

is the debt we owe the Soviet Union. In Mr. Churchill's own words, broadcast from Washington on May 19th—

“Not for one moment must we forget that the main burden of the war on land is still being borne by the Russian Armies. They are holding at the present time no fewer than 190 German divisions and 28 satellite divisions on their front.

These figures of the German forces opposite to Russia compare with the equivalent of about 15 divisions which we have destroyed in Tunisia, after a campaign which has cost us about 50,000 casualties.

That gives some measure of the Russian effort and of the debt which we owe to her.”

### CONCLUSION.

Bright as the prospects are to-day, we cannot allow any slackening in our efforts, or allow the canker of complacency to creep into our lives. To do this means the lengthening of the war, and every day that the war is lengthened means that valuable lives are sacrificed. Bright as the prospects are to-day, victory is not yet won. Far from it! Victory over fascism, the clearing of the path for the further progress of humanity, will only be achieved as the result of the united efforts of all peoples. The fight for the freedom of the peoples of Britain and of Ireland is linked with that of the Soviet Union, America, China and the rest of mankind. The struggle against fascism must be THE MAIN CONSIDERATION OF ALL OF THE PEOPLE.

This is a war of all freedom-loving peoples, whether in the Armed Forces, war industries, or any other walk of civilian life. But we of the working class have to remember that the driving force of the people for the utmost prosecution of the war is our class. In this struggle against fascism, with freedom or slavery at the stakes, and with unity the key to victory, the working class of Northern Ireland will play its full part.

*Immediate determine future,  
so lets do things now.  
W.H. McCullough*

# ‘But VICTORY SOONER...’

“I would suggest for the workers of Northern Ireland, and for all our people, whatever their place in the war effort may be, that the driving force behind their efforts in the coming months should be not only victory, but victory sooner.”—Sir Basil Brooke, Stormont, May 27, 1943.

By

W. H. McCullough

THREEPENCE



## “But Victory Sooner”

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The recent Government crisis in Northern Ireland was one of the most sensational political events in the history of Ireland since the Government of Ireland Act established the Six County Government. It is true that Governmental changes have taken place in the past, but these have not been as the result of crises in the Unionist Party. Generally, for a change to take place some member of the Cabinet had to die of old age or get so thoroughly disgusted with the policy of the Government that he could not stick it and resigned from the Front Bench.

It is true to state that it has been many years since the public displayed such a keen interest in the affairs of the Northern Ireland Government. The Prime Minister, Mr. Andrews, and his closest colleagues were forced to resign their offices—practically a clean sweep of the old Cabinet—and a new Cabinet, with only two members of the old was formed by Sir Basil Brooke. What was the reason for the change? Will it be for the better? How should the general public look on the changes and what should be the attitude of the Labour movement to the changes? These are questions that must be answered.

### COMMUNIST POLICY

The policy of the Communist Party in Northern Ireland is to work for the fullest mobilisation of man and woman power and materials for the defeat of fascism, and to struggle for the greatest possible unity of the people, and in particular the unity of the forces of Labour. Realising that the Unionist Government at Stormont, with its terrible record of misrule, incompetence and narrow-minded sectarianism, could not rally the united efforts of the people, the Communist Party campaigned and struggled to bring about changes in the Government. Laying particular emphasis on the need for inclusion

in the Cabinet of representatives of the Trade Unions and Labour movement, the Communist Party demanded a government that would be representative of the decisive sections of the population—Unionist, Nationalist and Labour.

Changes have now taken place. The Government of Andrews has fallen and a new Government led by Sir Basil Brooke has been formed. What brought this change about and will it mean any difference? These questions naturally spring into the mind. What are the answers?

### THE “OLD GUARD”

Let us first examine the composition of the late government and the reason it fell. Two leading figures of the Cabinet were Andrews and Bates. They were members of the ‘Old Guard’ (or ‘Old Gang’) who have been actively associated with the Unionist Party since the days prior to the last war. Although, within recent weeks, Andrews has been described as a ‘gentle old man’ the record of the Party in which he and Bates played such a prominent part indicates that its leading members could not by any stretch of imagination be described as “gentle old men.” Milne Barbour, another of the deposed leaders, drawing no salary for his job in the Cabinet, and posing as though he only held his position in the Cabinet in order to do the people of Northern Ireland a good turn, is in reality one of the leading lights of the Glasgow Linen Thread Company with capital extending into millions of pounds. With interests in many other concerns, he is what is known to-day as an industrial financier. It can be taken for granted that his interest in Northern Ireland lies in Northern Ireland’s value as a sphere of exploitation for profits. These people were at the helm throughout the years when Northern Ireland’s industrial life slowly but surely deteriorated, and when the reactionary legislation that has blotted the name of democracy was introduced. Dominated by these old men of the past, the Government could not have been other than the Government of a narrow faction.



