

WORK & HOMES FOR ALL



FOREWORD

BY

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FOREWORD.

AFTER twenty years in power, the Government of Northern Ireland stands condemned by its neglect of the needs of the workers, particularly in relation to housing. When we visit rural areas and see the state of affairs in existence—slums of the worst type in need of repair, no accommodation for families, no proper sanitation or water supply—one wonders how children ever develop or live. Many of the ills which affect the workers can be traced to the present terrible housing conditions. It is these which are mainly responsible for the increase of tuberculosis in Northern Ireland. From my experience of the Northern Government, I find that its efforts are directed towards pleasing private enterprise regarding housing and land regardless of the needs of the workers; and while this exists any concessions granted to local authorities will never meet the housing needs of the people of Northern Ireland. The Unionist Party cannot solve the housing problem. The Labour Party's policy of state control is the only way out to eliminate excessive land costs and **the evil of speculative building**. This pamphlet covers a wide field dealing with housing conditions and makes practical suggestions which will certainly put the housing of the workers on a sound basis and **end jerry-building and racketeering**. The conditions which apply in Derry and Antrim can be found in every area of Northern Ireland, including County Armagh. The Labour Party, with its practical knowledge of the building industry, presents in this pamphlet a policy which will give the workers of Northern Ireland **homes fit to live in**, with all the amenities which provide comfort and healthy surroundings, and for the future generation a happier and a healthier outlook. Our skilled and unskilled workers build the most beautiful mansions and homes for the privileged few. Given the chance, they can build homes for the vast majority of the people.

We cannot rely on the Unionist Government at Stormont to carry out a satisfactory housing scheme, but on the united efforts of the workers in the Labour movement, whose views are expressed in this splendid pamphlet, to which I offer my best wishes.

PATRICK AGNEW, M.P. (South Armagh).

3rd November, 1944.

Work and Homes for All.

TO take a journey through North Derry and North Antrim, to view the towns and villages, the straggling labourers' cottages, would give the impression of a picturesque scene, until you make closer examination into the houses in the rural districts, look below the thatch or slates, beyond the stone and mortar to the inside, or see the narrow streets in the towns and villages, and speak to the people housed in those streets. They will tell you of the insanitary conditions, of overcrowding, of the danger to the children in the streets and roads. You will see for yourself the neglect of planning for the housing needs of the people, which has caused the highest infant and maternal mortality rates in the British Isles and the spread of the dreadful scourge of tuberculosis.

At a British Legion meeting held in Coleraine, Dr. W. F. Evans said that "only a few yards away from where they were sitting the wife and children of a man at present serving in the war were living in a house that was not fit for a pig; water was streaming down the walls and frustrating the woman's efforts to keep the place clean. The landlord would not put things right. Not a mile away another soldier's wife was living in a house that was infested with rats." He believed—he was not quite certain—that one of the children had been twice bitten. Here again the landlord would do nothing to improve matters. There was no reason why houses could not be made more habitable for the families of men who had gone forth to serve and, if need be, die for this country.

Mr. P. A. Crawford, Secretary of the British Legion, mentioned the case of two women whose husbands are serving in the war. They and their families, he said, were living, eating and sleeping in a single room. To do their cooking and everything else they had but one small fire. The room had been sub-let to them. He had tried, but, unfortunately, without success, to get them other lodgings.

Dr. W. F. Evans gave a further instance of one small dwelling which had 18 occupants, and in another ten children sleeping in one small room. In another small house there were four families, each family occupying a room. Thirty-five people were living in a block of flats containing nine rooms, and for the accommodation of the lot there was only one water-closet.

I have quoted in full Dr. W. F. Evans, who, as a doctor, knows the danger of these conditions to the health of workers' children. Dr. Evans is also an ex-councillor of Coleraine Borough Council.

In the rural areas the cottages, of which 4,300 were built between 1919 and 1939, are inadequate and lack a planned system. Amenities are absent; there is a lack of piped water, sanitation, electricity and gas. Eighty-seven per cent. of the 160,000 houses in the rural areas are without running water. The majority of small houses and farm houses throughout Northern Ireland are still the whitewashed, thatched or slated, one-storey or two-storey cottage.

RURAL THATCHED COTTAGE.



Large numbers of farm labourers, small farmers and their families live in thatched cottages such as this. For light, oil lamps and candles; for cooking, peat fire in an open grate; for water supplies, a well which is usually some distance away; and for sewerage and W.C. accommodation, nothing.

RURAL VILLAGE.



ARTICLAVE VILLAGE, CO. LONDONDERRY.

Villages such as this throughout the rural areas have no gas, electricity, water supply or sewerage; social centres are very few.

Not only has tuberculosis been created by bad housing conditions, but its spread has not been countered by the provision of proper sanatorium treatment. The Presbytery of Belfast have passed a resolution calling upon the Ministry of Health, Belfast Corporation, and the Commissioners for Tuberculosis to give further attention to the serious extent of tuberculosis in the city, attended as it is by a shortage of sanatoria accommodation for prompt curative treatment, and urging "the speediest possible action to remedy this shortage by providing ample and satisfactory facilities for early detection, isolation and treatment."

There is no sanatorium or full-time qualified doctor in North Antrim or North Derry for tuberculosis patients. At the Ballymoney Rural Board, Dr. H. H. McClelland reported a case of tuberculosis which was first noted in May and recommended for a sanatorium. Nothing further happened until November—seven months later, when the patient received a letter informing her to enter the hospital. She died later the same day. It was agreed to send on the letter to the County Council, pointing out the crying and tragic need for the authorities to provide sanatoria.

It was the Tory Party, with full power in Parliament and local authorities, which had the responsibility for the housing and health of the people for these past twenty years.

* * *

The returning soldiers must have "roofs over their heads," said Mr. Churchill in his war report to the British House of Commons.

