## TOURIST INDUSTRY

Despite its natural beauty, Northern Ireland has never been made properly attractive to the tourist. Apart from Belfast's Bellevue, little or no effort has been made either by the Government or local authorities to provide amenities for the enjoyment of holiday-makers. In Northern Ireland there are no facilities provided at seaside resorts like those provided at Scarborough or Clacton-on-sea on the east coast of England, and Blackpool or Southport on the west coast, to name only a few of the places that are far ahead of Northern Ireland in their attractions for visitors.

Few places can compare with Northern Ireland in possibilities for a prosperous tourist country: the Glens of Antrim, the Mourne district, Strangford Lough, dotted with little islands and as yet practically undiscovered by visitors, Lough Neagh, the entire coast from Lough Foyle to Carlingford Lough—all are ideal places for holiday-makers.

It is necessary to preserve our scenery from the ravages of the commercial entertainment industry. Few would wish to see a *Palais de Dance* in the middle of the Antrim Glens, or a "Fun Fair" on the slopes of Slieve Donard. Yet all our famous countryside should be made available to the people through the provision of comfortable, cheap accommodation and

adequate transport facilities. The Government must take over ownership of the principal beauty places, including the whole coast line, and make these available for the enjoyment of the people.

The Government must set up a Tourist Board to exercise authority over hotels and boarding houses to ensure a good standard of service and prevent overcharging. It should have power to ensure that the beauties of the countryside are preserved and that unsightly buildings will not mar the landscape. The Board's approval should be obtained before buildings of any description are erected.

The Board would set up a number of holiday camps and be responsible for their running and upkeep. It would have control over advertising and organisation for the tourist industry of Northern Ireland, and arrange travel facilities for those who desired to spend their holidays in Eire, Britain or other countries.

### **SOCIAL INSURANCE**

Social security is one of the dominant aims of the people. Past experience has increased the urge to secure provision for periods off work and for sickness and old age. The nearest approach yet made to a plan for a comprehensive social insurance scheme is the Beveridge Plan. The object of this Plan is to provide as far as possible a unified system of income maintenance to cover needs arising from a variety of causes. Beveridge proposes cash benefits to cover unemployment, sickness, disability, marriage, maternity, children, widows, funeral expenses, etc.

The implementation of the Beveridge Plan would mean great social advance. Therefore we demand that the Government introduce legislation to give the people the benefits envisaged by the Beveridge Plan.

### **HEALTH SERVICES**

Health is a national asset, consequently its promotion and preservation must be the responsibility of the State. The British Government has accepted this principle as shown by the proposals in the White Paper on a National Health Service. These proposals do not apply to Northern Ireland, where, even now, the health services are inferior to Britain's. It is obvious that unless the Stormont Government is forced to act, the inevitable time-lag will prevail, postponing major reforms for many years; and Northern Ireland will fall even further behind Britain in its health services.

As a basis for reforms in the health services of Northern Ireland, the Communist Party makes the following proposals:—

1. The health services of the Province must observe the following principles:—

- (a) The patient must be free from economic barriers between himself and medical care;
- (b) the health service must be comprehensive, covering every branch of medical activity—general practitioner, hospital, laboratory and specialist services;
- (c) patients must be free to choose their own doctors, and doctors to accept their own patients, except in cases of emergency;
- (d) doctors must have freedom to pursue their own professional methods in their own individual ways, without outside clinical interference.

2. The health service of the Province must be developed according to a national plan. This will necessitate that the Ministry of Health be constructed so as to be responsible for, and have absolute control over, all the health services.

3. The personal services should be organised in Health Units, each unit catering for about 100,000 of the population. Each unit would consist of a general hospital to which is attached a Divisional Health Centre. Subsidiary to that Health Centre would be three or four Local Health Centres placed according to the distribution of the population, transport facilities, etc. The function of the Health Centres would be to maintain health, prevent disease, and diagnose and treat disorders, so that the centre would have to provide all the types of personnel necessary, including general practitioners, consultants, dentists, midwives, etc.

4. The hospital services would be co-ordinated so as to ensure that full facilities for diagnosis and treatment were accessible to the whole of the community.

5. The State must institute an industrial medical service, whose officers will be full-time salaried officials of the National Health Service.

6. The maternity services should be organised from the health centres, and all personnel engaged should have specialised training.

7. To ensure that the proper spirit of team work, essential to the proper working of the services, is developed, all those health workers engaged in the National Health Service must be whole-time salaried officers.

## EDUCATION

The desire for better education is widespread. The British Government has passed the Butler Act and the Northern Ireland Government is due shortly to introduce its White Paper on Education. For years the labour movement has been agitating for free and equal education for all children, independent of whether they are children of rich parents or of workers. This is the fundamental principle, the corner-stone, of labour's educational demands.

The greatest argument put forward by reactionaries against better education is cost, although at root there also is the fear that too much knowledge on the part of workers' children might lead to such an understanding of society that the class basis of the rich would be destroyed, and with it their power over the people. The Communist Party, along with other progressive forces, realises that the future prosperity of the country depends on the development of the people and particularly of our children, our most precious possession. The question of expense, therefore, cannot be allowed to interfere with the introduction of a progressive educational programme.

