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**READ IRELAND'S PATH TO SOCIALISM
AND IRELAND HER OWN**

The programmes of the Communist Party and Irish Workers Party.

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End Unionist domination.

COMMUNIST POLICY STATEMENT

PRICE 1/-

Policy Statement

This Policy Statement is based on the reports and discussion at the 12th Congress of the Communist Party, held in Belfast on January 30th & 31st 1965.

It will be the Programme which Communist candidates will advocate in the elections to be held for the new Stormont Parliament.

Introduction . . .

THE immediate political task of the Communist Party, Northern Ireland, is to strengthen the unity of the working class in the fight against the reactionary policies of the Unionist Party; to build an anti-Unionist front; and to replace the present Stormont Government by a progressive Government based on labour and all the forces in opposition to the Unionist Party. Despite the fact that the Stormont Parliament is subject to the Westminster Parliament it has wide powers in regard to domestic affairs. Led by progressive forces this Parliament would be capable of overcoming the political, economic and social problems of the area.

When Ireland was partitioned not only was the Six Counties area, designated as "Northern Ireland," kept under the control of Britain (*one of the earliest examples in history of a system closely related to open colonialism*) but in the process, the remaining part of Ireland, designated as the "Republic of Ireland," and containing twenty-six counties, was weakened in its ability to develop successfully as an independent political and economic unit. Three of the nine counties of Ulster were considered unsafe for the dominant ruling class Unionist Party and were left out. Electoral areas were mapped out to handicap the main forces opposed to the Unionist Party, namely, Nationalists and Labour. Electoral laws were framed and operated which gave advantages to the upper class; even the system of election by Proportional Representation, included in the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, for the safeguarding of minority rights, was abolished by the Unionist Party, without objection by the Imperial Parliament.

Imperialist, capitalist Britain, created the division in Ireland. The result has been that the Irish economy, on both sides of the Border, has remained largely undeveloped compared with European countries. Both areas are easy prey to outside monopolies, many of which come from farther afield than Britain.

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O'NEILL - LEMASS MEETING

Recently a big change has come over the political scene in Ireland, with the meeting of Premiers O'Neill and Lemass, so much so that it has been said "things will never be the same again." This historic coming together of the two Premiers makes it imperative for the working class, on both sides of the border, to see that any changes made will be in the interests of the people of Ireland as a whole,

and not for the benefit of the capitalist class. This is the situation—weak Irish economy, both sides of the border, local industries, land and property swallowed up by outsiders ; discontent within the ranks of the Irish capitalists. Add to that the competition which the capitalist class (*Irish and British*) is faced with from the Common Market, not to mention the penetration of American capital—these are the ingredients for common action which both Premiers could no longer ignore. So a blind eye was turned to old sectarian questions and both Premiers said: We've got to get a solution to the present impasse. Both these leaders, in words and deeds, have shown clearly that they see private enterprise as the answer to building the economy of Ireland, North and South.

Private enterprise policies will inevitably lead to the swallowing up of the main industries of the country by outside monopolies ; will make local business people either the agents of the monopolies (*as many of them already are*) or completely ruin them. Even the very soil of Ireland will be taken from the Irish people, as some of it already has been. The development of public industries, based on the country's natural resources, which could be used in the interests and for the benefit of the Irish people, will be retarded and these resources handed over for exploitation by private enterprise.

While recognising the importance of the meeting of the two Premiers, bringing with it the possibilities of greater co-operation on the Irish economy, the people of Ireland cannot afford to leave the solution of their problems to the leaders of the capitalist class. The Labour movement must provide an answer to private enterprise policies. The working class through the varied labour organisations that at present exist, must strengthen unity. Already one of the leaders of a splinter labour organisation, Frank Hanna, M.P., has publicly spoken of the need to heal the division that separates his organisation from the Northern Ireland Party. Similar steps must be taken by the other splinter labour organisations. The driving force for the achievement of labour unity will come from the active rank and file members of labour and from the trade unions.

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CHANGES IN INTERESTS OF PEOPLE

Despite all the anti-democratic electoral measures in elections to the Stormont Parliament and to local authority bodies, designed to favour the upper class, the Communist Party, being a party of the working class, declares that, under the leadership of the Labour Movement, it is possible to unite all the forces in opposition to the leadership of the Unionist Party ; build an anti-Unionist front and so

establish a progressive Government that will work in friendly co-operation with their fellow Irish men in the Republic and lay a firm basis for lasting friendship between the peoples of Ireland and Britain. These are the foremost issues that face the people of Northern Ireland to-day.