Sites for thousands of houses in Northern Ireland ought already to be available, if the actual construction of houses on a large scale is to be carried out in the coming years. Who is responsible for the continued delay? The vested interests, the great landowning families, who strive to conceal their identity behind private companies, and who are closely interlocked with the big trusts, banks, and insurance companies.

In 1938 this gang licked Hitler's boots and backed Munich. To-day they want their pound of flesh from the men in the trenches of Europe and the jungles of Burma. The people must demand a vast acceleration of the Government's housing programme: the proposal to build 100,000 houses plus a suggestion of 10,000 Portal houses in the ten post-war years.

Demobilised men will not wait ten years for a home; neither will newly-married couples be content to lodge with their in-laws for an indefinite period.

The facts presented by the Government survey which was recently carried out gives some idea of the appalling conditions under which the people are at present living. No housing survey has ever previously been carried out in Northern Ireland. The proposal of the Government is to build 100,000 houses in the ten post-war years. There is an urgent need of these to meet the terrible shortage of housing for the people.

This disregard of the housing of the people is not so astonishing when it is understood that private enterprise was only able during the twenty years between 1919 and 1939 to build less than 50,000 houses of all

types. If we assume that building will be carried out by the leisurely method of private enterprise to the point of loitering, as in the previous twenty years in which 50,000 were built, then to complete the number required for the present emergency would take forty years. At the same time there remains a total of 229,500 of all types requiring repairs. Again must be taken into account the increased growing need of houses during this period.

But the pre-war rate of housing construction is no criterion; technique has advanced by giant strides since then and our factories can turn out standardised parts and fittings in vast quantities. Our building trade workers, who have performed miracles during the war, are quite ready to do a first-class job in the peace. But they must get a fair deal on hours, wages and conditions.

* * *

If we compare the figure of 100,000 for Northern Ireland's present needs with the figure of 4,000,000 for England and Wales and 550,000 for Scotland: first, it should be noted that the target figure for Scotland is calculated on an entirely different basis from that of England and Wales. It is the number of houses which Scotland regards as immediately necessary to provide a reasonable housing standard, while the figures for England and Wales covers the estimated housing needs for the next ten years. Calculated on the same basis as the Scottish figures, the corresponding figure for England and Wales would be only 1,000,000. On a population basis the England and Wales figure of 4,000,000 would correspond to 120,000 for Northern Ireland. Again, on a population basis the Scottish figure of 550,000 becomes 140,000 for Northern Ireland. The requirements of Northern Ireland over the next ten years would be enormously greater in proportion to population than those for England and Wales, by reason of the relatively negligible amount of slum clearance and other building that has been carried out in Northern Ireland during the inter-war period, with the result that wastage is a very much more serious problem. It is certain that if an estimate were made for Northern Ireland on the same basis as that which has been made for England and Wales (i.e., for a ten year period), the number of houses required would be 200,000.

In addition to the number of new houses required, there are outstanding and requiring repairs and reconditioning at the present time:

- 100,000 houses require slight repairs.
- 106,000 houses require extensive repairs.
- 23,500 houses require major repairs.

Total, 229,500

It is estimated that between 250,000 and 300,000 slum dwellings were demolished in England and Wales up to the outbreak of war. On a pro rata population basis this would mean that if similar assistance had been given to Northern Ireland anything up to 10,000 houses might have been pulled down and replaced; instead, thousands of unemployed building workers walked the streets of our towns.

DEAD-END STREET.



In Dunlop Street, Killowen, Coleraine, there are 229 people living in forty small one-storey houses, each with only one small room and kitchen. In one of the houses there is one family of 14, and in another a family of 13.

Crowded into this dead-end street there is an average of five persons per house. Forty-six husbands, sons and daughters have left this street to serve in the present war—that is over one from each house. When they get leave to visit their family, a number have to find lodgings with friends, owing to the overcrowding. The houses are old, damp and insanitary.

In the urban districts throughout the Province these conditions are general. The men and women fighting in the East and in Europe for the defeat of Fascism, and proper living conditions for their families and themselves, are not prepared to wait years while a Tory Government and Tory dominated Local and County Authorities discuss how they are to find the money to build houses. If we can spend £14,000,000 per day on the war, we can find the money to house the people.

WE BUILD MANSIONS AND LIVE IN HOVELS.

The following table shows the over-crowded and unfit state of housing in North Antrim and North Derry.

(1) Town.	(2) Married Couples in Lodgings.	(3) Totally Unfit Houses (A)	(4) One house allowed for each couple in col. (2) and for each house in col. (3)	Overcrowded, fit and repairable houses.			(8) Gross No. of houses needed in total of cols. (4) and (7)
				(5) No. of over- crowded houses (D)	(6) Average excess units	(7) One house per four excess units	
Coleraine	135	139	274	458	2.7	309	583
Ballycastle	28	72	100	108	3.3	89	189
Ballymoney	38	160	198	116	1.5	43	241
Limavady	107	53	160	229	2.8	160	320
Portrush	34	62	96	68	2.4	41	137
Portstewart	59	40	99	81	2.5	51	150
Total	401	526	927	1,060		693	1,620

In column (2) many totally unfit houses are also overcrowded, and as only one new house has been allowed in respect of each unfit house, the figure of houses needed in this column is an underestimation. As there requires to be added the number required in such small towns as Garvagh, Kilrea and Bushmills, and in the other parts of the rural district, this figure would be nearer 4,000—5,000 houses for the present needs of the people of this district.