Our demands are:—

that no expense be spared in providing an adequate number of good school buildings, staffed by efficient teachers. Teachers' salaries must be sufficiently high to attract able men and women to the profession; also, they must be given the same political freedom as other citizens;

that all education, from primary to technical and university, be free and equal to all children;

that local educational authorities be compelled to provide nursery schools for children between the ages of 2 and 5; attendance of children not to be compulsory;

that the school-leaving age be raised to 16, and that young people between the ages of 16 and 18 should attend one day per week at continuation schools, time spent at school to be deducted from hours of work and to be paid for by the employer;

dual control to be abolished; religious instruction to be at the option of the parents, and teachers to have the right to teach religion or not, according to their wishes and conscience.



THE realisation of this programme will ensure work for all and fulfil the desires of the people for social advancement. The means for its realisation lie in the hands of the people. Their united will and determination can bring about whatever changes they desire, just as their united will and determination created the conditions under which fascism is being crushed and defeated.

The war against fascism provided the people with opportunities to show what they could do when given the chance. Their collective efforts in field and factory in support of their brothers and sisters in the fighting forces made victory possible. During these war years the people have learnt something of their own strength and grown confident of their own ability to get things done. Furthermore, the very character of the war provided opportunities for working people to give leadership to an extent never realised in the past history of the country. The planning and organisation that the war entailed never could have been carried out by the Government without the co-operation and active support of the workers' organisations, nor could production have reached the heights which it did without co-operation and support.

During the war, allied to a socialist country and given a practical demonstration of socialist organisation and fighting qualities, the people have developed socialist ideas at a faster rate than ever before. Above all, the war has demonstrated to them the power of democracy. Their faith in democracy is greater to-day than ever before. They are prepared to fight, and if need be to die, for democracy, because they realise that it is only through democracy that they can realise their will for a peaceful, prosperous and happy life.

The programme which we have outlined is both practical and in line with the democratic ideals of the people. Given leadership the people of Northern Ireland will fight successfully for its realisation.

Labour's task is clear: it must provide the necessary leadership, knitting the whole labour movement into a strong united

body and attracting to its support all other progressive forces in the country. And in fighting for this programme for the people, labour must ensure that the people obtain every opportunity to exercise their democratic rights. Labour must ensure that at the earliest opportunity undemocratic legislation, such as the Special Powers Act, is removed from the statute book; that undemocratic actions such as the gerrymandering of constituencies and sectarian discrimination against a section of the people is ended.

The labour movement must ensure that as speedily as possible a return is made to democratic life in local government, that elections are held, and local representatives given back powers which they formerly enjoyed.

The labour movement must demand that all those elected to represent the people carry out their responsibilities. There must be an end to Parliamentary absenteeism and the virtual disfranchisement of many electors through the absentionist policy of a section of Nationalist members of Parliament.



**T**HE next General Election will be vital for the people of Northern Ireland. It will decide the Government which will have the responsibility of ruling in the period immediately after the war. A Tory Government would obstruct and endeavour to sabotage political and social progress.

Associated with black reaction in both British and Irish politics, associated with Munich, its leading members at one time very close friend of blood-stained fascists, associated with the monopolies that brought Northern Ireland to the verge of ruin, associated as the Government with the years of unemployment, poverty, misery, bad housing and unhealthy conditions, associated with sectarian strife that brought death and suffering into the homes of the common people—Toryism has nothing to offer except a repeat of the past. Tory reaction must be defeated if the people of Northern Ireland are to march forward with the rest of progressive mankind to pluck the fruits of victory over fascism.

The uppermost thought in the mind of every labour man and woman, the objective which will be the real test of sincerity, must be the defeat of as many Tory candidates as possible at the next General Election.

The Communist Party, the Labour Party and many others opposed to Toryism are going into the field at the next General Election. Parliamentary candidates have been, or will be, selected to contest the various constituencies. It is obvious that the only way to defeat the Tories is to oppose each of their candidates by only one opposition candidate. **The urgent question, therefore, is for the various opposition forces to come to an arrangement which will ensure that only one opposition candidate contests each seat.**

Already the Communist Party has addressed a letter to the Labour Party requesting a discussion on the General Election. This request has been rejected. But the Communist Party cannot allow the future of the people to be placed in jeopardy because of the narrow views of a handful of Labour Party leaders. It will renew its offer and continue the fight, if necessary right up to nomination day, to win this essential unity for the General Election.

The proposals outlined by the Communist Party in its programme are in the best interests of the people of Northern Ireland. They meet the situation that will arise immediately at the end of the war. They are broad enough to unite all labour and progressive forces in Northern Ireland. To bring them to life will mean an enormous advance for the common people, and simultaneously will deal a powerful blow at Tory reaction and monopoly interests.

The war against fascism cannot be separated from the period of reconstruction to follow, nor can the fight for victory over fascism and successful reconstruction be separated from the fight for socialism. Socialism will not be won on the basis of abstract theories. On the contrary, it will be won through attention to immediate concrete issues. All-out for the final effort to defeat fascism is the issue of to-day; on the morrow the issue will be reconstruction with full employment, social security, good housing, and the best possible health services and education facilities.

We of the Communist Party reject the theory of the Tories that this country will be poor after the war. It may be their wish that it is so. Of course they do not mean that **they** will be poor. No, it will be the country and the common people. Also we reject the theory advanced by well-meaning but misguided members of the working class that the people will go back to conditions similar to those that existed after the last war. Although advanced for different reasons, these "theories" lead to the same conclusion.

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