Many are the issues which the forces opposed to Unionist Party policies have campaigned on and won strong public support. We list some of them—The campaign to end the anti-democratic practices that assist in retaining the authority of the Unionist Party in the Stormont Parliament and local government bodies ; the united demonstration at Newry against unemployment ; the fight of the trade unions for job security, highlighted by demonstrations to the Stormont and Westminster Parliaments ; the public outcry against the sell-out of the Ulster Transport Authority ; the huge subsidies of public money given to the big private enterprise monopolies ; and the encouragement given to them to come to Northern Ireland to the detriment of local business interests, particularly shopkeepers. In these campaigns, and in the advances made by labour and progressives in elections to central and local government, the working class, trade unionists, nationalists and progressives are demonstrating that the basis for unity of the opposition forces exists.

This is in keeping with the great changes that have taken place throughout the world since our last Congress. And Northern Ireland is no exception. The trade unions won the 20 years' fight for Stormont recognition of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions. In the 1962 elections to the Stormont Parliament a majority of votes for anti-Unionist candidates was cast in the Belfast area. In the May, 1964, municipal elections, with Communists participating, labour and progressives advanced at the expense of the Unionist Party. In the October, 1964, elections for Westminster, the anti-Unionists doubled their vote over the 1959 elections.

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Tory Government Rejected

During the 13 years of Tory rule in Britain, Unionist Governments here have slavishly followed the British Tories, adopting with alacrity reactionary legislation and dragging their feet when the people of Britain forced their Government to introduce measures of benefit to the people. Unionist M.P.s at Westminster gave support to the Tories' dangerous war policies and to their stop-go economic measures which caused such havoc here in local industries, housing, hospital and school building, and consequent increases in the already high

unemployment figures. These M.P.s supported the crimes of the Tories in making the rich richer and giving full scope to big business, rent racketeers, property and land speculators.

With the people of Britain we greeted the rejection of the Tories. We are confident that this victory represents a desire for a change from reactionary Tory policies. For an end to the arms race ; for world peace ; for economic benefits for the people. It was the desire for these changes that swayed the balance in the General Election to Labour. With a Labour Government elected, changes for the better can be made, but only if that Government cries quit to Tory policies and carries out a programme firmly based on peace and the development of the economy in the interests of the mass of the people. We welcome the growing body of Labour M.P.s who fight for such changes.

The Communist Party will support all progressive steps taken by the Labour Government in the interests of the people of both islands, but will actively struggle against the continuation of Tory policies that endanger world peace, and the corollary of those policies, the huge arms bill of £2,120 million in the current year. It is this expenditure, more than anything else, that severely limits expansion of social services and the economy in general, whilst the annual expenditure of £350 million per year on overseas bases is the crux of the balance of payments problem.

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LABOUR AND NORTHERN IRELAND

The struggle of the British workers to force price controls must find its counterpart here where average earnings are £3 to £5 per week less than in Britain. The real value, purchasing power of wages, is falling. This tendency must be halted, prices pegged and wages increased. The increases can be won out of profits. The power of the big monopolies to hold the people to ransom by constantly increasing prices, must be broken, and price control introduced by the Government, here and at Westminster. Pensions and insurance benefits must be increased to match the increasing cost of living—AND NOW, AT ONCE !

Wage restraint, either under an incomes policy, or by any other means, will be opposed by the Communist Party. Experience shows that income restriction means pegging wages and salary levels and leaving untouched profits and dividends. It was so under the Tories, it will be so under Labour in present conditions of monopoly domination of the economy. Any attempt to introduce an incomes policy in Northern Ireland through the Economic Development Council, or by any other means, will be resisted.

LABOUR GOVERNMENT MUST INSIST ON DEMOCRACY HERE

Despite the fact that the anti-Unionist vote increased from 131,130 in 1959 to 236,419 in 1964, in the General Elections for Westminster, not one anti-Unionist candidate was elected. In the West Belfast seat, 30,505 people voted anti-Unionist but the successful Unionist candidate was elected on a minority vote of 21,337 votes. Though this is but one aspect of the undemocratic situation that exists under the Northern Ireland Government, clearly the Labour Government with its responsibilities in the matter must act. At the same time the labour and trade union movements here must demand of the Labour Government that no longer will they tolerate that elections to the Stormont Parliament and local authorities be held under undemocratic laws that give advantages to the ruling-class Unionist Party and that electoral laws here are brought into line with those for Westminster and all governmental bodies in Britain, with the principle of ONE PERSON—ONE VOTE !