While the Labour Party realises that the greatest suffering and hardships are imposed on the working class, we also recognise that the

middle class section of the people are also directly suffering from the absence of proper housing. A bitter struggle will be forced upon the people by the vested interest in land and property which is entrenched within the Tory Party. The housing of the people cannot be left in the hands of the Tory Party, which has so utterly failed in the pre-war period. The Labour Party has no vested interest other than the proper planning of housing for the people. The estimated number of houses required in County Antrim and County Londonderry shows the utter bankruptcy of private enterprise and the cynical disregard of the Tory controlled Government and Local Authorities in planning housing and industry.

Area	Co. Borough, Borough and Urban Districts	Rural Districts	Total
Co. Antrim	3,070	10,740	13,810
Co. Londonderry	960	7,640	8,600
Londonderry Co. Borough	4,000	—	4,000
			Total, 26,410

These are cold figures, but they represent the suffering, misery and death of thousands of children and mothers, as proven by our medical officers' reports each year. "The power to take measures for the improvement of unhealthy areas has been possessed by local authorities since the Housing of the Working Class Act of 1890, and those powers were amplified by the Planning and Housing Act (N.I.), 1931. We believe it is true to say that these powers have not been used to any appreciable extent by any local authority in Northern Ireland," states the report of the Housing Survey.

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The needs of the people of Northern Ireland demand that a programme of 200,000 houses be constructed over a period. If this target is divided into, say, five-year periods, these could be reviewed at the end of each period and further planning carried out in the light of experience gained. Speed is essential; new methods and new materials must be brought into use for mass production. If full use is made of our material and labour resources, sufficient can be built in a very short time. The production of 7,000,000 bricks per month can be achieved by Northern Ireland brickyards, and by introducing modern plant and the developing of new clay resources could rapidly be increased far beyond this output. Extensive use could also be made of cement bricks and slabs and the development of cement from the large resources of existing limestone quarries. Even with present output, sufficient bricks are available to build 5,000 houses per year.

Government factories erected for war purposes, where such factories have been assisted by Government finance, if suitable, should be converted

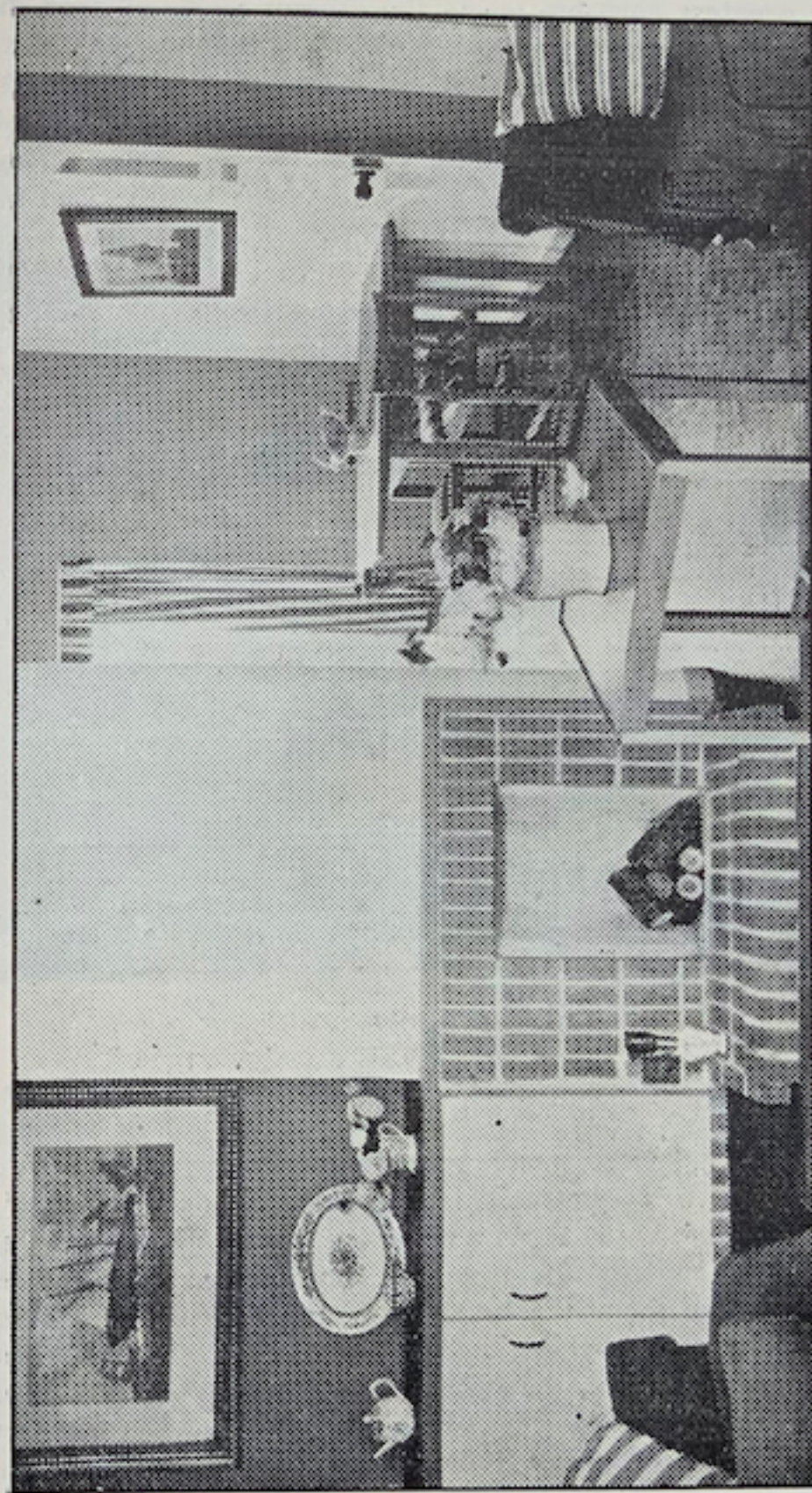
for production in the manufacture of materials for housing. Such factories as saw-mills, wood drying kilns and foundries; industries such as tile and pipe-making, which are at present out of production through lack of finance, should receive assistance. No light casting industry exists at present in Northern Ireland. Such an industry would contribute to the manufacture of very many articles in the construction of housing. The slate industry and the extension of furniture manufacturing require to be inquired into at once, and the possibility of extending and establishing such industries examined by a committee set up for this purpose.

