

**Irish Labour Party and Trade
Union Congress.**

REPORT

OF THE

ANNUAL CONGRESS

HELD AT

City Hall, Waterford,

5th, 6th and 7th August, 1918.

AND OF THE

SPECIAL CONGRESS

HELD AT THE

Mansion House, Dublin,

On November 1st and 2nd, 1918.

Published by Authority of the National Executive.

Irish Labour Party and Trade Union
Congress.

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OF THE

TWENTY-FOURTH

Annual Meeting

HELD AT THE

City Hall, Waterford,

ON

MONDAY, TUESDAY & WEDNESDAY,

5th, 6th and 7th August, 1918.

Published by Authority of the National Executive.

WEST, CAPEL STREET, DUBLIN.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE.

Chairman :

THOMAS CASSIDY, DERRY.

Vice-Chairman :

THOMAS FARREN, DUBLIN.

Committee :

THOS. MACPARTLIN, Dublin

ROSE TIMMON, Dublin.

JOSEPH MITCHELL, Belfast.

THOS. C. DALY, Dublin.

M. J. O'LEHANE, Dublin.

J. T. O'FARRELL, Dublin.

CATHAL O'SHANNON, Cork.

MICHAEL EGAN, T.C., J.P., Cork.

Treasurer :

THOMAS JOHNSON, 13 Ranfurly Drive, Strandtown, Belfast.

Secretary :

WILLIAM O'BRIEN, Trades Hall, Capel Street, Dublin.

APOLOGY.

The National Executive regrets that the report of the Waterford Congress is defective and unsatisfactory, owing to circumstances beyond their control. A full report of the Chairman's Address is printed, also the Executive's report for the year 1917-8, but except in one or two instances the resolutions are recorded without any report of the debates.

On the other hand a full report is given of the proceedings at the Special Congress held in Dublin on November 1st and 2nd, dealing with General Election policy, our International claims, and the new Constitution of the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress.

WM. O'BRIEN,
Secretary.

REPORT

OF THE

TWENTY-FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

Irish Trades Union Congress and Labour Party,

WATERFORD; 1918.

FIRST DAY.—Monday, August 5th.

The 24th Annual Congress was opened on Monday, August 5th, 1918, in the City Hall, Waterford, at 11 a.m.

Mr. Thos. Cassidy (Typographical Association, Derry) Vice-Chairman of the National Executive, presided at the opening of the proceedings, and the delegates were welcomed to the City by Councillor Kirwan, in the absence of the Mayor, Councillor MacDonald, through indisposition. Amongst those who attended to join in the welcome were the Rev. W. J. O'Connell, Adm., Cathedral; E. Dalton and T. Dunne, President and Secretary of the Waterford Trades and Labour Council; T. Shaughnessey, Principal, Technical Institute; Rev. J. Kelleher, S.T.L., etc.

Mr. Cassidy, in opening the Congress, said—Ladies and gentlemen, in opening a meeting of the representatives of all the trades in Ireland this morning it is indeed a great privilege bestowed on me (hear, hear)—opening as I am on behalf of the National Executive.

This is the twenty-fourth Annual Congress of the Irish Trades Unions (applause), and I wish to extend to you one and all a hearty welcome to this meeting (hear, hear). To the old delegates and to those representing the old Unions who have been always at the Congress in the past it is not necessary to extend a very warm greeting, but I think a special greeting is necessary to be extended to the new delegates and the new associates represented here to-day particularly—while I do not wish to be invidious—to the representatives of the Irish National Teachers' Organisation (loud applause). A very special greeting of welcome should be accorded and extended to them. I believe, ladies and gentlemen, that this association with the trades unions of the country will assist the work of the Congress. It is not within my province to make any speech on this occasion and I will merely refer to the fact that while your agenda is not extraordinarily large, yet there are questions of vital importance contained therein. The Trades Union movement is now in the twenty-fourth bloom of its manhood, and regulations and rules quite sufficient in the early days of the Trades Union movement may be found not up to date at the present time, and to the minds of some it may seem that the constitution should be altered to meet the present circumstances, and there are things that will require deep consideration and thought on the part of everyone of you (hear, hear).

Other resolutions will undoubtedly give cause for long discussion, and on these discussions I will ask you to be calm and to keep before you what effect the adoption of that resolution will have on the Trades Union movement in this country (applause). I am sure you will carry on the work laid out for you to-day and until Wednesday in a business-like manner, and when we separate on Wednesday afternoon we hope to be filled with the thoughts that we did good work for the Trades Union movement and that we through our efforts here gave the cause throughout our land an impetus.

I have now great pleasure in introducing to you Councillor Kirwan who will, on behalf of the Mayor of the citizens, offer you a civic greeting.

Acting-Mayor's Speech.

Councillor Kirwan, who was received with cheers, said—Ladies and gentlemen, in the absence of the Mayor (Councillor J. M'Donald, J.P.), owing to illness, I beg to welcome you on behalf of the citizens (loud cheers). I understand that it is twenty-one years ago since such an important event has happened in this city. Since that time no wonderful changes have happened, with the exception of the important railway facilities. Now our city can be reached from any part of Ireland by rail. The older delegates can see a marked improvement in our bridge, one of the finest in Ireland, owing to the old toll bridge being done away

with, and consequently the toll has been removed (loud cheers). Our industries have slightly improved, but not to our satisfaction, but I am happy to know that a movement is on foot to give a fillip to industries that we once had in our midst, such as glass-making, shipbuilding and tannery (loud applause). In conclusion, I am pleased to know that this will be the largest and most important Congress ever held in Ireland. I hope your deliberations will be fruitful of good results, and that you will bring back pleasant memories of your short stay in Waterford, and I wish you a cead mile failte to Waterford city.

Mr. Keane's Speech.

Councillor Keane said—Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I wish to associate myself with the civic welcome extended to you on behalf of the citizens (applause), and it is true that you have a very important agenda to go through, and it will take a good deal of your time, therefore I will not impose a speech upon you, but I do hope that your work and deliberations at the Congress here this week will have a far-reaching result (loud cheers). We must continue our industries, and I would like to inform you that if our industries have not done as much as we would expect, or as much as we would be satisfied at, we are pleased to tell you that trades unionism in the city has greatly improved (loud applause) and is very satisfactory at the present time, and I am pleased also to say that I think after the deliberations of this Congress and the impression you will make on the people that there will be hardly anyone outside the trades union. This result I would like to see and I have great pleasure joining in the caed mile failthe extended to you by Councillor Kirwan (applause).

Mr. Dalton's Speech.

Mr. Dalton, on behalf of the Trades Council, said—Mr. Chairman and delegates, I join heartily in the welcome extended to you on your visit to this old city by the Suir (hear, hear). Since the National Executive came amongst us a few months ago trade union organisation has increased by leaps and bounds, and I hope your deliberations here this week will be conducive of great results, and that the results will be in proportion to the magnitude of the number of delegates present. I hope your stay in Waterford will be a pleasant one, and that in the times to come you will look back to the happy days and good work you did here. He concluded by citing that all the arrangements that could be possibly made were made for the comfort of the visitors, whom he wished a hearty cead mile failte (loud cheers).

Father O'Connell's Welcome.

Father O'Connell, Adm., the Cathedral, who was received with cheers said—Mr. Chairman, in the first instance I must

apologise for coming late. I was not here at the opening, as I had to attend High Mass at St. John's Church. I should like very much to show by my presence on this platform that I wish to welcome you to this city (loud applause), and I hope with Mr. Keane that your deliberations will bring forth great results. I did not come prepared to make a speech, but simply to say with all sincerity that I heartily welcome you here to-day. I am glad to be here on this platform, and to show by my presence that I sympathise in every way with the great cause of Labour. I wish you every success.

Corporation Thanked.

Mr. David Campbell (Belfast) said he begged to move a hearty vote of thanks to Councillor Kirwan (Deputy Mayor) for extending to them such a cordial welcome to the city. He re-echoed the sentiments expressed regarding the revival and support of their industries.

Referring to the pork industry in the city he said that some time ago it was in such a state that while plenty of its products could be shipped away, the people in Waterford were without their rashers for two or three weeks. There was something wrong there; whether attributable to the Trades Union or not he did not know. He would not like to deprive their comrades beyond the water of their succulent rashers (laughter), but he thought that in order that he (the Englishman) should have his that was no reason that they should be deprived of theirs (laughter).

Mr. Egan (Cork) seconded the vote, which was suitably acknowledged by Councillor Kirwan.

Mr. Thos. Dunne (Secretary, Waterford Trades Council) was appointed Assistant Secretary to the Congress.

The following were elected to act as a Standing Orders Committee:—Messrs. O'Farrell (R.C.A.), Houston (I.T.W.U.), Somerville (A.S.C. and J.), T. C. Daly (N.U.R.), Mitchell (Belfast Trades Council)

Messrs. T. Boyle (Dublin Trades Council) and T. Kennedy (I.T.W.U.) were elected as Tellers.

Messrs. Duffy (Drapers' Assistants) and Doherty (R.C.A.) were elected Auditors.

Mr. Thos. Murphy (Irish Clerical Workers' Union, Dublin) proposed that Mr. Wm. O'Brien (Dublin Trades Council), Chairman of the National Executive for the past year, preside over the meetings of the Congress.

Mr. M. P. O'Flanagan (Dublin Typographical) seconded.

Alderman MacCarron (Amalgamated Tailors) opposed on the ground that Mr. O'Brien, having been expelled by the Dublin Branch of the Amalgamated Society of Tailors was no longer eligible to be a delegate to the Congress.

Mr. O'Brien denied that he had been legally expelled. The Executive Council of the Tailors' Society had power to call upon

him to resign but they had not done so. He was still a delegate to the Dublin Trades Council which body had sent him to Congress.

After considerable discussion the proposition "that Mr. O'Brien do take the Chair" was carried by 159 votes to 38.

The Congress adjourned until the following (Tuesday) morning at 9.30.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 6th.

Chairman's Address.

On taking the Chair at 9.30 on Tuesday morning, Mr. Wm. O'Brien said:—

Fellow delegates,—Before we come to the business proper of this Congress it has been our practice that whoever occupies the chair should in a presidential address review the past year's struggles and achievements of the Labour movement, take stock of our present position and discuss the problems and prospects which will face us in the coming twelve months. This duty of the chairman is so important and necessary at this great time of unprecedented change and development in the movement that I feel highly honoured indeed that this year it should, through your wishes, fall to my lot. For that honour I thank the Congress and the delegates. This is the second occasion on which you have honoured me by electing me to preside over the deliberations of what may well be called the Parliament of Labour in Ireland, and of that renewed recognition on your part of my efforts and labour on behalf of the great class to which we belong, the great, heroic, fighting working class in Ireland, for which I am sincerely and justly proud. You will, I know, assist me in the conduct of the proceedings of Congress, and with your help we will, I trust, make this Waterford Congress historic and notable in the annals of organised Irish Labour (cheers).

It is twenty-one years since Congress last met in Waterford. The movement was then but in its fourth year as a definite all-Ireland organisation, a mere stripling, so to speak, by the side of its elder brothers in the world-wide Labour movement. To-day the stripling has reached manhood and a vigorous and alert, if young, manhood it is indeed. To-morrow, if we who are here assembled but will it, Irish Labour can be the peer in power and influence not only of any movement in this country, but as well of any Labour movement in any country. When I say this I am conscious of the full meaning of what I say. Yet I do not exaggerate, for I am convinced that given but the will, the power and influence Labour can exercise in the future of Ireland will be not one whit less great or less effective than will be the power and influence of Labour in any other country and in the rebuilding and reconstruction of Europe when the peace for which all humane

hearts long is restored, after the barbarism of this war, to a weary exhausted world.

That power and influence, and the growth of which they are the manifestation, are due, above all, to three things. They are due to the hard work, the untiring sacrifice and the unbroken perseverance and determination of the few, but heroic, men and women fighters who battled and worked against great odds through long and fruitless years that the workers of Ireland might be united and combined in one great movement which would lead them out of bondage into economic, social, and political freedom. They are due to the awakening of the workers in all countries to the consciousness of their class interests, of their industrial serfdom, of their subjection at the hands of a powerful, unscrupulous, dehumanised capitalist class, and of a devilish capitalist system, and to a realisation of their powers and the possibilities within themselves through their unity and solidarity as a class organised in one movement, of their full and complete and speedy emancipation from the evils from which they suffer, a consciousness of their state and a realisation of their powers to which the war and the revelation of the hideous nature of capitalism the war has made, have contributed as much as any other factor in the awakening. Above all, they are due to the new spirit, the new life, the new conception of the status, the dignity and the place in humanity of the worker, the great minds and great hearts, the skilful organisation, the bold leadership and able and courageous propaganda of action, the unending toil, the revolutionary teaching, the high and splendid thinking, the great and noble vision, the magnificent example, the sacrifice and heroism in death as in life which have been contributed by James Connolly and Jim Larkin (prolonged cheers).

Of these two men and their work I need not speak in detail, for neither requires justification at any Congress of Irish Labour, and one is living still. But of James Connolly, one of whose oldest friends in the Labour movement I can proudly claim to be, I am bound to say this: his life and his death were the inspiration to which are due the splendid enthusiasm, the strong determination, the manly independence, and in a large measure the whole-hearted allegiance of the many thousands of workers who have joined our ranks within the past two years. His are the ideals we follow, his the principles we adopt, his the plans and methods upon which we organise, his the memory and the inspiration from which we draw our strength and our place in the forefront of the fighting army of Labour and in the battle for freedom and justice in this and all other lands. May the sod rest lightly upon you, old comrade, murdered at the hands of a tyranny, and may peace be yours in death. You fought the good fight, and you fell as you desired in the battle for the right against the wrong. To us who followed you, you have left a great heroic memory, an imperishable thought and word and deed. You have

given us the most precious of legacies, and we who remain to carry on your battles promise you that we shall not lower your flag, but through success and reverse shall travel the road you cut out for us, and battle on until we have built up in Ireland that Workers' Republic for which you worked and fought and died.

When Connolly laid down his life for the Irish working class, he laid it down for the working class in all countries, for he believed that an example of action ought to be given to the workers to spur them to resistance to the powers of imperialism and capitalism which have plunged Europe in blood in this war of empire and conquest. Nor was his sacrifice in vain, for we know the influence it exercised amongst those great men and women who have given us the great Russian Revolution. The Revolution is, indeed, still battling for existence against both internal and external foes, against the Western as well as the Central Powers, but the Bolsheviks are consolidating their power and holding the ground they have won. Their present difficulties reveal as nothing else could reveal the real aims of the Powers on both sides in this war. Those aims are economic and political conquest, the more complete exploitation by the capitalist class of the workers in all countries; and the capture by this or that capitalist Government of the markets of the world. If not, then why are England and France and Japan and America, as well as Germany, making armed intervention in Russia? If not, then why were the repeated efforts of the workers to meet in the International Congress defeated by the governments of all the warring countries except alone the Soviet Government of Russia? Why were passports refused to, and still withheld, from the delegates of the workers. The governments will not allow the workers of Europe to meet in conference, but they do not prevent, nay, they help, the financiers and capitalists of both sets of belligerents to meet one another in joint conference in the interests of capitalism. It is because capitalism, and not democracy is the ruling power in Europe. But that shall not always be so. The workers will yet meet in common council in the International Congress, and when they meet the delegates of this Irish Trade Union Congress and Labour Party to whom passports were refused by the British Government last year, will be there to voice the will and desire of the organised workers of Ireland (loud cheers).

If we have not been able to take part in the International Congress, yet we have been successful to some extent in resuming international relations through the secretary of the I.S.B. with organised Labour in other countries, particularly with the Labour and Socialist Parties of Russia, France and Great Britain. Your treasurer and myself had the honour to meet on your behalf the British Labour Party, and to present in person your greetings and congratulations to the plenipotentiary of the Bolshevik Government of Russia. Mr. Johnson, too, was eminently success-

ful in his mission on conscription in April, and he as well as we had ample and gratifying evidence of the interest and support of other sections of the International Congress in the warm welcome he and we received from our foreign comrades. Mr. Johnson perhaps was luckier than we, for he was in a position to tell our friends abroad of the great success of our General Strike against Conscription in April. Here let me pay tribute to the magnificent spirit and enthusiasm of the delegates at our Special Congress in Dublin on April 20th. It was a Congress unprecedented in the history of the movement in this country, and indeed in the history of the movement in any country in Europe and of no association, except of my association with our dead comrades, am I more justly proud than of my association with the anti-Conscription Congress of Irish Labour. But even that Congress pales in significance beside the great display of unity and solidarity on the part of the Irish workers it called forth on April 23rd. Our hearty thanks are due to the hundreds of thousands of workers who, at the call of Labour, ceased their work all over the country and shook these islands with their unique demonstration of opposition to compulsory military service. It was magnificent, and it was war. I do not know if everybody in Ireland yet realises its significance. If they do not, then capitalism does, as witness this comment which the "Irish Times" made upon the morrow of the General Strike:—

"April 23rd will be chiefly remembered as the day on which Irish Labour realised its strength."

That is literally true, the workers of Ireland rose in their strength and their might, took up the gage of battle that had been thrown down to them, and challenged the enemies of individual and personal freedom to battle for liberty. The lesson, I hope, has not been lost upon the workers or their opponents. For us the lesson is that a solid, united and determined working class acting as one man, can, when it exercises its economic power, bring to a standstill the whole industrial life of the country and all Government, and take into its own possession and hold and control for the community the whole resources of the country. We shall not hurriedly neglect that lesson, nor shall we allow our rulers or our employers to forget it either.

When we struck against conscription we struck because we are of a subject but unconquered people, because Irish Labour is opposed to the exercise of the will of one nation or government upon another nation and above all because as Labour men we are opposed to the imposition by any government, native or foreign, democratic or autocratic, of military service upon any people or any body of people without their full and expressed consent. We are all for liberty, not only for social, economic and national liberty, but for that priceless and precious possession of full and sovereign manhood, individual liberty, the right of

all men to so order their lives that their manhood be free to attain its full development (cheers).

It is well, for through the exercise of the people's will Ireland is the only country in Europe still free from the crushing burden of conscription, the only country that has kept its freedom of soul and carries its opposition to conscription into resistance in action. The whole country rose with great and high determination against conscription, but without any wish or thought of detracting from the effectiveness of other forces and elements which combined against the threat we can claim with justice and with credit that Labour was—and still is and will continue to be—a mighty and potent factor in Ireland's united resistance to that measure of iniquity. By the General Strike, by the great demonstration of our strength and solidarity and determination, by our counsel in the Mansion House Conference and outside it, we have helped to save not only the nation, but Labour in Ireland, and not only Labour in Ireland, but Labour and democracy everywhere from the scourge of permanent conscription. To Ireland, to Labour in Ireland, and to Labour and peoples abroad who love liberty, we have shown an example, and given a lead which have not only established our movement, but have made this year famous in Irish, European, and working class history.

Yet the danger is not past. I should be lacking in my duty if I did not warn Congress that the menace still hangs over us and that we may yet—and shall if the militarist elements have their way—be called upon to resist conscription by every means and every weapon which organised Labour can command. The deportation and internment of large numbers of Irishmen and women who, if they are not indeed actual members of our movement and party, were indeed gallant brave and faithful comrades on our side in the struggle against conscription. The recent proclamations against gatherings and assemblies, the forcible suppression of meetings including our own trade union meetings, sports, concerts and amusements, the extension of martial law and the application of the Coercion Acts, the declarations against political, social, and language societies, the trials by courts-martial and special juries, the division of the country into ten areas for military purposes, the planting of a military occupation in almost every square mile of Irish soil, all the acts of suppression and repression of these later months, the outrages against personal liberty and the private sanctum of the home, the letting loose upon the country of large numbers of armed soldiers and police with licence to wreak their will wherever and in whatsoever manner they choose, the unprecedented lying and trickery of the powers that be and the grossly insulting and provocative language of our rulers, from the Military Governor down to the Resident Magistrate and the police constable, all these but point to the ever existing intention of the military occupation to enforce conscription.

Well, we will not have it. Labour has already made its position clear both in word and in deed. We were ready in April and May. We are ready and able in August. We shall be ready, able and still more willing in September or October, or whenever the Government is mad enough to attempt to inflict upon us this outrage against our liberty and our wills. Let them try the mettle of Labour and Labour will stand the test. True to our professions and principles and the great trust imposed upon us, we shall not shirk nor shrink. I warn, then, all whom it may concern, be they government, military, police or employers, that Irish Labour will throw its whole strength, its whole influence, its whole enthusiasm into the resistance against conscription and fight on to the bitter end. No action that may be taken against us, no amount of arrests, no number of imprisonments, no deportations, nay, no executions and no shootings will turn Labour from this road it has chosen or make it swerve one inch from the hard and narrow path of its duty. Our words and our faith have been tested before; and if the time comes will stand the trial again (cheers).

Here let me again call upon the delegates, the unions, and every branch of the unions, and Labour's representatives on all Defence Committees, to be alert and vigilant, to perfect the machinery of resistance to conscription, and to insist everywhere and always, and give no peace anywhere until this be done, that strong and effective measures of real resistance be devised, and that when the time comes that these measures be enforced, carefully calmly indeed, but ruthlessly and unflinchingly. From this Congress let there go out the warning that Labour stands by every word of its pledge of April, that Labour will fight side by side with whatever elements or parties will resist, and that if need be, Labour will fight alone and go down fighting rather than permit the conscription in any form whatever of the manhood of Ireland without their duly expressed will and desire.

Here, too, let Labour as a body which can speak in the name of the Irish working class, the vast majority of this nation declare to all the world that we are opposed to each and every act of tyranny and oppression that has been perpetrated within recent months, that while we are indeed much concerned over the suppression of our own meetings, that we are the enemies of all who would take away any and every liberty from no matter what section of this or any other peoples, and that we are friends and fellow-fighters for liberty of every dauntless lover of freedom and rebel against oppression the world over. That may indeed earn us an ugly nick-name, but Labour is too big an insect to be crushed beneath the Iron Heel of any despot, militarist or otherwise.

When we come to consider what I may call the internal as distinct from the external progress and development of Labour in Ireland since last we met, we can but add to the great spirit

and the great achievements of the past year, the enormous increase in the membership of the unions and of the Congress. Of the new forces I shall particularise only two and these because of their peculiar importance and position in Ireland. I refer to the affiliation to our movement of the National Teachers, to whom we extend a hearty *cead míle fáilte*, and to the agricultural labourers, to whom is due a welcome no less warm. If I may say so the teachers have been the masters of us all, at least those of us who had the fortune—or misfortune—of getting any schooling at all. They have in truth the making and the moulding of the mind of the people, and consequently of the whole future of Ireland. But in that great work, the greatest which any body of men or women could be entrusted, they are hampered and hindered by the ridiculous system and the terrible conditions under which they are compelled to work. With such a system and under such conditions there can be no education in any real sense, and in Ireland so far as the overwhelming mass of the people is concerned there is none. It is the sacred duty of Labour to bend its every effort to changing all this, and I can promise to the teachers that Labour will do it. At the same time it is equally the sacred duty of the teachers that they should recognise their identity with the workers of all sections and with Labour alike in their own interests, in the interests of the working class to which they belong, and of the nation and people whom they serve and whose mentors and guides they are. It is their duty to plan and build so, and to fight and struggle that education in Ireland may be put upon a safe and reasonable basis, that it be not only efficient but human, and that all conditions under which the schools are conducted shall be such as will satisfy the needs and aspirations of the teachers themselves, of the parents and of the people, and nation. Their presence here to-day in this Congress is evidence that the teachers are recognising these duties, and thus in this new position so created we should be on a fair way to the establishment of the proper status of the teacher and the complete re-organisation of the whole educational system.

No less important are the agricultural workers, who have been trooping in their thousands into the unions since last year. If the teacher cultivates the mind and helps the man to develop his full manhood and individuality, the agricultural worker ministers to the body, and is a most important factor in the national life. Too long neglected and despised, wretchedly paid, miserably housed, badly educated, the agricultural workers have awakened to their position and to their potentiality. If it took the stress of war and menace of famine through submarine activities to compel the recognition by the community of the value of the agricultural worker, it took also the propaganda of the town workers to raise them from their lethargy and bring them as a well-organised and important battalion into the fighting ranks of

trade unionism. They are now part and parcel of our movement, and I foresee the time when they will be a tremendous lever for their own emancipation and the emancipation of all Labour. Something has already been done for them, but much more remains to do. I should like to see Labour give all its help to these workers, to assist them to raise themselves to the dignity of manhood, and, above all, to elaborate its policy of the co-operative management and control in the common interest of all the people by the workers on the land, from which their fathers and ours were driven by force and fraud, and of which they are the dispossessed and still exploited heirs.

These are some of the signs of advancement which mark our travels of the past year. But above and before them all are the grand new spirit, the new life, the enthusiasm, the determination, the high hopes and noble ideals, and the bold and daring character of Labour. These we owe, as I have said, largely to the genius and to the generous self-sacrifice of James Connolly and the dashing whirlwind which is in Jim Larkin, to the tremendous upheaval of the war, and the revolution of thought and opinion that has distinguished the people of Ireland since James Connolly and his comrades made the supreme sacrifice. We have all been witnesses of this in the great demonstrations of Labour in every county in Ireland, in the great Bolshevik meeting in the Mansion House, and the great anti-Conscription Congress, and the earnestness and vigour of the young and growing body of men and women who have grown up under the shadow of a great tragedy, which is also the victory and the glory of all who hold by high and heroic things. This spirit, this enthusiasm, this thoroughness and this ardour of youth will be, I believe, the salvation of Ireland, as it will be the hope of the emancipation of all who labour.

The great progress we have made since the last meeting of Congress, the awakening of agricultural labourers, the new accession of strength to the longer affiliated unions, and the new adherence of newly affiliated bodies like the National Teachers and the Clerical Workers, are in keeping with the grand new spirit of the movement. But we have a long row to hoe yet. The recruitment of the workers in the army of Labour has, indeed, gone forward by leaps and bounds within the past year, and is still going on vigorously and successfully. Is this enough? I do not think it is. We must go further; we must rise to the occasion, and take the tide at its flow. Here in Ireland we are, luckily, well situated to make a great advance in the further organisation of Labour, and I believe we should make it now (loud cheers).

Speaking comparatively, Ireland is a small country, and, from our point of view, is still largely unorganised. This gives us an unique opportunity of planning and building our movement on new and sound lines. Let us not be afraid to make experiments,

to scrap old measures and old machinery when they are outworn and replace them by new measures and new machinery fitted to our times, circumstances and opportunities. This country is just large enough to contain a considerable industrial population, and small enough to make that population manageable by a compact and well-organised body. Our proletariat is just big enough to be organised into a strong and effective fighting machine, and just small enough to be handled and generated with close personal touch and contact, by such a body as the National Executive of the Irish Trade Union Congress. A few hours will bring the leaders into direct touch with any body of workers or any section of the movement in any part of the country. This is an immense advantage to the whole working class of Ireland, and every section of it without exception. North as well as South, and all minorities as well as majorities. To marshal that working class into the great army of Labour in Ireland is the task we have before us, and we must set about it with courage, breadth of vision, and a definite conception of the machinery of the movement, and of the kind and size of that machinery. In other words, we must make of the Labour movement a great machine, of which the operations will extend from a great common central or general headquarters all over the country, a great living organisation which will be a skilfully built and effective engine of our emancipation.

I have long been convinced, and every day that passes strengthens the conviction, that in the Labour movement as a whole, and in the unions as its sections, we must be as fully and as carefully equipped as any great business. Our movement is, in a certain sense, the great business organisation of a great cause. Now, you know how the employers and every federation of employers spare neither expense, nor skill, nor energy in the equipment and management of their business. You know they have fully equipped offices, able and well-trained staffs, experts and specialists to advise in every department, great palatial buildings, all the agents, machinery, and material necessary for a great undertaking, and you know how far-reaching and effective all these are. So also must the Labour movement and the unions, if they are to do the work for which they are designed, and to do it effectively and successfully (cheers).

We are in the making as a movement, and we must see to it that that making shall be the best which Labour is capable of. We have the material, we have the men, and I am perfectly satisfied that we have the brains. Here now is our opportunity, when we are a growing and expanding movement. Let us get our fully equipped offices, let us man them with the best men and women either money or love can buy; let our officials be highly skilled, well trained, able, and, where necessary, experts and specialists in their particular lines, and let us adopt all the best and most up-to-date methods of conducting business. For the

conduct of our movement is, to a certain degree, a great business, and we must have it managed on big business lines. If we organise Labour and the unions in departments, each of them charged with the special work of a special section of workers on an occupational basis, each of them managed by a departmental chief or director specially trained and qualified for his work, with special knowledge of all the business of his section or department, and with an able, competent and sufficient staff at his disposal—here the Clerical Workers, to whom we also stretch out a welcoming hand of friendship and comradeship this year, will render most important service—and all under the general direction of one common executive, upon which all sections would be represented according to numerical strength and industrial importance; if we equip the unions in this way, if we man them with the best men we can give, if we concentrate our energies and make our efforts upon business lines, we shall have a great army of Labour, led by its General Staff, captained by able officers, with a militant rank and file second to none in Europe. This has already been begun by some of our unions, and I hope to see its extension and development by all. Give us organisation of a highly technical nature of that kind, give us good staff work, and with this Irish working class we shall conquer and come into our own (loud cheers).

Some of you will remember that in my Presidential address at the Congress in Cork in 1913, before war had broken on Europe, and on the eve of the great Dublin fight of 1913-14, which was, I believe, the veritable salvation of Labour in Ireland, I had this much in mind, and I said:—

Upon the industrial field we, as Irish workers, must steadily press forward to the greater unification and solidifying of our forces, linking up trade with trade and industry with industry, and avoiding the pitfalls of rashness or over-haste, consistently push forward to the linking-up of the whole working class of this country into one great union, one bond of brotherhood, based upon the realisation of the vital truth that "An injury to one is an injury to all." This may seem a dream, but it is a dream which the industrial tendencies of the time are fast weaving into the fabric of our social life.

Well, it is not the young only, brave youths and fair maidens, who have their dreams, and not all dreams remain, like lovers' often, unrealised to the end. It is but five years since I told my dream, five years of conflict and campaigning, of great losses and greater victories, and behold my dream is already becoming true. We have not yet, indeed, the One Big Union, containing within its shelter the whole working class of Ireland, but it is fast approaching us, and we have already a great solidifying of the forces of Labour, and are marching steadily and swiftly towards unification and the great bond of brotherhood. On the

industrial field we have made great strides towards the solidarity of all trades, industries and occupations in one solid, compact, organised body and the day of our unification is at hand, and the machinery is building. Speed the day.

On the political field—for we are a political party, independent, erect and free—we have not made so much progress, because the war has brought to a standstill most of those political activities in the narrow sense, elections and the like, which are the ground upon which political energies are loosed and political faiths manifested. But that pause can be only temporary, and, in fact, we are apparently face to face with the renewal of the battle on the political field and the resumption of elections both national and local. In the coming year, maybe in the closing months of this year, we must bend at all events some of our energies to the building up from within of our political machinery, and the elaboration of a political policy and electoral programme, and the completion of the structure of the Irish Labour Party. We must secure labour representation, independent, able, strong, efficient and constructive on all our public elective bodies, both national and local. To do this we must organise and educate, and if we do we shall possess one of the weapons which, if it be not the most effective in our armoury, is yet such that we cannot neglect its use when it serves our purpose.

In the organisation of our political machinery we shall be helped by the great hosts of the new voters who have come upon the new register through the extension of the Franchise Acts. Chief among them are the women, our sisters in many a good fight, who have become enfranchised only as the result of many generations of great efforts, as noble sacrifices, as gallant battles as any in the history of this people of generous sacrifice and unending battle. Means must be found to associate the women with us in our political as well as in our industrial work, and in the new constitution of the Congress and Party I hope room will be made for the women voters as well as for those democratic organisations for which provision has not already been made. And, as a good story is none the worse for repetition—nor, on occasion, for embellishment—let us remember the enfranchisement of the women was only won when aggressive militant tactics had compelled the extension to our women comrades of the right to vote, and the lesson will not be lost upon the fighting elements of Labour.

There are other problems which we will have to face, such as the development, in the interests of the people, of the national resources of the country, railways, mines, bogs, waterways, etc., and these must be exploited to the full, not in the interests of capitalism, but in the interest and on behalf of the whole people of Ireland. But I have spoken too long to give these the attention that might be given. On one other, and this is a most important

question, I would say a word. I mean the securing of real as distinct from merely nominal wages.

To meet the tremendous rise in the cost of living we have, all of us, been clamouring for more wages, and some of us have even been winning for our members increases nominally equivalent to the increase in the cost of living. But with every increase in nominal wages we find that real wages remain stationary, or else depreciate; that as wages are increased the cost of living rises often out of all proportion to the rise in wages; that the value of money is decreasing; that the pound sterling does not buy as much as ten shillings four years ago. We go on in an unending and vicious circle, and even the living wage is not a way out of our difficulty. A living wage, a real living and not a mere subsistence wage, may be fixed to-day, but to-morrow it must be raised, for the cost of living so long as present conditions prevail, will be once more raised, and again out of all proportion to the purchasing power of the living wage. The living wage of to-day simply becomes the subsistence wage of to-morrow.

To attempt to level up wages is a fatuous policy—a mere temporary expedient, and as a makeshift I have shown its futility. The only real and genuine remedy is to be found in the control of industry in the interest of the community by the working class. I need not elaborate the arguments which make this conclusion inevitable in logic and in fact, and to do so would be to anticipate the debate to take place on what is in principle, the most important and revolutionary proposal before this Congress. Let us just add that when we speak of the control of industry we mean the control of industry, of all industries, agricultural and manufacturing; the control and management in every sense of each industry by the workers in that industry, and of each and all in the common interest of the whole community, the people, the nation.

The proposal, as I say, is important and revolutionary. But it is the only proposal which can ultimately satisfy the conditions of the new social order which we all desire shall supersede the present system of wage slavery, under which the worker is a mere piece of goods, a commodity, dehumanised and degraded, in the hell of labour's chattel market.

Out of that hell it is Labour's aim and purpose and intention to lift the workers of Ireland. It was Connolly's ideal; it is our ideal. It is the greatest and noblest ideal any movement in our or any time has set before itself, a flaming torch pointing the way to freedom and happiness and all the joys and sweets of life. For this brave men and brave women, the countless thousands of the pioneers and fighters of the toiling and battling working class, have worked and suffered, bled and died, counting weary labours, and great sacrifices, and life itself as nothing beside the glory that should one day rest upon the world's proletariat and crown it with the victory of freedom. This, I say, was Connolly's ideal;

and it is our ideal. For it we shall fight on, for it we shall toil on, for it, if need be, we shall give up our comfort, our personal prosperity and our lives. By it we shall stand or fall. It means toil and trouble, suffering and sacrifice, hardship, and often reverse and defeat, unending conflict and unceasing and unwearied labour. But it means much more; it means the glory of battle for the right, the satisfaction of the good deed against the ill. It means the high and sure and certain hope of the full and complete emancipation of Labour, the social, economic and political freedom from bondage of that great, heroic, unconquered and unconquerable working class of James Connolly's love. Ay! it is well worth all we have and hold dear, for it is liberty through the Co-operative Commonwealth. It is the Workers' Republic, the building of which on this Irish soil is the sacred trust and legacy handed down to us by the great saints and martyrs and soldiers of Labour who have gone before us, and greatest of them all of him who sanctified it with his life's blood, James Connolly.

"And by their graves we swear this year of story,
To battle side by side,
Till Freedom crowns with immemorial glory,
The cause for which they died."