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Advances in the Struggle for Peace

The signing of the Moscow-Test-Ban Treaty was a response to the world-wide demands of the people for peace and an end to the nuclear nightmare. The leaders of the Soviet Union have made clear to the whole world that they are for peaceful co-existence and for finding peaceful solutions to disputed international questions.

Like the people of Britain, the people of the United States demonstrated their desire for peace when rejecting the ultra-right Goldwater in their Presidential elections and to-day large sections of the American people are in the struggle to change the war policies of the present administration.

Socialist Cuba stands to-day in the vanguard against American imperialism for the peace and independence of the countries of Latin America. The Socialist States are winning new victories in defence of peace and in advancing the living standards of their people. Of great significance is the role of the newly-independent nations of Africa and Asia. We welcome the statements by the leaders of these nations that they will pursue policies of non-alignment in the military sense. These former colonial countries have now taken their rightful place in the United Nations as sovereign states and are playing a prominent part to end attempts by American imperialism to dominate that organisation.

PEACE THE SUPREME ISSUE

Though big advances in the struggle for peace have been made, the menace of nuclear war is ever present because of the aggressive policies of American imperialism and its role in such dangerous war alliances as SEATO and NATO. British support of these alliances and policies has led to neo-colonial adventures East of Suez, support of America's war in Vietnam and the danger of ex-Nazis with a finger on the nuclear trigger.

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VIETNAM

American imperialism, aided by forces from the British Commonwealth, are brutally bombing the people of Vietnam with napalm, fragmentation bombs and poisonous gases to the horror of the whole world, and the danger of a war on the Korean pattern, with its nuclear threat, is ever present. Despite repeated efforts to retain puppet governments to serve American imperialism in South Vietnam, and South-East Asia in general, all attempts have failed because over 80 per cent. of the people support their valiant National Liberation Army who fight on for the independence of their country. Victory over imperialism will be won. We demand that the decisions of the 1954 Geneva Conference, which the United States solemnly declared they would not overturn by force, and which is the basis for peace in Vietnam, be implemented.

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NO NUCLEAR ARMS FOR WEST GERMANY

The proposals to set up a multilateral nuclear force, under any name, will be met with the utmost resistance. Such a force would give the West German Army, the largest in Europe, access to nuclear weapons and this represents the greatest possible danger to world peace since the last war. It needs to be emphasised that West Germany has still got many Nazis, some in its leadership, and that these fascists were responsible for the last world war.

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BIG BUSINESS THREATENS PEACE

Big business, led by American monopoly capitalism, is trying to advance its interests for profit in Vietnam, the Dominican Republic, and supports the big business interests of the Belgian colonialists and Britain in the Congo whose tragic situation is helped by the murderous Tshombe. In return for British support of America's war in Vietnam, the United States supports British imperial interests in Aden and Malaysia. These aggressive wars, colonial and neo-colonial adventures are carried out to plunder for profit. They are a continuous threat to the peace of mankind, the overwhelming majority of whom want to live in peace.

END NUCLEAR NIGHTMARE

We Communists believe peace to be the supreme issue facing mankind. Our people in Ireland have an important role to play in the struggle to safeguard it, and we pledge our Party in Northern Ireland to play its part.

We must struggle actively to:—

- change the imperialist policies of the Westminster Government and, in particular, the reactionary representation from this area in that Parliament and work to force changes at Stormont that will stop Northern Ireland's support of imperialism.
- bring the utmost pressure on the British Government to pursue a policy of peace and disarmament in the interests of the peoples of the world, and of our own people. In a nuclear war, the proximity of the United States controlled nuclear submarine base at Holy Loch in Scotland and the Communications Centre at Derry, used in NATO exercises, would be immediate targets.

In our General Election Manifesto we put forward our proposals on peace. We know that the mass of the people want to see an end to the nuclear nightmare and the extravagant waste of men's labour, materials and money in the manufacture of weapons of mass destruction.