Land.—The recommendations of the Uthwatt report admit that nationalisation is the most logical solution. If effective planning is to improve conditions, both for agricultural development and urban development for housing and town planning and for the location of industry and for the purposes of housing, the land should be brought under public ownership. The biggest obstacle to a great building programme is the private ownership and control of land. The Barlow, Scott and Uthwatt reports are unanimous on the need for national planning. The high price of land, especially in large towns, and the limited powers of authorities in regard to its purchase, lead inevitably to obstruction and delay whenever rebuilding is contemplated, and to crippling charges on any schemes carried out.

Entire cities, towns and villages need to be rebuilt. It would be a crime to allow property owners, speculative builders, landlords and other vested interests to wreck otherwise practicable schemes. Compensation, if admitted, should be based on the pre-war figure of 1939. The Housing Act (N.I.), 1944, which applies to the acquisition of land by local authorities for housing purposes, does not extend sufficient powers to local authorities, and should be amended to make the acquisition of land more rapid. The present Act allows of obstruction and delay by private interests. It is necessary that Building Societies should be prevented from financing housing construction as was the method in pre-war days, charging a high rate of interest on money lent. The Co-Operative Wholesale Society, a non-profit making association, contemplates financing building schemes in the post-war period in conjunction with the Co-Operative Permanent Building Society, and every encouragement should be given to this development in Northern Ireland.

Rents and the cost of construction are one of the major questions that must be faced. Rents should be assisted by the State and relief given to the tenant in view of the present cost of building. It should be the right of every tenant to purchase his own house. We welcome the setting up of a State Housing Trust, but believe that its powers should be extended to take over responsibility for the construction and control of all housing. At present it is proposed only that every local authority will declare a housing rate according to its ability and financial position. When the authority has reached a point where it is considered that no further increase would be sound policy, it will ask for the assistance of the State Housing Trust to complete its housing programme.

REVOLUTION IN HOUSING.



This comfortable-looking sitting-room, furnished with utility furniture, is part of the material of demonstration houses erected in England, and can become part of Northern Ireland's house-planning programme.

This policy of the Government aims at throwing on the rates a substantial part of the cost of planning developments in housing, education and health. Heavy increases in the rates will mean real hardship for the people, and may lead to slowing down the work which is essential for the planned reconstruction of Northern Ireland. The rating system is a method of raising money which presses heavily on the poor and lightly on the rich. It provides large resources for wealthy residential districts, but only with the greatest hardship meets the greater needs of poor districts; and it allows industry, however prosperous, to contribute on a diminished rate in comparison with ordinary householders and shopkeepers. The rating system is unjust and antiquated, and the problem of local government finance can only be solved by a system which makes people pay according to their capacity, and ensures a fair contribution from industry, while also taking into account the wide differences in wealth as between rich and poor local government areas. Even with Government subsidy there would be a considerable burden placed on the poorer ratepayers in, say, a type of house estimated to cost £930 "all in."

With Government Subsidy.

Government Subsidy	Annual loss per house corresponding to different rents.					
	10/- per week		12/6 per week		15/- per week	
	£	s	d	£	s	d
£390 (42 per cent.)	22	4	2	15	16	8
£465 (50 per cent.)	18	6	10	11	19	4
£605 (65 per cent.)	11	2	5	5	13	6

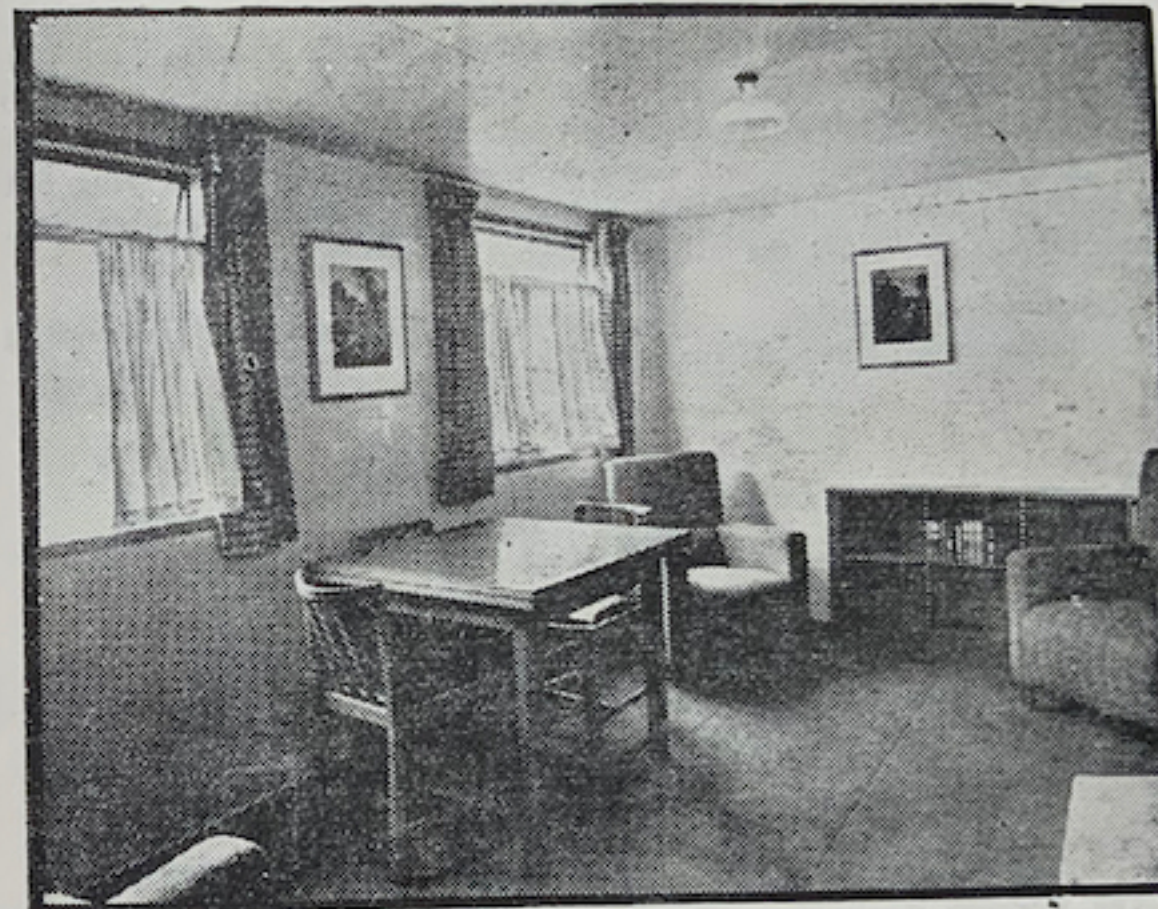
Without Government Subsidy.