A vote of thanks to the Chairman for his address was proposed by Mr. Thomas Farren (Stonecutters), seconded by Mr. Jno. Cronin (Limerick Trades Council) and carried by acclamation.

Standing Orders Committee reported that there were 240 delegates present representing a membership of 253,000.

The Report of the National Executive for the year was then considered.

The report which had been printed and circulated reads as follows:—

REPORT OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE.

FELLOW DELEGATES,

In presenting their report for the past year the National Executive are pleased to be in a position to record the great strides which the Labour movement in Ireland has taken during the twelve months since our last Congress.

Following the decision of last year your Executive proceeded to put in operation the Organising Scheme adopted by the Derry Congress. They issued cards and stamps as decided. It soon became apparent, however that for the development of Part II. of the Scheme new machinery was necessary to press the matter forward as it was felt it should be pressed. We were faced with the position that in many places in the country calling out for organisation there was absolutely none, gauged on the Trades Union basis. The National Executive considered the advisability of

following on the lines of the American Federation of Labour in organising "mixed locals," but inasmuch as this would be contrary to the instructions of Congress we decided to place before the 24th Annual Congress the following outline for consideration and, if so decided, approval.

PART II.

While the first part of these suggestions dealt mainly with the organisation of men who are already in Trades Unions, the second part deals with the problem of organising the great number of Irish Workers residing in the smaller towns and rural districts who are at present unorganised either for industrial purposes or political.

Many towns of one thousand to ten thousand inhabitants have no Trades Union branches whatever. Others have a branch of two or three Societies, say the Typographical, or the Drapers' Assistants, or perhaps the N.U.R. The remaining workers are quite outside, and being so few in each, skilled Trade Unions consider the expense of organisation is not warranted by the possible result.

We consider it to be the duty of the National Executive to look after the work of organisation in these places, and, if possible, to bring into any scheme the Agricultural Labourers, "surface men" or other rural workers.

We propose for consideration that in these small towns we found local "Trades and Labour Councils" (? "Clubs" or "Leagues") but instead of affiliating branches of Unions, as is usual in the cities, we join up the individual workers. These might be grouped in sections according to the industry followed, say:—

- Distributive Trades Section.
- Building Trades Section.
- Transport Trades Section.
- Agricultural Section.

And an executive appointed from the Sections.

The contributions may be fixed as in first part of scheme, i.e., 3d. per month—1½d. to be retained for local purposes, and 1½d. to go to central fund. Out of the central fund the expenses of organisation and visiting would be paid. (If it were thought desirable to pay any strike benefits the contributions would have to be increased.) No benefits would be payable out of this fund, but the beginnings of organisation for industrial as well as political purposes would be made.

(The question will arise whether such councils are eligible for affiliation, i.e., can they send delegates to Congress? They are not Trade Unions in the strict sense and may not be eligible as Unions, but they might be as **Trades Councils.**)

Where a branch of a Union exists which is willing to affiliate with such a council, terms might be arranged for a special "Collective" payment—instead of the individual contributions.

(N.B.—This requires special consideration.)

The duties of these Councils will be to promote the interests of the Workers of the district—industrial and political—to stimulate and encourage the idea of Labour organisation in general, and to prevent the competition of a low paid tradesman from one district with the higher paid man in another.

It should be made a condition of membership that where a branch of an affiliated society exists or is established, all members of the council of that particular trade or calling must forthwith become members of the Union. By this means the various trades will become effectively organised in the small country towns.

To work out these schemes in practice would require a permanent organising Secretary before the full value could be obtained, but it may be possible to give effect to the scheme on a trial scale by the expenditure of a sum of say £50 for railway travelling, printing and hire of halls, where necessary.

SUGGESTED BASIS FOR LOCAL ORGANISATION.

With the object of furthering the industrial and political interests of the Labour forces of and district, and having in view the fact that because of the small numbers of workers engaged in particular trades, Trade Union organisation has not been effectively carried on in the district, the National Executive of the Irish Trade Union Congress and Labour Party has undertaken to promote the formation of the "..... Trades and Labour Council" on the following basis, viz.:

Name.—The and District Trades and Labour Council (in association with the Irish Trades Union Congress and Labour Party).

Object.—To promote the organisation of the working class industrially and politically, to strengthen the Trade Union Movement, and generally to support the policy and progress of the Irish Trade Union Congress and Labour Party as declared at their Annual Congress.

Membership shall be open to all workers of either sex employed in the town of or surrounding district, and to any local Trade Union or branch of a Trade Union eligible for affiliation to the Irish Trade Union Congress and Labour Party.

Finance.—Individual members shall pay to the Council a minimum contribution of one penny per week and are expected, in addition, to become subscribers to the National Organisation and Representation Fund (3d. per month).

Trade Unions or branches of Unions shall pay to the Council an affiliation fee of one penny per member per month, or one shilling per member per year, and in addition the individual members shall be expected to become subscribers to the National Organisation and Representation Fund (3d. per month).

Government.—The members of the Council shall be allocated to sections according to the department of industry they are normally engaged in, e.g.:

- Distributive Trades Section.
- Building Trades Section.
- Transport Trades Section.
- Engineering Trades Section.
- General Workers' Section.
- Domestic Service Section.

An Executive Committee shall be appointed consisting of one member representing each of the sections (elected by the section separately), one member from each affiliated Trade Union or branch of a Trade Union; and a number of additional members—not less than three or more than five—who shall be elected by the whole Council.

The Executive Committee shall appoint a Chairman, Secretary, and Treasurer from amongst its own members.

It shall be a condition of membership of the Council that every member shall join a Trade Union catering for his particular trade or occupation, as soon as a branch of any such Union is established in the district or at a convenient centre.

If any member removes from the town or district of to seek employment elsewhere he shall report on arrival to the Secretary of the Trade and Labour Council, or the branch of the Trade Union of the Trade or occupation he proposes to follow, in each town where he seeks employment, and shall not accept employment at less than the Trade Union rate of wages in that district.

When any general movement for an advance of wages or improvement of Labour conditions is contemplated, intimation and full particulars shall be sent to the Secretary of the Irish Trade Union Congress and Labour Party who will endeavour to assist by advice and counsel.

While the National Executive does not accept any responsibility for the financial support of members on strike or locked out, the officers will try

by such means as are in their power to secure a satisfactory settlement of the dispute.

Since this Scheme was considered one of the affiliated Unions has been doing the work outlined above.

We held several organising meetings during the year covering a pretty extensive area. Meetings were held in Cork City, Limerick City, Bruff, Co. Limerick, Sligo, Waterford, and Wexford with very good results so far as the organisation of the Trades Unions was concerned.

Your Executive further considered the question of organizing the constituencies and issued the following circular-letter to the several Trades Councils:—

[COPY].

IRISH TRADES UNION CONGRESS AND LABOUR PARTY,

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE,

DUBLIN.

DEAR SIR,

I am directed by the National Executive of the Trades Union Congress and Labour Party to submit to you the following list of questions and ask you to be good enough to let me have the information sought at your earliest convenience:—

- (1). What constituency, or constituencies, in your district does your Council consider should be contested?
- (2). What financial responsibility will be undertaken by (a) your Council, (b) by any of your affiliated Unions?
- (3). What organising work (if any) has been done in your district and what is your Council prepared to undertake in the future?
- (4). What support has been given in your district to the Organising Scheme by which subscribing members paying 3d. per month are enrolled?
- (5). What are the prospects regarding Local Labour Representation? How many Labour members of Local bodies, Town or Urban Council, Poor Law Board, etc., are there in your district?
- (6). How many candidates does your Council consider it would be possible to run in your district at the next local elections?
- (7). What suggestions can your Council make as to how the Women voters can be organised and associated with our work as a Labour Party?

State generally the conditions and prospects of your district re Labour representation, and give suggestions as to what you think should be done to place the need for Labour Representation effectively before the workers, and to organise the necessary machinery to achieve that end.

Fraternally yours,

P. T. DALY,

Secretary.

Imprisonment of Patrick Higgins.

As directed by Congress your Committee again brought under the notice of the authorities the case of Patrick Higgins who was arrested in connection with a charge of rioting in 1914, and who is still in jail. Your Executive regret, however, that up to the

time of preparing this report they have failed to make any impression on the Government to secure Higgins' release. At last Congress, too, your Executive were instructed in regard to an assault on a Labour Leader in the West of Ireland, Alderman John Lynch of Sligo, and your Executive have drawn the attention of the Governmental authorities to the differentiation between the sentences and the treatment of the men who assaulted Alderman Lynch and that meted out to Patrick Higgins. Higgins is in jail for nearly five years on a charge of being portion of a disorderly crowd who threw a police sergeant into the River Liffey. The men who assaulted Alderman Lynch were proven by the sworn testimony of witnesses in the Court to have conspired with the object of assaulting him, if not of doing more grievous harm. Yet Alderman Lynch's assailants were all at liberty within three months and Higgins is still confined after more than four years, and to all the petitions, memorials, and letters forwarded by your Executive the only reply vouchsafed has been: "The law must take its course."

Food Conservation.

As directed, your Executive forwarded the following resolution immediately on the conclusion of Congress, viz.:—

"That this Congress, recognising that Ireland is a country which produces more food than she consumes, and exports more than she imports, reaffirms the resolution passed at a special conference on food supplies held in December last, calling on the Irish authorities to make provision for conserving the food supplies of the Irish people, and to this end we demand—

"(1) That the Government take a census of food supplies, live stock, grain, flour, roots, etc.

"(2) That an estimate be made of the food requirements of the people for the ensuing year.

"(3) That all exports of food, including live stock, be regulated in such a manner as to ensure that there shall at all times be retained in Ireland sufficient supplies to meet any emergency and to this end a national authority be appointed to take over the entire business of food exports and imports during the continuance of the war."

At several meetings following, they considered the question of food supplies. And so serious did the position become that after consultation with representatives on the Food Control Committee your Executive decided to convene a public meeting to deal with the situation. It was decided to invite the Labour representatives on the Food Control Committee, Messrs. R. Waugh (Belfast), P. Lynch (Cork), and T. Farren (Dublin). These gentlemen, after consultation with your Executive, decided to resign membership of the Food Control Committee.

The meeting was held in the Round Room, Mansion House, Dublin, under the presidency of our Vice-Chairman, Mr. Thomas Cassidy, the Chairman (Mr. Wm. O'Brien) being absent in London on the business of the Executive. The meeting was large and thoroughly representative. Mr. Robert Waugh wrote regretting his inability to be present, as he was engaged at the Labour Conference at Nottingham.

Mr. Cassidy, in the course of his address, in opening the meeting, spoke of the duty that rested upon the workers of preventing famine, which, he said, threatened them in the near future. In December, 1916, an All-Ireland Conference was held in the City Hall, Dublin, and a large number of the suggestions then put forward by the workers had been adopted by the Department of Agriculture. The situation, since that time had grown more acute. The Department, composed as it is, would have more consideration for the necessities of England than for the interests of Ireland. What steps had been taken to put the Midland Ranches into cultivation to avoid famine in this country? A Food Control Committee had been at work in Ireland in addition to the Department of Agriculture. If those two bodies had done their duty properly everything would have been all right; but, unfortunately, such did not prove to be the case. The workers' representatives on the Food Control Committee would tell them how they had been thwarted in all directions by the officials in England. It was time that the English officials understood the people of Ireland. (Applause.) That Committee, with half its members retiring in protest, was only a fake and a fraud. They were there to demand the scrapping of the present Committee, and the establishment of a representative Committee with executive authority to carry out the wishes of the Irish people. If a proper Committee were put in control of the food supplies and distribution they would be satisfied, but they would never be satisfied with a body in whom they had not implicit trust. Given a proper authority, he had no fear in asking the people of Ireland to take their share of the risks and responsibilities. On the other side the people said that the Irish were unreasonable and anti-British, that we were keeping the food which was badly wanted in England and Scotland. They did not object to the exportation of surplus food, but the needs of the country must be first satisfied. The surplus should only be exported in exchange for the necessities that we require to have imported into Ireland. He read with amazement on Monday a paragraph in a Northern newspaper in which a farmer stated he dreaded that there was not sufficient tonnage to ship potatoes out of the country. This farmer said that 2,000 tons of potatoes were wanted by the Government for the troops, 1,000 tons for the Belgians, and an American Officer wanted 4,000 tons. And while arrangements were being made for the shipment of this enormous quantity of potatoes, this farmer expressed the fear that there was not enough to meet the requirements of the Governments named, but there was not a thought for the wants of the workers. If the powers that be paid no attention to the demands of the workers of the country, they would be in duty bound to consider what other means it would be necessary to take in order to save the Irish people from starvation. (Applause.) The responsibility would not rest upon the workers, but upon those who, being in power, refused to

take the advice tendered to them in all sincerity by the workers of Ireland. (Applause.)

Mr. Thomas Farren said that meeting was organised to call attention to the spectre of famine that was threatening the people of Ireland. If immediate steps be not taken to conserve the food supply of the country, the consequences would be serious, and they would be faced with a situation worse than that of the black years of '46 and '47. Speaking from experience, he would say that the Food Control Committee was brought into existence, not to look after Irish interests, but to carry out the wishes of the Government of England. The Committee was dominated by Government officials, who dared not disobey the wishes of their paymasters. At the very first meeting of the Committee he raised the question of milk supply. A sub-committee was appointed to deal with that question and a general policy was outlined. Recommendations were made for the prevention of exports of milk, milch cows, and springers, and the prevention of the manufacture of cream. The Department had made up its mind that the exports of milch cows would not be prohibited. The Committee's recommendations were sent to London, and came back without the order to prevent the exportation of milk cows. The Department was responsible for that, and he was prepared to meet the officials of the Department to prove his statements. The Order was not put into force until the country was drained of its milch cattle. Mr. Farren went on to refer to the fixing of prices for the supply of milk, to the shortage that followed, and to the cowardice of the Committee in refusing to put their Order into operation. What did those people care if the children of the working classes die of starvation? he asked. No notice, he continued, was taken of the excessive purchases of butter at higher prices than those fixed by the Food Controller. Tea was fixed at higher prices than those which prevailed in areas across the water, where the people were earning bigger wages. Ninety per cent. of the total imports of tea were controlled, and only 10 per cent. could be sold at the maximum price of 4/-. But very little of the controlled tea could be bought in Dublin, and as high as 5/2 was paid for tea in a noted city house. Mr. Farren next criticised the action of certain resident magistrates, who went out of their way to allow the bakers to charge the people in the rural districts more than the 9d. for the 4lb. loaf. The people of Ireland must make up their minds on the question of the exportation of the essential foodstuffs. This question concerned all Ireland, and the Transport Union should not be called upon to bear the whole responsibility. It was the duty of everyone to prevent the export of the food required by the people of Ireland. A conference had been held in Jury's Hotel, at which representatives attended from the Trades Union bodies, the Co-operative movement, and the Sinn Féin organisation. A programme had been outlined, and

if the All-Ireland Conference adopted it, the workers would carry out their part. (Applause.)

Mr. Patrick Lynch, Cork, who next addressed the meeting, endorsed Mr. Farren's advice for every public protest against the export of any food that would be a loss to the people.

A resolution was carried by acclamation approving of the resignation of the labour representatives from the Food Control Committee, and calling for executive authority for that Committee.

Deputation to Irish Food Control Committee.

A delegation, consisting of the Chairman and Mr. Thomas Johnson, waited upon the Irish Food Control Committee at their office in Dublin on October 29th, 1917.

Mr. Johnson presented the case on behalf of the Executive urging the necessity for prompt and strong action on the following lines:—

- (1).—That the Irish Committee should obtain executive powers to act in all Food Control affairs relating to Ireland, instead of being merely an advisory body whose advice might be accepted or rejected at the discretion of the London Controller.
- (2).—That an official census of food supplies and requirements be taken throughout Ireland, under the direction of the Food Control Committee and the Department of Agriculture, that pending the completion thereof all export of food be suspended; and that thereafter throughout the whole of the harvest year, food exports be regulated so as to ensure that at all times there should be within the shores of Ireland a sufficiency of food for the people of Ireland.
- (3).—That facilities be developed for the transit of food stuffs by rail, road, and canal from one part of the country to another, and thereby avoid the risk of shortage of, for instance, potatoes or oats in Dublin or Derry while there is a glut in the market in Wexford or Antrim.
- (4).—That municipalities should be empowered and encouraged to undertake the supply of milk for their citizens.
- (5).—That the maximum retail prices be publicly advertised in the local press, and shopkeepers and bakers be compelled to exhibit a price list of all food stuffs sold in their shops and on bread vans.
- (6).—That local food Committees be constituted so as to ensure a proper representation of working class consumers.
- (7).—That preparations be made immediately in view of the abnormal harvest of potatoes and the increasing destruction of shipping which threatened to isolate

Ireland and cut off imports from overseas, to instal factories with machinery for drying or preserving potatoes or making potato flour.

The Chairman of the Committee (Hon. F. W. Wrench) on behalf of his colleagues promised to give full consideration to the suggestions submitted. He said they had already made representation to London regarding some of the points raised, and would probably follow these up by further recommendations along the lines indicated by the deputation. He emphasised the fact that his Committee had only advisory powers and could take no drastic action without authority from the Food Controller in London.

Several questions were asked by other members of the Committee which were satisfactorily answered, and after thanking the Committee for their reception the deputation withdrew.

WM. O'BRIEN.
THOS. JOHNSON.

Representation of the People Act.

Your Executive watched the progress of this Act with the deepest interest. We communicated with the Premier and with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who had charge of the measure, pointing out the amendments we considered necessary in order to make it acceptable to the Irish Labour movement. As directed by Congress, we demanded that complete adult suffrage with full Proportional Representation and Re-distribution of seats, without, however, any reduction in the number of members. We are glad to state that in some particulars we were successful, whilst regretting we were not successful in all particulars. Towards the close of last year we noted that one of the Irish members suggested a variation in the Bill with regard to the publication of registers in Ireland as compared with Great Britain. Your Executive passed the accompanying resolution at their meeting on November 17th, viz.:

"That we, the members of the National Executive of the Irish Trades Union Congress and Labour Party, demand in any change in the constituencies of Ireland under the Representation of the People Bill which may be effected that the interests of the urban workers shall be conserved by the grouping of the urban areas instead of, as suggested by absorbing them in the larger interests of agriculture represented in the rural areas. That inasmuch as the qualification period has been reduced to six months, we are of opinion that the registers should be published in qualification periods and so prevent the disqualification of a person because his or her name is not included on the burgess roll for the reason that the register has not been published at the period when it should be published, the same as is to obtain in Great Britain: and, further, we demand that the period for holding municipal elections should be changed to July from the present period in January."

This resolution was forwarded to the Premier, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the leaders of the various Irish Parlia-

mentary parties and to the Labour Party. Some members of the Executive had had an interview with the Labour Party in Westminster prior to last Congress. Following the adoption of the resolutions quoted above the following correspondence took place:

[Copy].

IRISH TRADES UNION CONGRESS AND LABOUR PARTY,
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE,

DUBLIN, 22nd November, 1917.

DEAR SIR,

I am directed by my Executive to forward you the accompanying resolutions and to request the assistance of the Party with regard to them. We are particularly anxious to secure Executive authority for the All-Ireland Food Control Committee. At present all they can do is to make recommendations which are seldom acted on. For instance, on the question of potatoes they were hammering away for months and nothing would be done. As you know the Food Controller fixed £6 per ton for potatoes and the farmers could not sell at any lesser prices. I would draw your attention to the one referring to the pig feeding with flour. We can vouch for this and supply evidence to prove it.

With reference to Representation of the People Bill we are anxious to secure as large a representation for Labour as it is possible, as we know so also are you. The scheme forwarded to you by us in 1914 with regard to the Better Government of Ireland Bill is the one we favour, that is, the grouping of the Boroughs. What is being done under the present Bill is that the urban areas are, excepting the Boroughs, being wiped out by absorption in the large rural areas in which agriculture, pure and simple, will be the primal consideration.

Kind regards.

Fraternally yours,

P. T. DALY,

Secretary.

"That the National Executive of the Irish Trades Union Congress and Labour Party endorse the resolution adopted by the Municipality of Dublin in re payment of standard wages to workmen employed in Irish Industrial Schools. Further, we are of the opinion that steps should be taken to prevent such institutions, subsidised as they are, competing with trading concerns which pay the standard rate of wages in all departments, and believe grants from public funds should not be given to industrial Schools so competing."

"We demand that all prisoners charged with political offences shall be treated as political prisoners; that persons arrested in connection with the Labour movement shall be placed in the category of political offenders. Further, we are of the opinion that any attempt to deport offenders is calculated to provoke intense opposition in this country."

"That while supporting the demand for fair distribution of sugar by a system of registration by cards, we protest against the adoption in Ireland of the form of application used in Great Britain, containing a number of questions obviously designed for a purpose ulterior to sugar distribution."

"That we protest against the exportation of milk in any form, milch cows, or in-calf cows, from this country, or the slaughter of in-calf cows; whilst the present milk shortage continues; and we are of opinion that as milk is essential to protect the lives of children, nursing mothers, and expectant mothers, in the event of a continuance in the milk shortage, the production of butter and cheese should be reduced sufficiently to provide for the necessary supply of milk to the people; and, further, we demand that a maximum retail price be fixed. That copies of this resolution be sent to the Food Control Committee and to the Food Controller."

"That the members of the National Executive of the Irish Trades Union

Congress and Labour Party demand that in any change in the representation of Ireland under the Representation of the People Bill which may be effected that the interests of the Urban workers shall be conserved by the grouping of the Urban areas instead of as at present, absorbing them in the larger interest of agriculture represented in the Rural areas. That inasmuch as the qualification period has been reduced to six months we are of the opinion that the registers should be published at like distances from each other and so prevent the disqualification of a person because his or her name is not included on the Burgess Roll for the reason that the register has been published at the period when it should be published, the same as in Great Britain; and, further, we demand that the period for holding Municipal elections should be changed to July from the present period in January.

"Inasmuch as it has been reported to us that Pigs are being fed with flour in certain districts in Ireland and inasmuch as it has also been reported to us that a flour famine was barely averted a few weeks ago in some of the Boroughs in Ireland we demand that proper supervision will be observed to conserve the peoples' Food Supplies and prevent the destruction of same in the interests of the Profiteers. That copies of this resolution be forwarded to the Department of Agriculture, the Food Controller, All Ireland Food Control Committee, the Premier, and the leaders of the various Parties in the House of Commons."

"That in view of the present position with regard to Food Supplies in Ireland, we are of opinion that the All-Ireland Food Control Committee should be constituted as an Executive authority as against their present advisory status."

[COPY].

THE LABOUR PARTY,

1 VICTORIA STREET,

LONDON, S.W. 1., Nov. 24th, 1917.

MR. COUNCILLOR P. T. DALY,
Trades Hall, Dublin.

DEAR SIR,

With reference to your letter of the 22nd inst., addressed to Mr. Henderson, the portion referring to the Representation of the People Bill I have been asked to reply to. I may point out that from the notices issued by the Boundary Commissioners any person interested may attend the Local Enquiries that are being held in various parts of the country, and may be heard by the Commissioner. The further factor to remember is that the Commissioners are bound to act in accordance with the instructions given to them by Parliament itself. I cannot discover in any part of the Bill that Ireland is to be treated in any different way with regard to the Register. The qualification period for six months actually carries with it the necessity for the publication of two registers each year, and the Bill makes provision accordingly.

The demand contained in the last part of your Resolution surely is altogether outside the scope of the Bill. The period for holding Municipal Elections varies in the different countries, but it could scarcely be a matter to be dealt with under the present Bill, which is largely that of Franchise and Registration proposals. I will, however, send the copy of your Resolution to the Parliamentary Party for their consideration.

Yours sincerely,

ARTHUR PETERS.

[Copy].

IRISH TRADES UNION CONGRESS AND LABOUR PARTY,
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE,MR. ARTHUR PETERS,
The Labour Party,

DUBLIN, 26th November, 1917.

1 Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.

DEAR SIR,

I beg to acknowledge receipt of yours of 24th, in reply to mine of 22nd, having reference to the Representation of the People Bill. All you have told me about the Boundaries Commissioners I was aware of before. But I am going to tell you something that you were not aware of. In Great Britain the constituents get timely notice to appear before the Assistant Boundaries Commissioners, while in Ireland we got two days notice, which on the morning fixed (Saturday), was extended till 4 o'clock the following Monday, giving about three days in all. My Executive ~~is~~ extended from the extreme north to the extreme south, east and west of Ireland, and you can understand the opportunity they have had of discussing the schedule to the Bill—at any rate to be anyway effective in giving expression to their considered judgment on the matter—further than what we had done in connection with the schedule to the Home Rule Bill. The Chairman (Mr. W. O'Brien), Mr. T. Boyle, and myself, interviewed the Labour Party in connection with the Representation of the People Bill last July. We told them that it was rumoured in Ireland that an attempt would be made to prevent the Bill being applied to Ireland; that one section of the Parliamentary parties were demanding re-distribution of seats, the other strongly resenting it, and in the row between both we suspected overtures would be made to drop Ireland from the Bill altogether. We further pointed out the urgency of applying the grouping of the urban areas as suggested by us in 1914, because we favoured a re-distribution which would give the workers a fair representation, and which would not cut down the full representation of the country.

I note your objection to the last paragraph of the resolution. I am prepared to accept that, but believe that if there was anything like a general demand what we ask could be managed. Your reference to the necessity for publication of a Register every six months shows that you have overlooked the statement made by the Chief Secretary for Ireland in the House accepting the suggestion of Mr. Maurice Healy, M.P. for Cork City, that the Register is to be only issued annually.

Yours sincerely,

P. T. DALY,

Secretary.

[Copy].

IRISH TRADES UNION CONGRESS AND LABOUR PARTY,
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE,

DEAR SIR,

DUBLIN, 4th December, 1917.

I beg to confirm my wire of this date as follows:

"Irish Labour Movement requests enforcement of their demand that same conditions shall apply publication of Registers as in Great Britain, viz., that they be printed twice annually at end of qualification periods."

I desire further to draw your attention to the resolutions adopted by my Executive, and which have been forwarded you.

Kind regards.

Fraternally yours,

P. T. DALY,

Secretary.

Rt. Hon. A. HENDERSON, M.P.

J. R. MACDONALD, ESQ., M.P.

C. W. BOWERMAN, ESQ., M.P.

Rt. Hon. GEO. BARNES, M.P.

J. E. REDMOND, ESQ., M.P.

Rt. Hon. G. H. ROBERTS, M.P.

[COPY].
THE LABOUR PARTY,
HOUSE OF COMMONS,

DEAR SIR,

6th December, 1917.

I have to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 4th instant to Mr. Henderson, and to state that no telegram has been received from you.

I find that on Thursday last an Amendment was made to the Bill providing for one annual register in Ireland. It had evidently been agreed to beforehand, for it slipped through in the space of a minute. Unfortunately, there will be no further opportunity of raising it in the House. The First Schedule is passed and does not come under review again, except, of course, on the Third Reading of the Bill, at which stage no amendments can be made.

In any case, in view of the obvious agreement with the Irish Members, it would have been difficult successfully to resist the amendment.

Yours faithfully,

H. S. LINDSAY.

Mr. P. T. DALY.

Parly. Asst. Sec.

[COPY].
IRISH TRADES UNION CONGRESS AND LABOUR PARTY,
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE,

DUBLIN, 10th December, 1917.

Mr. H. S. LINDSAY,
Parliamentary Assistant Secretary,
House of Commons.

MY DEAR LINDSAY,

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of 6th inst., for which I am personally obliged to you. My Committee, however, are grievously disappointed at the inaction of the Labour Party with regard to the matters submitted to them and have instructed me to communicate direct with Mr. Henderson on the matter.

Wishing you all the compliments of the season.

Yours fraternally,

P. T. DALY.

Secretary.

[COPY].
IRISH TRADES UNION CONGRESS AND LABOUR PARTY,
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE,
DUBLIN, 10th December, 1917.

The Right Hon. ARTHUR HENDERSON,
Secretary, Labour Party,
1 Victoria Street, London, S.W.

MY DEAR MR. HENDERSON,

At a meeting of my Committee on Saturday I submitted a letter received from Mr. Lindsay, Assistant Parliamentary Secretary of the Party, written on your behalf. Mr. Lindsay informed me that a wire which was addressed to the Labour Party's telegraphic address was not delivered. I would be glad if you would make enquiries into this. The telegram had reference to the Representation of the People Bill: asking that the Register should be printed in Ireland at, and for, the same periods as in Great Britain. The letter replied to was a confirmation of the telegram.

My Committee desire me to express their very bitter disappointment at the failure of the Labour Party to meet their views and to safeguard their interests with regard to the six months qualification. As matters stand, resulting from Mr. Duke's amendment, the six months qualification, so far as Ireland is concerned, is a pure farce. My Committee are also keenly disappointed that no member of the Party made any attempt to redeem the promises made to us, from 1914 to date, with regard to the grouping of the urban areas.

Wishing you all the compliments of the season.

Fraternally yours,

P. T. DALY.

Secretary.

[COPY].

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

12th December, 1917.

DEAR MR. DALY,

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 10th instant expressing the disappointment of your Committee at the failure of the Parliamentary Party to safeguard the provision for two registers per annum in Ireland, and to put forward the views of your Committee on the subject of the grouping of urban areas.

I regret if your Committee think that the Party is not sufficiently alive to the interests of Irish Labour, but I am afraid you do not quite realise the difficulties of the position in Parliament.

In the first place you wrote a week or two ago with regard to one annual register for Ireland, and Mr. Peters replied pointing out that the Bill as drafted made no distinction as between Great Britain and Ireland in this respect—that the provision for two registers each year was applicable to the United Kingdom. This was quite true, and the Parliamentary Party had no knowledge of the fact—for fact is must have been—that negotiations were going on between all the Irish Members and the Government for an amendment providing for only one register in the year for Ireland. The further fact that you wrote when you did shows that you must have been aware that something was on foot, yet you never sent any information in reply to the letter Mr. Peters sent. What happened was that on the Report Stage Mr. Duke formally moved the amendment without a word in support, and it went through at once. The Party knew nothing of what was going to happen, and so far as I can ascertain the point was never mentioned in any previous debates on the Bill.

With regard to redistribution, I have no doubt that the recommendations of the Commissioners would not fall in with the ideas of Irish Labour, just as some of the recommendations here did did not fall in with our ideas, but the fact that the Commissioners were appointed for the purpose and that interested parties could appear before them and put forward their proposals for consideration, makes it extremely difficult for any Member or party to oppose their recommendations when incorporated in the Bill. So far as England and Scotland are concerned, the Government have stood by the Commissioners' recommendations except on minor points. If we had started fighting all the recommendations we did not like the Bill would never have got through. The action of the Irish Party, although it may have been perfectly justified, did endanger the Bill.

Now another Commission for Ireland has been set up and we have no place or voice in it, and from the Parliamentary point of view we have no claim. If this new Commission brings forward "agreed" proposals how could the Labour Party offer any effective opposition to them?

I can assure you that the Party are anxious and willing to do anything possible to assist Irish Labour, but your Committee ought to recognise the difficult position in which the Party is placed in regard to Irish questions.

Yours sincerely,

ARTHUR HENDERSON.

[COPY].

IRISH TRADES UNION CONGRESS AND LABOUR PARTY,
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE,

DUBLIN, 14th December, 1917.

The Right Hon. ARTHUR HENDERSON, M.F.,

Secretary, Labour Party,

1 Victoria Street, London, S.W.

DEAR MR. HENDERSON,

I have pleasure in acknowledging receipt of your letter under date 12th inst., for which I am obliged. I wrote you on the 22nd ult., with regard to this matter, and on the 24th ult. I had a reply from Mr. Arthur Peters on your behalf. On the 26th ult., I wrote Mr. Peters in answer to his of the

24th. I may add that my letter to Mr. Peters was not written when I was in the best of humours, but, notwithstanding that, I stand over all I wrote. His letter to me was something like that of a schoolmaster writing to a disobedient child, with all the superior airs of "I know." I endeavoured to point out that the claim for superiority on his part was very fallacious. I concluded the letter by stating "Your reference to the necessity for publication of the Register every six months shows that you have overlooked the statement made by the Chief Secretary for Ireland in the House of Commons accepting the suggestion of Mr. Maurice Healy, M.P. for Cork City, that the Register (for Ireland) is to be only issued annually." I may state that this letter was sent to Mr. Peters in reply to his so that your statement that I sent no information in reply to Mr. Peter's letter is not quite correct. I sent you such information as I had of something that took place in the House of Commons about which I expected you were as well, if not better informed, than I.

With regard to the question of re-distribution I have written to the members of the Speaker's Conference asking that in any scheme for re-distribution in Ireland they should secure the grouping of the urban areas. I am grateful to have your assurance as to the anxiety of the Party to assist Irish labour. My Committee do recognise the difficulty of your position, but at the same time you must recognise the difficulty of our position. We call on you as the Labour Party and your answer to us is that something contrary to what we ask has been decided by the Irish Parliamentary Party and the Government. We have told you time and time again that we have no connection with the Irish Party and that we have fought them at the polls.

With best wishes for a prosperous New Year, as I feel under the weight of your bereavements that Christmas tide could not be as happy for you as I would like it to be. However, a Higher Power wills these things and you and I must only bow our heads to It and to them.

Yours fraternally,

P. T. DALY,
Secretary.

[Copy].

THE LABOUR PARTY,
1 VICTORIA STREET,
LONDON, S.W. 1, 18th Dec., 1917.

DEAR MR. DALY,

I beg to acknowledge receipt of yours of the 14th and note your explanation re Mr. Peters, also that you have written to the members of the Speaker's Conference. It was not necessary to re-state your attitude to the Nationalist Party as we have known it for many years, and we have also been aware of your desire to run your own Labour Party independent of everything British, as was very frankly stated when I was in conference with your representatives in Dublin four years ago. I always appreciate the difficulties of the situation, especially the difficulty of giving satisfaction to those who are satisfied that an Irish Congress, Irish Trade Unions, and an Irish Party would do things better. We try as far as we can to do our work without coming into conflict with the National spirit of your Country, but it is not easy. With all the desire in the world to assist you it is unfortunate that as yet no Labour representative has been elected, so as to prove to us that the Nationalist Members no longer represent the working classes. The Nationalist Party cannot be ignored so long as they are in the House of Commons, and I must say we have no intention of doing other than continue to work with them, as we have done, until the working classes of Ireland send Labour Members to Parliament.

Please accept my sincere thanks for your very kind personal references which I much appreciate and reciprocate so far as the New Year is concerned.

Yours sincerely,
ARTHUR HENDERSON.

Councillor P. T. DALY,
Irish Trades Union Congress and Labour Party.

[COPY].

IRISH TRADES UNION CONGRESS AND LABOUR PARTY,
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE,

DUBLIN, 8th January, 1918.

Right Hon. ARTHUR HENDERSON,
Secretary, Labour Party,
1 Victoria Street, London, S.W. 1.

DEAR MR. HENDERSON,

I placed your letters of the 12th and 18th ult. before my Executive at their meeting on Saturday, and they have instructed me to say that the tone of your letters, whilst you may not intend it, is not as friendly as they would like. They can quite appreciate the difficulty of giving satisfaction under the peculiar circumstances in which we are placed, more especially when it is the opinion of the Labour Party that the Irish Nationalist Party "could not be ignored so long as they are in the House of Commons" and that the Party "have no intention of doing other than continue to work with them" even though their doing so is contrary to the opinions and the wishes of the organised Labour movement in Ireland.