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Unionist Support of Monopoly Capitalism and Imperialist Policies

Major policy questions affecting the people of Northern Ireland are mainly determined by the Westminster Government, under the Government of Ireland Act, 1920. Successive Unionist administrations at Stormont have clearly demonstrated their willingness to support policies that jeopardise our peoples' living standards, their security and well-being. Since its inception, the Unionist Party has shown itself to be the Party, not only of local landlords and large business concerns, but primarily of imperialist interests. In particular they are the agents for British monopoly capitalism in Northern Ireland. It is because they are the "land stewards" of British imperialism that the "commanding heights" of the Northern Ireland economy have been taken over by outside monopolies with the largest stake British.

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MAXIMUM ASSISTANCE FOR PROFITS

We are now witnessing the mopping-up processes which are speeded up by the Unionist Government policy of "maximum assistance" to private enterprise and "minimum interference" in the affairs of those concerns which are liberally supplied with money from

PUBLIC FUNDS. This policy has developed to the point where the whole economy of Northern Ireland is at the mercy of foreign monopoly combines whose only interest in this area is the extraction of the maximum profit.

Since the end of the last war the ex-colonial countries which have won their independence have presented British monopoly capitalism with the problem of how to maintain its interest in these areas—interests which amount to exploitation of the natural resources, markets and cheap labour. In some instances the problem is overcome by the policy of neo-colonialism as a substitute for outright colonial control—through the method of ensuring that cheap raw materials are available and that markets are opened up for the continued penetration and exploitation by monopoly capitalism.

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NEO-COLONIALIST AGENT

The Unionist Government can fairly be labelled a neo-colonialist agent for British, and other imperial interests in Northern Ireland. But to-day, British monopoly capitalism has become a subordinate in the development of new imperialist alignments. Despite this, the leaders of Unionist reaction look for the future development of Northern Ireland on the basis of this decaying imperialism. This policy has failed to solve the economic questions facing Northern Ireland. Unemployment has continued at the rate of at least 30,000, or 6 per cent. of the insured population, for the past 15 years. In the same period more than 130,000 people emigrated because they had not a secure future.

The Unionist Government has had a limited success in attracting new industries, but these are branches of outside monopolies. It has spent over £150 million of *public money* in the form of free grants, free factories and machinery, and ten-year rate free periods in subsidising these monopolies, but because of its neo-colonialist policy, has completely neglected to put capital into development of industries based on natural resources, except for re-forestation.

The Unionist Government is pleading with the capitalists of foreign countries to bring branches of particular industries here. Over £17 million in the current year will be spent in grants to private enterprise. Though providing only a limited number of jobs, this policy is looked upon by the Unionist Government as the solution to Northern Ireland's economic problems. Yet the supply of a limited number of jobs is the sole contribution the monopolies make to the economy of Northern Ireland. Instead of ploughing back their profits into the economy, as publicly-owned industries would, the monopolies export the profits to pay directors and shareholders after exploiting the labour of this area where average earnings for men in October, 1964, were £3 8s 0d less than in Britain. It is estimated that the comparative earnings for women vary from £3 to £5.

OPPOSITION TO SELL OUT

Development of new productive techniques in existing and new industries, based on automation and prefabrication, means smaller numbers employed. It also means higher productivity and greater profits, without any plan to employ those thrown out of work by this process. Though not opposed to new techniques and jobs based on branches of the monopolies, the Communist Party is firmly opposed to the sell-out of the economy of this part of Ireland to big business in its hungry greed for profits. Hence a choice between the profit motive of private enterprise or publicly-owned industries, some of which can be based on natural resources and some requiring imports of raw materials, must be faced by the labour and progressive movements, and the entire people of Northern Ireland.

Under the banner of private enterprise, liberally injected with *public money*, the Unionist Government is selling out the natural riches of the area, based on its policy of neo-colonialism in the interests of big business in Britain and other countries such as the United States. The vast chemical combine, Imperial Chemical Industries, may exploit the rich deposits of salt on the North-East Antrim coast. In County Tyrone, the British Portland Cement company, which for many years has exploited rich resources near Larne, is opening further areas for exploitation. The importance of the former can be estimated by the fact that one expert estimates that four-tenths of the chemical industry in Britain is based on the salt deposits in the Runcorn area of Cheshire. Surveys which brought to light these, and other resources, were backed by *public money*. At the same time, locally owned firms are being bought out, or put out, of business by the penetration of monopoly capitalism which dominates industry, food and distribution, banking, insurance and the property market.