Annual loss per house corresponding to different rents.

15/- per week			17/6 per week			20/- per week		
£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d
29	11	2	23	3	8	16	16	2

In the light of these figures it is clear that if houses of an "all in" cost of £930 are to be let at rents within the means of the people it will mean a considerable contribution from the consolidated rate. It is therefore essential that the finance required to meet local expenditure for national developments decided on by the Government should be found by the Government itself, and not be added to the already unfairly distributed burden on the ratepayers. In this connection, and to show the extent to which the Government have already recognised such special needs, we mention the grants to A.R.P. (sometimes in excess of 80 per cent.) and provision of meals in schools (with a maximum of 95 per cent.), not to

INSIDE VIEW OF PORTAL BUNGALOW.



Production of Portal temporary bungalow—of which there are now three types—is to begin on January, 1945. When erected, the rent will be about 10/- a week, with rates extra. It is necessary that they be removed after ten years, unless housing conditions require their continuance. The temporary houses constructed to rehouse the people should be nationally owned, so that no compensation will be payable when they are scrapped.

mention the 100 per cent. grants extended in the past to authorities in special areas for relief work of a capital nature. There is no reason therefore why the State Housing Trust should not assume full control of the housing programme.

THE WAY FORWARD.

The registration of all manufacturers of production for housing, and the control of prices and allocation of materials must be maintained and extended to cover furniture and other articles for the establishment of the home.

There are 1,664 registered Building Contractors in Northern Ireland, of which a large number are small employers, and examination of their qualifications to carry out contracts is needed. It is also necessary that the smallest of these contractors join together for the purpose of carrying out larger contracts than would not be possible as small individual contractors. The Government to supply the use of existing plant where available.

The following figures give the number of craftsmen in the building industry in North Antrim and North Derry:

Trade	Total number of men
Bricklayers	80
Joiners	320
Plasterers	70
Plumbers	60
Painters	130
Total,	660

The working week for craftsmen and labourers are at present 47 hours. Craftsmen's wages, 2/- per hour; labourers, 1/4½ per hour. In Belfast the craftsmen receive 2/2 per hour; labourers, 1/7½ per hour, while the working week is only 44 hours. Other widely different rates of wages exist throughout the Province. It is proposed by the British Government to introduce into the building industry 275,000 extra craftsmen. It may be expected that Northern Ireland will be asked to take a quota of those men who would receive special training over a short period before entering into the industry.

There are 30,000 building craftsmen in Northern Ireland. The object of a building programme while having the needs of the people in mind, should also aim at providing full employment to the craftsmen in this industry. This should not be difficult within the scope of such a programme. The number of craftsmen available would find it difficult to carry out this programme. Numbers of additional craftsmen will require to be trained and brought into the industry quickly. At present there is no agreement

or Government arrangement between the Trade Unions. The Trade Unions require guarantees of:—

- (a) A guaranteed working week.
- (b) Trade Union representation on local planning committees.
- (c) Trade Union site officers on the job.
- (d) Trade Union conditions embodied in all contracts by Government or Local Authorities.
- (e) All-round increase in wages of building labourers to 75 per cent. craftsmen rates. Uniform wage rates for craftsmen and labourers.
- (f) The part-time training of apprentices in Technical Schools during employers' time with full pay.
- (g) Establishment of National Council for the Building Industry of Employers and Workers with Government authority to make binding decisions on matters affecting the industry.

This is the minimum Trade Union request that should be considered before new entries are allowed to be brought into the trades as craftsmen.

* * *

Government legislation is required:

- (a) To bring the law under which Local Authorities administer Health, Education, Borough, Rural and Urban Affairs into conformity with a national planning scheme.
- (b) To bring the law regarding slum clearance and re-development into step with Great Britain.
- (c) To provide adequate financial assistance to local authorities.
- (d) To provide Trade Union working conditions and wages.
- (e) To provide control of rents on basis of workers' earnings, and rent assistance to local authorities for workers and old people, or disabled persons where rent is too high for their means. Rent relief for transferred tenants in period of new planning scheme.
- (f) So that priority shall be given to workers' houses, shops, schools, hospitals, civic centres, churches, rather than general building of better class housing for the rich.
- (g) So that local authorities shall have power to become the landlord of all housing constructed under the new planning scheme or slum clearance.
- (h) For the improving of the Labourers' Acts on Rural Housing; abolition of tied cottages and directed towards the establishment of rural social centres.
- (i) To provide that each contractor shall undertake to apply to local authorities in respect of each house built for a certificate that the specification has been complied with.