## WHY DID THE ANDREWS GOVERNMENT FALL ?

Although personal intrigues may have played a part and the autocratic attitude adopted by the Unionist Party leadership to its members, particularly noticeable during the clash with the Corporation, may also have contributed somewhat, the defeat of the Andrews Government was due to its incompetency in dealing with the problems of to-day, particularly in relation to the war effort.

## THE NEW GOVERNMENT

But will the new Government be much of a change ? Many advance this question with hesitation and doubt. This is understandable. They know that Sir Basil Brooke's record, particularly in relation to the Nationalist section of the population, is not good. Also the inclusion of Midgley in the Cabinet has caused deep resentment throughout the Trade Union and Labour movement. But even if we approach the question of the change purely from the point of view of personnel, it is clear that the hard core of Tory reaction—in the persons of Andrews, Bates and Milne-Barbour—is no longer in the Stormont Cabinet. However, we Communists believe that if the change of Government is approached from the point of view of personalities it will cloud from our view what has really happened.

The cardinal point that we have to see is that the Andrews Government fell because it could not rally the people for the war effort. This means that the new Government is committed to a struggle to improve the war effort ; otherwise it cannot justify the change. The main point of the first motion introduced by Sir Basil Brooke for the new Government was "to bring the utmost vigour to the task of assisting the war effort of the United Kingdom, the Empire and the Allied Nations." With this none can disagree. What is required is that we see to it that the Government gets

into action immediately to improve the war effort and put the people into work. It is the duty of all to co-operate ; and it is the duty of the Labour movement to be in the forefront of this co-operation by putting forward constructive proposals to end unemployment and increase the war effort.

## "GENERAL ELECTION."

But confusion is created by the Labour Party's attitude to the new Government. The Labour Party has made repeated declarations that it is prepared to co-operate to the fullest possible extent in the prosecution of the war ; yet the Labour Party tabled an amendment to the Government's motion demanding an immediate General Election. Is it possible to obtain the necessary co-operation under these conditions ? To supply an answer to this it is necessary to examine what the demand for a General Election means.

The demand for a General Election is a serious political demand : it cannot be advanced lightly. It means a consistent campaign must be conducted against the Government's general policy, with negative criticism dominating. If the campaign were successful and a General Election held, it would mean that there would be complete disunity of the people throughout the six counties, besides wasting valuable time and materials, and sidetracking the mass of the people from the main issue of the fight against fascism.

This certainly would not assist in unifying the people and would do irreparable harm to our main consideration—the war effort.

A campaign such as this would be bound to have its reflection throughout industry. Knowing the feeling that exists in the shipyards and aircraft factories, because of the lack of co-operation and the unhelpful attitude of employers, which at times is downright provocative, a political fight against the Government is bound to lead to further disputes and a greater number of strikes. Would this assist the war effort ? It would not !



It is clear that this demand of the Labour Party, made under the circumstances that exist at the moment, is not the correct attitude for a political Party of the working class to adopt. Even looking at the question from the point of view of the counting of heads, and the influence that the Labour Party would be able to exert on Government policy after a General Election, would a great change be brought about? At the present time the highest number of seats that the Labour Party could hope to gain as the result of an appeal to the electorate would be about 10—even the most enthusiastic supporters of the Labour Party would not place the figure higher. It still would be in a minority in the Government. It is true that there is in the minds of the Labour Party leadership the idea that if the party had greater strength in Parliament then it would be better placed to demand positions for its representatives in the Cabinet. This is borne out by the statement issued during the recent governmental crisis which said: "The only solution to the present situation lies in an appeal to the electorate by a general election after which a Government really representative of the people and having the confidence of the people can be formed." But coming from the polls, with a fresh mandate from the people, the Unionist Party could form another single party government and the Labour Party would still find itself as an opposition party in Parliament.

On examination, there are many aspects of this policy of demanding a General Election now that need careful consideration.

It overlooks the urgent immediate needs and puts the Labour Party in the position of appearing to say, in effect: We will do nothing until after a General Election. Unconsciously, and because of bitter oppositional feelings to the Unionist Party, largely justified, this policy goes dangerously close to the policy pursued by those who are amongst the greatest enemies of the working class. We know that members of the Labour Party would indignantly deny that that was their intention. It would be well, however, to face up to the full implications of this attitude.