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TRANSPORT SACRIFICED FOR PROFITS

The Unionist Government has treated the idea of publicly-owned industries as anathema. Hence its sacrifice of the Ulster Transport Authority to private enterprise and the consequent rail closures. Devotion to the cause of profit determines the Unionist Government's attitude to transport, which should be a social service for the people, instead of handing it over to the big British transport monopolies.

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AGRICULTURE

The largest single industry in Northern Ireland is agriculture. As stated in the programme of the Communist Party, *IRELAND'S PATH TO SOCIALISM*: "The basis of agricultural policy in North-

Role of the Working Class in the Struggle against the Unionist Government and Imperialist Domination

ern Ireland has been that farming is the plaything of British monopoly capital. . . a useful reserve in time of war and economic emergencies, to be sacrificed when such have passed. The relative prosperity of post-war years does not disprove this because now, grazing has supplanted tillage, the larger farm swallows the smaller, seasonal work supplants constant employment and the countryside becomes a prime factor for swelling yearly the queues at the Labour Exchanges. . . .”

Following its neo-colonialist role the Unionist Government does everything to exploit the small and medium-sized farms to make them an easy prey for the large fertiliser, food stuffs and farm-machinery combines, whose interests in agriculture are to “cream off” profits. The Unionist Government refuses to help the small farmers to form co-operatives. The Minister of Agriculture admitted that SWATRAGH, a co-operative project in the North-West, did not receive a penny from the Government.

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DEVELOPMENT JETTISONED

Even in the so-called “planning” of towns and cities, the Unionist Government has an eye to its neo-colonialist rule. In the controversy around the proposed “New City” in mid-Down, the chief architect on resigning his post disclosed that the Government restricted the citing of the “New City” to an area where it could safely maintain political supremacy. The development of the North-West or South-West of Northern Ireland was jettisoned because of this political consideration. The area chosen is more suitable, in a geographic and politico-religious sense, for the masters of the Unionist administration—British capitalism.

The Communist Party rejects the policy of dependence on monopoly capitalism, and its political form here, neo-colonialism. We say that the only interests the faceless men of the big monopolies have in this area is their greed for high profits. It is this monopoly structure in our society that puts the lives and future of our people at the mercy of British and other imperial interests.

The most exploited section of our people is the workers. The working-class suffers from all aspects of British imperialism’s exploitation of this area through Unionist policies. But, it is also the best organised force to lead the struggle to end this situation. The speed of progress will be determined by the depth of working-class unity and the political understanding of the leadership of the labour movement. In this struggle the working class must demonstrate as a class that it is interested in freeing those sections of the community who are also exploited by the ruling class—pensioners, professional people and those on low incomes. An alliance of the working-class with all the democratic and progressive forces in town and country—also the small and middle farmers, small shopkeepers and professional people—can be forged, for these sections of the community are also feeling the worst effects of monopoly capitalism’s take-over of our affairs—economically, socially and politically.

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UNITY TO WIN BASIC DEMANDS

The Communist Party believes that such a united struggle is necessary to bring about a fundamental change in the life of Northern Ireland. The labour and progressive movements can be united in the day-to-day struggles to meet the basic demands of the people of this area. Around policies to meet these demands an anti-Unionist front can be built which will prepare the way to establish a progressive government at Stormont. We need a society where science and new techniques are used in the interests of the people and not the profiteers. To bring about this change means breaking the power of the Unionist administration so that new policies based on the interests of the people can be put into effect and the area fully developed economically.

But a fight must be waged now to force the Government to establish public industries based on natural resources and the skill of the workers, who with technical experts must have majority representation in management. The unity of the labour and progressive movements is the best guarantee that these, and the many changes needed, can be brought about.

ALLIES

The working-class here have as their allies the working class and labour movement in Britain, who are engaged in the struggle to win the Labour Party, and Labour Government, over to an anti-imperialist policy. The winning of that fight will have important consequences for the people of Northern Ireland. The working-class movement here must play its part in this struggle and the trade unions fight alongside the British trade unions for a genuine change in the present political direction of the British Labour Party.