- (j) To prepare up-to-date model bye-laws covering the use of new materials and methods of construction for adoption with suitable variation throughout the Province.

Special consideration will require to be given to Belfast and Londonderry. It is not proposed that there should be a standard type of house, so that if the special problem of the two largest cities are to be solved, and at the same time provide the amenities, such as gardens, playing grounds, open spaces for recreation, etc., it will be necessary to provide the most modern standard of flats, which are now proving satisfactory in large cities elsewhere. The density of population could not possibly be housed in the same space if there is to be improvements. In London, the L.C.C. Plan allows for three densities only. They are of 100, 136 and 200 people to the acre—that is the acre of housing area, excluding adjacent open space. In practice the effect of each of these densities in determining the number of people who will live in houses and flats respectively, is as follows:—100 per acre, 55 per cent. in houses, 45 per cent. in flats; 136 per acre, 33 per cent. in houses, 67 per cent. in flats; 200 per acre, all in flats.

Flats are a necessity in Belfast and Londonderry if the required number of people are to be housed; not under overcrowded conditions, but with proper living space.

The preliminary report with recommendations regarding suggested sites for post-war housing in Coleraine submitted to the Borough Council by Mr. J. V. T. Scott, Town Planning Officer, recommends a density of 13 houses per acre, and an allowance of at least 7 acres per 1,000 population for "open space." The other points recommended are:—The houses to be well away from the main flow of fast traffic as prevailing at present, and also well away from future lines of fast traffic; to be separated from desirable industrial sites; to allow open space for organised and "free" play for the children, and for the general amenity of the area; to permit easily the supply of sewerage, water, gas and electricity; to be conveniently near the present town; to allow a number of houses sufficient to permit the layout of roads and mains; to be as economical as possible, and generally to allow the erection of pleasant houses in a pleasant environment.

These recommendations are necessary to provide the Province with modern standards of housing.

The new houses and flats should be so planned to ensure varied and attractive layout. The houses with a private back garden and an open strip—which might take the form of a grass lawn; flats surrounded by ample open space, with tree-lined streets and squares; each neighbourhood can have its own school, church, children's nursery centres, hospitals, libraries, swimming baths, cinema, and other public buildings necessary for the civic cultural and social activities of its people; shops must be prevented from straggling at random through every street. Instead of shops straggling along main roads, and haphazard workshops peppered among homes, a proper grouping and a place for everything. An extensive and thorough survey of industry is necessary; planning the location of industry involves

MODERN FLATS FOR LIVING SPACE.



If the needs of Belfast and Londonderry for proper living space are to be provided, flats are necessary. In Belfast the present population density is 847 persons per acre of open space; that is, three times higher in comparison with industrial cities in Great Britain. In London, the highest density recommended in the L.C.C. plan is 200 per acre, all in flats. There is need for a bold plan immediately for the rehousing of the people in the cities of Belfast and Londonderry.

taking many factors into consideration, and must take as its basis the provision of work for people in their own home districts, and thus save time spent in travel and relieve the transport problem.

It is important that arrangements are made to ensure that houses are erected with proper material and with certain minimum standards of accommodation, fittings and services, even for those houses which will be let at the lowest rentals.

Accommodation—Bathroom, separate W.C. indoors, scullery, with cupboards and shelving, larder, inside and outside ground floor stores for pram, cycle, etc., fuel store.

Fittings—Stove for cooking, gas or electricity, and approved means for heating water, cupboards, shelving, electricity plugs.

Light and Ventilation—Gas and electricity throughout, window area to provide the greatest amount of light and sunshine. Every room to have approved means of ventilation.

Parlour and Non-Parlour Houses—With living room, 1, 2, 3 and 4 bedrooms on basis of family requirements, not more than four houses to each block with ample space between each block. Terrace building should be prevented.

Flats—There are already in Great Britain some of the very best types of flats, like those in Leeds, with sun balconies, lifts, Garica refuse removal systems, etc., and let to workers at cheap rent; similar structures could be built in Belfast and Londonderry.

Rural Housing—Should be built ready wired for electricity and constructed to receive gas and water supplies when available. Main sewerage laid on and other accommodations as outlined.

The houses should be grouped in proximity to existing towns and villages so as to take advantage of existing sewerage, water and other facilities; social amenities must be provided, churches, schools and places for meetings for recreation and amusement. Sanitoria and hospitals should be built in convenient centres to prevent unnecessary journeys. Children's clinics should be established in the rural districts.

Water and Sewerage—It is necessary to have a pure water supply and a sewerage system throughout the Province. There is need for the co-ordinating of authorities in the planning and administration for the needs of each rural district.

The Survey Report has shown that these services are extremely inadequate, and that vigorous steps will have to be taken to increase them if the Province is to achieve an adequate standard from the point of view of public health. To illustrate the present state of affairs, it may be mentioned that there are four towns with a population of over 1,000 which have no piped water supply, that there are many more such towns without adequate sewerage facilities, and that of the 109 communities with a population of from 250 to 1,000 the great majority have neither a piped water

supply nor, as a consequence, adequate sewerage facilities. In practically all rural areas facilities are extremely meagre or even non-existent. There are instances of the supply of one town passing through another town, and yet the water supply of the latter not being obtained from this source, but from a separate source many miles distant.

Prefabrication—The merits of prefabrication have been advanced as a solution of the housing shortage, or as a partial solution. Prefabrication is a method contrasted with the traditional in site building, although site prefabrication is possible, but little developed for permanent building, and is defined as "the assembly of standardised or preformed units before erection." A committee of the Royal Institution of British Architects under the Directorate of Post-War Building has examined the subject and is not able to make conclusive recommendations. In view of the climate of Northern Ireland, it seems to us that all the means except timber are readily to hand in this country. Prefabrication might well be applied to temporary structures.