In Britain there are a few friends of Hitler, masquerading as "Socialists" who are doing all they can to create strikes and to disrupt the unity of the people in the fight against facism. With slogans demanding "Workers' control of industry." "Overthrow Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin" "For Socialism now" they are playing on any discontent that exists. It will be noticed that their alleged support is always conditional. "Arms for the Soviet Union," but only after "Workers' control" is obtained; "for the fight against Hitler," but only after Stalin, Churchill and Roosevelt are overthrown.. It is easy to understand what Hitler would be doing while the workers were carrying out these proposals. During times like the present, when it is natural that complete harmony amongst all sections of the people is difficult to maintain, this kind of propaganda is attractive to the unwary. In practice it means sharp political struggles against all the Governments of the Allies, mass strikes and complete disruption of industry and the unity of the people. It is clear who this would assist; in fact the carrying into practice of this policy is the only hope that Hitler has of avoiding defeat.

The policy of fighting for a General Election now in Northern Ireland is not in the interest of the war effort. It would create greater disunity, disrupt industry and do irreparable harm. Further, it would not assist in the growth and development of the Labour Party.

The growth of the Labour Movement will come as the result of a policy that is positive and aggressive. Never was there a better opportunity than the present. People are turning to Labour and with a strong campaign throughout Northern Ireland on a programme that meets the immediate situation its growth will be accelerated.

#### IMPORTANCE OF NORTHERN IRELAND.

There are also some people who thoughtlessly advance the opinion that Northern Ireland, being only a small place, and with only a relatively small output of war



production, does not count for much in the war effort. Although Northern Ireland's production of war material is not as good as we would like it to be, this does not mean that nothing is being produced. To suggest that nothing is being produced is of course ridiculous—Ships, Planes, Tanks, Guns and other war materials are being produced to a great extent. Northern Ireland is a unit of the world democratic front against fascism and as a unit must play its part to the best of its ability. We could very easily advance the same argument about any area in Britain, or indeed for that matter any area within the world democratic front. "After all this is only a small area, we are only producing a certain amount and that amount does not count for much," is a fatal attitude to adopt. Every unit working to the full and all bound together by the strongest bonds of unity is the recipe for the defeat of Hitler. And this is what the Communist Party is working to bring about.

Finding points of agreement between the various political parties and the people as a whole is the basis from which we should work. The putting forward of constructive proposals to assist and strengthen the war effort is the concrete form which our immediate actions must take. To look on the change of Government as though it meant no difference and to adopt the attitude of sitting back and doing nothing but indulging in wishful thinking along the lines of 'this Government will not make a change and in six months time it will disintegrate' is not the way to give leadership and will do great harm to the people's cause. On this attitude the Communist Party stated last October: "For in this situation, where action is required at once, while the Government is working out its own ruin it is also playing havoc with the efforts of the people in the prosecution of the war." ["Ireland's Way Forward" (Irish Communist Conference Report), Page 23.] And none can deny that this is exactly what happened. The Andrews Government worked out its own ruin and the war effort of the people suffered also. The effect of this is being felt right now in the homes of the workers, earnings being reduced because of the situation that exists in the shipyards and aircraft factories.

## FAILURE OF ANDREWS.

The Andrews Government had not the confidence of the people because it was dominated by men who placed the question of Northern Ireland's constitutional position before everything else and who put more zeal into warring with De Valera and the nationalist minority in the North than against Hitler. It had not the confidence of the people because its policy was to maintain divisions in the ranks of the people and to rely solely on those divisions to maintain its position of power. Because of its narrow sectarianism it could not make sufficient appeal to enthuse the people for an all-out war effort. In the sphere of industry it did not exert any great effort to bring about co-operation between management and worker and it never showed any sympathy towards the latter; in fact, due to its friendliness to employers, particularly during industrial disputes, the worker formed the opinion that the Government of Mr. Andrews was an employers' government.

It proved itself incapable of solving the unemployment problem; and this at a time when appeals were being made for everyone to put their backs into production, and when in Britain labour shortage, despite the fact that tens of thousands of women had been mobilised into industry, had become an acute problem, created a certain amount of cynicism amongst the working class. Because the Andrews Government failed to realise that this was a total war, and that it was its responsibility to see to it that industries should not be allowed to operate according to the ideas of the employers but according to the needs of the nation, the two main war industries—shipbuilding and aircraft construction—were not working as well as they should. Lack of proper planning in these two industries has meant decreased production.