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A Basis for Unity of Anti-Unionist Forces

As the basis of an economic programme on which the anti-Unionist forces can unite, the Communist Party proposes the following:

- That the public money spent to attract, and finance, the monopolies be used to build publicly owned industries. This could include CHEMICALS, CEMENT, STEEL and sections of the ENGINEERING INDUSTRY.
- That transport be integrated, in town and country. That it be PUBLICLY OWNED AND CONTROLLED and OPERATED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE PEOPLE and FIRMLY ESTABLISHED AS A SOCIAL SERVICE.
- That increased production of electric power be based on HYDRO-ELECTRIC STATIONS and SECTIONS FUELLED BY PEAT RESOURCES. On this type of development North-South economic co-operation is an absolute necessity.
- That AGRICULTURAL POLICY be based on the widest production of food. Financial backing from the Government for developing CO-OPERATIVE FARMING. Important North-South co-operation is possible in agriculture, based on the experience of the State owned Irish Sugar Company in the Republic which is a main centre for processing the crops, of a wide variety, grown by 30,000 farmers.
- That the CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT in town and country be strengthened. The Belfast Co-operative Society, with its large distributive services, is capable of greater expansion. With other co-operatives, it provides a real alternative to the monopolies in food and other consumer goods.

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Social Services

The wide aspect of everyday life which comes under social service—housing, health, education, recreation and many other facilities needed to lead a healthy and happy life—provides for the labour and progressive movements a broad programme of basic needs on which a united anti-Unionist struggle can be waged.

We Communists recognise the importance of the fight for better social services, and our Party lays particular emphasis on this aspect of the struggle against Unionist policies which have left this area far behind others, particularly Britain, in the provision of the everyday needs of the people. It stresses that the working-class movement as a whole must challenge the Unionist Government's willing support for the huge arms bill, monopoly capitalism, the crippling burden of high interest rates, and its *policy of profit before the needs of the people*.

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The Struggle to Advance Democracy

To defeat the power of the Unionist Government and replace it with a progressive government, it is of the greatest importance for the forces in opposition to challenge its anti-democratic character. It is by means of its anti-democratic laws and sectarian policies that the Government is able to create divisions among the people to ensure its position as the ruling authority. To raise this issue to the highest level is the common task of all parties in opposition.

The Communist Party welcomes the fact that all parties opposing the Unionists have by speeches or in written material attacked the anti-democratic character of the Unionist regime. The breadth of public protest at the actions of the Government during the October, 1964, general elections in West Belfast is proof of this. Though the Unionists will not stop at force, as West Belfast demonstrated, or fail to use other methods to protect their privileged position, growing unity for democratic reforms can and will defeat their anti-democratic and anti-working class methods of government. Our Party has been one of the foremost to raise this question of democracy. At the same time we emphasise the great need for agreement among the forces in opposition on this issue, for all parties, except the Unionists, suffer under the handicap of anti-democratic laws.

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DEMOCRATIC PROGRAMME FOR UNITY

The Communist Party confidently declares that unity to advance the cause of democracy in Northern Ireland can be forged around the following programme:

- That elections to the Stormont Parliament be conducted under the Representation of the Peoples Act as in Britain and on the basis of proportional representation to safeguard minority rights.
- That they are supervised to ensure fairness and no intimidation of persons, whether in public, in or out of polling stations or at the actual count.

A separate pamphlet outlining Communist policy on social services will be published.

- That elections for the Westminster Parliament be conducted here under the same conditions as in Britain and supervised to ensure the same conditions as elections to the Stormont Parliament.
- That the conditions for elections to local government bodies be the same as in Britain, namely, all persons of 21 years of age be entitled to vote.
- That university seats be abolished.
- That the Special Powers Act be removed from the Statute Book. This will enable the people of Northern Ireland to have equality with the people of Britain and the Republic and allow the normal processes of law to be observed.
- That propaganda against persons on the grounds of religion or race be punishable by law.
- That the deposit system of £150 for Stormont and Westminster elections and £25 for local government elections be abolished and replaced with the signatures of 150 and 25 people respectively.

This programme of electoral reforms would mean that the principle of one person, one vote, would obtain and that opposition forces could enhance their position in all elections. Plural voting for business people would be ended and the franchise extended to all persons of 21 years in local government elections. At the same time the gerrymandering of electoral areas must be countered by a regrouping of areas and people for the purposes of democratic representation at central and local government.