Steel Houses—May be introduced by the Government. If so, this should only be as an emergency measure to overcome the present shortage and no longer period than 10 years should be allowed or until such shorter period than is required to overcome the present shortage.

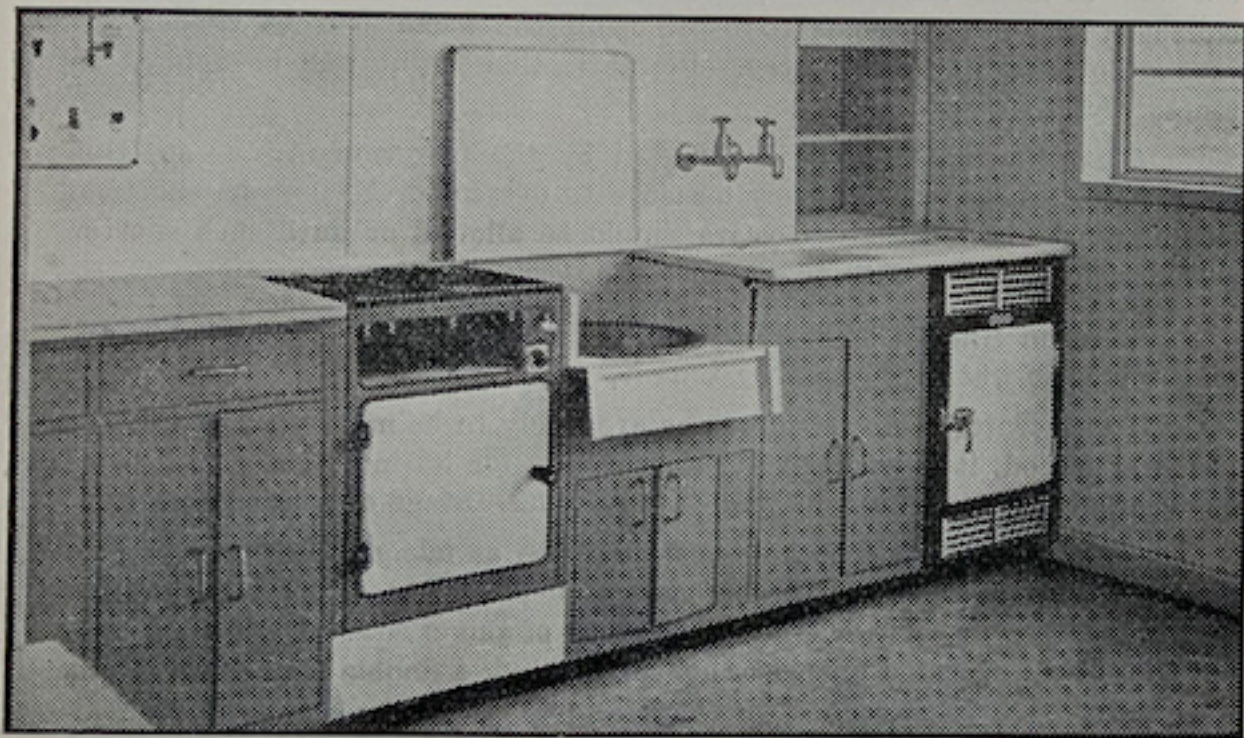
Kitchen Units—Should be installed in flats and houses in new planning schemes, where required by tenant.

Refrigerators—As refrigerators are likely to be mass produced in the post-war period, it is necessary that provision for its installation should be made, when and if the tenant wishes to take advantage of a refrigerator.

Estate Housing—The houses need to be as adequately fitted as possible and set in the best possible environment. Trees should be planted wherever they will most enhance the beauty of the estate. A clothing post, and two hooks provided for every house, enabling a double clothes line to be hung in every back garden. An electric plug provided for ironing or wireless purposes, and gas plugs in every room having a fireplace. To break the monotony so common on housing estates, and to create beauty, a variety of treatment in finishings is suggested. The necessary services should be provided as and when needed. In this connection particular attention is drawn to the provision of schools and transport facilities and shopping centres should be built simultaneously with the houses and other provisions already stated.

National Road Scheme—London has already provided a road plan. If the plan is carried out London will be the first city in the world to segregate its road transport, and thus to do away with the biggest single cause of road accidents. A national road scheme is being prepared for Northern Ireland; this is necessary for the carrying out of the housing plan in the cities and towns throughout the Province. This may mean the alteration of existing roads and the making of new roads, such as new or improved ring roads—that is, roads roughly in the shape of a circle or

LESS DRUDGERY IN THE HOUSE.



There is less drudgery for the housewife in this labour-saving kitchen. All its fittings are ranged along one wall. These include stainless steel sink fittings, gas or electric cooker, a wash boiler, cupboards, shelves, and a space for a refrigerator. The combined unit is factory-made.

eclipse—and a number of radial roads—that is, roads which extend from the centre of the cities outwards in various directions and arterial roads for fast traffic. Bridges, railways and stations, etc., may be effected and extensive improvements carried out by this development.

Location of Industry—The main industrial centre at present is Belfast. There are little male employing industries in the provincial towns. Now is the time to plan what industries can be moved into the provincial districts and what new industries can be started there. Large resources of material and labour exist. The Government should provide the capital for the employment of the labour for the exploitation of those material resources.

Electrification—Greater use could be made of the water ways in Northern Ireland by the development of hydro-electric power stations on the Bann and Strangford Lough for the production of cheap power for the running of industry. It seems common place to state this fact after the experience of Canada, and other countries, with its heavy costs to us through imports in coal and its effects on trade returns.

THE PAST AND THE FUTURE.