In the aircraft factories it is estimated that production has never gone above 63% of the quota allocated to Northern Ireland. At the moment of writing, workers, who could easily increase by one-third the output of the particular parts of the planes that they are con-



structing, are being made to work a short working week of 47 hours because of a bottleneck which is holding up a steady flow of finished planes. The Management are reducing the output of those parts that are ahead instead of putting more workers to work where they are most required and correcting the bottleneck. In the shipyards it is estimated that not only are costs higher than in Britain, but that production is much below comparable shipyards in that country. Here again we see how lack of planning is not the way to produce ships at the speed they are required to-day. Instead of more standardisation, both in types of ships and specifications, we observe that various types of ships are constructed, leading not only to weak production but also to disorganisation of labour, reduction of working hours for some and the employment exchange for others.

It should be a matter of satisfaction for all interested in the war effort that the Government led by Andrews and his colleagues, Dawson Bates and Milne Barbour, has gone never to return.

### GOVERNMENT OF UNITY.

The new Government, formed by Sir Basil Brooke, has stated that it is going to bring the utmost vigour to the task of assisting the war effort. Labour's duty is clear: it must respond by welcoming this statement of policy and show by deeds that it is serious by offering full co-operation in the war effort and at the same time putting forward a programme of constructive proposals in that interest. The war against fascism means everything to the workers. They have too much at stake to allow the running of the country to remain solely in the hands of a Government which does not represent the toiling masses, but only a section of the population. The tens of thousands of members of the Trade Union and Labour movement must have representatives in the Government. With a Government which included representatives of the Trade Union and Labour movement the first stride forward would be taken towards a war effort with full co-operation of the decisive sections of the population.

The smashing victories in Africa and Russia have placed the allies definitely on top. But victory is not yet won. Any disunity in the ranks of the people of the democratic front will jeopardise the chances of victory. We know that any successes that Hitler has won have been the result of never having had to face the united strength of the anti-fascist forces. We know that the greatest weapon that fascism has is disunity, and that every effort will be made to create disunity within our ranks. Our reply is clear: Maintain and strengthen the unity of the United Nations and struggle with all our might to obtain the greatest possible unity within each unit of the world democratic front.

### LABOUR'S RESPONSIBILITY.

Northern Ireland is our particular unit of the world democratic front. What can we do? The greatest responsibility for the correct answer to this question rests on the shoulders of the Labour movement. It must co-operate with all forces, including the Government, for the utmost war effort. To do this effectively and with strength it must agree to the proposals of the Communist Party for a united Labour movement. With a strong united working class movement laying the firm basis of the unity of the people the Labour movement can demand of the Government, backed by the might of the people, that representatives of the Trade Union and Labour movement be included in the Government to share in responsibility and take an active part in guiding the destiny of the people in these grim days.

Give us the co-operation at the top and the struggle for co-operation in the workshops and factories will be much easier to achieve. Already, by the establishment of production and workshop committees in the aircraft factories and shipyards, the basis for co-operation between management and worker has been laid. Unity in the Government and greater unity throughout industry would find its reflection throughout Northern Ireland. The people would be filled with even greater enthusiasm and this would result in a strengthening of the armed forces. The workers, seeing the snags that are holding

up production tackled seriously and with determination, would produce results that would stagger all preconceived ideas of output.

With the demand put forward that everything should go into the war effort, who could stand in the way? There are 18,000 unemployed and an almost untapped reservoir of tens of thousands of women who are willing to play a part in industry for the war effort. Could anyone deny these workers the opportunity of war work? We need greater production of ships. Could anyone oppose ideas advanced by the workers through their production committees for increased output?

And aircraft production: the importance of this cannot be overstressed. Planes will have to be produced in ever greater quantities in order to drive home with more telling effect the superiority that the Allied Powers now have in the air. Mr. Oliver Lyttelton, Minister of Production, stated recently, "We are still expanding our aircraft industry, and we are still confronted with the problem of finding more labour to man our aircraft factories and bring them up to peak production." In the face of the known demand for increased production of this mighty weapon, who could stand in the way of proposals which, if given effect to, would ensure smooth and speedy output?

### INDUSTRIAL CO-OPERATION.

Sacrifices are demanded in the interest of the war effort. And the working class welcomes the opportunity to make sacrifices in order to smash fascism. Already through their Trade Unions they have shown the way. It is a pity that the employers as a whole are not imbued with the same spirit. It is the desire on the part of some employers to place profits above everything else that creates suspicion and cynicism in the minds of many workers.