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CONTROL THROUGH PARLIAMENT

Unity of the working class is the firm basis on which to build the broad united front of the democratic and progressive forces that will change the political structure of Northern Ireland. Such an advance will give the people, through Parliament, full control over this area's material and financial resources and allow the Northern Ireland Parliament to act independently from Britain, thus freeing our economy from the worst crises that arise from the imperialist policies pursued by the Westminster Government.

Given that degree of unity which has been shown by the working class and its allies in the struggle for economic advances, the Communist Party is confident the same unity can win political advances and we call on all men and women in the trade unions, labour and progressive movements, and all other organisations of the people to unite around the programme we advance for democratic reforms. Believing that a progressive government in the Stormont Parliament will rest on policies based on the needs of the people, in town and country, and with the strength of working-class representatives to lead it, the Communist Party will do its utmost to get electoral agreements concluded among the anti-Unionist forces. This would be an important step to defeat Unionist candidates at future elections. We

will adopt a similar attitude to local government elections. For there is conclusive evidence that such agreements could bring defeat of Unionist candidates and ensure the return of men and women to Parliament and local authorities who are opposed to Unionist rule.

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New Situation can be opened up

Communist proposals for a progressive government in the Stormont Parliament is the only real alternative to the sell-out of the material and economic resources of Northern Ireland to the monopolies, property speculators, banking and insurance companies. Having advanced to the position of a progressive government, a new situation would open up for our people. New perspectives would be created. The old enmities and sectarian policies which are the stock-in-trade of the Unionist Party, would disappear. The problems associated with the partition of our country, and the drawbacks it imposes on the people of both parts of the country, could be viewed in a new light.

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IMPORTANT ADVANCES

Industrial North-South development could be raised to new heights. The jobs, homes, educational facilities and other necessities of modern living would be stimulated and the country freed from the hands of backward and reactionary politicians. For British imperialism, with the willing and active help of Unionist politicians, imposed partition on this country. Ever since, the people of Northern Ireland have known the results in mass emigration and unemployment and the domination of the political and economic life of this area, and its people, by sources whose only interest is to exploit it for profit. This situation must be ended and the Communist Party declares it can, based on these limited but important advances by which the next steps for a better life for our people can be seen.

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Strong Communist Party Needed

With its proud record of struggle against the Unionist Party and its anti-working-class policies, the Communist Party will use this wealth of experience of the working-class movement here in the best interests of that class, and based on our programme "IRELAND'S PATH TO SOCIALISM." It is this experience that leads us to conclude that while the struggle to win recognition of Communist policy among the people is of the utmost importance, it is equally important

to have Communist representation at central and local government level to give effect to that struggle. Communists are in the forefront of the fight in industry for wages, jobs and conditions. They have united the people and been in the leadership of many progressive struggles of the people. With Communist M.P.s and councillors, who would be equally dedicated, the position in Parliament and local government could be transformed. The stature of the party and its spokesmen would grow and be enhanced in the eyes of the people as it already is on industrial matters, and the position would no longer obtain where our rôle in the political movement is not seen to greater advantage. For it is clear that as the political situation grows sharper, the great need for Communist representation in the political institutions will also grow.

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AIMS ARE CLEAR

It is therefore of the greatest importance that many more people are recruited to our Party. That our weekly paper "UNITY" reaches a wider number of people and that more finance is available to expedite the work we undertake on behalf of the people.

Our aims are clear. They are to win the unity of the labour and progressive movements for a progressive government at Stormont; to win electoral agreements towards that end; to increase our membership and sales of "UNITY"; to promote the cause of democracy and progress in Northern Ireland; to play our part in the noble fight for world peace.

In our General Election Manifesto we proposed that only by following a programme based on these points could the gains of the Tory defeat be CONCLUSIVE.



★ Pursue a policy of peaceful co-existence between states with different social systems. Abolish nuclear weapons. Oppose the multilateral nuclear force. Withdraw from NATO. Support the Colonial peoples' struggle for independence. Demand the Chinese Peoples Republic be given its rightful seat at the United Nations. End colonial wars. Oppose the U.S. bans on East-West trade.

If you agree with this programme, help us to implement it, by joining the Communist Party.



MEMBERSHIP FORM

I wish to join the Communist Party.

Name

Address.....

Send to the Secretary:— 323 Albertbridge Road, Belfast, 5.

Title: UNITE: Communist Policy Statement

Organisation: Communist Party of Northern Ireland

Date: 1965

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