My Executive quite appreciate your desire to recognise our national peculiarity, but they desire me to point out that if, say in 1913, the organised Labour opinion of Scotland had expressed itself in one way and that the cause of Labour was not represented in the Imperial Parliament, would the Labour Party decide that so long as the Liberal Party were the elected representatives of the Scottish people that your Party would have no intention of "doing other than continue to work with them," more especially if some years before and during the period up to that the voice of organised Labour in Scotland had been strongly expressing itself as not in agreement with the people who had been elected.

My Executive can quite appreciate the fact that we have no proper Labour representative for Ireland at present, but the last contested election that was held in Dublin was fought by the Irish Labour movement and our candidate was beaten by a majority of 629. We fought and were beaten. My Executive think the Labour Party have fought on several occasions in different constituencies and they were beaten. Surely it would not be a reasonable thing to expect that the Party who beat the Labour Party in Great Britain could be said to be one which you "could not ignore" and which you "could have no intention of doing other than continue to work with."

I am further to point out that our Executive contains representatives from the north-east of Ireland and it would be just as consistent from their point of view for you to work in harmony with the gentlemen who have been elected to represent the constituencies in which the members of my Executive reside in the north-east as to do what you state it is the intention of your Party to do in future. I may add, that I quite appreciate your desire to work without coming into conflict with the National spirit of our country but I think you will allow that what you call the national spirit of our country is as well voiced by the Irish Labour Party as by the Party you refer to in your letter. My Executive hope that the views expressed by you in your letter of the 18th December, is not the considered opinion of the Labour Party with regard to its action in the future and I would like an expression of opinion upon the matter to place before them, as from the tenor of the discussion at their meeting on Saturday my Executive were certainly surprised and not a little angry at the tone adopted by you.

Hoping, which I do most sincerely, that these misunderstandings may be wiped out and that we can work in harmony in the future on the lines of our individuality and our international interests for the benefit of the class whose uplifting both parties are engaged in working for, and with best wishes for yourself and the prosperity of the Labour movement.

Yours fraternally,

P. T. DALY,

Secretary.

[Copy].

THE LABOUR PARTY,
1 VICTORIA STREET,
LONDON, 17th January, 1918.

Mr. Councillor P. T. DALY,
Trades Hall, Dublin.

DEAR MR. DALY,

Your favour of the 8th came to hand just after the Executive closed. There will be another at Nottingham, but I am afraid the pressure of Conference business will prevent our being able to take up the matters referred to in your communication.

I regret that you and your Committee appear to have concluded that my correspondence with you has not been friendly. This is evidently the result of my endeavouring to speak plainly and frankly to you, as I have always found you prepared to do to me. However, I think it will be better for me to place the whole correspondence before the Executive and let you know the result.

Yours sincerely,
ARTHUR HENDERSON.

[Copy].

IRISH TRADES UNION CONGRESS AND LABOUR PARTY,
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE,

DUBLIN, 14th June, 1918.

Right Hon. ARTHUR HENDERSON, M.P.
Secretary, Labour Party,
1 Victoria Street, London, S.W. 1.

DEAR MR. HENDERSON,

On the 17th of last January I got a letter from you having reference to a letter of mine of the 8th January in connection with the Representation of the People Bill, the publication of the Register, etc. In your letter of the 17th January you refer to an Executive meeting which was held in Nottingham. You express the fear, however, that pressure of business would prevent you taking up the matter referred to in my communications from the 22nd November to the 8th January. I sincerely hope that your Executive's pressure of business at the Nottingham Conference may have been relieved sufficiently in the meantime to enable them to consider my letter and I shall thank you for their observations thereon at your earliest convenience.

Kind regards and best wishes.

Fraternally yours,
P. T. DALY,
Secretary.

IRISH TRADES UNION CONGRESS AND LABOUR PARTY,
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE,

DUBLIN, 15th July, 1918.

The Right Hon. ARTHUR HENDERSON, M.P.,
Secretary, Labour Party,
1 Victoria Street, London, S.W.

DEAR MR. HENDERSON,

I wrote you on the 14th ult. with reference to a former letter of mine of 17th January last in continuation of a former letter under date 8th January last. My last letter must have been mislaid as I have not even got an acknowledgement of it up to date and my Executive are very anxious to secure a reply to my letters of the 8th and 17th January in continuation of the question opened up by my letter of November 22nd of last year. I see you have had a meeting of your Executive and I expect that by now they will have considered the views of my Executive and that you will be in a position to let me have their views thereon.

Kind regards.

Fraternally yours,
P. T. DALY,
Secretary.

THE LABOUR PARTY,

33 ECCLESTON SQUARE,
LONDON, S.W. 1, 16th July, 1918.Councillor P. T. DALY,
Trades Hall, Dublin.

DEAR SIR,

I beg to acknowledge receipt of yours of the 15th inst., and in the absence of Mr. Henderson from town am venturing to deal with the point raised in your letter. Mr. Henderson duly submitted your letter of January 8th to my Executive Committee, and after careful consideration of its contents they unanimously endorsed the replies which Mr. Henderson had sent to you in December and January last. I will submit to Mr. Henderson your letter upon his return to town next week.

Yours faithfully,
ARTHUR PETERS.**International Conference at Stockholm.**

As reported to and endorsed by Congress last year, Messrs. Wm. O'Brien, Chairman, and D. R. Campbell, Treasurer, were appointed to represent the Irish Labour movement at proposed Conference at Stockholm. Applications were made for passports as far back at June 21st, 1917. An acknowledgment of the receipt of this letter was received by the Executive on June 22nd, 1917. On the 9th July application was made again and acknowledged on the 11th. The following letter was received by our Secretary on July 19th:—

No. W. 136878/17.

FOREIGN OFFICE,

July 17th, 1917.

SIR,

In reply to your letters of the 21st ultimo and 9th instant, relative to your desire to obtain passports for your delegates, Messrs. O'Brien and Campbell, to attend Labour Conferences at Stockholm and Petrograd, I am directed by Mr. Secretary Balfour to state that he regrets that he is unable to furnish these gentlemen with passports for the purpose indicated.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble Servant,
W. LANGLEY.

THE SECRETARY,

Irish Trades Union Congress and Labour Party,
National Executive, Dublin.

On August 13th Mr. King, M.P., asked the question in the House of Commons, and as a result of the answer your Committee forwarded the accompanying letter to the Secretary for Foreign Affairs:

[COPY].

IRISH TRADES UNION CONGRESS AND LABOUR PARTY,
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE,

DUBLIN, 14th August, 1917.

Right Hon. A. J. BALFOUR,
Secretary for Foreign Affairs,
London.

SIR,

I beg to confirm my wire to you of this date, viz.:

"Statement Irish Trades Union Congress did not apply passports Stockholm untrue. Application acknowledged. Repeated and refused. Writing. Daly, Secretary."

The records of your offices will prove that you first acknowledged my application in June. It was repeated on the 9th July and acknowledged on the 11th, and afterwards definitely refused in your name. I regret that a statement so far removed from the truth should have been made by you in answer to Mr. King's question, but I can quite understand that you were answering from the information supplied to you which was undoubtedly erroneous.

Yours truly,
P. T. DALY,
Secretary.

PRIVATE.]

FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W. 1.,
August 15th, 1917.

DEAR SIR,

Mr. Balfour desires me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of August 14th. The statements made in it are perfectly accurate and Mr. Balfour has written to Mr. King to apologise for the error contained in the reply to his question asked in the House on Monday the 13th, and has told Mr. King that if he cares to put the question down again the correct facts will be given.

Yours truly,
W. DRUMMOND.

P. T. DALY, Esq.

Compulsory Military Service.

Your Executive gave this matter their very earnest consideration. As early as the first week in October they forwarded the following motion:—

"That in view of the renewed demand in the English Press, which we suspect is being promoted or incited by leading members of the War Cabinet, the National Executive of the Irish Trades Union Congress and Labour Party calls upon all trade unionists to prepare to resist by every means the imposition of compulsory military service on the Irish people, and that copies of this resolution be communicated to the trades unions and trades councils of Ireland."

Following this they put their views on the matter before the Labour Party. When it was manifest that the Government were determined to enforce it, the Lord Mayor of Dublin called a Conference on which he asked your Executive to accept representation. Your Executive appointed the Chairman (Mr. W. O'Brien), Mr. T. Johnson, and Councillor M. J. Egan, J.P.—one representative from each of the three Provinces represented.

It was further decided to convene an All-Ireland Labour Convention to consider the position. The Convention was held on April 20th, 1917. It was the largest and most representative assembly of labour delegates ever held in this country—numbering over 1,500 delegates—and was held, by kind permission of the Lord Mayor, in the Round Room, Mansion House, Dublin. The following resolutions, as amended at the meeting, were carried amidst a scene of the greatest enthusiasm:—

"That this Convention of the Irish Labour movement representing all sections and provinces of Ireland pledge ourselves and those whom we represent that we will not have conscription; that we shall resist it in every way that to us seems feasible; that we claim the right of liberty to decide as units for ourselves, and as a Nation for itself; that we place before our fellow-workers—both men and women—in the Labour movement all the world over our claim for independent status as a nation in the International movement,

and the right of self-determination as a nation as to what action or actions our people should take on questions of political or economic issues. The women here represented pledge themselves further to support the Irish Labour Party in resisting Conscription without resorting to violence, and to do their utmost to prevent women taking the places of men liable to Conscription.

"That in view of the great claims on the resources of the National Executive of the Irish Trades Union Congress and Labour Party we hereby call upon the bodies represented here to forward subscriptions for the purpose of enabling them to carry out their campaign against conscription and pledge ourselves to make it a success.

"That this Conference recommends to the delegates present that they ask their various Unions to strike a levy of 3d. a week per member for the purpose of raising a fund to finance the Labour Movement in this fight.

"That this Convention calls upon the workers of Ireland to **abstain from work on Tuesday next, April 23rd**

- (1st) As a demonstration of fealty to the cause of Labour and Ireland;
- (2nd) As a sign of their resolve to resist the application of the Conscription Act; and
- (3rd) For the purpose of enabling every man and woman to sign the pledge of resistance against Conscription.

Believing that our success in resisting the imposition of Conscription will be a signal to the workers of all countries now at war to rise against their oppressors and bring the war to an end, we pledge ourselves in the name of the oppressed of every land in every age to use all means that may be deemed effective to defeat this present conspiracy to enslave our nation.

"We call upon all lovers of liberty everywhere to give assistance in this impending struggle on the grounds that the forcible conscription of an unwilling people is a violation of the fundamental principles of democracy; that to sanction it would be to place in the hands of Governments a power which could be used with deadly effect against the progress of the Labour Movement; and which would establish a precedent full of danger for the whole cause of democracy."

The Lord Mayor, in opening the proceedings, bade all present a sincere and hearty welcome to the Mansion House, and expressed the hope and wish that their meeting would be a successful one, and above all that their deliberations would steady not alone the country, but would steady the British Government in the act and in the scourge which they were trying to attempt to inflict on this country (hear, hear, and a voice—"We won't have it"). They lived in very strange and perilous times. During the past four or five years they had been, so to speak, actually swept off their feet, and at any given moment none of them knew where they might be landed, but the people of this country, and particularly the workers of this country, had made up their minds that they had minds (hear, hear)—that they had minds of their own, and they were not going to be dictated to by any outside influence (cheers). They had had a very eventful week in this country. It had undoubtedly been a very eventful week for him and he solemnly assured them that the present moment was one of the greatest events in his life, because when he saw a body who would eventually rule this country and the destinies of the world (cheers) coming there with one bold and united front, he said to himself the powers of the British Government, and even the powers of hell, would not prevail against them (cheers).

"Only a few weeks ago," the Lord Mayor continued, "Ireland was practically torn asunder within her own shores. Ireland to-day stands united (cheers). Her priests are with her people and her people are with her priests (cheers). And in my plain and simple personality you have one who within a very short time will place, not at the feet, but in the hands of the President of America the demands which are so long kept from us—the demand that we shall be allowed to work out our own destiny and in our own way" (cheers).

The Lord Mayor then vacated the chair, which was taken by Mr. O'Brien.

Mr. William O'Brien, President, thanked the Lord Mayor for his attendance, and said he was no fair-weather friend of the workers. They were met in the gravest crisis of the history of trades union movement, and in the gravest crisis of the history of their country. On the other side they had a most remarkable unanimity of opinion ever called forth within the memory of the country. All sections were united to fight this issue. They were faced with the most formidable opposition, but the resistance would be also formidable, and the Irish Trades Union movement would present an unbroken front to the enemy. They were opposed to conscription as Irish labour men, because it was sought to be forced on them by a foreign people, and they would be equally opposed to it if it was tried to be forced on them by a native Parliament. No body of people had any right to say to a man, "Go out and slay your brother man." That question must be left to each person's own conscience. They knew the most elaborate military arrangements had been made, and the military authorities were only thirsting for an opportunity of commencing work. The fight would not be waged without suffering, victimisation, and death; but what was the alternative if they submitted? Was there not to be suffering, victimisation, and death also, and if there was to be a choice of violence was it not better that they should die defending their liberty in their own land rather than lay down their lives in a foreign country fighting for international capitalism. This was an attempt to exterminate the Irish race, and if they were going to be exterminated they ought to make up their minds to conduct the fight at home. He proposed the resolution.

At the conclusion of Mr. O'Brien's address, Mr. M'Mahon, of the Railway Clerks' Association, asked was it the intention to have the Press present during the proceedings.

Mr. O'Brien replied in the affirmative.

Mr. M'Mahon—There is a feeling amongst a certain section of workers we represent here to-day, and as a result of the resolutions which will be put before them, it would not be desirable that the Press should be here during the whole proceedings (hear, hear). In the resolutions which have been read out there will be matters of a contentious nature, and it is the opinion of those

whom I represent that it would not be advisable that the Press should be here during all the deliberations, and although I have a great regard for public opinion and on the best possible friendly relations with Pressmen, I have to move that the Press be asked to leave the room (hear, hear).

Mr. O'Brien—I may say this matter has been carefully considered by the Executive, which has decided it would be much better to have the Press present (hear, hear). However, if there is a disposition on the part of the delegates to decide otherwise I will give an opportunity at a later stage, but it is essential that at the opening proceedings the Press should be present (cheers)

Mr. Thomas Cassidy (Derry), Vice-President of the Congress, in seconding the resolutions, said they were all of the one opinion on this subject. This was not a time to be saying things and passing resolutions unless they had in their hearts the determination to carry them out. They had reached a stage in the history of this country and in the history of the Labour movement in this country, when words were not sufficient. The British Government had made up their minds to force Conscription on this country. Well, let it come, and let them supply whatever measures they wished to put it in force, "but let us," said the speaker, "supply our measures to defeat them" (cheers). In conclusion, Mr. Cassidy asked them to resolve to do a certain thing that day, and pray God they would have the strength to carry it out (cheers).

Mr. Thomas Farren supported the resolution. He said they believed this attempt at conscription was a continuation of the policy of the British Government for several hundred years—an attempt to exterminate the Irish race, but by the time the fight was over there would be more than the Irish race exterminated. He added that this was the most representative body of Irish Labour representatives he ever saw assembled. He emphasised the necessity of financing the movement and advocated a weekly collection amongst Trades Unionists.

Ald. Kelleher (Cork) said the industrial classes should be united as one man in opposition to conscription. He found more fault with the Labour Party of England than with all the politicians. When conscription was about to be introduced for England the Labour party demanded that it should be submitted to the English Trades Union Congress, but now when the Government took the responsibility of forcing conscription on Ireland they voted with the Government to coerce the Irish people without their will or consent. Credit was due to the seven men who stood loyally on the side of democracy (applause).

Mr. Alec Lynn, B.A., Belfast, advised Trades Unionists to obey their orders, no matter what the sacrifices were.

Mr. Cronin, President, Limerick Trades Council, said the Limerick men would carry out to the letter any decision arrived at by the conference.

Mr. Hennessy, representing the Inchicore railwaymen, emphasised the necessity of all workers abstaining from work on Tuesday next.

Mr. Douris (Sligo), Mr. Patrick Lynch, President of the Cork Trades Council; Mr. N. Rimmer, Mr. Cathal O'Shannon, and Mr. P. T. Daly also spoke.

Mr. Thomas Johnson (Belfast) said the Labour movement in Ireland stood now as the last bulwark of free democracy in Western Europe. They were resolved to fight for the freedom of the working classes of Ireland, and they were also fighting for the freedom of the working classes in England.

Mr. Thomas Foran, President of the Irish Transport Workers' Union, said he spoke for 40,000 Irish workers, and the railwaymen who spoke represented 20,000 men in Ireland, and they were all determined they would not have conscription.

Mr. P. Nolan (Waterford) said they in the South were determined to support their brethren in the other parts of Ireland in their opposition to conscription.

As decided in the resolution April 23rd will be remembered as the day when Irish Labour made manifest its strength. Practically without exception all workers in Ireland "downed tools" on that date. The display of solidarity struck all sections of the community and the Press. Railways, Docks, Shops, Cars all ceased work simultaneously from 12 p.m. on Monday till 12 p.m. on Tuesday, and is looked upon as the greatest single factor in resisting the menace of Conscription.

The following circular was issued by your Executive:—

[COPY].

IRISH TRADES UNION CONGRESS AND LABOUR PARTY,
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE,

DUBLIN, June 24th, 1918.

DEAR SIR (OR MADAM),

The efforts of the Nation to defeat Conscription have for the moment—but only for the moment—succeeded. The Proclamation of Lord French indicates that the British War Cabinet has decided to alter its tactics. It has turned to the old policy, worn thin by frequent use, of attempting to divide the Nation.

The kidnapping of popular leaders on the faked charge of treasonable communication with Germany is obviously designed to prejudice the friends of Ireland in America, Australia, Canada, France, and Russia—not to speak of the growing number of sympathisers with Ireland's Cause amongst the democratic forces in Britain itself.

With the object of lulling the Nation into a sleep of security the Proclamation makes pretence of withdrawing the menace of Conscription, while promising that steps are to be taken to facilitate and encourage Voluntary Enlistment.

So obvious a plot does not deceive us. The promised facilities and encouragement to enlistment merely mean that Conscription by Military Force is to give place for the present to Conscription by Hunger. Employers of labour will be coaxed or intimidated into dismissing—the authorities will call it "releasing"—their workers in the hope that Hunger will drive men into the Army. Promises of advantage after the war, of pensions and preferment, will be held out to the men whose prospects are dim; businesses will be closed down "by order" as being non-essential; such industries as remain

with us that are not directly advantageous to the Military power of the Empire will be obstructed and smothered by regulations—all with the benevolent object of forcing unemployed men to enlist "voluntarily"! And when that policy fails—as fail it will if Ireland to herself prove but true—then the ruthless law of the militarist will be applied to a people weakened by economic trials and physical exhaustion.

To us, representing Labour in Ireland, such a method of Conscription is even more dastardly than the open compulsion by military force now temporarily discarded. It must be countered by all the ingenuity and resolution at our command.

Employers of labour must be made to understand that the dismissal of men to force them into the Army will be met by sympathetic action on the part of those retained in employment; that the places of men dismissed will not be taken by women; that a general movement will be instituted against those employers who participate in the treacherous plot to destroy the manpower of Ireland.

Any Employer who compiles a list of men of military age will be facilitating Conscription.

Any Employer applying for exemption for any section of his workmen will be facilitating Conscription.

The attempt will be made to divide the forces of labour into rival sections—those engaged in essential industry from those engaged in non-essential industry, skilled men from unskilled, tradesmen from labourers, married from single, older from younger. Men will be invited to undergo medical examination, so that those obviously unfit for the rigour of military life, may be tempted to seek exemption, thus freeing them to act the part of "scabs," to take the jobs of dismissed men.

The experience gained by the War Office and so-called "National Service" Department during their successful deception of the British workers will be availed of, the tactics that failed in England will be avoided in Ireland, those that succeeded there will be repeated and improved upon here. We, too, must seek to profit by the failures of our comrades across the water.

We advise affiliated Societies, and especially Trades Councils, to take steps to inform Employers that Labour will interpret any action calculated to force men into the Army as "facilitating the enforcement of the Conscription Act," and therefore a violation of the National Pledge.

Workers also, men and women, must be made to understand that to take the place of any man dismissed with the object of forcing him into the Army is a violation of the National Pledge, and an act of treason to the working-class—"An injury to one is the concern of all."

It is probable that immediately the Order in Council is issued the country will be divided into military areas, and communication with any central authority made difficult. Local Trades Councils should take steps to organise locally—not to rely upon directions from a central authority.

Where there are no Trades Councils, Trade Union Branches should take steps immediately to get together to appoint a Local Committee which would act as a Council.

These Councils should be prepared to wait upon local employers, in a friendly manner, to inform them of their views on this matter of Conscription by Hunger.

They should also arrange to obtain information as soon as any signs appear that employers or managers or foremen are compiling lists of men of military age; or when other signs shew that a "comb-out" is being prepared for. When the Local Council is satisfied that any such course is in preparation pressure should be applied immediately.

We recognise that industrial action of an effective kind cannot be legally supported out of Trade Union funds, hence a good deal of hardship may be entailed. Men must understand that the alternative is enforced Military Service with all its consequences, and should be prepared to face the lesser evil resolutely.

Before the workers of this country lies a great danger. The struggle necessary to overcome it may be a hard and a prolonged one, necessitating much suffering and sacrifice. The cause to which we are pledged, however, is one worthy of such a struggle; and when victory is gained by the undaunted spirit of a determined people it will, with joy and gratitude, be hailed by the peoples of the world.

WILLIAM O'BRIEN, Chairman.
 THOMAS CASSIDY, Vice-Chairman.
 M. J. EGAN, J.P., T.C.
 THOMAS JOHNSON.
 THOMAS MacPARTLIN.
 WILLIAM J. McNULTY.
 PATRICK LYNCH.
 THOMAS FORAN, P.L.G.
 HENRY ROCHFORD.
 P. T. DALY, T.C., Secretary.

The labour representatives on the Mansion House Conference adopted, and your Executive endorsed, the following circular-letter to British Labour organizations:—

THE IRISH TRADES UNION CONGRESS AND LABOUR PARTY.
 TRADES HALL, CAPEL STREET,
 DUBLIN, April 24th, 1918.

To the Organised Workers of England, Scotland and Wales.

COMRADES,

We desire to bring to your notice the resolution of the Irish Working Class as voiced unanimously at the great Labour Congress of 1,500 delegates from all parts of Ireland held in Dublin on Saturday last, April 20th, in regard to the proposed Conscription for Military Service.

The resolution was passed with solemn enthusiasm and every man is personally pledged to resist, be the consequences what they may.

In proof that the resolution was no mere formal thing we would point out that in response to the call for a General Stoppage of Work for one day the whole Nation—outside of Belfast—ceased work on Tuesday last; railways, tramways, newspapers, theatres, cinemas, factories, cars, motors, hotels, publichouses, restaurants, everything was held up to demonstrate the united purpose of the Irish workers.

We cannot think that the workers of Britain are conscious of the crime that is about to be perpetrated in their name. If they were so conscious we still believe that they would immediately take action to disown and dethrone the highly-placed criminals who would bring eternal disgrace upon the fair name of British Democracy.

Prussia, with all her guilt, has not dared to conscript the people of Belgium for Military Service!

Workers of Britain! Will you allow your Militarist Governors to present to the Militarists of Prussia this fiendish example? What would you have said had the German Armies taken by force the people of Belgium and compelled them to take up arms in the German interests?

That is what your rulers propose to carry out in the subject Nation of Ireland. It is a crime of the first magnitude and will breed hatred between the two democracies which will never be forgotten and perhaps may never be forgiven. It is a flagrant violation of the principles of liberty and the rights of small nations which the British Labour Party and indeed all British statesmen profess to be defending.

Irish Labour is resolutely against Conscription for any war whether imposed by a British or an Irish or any other authority. But the evil is a thousand times more virulent when Conscription is imposed upon a Nation which has been subjugated and is to-day openly held in subjection by the naked sword.

We would have you understand clearly that no measure of Home Rule that may be devised will reconcile us to submit to Conscription. We refuse to hand ourselves body and soul to any Military Authority whatever and will not be bribed by any Home Rule Act much less by any promise of one.

If Conscription be enforced we warn you, comrades and friends of liberty, that massacre and rapine will follow. You will be accomplices in the crime, history will bring the guilt home to you unless you take effective steps to prevent the Order in Council being issued.

We are,

Yours in the Cause of Labour and Liberty,

WM. O'Brien (Dublin).

THOS. JOHNSON (Belfast).

MICHAEL EGAN (Cork).

Representing Labour on Mansion
House Conference.

F. T. DALY, Secretary.

SUGGESTED RESOLUTION.

That this meeting of _____ membership,
condemns the action of Parliament in deciding to apply Military Conscription to Ireland, believing it to be an outrage against the principles of liberty of Small Nations and self-determination of peoples and calculated to lead to serious loss of life in Ireland.

Copies of this resolution to be sent to the Prime Minister, Chief Secretary for Ireland, Mr. Geo. Barnes, and The Labour Party.

The Parliamentary Committee of the British Trades Union Congress and the Executive of the Labour Party issued the following jointly:—

IRELAND AND LABOUR.

AN APPEAL TO THE GOVERNMENT.

The proposal to empower the Government to enforce conscription upon Ireland was passed by Parliament only fourteen days ago and already the country is faced with the most menacing situation since the outbreak of war. In view of the relationship between British and Irish Trade Unionists the Labour Movement is deeply concerned with all the possible consequences of such a position.

When the Military Service Bill was before the country, organised Labour declared its opposition to the proposal to enforce conscription upon the Irish people without their consent. We were not influenced in our decision by hostility to enforced military service or indifference to the Nation's requirements to successfully prosecute the war. But we were of those who realised what the attempt to impose conscription at such a critical moment would mean. We had information which enabled us to gauge the strength of Irish feelings and to form an estimate as to the fierce resentment which would be excited. That we were correct in our forecasting of the position is only too obvious, for though men have doubted whether after all Ireland is a Nation, no one who knows the state of the country to-day can still doubt, for the passing of the Conscription Act has done more to cement the National unity than any other act could have done.

It must be clearly evident to the Government that the attempt to enforce conscription will mean not merely the shedding of the blood of thousands of Irishmen, and Englishmen and Scotsmen too; but also the maintenance of a huge permanent army of occupation in Ireland. To-day every soldier is needed at the western front; yet the Government is proposing to take a course which will involve the withdrawal of many thousands of soldiers to engage in a civil war which will outrage the conscience of the civilised world. Nay more, Irishmen are scattered wide over the world—in America, in the Dominions, in Great Britain itself and there are large numbers in our armies on the Western Front. The tragedy cannot be merely local or confined to Ireland; it may easily be the beginning of a world tragedy in which our last hopes of a fairer

future will be extinguished. It is to be remembered that the active co-operation of Ireland is now vital to the maintenance of the full supplies alike of the armies in France and of the British people. During 1917 the part played by Ireland in providing food for Great Britain was only a little inferior to that of the United States, and during the present year a greatly increased production may be confidently counted on. The consequence of exasperating the Irish people at such a moment might well be ruinous to the realisation of this programme and might so reduce the food supplies of Great Britain as to convert what is already a serious situation into a critical or calamitous one.

With all these facts and terrible anticipations in mind, we confidently appeal to the Government at once to take the necessary steps to avert the appalling disaster which now threatens our country and our national good name. We appeal to them on grounds of principle and of expediency alike not to violate the national conscience, and not to jeopardise the whole future of this country and its Allies and their success in the war, by imposing conscription upon a nation without its own consent, and in face of this certainty of the most determined and united opposition. At the least, we appeal to them to give an open and unmistakable public promise that no proclamation applying conscription to Ireland will be issued until an Irish Parliament expressing the real will of the Irish people has come fully into existence.

With the possibilities involved in a serious prolongation of the war a restless, angered, estranged, lawless Ireland is serious to contemplate and we appeal to the Government not only for the sake of Ireland, but for the sake of our own country, of our Allies and of the future of the democracy of the whole civilised world.

National School Teachers' Grievances.

Immediately on the issue of the Duke Scheme, known as the White Paper, your Executive wired the Labour Party and got in communication with the Chief Secretary for Ireland, and the late Mr. John Redmond, Leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party. They pointed out how closely identified the Teachers' progress was with that of the people. They showed that if the teacher is not contented and happy at his work he cannot be expected to be a success in imparting instruction. The position of the Irish teacher is such, his emoluments are so poor, that all his attention goes in trying to meet the urgent necessities of the moment in his domestic life and so interferes with the progress and prosperity of the youth entrusted to his charge. Your Executive kept up a continuous correspondence with the Governmental authorities and in January forwarded the accompanying letters to the Labour Party, and to the Chairmen of the different parties in the House of Commons. They also authorised the Secretary to sign a circular letter issued by the Lord Mayor asking that the ex-Chief Secretary, Mr. Duke, should receive a deputation from the various educational authorities and local representative bodies in the country to impress on the Government the necessity of dealing with the education question. Mr. Duke delayed so long in receiving the deputation when the Chief Secretary decided to receive it the Local Governing bodies and the Castle authorities were so estranged that it was considered best not to proceed with the matter. However, the result of the agitation has been, that what we demanded in our resolution of January 5th is in a fair way to being accomplished. A Commission, on the lines of

the Craik Commission has been set up, and your Executive have demanded, as representatives of the parents of the children, that on any such Commission set up they shall be fully represented.

The following is a copy of the letter above referred to:—

[Copy].

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

20th December, 1917.

DEAR SIR,

I have to acknowledge receipt of your letters of the 14th instant to Mr. Henderson on the subject of the allocation of the equivalent grant to Irish teachers, and to state in reply that the Irish Party are pressing for a day for a discussion before the Session ends. No doubt this will be secured, but the Officers of the Party will render any necessary assistance.

Yours faithfully,

H. S. LINDSAY,

Parly. Asst. Sec.

Councillor P. T. DALY.

[Copy].

IRISH TRADES UNION CONGRESS AND LABOUR PARTY,
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE,

DUBLIN, 15th January, 1918.

DEAR SIR,

I am directed by the National Executive of the Irish Trades Union Congress and Labour Party to express to you their views in regard to the present educational position in Ireland. They are of the opinion that a Commission like the Craik Commission in Scotland should be set up to deal with the question of Primary education in Ireland. And in the event of the Government deciding to meet us on this point we proffer the further request that as representatives of the parents of the children our Executive should be represented on the Commission. We wish further to impress upon you the urgent necessity there is to increase the salaries of the teachers of all classes and of all grades. Owing to the manner in which the grading system has been working it has been practically impossible for the teachers in Ireland to educate the young—their wages being on the starvation line, all their energies have been used to try and raise them out of that line. We are also of opinion that the White Paper should be immediately withdrawn; or that it should be inoperative at the moment and be referred to the Commission when appointed.

As the question of the amelioration of the condition of the teachers is of great urgency I am to ask that you would press for an immediate payment to relieve their very urgent necessity.

In explanation of the Grade System adopted since the present Resident Commissioner took up office I may point out that at present a teacher needs to give 12 years service in order to be entitled to be raised from the 3rd to the 2nd Grade. He not alone must give 12 years' service but the last six of these must be marked by the Inspector as "Very Good" consecutively, so that the teacher's grading depends upon the humours or sense of proportion of an Inspector whose promotion depends upon the result of a further examination of his examinations.

Trusting this matter will engage your earnest support.

Faithfully yours,

P. T. DALY,

Secretary.

[Copy].

THE LABOUR PARTY,

1 VICTORIA STREET,

LONDON, S.W. 1, 17th January, 1918.

Mr. Councillor P. T. DALY,
Trades Hall, Dublin.

DEAR MR. DALY,

I am in receipt of your favour of the 15th re the present educational position in Ireland, and to intimate that I am forwarding same to the Secretary of the Parliamentary Party. I am adopting the same course with your communication with regard to Mr. Patrick Higgins.

Yours sincerely,

ARTHUR HENDERSON.

Your Executive note with pleasure the interest taken by the teachers in labour questions, and acknowledge with delight the assistance given by them in the establishment of Trades Councils throughout the country.

Your Executive took advantage of the visit of M. Litvinoff to Nottingham to forward the following resolution:—

"That this National Executive of the Irish Trades Union Congress and Labour Party, representing the workers of Ireland, re-affirm its welcome to the Russian Revolution and hopes that it will be consolidated, and congratulates the Russian workers on the tenacity with which the Revolution has clung to its original democratic principles; that we appreciate the determination of the Government of the Russian Republic, and the Soviets of the workers, soldiers, and peasants to insist upon the application of the principle of the self-determination of all peoples without exception to the subject nationalities, under no matter what Imperial domination; that we call upon the workers and Labour and Socialist Parties in all the belligerent countries to follow the example of the revolutionary democracy of Russia, and bring pressure to bear upon their Governments, whether of the Entente or Central Powers, to observe, as has been done in Russia, the right of all peoples to dispose freely of themselves; and that we appreciate the action of the Russian Government and people in claiming this right for Ireland, and appeal to the democracies of Germany, Austria, Great Britain, France, Italy, and the United States of America to carry out their professed principles in the same respect."

The Fair Wages Clause.

In conformity with the direction of Congress your Executive forwarded the resolution dealing with this very important question to all ⁽¹⁵⁾ County Councils, Urban District Councils, District Councils ⁽¹⁶⁾ and Boards of Guardians throughout Ireland as well as to the various Governmental Departments. Your Executive are gratified to be able to report a distinct improvement in the position with regard to the sympathetic views and actions of a number of the local Councils in regard to the subject matter of the resolution. In some of the County Councils they have adopted the Fair Wages resolution of the House of Commons. In other places where they had adopted the resolution they are at last beginning to make it operative, an indication, which your Executive takes of the growing power of the Labour movement in Ireland. In Armagh particularly your Executive are pleased to

report that the Council there have adopted the Fair Wages resolution with an improvement with regard to working conditions.

Your Executive also appointed a deputation consisting of the Vice-Chairman, Mr. Thomas Cassidy, and the Secretary (Councillor P. T. Daly), to wait upon the Stationery Office, in connection with the printing of the Register. The deputation secured an interview with Mr. Pitman, the local representative of H.M. Stationery Office and pointed out to him the many subterfuges by which contractors in the country were endeavouring to evade the Fair Wages resolution. The deputation further impressed upon Mr. Pitman the necessity for securing by inspection of the books and of the factories or workshops of contractors that the Fair Wages resolution of the House of Commons was being properly carried out and that its spirit as well as its letter was being observed. They pointed out the urgent necessity there was for fixing fair competition in the interpretation of the word "district." They further pointed out how important it was that Ireland should be divided into two or at least into three districts, although they favoured the idea of only two. That if two districts were to be the division—the standard wage to be fixed should be, for the north, that of Belfast, and, for the south, that of Dublin. And if that were not done then the three districts should be so arranged that the standard of Athlone would be the lowest paid, and that efforts should be made to bring Athlone's standard to the standard paid in Dublin. Mr. Pitman gave your deputation a very sympathetic hearing and promised to exercise his influence to secure that the views put forward should, as far as he could make them, become operative. It transpired, however, in the course of the interview, that a system of percentage discounts were being considered by the Stationery Office in assigning the contracts although a minimum standard charge per hundred names had been arranged. The unfair competition encouraged by a system of this sort was pointed out by the deputation to Mr. Pitman who promised to give the representation under the different headings his very earnest consideration.

Deputation to the International.

"In compliance with instructions of the Nation, ^{the} Executive we travelled to London on January 20th for the purpose of interviewing M. Camille Huysmans, Secretary, International Bureau, and other representatives, in order to forward our claim for recognition in the International Labour movement, in accordance with the decision of last Congress.