However, lest any should think that, by greater co-operation and throwing all our efforts into increasing

production, we would be making unnecessary sacrifices it would be as well to point out that this is not so.

Co-operation between managements and workers in the past has not been good. Production has suffered as a result. The workers have suffered too, overtime being cut to a minimum in some cases and in others, workers have been placed on ordinary time. With many paying heavy income tax on previous earnings, this reduction is a real hardship.

Proper co-operation in industry would mean more work and the opportunity of increased earnings. It would also mean that those employers who are continually pinpricking by attacking the wages (reducing rates) and conditions of the workers, actions which do considerable harm to the war effort by creating discontent, would be forced by pressure of the Trade Unions and public opinion to abandon these tactics.

Proper co-operation through production and workshop committees would bring about better working conditions, which from the point of view of canteen facilities and other amenities leave much to be desired. Industrial concerns in Britain are far ahead of Northern Ireland in this respect. Also, it is as well to point out that, in Britain, in concerns where co-operation has reached a high degree, not only is production at a very high level, but wages and working conditions are the best in the land.

### COMMUNIST AIMS.

"I hold and maintain that the entire soil of a country belongs of right to the entire people of that country, and is the rightful property, not of any one class, but of the nation at large."

These words, extracted from Fintan Lalor's "The Rights of Ireland," written almost 100 years ago, are in complete accord with the aims of the Communist Party of Ireland.



In every country throughout the world, Communists are working for a system of society wherein the exploitation of man by man will be abolished for ever and mankind as a result will be free. They work to ensure that no person or group of persons, native or foreign, can lay claim to the soil or natural resources of any country, but that in every country these will be the property of the people as a whole.

While claiming the right of the people of a country to be the supreme controlling force we have no narrow nationalist views. We do not hold with views which imply that a country should be isolated from other countries. Like all progressive Irishmen of the past, we applaud action by people of other countries to bring them nearer to complete emancipation. Action that will cause the subjugation and slavery of the common people of other countries or retard their progress we condemn and vigorously combat. It is because that we ourselves desire complete emancipation that we are interested in and desire to learn from other countries.

We Communists are working for a world wherein the people of every country will form, of their own free will, a world federation for the mutual benefit and progress of the whole of humanity.

Members of the Communist Party of Ireland are particularly proud of the fact that, although advanced thinkers of other countries have propounded similar ideas, Irishmen like Fintan Lalor have given us ideas to guide us in the great tasks that lie ahead. We are also proud of the fact that already in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, covering one-sixth of the earth's surface, the profound philosophy of Fintan Lalor nearly 100 years ago has been realised. In the U.S.S.R. the soil of the nation (or to be more correct, nations, because it is a Union of many nationalities, is owned by the people at large.

## FASCISM—DEADLY ENEMY OF WORKERS.

When, in 1933, Hitlerite fascism, the destroyer of the Trade Unions and popular movements of the working class, and indeed of all movements that opposed it, first raised its ugly head in Germany, the Communists emphasised the need for the unity of all anti-fascists in order to defeat this menace that threatened not only the German people but the whole of humanity. Since then the role of Hitlerite fascism has been made clear to the world: it aims to destroy all forms of democracy, the freedom of all peoples and countries, to subjugate and enslave all peoples and to establish a world dictatorship with the 'master race' in the saddle. None would escape its vile brutal jackboot—Jew or Gentile, whether British, Irish, American or any other race, all would meet the same fate. Horrible testimony to this is borne by what has happened to the peoples of those countries that have already been overrun by this vile scourge.

Before humanity can take a stride forward, fascism must be wiped off the face of the earth. This is what dictates the policy of Communists. And unity against fascism is the cornerstone of the policy of Communists.

## POWER OF SOVIET UNION.

The wonderful role that the Soviet Union has played and is playing in the struggle against fascism is clear to everyone to-day. It is also clear to everyone to-day that having a STRONG Soviet Union was in the interests not alone of the people of that great country, but in the interests of the people of Britain, of Ireland, and indeed of all countries. Without a strong Soviet Union, Hitler could not have been halted, and would by now be inflicting the horrible tortures on the people of these isles that he has inflicted on the peoples of other countries. Had there not been a Stalingrad there would not have been the crushing defeat of the Axis in Africa. That at this moment there is throughout the democracies a feeling that we now have the measure of the Axis Powers, and also the glorious perspective of complete victory,



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