To-day there is widespread concern about the post-war economic future. The Tories are anxious about the loss of markets and overseas investments and the prospects of intensified competition. The workers and the Servicemen fear repetition of what happened after the last war—mass unemployment and attacks on wages and conditions. Some workers who are sceptical, unable to see their own new and strong position, take a very gloomy view of the future. On the basis of their past bitter experience, this is not to be wondered at. But they are unconsciously playing the game of the most reactionary section of the Tory Party when they spread the idea that "it will be the same as last time," the worker will be let down, be tricked and betrayed. On the other hand, there is a quiet confidence amongst the overwhelming majority of workers and progressive men and women that it is not going to be the same as last time. There is a stern determination that they are not going to be tricked and deceived. They understand that the solidarity between members of the fighting front and the industrial front grows stronger with every battle won. They know that between 1918 and 1944, over twenty years of political education and grim experience has been at work, that the lesson has been learned. The more far-sighted elements of the Tory Party have also learned lessons from the past and the present. They realise the growing strength of the people; they understand that the problems of economic restoration and productivity have to be solved in a new way, that if the State has had to take supreme control in war-time, in the new international situation after the war it will have to maintain various forms of control in order to guarantee the successful carrying through of international obligations and responsibilities which is the only basis on which world trade can be successfully organised. They are sincerely afraid of another world economic crisis, both because it would



Queues for the dole, like this one, flooded Labour Exchanges in the years after the last war. This must not happen again. This is a people's war. Let us make it a people's peace.

endanger their profits and because they can no longer be confident that the profit system itself would survive another upheaval like that of 1931.

"If once again we seek to drift back to the good old times—which were not really so good for many of us after all—if we imagine that all controls can be swept aside or that we can return to the economic anarchy of the old days, we shall bring not only discredit, but disaster on ourselves."
—Mr. Anthony Eden, M.P.

But there is a powerful section of the Tories which still demand the removal of war-time controls in the interest of private enterprise and profit. It was this which forced Mr. Grant to state: "As a Minister of the Government, I have some control over local authorities, but no control over private enterprise."

It is these reactionary Tories who dominate the Government and local authorities. They will use every conceivable weapon that vested and selfish interests can bring forward against the needs of the people. The programme put forward represents the desires of the people. It is one on which the Labour movement can rally around it all men and women of goodwill to press for its immediate fulfilment, and upon which a progressive Labour majority can be won at the next General Election, by which we can achieve the hopes and desires of the majority of the people for a better Northern Ireland after the war. This General Election will be the most important in our lifetime; but if success is to be won it will require the most arduous and sustained political campaigning this country has yet seen. We must not confine ourselves to Parliament only, but contest every local and county authority election.

The Tory Party will let loose every artifice of propaganda. Prophecies of the dreadful effects of a policy such as is outlined here will be widely made. We must be prepared to face a repetition of the kind of scare stories that they worked off on the people in the pre-war elections. Every die-hard reactionary and pro-Fascist will unite and come out against any real progressive policy. They will wave the nation's flag as if it were their own exclusive property. They will use popular young officer heroes and generals as if the rank and file of the Armed Forces had done nothing. In local authority elections the Tory candidates will appear as Ratepayers, Moderates and Independents. They will endeavour to use ex-Servicemen's organisations. But against those reactionary forces the Labour movement must unite. It will be a fight for the daily interests of the majority against those who consider only themselves and their own selfish interests. It will be a fight for the whole future of Northern Ireland and its people; to decide whether or not we are to keep in line with the great Labour movement in Britain and political development all over Europe. The people want to see extension of democracy throughout all their institutions and the ending of Tory privilege and snobbery. They want to take part in the administration of their own country and the organisation of their own lives. The people want jobs for all, good wages and shorter hours. They want good homes, social security and a healthy country. For many years the

people have shown, in the conduct of their Trade Unions and Co-operative organisations, that they have greater abilities for government and administration than Nationalist, Tories, or so-called Independents and Moderates.

It is vital that this outline of Labour's housing policy is supported by the will and determination of the people, by the winning of majorities on local and county authorities, to see that the Acts which are provided by the Government for the housing and well-being of the people are carried out.

Democracy means not only voting, but the administration of things by the people themselves. Nothing will fall from the lap of the gods. The pro-Fascists, the die-hard Tories, the merely selfish, all alike will fight to prevent these developments from taking place unless they are profitable to them. They have powerful weapons at their disposal; they are entrenched in high places; but they can be defeated. Arrayed against them, however, must be an enlightened democracy, led and united by the Labour Party.

During the war, no one would tolerate and allow aircraft workers to stand idle, while the enemy bomb and destroy our cities and towns, because "we can't afford any more guns and planes," or because "the company doesn't think it would pay to build any more." There is no need to tolerate it in peace-time either. Instead of the sovereign power of a few big business men, there must be asserted the sovereign power of the people.

The people have seen from their own experience that nothing less can give Northern Ireland what it needs. Everything is in favour of the people. To-day the people of the world are on the eve 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 are bright for great advances. If the opportunities are grasped, we can see the end of want, and the greatest advance 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 build a peaceful and happy life.

We in Northern Ireland have our responsibility. We must ensure that a strong, united Labour movement is forged which will rally to its ranks 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 under the banner of the Labour Party lead the people to future happiness with work and homes for all.

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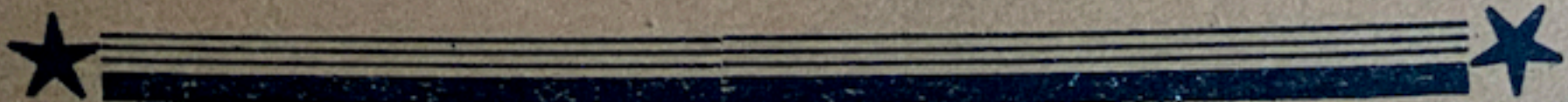
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