Finding that M. Huysmans had not yet arrived we waited on M. Maxim Litvinoff, Plenipotentiary of the Russian People's Government to Great Britain, to whom we were introduced by Mr. Robert Williams, Secretary, National Transport Workers' Federation. M. Litvinoff received us very cordially, and promised that the full support of the Russian movement would be given to

our claim for admission as a nation to the International. He showed himself to be well-informed about Irish affairs, and mentioned that both Lenin and Trotsky were conversant with the writings of James Connolly, whose name, M. Litvinoff stated, was favourably known to the Russian Revolutionary movement.

Learning that M. Huysmans would travel direct to the Labour Party Conference at Nottingham we proceed to that City on the 22nd, and were fortunate in meeting him on the afternoon of that day. Having explained to M. Huysmans in detail the position of the movement in Ireland, and the claim we were authorised to make for recognition as a national entity, we requested that M. Huysmans would put our position before the next meeting of the Bureau. In reply M. Huysmans, while showing us every courtesy and friendliness, said as an official of the Bureau, he was precluded from expressing any opinion on our claim.

On the following day we met M. Jean Longuet, who granted us a long interview, and listened with great interest to what we had to say on behalf of the Irish movement. He said he took a deep interest in the Irish question, and expressed keen satisfaction on learning that one of the delegates was a representative of the Belfast Trades Council. He promised his most cordial support for our claim to recognition in the International, and said it would afford him very much pleasure to visit Ireland when his engagements would permit."

D. R. CAMPBELL.

WM. O'BRIEN.

Scottish Trades Congress.

Mr. Thomas Johnson was unable to proceed to Ayr to attend Scottish Trades Union Congress to which he was delegated at last year's Congress in Derry. Your Executive appointed their Secretary to substitute Mr. Johnson.

Report of Delegation to Scottish Trades Union Congress.

"Your delegation have gone aside in reporting that they attended at Ayr during the various sessions of the Scottish Trades Union Congress. The Congress was a very successful one. All the questions affecting Labour were discussed at great length and with considerable ability. The first motion on the Agenda Paper to be discussed was one claiming Scottish Independence. Whilst amongst the other motions discussed were such questions as the limitations of hours of labour, and a boycott of German goods at the conclusion of the war. The debates on those questions were magnificently sustained.

Your delegation was very hospitably entertained by the Scottish Congress who presented them with two presentation copies of Robert Burns' poems. We are pleased to state that the Scottish Trades Union Congress have appointed Messrs. Joe O'Hagan

and Robert Simpson to represent them at the Irish Trades Union Congress at Waterford."

W. LOGUE, T.C., Derry.

P. T. DALY, T.C., Dublin.

Factory Acts Inspection.

The resolution adopted by Congress together with one adopted by your Executive later on demanding full inspection of factories as well as the full complement of Inspectors under the Trades Boards Act was forwarded to the Labour Party, the Home Office, and the Ministry of Labour. From the latter body your Committee got acknowledgements, and from the former the following letter:

153,447/19.

HOME OFFICE, WHITEHALL,

30th April, 1918.

SIR,

I am directed by the Secretary of State to say that he has had under consideration your letter of the 12th February on behalf of the Executive Committee of the Irish Trades Union Congress and Labour Party on the question of factory inspection in Ireland.

In reply, he desires me to say that, while, in consequence of the depletion of the Factory staff due to the war, inspection has necessarily been reduced throughout the Country, the administration of the Acts has been as well maintained in Ireland as in other parts of the United Kingdom—indeed it has probably been less affected in Ireland than elsewhere owing to the fact that the Inspectors stationed in Ireland have been called upon to a much smaller extent to undertake the performance of special duties in connection with the war.

I am further to state that the statement in your letter that factory inspection is a dead letter in the smaller urban areas in Ireland and that no attempt is being made or ever has been made to inspect the factories in these areas is quite incorrect. Works in these areas have been visited by the Inspectors in the ordinary course of routine inspection, and all complaints, wherever arising, have been especially investigated.

The Secretary of State will be glad if you will furnish him with particulars of any cases that have been brought to your notice in which contraventions of the Acts are alleged to have taken place.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

MALCOLM DELEVINGNE.

Councillor P. T. DALY,

Secretary to the

Irish Trades Union Congress and Labour Party,
Trades Hall, Dublin.

Dismissal of Mr. Johnson.

In the early days of the fight against Conscription many public meetings of protest were held throughout the country. In Belfast the local members of the National Executive (Messrs. Campbell and Johnson) organised a most successful meeting for

which the sanction of the National Executive was obtained. This meeting demonstrated that the workers of that city were as much opposed to Compulsory Service as their fellows in other parts of Ireland. Many cases of victimisation took place, and in connection with the Belfast meeting it was reported that Mr Johnson had been dismissed from his employment because of his connection with this meeting and the movement generally. Your Executive thereupon invited Mr. Johnson to take up organising for the Congress, pending the matter being submitted for your decision. Mr. Johnson agreed to take up the work, but before he had done so he was requested by the Mansion House Conference to undertake certain duties for that body, and after consultation his Labour colleagues (Messrs. O'Brien and Egan) decided that he should accept the invitation of the Conference, and Mr. Johnson has since been engaged on this work.

The following letter was considered at the meeting of your Executive held on Saturday, July 27th, viz. :—

[Copy].

AMALGAMATED SOCIETY OF TAILORS AND TAILORESSES.

DUBLIN BRANCH.

TRADES HALL, DUBLIN,

24th July, 1918.

To P. DALY, Esq.,

Secretary, Parliamentary Committee,
Irish Trade Union Congress.

DEAR SIR,

We, the undersigned Members of the Executive Council of the above Society, beg to inform your Committee that Mr. William O'Brien, a Member of the above branch and Chairman of your Committee has been expelled from our Society under Rule 30, Section 10. Briefly the reason we are regretfully compelled to take this drastic step is as follows:—

For some time we have had knowledge that certain Agencies were at work to unsettle our membership and disorganise our branches, this culminated in a definite attempt to split our membership not only in Dublin but throughout the country, the enclosed circular being scattered broadcast.

In proof of Mr. O'Brien's dishonourable action we would point out that he attended a Committee Meeting last week called to consider the policy of the Branch in view of the split, and received payment for his attendance. The following night he was seen by the members of the Executive Council at present in Dublin attending the Committee Meeting of the new Society.

One can recognise an honourable opponent who differs on vital issues and fights straight, but men of this description have sold their comrades too often in all kinds of movements and cannot be allowed to retain membership in our organisation.

On behalf of the Council,

Yours faithfully,

JAMES McCARRON.
PATRICK LYNCH.
GURNEY ROWLERSON.

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[COPY OF CIRCULAR].

To all Workers in the Tailoring and Clothing Industry in Ireland.

FELLOW WORKERS,

The progress that has been made by other Trade Union workers in the Irish Labour movement within the past few years has determined many of us in the belief that the time is opportune for the establishment of a National Society in our trade in this country. While many other trades and labour bodies have advanced their ideals to a great extent in the protection of their trade interests and material welfare, securing better conditions and increased wages for their members, the Tailors—a highly skilled trade—seems to be the only one that lags behind the general advance.

We have asked ourselves what are the causes that have brought about this condition of utter powerlessness and want of strength and spirit to secure what other workers are attaining every day, and we answer that in our opinion it is because of the fact that the organisation to which we belong, The Amalgamated Society of Tailors and Tailoresses, is foreign to us, that we exercise no direct control over its actions or policy; and its utter indifference to the protection of our interests and welfare we need hardly comment on. On the contrary, its influence has always been used to crib, cabin, and confine any efforts we have made to advance ourselves. All those conditions are responsible for the state of affairs that exist in our trade in this country, viz.: the want of proper Trade Union spirit, protection, combination, unity, etc. Recent events in Belfast and Dublin have but too pointedly confirmed our opinions in regard to this. The dissimulation and subterfuge employed by the E.C. members to cover their own shortcomings, and draw the veil of obscurity over the road along which they have deviated from the policy of militant Trades Unionism, as confirmed us in the opinion that they are broken, worn out, and utterly useless as an instrument for the protection of our trade interests. Every effort we have made within the last few years to uplift ourselves has been contorted and watered down by them to suit their own purposes.

Notwithstanding what they assert to the contrary, it is our belief that the financial turnover represented by our subscriptions in this country, is their most valuable asset, and could, if used by us in our own country, produce far better results than they will ever allow us to achieve.

Fellow Workers, we want this country governed by its own people. Let us, as workers, begin at the root, and govern our own Trade Union in our own country. Scotland has done it. Are Irishmen less capable? On you depends the answer.

A Committee has been formed to give practical effect to the foregoing views, and the co-operation and assistance of all who desire to establish a strong Trade Union in Ireland for the Clothing Industry is invited.

If you want a real live Trade Union now is the time to act.

CORRESPONDENCE may be addressed to the undersigned at
3 Eastmoreland Lane, Haddington Road, Dublin.

Signed on behalf of the above Committee,

DERMOT STEWART,

July, 1918.

Secretary.

The Chairman having vacated the chair, Mr. Thomas Cassidy presided during the consideration of the letter and enclosure. Mr. O'Brien denied that he was a member of the new organization. Mr. McPartlin said that the officers of the new organisation informed the Executive of the Trades Council at a recent interview that Mr. O'Brien was not a member and never had been a member of that body. It was decided to take no action.

Remuneration of Members of National Executive.

During the year the question of the rate of remuneration of the members of the National Executive for attendance at its meetings was under consideration, and as your Executive is of opinion that this is a question that should not be settled by the members concerned, we recommend that Congress appoint a small committee to report on the subject before the close of its sittings.

(Signed),

WILLIAM O'BRIEN, Chairman.
 THOMAS CASSIDY, Vice-Chairman.
 D. R. CAMPBELL,
 M. J. EGAN, J.P., T.C.
 THOMAS JOHNSON.
 THOMAS MacPARTLIN.
 WILLIAM J. McNULTY.
 PATRICK LYNCH.
 THOMAS FORAN, P.L.G.
 J. H. BENNETT.
 HENRY ROCHFORD.
 P. T. DALY, T.C., Secretary.

Mr. John Redmond (A.S.E.) moved the adoption of the Report; Mr. Moran (Amal. Bakers) seconded.

In the course of the discussion on page 1, 2, and 3,

re "Organising Scheme"

it was pointed out on behalf of the Executive that the work there outlined had been taken in hand by the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, and was proceeding satisfactorily, and therefore they did not now ask Congress to undertake the responsibility. It had been included in the report as a record of their proposals supplementing the scheme adopted at last Congress.

Food Control.

The action of the Labour representatives in resigning from the Food Control Committee was raised by Mr. O'Shannon (Cork). Mr. Thos. Farren who, with Mr. P. Lynch and Mr. Waugh (Belfast) had resigned their positions, explained the reasons, and said that their experience was that the interest of everybody except the consumer was considered; they bowed to the profiteers. The Committee had no power; they could make recommendations but London pleased itself whether to accept or adopt them. Further than that, the Committee was controlled by a few officials of the Irish government who acted as they pleased without responsibility to the Committee.

Messrs. Lynch, Flanagan, Twomey, Larkin, and O'Connell (Tralee) took part in the discussion.

Circular re Conscription.

Mr. Davin (Railway Clerks' Association) called attention to the fact that two members of the Executive had not signed the circular on Conscription, and asked if they wanted conscription.

Mr. Dr. R. Campbell (Belfast Trades Council)—There is no fear of conscription. My opinion is that it is less likely to come now than ever, therefore I requested the Secretary not to put my name to it. I thought the circular was of an unduly alarmist character and I saw no indication of what the Executive seemed to fear, and in the circumstances I thought I was not justified in signing.

Mr. J. H. Bennett (Seamen's and Firemen's Union)—I did not refuse to sign the statement because I was for conscription: I am against conscription, and I am a Trade Unionist. I refused to sign because I thought the Executive were allowing themselves to be used for political purposes, and there should not be any politics in the Trade Union movement.

Further discussion took place dealing with the correspondence between Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P., and the Secretary; Factory Inspection; the Committee of Enquiry into Education; etc. It was decided to defer discussion on the paragraphs relating to Conscription to a special private session to be held from nine to ten o'clock on Wednesday morning.

The Report of the National Executive was adopted; 117 voting "for," and 21 "against."

Thanks to British Labour Party.

The Chairman thanked the British Labour party for its attitude on the question of Conscription for Ireland.

National Executive Expenses.

A committee was appointed consisting of Messrs. Hynes, Twomey, T. Murphy, J. Redmond, McNulty, Walsh, Kenny, McNamara and O'Mahony, to report, before close of Congress, on the question of expenses allowance to the National Executive.

Dispute at National Shell Factory.

Permission having been obtained (on the recommendation of the Standing Orders Committee) Mr. John Redmond (A.S.E., Dublin) raised the question of the dispute at the National Shell Factory, Dublin, and explained that a lock-out of about 700 women and 24 engineers had taken place arising out of a refusal on the part of the engineers to submit to an order to produce a doctor's certificate when out sick.

He applauded the action of the women workers who had warned the management that if any blacklegs were brought in to replace two men who had been dismissed the whole of the women operatives would refuse to work.

Mr. Thos. Farren (I.T.W.U.) endorsed the statement of Mr. Redmond, and moved a resolution strongly condemning the action

of the National Shell Factory in dismissing the two shop stewards and declaring that the action of the manager in locking out the women workers was a clear case of victimization for the stand they made in refusing to scab on the men.

The resolution was seconded and passed.

Naval Men on Civilian Work.

Complaints were made by Mr. Twomey (Cork Trades Council), R. Ronayne (Queenstown Trades Council), and D. Houston (I.T.W.U., Cork) to the effect that American Naval men were being employed on civilian work with the apparent object of driving civilians by hunger into the Army. A resolution of protest was passed unanimously.

Fraternal Greetings from Scottish Workers.

Fraternal delegates from the Scottish Trade Union Congress (Messrs. Joseph O'Hagan and Robert Simpson) were then given a hearty welcome by the Chairman and the delegates. Replying to the welcome, Mr. O'Hagan said—

When coming over I decided to make a speech, but on hearing your debates I changed my mind (laughter). The most interesting factor in the lives of the workers at the present time in Scotland is their opposition to conscription, and as an Irishman from Scotland I want to say if you are landed into the fight—as you will be very soon if things go on as the authorities in London want them to go—you will be up against a fight. The people in Scotland are no more for conscription than you are. I am convinced of this, that if the leaders there did what your leaders have done in Ireland there would be no conscription. But the best greeting I can give you men and women is to tell you that not alone will you have our moral support but you will have our physical support also. As for myself, if the position has to be decided by physical force then I will be in Ireland and not in Scotland, and there are thousands of Irishmen in Scotland in the same position, and it may interest you to know there are hundreds of Scotsmen in the same position, too. When the rebellion broke out Scottish friends of mine left the Congress where we were sitting and tried to get over, and I can number some of my own Scottish friends who fell in the insurrection. And I know I can number a great many more of them, if the fight takes place to resist conscription. When we had labour troubles on the Clyde and when a settlement was about to be arrived at at a Conference, a paper was tossed across the table, and what was written on it but a list of Irish names that were on the deputation. Mr. Hodge, then Minister of Labour, said: "Get rid of those Sinn Feiners and your labour trouble on the Clyde will be ended." They tried all they could to raise a racial war. I want you as Irish workers to concentrate all your energies on the fight against conscription. I have to go home on Saturday for an Executive meeting of my Union, and what is the business that is on? The

military called out 280 boys from works beside me and put them into military clothes and sent them back to work under military control, and although they live within 50 yards of the works they are not allowed home. This is what is in front of you if you do not keep up your fighting spirit, and I have no fear of you not doing this. On behalf of the Scottish Trade Union Congress and the Parliamentary Committee he wished to extend their fraternal greetings to the Irish Congress and the workers of Ireland generally.

Mr. Simpson said—There was no power between heaven and earth that could make him take a rifle and blow the brains out of a man if he did not want to do it. This was his first visit to Ireland, and he was very pleased to bring to the Congress the fraternal greetings of their fellow workers in Scotland.

He was much interested in wages—the real wages which were measured by the amount of commodities they could buy for the money they received. The time had arrived, if not passed, when the workers of that country ought to make up their minds that they were not going to be satisfied with one-third of the wealth they produced. All the wealth produced by labour should go to those who produce it. The winning of the war was referred to there that day. He was out to win the war which had for its object the emancipation of the workers from an iniquitous system, and to allow everyone in the country to enjoy a free, a full and a better life. If they were not prepared to contribute to the wealth of the nation they had no right to be there. Everyone had to do his bit or clear out. One speaker had said there should be no politics in the movement. He did not agree with that. Even the bread that passed down their throats was connected with politics. Those who controlled the raw materials controlled their very lives. He hoped those in the Labour movement would make up their minds and say that they could not stand away from politics. They should see that they were represented in parliament and in the local councils by men of their own class.

In conclusion he said he would have great pleasure in reporting to his fellow delegates the cordial manner with which Mr. O'Hagan and himself had been received.

Mr. M. J. O'Lehane (Irish Drapers' Assistants) and Councillor M. McGowan (Drogheda) expressed the thanks of the Congress to Mr. O'Hagan and Mr. Simpson for the encouraging message they had brought.

The Chairman presented the delegates with volumes of "The Spirit of the Nation" as mementoes of their visit.

THE AGENDA.

The Resolutions on the Agenda were then taken.

International Congress.

Proposed by Wm. O'Brien (Dublin United Trades Council), seconded by Cathal O'Shannon (Cork):—

"That this Congress regrets the unnecessary delay and hesitancy of the movement in other countries in assembling the International Congress; condemns the elements and sections that allowed themselves to be used by their Governments to prevent the meeting of the Stockholm Conference while these Governments themselves were in communication with one another and with their enemies in the field on the question of peace; requests that the International Socialist Bureau shall call the Congress together without further delay—alike in the interests of all the workers in every country, of suffering humanity, and of civilisation and liberty in Europe; re-iterates its willingness to take part in the International Congress wherever and whenever held; and claims the support of organised Labour in all countries for the admission of the delegates of the Irish working class to the Conference."

Messrs. McGowan (Drogheda), Foran, Coates, and others supported; Messrs. Bennett and Hill (Seamen and Firemen's Union) opposed.

The resolution was carried by 193 votes "for," and six "against."

Real Wages Standard.

Proposed by Mr. Thos. Foran (Irish Transport and General Workers' Union), seconded by Mr. J. J. Hughes (I.T.W.U.):—

"In view of the continuous depreciation in the value of money and the fact that every increase in wages won for the workers is at once added with interest by the employers to the cost of the goods or services rendered, this Congress declares that mere increases of pay, however necessary, are only a temporary palliative for the evils of poverty, that what is wanted is a sufficiency of real wages rather than of money wages, and that the only effective remedy for our present disabilities is the control of industry in the interest of the community by the organised working-class."

Carried unanimously.

Amendments to Constitution.

A series of resolutions, proposing amendments to the Constitution, standing in the names of the Railway Clerks' Association, the Irish Drapers' Assistants' Association, the National Union of Railwaymen, Belfast Trades Council, Flax Roughers' Society, Limerick Trades Council, and the National Union of Shop Assistants, were withdrawn in favour of the following:—

Moved by Thos. Johnson (N.U. Shop Assistants), seconded by W. B. McMahon (Railway Clerks):—

"That in view of the extension of the franchise, the reform of electoral law and the necessity for enlarging the scope and authority of the Irish Trade Union Congress and Labour Party it is resolved to instruct the incoming National Executive to formulate a revised Constitution and Standing Orders and to and to report to the affiliated societies not later than September 15th, 1918. The report to be circulated amongst the societies, and a Special Congress to be held to consider, and if so desired to adopt or amend same not later than November 15th. Affiliated Societies are invited to send forward to the Secretary at once any suggestions regarding the revision of the Constitution."

This resolution was agreed to.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 7th, 1918.

The Congress opened at 9 a.m. The sitting was closed to the press and public to allow of a discussion on the Conscription menace and to hear a report from the Labour members of the Mansion House Conference (Messrs. Wm. O'Brien, Thomas Johnson and Councillor M. Egan).

The Chairman explained the position that the Labour representatives had taken up. His statement was supported by Messrs. Johnson and Egan.

Certain suggestions regarding the practical steps to be taken to organise resistance to Conscription had been made by the Labour members to the Conference early in May. These were outlined to the Congress. These proposals had not yet been adopted: their consideration had been "delayed."

Further and more detailed proposals had been submitted by the Labour representatives which were to be dealt with by the Conference at its next meeting, and the Chairman desired that the Congress should give the Labour delegates authority to tell the Mansion House Conference that their proposals were backed by the authority of the Congress.

A full discussion followed, the following delegates taking part, viz.:—Messrs. O'Shannon, Duffy, O'Connor (Limerick), Flanagan (Belfast), MacMahon (Dublin), Logue (Derry), Miss Bennett and Councillor Walsh (Limerick).

The following resolution, moved by Mr. L. J. Duffy (Cork), seconded by Mr. M. O'Connor (Limerick), was passed by 218 votes to one:—

"That in the question of Conscription and, in such eventuality, of food conservation we heartily approve of the action of our representatives on the Mansion House Conference as outlined in the statements just made by those representatives and as contained in the memorandum which has been submitted to us, and

we instruct them to proceed on these lines and to insist on the Conference giving effect to their views; and further, we hereby give the incoming National Executive full authority to take from time to time such steps as they deem fit to give effect to the decision of this Congress to resist Compulsory Military Service."

Self-Determination.

"That this Congress re-affirms its adherence to the principles of freedom, democracy and peace, enunciated in the Russian Revolution, the free and absolute self-determination of each and every people, the Irish included, in choosing the sovereignty and form of government under which it shall live, this real self-determination to be by free, equal, adult and secret suffrage, without any military, political or economic pressure from outside, without reservation or restriction imposed by capitalist or imperialist governments and uninfluenced by the power of any force of occupation; calls upon the International and the Socialist and Labour Parties in all the neutral and belligerent countries to make good in the concrete case of Ireland their general promises to this effect; and claims for Poles, Yugo-Slavs, Serbs, Belgians, Alsations, Lorrainers, Egyptians, Indians and other subject peoples no more than for Ireland, and for Ireland no more than for others."

Proposed by Wm. O'Brien (Dublin United Trades Council), seconded by Thos. Johnson (N.A. Union Shop Assistants), and passed.

The Workers and Peace.

"In accordance with its oft repeated conviction that war between capitalist or imperialistic governments is waged solely in the interests of the governing capitalist class and is a menace to the working class which is its victim, and believing that Labour everywhere is eagerly desirous that the present holocaust in Europe should cease, this Congress calls upon the workers in the neutral and belligerent countries to make a determined effort to bring about peace now, even should that necessitate industrial or other action involving sacrifices to the working class; and again proclaims its adherence to the Russian formula of a peoples' democratic peace on the basis of real self-determination for subject peoples, and no annexations, undemocratic or secret treaties."

Proposed by Thos. Boyle (Dublin United Trades Council), seconded by Miss L. Bennett (I. Women Workers' Union), and passed.

Nationalisation of Irish Railways.

"That in view of the recommendations contained in the Majority Report (1910), of the Viceregal Commission on Irish Railways, and of the success which has recently attended State

Control, this Congress strongly urges that the Railways of Ireland should not be allowed to revert to the control of Companies, but rather, that the existing State Control arrangements should be developed into complete national ownership and management under a Minister of Railways, responsible to Parliament, assisted by National and Local Advisory Committees upon which the organised railway workers shall be adequately represented.

"Further, this Congress approves the principle in respect to profits derived by the State from the Railways, that after providing for the adequate remuneration of the Railway Employees, the interest on the outstanding Railway Debt, and the sinking fund for its extinction, they should be employed in the improvement of facilities, the betterment of conditions of labour, and the reduction of passenger fares, goods rates, and general charges to the public. This Congress is also of opinion that an enterprising and progressive National Railway policy would assist very materially in the development of the National Industries and resources."

Proposed by Mr. W. J. Briscoe (The Railway Clerks' Association), seconded by P. Fahy (N.U.R., Sligo), and passed.

Education Reform.

"That this Congress condemns as antiquated and out of touch with modern progress, the National Board as present constituted, and considers that the time has come for the abolition of this oligarchy and the establishment of a Board of National Education controlled by and responsible to the Irish people.

"That this Congress is of the opinion that the whole educational system of Ireland is in need of urgent reform, and, seeing that a radical and comprehensive scheme of educational reform is being carried out in Great Britain, the National Executive is hereby urged to adopt such immediate measures as will secure to the children of the Irish workers the educational advantages obtainable in all progressive countries; that no system of Irish education can be considered satisfactory until provision is made for such a linking up of Primary, Secondary and University education as will ensure to the children of every class in the community equal opportunities for attaining the highest possible standard of educational proficiency; that as in the Primary Schools is laid the foundation of all education, it is essential:—

- (1.)—That the number of qualified teachers in these schools be so increased that no teacher shall be permitted to have charge of more than 30 pupils.
- (2.)—That the remuneration given to these teachers shall be commensurate with the importance of their services to the nation, and the greatly increased cost of living, and shall be calculated to attract the best available talent into the teaching profession.
- (3) That full-time education up to the age of 16, and part-time

education up to the age of 18, be made compulsory, and that all exemptions from school attendance other than sickness be prohibited between the ages of 6 and 16.

- (4.)—That provision be made for a free supply of books and stationery for all pupils, and a free meal for all necessitous children.

“That this Congress condemns as opposed to all ideas of democratic progress, unjust to the teachers and hurtful to education generally, the provisions of the scheme introduced by Mr. Duke, the ex-Chief Secretary, and commonly known as the ‘White Paper’ or, Duke Scheme, and instructs the National Executive to give every assistance possible to the Irish National Teachers’ Organisation in their efforts to force the withdrawal of these obnoxious proposals.

“That in the opinion of this Congress no adjustment of the salaries of teachers can be considered satisfactory unless provision is made:—

- (1.)—For a substantial all-round increase in their amount.
- (2.)—For the adoption of a flat scale for all teachers with annual automatic increments during satisfactory service, and with a reasonable allowance for the supervision work of principal teachers.
- (3.)—For the payment of salaries to all qualified Assistants in Convent schools at the same rate as is paid to teachers in ordinary schools.”

Lay Assistants in Convent Schools.

“That this Congress considers the present system (introduced over half a century ago) under which the Conductors of Convent Schools are obliged to pay to the lay Assistants in these schools only a minimum wage, is unjust, out of date, and should be abolished; that as these lay Assistants must possess the same qualifications, and perform the same duties as teachers in the ordinary schools, they are entitled, as a matter of right and justice, to exactly the same salaries, pensions, and the same conditions of employment as the teachers in ordinary National Schools; that it is a disgrace to Christianity that hundreds of women teachers who have spent their lives in the service of the State should, owing to their exclusion from the teachers’ pension scheme, have no better prospect for old age than the shelter of the Poor House. And further, that this Congress urges that the National Executive take immediate steps to secure to Convent lay Assistants the same rights of payment, pension, promotion, and fixity of tenure as are held by the teachers of ordinary National Schools.

These two resolutions were combined and proposed by Mr. O’Hagan and seconded by Mr. P. J. Quinn (Dublin Teachers).

Mr. O’Hagan said—These resolutions on education are fairly comprehensive and long-winded, but they need being so for the

old system of education is rotten to the core (applause). I can compare education in Ireland to a fruit tree of which the root is the Board that controls it, and the branches the administration, and the children the fruit (hear, hear). If the roots of this tree are old and dry and nearly rotten what can you expect the fruit to be? (A voice: "Bad"). I hold that this Board as at present constituted is out of date (applause). The only qualifications the members of that Board need have are "to know nothing about education" and only be subservient to the Treasury remembrancer on that Board. The Board stands condemned by themselves (applause). One member of that Board was permitted on a recent occasion to say: "I am the Board," and did so without protest from the other members who only appear to be willing tools (hear, hear). Who do we want on this Board? We want men and women who have been through national schools themselves (hear, hear). We want women on the Board. We want a Minister of Education in Ireland (applause). The system is as much out of date as the Board itself. The rich people are alright for they can afford to educate their children, but what about the children of the labouring man? What chance have they of competing with the rich men's children, or what chance have they of rising to the high positions in your land? All through the continental countries new systems of education have been in operation but Ireland remains stagnant. Why is there not a move made by the Government? Because it is the game of the Government to keep you and your children in ignorance. Compare the teachers' salaries with the salaries in the Civil Service, and is not our work as important as the work of the civil servants, and as important as the work of the police (laughter). I say our salaries are grossly inadequate. This white paper that was enforced on us was the most unfair piece of legislation that ever was effected in Ireland. I know a school in Dublin where the principal with 10 years' experience, and single, had his salary increased from £120 to £240 odd, while a married assistant in the same school with 23 years' service, married, five in family and as able in every way as the principal had his salary increased by 5s. per year. That is the scheme we refused to accept and we will refuse it and kick it out at the end (hear, hear). Dealing with resolution No. 20, convent school teachers' salaries, up to the present were about £40 per year, some £30, some less. The Government increased their salaries to £64, but they have no pension and get no increments. They could be told in the morning that they were not wanted any more. Who is to blame? We cannot find out. The Board blames the Rev. Conductor and the Rev. Conductor blames the Board, but still while this goes on the teachers are the slaves (hear, hear). I know the respect due to nuns and I respect them, but you must tell them that you will not allow them to treat the teachers this way (applause) the way they are treating

them; and if they do, that you will not send your children to their schools (applause). He proposed the resolutions.

Mr. P. J. Quinn (Dublin Teachers) seconded and said the subject was the most important one that could come up at any Congress. Other systems had their reforms, but above and beyond all questions was that of securing for the future men and women of their country a sound education (applause). If the youth were to grow up without having their brains developed the nation of the future would contain germs of decay (hear, hear). The educational system of the present day was bad and was entrusted to a few harmless, genial old gentlemen specially selected because of their simplicity (laughter). Some of them never visited a national school in their life. That was the sort of an educational system worked and tolerated for years. It should go from this Congress an expression asking for the total abolition of this obsolete Board (hear, hear). Education should be common to all, because brains, talent, and intelligence was not a monopoly with the rich and well-to-do classes (hear, hear). If this war has taught anything it has taught the necessity of brains, and at the end of the war nothing but brains will conquer (hear, hear). If Ireland is to obtain a place in the competitions of the future it will be required that the best talent be discovered and receive the best of education. The doors of secondary schools and universities must be opened for that talent and kept opened, and Irish children admitted. Unless the teachers are given a proper way of working the whole structure would collapse. As much as we blame the Board, we blame the people more for tolerating these atrocities. The parents are responsible before God for the education of their children, and if they cannot find time to personally educate their children they must find substitutes. He seconded the resolution and said not only would the tinkering of the Board have to end, but the National Board itself, before there would be any hope for education in Ireland.

Mr. Ryan opposed the second resolution on the grounds that it would be an insult to the teachers to offer them the security referred to.

Mr. McMahon said it was a disgrace as well as an injustice that the lady teachers in convents should not receive salaries commensurate with their duties and responsibilities.

The Chairman put the resolutions and they were carried amidst applause.

Education.

"That in view of the urgent need for reform in the education system of this country, the Irish Trade Union Congress should appoint a committee of men and women to deal with this question; and that such committee should be instructed to give special attention to the need for larger and better school buildings, a larger and better-paid staff of teachers, medical inspectors and

treatment of school children, better school meals, shorter school hours, better provision for games, raising of school age (with maintenance grant where necessary), increased facilities for technical training, continuation classes, and entrance to the universities.

"And, further, that this Congress demands that Labour men and women be appointed on all educational committees."

Mrs. Callender (Irish Women Workers' Union)—I propose this resolution, not merely as a member of the Union, but as the mother of three children. The whole system is bad, and should be condemned. What I want is to get a committee appointed here to go fully into the matter. "I want," she emphasised, "to have my children properly educated, and I cannot afford to send them to a fancy school. It remains with the people to act in this matter."

Mr. D. Houston (Cork) seconded, and said that the matter was too long left in abeyance. At the present day some of the schools in Ireland were a disgrace. The Congress should carry the resolution. The school he was brought up in was a disgrace to any educational system, and last year the Board refused to give a grant to build one there. Though they gave seven million pounds per day for the war, they would not give a few thousand for schools. Bad and insanitary schools, there was no provision for classrooms, and consequently it was impossible for the teacher to impart education at all to the pupils. The bad schools were responsible for several nasal and other diseases. He seconded the resolution.

Mr. Quinn supported.

Mr. O'Connor said he would oppose the resolution if it were not amended from "Irish Trades' Congress" to "National Executive."

The amendment was accepted and the resolution as amended was carried unanimously.

"That in any Committee similar to the Craik Committee for Scotland appointed to consider the Irish Education question, especially in regard to salaries, etc., of the teachers, we demand that the workers of Ireland have a due and proportionate representation thereon."

Proposed by Councillor Logue (Derry Trades Council) and passed.

Irish Labour Party Organisation.

Mr. O'Carroll (R.C.A.) moved:—

"That in view of the possibility of a General Election—Parliamentary and municipal—at an early date, this Congress urges upon all organised workers and friends of Labour the absolute necessity for immediate preparation for such a contingency, by the setting up of the essential Labour machinery in every municipal and Parliamentary constituency, where this is found prac-

ticable, so that the voice and voting power of Labour (which has been considerably strengthened as a result of the passing into law of the Representation of the People Act), may be effectively demonstrated in the election results.

"As a practical step towards the attainment of these objects, Congress requests all Trades' Councils and similar local Labour organisations to—

(a) To equip themselves with copies of the new register;
(b) Ensure the appointment of Ward and District Labour Election Committees without delay;

(c) Ascertain, as far as possible, the voting power of Labour in each municipal and Parliamentary constituency, and immediately communicate the result to the secretary of the Congress;

(d) Endeavour to educate public opinion—particularly Labour public opinion—by frequently holding public meetings, lectures and debates, and by the distribution of suitable literature.

"That copies of this resolution be sent to the secretary of each Trades Council, and to the secretaries of each society or branch of society affiliated to this Congress."

Mr. O'Carroll said at the present time they should be very careful as to what steps they should take. He advocated that the full strength of Labour be marshalled immediately, so that the strength of their work could be recorded at the next election, and so that their industrial resources could be brought back again, not in the interest of the employer, but in the interest of the people (applause).

The resolution was seconded and passed.

Agricultural Workers.

Mr. D. Houston (I.T.W.U.) moved:—

"That this Congress considers the rates of pay fixed for farm workers by the Agricultural Wages Board for Ireland as totally inadequate to meet their needs at present, and we call on the Wages Board and the Department of Agriculture to increase the minimum wages for farm workers by 15s. in each scale."

Mr. Houston said—The sum asked for, in my opinion, is not sufficient to put the agricultural workers in anything like a comfortable condition. They insisted on organisation amongst the labourers, and the sooner they were organised the better—and the farmers, too (hear, hear). If the farmers did not organise, when the produce from the Argentine and Australia came into the country they would make a poor show. He proposed the resolution.

Alderman Corish seconded.

The Chairman put the resolution and it was carried.

The "Slave Market."

Councillor Logue (Derry Trades Council) proposed the following resolution:—

"That we regard the hiring fairs, or "rabblies," that are held in many parts of the country, especially in parts of Ulster, as nothing less than slave markets; that the system that thus prevails of employing agricultural workers is a degradation of Labour and inimical to the workers themselves; that their terms of employment in regard to periods for which engaged, holidays, etc., should be on the same lines as in other branches of industry; that to end these slave markets, and to secure decent and fair conditions of employment, we call upon these workers to boycott absolutely these 'fairs' in the future, and to combine solidly on the principles of trade unionism; that this Congress pledges the heartiest support of those it represents in order to attain this end."

He said—It is most degrading to see a "slave market" existing in any country or amongst any community.

Mr. Houston—I do not think it is anything more degrading for a man than if he went down to the docks and looked for work and made his terms there.

Councillor Logue—In the south he heard they hired them on Sunday, and one method was as slavish as the other, and that was the reason he opposed it (hear, hear).

Mr. Redmond regretted that men wanting employees could not be compelled to go to the Union and there get men. The workers in Ireland should be in a position to tell the farmers that when they wanted men that they would have to apply to the various Unions for them (hear, hear). Some of the men had only about £20 per year, and were treated like cattle. The matter was one that should be tackled immediately (applause).

Mr. Houston subsequently withdrew his opposition.

Mr. Friel (Derry) deprecated the hiring-out days, especially when young girls of tender years had to travel in the dark several miles outside the cities and towns. Such should not be allowed and he emphatically stated the "hiring-out fairs" should be abolished. The workers must, he protested, be engaged through the offices of trade unions (applause).

Mr. Thomas Farren thought the labourers should be allowed to make their terms and get as much wages as they could.

The Chairman put the resolution, which was carried.

Temporary Clerks in Government Offices.

The following resolution was proposed by Mr. M'Guinness (Irish Clerical Workers) and seconded by Mr. Gordon (Waterford):—

"That the Irish Trades Congress is of opinion that the Government should make provision for the temporary Civilian have completed two years and upwards, by placing them upon Clerks employed in the various Government Departments, who

the permanent Civil Service basis, their period of service as temporary Civilian Clerks to count."

Messrs MacMahon and M. Mahony (R.C.A.) and Larkin (N.U.R) opposed. On a division the resolution was defeated.

Fair Wages in Public Contracts.

"That this Congress, representative of the organised workers of Ireland, again demands that all public bodies, in all contracts to be paid for out of public funds, should make provision against the dangers of sweating by inserting such conditions as may prevent the abuse arising from sub-letting, and that every effort should be made by them to secure the payment of such wages and conditions of employment as are generally recognised by the trades unions in each trade for competent workmen; that public advertisements be given only to those newspapers paying their workers recognised wages and conforming to recognised conditions of the trade; that the delegates to Congress pledge themselves collectively and individually to make this a primal and test question for all candidates at the forthcoming elections for Borough, District, and County Councils, and Poor Law Guardians; that the National Executive are hereby instructed to take all necessary steps to have the foregoing resolutions carried into effect

Proposed by Mr. Thomas Cassidy (Typographical Association), seconded and passed.

Government Restrictions—Printing and Kindred Trades.

"That we the delegates to the Irish Trades Union Congress, hereby demand the immediate withdrawal of the crushing restrictions placed by the English Government on the Printing and Allied Trades Industry in Ireland, the restrictions, in our judgment, being responsible for the dismissal of a large number of our brother Trades Unionists who were employed in the printing, book-binding, lithographic, and other branches of the industry. We further demand that the embargo put on the importation of paper and other materials necessary for the upkeep of the many industries affected be removed without delay, believing if it is continued much longer that they as a whole are threatened with decay and ultimate destruction."

Proposed by Mr. O'Flanagan (Dublin Typographical Provident Society) seconded by Mr. Cummins, and passed.

"The Voice of Labour."

"That the support of the delegates to Congress, the Unions and their branches, and the workers generally be asked for the Irish Labour Press and its organ, 'The Voice of Labour.'"

Proposed by W. O'Brien (Dublin United Trades Council), seconded by T. Boyle.

A long discussion took place on this resolution Mr. P. Lynch

(A.S. Tailors) and others opposing. On the motion being put to the Congress the resolution was passed without dissent.

Workmen's Compensation Acts.

"That this Congress instructs the National Executive to take immediate steps to have the Workmen's Compensation Acts, 1906, so amended:—

- (a) That Phthisis shall be one of the diseases scheduled under the Act.
- (b) The fixing of a minimum weekly payment of at least 15/- per week during the incapacity of a person over 21 years of age.
- (c) That the liability incurred and payable under the Act shall be a charge upon and payable from the Imperial Exchequer."

Proposed by Mr. Dawson Gordon, seconded by Mr. Henry White (Flax Roughers, Belfast), and agreed to.

Coal Resources of Ireland.

"Arising from the present Coal Shortage and Railway travelling restrictions, we call upon this Congress and the National Executive to take the matter up with the Irish Railway Executive Committee and the Government, and request them to take the necessary steps to utilize the coal resources of this country, and thereby prevent so many restrictions as at present exist, re Manufacturing Industries, and Railway Transport, as by so doing it would probably prevent the unnecessary use of shipping which is so much required for other purposes."

Proposed by Mr. Walsh (Belfast and Dublin Locomotive Engine Drivers' and Firemen's Trade Union), seconded by Mr. T. Kenny (N.U.R.), and passed.

Balance Sheet.

On the motion of Mr. W. P. O'Doherty, seconded by Mr. L. J. Duffy (the Auditors), the balance sheet as printed on page 79 was adopted.

Scrutineers.

Messrs. O'Carroll, Hughes, and D. Logue were appointed Scrutineers for the election of officers.

The remainder of the resolutions on the agenda were dealt with by either being formally moved, seconded, and passed, or by being passed "in globo" without being formally presented to Congress. (This procedure was adopted on the suggestion of the Standing Orders Committee to enable the business to be brought to a close in time for the evening trains.)

Housing.

The following resolutions and amendment on the Housing question were embodied in a composite resolution, moved by the Killarney Trades Council, and adopted:—

"That in the opinion of this Congress the continued neglect of the housing question in this country has become a scandal, and calls upon the Government to immediately put in operation the financing of schemes for providing workers' houses now and not wait till after the war."

Proposed by Belfast Trades Council.

"That this Congress, realizing the bad housing conditions that exist in the Towns and Cities of Ireland, are of opinion that this question can only be satisfactorily solved on national lines; and as the Government have recognised this by their scheme for National Housing, to be put into operation at the termination of the War, we demand, that in the best interests of the country and the workers therein, it is imperative that a sufficient sum of money be provided, immediately, for the re-housing, with plots attached, of the Working Classes in Towns and Cities of Ireland, as has already been done in the country for the Agricultural Labourers."

Proposed by Limerick United Trades and Labour Council.

Amendment proposed by Killarney Trades and Labour Council:—

"That this Congress considers legislation should be at once enacted to enable workers to purchase their Houses and Plots on similar terms as the Tenant Farmers of Ireland purchased their holdings. That those terms should apply to houses already built under the Artizans' Dwellings Act; and Schemes about to be built under this Act should be started at once. The same terms to apply to such as regards purchase."

"That, in the opinion of this Congress, the re-housing of Urban workers is an urgent, pressing reform, demanding immediate attention; and we call for a liberal State grant to enable local authorities to wipe out the slums in Irish Towns and Cities, which are admittedly the primary cause of the high death rate, and the lowered vitality of the people."

Proposed by Dublin United Trades Council.

"That the Congress appoint a Committee of men and women to deal with the question of Housing in Ireland with the special objects of securing (a) an adequate grant from Government for Housing purposes, and (b) the erection of houses in suitable localities and of a type suited to the needs of the families who must inhabit them."

Proposed by Irish Women Workers' Union.

"That this Congress instructs the National Executive to urge upon the Government the amendment of the Small Dwellings Acquisition Act so as to make the title deeds of holdings sufficient security for repayment of money advanced for purchase of same."

Proposed by Amal. Society of Tailors and Tailoresses.

Railway Eight Hour Day Bill.

"That this Congress heartily supports the Bill promoted by Mr. Walter Hudson, M.P., to establish a working day of not more than eight hours for all Railwaymen."

Proposed by Mr. F. Hanratty (Belfast and Dublin Locomotive Engine Drivers' and Firemen's Trade Union).

"That this Congress appreciates and reaffirms the efforts put forth for the establishing of an eight hours day for all grades Moved by the National Union of Railwaymen.

Female Factory Inspectors.

"That this Congress urge upon the Government the great necessity that exists in Ireland for additional Female Factory Inspectors, as the present staff is totally insufficient for the carrying out of the duties imposed upon them. And we earnestly urge upon the Government to take immediate steps to remedy this by increasing the present staff."

Proposed by the Flax Roughers' and Yarn Spinners' Trade Union.

"That this Congress press for the appointment of additional women Factory Inspectors for Ireland and demand (a) that all new inspectors so appointed be Irishwomen, and (b) that facilities be afforded to working women to become candidates for these positions.

"And further that the Congress claim that an Irish Office in connection with the Trade Board Act be set up in Dublin and an Irish resident Trade Board Inspector be appointed for Ireland."

Proposed by the Irish Women Workers' Union.

Asylum Workers' Hours.

"That this Congress considers the present hours of duty as imposed on Irish Asylum Workers, ranging as they do from 76 to 90 hours weekly altogether excessive, and in our opinion injurious to the welfare of the worker, and we demand that the necessary measures be at once taken to limit the duty of Asylum Workers (Male and Female) to 56 hours weekly.

"That we consider the miserable War Bonuses granted by the governing bodies of Irish Asylums in response to the repeated applications of the workers as wholly inadequate to meet the increased cost of living, and we demand that an increase of £1 weekly over pre-war rates be granted to all Asylum Workers throughout Ireland."

Proposed by the Irish Asylum Workers' Union.

Pensions for Mothers.

"That this Congress demand the establishment of a State system of Pensions for Mothers, and, in the interval, calls upon

all P.L.G.'s to see that adequate assistance is given to widows and necessitous mothers."

Proposed by the Irish Women Workers' Union.

"That this Congress demand the establishment of State Pensions for all necessitous mothers with dependent children, and instruct the Executive for 1918-19 to use every possible means to advance the realisation of this humane reform."

Proposed by Mr. T. MacPartlin (Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners).

Old Age Pensions.

"That it be an instruction to Congress that the Old Age Pension be increased to 10/- per week and that the age limit be reduced to 65 years, that Superannuation allowances from Trade, Friendly, or Benefit Societies be no longer a barrier to the granting of the full amount and that the Labour members be asked to urge on this matter."

Moved by the National Union of Railwaymen, seconded by Belfast Trades Council.

Compulsory Certificate of Competency for Engine-Drivers.

"That this Congress demands that the Engine Drivers and Firemen of Ireland be issued certificates of competency by the Board of Trade, seeing the responsible position they hold, being entrusted with life and property, and, further, seeing that when an accident occurs, those men are held firmly to a Board of Trade Inquiry, the decision of which is of such public importance."

"We consider the time has arrived when the necessary steps to issue those certificates should be taken at once; that Engine Drivers and Firemen from three to five years in charge be eligible for those certificates, without examination; and for the examination of persons other than those referred to, the Board of Trade decide the necessary qualifications and examination which must be passed by candidates for such work before they are allowed to take charge."

"That copies of this resolution be sent to the Prime Minister, President of the Board of Trade, leaders of the various parties in the House of Commons, and the principal Boiler and Engine Insurance Companies of Great Britain and Ireland."

Proposed by the Irish Stationary Engine Drivers' Society.

42.

Abolition of Eye-sight Test.

"That it be an instruction to the National Executive of the Irish Trades Union Congress and Labour Party to take the necessary steps for having the present system of eyesight test abolished and a practical test of signals substituted, as this affects all Grades of Railwaymen and particularly Enginemen.

"That where a man fails to pass the test he should be

compensated under the Employers' Liability Act, or Workmen's Compensation Act, in like manner to other trades, as we believe in most cases such defects are brought about as a direct result of the nature of such occupation."

Moved by Mr. T. Kenny (National Union of Railwaymen).

Medical Benefits.

"That this Congress is of opinion that the Medical Benefits applicable under the National Health Insurance Act be applied to Ireland."

Proposed by the Limerick United Trades and Labour Council.

Working Hours and Holidays.

"That this Congress claim for all workers (a) a working week not exceeding 48 hours, and (b) Annual holidays of at least one week on full pay, in addition to ordinary Bank Holidays."

Proposed by the Irish Women Workers' Union.

"That this Congress calls upon the Government to introduce legislation to compel the employers of labour to grant their employees the half-holiday on Saturdays, and at least a fortnight's holidays every year."

Proposed by the Irish Clerical Workers' Union.

National Health Insurance Act.

Pooling of Funds.

"That this Congress believes in the principal of National Health Insurance; and that all monies so contributed should be pooled and made available for the payment of benefits to all insured persons irrespective of the Society to which they belong."

Proposed by the Flax Roughers' and Yarn Spinners' Trade Union.

Minimum Wages for Irish Public Board Employees.

"That this Congress demands the establishment of a minimum wage of 50/- per 48-hour week for all employees of Public Boards in Ireland, and that a copy of this resolution be sent to the Borough Councils of Ireland and to the General Council of Irish County Councils."

Proposed by Mr. D. M'Gee (Dublin Corporation Workmen's Trade Union).

Minimum Wage.

"That recognising the serious dislocation which is now inevitable after the termination of the European War, and the

danger that will unquestionably arise of using soldiers' and sailors' pensions as a means of lowering the standard of the Labour market, this Congress demands that the Government will immediately introduce and pass into law a Bill fixing a minimum wage and a standard 40-hour week for all classes of employment."

Proposed by the Cork and District Trades and Labour Council.

Secret Reporting in Post Office.

"That this Congress condemns Secret Reporting as practised in the Post Office and calls upon the Postmaster General either to afford a fair trial to those who have been victimised by this pernicious system or immediately to restore them to their old positions in the public service."

Proposed by the Association of Irish Post Office Clerks.

Dressmakers and Trades Board Act.

"That in view of the shamefully low wage paid to girls engaged in the Dressmaking business we demand that the provisions of the Trade Boards Act be made apply to that industry."

Proposed by the Cork and District Trades and Labour Council.

Receiving Depots for Ireland.

"That this Congress directs the attention of the Irish Working class to the promise made ten years ago, by the then Chief Secretary for Ireland, to the then Parliamentary Committee of the Irish Trades Union Congress, viz.:—'That a Receiving Depot would be started in Ireland for the purpose of enabling Irish Manufacturers to compete on equal terms with British Manufacturers for Government Contracts.'

"That we express the hope that the promise recently made to a deputation waiting on a Government Department will come to a more rapid fruition than that made ten years ago."

Proposed by Dublin Sheet Metal Workers.

"That this Congress desires to draw the attention of the Governmental authorities to the urgent necessity there is for a Receiving Depot for Ireland in order to enable Irish manufacturers to compete with any degree of success against Foreign Manufacturers.

"That we desire to call the attention of the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and the Secretary of State for War, to the promise given to the Irish Trades Union Congress in 1909 and repeated to the Irish Industrial Development Association in 1916, viz., that a Receiving Depot would be opened

immediately, and further, that we hereby request the Chief Secretary, and the Secretary of State for War, and the other Governmental authorities in Ireland to make good their promises in this particular."

Proposed by Mr. B. Quinn (Dublin Branch, Amal. Society of Brushmakers).

Coach-Building and Kindred Matters.

"(A) That, in the opinion of this Congress the continued importation of all classes of vehicles into this country is deplorable, and owing to the evolution of the motor car, it is desirable on the part of the vehicle industry, that we call on all traders and merchants to encourage home industry by insisting on having their vehicles manufactured in Ireland. The members of the community who foster and encourage such importation are unworthy of the support of the public."

"(B) That, in the opinion of this Congress, all carriages, waggons and other vehicles for the use of the Army and other Government Departments in Ireland should be made in Ireland by civilian labour, under fair conditions. That if this were done it would help to solve the unemployed problem in the coach-making and other trades. That the National Executive be instructed to place this matter before the Chief Secretary for Ireland and the Irish Parliamentary Representatives."

"(C) That this Congress is of opinion that all motor car bodies required for use on Irish roads should be made, painted and trimmed under fair conditions in Ireland, motor bodies made in Ireland being far superior to any others on the roads of this country. This Congress appeals to motor car agents to have their car bodies made, painted and trimmed at home, and so develop this important industry in Ireland."

"(D) That this Congress condemns the continued importation of carriages, vans, wheels and coach ironwork or fittings, and calls on the public, merchants, corporations and public companies of Ireland to have all their coach building done at home under fair conditions, and so help to restore this ancient industry to its former prosperous position in Ireland."

Proposed by U.K.S. Coachmakers.

Importation of Harness.

"That this Congress deplores the continual importation of all classes of saddlery, harness, etc., and calls on all horse owners and others requiring same, to purchase only that bearing the imprint of the Irish Trade Mark, and not to continue by apathy or carelessness in purchasing foreign manufacture, thereby depriving those employed in the saddlery trade of work which is their right, and forcing Irishmen to swell the tide of emigration, and this Congress calls on all employers in the saddlery and harness-making trade who have not applied for the Irish Trade Mark to do so

immediately, and so assist in again making this old industry a flourishing one in Ireland. And further, this Congress is of opinion that it is the duty of all the Irish Parliamentary Representatives and the members of the various Public Boards to encourage, by every means in their power, the revival of the Irish Harness-making and Leather Industry."

Proposed by Dublin Saddlers and Harness Makers.

Workshop Accommodation in the Tailoring Trade.

"That this Congress instructs the National Executive to urge upon the Government the necessity of compelling all employers in the Tailoring Industry to provide workshop accommodation for all the workpeople in their employment."

Proposed by Amal. Society of Tailors and Tailoresses.

Irish Industries.

"That this Congress calls on all Corporations, Gas Manufacturers and other Public Bodies to have their Gas Meters, Lamps, etc., made in Ireland, by Trades Union Labour, and furthermore, calls on Irish Farmers and Cow-keepers to have their dairy utensils made in Ireland by Trades Union Labour instead of having them imported from foreign countries."

Proposed by Dublin Sheet Metal Workers.

Hackney Carriage Inspection.

"That this Congress is of opinion that practical coachmakers, instead of policemen, as is the custom at present, should be appointed hackney carriage inspectors, policemen having no technical knowledge to fit them for such positions. That job carriages and taxi cabs should be inspected and disinfected at regular periods, in the interest of public health. That the Board of Trade should insist that practical coachmakers be appointed Carriage Inspectors on all railways, and the Executive Committee be instructed to bring these matters before the Chief Secretary and the Irish Parliamentary Representatives."

Proposed by U.K.S. Coachmakers.

Technical Instruction for Apprentices.

"That in the opinion of this Congress and in order to fit Ireland to take her place industrially amongst the nations, the question of Technical Instruction for apprentices to the various skilled trades should be made compulsory; that the classes should be held in the day time, wherever practicable, and wherever this is not practicable the students should be allowed time off in lieu of the time spent in the classes."

Proposed by Sligo Trades Council.

Uniform Time-Keeping Records under Trade Boards.

"That the National Executive be instructed to urge the Board of Trade to define some clear and definite method of time-

keeping for piece workers in the various industrial concerns, for which a minimum wage has been fixed by the Trades Boards established for that purpose, in order that the workers shall be enabled to take full advantage of the rate per hour settled for the industries in which they are engaged, by their being able to determine the hours."

Proposed by Amal. Society of Tailors and Tailoresses.

Postal Service.

"That this Congress calls upon the Postmaster General to give practical effect to the principle of official recognition in the Post Office by adopting the findings of the Whitley Committee whereby the Department and the staff would be represented on the Board of Control.

Proposed by Association of Irish Post Office Clerks.

"That this Congress demands full Civil Rights for Civil Servants in order that they may be in a position to take their rightful place in the framing of the policy of their country."

Proposed by Association of Irish Post Office Clerks.

"That this Congress demands a weekly half-holiday for Post Office Servants."

Proposed by Association of Irish Post Office Clerks.

"That this Conference condemns the system of casual and sweated labour adopted by the Post Office."

Proposed by Association of Irish Post Office Clerks.

Amendment to Factory Acts.

"That owing to the low vitality of the Linen Workers, due to the condition of employment and the speeding up system in Spinning Mills, this Congress call upon the Government to have the Factory Act so amended as to reduce the recognised working hours to 48 per week, and that a living wage be guaranteed to all workers in the industry."

Proposed by Flax Roughers' and Yarn Spinners' Trade Union.

"That this Congress calls upon the Government to extend the provisions of the Factory Act to the inspection of Offices where Clerical workers are engaged."

Proposed by Irish Clerical Workers' Union.

Expenses of National Executive.

"The sub-committee appointed to consider the rates of remuneration to be paid to members of the National Executive attending the meetings of the Committee, begs to report that having considered the question, they unanimously recommend that:—

1st.—In the case of **country members** (workers, as distinct from whole time Union officials) be allowed 12/- per day and 12/- per night, plus 10/6 per day expenses.

In the case of **whole time Union officials** coming from **country districts**, 10/6 per day and 10/6 per night be allowed.

Third class railway fares to be allowed in the above cases.

2nd.—In the case of **Resident members**, workers who lose their day's wages in order to attend the meetings of the Committee be allowed 12/- per day, plus 5/- per day. When meetings are held on Saturday evenings after working hours 5/- expenses be allowed.

Local whole time Union officials attending be allowed 5/- expenses.

Members of the National Executive attending Congress shall be allowed the above rates provided they are not appointed as delegates by their respective Unions.

Members appointed on Sub-Committee attending meetings other than Saturday evening meetings be allowed 2/6 per meeting.

When necessary, 3rd class railway fares and saloon tickets be allowed.

Signed on behalf of Committee,

OWEN HYNES."

The adoption of the Sub-Committee's report was moved by Mr. J. J. Redmond, seconded, and carried.

Nomination of Officers and National Executive.

The following nominations were handed in; the figures shewing the number of votes recorded in each case:—

Chairman:—Thomas Cassidy (Typographical Association), Derry.

Vice-Chairman:—Thomas Farren (Stonecutters), Dublin.

Treasurer:—Thomas Johnson (N.U. Shop Assistants), Belfast.

Secretary:—P. T. Daly (Fire Brigade Men's Union), Dublin, 109; Wm. O'Brien (Dublin Trades Council), Dublin, 114.

National Executive:—D. Cullen (Bakers) Dublin, 96; J. H. Bennett (Seamen and Firemen), Dublin, 49; T. C. Daly (N.U.R.), Dublin, 118; M. J. Egan (Coachmakers), Cork, 99; C. P. Kelly (Postmen), Dublin, 36; Jos. Mitchell (Trades Council), Belfast, 103; D. Magee (Corporation Workers), Dublin, 45; W. J. McNulty (N.U. Dockers), Derry, 61; J. T. O'Farrell (Railway

Clerks), Dublin, 129; Hy. Rochford (Hairdressers) Dublin, 62; M. J. O'Lehane (Drapers' Assistants), Dublin, 132; Miss Rose Timmon (Teachers), Dublin, 164; Thos. MacPartlin (A.S.C. & J.), Dublin, 148; W. Logue (Trades Council), Derry, 84; C. O'Shannon ((I.T.W.U.), Cork, 147; John Farren (Sheet Metal Workers), Dublin, 42; John Lawlor (Asylum Workers), Dublin, 31; P. J. Magennis (Clerical Workers), Dublin, 40.

The following were declared elected:—

Chairman:—Thomas Cassidy.

Vice-Chairman:—Thomas Farren.

Treasurer:—Thomas Johnson.

Secretary:—William O'Brien.

National Executive:—Miss Timmon, Thos. MacPartlin, Cathal O'Shannon, M. J. O'Lehane, J. T. O'Farrell, T. C. Daly, Joseph Mitchell, M. J. Egan.

Delegates to Scottish Trades Congress:—Thomas Johnson, W. B. MacMahon.

Next Year's Congress.

Drogheda and Mullingar were proposed. A vote was taken when there voted: For Drogheda, 94; Mullingar, 44.

Votes of Thanks.

Mr. M. J. O'Connor moved a vote of thanks to the Reception Committee of the Waterford Trades Council for the admirable manner in which they had carried out the work of preparation for the Congress and the success that had attended their efforts to provide for the comfort and entertainment of the delegates.

Mr. J. J. Redmond, seconded, and the resolution was passed by acclamation.

Mr. Dalton, Chairman of the Reception Committee, acknowledged the vote of thanks.

The thanks of the Congress were also accorded to the Corporation of Waterford for the use of the Town Hall, to the Press and to the Chairman.

The Congress then concluded.

BALANCE SHEET, WATERFORD CONGRESS, 1918.

INCOME.

	£	s.	d.
To Balance from last Congress ...	347	6	11½
„ Sale of Congress Reports ...	14	9	0
„ Affiliation Fees ...	467	15	6
„ 240 Delegates' Fees ...	240	0	0
„ Special Appeal ...	832	15	4
„ Labour Representation ...	55	0	1½

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EXPENDITURE.

	£	s.	d.
By Advertising (Derry) ...	2	18	3
„ Auditors' Fees (do.) ...	0	10	0
„ Two Secretaries (do.) ...	3	0	0
„ Standing Orders Committee (do.) ...	2	10	0
„ Three Tellers ...	0	15	0
„ Hall Caretaker and Doorkeepers ...	4	0	0
„ Printing Account ...	80	11	9
„ N. E. C. Meetings ...	151	7	7
„ Deputations ...	56	4	4
„ Secretary's Honorarium ...	60	0	0
„ Treasurer's do. ...	15	0	0
„ Secretaries' Petty Cash ...	18	4	4½
„ Reporting Derry Congress ...	7	7	0
„ Johnson Address ...	9	5	0
„ Expenses, Food Protest Meeting ...	14	0	8
„ Expenses, Anti-Conscription Meetings, Belfast ...	8	13	6
„ Attendances, Mansion House Conference ...	66	6	6
„ Grant to Vintners' Assistants ...	5	0	0
„ Do. Women Workers' Union ...	5	0	0
„ Do. Dublin Trade Sports ...	3	3	0
„ Caretaker (Capel Street) ...	0	10	0
„ Mansion House Conference Expenses ...	1	12	6
„ Balance in Bank ...	£1287	7	2
„ Cheques and Cash in hand ...	154	0	3½
	1441	7	5½

£1957 6 11

Audited and found correct.

W. O. O'DOHERTY,
L. J. DUFFY,

Auditors.

AFFILIATION AND DELEGATES' FEES.

				Affiliation Fees.		Delegates' Fees.	
				£	s. d.	£	s. d.
N.A.U.L. (313 Branch)	...	...	...	...	0 10 0	1 0 0	
Do. (112 Derry)	...	...	...	...	2 10 0	1 0 0	
Do. (190 Derry)	...	...	...	...	1 5 0	1 0 0	
Belfast Trades Council	...	...	...	...	3 0 0	2 0 0	
Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners	...	...	...	...	23 7 8	1 0 0	
Ditto	do.	Dublin, No. 7	...	...	—	1 0 0	
Ditto	do.	Dublin, No. 6	...	...	—	1 0 0	
Ditto	do.	Dublin, No. 4	...	...	—	1 0 0	
Ditto	do.	Dublin, No. 1	...	...	—	1 0 0	
Ditto	do.	Dublin, No. 3	...	...	—	1 0 0	
Ditto	do.	Dublin, No. 5	...	...	—	1 0 0	
Ditto	do.	Cork	...	...	—	1 0 0	
Amalgamated Society of Painters	...	...	...	...	8 10 6	1 0 0	
National Union 'of Railwaymen	...	...	...	...	70 19 1	3 0 0	
Ditto	Galway	...	...	...	—	1 0 0	
Ditto	Connacht D. Council	...	...	...	—	1 0 0	
Ditto	Mullingar	...	...	...	—	1...0 0	
Ditto	Claremorris	...	...	...	—	1 0 0	
Ditto	Athlone	...	...	...	—	1 0 0	
Ditto	Broadstone	...	...	...	—	1 0 0	
Ditto	Sligo	...	...	...	—	1 0 0	
Ditto	Inchicore	...	...	...	—	1 0 0	
Ditto	Cork (1 and 3)	...	...	...	—	1 0 0	
Ditto	Collooney	...	...	...	—	1 0 0	
Ditto	Waterford	...	...	...	—	2 0 0	
Athlone Trades Council	...	...	...	...	1 0 0	—	
Limerick Trades Council	...	...	...	...	1 0 0	5 0 0	
Drogheda Trades Council	...	...	...	...	1 0 0	1 0 0	
Dublin Trades Council	...	...	...	...	5 0 0	2 0 0	
Wexford Trades Council	...	...	...	...	1 0 0	1 0 0	
Mullingar Trades Council	...	...	...	...	1 0 0	1 0 0	
Sligo Trades Council	...	...	...	...	1 0 0	1 0 0	
Killarney Trades Council	...	...	...	...	1 0 0	1 0 0	
Bray and District Trades Council	...	...	...	...	1 0 0	1 0 0	
Kilkenny Trades Council	...	...	...	...	1 0 0	1 0 0	
Queenstown Trades Council	...	...	...	...	1 0 0	2 0 0	
Waterford Trades Council	...	...	...	...	1 0 0	4 0 0	
Tralee Trades Council	...	...	...	...	0 10 0	1 0 0	
Derry Trades Council	...	...	...	...	1 0 0	2 0 0	
Shirt Cutters, Belfast	...	...	...	...	1 4 0	—	
Irish Post Office Clerks	...	...	...	...	7 10 0	3 0 0	
Operative Plasterers', Dublin	...	...	...	...	1 6 8	1 0 0	

Affiliation Delegates

Fees. Fees.

£ s. d. £ s. d.

Amalgamated Bakers, Dublin	...	...	...	2	1	8	2	0	0
Irish Bakers, Waterford	...	...	...	0	10	0	2	0	0
Amalgamated Bakers	...	...	...	2	18	4	1	0	0
Flax Roughers' Trade Union	...	...	...	6	5	0	2	0	0
Postmen's Federation	...	...	...	12	10	0	4	0	0
Ditto Waterford	...	...	...	—	—	—	1	0	0
Dublin Fire Brigade Men's Union	...	...	...	0	10	0	1	0	0
Typographical Association	...	...	...	5	6	10	2	0	0
Ditto Belfast Branch	...	...	...	—	—	—	2	0	0
Irish National Teachers' Association	...	...	...	43	15	0	10	0	0
Ditto Dublin Central Teachers	...	...	...	—	—	—	2	0	0
Ditto Mullingar	...	...	...	—	—	—	1	0	0
National Union Life Assurance Agents	...	...	...	1	11	6	1	0	0
Irish Clerical Workers' Union	...	...	...	4	3	4	2	0	0
United Builders' Labourers	...	...	...	5	0	0	2	0	0
City of Dublin Operative Farriers	...	...	...	0	10	0	1	0	0
Irish Glass Bottle Makers	...	...	...	0	14	0	2	0	0
Boot and Shoe Operatives, Cork	...	...	...	—	—	—	1	0	0
General Union of Carpenters, Dublin	...	...	...	1	5	0	1	0	0
National Union of Printers and Paperworkers, Dublin	...	...	...	0	10	0	1	0	0
Brushmakers, Dublin	...	...	...	0	10	0	1	0	0
Amalgamated Society of Engineers, Derry	...	...	...	0	12	0	2	0	0
Ditto Dublin, No. 1	...	...	...	1	3	0	1	0	0
Ditto Branch 921	...	...	...	0	17	6	1	0	0
Ditto Dublin, No. 3	...	...	...	0	10	0	1	0	0
Ditto Inchicore	...	...	...	1	0	2	2	0	0
Hairdressers, Dublin	...	...	...	0	10	0	1	0	0
Vehicle Workers, Belfast	...	...	...	4	11	8	1	0	0
Irish National Trade and Labour Union	...	...	...	3	0	0	2	0	0
Irish Transport and General Workers' Union	...	...	...	100	0	0	33	0	0
Ditto do. Sligo Branch	...	...	...	—	—	—	2	0	0
Ditto do. Limerick, No. 1	...	...	...	—	—	—	2	0	0
Irish Stationary Engine Drivers	...	...	...	1	13	4	3	0	0
Irish Women Workers' Union	...	...	...	14	3	0	4	0	0
Electrical Trade Union	...	...	...	2	18	4	2	0	0
Railway Clerks' Association	...	...	...	8	12	5	15	0	0
Sailors' and Firemen's Union	...	...	...	4	3	4	3	0	0
Co. Limerick Trade and Labour Association	...	...	...	0	10	0	1	0	0
Irish Linen Lappers	...	...	...	1	1	0	—	—	—
Dublin Brassfounders	...	...	...	0	15	0	1	0	0

				Affiliation Fees.		Delegates' Fees.	
				£	s. d.	£	s. d.
Shipping and Transport Clerks	...	...	...	2	10 0	1	0 0
National Union of Dock Labourers, Derry	...	...	...	2	10 0	2	0 0
Ditto do. Waterford	...	...	...	2	3 4	1	0 0
Ditto do. Clonmel	...	...	...	1	0 0	1	0 0
Ditto do. Carrick-on-Suir	...	...	...	1	0 0	1	0 0
Ditto do. Belfast	...	...	...	1	10 0	1	0 0
Ditto do. Dundalk	...	...	...	0	17 6	1	0 0
Ditto do. Galway	...	...	...	0	11 0	1	0 0
Ditto do. Drogheda	...	...	...	0	16 8	1	0 0
Grocers' Assistants, Dublin	...	...	...	6	5 0	1	0 0
National Union Shop Assistants, etc.	...	...	...	3	4 3	2	0 0
Ditto (Belfast Hairdressers)	...	...	...	—	—	1	0 0
Irish Stone Cutters (Dublin)	...	...	...	0	10 0	1	0 0
Amalgamated Society of Tailors and Tailoresses	...	...	...	25	0 0	4	0 0
Ditto Waterford Branch	...	...	...	—	—	2	0 0
Ditto Dublin Branch	...	...	...	—	—	1	0 0
Ditto Dublin Female Branch	...	...	...	—	—	2	0 0
Ditto Derry Factory Workers' Branch	...	...	...	—	—	8	0 0
Plumbers, Waterford	...	...	...	0	10 0	1	0 0
Ditto, Dublin	...	...	...	0	18 4	1	0 0
Irish Drapers' Assistants' Association	...	...	...	12	10 0	3	0 0
Irish Asylum Workers' Union	...	...	...	5	0 0	2	0 0
Ditto do. Waterford Branch	...	...	...	—	—	1	0 0
Dublin and Belfast Loco. Drivers	...	...	...	2	9 9	3	0 0
Dublin Bricklayers	...	...	...	2	1 8	1	0 0
Dyers and Cleaners, Dublin	...	...	...	0	10 0	1	0 0
Dublin Corporation Workmen	...	...	...	5	0 0	2	0 0
International Tailors and Pressers	...	...	...	1	0 0	1	0 0
United Kingdom Society of Coachmakers	...	...	...	4	11 7	2	0 0
Ditto do. Dublin	...	...	...	—	—	1	0 0
Dublin Saddlers	...	...	...	0	10 0	—	—
Cork Brewery Workers	...	...	...	0	10 0	1	0 0
South Kildare Labour Union	...	...	...	2	18 4	1	0 0
Dublin Bookbinders	...	...	...	0	17 8	1	0 0
Packing Case Makers, Dublin	...	...	...	0	10 0	1	0 0
Metropolitan Painters, Dublin	...	...	...	2	5 0	2	0 0
Dublin Typographical Society	...	...	...	4	3 4	2	0 0
Steam Engine Makers, Queenstown	...	...	...	0	10 0	1	0 0
Sheet Metal Workers, Dublin	...	...	...	0	10 0	1	0 0
Amalgamated Society of Lithographers, Cork	...	...	...	0	10 0	1	0 0
Wood Cutting Machinists, Limerick	...	...	...	2	1 8	1	0 0
National Union of Clerks, Dublin	...	...	...	0	10 0	—	—
Dublin Butchers	...	...	...	0	18 4	1	0 0

£470 19 9 £242 0 0

LABOUR REPRESENTATION FUND.

ORGANISING SCHEME (Stamp Account).

					£	s.	d.
Amalgamated Carpenters, Dublin, No. 6	...	...	...	...	1	5	0
N.U.R., Grand Canal Street Branch	...	...	...	...	0	7	6
General Union of Carpenters	...	...	...	...	3	0	0
I.T.W.U. (per J. Metcalfe)	...	...	...	...	40	0	0
R.C.A. (per E. O'Carroll)	...	...	...	...	0	10	0
I.T.W.U. (Cork)	...	...	...	...	3	3	5
Per T. R. Johnson	...	...	...	...	2	4	5
Bleachers and Dyers	...	...	...	...	1	2	0
U.K.S. Coachmakers (per P. Roberts)	...	...	...	...	0	12	8½
Ditto (per S. Wilson)	...	...	...	...	1	2	6
Slaters and Plasterers, Cork	...	...	...	...	0	7	6
P. O'Gorman	...	...	...	...	1	5	0
					£55	0	1½

SPECIAL APPEAL.

						£	s.	d.
Miss Mary Eakins	...	...	...	...	...			1 1 0
Postmen's Federation	...	...	...	...	...	£5	0	0
Ditto	Waterford Branch	...	...	...	...	2	0	0
Ditto	Dublin Division	...	...	...	...	7	0	0
								14 0 0
Postal Clerks, Cork	...	...	...	...	...			3 0 0
Automobile Drivers	...	...	...	...	...			5 0 0
Women Workers' Union	...	...	...	...	...			5 0 0
Irish Bakers	...	...	...	...	...	£10	0	0
Ditto	Cork	...	...	...	...	7	0	0
Ditto	Limerick	...	...	...	...	4	5	0
Ditto	Waterford	...	...	...	...	2	13	0
								23 18 0
National Union of Railwaymen, Waterford	...	...	...	...	...	£2	0	0
Ditto	do.	Kingsbridge	...	...	...	6	0	0
Ditto	do.	Maryboro'	...	...	...	20	0	0
Ditto	do.	Kingstown	...	...	...	2	11	0
Ditto	do.	Grand Canal Street	...	...	...	1	3	1
Ditto	do.	Limerick No. 2.	...	...	...	5	17	6
Ditto	do.	North Wall	...	...	...	5	0	0
Ditto	do.	Athenry	...	...	...	1	10	0

National Union of Railwaymen, Tuam	...	...	2	5	0
Ditto do. Drogheda	...	...	3	3	0
Ditto do. do.	...	...	3	9	0
Ditto do. Killfree Junction	...	...	1	14	0
Ditto do. Broadstone	...	...	3	0	0
Ditto do. Enfield	...	...	1	14	0
Ditto do. Bray	...	...	2	10	0
Ditto do. Ballybrophy	...	...	4	0	0
Ditto do. Kingsbridge	...	...	2	6	0
Ditto do. Ennis	...	...	6	5	0
Ditto do. Amiens Street	...	...	4	0	0
Ditto do. Galway	...	...	4	0	0
Ditto do. Greenore	...	...	5	10	0
Ditto do. Sallins	...	...	1	12	0
Ditto do. Fermoy	...	...	1	8	0
Ditto do. Dunmanway	...	...	1	10	0
Ditto do. Kilmessan	...	...	0	10	0
Ditto do. Cork No. 1	...	...	7	0	0
Ditto do. Cork No. 3	...	...	6	0	0
Ditto do. Dungarvan	...	...	1	16	0
Ditto do. Mallow	...	...	3	10	0
Ditto do. North Wall	...	...	15	0	0
Ditto do. Inchicore	...	...	8	0	0

134 3 7

Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners	£5	0	0
Ditto do. Cork	12	16	0
Ditto do. Newry	1	10	0
Ditto do. Dublin District	35	0	0

67 16 6

General Union of Carpenters	...	...	13	10	6
Brick and Stone Layers	...	...	15	0	0
Operative Farriers	...	...	2	10	0
Fire Brigade Men's Union	...	...	2	2	0
Dublin Operative Butchers	...	...	10	12	0
Dublin Biscuit Operatives	...	...	15	0	0
Dublin Hairdressers	...	...	5	8	0
Mineral Water Operatives	...	...	8	0	0
Chemists' Assistants, Limerick	...	...	0	15	0
Irish Chemists' Assistants	...	...	5	0	0
Shop, Assistants, Dundalk	...	...	3	10	0
Dublin Paviers' Society	...	...	0	16	0
Cork Operative Masons and Paviers	...	...	3	0	0
Cork Stonecutters	...	...	£1	0	0
Dublin Stonecutters	...	...	2	10	0
Ditto do.	...	...	2	11	0
Newry Stonecutters	...	...	0	17	0

6 18 0

Electrical Trade Union, Dublin	...	...	...	...	9 0 0
Paper Cutters, Dublin	...	...	...	...	1 7 3
National Operative Printers' Assistants	...	...	...	...	2 2 0
Bookbinders (Cork)	...	...	...	...	1 1 0
Ditto (Dublin)	...	...	...	...	8 2 9
Lithographers (Cork)	...	...	...	...	0 8 0
Belfast and Dublin Loco. Engine Drivers	...	...	...	...	0 12 0
Ditto do. (Drogheda Branch)	...	...	...	...	1 11 0
Asylum Workers, Richmond	...	...	...	£9 15 0	
Irish Asylum Workers	...	...	...	...	2 10 0
Ditto Ballinrobe Branch	...	...	...	...	7 8 0
Ditto Waterford	...	...	...	...	2 10 0
Ditto Clonmel	...	...	...	...	1 15 0
Ditto Mullingar	...	...	...	...	6 10 0
Ditto Carlow	...	...	...	...	2 14 0
Ditto Portrane	...	...	...	...	6 15 0
					<hr/>
					39 17 0
Packing Case Makers, Dublin	...	...	...	...	1 11 0
Ditto do. Limerick	...	...	...	...	0 18 0
Shipwrights (Passage West)	...	...	...	£4 8 0	
Ditto Dublin	...	...	...	...	5 5 0
					<hr/>
					9 13 0
Furnishing Trades, Cork	...	...	...	£1 7 0	
Ditto Limerick	...	...	...	...	5 0 0
					<hr/>
					6 7 0
Glazier's Union	...	...	...	...	1 13 4
Amalgamated Society of Tailors and Tailoresses,					
Women's Branch	...	...	...	£9 5 0	
Dublin Branch	...	...	...	...	8 7 0
					<hr/>
					17 12 0
Iron Founders' Society	...	...	...	...	3 0 0
Dublin Brushmakers	...	...	...	...	2 0 0
Limerick Corporation Employees' Society	...	...	...	...	3 5 0
Amalgamated Society of Engineers (Passage West)	...	...	...	£2 8 0	
Ditto do. Dundalk	...	...	...	...	4 15 0
Ditto do. Cork	...	...	...	...	8 0 0
Ditto do. Dublin	...	...	...	...	33 17 6
					<hr/>
					49 0 6
Amalgamated Society of Painters, Cork	...	...	...	£5 18 0	
Ditto do. Newry	...	...	...	...	0 10 0
Ditto do. Dublin	...	...	...	...	25 0 0
					<hr/>
					31 8 0
Workers' Union (Queenstown)	...	...	...	...	5 0 0
Cove of Cork Trade and Labour Committee	...	...	...	...	20 0 0

£ s. d.

Plumbers' Association, Limerick	...	...	£1	2	0		
Ditto Waterford	...	...	...	4	8	4	
Operative Plumbers, Cork	...	...	...	3	6	0	
							8 16 4
Wagon Builders' Union	...	...	...				3 8 0
Upholsterers' Union	...	...	...				3 13 4
Dublin Silk Workers	...	...	...				5 0 0
Amalgamated Society of Dyers	...	...	...				0 17 0
United Kingdom Society of Coachmakers	...	...	£13	2	6		
Ditto do. Cork Branch	...	...	...	3	0	0	
							16 2 6
Dublin Saddle and Harness Makers	...	...	...				3 0 0
Boilermakers (Dublin No. 2)	...	...	...				2 6 0
Typographical Association (Cork)	...	...	...				3 7 0
Waterford Operative Plasterers	...	...	£1	0	0		
Plasterers' Society	...	...	...	5	0	0	
							6 0 0
Irish Transport and General Workers' Union	...	...	...				165 0 0
Railway Clerks' Association, Dublin	...	...	...				0 18 0
Linen Lappers (Belfast)	...	...	...				1 10 0
Dublin Corporation Workmen	...	...	...				50 0 0
Brewery Workers, Cork	...	...	...				5 10 0
Boot and Shoe Operatives, Cork	...	...	...				3 8 0
Gold and Silver Workers	...	...	...				2 3 3
Associated Smiths, Dublin	...	...	...				3 17 0
							£832 15 4

LIST OF DELEGATES.

Amalgamated Association of Tram and Vehicle Workers:—

Belfast Branch—Patrick Campbell, Durham Street, Belfast.

Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners:—

Robert Waugh, 42 Deramore Avenue, Belfast.

Dublin 1st Branch—Mr. Michael O'Callaghan, 5 Malpas Place, Dublin.

Dublin 3rd Branch—Mr. J. Healy, 1 Northcote Avenue, Church Road, Dublin.

Dublin 4th Branch—Mr. Thomas M'Partlin, 35 Lr. Gloucester Street, Dublin.

Dublin 5th Branch—Mr. Edward J. O'Neill, 46 Smithfield, Dublin.

Dublin 6th Branch—Mr. Michael Somerville, 23 Armstrong Street, Harold's Cross, Dublin.

Dublin 7th Branch—Mr. J. Brophy, 32 Lower Ormond Quay, Dublin.

Cork District—Thomas Ronayne, 22 Greenmount Buildings, Cork.

John Weldon, 20 Shears Street, Cork.

Amalgamated Society of Dyers and Cleaners:—

Mr. Charles Cooke, 14 Ormond Street, Dublin.

Amalgamated Society of Tailors and Tailoresses:—

Alderman James M'Carron, 48 Stanley's Walk, Derry.

Mr. Patrick Lynch, 2 Crosses Green, Cork.

Mr. W. J. Leeman, 9 Agincourt Avenue, Belfast.

Gurney Rowlerston, 144 Samuel Street, Woolwich.

Waterford Branch—Messrs. James Kiely and Richard Dennehy.

Dublin Branch—Mr. Patrick McGinley, 2 Fitzgibbon Street, Dublin.

Female Section—Mrs. Berkeley, 26 Brabazon Square, Dublin.

Miss J. Bradley, 12 Phibsboro, Dublin.

Amalgamated Society of Engineers:—

Derry Branch—Mr. Edward M'Cafferty, 11 Northland Avenue, Derry.

Mr. William Taylor, 7 Sackville Street, Derry.

Dublin 1st Branch—Mr. Bernard Cunningham, 44 Pembroke Cottages, Donnybrook, Dublin.

Dublin 2nd Branch—Mr. Rowland Bent, 7 Fitzroy Avenue, Dublin.

Dublin 3rd Branch—John J. Redmond, 9 Lord Edward Street, Dublin.

Inchicore Branch—Mr. Laurence Keegan, 2 First Av., Inchicore, Dublin.

Mr. J. E. O'Leary, 39 Ring Street, Inchicore, Dublin.

A. G. I. Brick and Stonelayers:—

Mr. Owen Hynes, 49 Cuffe Street, Dublin.

Association of Irish Post Office Clerks:—

Mr. W. Nally, 4 Cavendish Row, Dublin.

Mr. J. Allan, 4 Cavendish Row, Dublin.

Mr. P. Egan, Waterford.

Belfast and Dublin Loco. Engine Drivers' T. U.:—

Mr. William Reid, 70 Ravenhill Road, Belfast.

Mr. William Lindsay, 9 Adelaide Avenue, Belfast.

Mr. Frank Hanratty, 13 Moyelta Road, Dublin.

Bray and Kingstown Trades Council:—

Mr. Michael Doyle, 2 Marine Terrace, Bray.

Belfast Trades and Labour Council:—

Mr. D. R. Campbell, 11 Kimberley Street, Belfast.

Mr. Joseph Mitchell, 45 Harrybrook Street, Belfast.

City of Dublin Operative Farriers:—

Mr. Benjamin Drumm, 36 Hardwicke Street, Dublin.

Co. Limerick Trade and Labour Association:—
Mr. George Downes, Hospital, Co. Limerick.

Cork Trades Council:—
Messrs. Kiely and T. Twomey, Mechanics' Hall, Grattan Street, Cork.

Cork Brewery Workers:—
Mr. John O'Sullivan, 8 Madden's Buildings, Blackpool, Cork.

Drogheda Trades Council:—
Mr. Michael McGowan, T.C., 46 Upper Magdalene Stret, Drogheda.

Dublin Central Teachers' Association:—
Miss Rose Timmins, 39 Harold's Cross Road, Dublin.
Mr. P. J. O'Hagan, Cambridge Road, Ringsend, Dublin.

Dublin Operative Butchers' Trade Union:—
Mr. James McKenna, 54 Lower Dominick Street, Dublin.

Dublin Trades Council:—
Mr. Thomas Boyle, 31 Synge Street, Dublin.
Mr. William O'Brien, 43 Belvedere Place, Dublin.

Dublin Fire Brigade Men's Union:—
Mr. P. T. Daly, T.C., 177 Clonliffe Road, Dublin.

Dublin Journeymen Hairdressers' Trades Union:—
Mr. Henry Rochford, Ivy Lodge, Windsor Avenue, Fairview, Dublin.

Dublin Corporation Workmen:—
Mr. Daniel J. Magee, 24 Winetavern Street, Dublin.
Mr. Robert Tynan, 24 Winetavern Street, Dublin.

Dublin Typographical Provident Society:—
Mr. M. P. O'Flanagan and Mr. T. Phillips, 35 Lr. Gardiner St., Dublin

Dublin Tinsmiths and Sheet Metal Workers:—
Mr. John Farren, 20 Blackhall Place, Dublin.

Dublin United Brassfounders' and Gasfitters' Society:—
Mr. Francis Young, 37 Hamilton Street, S.C.R., Dublin.

Derry and District Trades and Labour Council:—
Mr. William Logue T.C., 12 Creggan Road, Derry.
Mr. Andrew Aitken, 13 Lower Strand Road, Derry.

Dublin Operative Plasterers:—
Mr. Thomas Irwin, 22b Nicholas Street, Dublin.

Electrical Trades Union:—
J. J. Collins, 27 Mount Temple Road, Dublin.
Mr. Ernest N. Kidd, 13 Jocelyn Street, Belfast.

Flaxroughers and Spinners (Belfast):—
Mr. Dawson Gordon, 17 College Street, Belfast.
Mr. Henry White, 36 Bowness Street, Belfast.

General Union of Carpenters and Joiners:—
Mr. R. Brophy, 55 Ring Street, Inchicore, Dublin.

Irish Glass-bottle Makers:—
Mr. J. Longmore, Bottlemakers' Hall, Irishtown Road, Dublin.
Mr. Thomas Flanagan, Stella Gardens, Irishtown, Dublin.

Transport and General Workers' Union, Irish:—
Mr. Thomas Foran, P.L.G., Liberty Hall, Dublin.
Mr. James J. Hughes, Liberty Hall, Dublin.
Mr. P. Nagle, 8 Camden Quay, Cork.
Mr. Michael Lynch, New Street, Sligo.
Mr. Edward Watson, Emmet Place, Limerick.
Mr. John Flood, 13 Prospect Hill, Limerick.
Mr. Michael McCarthy, Liberty Hall, Dublin.
Mr. William Vickers, Liberty Hall, Dublin.

Mr. Joseph Metcalfe, Liberty Hall, Dublin.
 Mr. Joseph O'Neill, Liberty Hall, Dublin.
 Mr. John Dillon, Liberty Hall, Dublin.
 Mr. J. Gannon, Liberty Hall, Dublin.
 Mr. Thos. Kennedy, 20 Charlemont Mall, Dublin.
 Mr. J. Walsh, 17 High Street, Dublin.
 Mr. James Lawlor, 4 Ballymoe Lane, Tallaght, Co. Dublin.
 Mr. James Flanagan, 122 Corporation Street, Belfast.
 Alderman Richard Corish, 15 Charlotte Street, Wexford.
 Mr. M. J. O'Connor, 1 Lower Hartstonge Street, Limerick.
 Mr. John O'Brien, Coolyheran, Ballysimon, Co. Limerick.
 Mr. Denis Houston, 8 Camden Quay, Cork.
 Mr. Richard Hawkins, 27 Grattan Street, Cork.
 Mr. Dan Barrett, 29 Gillabhey Street, Cork.
 Mr. C. O'Shannon, 8 Camden Quay, Cork.
 Mr. John Brew, 8 Camden Quay, Cork.
 Mr. Patrick Wilson, 14 Convent Hill, Waterford.
 Mr. L. A. Veale, Abbeyside, Dungarvan.
 Mr. M. Nolan, Burrowfield, Baldoyle.
 Mr. James Moore, Laracor, Lucan.
 Mr. E. Kelly, 15 Aberdeen Square, Bray.
 Mr. Jeremiah Murphy, 73 Boherbee, Tralee.
 Mr. Joseph Gaule, 12 Coomble, Arklow.
 Mr. Michael Smyth, Athgarvan, Newbridge.
 Alderman John Lynch, Liberty Hall, Sligo.
 Mr. M. Holland, 2 New Lane, Waterford.
 Mr. P. Coates, 1 Cathedral Square, Waterford.

Irish Drapers' Assistants' Association:—

Mr. M. J. O'Lehane, Cavendish House, Dublin.
 Mr. L. J. Duffy, 12 Patrick Street, Cork.
 Mr. Patrick Tynan, c/o T. B. Smith, 19 Barronstrand Street, Waterford

Irish Automobile Drivers' and Mechanics' Union:—

Mr. Peter Boyle, 7 Kingsland Park Avenue, S.C.R., Dublin.
 Mr. Eugene Lacy, 18 Talbot Street, Dublin.

Irish Women Workers' Union:—

Miss Mary Mullen, 10 Lauderdale Terrace, Dublin.
 Miss Bridget Kelly, 9 Upper Camden Street, Dublin.
 Mrs. Callendar, 1 Fontenoy Terrace, Bray.
 Miss Bennett.

Irish Amalgamated Bakers' Union:—

Mr. Francis Moran, 22 Upper Ormond Quay, Dublin.
 Mr. Denis Cullen, 22 Upper Ormond Quay, Dublin.
 Mr. Samuel Curham and Mr. William Cullen, Waterford.

International Tailors, Machinists and Pressers T. U.:—

Mr. Walter Carpenter, 110 Foley Street, Dublin.

Irish Asylum Workers' Union:—

Mr. John Lawlor, 9 Fontenoy Street, Dublin.
 Mr. Patrick Casey, District Asylum, Limerick.

Irish National Trade and Labour Union:—

Mr. James Murphy, C.P.L.G., Ballinamuddagh, Ballagh, Enniscorthy.
 Mr. R. F. King, Lower Church Street, Enniscorthy.

Irish Stationary Engine-Drivers' T. U.:—

Mr. W. J. Muldowney, 10 South Dock Street, Dublin.
 Mr. Edward Exton, 11 Ferry Bank, Arklow.
 Mr. M. Deegan, 40 Alphonsus Road, Waterford.

Irish National Teachers' Organisation—Central Executive Committee:—

Mr. T. J. Nunan, Vice-President, Ardfer, Tralee.
 Mr. James Cunningham, J.P., Ballincollig, Cork.

Mr. T. J. O'Connell, General Secretary, Streamstown, Westmeath.
 Miss M. Doyle, M.A., 16 Achill Road, Drumcondra.
 Miss Katie Tierney, Churchtown, Buttevant, Co. Cork.
 Mr. W. B. Lawlor, Kilmoyley, Ardfer, Tralee.
 Mr. J. F. O'Farrell, Whitecross, Laytown, Co. Meath.
 Mr. P. J. Quinn, 10 Ring Street, Inchicore.
 Mr. J. Ryan, Kilfenora, Co. Clare.
 Mr. J. T. M'Gill, 62 Chief Street, Belfast.

Mullingar Association:—

Mr. J. Casey, Milltown N.S., Ballynacargy, Mullingar.

Irish National Union of Vintners, Grocers and Allied Trades Assistants:—

Mr. John Stapleton, 6 Shamrock Terrace, North Strand, Dublin.

Irish Clerical Workers' Union:—

Mr. D. Logue, 1 College Street, Dublin.
 Mr. P. J. McGuinness, 1 College Street, Dublin.
 Mr. G. Gerald Griffin, 73 Cabra Park, Dublin.
 Mr. R. F. Blackburne, 51 Denzille Street, Dublin.
 Mr. Joseph A. Frew, "Homeville," Thomas Street, Clonmel.
 Mr. Clarke, 73 Cabra Park, Dublin.
 Mr. Thomas Murphy, 19 Portobello Road, Dublin.

Killarney Trades Council:—

Mr. William Bland, Upper Sunny Hill, Killarney.

Kilkenny Trades Council:—

Mr. Pierce, Wall, Abbey Street, Kilkenny.
 Mr. T. Walsh, N.T., Ballyfoyle, Co. Kilkenny.

Limerick Trades Council:—

Mr. J. Cronin, Prospect, Limerick.
 Mr. Jas. Casey, 23 Bowman Street, Limerick.
 Mr. Patrick Walsh, B.C., Wickham Street, Limerick.
 Mr. Stephen Halpin, 2 Stoke's Lane, Lord Edward Street, Limerick.

Mechanical and Heating Engineers:—

Mr. John Nolan, Trades Hall, Dublin.

Metropolitan House-painters:—

Mr. P. Birmingham and Mr. E. MacCabe, 27 Aungier Street, Dublin.

Mullingar Trades Council:—

Mr. T. J. Redmond, 13 Greville Street, Mullingar.

Mullingar Trade and Labour Union:—

Mr. J. Gavan, Harrington Row, Mullingar.

National Union of Assurance Agents:—

Mr. J. Byrne, 6 Whitworth Place, Dublin.

National Union of Shop Assistants and Clerks:—

Mr. Thomas Johnson, 13 Ranfurley Drive, Belfast.
 Mr. O. Humphrey, 15 Dyke Parade, Cork.
 Hairdressers' Branch—Mr. E. Owens, 1 Glengall Street, Belfast.

National Union of Dockers:—

Drogheda—Mr. Robert Nugent, Foresters' Hall, Drogheda.
 Derry—Mr. William J. M'Nulty, 74 Long Tower Street, Derry.
 Carrick-on-Suir Branch—Mr. Michael Fitzgerald.
 Clonmel Branch—Mr. J. McCormick, 18 Cottages River Street, Clonmel.
 Waterford Branch—Mr. John Murphy, 25 Spring Garden Alley, Waterford.
 Dundalk Branch—Mr. James Smyth, 7 Annavilla Terrace, Chapel Street, Dundalk.
 Galway Branch—Mr. Flaherty, St. Augustine Street, Galway.

National Amalgamated Society of House and Ship Painters:—

Mr. J. Cooke, 5 Belvedere Avenue, N.C.R., Dublin.

National Amalgamated Union of Labour:—

Branch No. 112.—Mr. Frank Friel, 5 Ann Street, Derry.

National Sailors' and Firemen's Union:—

Mr. J. H. Bennett, 4 Commons Street, Dublin.

Mr. V. B. Hill, 123 The Quay Waterford.

Mr. George Carter, 4 Merchant's Quay, Cork.

National Union of Bookbinders and Machine Rulers:—

Dublin Branch—Mr. Andrew Cummins, 3 Robert Place, Drumcondra, Dublin.

National Amalgamated Furnishing Trades Association:—

Mr. D. Mulcahy, 26 George's Place, Dublin

National Society of Brushmakers:—

Mr. Bernard Quinn, 35 Viking Road, Dublin.

National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives:—

Cork Branch—Mr. D. Scannell, 12 Greenmount Buildings, Cork.

National Union of Printing and Paper Workers:—

Mr. Charles Osborne, 8 Gloucester Place, Dublin.

National Union of Railwaymen:—

Mr. N. Rimmer, 2 Beresford Place, Dublin.

Mr. T. Daly, 22 Parnell Place, Cork.

Mr. Hennessy, 19 Rose Terrace, Inchicore, Dublin.

Athlone Branch—Mr. Thomas Barry, 12 Percy Cottages, Athlone.

Connaught District Council—Mr. Patrick Fahy, Galway Station, Sligo.

Collooney Branch—Mr. Michael Jennings, River View, Collooney, Co Sligo.

Cork Branch—Mr. John Good, 54 Grand Parade, Cork.

Broadstone (Dublin) Branch—

Mr. Thos. C. Daly, 20 Great Western Villas, Phibsboro', Dublin.

Thomas Kenny, 14 Temple Cottages, Broadstone, Dublin.

Mr. Walter Walsh, 195 Phibsboro' Road, Dublin.

Galway Branch—Mr. P. Molloy, 38 St. Brigid's Terrace, Galway.

Inchicore Branch—Mr. John Kenny, 22 Tyrconnell Street, Inchicore.

Mullingar Branch—Mr. John McKeon, 5 St. Patrick's Terrace, Mullingar.

Sligo Branch—William Hande, William Street, Sligo.

Waterford Branch—Messrs. Luke Larkin and M. O'Dwyer.

Packing Case Makers:—

Mr. Fred Schweppe, 35 Mountjoy Square, Dublin.

Postmen's Federation:—

Mr. H. J. Lincoln, 240 Edgeware Road, London, W.C.

Mr. W. J. Bowen, 102 Marlborough Road, Brynwill Road, Swansea.

Waterford Branch—Mr. Martin Flynn, 13 Green Street, Waterford.

Mr. C. P. Kelly, 4 St. Joseph's Terrace, Wellington Street, Dublin.

Mr. W. J. Shortt, 36 Egeria Street, Belfast.

Queenstown Trades and Labour Council:—

Mr. E. Lynch, Cushkinny, Queenstown.

Mr. D. Ronayne, 17 St. Colman's Square, Queenstown.

Railway Clerks' Association:—

National Executive Committee—

Mr. W. E. Williams, 75 Birkbeck Road, Enfield, N. (President).

Mr. W. Davin, 22 Tyrconnell Road, Inchicore, Dublin (Member of Executive Committee).

Mr. G. Lathan, 25 Euston Road, N.W. 1 (Assistant General Secretary).

Mr. J. T. O'Farrell, 1 Botanic Avenue, Glasnevin, Dublin (Irish Secretary).

Irish Council—

Mr. W. B. MacMahon, 7 Ardmore Avenue, N. C. Road, Dublin.

Mr. T. Moore, 94 Oldpark Road, Belfast.

Mr. E. O'Carroll, 21 Philippsburgh Avenue, Clontarf, Dublin.

Mr. E. O'Mahony, 87, Rathmore Place, Cork.

Belfast Branch—Mr. J. Tipping, 50 Bachelor's Walk, Lisburn, Belfast.

Cork Branch—Mr. W. F. O'Donoghue, 5 Janeville Terrace, Sundays Well, Cork.

Dublin Branch—Mr. W. MacNamara, 49 Tyrconnell Road, Inchicore, Dublin.

Mr. W. J. Briscoe, 37 Charleville Road, Cabra, Dublin.

Railway Clearing House Branch—Mr. Cullen, 112a North Strand Road, Dublin.

Londonderry Branch—Mr. W. P. O'Doherty, 13 Butcher St., Londonderry.

West Clare Branch—Mr. T. Brooks, Stationmaster, Kilkee Station.

Shipping and Transport Clerks' Association:—

Mr. Thomas Davy, 14 Grand Canal Place, Dublin.

Sligo Trades Council:—

Mr. Thomas Kelly, Knappagh Road, Sligo.

South Kildare Labour Union:—

Mr. C. J. Supple, Foxhill, Athy.

Stone-cutters' Union of Ireland:—

Mr. Thomas Farren, 1 Johanna Ville, Crumlin Road, Dublin.

Typographical Association:—

Mr. Thomas Cassidy, 41 Chapel Road, Waterside, Derry.

Mr. John Clarke, 12 Frederick Street, Belfast.

Belfast Branch—Mr. Frank Hall, 22 Newington Street, Belfast.

Mr. John Yaugh, 89 Albert Street, Belfast.

Tralee Trades and Labour Council:—

Mr. Michael O'Connell, 2 Cronin's Terrace, Rock Street, Tralee.

United Builders' Labourers:—

Mr. Thomas McCullagh, 16 Usher's Quay, Dublin.

Mr. Nicholas Tyrrell, 7 Grand Canal Street, Dublin.

United Kingdom Society of Coachmakers:—

Mr. Michael Egan, J.P., T.C., 19 Commons Road, Cork.

Mr. John Swan, 29 South King Street, Dublin.

Mr. Patrick Kirk, 14 Ellis's Quay, Dublin.

United Operative Plumbers and Domestic Engineers:—

Dublin Lodge—Mr. Peter Birmingham, 76 Lombard Street, West, Dublin.

Waterford Lodge—Mr. Patrick Stafford, Wellington Street, Waterford.

Waterford Trades Council:—

Mr. Edward Dalton, Trades Hall, Waterford.

Mr. R. Keane, T.C., Trades Hall, Waterford.

Mr. W. O'Connor, T.C., Trades Hall, Waterford.

Mr. Thomas Dunne, Trades Hall, Waterford.

Wexford Trades Council:—

Mr. P. White, King Street, Wexford.

FRATERNAL DELEGATES.

Scottish Trades Union Congress:—

Messrs. Joseph O'Hagan and Robert Simpson.

**Irish Labour Party and Trade
Union Congress.**

REPORT

OF A

Special Conference

HELD IN THE

Mansion House, Dublin,

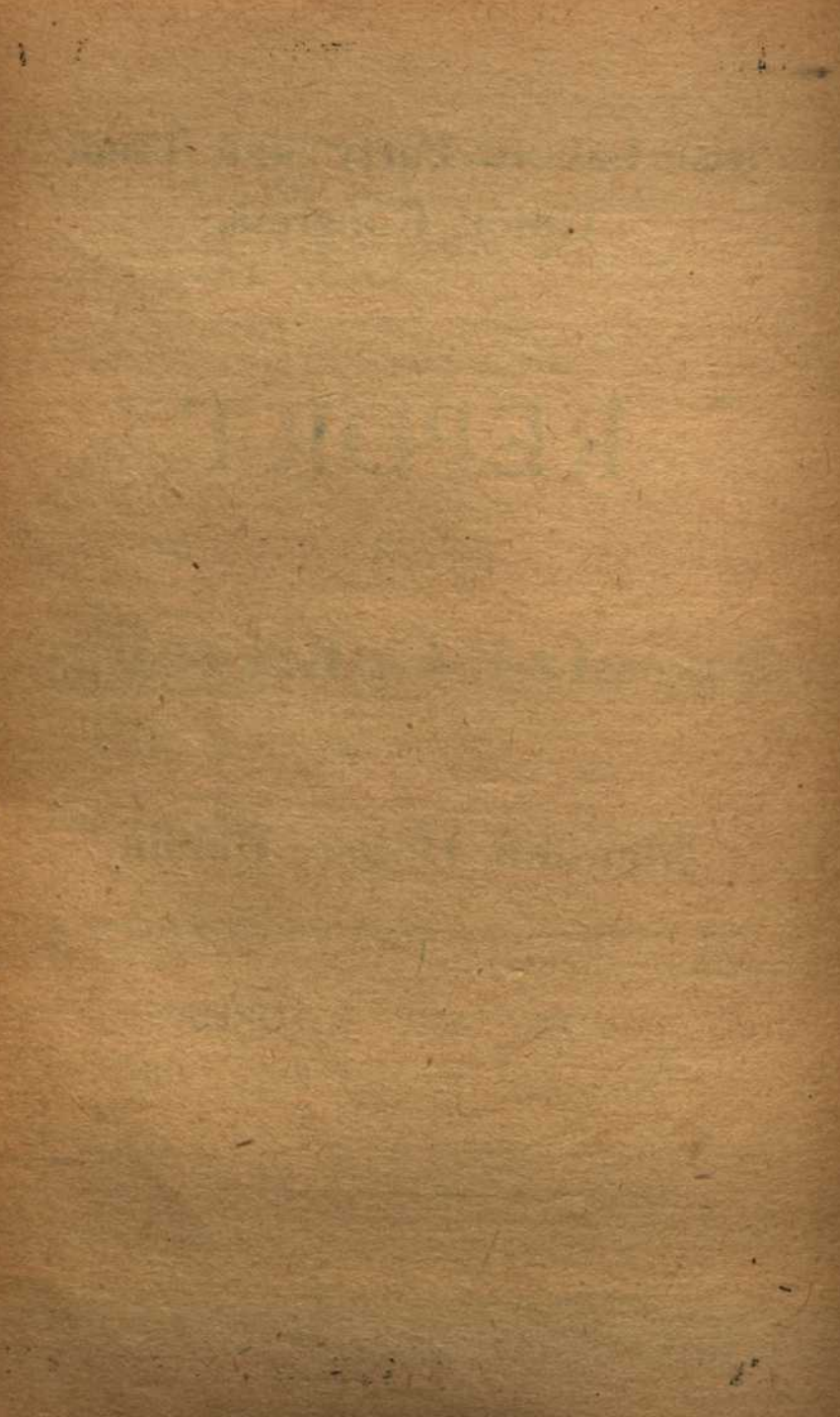
ON

FRIDAY AND SATURDAY,

November, 1st and 2nd, 1918.

Published by Authority of the National Executive.

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SPECIAL CONGRESS.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 1st, 1918.

A Special Congress of the Irish Trade Union Congress and Labour Party was held in the Mansion House, Dublin, on Friday, November 1st, and Saturday, November 2nd, 1918.

Mr. Thomas Cassidy (Typographical Association) Derry, Chairman of the National Executive, presided.

Expulsion of the Seamen's and Firemen's Delegates.

When the President called the Congress to order on Friday afternoon,

Mr. Thomas Foran (Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, Dublin) said:—Before you go into the business proper of the Congress I want to make a protest and move a resolution. The resolution I wish to move is the expulsion of the delegates representing the National Union of Sailors and Firemen.

The President—I think, Mr. Foran, I cannot allow you to go any further. This is a special Congress called by the decision of the Waterford Congress. All delegates at the Waterford Congress have a perfect and just right to be here.

Mr. Foran—Yes, but circumstances have arisen since the Waterford Congress that justify me in moving this resolution.

The President—I don't like to interfere or closure you in any manner, but I am really in such a position that I do not know if it is right on my part to allow you to continue. I know nothing of the circumstances to which you refer.

Mr. Foran—If you give me permission for a few moments I will give you sufficient reasons for the resolutions I want to move.

The President—I would like to know the circumstances in order to give fair play.

Mr. Foran—This Congress is pledged to the Internationale.

Mr. M. Egan (Cork) said they wanted to try to run the Congress as smoothly and as well as they could in the crisis through which they were passing. The Executive of the Congress met the previous night, and if there was any special matter to go before it Mr. Foran might have brought it forward. As he had not done so they might be allowed to proceed with the business for which they had assembled. The delegates would give Mr. Foran an opportunity of discussing at a later period the matter to which he referred. In the interest of the movement they should proceed without bringing in a contentious matter.

Mr. Foran said he was not going to sacrifice
a great and fundamental principle

in the interests of the smooth carrying on of the Congress. He had no opportunity of knowing that the Sailors' and Firemen's Union would be represented there until he got the list of delegates. Knowing that they were present he wanted to protest against the Union being represented at that Congress. The Secretary of the Internationale asked for deeds and not words; and they in Ireland who were pledged to the International movement ought to respond to the call of the Secretary of the Internationale. They ought to enter their most emphatic protest against those bounders who were playing the game of the international capitalists to prevent the working classes of the world from meeting at or about the time of the Peace Conference. They should not allow them in Ireland; they should not countenance those people amongst them; and it was for that reason he wanted to move: "That the delegates of the National Union of Sailors and Firemen be expelled from this Congress."

The President—I am entertaining that motion.

Mr. P. Coates (I. T. and G. W. U., Waterford) seconded. He said he would like to remind the delegates that they were pledged to the Internationale and were determined, if possible, that Irish Labour should raise its voice at the Congress of International Labour when that assembled. Were they going to be true to the Internationale or were they not? The Secretary was endeavouring to arrange for an International Congress of Labour to be held at the same time as the Peace Conference was sitting; and Havelock Wilson and his gang were simply playing the game of the British gang in stopping Huysmans going to form that Congress. Was not Wilson openly proclaiming in the English Press that he had

prevented their friends from sailing

and that he received cheques galore from stockbrokers and manufacturers who wanted the war to continue on account of the money they were making out of it. If they did not protest against these Seamen and Firemen Union delegates being present it meant that they were countenancing their action in preventing the Congress of Labour from assembling. He hoped the Congress would unanimously carry the resolution.

The President said he had allowed the resolution to be discussed because he believed the action of the Seamen and Firemen's Union deserved the condemnation of the workers of the country.

Mr. J. H. Bennett (N. S. and F. U.)—I did not hear you opening the meeting. The question cannot be discussed before the meeting is opened.

The President—The meeting was formally opened when I rose.

He ruled that the meeting was in order in discussing the motion.

Mr. Bennett asked the mover and seconder of the resolution of protest if they knew anything about Huysmans at all. (Cries of "Yes"). If not interrupted he would let the delegates know why the Sailors and Firemen refused to allow Henderson and Huysmans to go across the water. There were delegates there who did not know it. It was a fact that members of the Sailors' and Firemen's Union, men who were working the ships, refused to carry Mr. Henderson and Camille Huysmans across the water, but they had not got any reasons stated to them either by the mover or seconder of the resolution why they should be carried. He had evidence, had he known that this matter was coming up, which he could produce to prove that Camille Huysmans did not represent the working people of Belgium. Belgian people had written stating that Camille Huysmans did not voice their opinions, and that was the reason why the Sailors and Firemen had refused to carry them across the water along with their determination

to boycott the Germans

for the crimes which they had committed not only at sea but on land. They had one lately at their own door, and he was sorry to say they had lost some of their own comrades in that. In saying that he was pleased to know that since the last Congress at Waterford their enemies at that Congress were turning round; and Mr. Foran was one of the Treasurers of a Fund that was being raised for the dependents of the victims of the latest crime and brutality of the Germans in sinking the "Leinster."

Mr. Foran—On a point of order, what has my Treasurership to do with the question at issue?

Mr. Bennett—I don't beg of this Congress to keep us in it. I am going to leave it to the delegates whether we shall remain or go.

Mr. D. R. Campbell (Belfast Trades Council) said he did not know whether Mr. Bennett or any of the delegates were acquainted with M. Huysmans, but he made his acquaintance in the office of the Internationale, and quite recently had the pleasure of renewing his acquaintance. On behalf of that Congress he supported the resolution and incidentally to tell Mr. Bennett why in their opinion he (Huysmans) should be carried across the water,—because he was still the Secretary of the Internationale. Until he was deprived of that and until no longer the working classes of Europe reposed confidence in him they had a right to support him. They had interviewed him, along with other notabilities, with regard to their national entity and recognition, and for any man to say because of tittle-tattle that Huysmans did not represent labour was

insulting labour

in that country and in Europe generally. His opinion of M.

Huysmans was that his statements and actions during the international holocaust had proven him to be, so far as a man could be in his view of the conflict of the last four years, the trusted representative of the Internationale, or what remained of the International working class movement. They had gone to him for credentials about that Congress, and the time had arrived to voice the feeling of the organized workers because of the action of the Seamen and Firemen's Union; and as suggested its delegates should be refused attendance at that Congress (applause).

Mr. William O'Brien (Dublin Trades Council) said the delegates had listened to Mr. Bennett, but they had not heard him make any defence of the action taken by his Union. Mr. Bennett need not have attributed that action to members of the Union at all; because they knew that, led by Mr. Havelock Wilson, the official staff of the Union was behind that action. Mr. Bennett said they did not know M. Huysmans. He (Mr. O'Brien) knew M. Huysmans, and M. Huysmans was not the only one they refused to take. Mr. Bennett said that M. Huysmans did not represent the workers of Belgium. They refused to take Mr. Henderson and Mr. Bowerman. Did they represent the workers of Great Britain? Mr. Henderson was Secretary of the Labour Party, and Mr. Bowerman was Secretary of the Trades Union Congress. Would Mr. Bennett contend that they did not represent the workers of Great Britain? They had seen other action of this kind taken during the war. They had seen the Sailors and Firemen down tools

in the case of the "Saxonia,"

when they objected to the workers of Ireland going out of Great Britain. They thought they should have remained behind to do some of the fighting that Mr. Bennett and his fellow-countrymen were not prepared to do. When sailors and firemen were sent to sea in coffin ships, when Plimsoll protested against it, they did not down tools because it was in the interests of the carrying companies, the international capitalists who were reaping profits out of the lives of the sailors in the coffin ships. Never once. They had never taken action except to support the capitalists. They had never taken genuine international action. They were scabs in the movement; and they would not be a self-respecting movement if they did not expel their delegates. He hoped the Congress would adopt the resolution.

Mr. Chas. Kelly (Postmen's Federation, Dublin) said there was a good deal of evidence in support of the Motion. He had recently attended a very large Congress, and their General Secretary was prevented from going abroad to represent British labour by the same body. There was a resolution from one of their largest bodies in England condemning their action and threatening reprisals. That resolution was withdrawn on the ground that it was not worth while to give them further advertisement. The feeling of the Congress at the same time was

entirely against the Sailors' and Firemen's Union which prevented their Secretary from going to America. They were really playing the Capitalists' game.

and the feelings of organised labour should be strongly expressed in reference to this business.

Mr. William Logue (Derry T.C.)—Does the motion mean expelling the delegates present?

The President—Yes.

Mr. Logue said this was a continuation of the Waterford Congress, and they were not permitted to continue the agenda which should have been finished at Waterford.

The President—It is not a continuation of the Waterford agenda. It is special business.

Mr. Logue said without going into the merits of their action or the motion he regarded it as a gross injustice to the representatives if the Congress expelled them. They had a perfect right, having accepted affiliation, to be allowed to participate in the continuation of the Congress from Waterford.

Messrs. Irwin, Houston, Daly (Cork) and Kiely were appointed tellers for this motion, and a vote was taken.

The figures were: For the motion, 99; Against, 10.

The chairman declared the motion carried, and there was continued applause.

As Mr. Bennett with his colleagues took his departure from the assembly he said—We will continue to stop carrying them!

Chairman's Address.

The President then addressed the Congress. Before proceeding with the business which had called that Special Congress together he said he ~~felt~~ it his duty to refer to the terrible tragedy which a short time previously had been enacted close to their shores and through which the Labour Movement in Ireland had lost two of its best known representatives in

the late Ald. McCarron and Mr. Patrick Lynch,

and in which the lives of members of Unions affiliated to that Congress were sacrificed at their post of duty. Proceeding he said:—

Be our opinions what they may, I feel I am but expressing the feelings of the workers of Ireland when I say that the awful news of the sinking of the "Leinster" sent a thrill of horror through every fibre of each one of us, and when it was learned that amongst the victims of that tragic occurrence were comrades whom we loved, that feeling of horror was a hundred-fold accentuated. For almost a quarter of a century had I been in close touch with James McCarron in the Labour Movement in his native city, where he was always looked up to as the sterling champion of the workers. In these early years Trade Unionism did not

receive the respect which it to-day commands, and its opponents were strong and bitter. Against all the strong opposition which then existed McCarron struggled fearlessly. His was a fighting nature, and when fighting had to be done in the cause to which he devoted his life he was always to be found in the front ranks. Hard did he struggle for the organisation of the workers of his native city, especially the female workers, and he lived to see this accomplished and Derry one of the best organised centres in Ireland. His worth as a citizen was generally recognised. He was the first direct labour representative returned to the Borough Council, and here his ability was soon recognised, being elected chairman of the most important of the municipal committees—the Public Health, which position he filled with advantage to the citizens and honour to himself until his untimely death. As he was known and respected in his native city so also was he known and respected throughout the Labour world. I believe I am right in saying that he was associated with the Irish Trades Congress since its inauguration in Dublin in 1894, and was present at every annual Congress until Waterford last August. Three times did he preside over its deliberations. The work of McCarron and men like him in the past has done much to raise the Irish Labour movement to the position it now occupies. For the uplifting and betterment of the workers did he struggle in life; in this same cause was he engaged when he met his sad end in the awful tragedy of the Irish mail-boat "Leinster." With Paddy Lynch I can not claim such an extended acquaintance but since first I met him some twelve years ago I recognised in him a straight forward and fearless advocate of the cause in which he was engaged. The friendship then made ripened year by year, and year by year was strengthened my faith in his honesty and integrity. What McCarron did for the workers of Derry Paddy Lynch did for the workers of Cork. As McCarron was respected in Derry so was Lynch respected in Cork, and in Cork and Derry as well as throughout Ireland the workers mourn the death of two who in life had accomplished much for them. Together were these two joined in their life-work, together have they been joined in death. May their souls be joined together in everlasting peace! With them on that fatal journey was another engaged on the same work—Ted Donoghue, the representative of the Wood-workers' Union, who was returning after settling a wages question in Athlone. While filled with horror at the awful tragedy, which has deprived our movement of such men and bereaved hundreds of families, we should join our voices in the demand which is being made for an enquiry into the circumstances surrounding the sinking of the mail-boat. While for four years these boats had luckily escaped the hidden dangers, yet the risk was ever apparent to those in charge, and appeals were continuously being made for adequate protection. These appeals went unheeded, and eventually that which was always feared occurred. Those of us who

have crossed the Channel since the outbreak of war know how real these dangers were. That which is now definitely stated should not have occurred, the lives of men, women, and children have been sacrificed, and it is due to them and their bereaved ones that a searching enquiry should be instituted. I do not consider it necessary to move a formal vote of sympathy upon this occasion, but as a token of your sympathy with all those bereaved through this terrible tragedy I ask you to rise for a short time in your places.

The delegates as a mark of sympathy rose, and remained standing for some time.

The President, continuing, said the delegates would remember that at the Waterford Congress a number of resolutions were on the agenda aiming at

alterations in the Constitution

of the Congress and the Irish Labour Party. As a result of deliberations of representatives of the Unions it was recommended that the whole question would be placed in the hands of the National Executive, who at once entered upon their duty. A draft Committee was appointed who drew up a constitution and submitted it to a full meeting of the National Executive, where it was fully discussed, and some alterations were made. That constitution as coming from the National Executive had been placed before the different affiliated bodies throughout the country, and amendments to it had been sent, but he would say not so many as he anticipated. That meeting had been called to consider the constitution and the amendments thereto. In connection with that special Congress and owing to circumstances which arose between the Waterford and the present assembly, and also the discussion of the actions of the National Executive and

the Manifesto that was issued

they had decided to give an opportunity to the delegates attending that Congress to discuss the whole question of election policy. Matters had been moving so rapidly recently in connection with the war, and also arrangements which he hoped would eventuate shortly in peace, that they also deemed it advisable to put a statement before the Congress as to the attitude of Irish Labour towards these questions. Owing to the importance in their opinion of the question of the election policy of the Irish Trades Union Congress and Labour Party they, as an Executive, had decided to take that question first. They would then take up the statement which had been prepared on the international situation. When these matters were discussed the discussion of the draft constitution would take place. It was also suggested that before the termination of the Congress there would be references made to the case of Tom Mooney.

Messrs. T. Daly (N.U.R., Cork), and Thomas Irwin (Dublin Operative Plasterers) were elected tellers for the Congress.

Mr. N. Rimmer (N.U.R.) moved that the recommendation of the National Executive that the discussion of election policy be first business be not accepted, but that the amendments to the Standing Orders would become first business in accordance with the decision at Waterford. The questions, he said, should not be reversed in this manner by the Executive Committee except by the consent of the Congress. The Congress at Waterford had decided that that Congress should be specially called to discuss amendments to the constitution, and that should stand first business.

The President said as there was no seconder the motion fell through.

Mr. W. Carpenter (International Tailors and Pressers, Dublin) rose to second the motion.

The President—Anyone who intended seconding should get on their feet in time.

ELECTION POLICY.

Mr. Thomas Johnson (National Union Shop Assistants, Etc.), Treasurer, on behalf of the National Executive, made a statement with regard to the General Election policy proposed for the Congress and the Irish Labour Party. He said in the intimation calling the Congress it was announced that an opportunity would be provided for a discussion on a General Election policy, and the Executive had asked him to state their position in the matter. He supposed every delegate had got and had read the manifesto that was issued. He hoped they had read the whole of it, and did not simply put their finger upon one paragraph and think that that was the be-all and end-all of their Irish Labour policy. If they had read the whole manifesto he had no doubt that they came across many phrases and passages that they jibbed at and that they questioned; but on the whole the manifesto expressed the desires, opinions, and aspirations of Irish Labour. The purpose of issuing the manifesto was to state in the circumstances that prevailed in the middle of September with a prospect of an early General Election that Irish Labour should put forward a number of candidates at the coming Parliamentary Election. The reasons determining that decision were pretty fully dealt with in the manifesto. These reasons were based upon the decisions of previous Congresses. They were based upon the Executive's belief and interpretation of the wishes and desires of the Irish workers; and the whole Executive were prepared to stand or fall at that time by that decision. Strange as it might appear to those critics who know little about

the thoughts of the Labour Movement

in these matters, the Executive did not consider that the election of five or six or ten or twenty Members of Parliament was going

to be the end and purpose of the Irish Labour movement (hear, hear). But they thought that the opportunity an election provided for the workers of Ireland to state their opinions on working-class political action, and to declare their allegiance to the ideals and policy which they set forth—that such an opportunity as that gave for action in the political field should be availed of (hear, hear). They held that the main purpose of the Irish Labour Party was not the election of one or two, or one or two dozen, to any Parliament, but the building up of

an organised political Labour consciousness

in this country, definitely democratic; democratic on all issues, not democratic on only a single issue, temporary and evanescent. They wanted to see a Labour Party in Ireland, a really democratic party, with a democratic policy on every issue that arose; and that with regard to all questions, political, social, and economic, their policy would be decided from the point of view of the working classes (hear hear). Many things had happened since September 14th. They were reading daily of the

tottering of thrones and the births of new Republics.

The developments of the previous fortnight compelled the Executive to review the whole position, and he was asked to read for the delegates the declaration of the Executive, and to ask them to confirm it or throw it out. The statement was as follows:—

“Six weeks ago when the National Executive decided that it was for the best interests of Ireland and Labour that a number of constituencies should be fought by Labour Candidates at the forthcoming General Election there was little sign of an early peace. The prospect before us was that the election then expected would be a “War Election,” to be followed at the end of the War by a dissolution and a second election.

“The unexpected call for an armistice

on the part of the Central Powers has brought us face with the Crisis which was not expected to develop until the “Peace Election” was at hand.

“We had hoped to use the period between the two elections for an active educational propaganda directed towards ensuring that the building of the new Ireland shall be in the hands of men and women who view the problems of political and social development from the standpoint of the working class, to determine, as far as our means and abilities allowed, that the Irish Republic—if such were to be the form of Government determined upon by a people guaranteed the right to choose its own sovereignty,—should be a Workers’ Republic, not an imitation of those Republics of Europe and America, where political democracy is but a cloak for capitalist oligarchy.

“But circumstances have decided that the election now upon us is to be the “Peace Election,” not the “War Election.”

The Grand Inquest about to be opened, has for a jury the nations of the world, the verdict will be given according to the weight of evidence adduced, and that will depend upon the degree of unanimity marked at the polls on the demand for self-determination.

"A call comes from all parts of Ireland for a demonstration of unity on this question, such as was witnessed on the Conscription issue. Your Executive believes that the workers of Ireland join earnestly in this desire, that they would willingly sacrifice, for a brief period, their

aspirations towards political power

if thereby the fortunes of the nation can be enhanced (applause).

"In the light of these new circumstances, the National Executive has reviewed the position and has decided to recommend the withdrawal from this Election of all Labour Candidates (applause). They do so in the hope that the democratic demand for self-determination, to which the Irish Labour Party and its candidates give their unqualified adherence, will thereby obtain the freest chance of expression at the polls. We shall show by this action that, while each of the other political parties is prepared to divide the people in their effort to obtain power, the Labour Party is the only party which is prepared to sacrifice "party" in the interest of the Nation in this important crisis of the history of Ireland (loud applause). We shall also thereby demonstrate to the peoples of all nations as emphatically as peaceful means allow, that at this hour, when other small nations of Europe are asserting their freedom, Ireland, too, demands all the rights of a free nation (prolonged applause)."

Mr. Johnson, continuing, said if that statement were confirmed and the policy outlined approved by the Congress the work of the Irish Labour Party would not cease. Their business would be to go ahead with redoubled energy with the organisation of the Irish Labour Movement in the political field, to take every opportunity in all parts of the country to secure the election of labour representatives on municipal bodies (applause), poor law boards, and every possible public authority, and to prepare the way for an active and, if possible, a dominant Labour Party in Ireland in the future. They believed in present circumstances—

circumstances that were changing hour by hour—

that this was a policy which should recommend itself to the Congress and the country. They asked the delegates if they approved of it, when they went back to the country, to recognise that the Labour Movement was not a movement of any elected persons, but was a body of working class opinion, working day and night in the workshop, in their houses, in their social activities, and in every other aspect of their daily lives. On behalf of the Executive he moved the adoption of the statement which he had read (applause).

Mr. Thomas M'Partlin (A. S. C. and J., Dublin) seconded the motion. Possibly it was right, he said, that he who was one of the men selected to uphold the banner of labour during this General Election ought to be the one to second the adoption of the statement of the Executive. He did so gladly, because from first to last in connection with this election he was influenced solely by the good of the working classes. He had no other thought. Neither at the public meetings or the Conferences at any time did he advance any interests except those of the workers for whom he had always fought. His action that day in seconding the motion was influenced by the same motives. He had no consideration for any political party in Ireland. He was solely influenced by the amount of good it would do in keeping the workers of Ireland united for

the fight that would come in the future.

There was no doubt that in the next six or eight or twelve months unity amongst the workers would be more than ever necessary in this country and in every country. They had contended that their right to sell their labour in the way they thought best was far more important for them than if they held all the seats in England or Ireland. It was far more effective for them to have the industrial workers organised to fight the Capitalist class than to grip political power. He thought every workingman would agree with that; but they knew as workers when the industrial army had been well organised and when the workers were united that it was necessary to get a grip of the political machine to hold what they had gained. At no time did they recognise that the hold of the political machine was as important as having control of the workers in the economic or industrial field. That was what they wanted—to strengthen the workers through Trade Unionism. During the time that they had been making preparations for the General Election they had had opportunities of talking to the workers; and some of them spoke pretty straightly to them and would speak more straightly in the future. Some of the delegates were

steeped to the neck

in some political movements, but he wanted to say that the only movement for the working classes was the Labour movement. During the previous week reports had appeared in the papers from a political party, and suggestions were taken from them that there was collusion between the Labour Party and a political party in the country. He wanted to say as far as he was aware in Ireland there had been no negotiations or collusion, good, bad, or indifferent by the Labour Party with any political party, nor was there likely to be in the future. They had seen a statement in connection with the pledge of one political party. That pledge was submitted to him; it was brought to his bedside while he was sick, but though weak in body he was no way weak in mind,

and he refused point blank to have anything to do with the signing of a pledge of any political party. They possibly seemed suspicious of those in the Labour movement and that M'Partlin and others like him were out for the £400 a year. Well, they were not. If they were they might have unopposed returns. He was not one of those, and there were others like him who were prepared to go on without £400 a year, because the only interest they had in life was the betterment of the class to which they belonged. The seconding of this motion gave him an opportunity of pointing out to the workers that the representatives of all political parties were out for graft, to grab as much as they could. Carson up in the North would pat the workers on the back for the next couple of months; but he would be only doing the same as the United Irish Leaguers would be doing in the south; and it would be the same with the Sinn Fein Party. If they had

Sinn Fein becoming the dominant power

they would have to fight them as they had to fight the rotten and corrupt party in 1914. They would be another political mouthpiece of the capitalist class in this country. They would do probably the same as the others. They would invite foreigners to exploit the labour of the Irish workers, because they would do work cheap. They had a chance now of getting at the workers. While the others were contesting the fate of Ireland at the polling booths; they could decide the fate of the capitalists when the election was over. That was what they should concentrate their minds upon. They should not imagine that there was any weakness on the part of the men who were going to be candidates at the election. There was not one of them but would be prepared to go through the mill if they were only to get one vote. They had got an opportunity of bettering the working classes without resorting to the elections, and they were satisfied that what was done in the Conference would show the workers through the country, with the Labour Party's position placed before them, that they were not going to be tied up with any political party in Ireland. That was a most important point for the workers to get into their heads, because being

subject to foreign tyranny

so long it was thought unless they were connected with some political shopkeeper, capitalist, professional man or petty journalist they could do nothing. They must get away from that idea. It was alone and along with the bricklayer, the shoemaker and the other toilers that they could accomplish anything for the working classes. No one outside their own ranks could be of any use to them. They could and should do their own work in their own way and with their own people. When they wanted to better their own people it was to their own people they should go, and not to the Sinn Fein Party, the United Irish League, the Hibernian or the Orangeman. They should work with the

men who had been tried or who had gone through the mill in their own Unions, and who knew how to fight the employers as their Trade Unions knew how to fight them. If the delegates turned down their recommendations they were just as willing to go on with the fight. They had no fear of any political party in the country. If the recommendations were turned down their men would go to the polls and fight and fight well. They wanted the workers to unite their forces within the Trades Union movement, and for that reason although still as convinced as ever that they had done their part in the national life of the country to entitle them to a fair amount of representation on the Public Boards and in the Parliamentary body—although satisfied, as he said, that they had done their part better than any other political party, they were prepared to forego that in the interests of maintaining their strength in the Trades Unions and what they thought was necessary for the bettering of the working classes in the future (applause).

Mr. N. Rimmer (N.U.R., Dublin) said he whole-heartedly supported the recommendation of the Executive. If adopted it would be an epoch-making resolution in connection with the future of the Irish Labour movement. There was no doubt of it whoever was responsible for the idea, whether it was collective or individual, there were certainly the germs of statesmanship in it (hear, hear).

Mr. D. R. Campbell (Belfast T.C.) said he wanted to get a little more information as to the views of the Executive upon this matter. He had followed Mr. Johnson very closely, but confessed that he had not been able to understand the subtle distinction between a War Election and a Peace Election. He knew, however, it was in their own constitution for the first time that they were to be a definite political party; but the recommendation of the Labour Party was that there should be no Labour candidates at this election, either in the cause of the Trade Union Congress or otherwise. If that were to be so it was going back on the policy hitherto held by the organised workers who were to run a candidate against all comers. It was not a matter of adopting that as a progressive programme. It was going back of what they were quite a number of years ago. One might ask this—In what circumstances would it be possible to run a Labour candidate for a Peace Election and not a War Election? That suggested that there were conditions and other questions arising at the War Election that would not hold good at a Peace Election. Mr. M'Partlin had advised them not to belong to any political party or touch any party but to stick to the workers' party. Were they to leave the field open to other parties that were definitely political? Was it to be left to the Nationalists and Sinn Feiners in the south and to give a walkover to

the Conservative crowd in the North?

Was that the suggestion, or was it held that they would come out a better equipped political party by lying low in this particular election and leaving the others to thresh the matter out? As far as he could gather that was the claim as to the Nationalist position all along—the national question so much transcended all other questions at the particular moment that all questions of the working classes of economic consideration or the really faithful representation of a class should be left in abeyance. Had not that been the argument of the political parties so far as Ireland was concerned—"Wait until the National question is settled"? He asked himself the question "Would a Labour man going forward not appear in the eyes of the proletariat as good a spokesman of his class as the representative of any other political party"? On the whole he regarded the whole situation as embracing too much of a somersault for him to execute. Having regard to the whole circumstances he thought the delegates ought to have more information as to the cause of the change of front from the time the Manifesto was issued. He did not see why they should take this step backward without further knowledge as to why they were taking it.

Mr. Walter Carpenter (International Tailors' and Pressers' Union, Dublin) in supporting the recommendation of the National Executive, said he did so for quite a different reason from that which Mr. Campbell had doubts about. The constitution that the Congress would be asked to adopt before separating was an

absolutely revolutionary

socialistic programme. For that reason he was glad the suggestion of the Executive was brought forward, so that at the coming elections the men they would select as their candidates would not be wasting their time as they had done at previous elections declaring that they were not Socialists (hear, hear). But one of the chief reasons which he had for supporting the resolution was that he for one did not believe that the working classes of Ireland were educated enough to justify the Executive in running candidates. He hoped the constitution would be adopted in its entirety because it was the only hope for the working classes. It would give the Executive the opportunity they wanted; and that was to go amongst the working classes and educate them up to a class consciousness which they had not got at present (hear, hear).

Mr. Chas. Kelly (Postmen's Federation, Dublin) said the recommendation from the Executive gave him great pleasure. He had never yet failed to claim Labour's right to self-determination. There was no political barring out, and no political party had the right to say that Labour should stand down. Labour should stand above them all. The bulk of the workers were more or less blinded now, not so much by capitalistic influences as by National. They knew that Continental monarchs were losing their scalps every day and monarchies were being turned into Republics;

and the people of Ireland would like to realize these things themselves. At the election it would not be a question between Capital and Labour but

a question of self-determination.

While Labour had the strongest claim above all others the Executive were well advised in letting that issue to be fought out between the people at the next election. It was not capitalism or labour would be the question. It was a question of Ireland being first, and the working classes were the people to make sacrifices, and he was sure they would make them upon that occasion. They were often blind to their own interests, but he thought the recommendation of the Executive would fall in line with the views of the ordinary working classes of the country (hear, hear).

Mr. Thomas Irwin (Dublin Operative Plasterers) said as one who took an active part in the elections in Dublin so far as Labour interests were concerned, and in carrying out the recommendations of the Executive at their Special Conference in the Trades Hall, and as he also had on that occasion the honour of proposing their Secretary to oppose a man in Dublin who he believed at the time and still believed should be opposed, it was only right in supporting the recommendations of the Committee that he should feel a bit sorry for having to do so. He thought his reasons would be summed up in the same manner that Mr. M'Partlin gave as his reasons for retiring as a candidate. If they looked round the world they could see at a glance that all the countries were agitated and social problems were coming to the front, but in this country it was the political aspect that had gripped the country. They had got to recognise that now. It was pushed up to them; and most of the delegates would agree that until that political aspect was in some way settled the labour aspect would not make much headway. If there was any chance now of any political party straightening out the political aspect of the country they ought to get that chance. If they failed it would not be the fault of labour. They would come in in their own time and do their own share. He did not want any one to think that he was running away with the issue. If it were agreed that the original policy were to be sustained he would go out and do his part (applause).

Mr. John Good (Cork No. 1 and No. 3 N.U.R.) said he must congratulate the Executive upon the action it had taken in this matter. He came there purposely to oppose the Labour Party in contesting the coming elections. He spoke for the working classes of Cork (A voice: Question?) the vast majority of them. They could differ on many points, but the working classes of Ireland knew full well that they could not be industrially free men so long as they were National slaves. It was with the object of

freeing themselves nationally

that they were anxious that everybody who was anxious to see

Ireland a free nation should band together for that great object. They fully realised that the time had come in the history of Ireland when Ireland's opportunity had also come. They knew the sacrifices that had been made for Ireland in the past. They knew and realised that these sacrifices were not made entirely by the rank and file of the Labour Party. They knew that men in high positions in Ireland had sacrificed their lives as well as men in lowly positions, and Ireland could not afford to lose a single man or woman. At the present moment they wanted to go with the strongest and the most powerful party that would lay their claim before the tribunal of the world. They wanted what the great Labour movement claimed—an Irish Republic. They wanted in the case of the man who would sacrifice his life that it should be for a Workers' Republic. They wanted men to sacrifice their lives side by side with men who held political views widely differing; for that great object. While the men whom he represented were not anxious to follow any political party they had declared to him that they would prefer to follow Sir Edward Carson if he declared for National Independence than to follow William O'Brien, of Dublin, if he were going to represent them in the British House of Commons. That was their attitude and that was the reason he congratulated the Executive; and when that trial was over they would congratulate one another, for

the Labour Party would be stronger

owing to the action which they had taken that day (applause).

Mr. John Farren (Dublin Sheetmetal Workers' Union) said he, too, was very glad that the National Executive had taken the action recommended to the Congress, because he was greatly afraid they were going to divide the workers. As the National Executive had decided not to contest any Parliamentary seats at this election, he thought they had done a good day's work in keeping the workers together. If they had decided otherwise there would have been great division in their ranks. As one who had taken an interest in the Labour movement for many years past he would be sorry to see the workers divided after the long years it took to cement them together. The workers were united now as they never had been before; and it would be a pity if anything should divide them. While abandoning the idea of contesting the Parliamentary elections he was also glad to learn that the National Executive would be ready to put forward as many Labour men as they could for representation on the public Boards when the opportunity offered (applause).

Mr. Cathal O'Shannon (I. T. and G. W. U., Cork) said he was glad to see that there was such magnificent unanimity in congratulating the National Executive. He did not think that any action which the National Executive would have taken would have secured practical unanimity of that Congress. But the miracle had been accomplished already. His opinion on the National Executive was that he dissented from its last decision, but he wanted to make

his attitude perfectly clear. Unlike Mr. McPartlin he was neither a candidate nor a prospective candidate. He had duties in the Labour movement who sacrificed himself for the ideal of an endeavour to discharge, those duties so long as he was connected with it. They were duties that were learned in the Labour movement. They were duties learned from men who sacrificed themselves in the Labour movement; and he hoped there would be no more exploitation in that Congress or outside it of the big man is the Labour movement who sacrificed himself for the ideal of an Irish Republic. And for this reason let the men who would exploit him to-day say whether they were prepared to take the same means to achieve their ends as he took. He (the speaker) was prepared to take them, and was always prepared to take them, and when the call of that man went out he answered it; but there were

critics inside and outside

the Labour movement who did not answer (loud applause). If all the men who now talked about Connolly had stood by Connolly in Easter Week there might not have been any necessity for exploiting his memory now, but they did not. There were strong reasons why that decision of the National Executive should not be adopted. He was not going to state all of them. There were Labour reasons. Some of them had been stated. There were National reasons. Some of them were stated; but to his mind the greatest reason and cause was the international one. Long before some people who were talking now about international effort on Ireland's behalf they in the Labour movement were endeavouring to secure international effort on Ireland's behalf, and in 1915, before there was any Easter Week Rising, some of the men on the platform initiated the making of Ireland's case at the International Conference at Stockholm (hear, hear). They were expected to throw the weight of the Irish Labour movement in the International on the side of free and absolute self-determination for the Irish people; but they did that before they were asked to do it; and Mr. Campbell and Mr. O'Brien were their delegates on that occasion. The hearty support of the Russian people was secured for Ireland; and the Russian Government was the only government that had sincerely and wholeheartedly called for the policy of self-determination for Ireland (applause). Their British Government had not done it, because it was capitalist.

Their Yankee Government had not done it

because it was capitalist. Their German Government had not done it because it was capitalist, too. It was the Workers' Government of Russia which was the only government did it. The delegates expected, and it was expected generally of them, that those who represented Ireland on the International would use their influence on behalf of self-determination being applied to Ireland, but could Ireland use its full influence on the International

unless it had got a group of Parliamentary representatives? (Cries of No! No!). They were entitled to enter into the Internationale by reason of the fact that they were an organised Labour body committed to political action, but they could not and would not secure their full representation in the Internationale unless they had a Parliamentary Labour Party. They were cutting away one-third of their numerical representation and one-half of their moral strength. That was what it came to; and that was one of the main reasons why he objected to the recommendation of the National Executive with regard to Parliamentary representation, because he knew that the Internationale would be one of the deciding factors in the Peace settlement, for every country whether it had a government of its own or not was claiming that on the State delegation or the National delegation in the Peace Conference their workers and their Labour parties would be represented. He hoped when the time came for the claims of Ireland to the same effect they would be granted. It was not a question of subject nationalities or of National States. The Bohemians and Czecho-Slovaks who had got self-determination had their political Labour Party, and that did not hinder the self-determination of the Czecho-Slovaks. The Poles who had won their self-determination had their

Full Representation on the Internationale;

and their Parliamentary Labour Party did not camouflage and did not confuse the case of Finland throughout Europe and the world, and did not prevent Finland from getting self-determination. It was because he believed that the Irish Labour Party had a duty to its nation to enter the Internationale and use its full influence there to secure self-determination for Ireland that he opposed the decision of the National Executive. There were other reasons which were not less important. There was the reason, as someone stated that the National Executive was a statesmanlike body. It would require all the statesmanship that Ireland was capable of,—and it was not capable of very much—to secure self-determination. When the election was over and the case for self-determination was being made, he challenged anyone in or out of the Congress to say that the contribution of Irish Labour in thought, in word, or in deed to that cause would be less in fact, in value, or in worth than the contribution of any other section or any other Party within Ireland (applause).

Mr. T. Murphy (I. C. W. U., Dublin) said he was sorry he could not agree with his Cork and Dublin friends in congratulating the National Executive upon its recommendation. It was a big back down, and he did not expect that they would be faced with it at that Congress. Acting on the manifesto issued by the Executive the Dublin Trades Council held two special conferences and decided to fight four seats, for which candidates were selected, in the city of Dublin. They had some bitter fights, and at the last meeting of the Trades Council the recommendation of the

two special Conferences was ratified. Now they found a recommendation asking them to forego their decision and to allow

the political parties' wrangle for

for position and collar all the Parliamentary seats in Ireland. The Labour movement was the strongest movement they had in the country, and they were to sink their identity and allow the political parties to collar all the councils and representation of Ireland. That was not a position which the Executive of the Trades Union Congress should take up. Mr. Johnson told them that while the Peace Congress was going on where there were representatives of all the nations met to settle up the affairs of the world, the Irish Labour Party should sit down and remain quiet and take no part whatever. Would Labour be represented at that Peace Congress, or would the workers of Ireland have no look in whatever. They were told there were grave issues before the country. They were told that for the last 50 years; and in the years that passed since the passing of the Union they were told that their time had not arrived; the political issues were too grave for them to step into the movement and claim any representation for themselves. In the Repeal movement, the Tenant Right movement, in

the land agitation of the eighties

and the Home Rule movement they were asked by all the official political parties of the country during those agitations to come in and help them, and when they got what they were looking for the workers would be looked to afterwards. They were now asked by their own Executive at this critical juncture to sink their views and Labour feelings and allow the political parties still to possess the field. They had Sinn Feiners, United Irish Leaguers and Carsonites meeting regularly to decide how they could best divide the representatives of the workers when seeking an increase of wages, and the workers were to sink all their power and allow those people to collar the representation in Parliament and otherwise, and deprive them of the great advantage which they had taken in the industrial field. In order to consolidate their strong position and keep them in their present state the workers ought to be able to have all the Parliamentary seats and seats on Public Boards that they possibly could throughout the country. It was there the laws were made and administered, and for that reason he hoped they would defeat the recommendation made, or at least to the extent that they would leave it to local option to allow Trades Council to contest Parliamentary Divisions if they felt they were in a position to do so.

Mr. John Cronin (Limerick Trades Co.) supporting the motion, said the recommendation was a very wise one, for no matter what way they might think at a Conference like that or how powerful they might claim Labour to be in Ireland they might be fairly certain that the great bulk of Labour in Ireland would

vote for one political party or the other. There was no doubt about that. He had heard organised bodies of Labour down south stating that

they would vote Sinn Fein

against any man. They had that kind of element, and until they had their fling at one another Labour ought to stand aside and await its turn to win.

Mr. P. Coates (I. T. and G. W. U., Waterford) said there was no use in talking against the recommendation, seeing that the majority of the delegates appeared to approve of it. However he wanted to bring this fact out, that when the International Labour Conference met Ireland would be the one country in Europe except Turkey which would not be represented by men holding Parliamentary seats (hear, hear).

Mr. Denis Houston (I. T. and G. W. U., Cork) said he would like to ask the Executive if they had taken into account that they had no guarantee that Ireland was going to be represented at all at the Peace Conference. From information they had got which they believed to be true an International Labour Conference would be held at the same time and probably in the same place as the Peace Conference. Having regard to the fact that they had no guarantee that Ireland was going to get representation at the Peace Conference, it would be a very good stroke of business on the part of the Irish people if they had Irish Legislative representatives to place Ireland's case before the workers of the world. He represented a very large body of workers in Cork, and they held very different views, they were divided; but he would say there that any of the workers who were prepared to vote for any political party while their own man was in the field was

not worth a finger snap

as a Trade Unionist.

Mr. D. R. Campbell (Belfast T.C.) said if they had Parliamentary representatives they would have a fuller representation on the Internationale than if they had not.

Mr. M. O'Flanagan (Dublin Typographical Association) said that between Labour and Sinn Fein there was an outside party who might run in between the two bodies. If the National vote was split undesirables might get returned.

Mr. Wm. Logue (Derry T. C.) wished to be associated with support of the recommendation of the National Executive who, he believed, had adopted a very wise course in the interests of the Labour movement in the country. He could not gather from Mr. O'Shannon's remarks that he made it clear how this decision jeopardised the situation from the Labour point of view in regard to the Internationale, because with numerous posters before the constituencies the danger was that the elected member would not carry a majority of the votes, because they would see them so

divided that they would have a minority representative and the majority disfranchised. He thought that was the difficulty before the Executive when this problem was before them.

The President—I rule that the discussion closes now.

Mr. P. T. Daly (Dublin F. B. M. U.)—Might I intervene now?

The President—I don't think I can allow the discussion to go on. Mr. Johnson will now reply.

Mr. P. T. Daly—What I want to say is—

Mr. Wm. O'Brien (Secretary)—Chair, chair!

Mr. P. T. Daly—I obey the ruling..

Mr. Thomas Johnson, replying on the debate, said the Executive was quite aware of all the arguments in favour of continuing the elections; but the Executive at that moment was perfectly certain that the decision it took six weeks ago was a right decision up to a fortnight previously. But their belief was that the very sudden developments of the International situation and the prospect of an election on the question of peace and the other matters that would prevent labour

no matter how eloquent or determined

its advocates might be from placing its case before the constituents.

A Delegate—If the position changes in a fortnight what will be the position then?

Mr. Johnson—You cannot alter history just as quickly as that.

The same delegate—It has changed very suddenly according to you.

Mr. Johnson—You cannot set up monarchs in a fortnight after being knocked down. Mr. Campbell had made some points of very great power which he realised as well as Mr. Campbell or any other member of the Congress, and it was with very great reluctance that most of them, influenced by the logic of circumstances, had come to this decision which the Executive regarded as a right one. Mr. Campbell said something about the North, but if the North had made up its mind to run candidates on the programme of the Irish Labour Party he dared say that the Executive's decision would be a very different one. (A Voice: Query?) If the South had responded heartily to the desire of the Irish Labour Party Executive five or six weeks ago the decision might have been different. They were not living apart from material things and they recognised right from the beginning that the Executive was not the Labour Party; but as an Executive it had a right to give a lead. If the Party did not follow the lead the Executive was not foolish enough to run its head against a stone wall.

Mr. D. R. Campbell—So it is not so much the changed circumstances that we have to consider as the fact that the

response to the Executive's decision was given none too readily.

Mr. Johnson said the position of the Executive from the beginning had been very definite, and

their minds had been quite clear

upon this subject. Their hope was to use this election campaign to impress upon the workers of Ireland a Labour political consciousness and to use the occasion of this election in all parts of the country to make Labour known in political affairs. The present issue and the critical time made that impossible. The opportunity for the propaganda which was necessary according to Mr. Campbell's views and Mr. O'Shannon's views for successful work in the Labour movement was not possible in the fortnight or month that would be available. They, he hoped, could take their position seriously and with a sense of responsibility; and a propaganda fight or a series of propaganda fights in the coming election would be a foolish waste of time and damaging to the prestige and authority of the Irish Labour movement (hear, hear). But a propaganda continued from that hour until the next occasion might arise would justify at the future elections as many candidates as they could possibly run. If the propaganda they were trying to initiate had been going on for twelve months and the country had accepted of this decision the position would be different. If they had months of active energetic propaganda and receptive audiences all over the country such as they had in the few places where they attended the position might have been different. They were faced with the fact that the time at their disposal after the decision to contest the elections to impress Labour's social and political ideals upon the public would not be quite enough to give them

an effective voice

in any decision taken at the polls. The position of labour at the International was undoubtedly a very serious one. Undoubtedly it almost overbalanced all the other questions and all the other arguments against taking part in the elections. Against that he should point out that it did not mean that they should be deprived of influence upon the Internationale. Assuming that they were admitted in full authority as a National entity they would be deprived of certain representation by the fact of not having representation in a National Legislature—they would be deprived of one out of three; but the others, backed up by a definite body of opinion might be sufficient. Notwithstanding all the opposing arguments, the whole of the circumstances surrounding the case he considered justified the Executive in making this recommendation, with the hope and belief and determination that it was merely a prelude to a definite propaganda of the ideas and ideals of the Labour Party with the view to building up this body of opinion in the country which was necessary before they could

really conduct a successful election campaign (applause). Mr. Murphy had asked a question with which he thought it necessary to deal. He pointed out that the Dublin Trades Council had adopted four candidates, and he appealed to

the right of local option

in this matter. That would be a recommendation from the Conference, but if Congress decided to accept the statement of the Executive and the Dublin Trades Council considered the decision a wrong one he did not doubt that the Executive would call a special Congress again to give the Dublin Trades Council an opportunity to carry out its original decision. Such a possibility was so far from the probabilities that he did not think it need be thought of for a moment. Local option throughout the country outside Dublin was what had determined the Executive coupled with all the rest of the arguments in favour of this decision. He would like to say a word on a matter which had not been considered by the Executive. It was a purely personal view and he gave it for what it was worth. It did weigh with him in advocating this proposition. It was that there were certain elements in the government of Ireland who were actually counting upon and

rubbing their hands with glee

at the prospect of Labour candidates preventing a clear expression of the people's opinion upon the question of self-determination (applause), and he for one would allow that fact to weigh with him in coming to a decision.

A poll was taken, and the voting was—For the motion, 96; against, 23.

The President declared the motion carried; and the announcement was received with much applause.

Irish Labour and the International

Mr. Cathal O'Shannon presented, on behalf of the National Executive, a statement on the international situation. In doing so he addressed the Congress in Irish. Speaking in English he said that the National Executive asked that the statement which he would read of its position with regard to the Peace Congress itself, with regard to the Internationale, and with regard to Irish Labour and the Internationale and self-determination would be endorsed by that Special Congress. There was nothing in it outside of the decisions already given at the Derry Congress and at the Waterford Congress. It was considered necessary and essential at that time particularly in view of the big events of the past fortnight and the very likely bigger events of the next fortnight that Irish Labour should declare again in no uncertain way where exactly it stood. The statement was as follows:—

"In view of the important and far reaching events of the past few weeks and their effects upon the international situation and the near approach, if not the imminence, of peace the National

Executive of the Irish Trades Union Congress and Labour party feels it imperative that Irish Labour, representing the general body of workers of Ireland, the most loyal and the most unselfish class in this country in the fight for liberty, justice and democracy, and speaking in the names of the unnumbered heroic men and women of that class who have fallen in the fight, as well as in the names of the living men and women

still battling in the same cause.

should now again in Dublin, as at Derry and Waterford, declare its clear and unequivocal attitude upon the issues which a cessation of hostilities upon the continent of Europe, the Peace Congress of the Nations, and the International Conference of the working class will determine.

"In accordance with its oft-repeated convictions that war between capitalist and imperialist governments is waged solely in the interests of the governing imperialist class, and means nothing but death to the working class which is its victim, Irish Labour rejoices that the holocaust of the last few years is about to cease. In welcoming that peace Irish Labour again proclaims its adherence to the Russian formula of a peace of the peoples on the basis of genuine democracy, the real self-determination of all subject peoples and no annexations, no indemnities, and no undemocratic or secret treaties. Only upon this basis can there be a world settlement which will give any hope of permanency or any promise of justice, and therefore only upon this basis can the aspirations of the peoples be raised beyond dreams.

"From this settlement Irish Labour would exclude no people, no matter to which of the two sets of the belligerents this people has been, or is now subject. Irish Labour therefore re-affirms its declaration in favour of the

free and absolute self-determination

of each and every people, the Irish included, in choosing the sovereignty and form of government under which it shall live,—this real self-determination to be by free, equal, adult secret suffrage, without any military, political or economic pressure from outside, without reservation or restriction imposed by capitalist or imperialist governments and uninfluenced and untrammelled by the power of any force of occupation. It rejoices that this self-determination has now been assured to the Yugo-Slavs, Czechoslovaks, Alsatians and Lorrainers, as well as the Poles, Finns, Ukrainians, and now to the Arabs. This is not enough and it is not impartial. To be the one and the other this principle must also be applied in the same sense and under the same conditions to the peoples of Ireland, India and Egypt and to such other peoples as have not yet secured the exercise of the inherent right, derived not from the declarations of statesmen and governments but from their historical position, their national development and their own conscious and expressed will, to determine their own

destiny, dispose of their own national fate and choose and fashion their own polity. For all these, without exceptions, Irish Labour claims no more and no less than for all the others.

"For these reasons Irish Labour supports both of the claims of the workers of all lands to participate directly in the Peace Congress after the war and the claim of the Irish people that the claim of their nation be heard at that Congress. To this end Irish Labour within its own nation asserts its right that upon any delegations which shall make the claims of the Irish Nation with the authority of the Irish people the workers of Ireland shall be directly represented by

a duly accredited Labour section.

"To proclaim these rights and principles without attempting to secure the exercise of the rights and the application of the principles would be to repeat the hypocrisy of those governments and parties which in their imperialist and national interest or needs proclaimed them, only to apply them in the case of peoples not subject to their sovereignty and to deny them to peoples under their own rule. This Irish Labour is not prepared to do. On the contrary by every means in its power Irish Labour will help to secure the exercise of the rights it proclaims and the application of the principles to which it adheres. In particular it will exercise its influence in this direction in the International Labour movement since it is convinced that the Workers' International and all its national sections will have what may be a determining voice in the peace settlement and the Peace Congress, and that the International's support will be extended to the still subject peoples as it has hitherto been gladly accorded to peoples struggling to be free in the Balkans and in Russia and Austria. Irish Labour therefore renews its request that

the International Socialist Bureau

shall call the International together without further delay; reiterates its willingness to take part in the conference wherever and whenever held and again claims for Irish Labour within the International and for the Irish people within the community of nations the support of organised Labour in all countries, in particular in France, United States, Great Britain, Italy and wherever Labour or the Socialist Party is affiliated to the Bureau. Here again Irish Labour is prepared to stand by that most honoured of its principles, internationally as well as nationally, and in politics as in industry, namely, that an injury to one is the concern of all.

"That its influence may be exerted effectively and immediately the National Executive has already taken steps to enter into all such relations with the International and with the Labour Parties abroad as may be necessary for the attainment of the end it pursues and the fulfilment of its international duties.

"In the meantime and in addition to the other measures

which it is adopting, Irish Labour, again speaking in the name of the working class, endorses the proposal that a Conference voicing the united claim of the Irish Nation for the exercise of self-determination should be called into being to give expression to the national demand in the same manner as the Mansion House Conference defined Ireland's opposition to conscription, and declares its readiness to take part in such a Conference.

"The National Executive affirms its belief that such a Conference, stating the demand of the whole nation, and commanding the respect of peoples generally, could devise means to prove to all mankind except, indeed,

those heedless statesmen

who will not listen to any claim unless it is backed by the crack of insurgent rifles, that this small nation is united in its demand for self-determination.

"Finally and true to its tradition for liberty, for internationalism, for the fraternity of the working-class of every land and for the Republic of the Workers, Irish Labour utters its vehement protest against the capitalist outlawry of the Soviet Republic of Russia and calls upon the workers under the governments sharing in this crime to compel the evacuation of the occupied territory of the Republic at the same time as it renews its welcome and congratulations to its Russian comrades who for twelve months have exercised that political, social and economic freedom towards which Irish workers in common with their fellows in other lands still strive and aspire" (loud applause). It should be unnecessary, he proceeded, to recommend that statement to them. It included their whole policy so far as the Internationale was concerned. It was admitted that it did not in any way show any evidence that the Irish Labour movement must bend its head before any Party or any movement in this country (applause).

Mr. Thomas Foran (I. T. and G. W. U., Dublin) said it would be a pity if some action or steps were not taken to give effect to the ideas mentioned in the statement. Accordingly he moved the adoption of the statement of the Congress with the following addendum:—

"That this Congress instructs the National Executive to approach the Lord Mayor of Dublin with the request that he should take such steps as he deems advisable to call together

a Special National Conference

or to augment the present anti-Conscription Conference for the purpose of giving National expression to the Irish demands for self-determination in the same manner as the Mansion House Conference defined Ireland's National will on that issue."

Mr. C. Kelly (Postmen's Federation, Dublin) seconded. He was very much disturbed in his mind about the statement until Mr. O'Shannon brought out certain particular points. Labour, in his opinion, should be directly represented, and he wished

to know whether at that juncture they were at liberty to elect a delegate to represent them at the International Conference.

The President—I don't think there is much discussion required with regard to this matter.

Mr. Duffy (Cork) said as they were on the case of the International and the representation of the organised workers thereat he considered they should start with their next door neighbours and ask the British Socialist Party or any other candidates in England if they were prepared to support the principle of self-determination for Ireland, and also ask the Irish voters in Great Britain to vote for no one except those prepared to support that principle. At the present time

Irish voters in England

were being asked to vote for this Party and that, but Irish Labour should make its position clear to the British voters, thousands of whom still loved liberty, and ask them to only vote for candidates who pledged themselves to self-determination for Ireland (applause).

Mr. P. T. Daly (Dublin F. B. M. U.) moved that the statement made by Mr O'Shannon would be circulated amongst the members, so that they would be in a position to discuss the points raised by the National Executive at the resumption of the Congress on the following day. He agreed with every point made by Mr. O'Shannon, but there were men who did not agree with him.

The President said that while he approved of the idea at the back of Mr. Daly's motion he did not think it was really necessary to have it carried out, because the points mentioned in the statement were well known to the delegates. The principles had been approved at former Congresses, and the statement only put them in unified form for the Congress. Besides the time at their disposal would not warrant them in carrying out the idea. He asked if any delegates were against any of the principles mentioned in the statement put forward?

There being no response, the President declared that the motion of Mr. Daly had fallen through for want of a seconder.

Mr. D. R. Campbell said they ought to support the proposal for the Convention wholeheartedly. It was

the natural and logical outcome

of the movement against Conscription.. It should apply all its energies to this question of self-determination.

Mr. Twomey (Cork T. C.) said if the Convention were called, as was suggested, and a pledge was claimed from the people of Ireland at the election, as was done in the case of the anti-Conscription conference, they would back it up. He did not come there with the voice of Cork behind him, but he was there to abide by the decisions of the Congress, whatever reasonable attitude they took up. He was not prepared to receive the

declaration put forward that day by the Executive with regard to the elections; but as the Congress had adopted it he would go as far as any man inside or outside the Congress to carry out the decision. They had claimed representation on the same basis as other organised bodies, and it was not because they had to take off their coats to work that they were not as good Irishmen as any other men, no matter what position they held. They had been

asked to hold Conventions

for the selection of candidates and were in a position to go forward and do their part. They were therefore placed in a difficulty, but so far as he could speak for the workers of Cork he would abide by the Conference called by the Lord Mayor on the same lines as the other Conference, and having got the views of Ireland they would stand by them. If they were going to stand down they wanted to be placed in such a position that they would know where they were.

The President put the motion of Mr. Foran, with the addendum, to the Congress and declared both unanimously carried.

The proceedings were adjourned until the following morning at 9.30 to consider the proposed revision of the Constitution and Standing Orders.

The Revised Constitution and Standing Orders as submitted by the National Executive reads as follows:—

IRISH LABOUR PARTY AND TRADE UNION CONGRESS.

CONSTITUTION.

1.—NAME.—IRISH LABOUR PARTY AND TRADE UNION CONGRESS.

2.—OBJECTS AND METHODS.—

(a) To recover for the Nation complete possession of all the natural physical sources of wealth of this country.

(b) To win for the workers of Ireland, collectively, the ownership and control of the whole produce of their labour.

(c) To secure the democratic management and control of all industries and services by the whole body of workers, manual and mental, engaged therein, in the interest of the Nation and subject to the supreme authority of the National Government.

(d) To obtain for all adults who give allegiance and service to the Commonwealth, irrespective of sex, race or religious belief, equality of political and social rights and opportunities.

(e) To abolish all powers and privileges, social and political, of institutions or persons, based upon property or ancestry, or not granted or confirmed by the freely expressed will of the Irish people; and to insist that in the making and administering of the laws, in the pursuit of industry and commerce, and in the education of the young, Property must always be subordinate to Humanity, and Private Gain must ever give place to the Welfare of the People.

(f) With the foregoing objects in view, to promote the organisation of the working class industrially, socially and politically, e.g.:

in Trade Unions, in Co-operative Societies (both of producers and consumers), and in a Political Labour Party.

(g) To secure labour representation on all national and local legislative and administrative bodies.

(h) To co-ordinate the work of the several sections of the working-class movement.

(i) To promote fraternal relations between the workers of Ireland and of other countries through affiliation with the international Labour movement;

(j) To co-operate with that movement in promoting the establishment of democratic machinery for the settlement of disputes between Nations; and in raising the standard of social legislation in all countries to the level of the highest; and

(k) Generally to assist in the efforts of the working-class of all Nations in their struggle for emancipation.

3.—MEMBERSHIP.—The Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress shall consist of its affiliated organisations, i.e.: Trade Unions, Branches of Trade Unions, Trades' Councils, Local Labour Parties, together with those men and women who are individual subscribing members of a recognised local Labour Party group and who accept the Constitution and Policy of the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress.

4.—NATIONAL CONGRESS.—

(a) The supreme governing authority shall be the National Congress, which shall meet as provided for in the Standing Order.

(b) The basis of representation at the National Congress shall be as follows:—

Trade Unions or branches of Trade Unions having less than			
500 members—One delegate;			
500 members or over, but not exceeding 1,000—Two delegates;			
1,000	"	"	1,500—Three delegates;
1,500	"	"	2,000—Four delegates;
and one additional delegate for every complete 1,000 members above 2,000.			

(Where a Trade Union has paid affiliation fees on the whole of its membership in Ireland the payment by a branch of affiliation fees on the branch membership shall not entitle it to additional representation.)

Trades' Councils shall be entitled to send one delegate for 5,000 members or fraction thereof for whom affiliation fees have been paid by the Council, and one additional delegate for every additional 5,000 members.

(c) Where the local Trades' Council undertakes the duties of a local Labour Party, it shall be entitled to send one additional delegate to represent the Labour Party in each parliamentary constituency covered by the activities of the Council, provided that there shall have been three months prior to the date of the Congress not less than 100 individual subscribing members of the Party in the constituency claiming to send a delegate, such delegates to be individual subscribing members of the Party, men or women, and voters in the constituency they represent.

(d) In towns or constituencies where a local Labour Party has been formed according to Clause 5 (below) such local Labour Party shall be entitled to send one delegate for each constituency covered by its activities, provided that there shall have been three months prior to the date of the Congress not less than 100 individual subscribing members of the Party in the constituency claiming to send a delegate, such delegates to be individual subscribing members of the Party, men or women, and voters in the Constituency they represent.

5.—LOCAL LABOUR PARTIES.—

Where a local Trades' Council does not discharge the functions of a local Labour Party, or in the opinion of the National Executive has failed to do the work in a satisfactory manner, the National Executive shall have power to organise a local Labour Party independent of the Trades' Council, such local Labour Party to consist of individual subscribing members of the Party, Trade Unions or Trade Union Branches, and such other working-class organisations as subscribe to the constitution and policy of the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress, and are approved of by the National Executive.

6.—INDIVIDUAL SUBSCRIBING MEMBERS.—Individual subscribing members shall be organised into Divisional or Ward Groups under the direction of the Trades' Councils or local Labour Parties. They shall be expected to undertake the electoral activities and propaganda work of the Party in the constituencies.

7.—FINANCE —

(a) Trade Unions or Branches of Trade Unions shall pay to the Central Funds of the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress 2d. per member on the full certified membership in Ireland on the first day of January in each year.

(b) Trades' Councils shall pay one pound (£1) for each 5,000 members, or part thereof.

(c) The minimum annual contribution from affiliated Societies shall be one pound (£1).

(d) Individual subscribing members shall pay at the rate of three pence per member per month, of which sum three half-pence shall be paid to the Central Fund and three half-pence retained by the local Trades' Council or local Labour Party for organisation and labour-representation purposes, subject, where necessary, to a payment out of the local moiety of one half-penny for the expenses of collection.

(e) A woman member who has paid a total of one shilling and sixpence within the year shall be deemed to be a fully-paid subscribing member.

(f) The National Executive shall be authorised to make special appeals for funds for political and other purposes from time to time as may be desirable.

(g) Any Society whose affiliation has been accepted shall be considered to be permanently affiliated and liable for affiliation fees unless such Society has given six months' notice of withdrawal or has been excluded by the special decision of Congress.

8.—NATIONAL EXECUTIVE.—There shall be a National Executive consisting of a Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Treasurer, Secretary, and ten other members to be elected by the National Congress at its regular Annual Meeting in accordance with the Standing Orders, and this National Executive shall, subject to the control and direction of the National Congress, be the administrative authority and be responsible for the conduct of the general work of the organisation.

It shall interpret the Constitution and Standing Orders in all cases of dispute subject to an appeal to the next regular Annual Meeting by the organisation or person concerned.

It shall ensure that Labour is represented by a properly constituted organisation in each constituency in which this is found practicable.

It shall give effect to the decisions of the National Congress, watch all legislative measures affecting labour in Ireland, initiate such legislative and other action as may be deemed necessary, and generally promote the objects of the organisation in the most effective manner within its power.

In case of the death or resignation of any of its members the remaining members shall have power to co-opt a successor.

9.—SUB-COMMITTEES.—The National Executive shall be empowered to appoint Sub-committees to undertake any specified branch of its work and to invite the assistance of any persons with special knowledge to advise and co-operate. It may appoint the necessary officials and make all arrangements to carry on its work. The Executive as a whole shall be responsible to the National Congress for the work and decisions of all Sub-Committees.*

10.—PARLIAMENTARY CANDIDATES.—

(a) A Candidate for election to Parliament must be nominated by the National Executive, or by one or more of the affiliated bodies, and before adoption for any constituency must be approved of by a special local conference convened by the Trades Council or local Labour Party.

(b) The basis of representation at the local Conferences shall be as follows:—

One delegate for Societies and Divisional Groups having 100 members or less;

One delegate for each additional 100 members up to 500;

One delegate for each additional 250 members up to 1,000; and

One delegate for each additional 1,000 members afterwards.

(c) Before any action towards the selection of a Candidate for Parliament is taken the National Executive shall be consulted. No candidature can be promoted by an affiliated organisation until endorsed by the National Executive.

(d) In constituencies or divided boroughs where no Trades Council or local Labour Party exists, or where in its opinion special circumstances warrant such action, the National Executive shall have power to promote a Candidature.

(e) The expenses of Candidates for election to Parliament shall be borne by the organisation or organisations nominating the Candidates, with such financial assistance as the Central Fund can afford.

(f) The expenses of Candidates for election to local bodies shall be borne by the organisation or organisations nominating the Candidates. In special circumstances financial assistance may be given out of the Central Funds at the discretion of the National Executive.

(g) Candidates for election to Parliament must have been for not less than twelve months prior to the election, and if elected must continue to be, members in good standing of a Labour organisation eligible for affiliation to the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress. They shall also pledge themselves to accept this Constitution, to agree to abide by the decisions of the National Congress and the National Executive in carrying out the aims of the Constitution, and to appear before their constituencies as "Labour Candidates" only.

(h) Candidates for election to Parliament and members of the

*NOTE.—Under this Clause the National Executive may divide itself into **Industrial and Political Committees**: the former to promote Trade Union organisation, to compile statistics of Industry, provide legal information, watch all legislative proposals affecting industry, and keep in touch with all wage movements, disputes, etc., etc.; the latter to supervise the conduct of the political work of the Party, the preparation of literature and propaganda, the organisation of constituencies, and to keep informed regarding local government activities. It may also appoint Sub-Committees to deal with important problems affecting different industrial groups—Agricultural, Building, Transport, Distributive, Civil Service, etc., and may invite assistance from the Trade Unions particularly interested; also Sub-Committees to deal with specific problems such as Housing, Education, Food Supply, Local Government, Military Service, etc.

National Executive shall abstain strictly from identifying themselves with or promoting the interests of any candidature not endorsed by the National Executive.

STANDING ORDERS.

1.—NATIONAL CONGRESS.—The Annual Congress shall be held regularly on the first Monday in August in each year and three following days.

Special Congresses may be called at such other times as may be decided upon by the National Executive.

The Congress shall assemble on the first day at 11 a.m., on the following days at 9.30 a.m., adjourn at 1 p.m., reassemble at 2 p.m., and adjourn for the day at 5 p.m.

2.—DELEGATES QUALIFICATIONS.—Persons to be eligible as Delegates to the National Congress must be bona-fide members or permanent officials of the Trade Union they represent; or Delegates to or officials of a Trades' Council or a local Labour Party recognised by the National Executive.

The names and addresses of the Delegates, together with the Delegates' fees, must be forwarded to the Secretary three weeks prior to the date fixed for the Annual Meeting.

3.—DELEGATION FEES.—A delegation fee of one pound (£1) for each delegate attending the Annual Congress shall be paid. For special Congresses such lesser fees as may be decided upon by the National Executive shall be paid.

All Fees—delegation and affiliation—and the rail and hotel expenses of Delegates attending Congress must be borne by the affiliated organisations.

4.—FINANCIAL YEAR.—The financial year shall end on the thirtieth day of June, and all affiliation fees shall be paid and accounts for the year closed on that date.

A Balance Sheet and Financial Statement shall be prepared, audited, and sent to the affiliated Societies at least seven days before the opening of the Annual Congress.

5.—CONGRESS ARRANGEMENTS SUB-COMMITTEE.—The National Executive shall appoint a Congress Arrangements Sub-Committee to act with the local Committee in the town where the next Congress is to meet, for the purpose of arranging the business of the Congress. This Sub-Committee shall be empowered to consider the Agenda before the Congress meets, to make suggestions to the Standing Orders Committee (to be appointed by the Congress) respecting the grouping or re-drafting of the Resolutions, and respecting any other matter which in their opinion will facilitate the business of the Congress.

6.—STANDING ORDERS COMMITTEE.—A Standing Orders Committee of five members shall be elected on the first day of the Congress from the Delegates present, and their duties shall be to:—

(a) Verify and report upon the credentials of the delegates.

(b) Co-operate with the movers of Resolutions and Amendments, in order that composite Resolutions may be obtained whenever possible.

(c) Submit to the Chairman of Congress a programme of all propositions and amendments approved by them as being in accordance with Standing Orders, together with any suggestions for the proper conduct of the business of the Congress.

(d) Control the distribution of all literature.

(e) Transact any other special business not provided for in these Standing Orders.

They shall meet not later than half-an-hour prior to each sitting of Congress for the purpose of arranging the despatch of business and carrying

through the Agenda. They shall report to Congress any violation of the Standing Orders that may be brought to their notice, together with any recommendations agreed upon.

7.—TELLERS AND SCRUTINEERS.—Three delegates, or such other number as may be agreed upon at the time of election, shall be appointed as Tellers, whose duty shall be to count and record the votes on every occasion on which a division is taken. Their decision as to the numbers recorded on any vote shall be final. In cases where the Tellers disagree the Chairman shall order a recount.

Three or more delegates shall be appointed as Scrutineers. They shall be responsible for the arrangements for the election by ballot of the National Executive and Officers for the coming year. They shall take account of the number of ballot papers printed and distributed, shall, before the ballot is taken, destroy all unused ballot papers in excess of the number distributed to the delegates and take such other steps as will ensure the validity of the election.

8.—METHOD OF VOTING.—The voting on resolutions shall be by show of hands except when a proposition to be voted upon involves financial liability to the affiliated Societies, in which case a "card vote" may be demanded. Cards will be issued to delegates of Trade Unions on the basis of one card for every 250 members on which affiliation fees are paid; to Trades' Councils and local Labour Parties: one card to each delegate attending the Congress.

9.—RESOLUTIONS AND AMENDMENTS.—Proposed Resolutions for the Congress Agenda must be signed by the authorised officials of the Organisations submitting them and must reach the Secretary of Congress at least eight weeks before the meeting of Congress. They shall be printed and copies sent immediately to the Secretaries of affiliated organisations.

Suggested Amendments to the propositions on the Agenda must be sent to the Secretary in writing, endorsed by the authorised officials of the organisations submitting them, at least three weeks before the opening of Congress. They shall thereupon be printed and sent to the Secretaries of affiliated organisations immediately.

In order to ensure that important questions affecting Labour may not be omitted from the discussions at Congress, the National Executive shall be empowered to place Resolutions on the Agenda, and may in cases of urgency submit Resolutions which have not appeared in the printed Agenda.

10.—LIMITATION OF SPEECHES.—The proposer of a Resolution or Amendment shall be allowed ten minutes, and each subsequent speaker five minutes.

A Delegate shall not speak more than once on the same question except the mover of the original Resolution, who shall be allowed ten minutes to reply to the discussion.

11.—ELECTION OF NATIONAL EXECUTIVE.—The National Executive shall be elected by ballot on the third day of the annual Congress. Delegates only shall be eligible for election.

Nominations must be sent in by affiliated organisations three weeks prior to the opening of Congress, the list of Nominees to be printed and sent to the Secretaries of affiliated organisations at the same time as the Amendments to Resolutions and Financial Statement are issued.

Not more than one delegate from any organisation shall be elected to membership of the National Executive, except that Trade Unions having a membership exceeding ten thousand shall be entitled, if elected by Congress, to one additional representative. This paragraph shall not apply to the election of officers.

Members of the National Executive shall attend the Congress by virtue of their office, and remain in attendance until the disposal of their Report. They shall not be entitled to vote unless they are duly qualified as delegates. If qualified as delegates they shall be eligible for re-election.

The officers for the year shall remain in office until the close of Congress.

12.—MEETINGS AND QUORUM.—The National Executive shall meet at least once a quarter, five members at any meeting to form a quorum.

13.—NATIONAL EXECUTIVE REPORT.—The Report of the National Executive which shall have been transmitted to the delegates at least three days before the assembly of Congress shall be presented and considered immediately following the presidential address. The report shall be discussed paragraph by paragraph, each speaker being limited to five minutes on any one paragraph.

Interim reports of the activities of the National Executive shall be issued periodically throughout the year and sent to all affiliated bodies for their information and guidance. Consideration of the Balance Sheet and Statement of Accounts shall follow as the next business after the Annual Report is disposed of.

14.—APPOINTMENT OF AUDITORS.—Two Auditors for the succeeding year shall be appointed at the Annual Meeting who shall have access to all the papers and documents relating to the income and expenditure of the National Executive.

15.—PUBLIC MEETING.—At least two public meetings shall be held under the auspices of the National Executive in the town appointed for the Annual Congress, one of these meetings to take place during Congress week.

16.—SUSPENSION OF STANDING ORDERS.—Standing Orders shall not be suspended unless previous intimation shall have been given to the Standing Orders Committee and the Motion agreed to by a two-thirds vote of the delegates present.

SCALE OF ALLOWANCES FOR NATIONAL EXECUTIVE AND SESSIONAL OFFICERS.

NOTE.—This Scale is fixed mainly on the basis of compensation for loss rather than payment for services.

Members of National Executive when engaged on the business of the Party:—

Resident Members, 15/- per day; 7/6 half day.

Non-Resident, 20/- per day. and third class Rail fare.

If compelled to remain over-night away from home 5/- extra will be allowed.

Trade Union Officials and others who incur no financial loss through attending to the business of the Party to be allowed 5/- per day as bonus.

(A statement of all payments and records of attendances to be included in the Annual Report).

Congress Assistant Secretary ...	15/- per day.
Auditors	Same scale as National Executive.
Scrutineers	20/- each.
Tellers	20/- each.
Doorkeepers	15/- per day.
Standing Orders Committee ...	40/- each.

Salaries of Secretary and Treasurer and other officials appointed under Clause 8 of the Constitution to be fixed by National Executive.

When circulating their proposals amongst the affiliated Societies the following explanatory letter was sent by the Drafting Sub-Committee of the National Executive:—

IRISH TRADES UNION CONGRESS & LABOUR PARTY.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE.

TRADES HALL,

CAPEL STREET, DUBLIN,

September 9th, 1918.

TO THE AFFILIATED SOCIETIES,

In drawing up the revised Constitution and Standing Orders the Drafting Committee has endeavoured to meet the wishes of the recent Congress as far as they were expressed.

By some of our friends a much more radical alternation in the Constitution was called for. But having considered the suggested alterations sympathetically we decided that to apply them in practice in the present state of organisation is not feasible.

Objects and Methods.

We have tried to give precise expression under this head to the ultimate purposes and ideals of our movement, and we think that herein we voice the thoughts of the great majority of thoughtful men and women in the Labour Movement in Ireland. We affirm a positive policy, high in aim, noble in purpose, calculated to provide an opening for those who seek an outlet for their social and democratic enthusiasm.

Political and Industrial.

This new Constitution is intended to provide machinery for organising the Political branch of the Labour Movement while keeping it subordinate to the Industrial branch. In our view the political work must supplement, but must not supplant, the Industrial or Trade Union activities.

The Base of the Structure.

Under the scheme as planned the Unions remain the base of the structure. They will affiliate as heretofore. They will also be affiliated to the Trades' Council who are to be responsible for the political work of the party.

Individual Members.

But we provide facilities for the keener members of the Trade Unions, those who are conscious of the importance of the work and realise their personal responsibilities, to become associated in a direct personal sense by enrolling as "Individual subscribing Members," and paying to the funds a sum of three pence per month. Half of these funds will be retained by the local organisation and half will go to the National Funds.

Women Voters—and others.

Through the medium of the "Individual Membership" we enable the Women Voters to come into the party; also the active propagandists of Labour ideals in the Socialist and Co-operative Movements, and many others, less active but sympathetic, who have not been able hitherto to find a place in our political scheme because their Unions were not affiliated, and they, being a minority in their Unions, were unable to carry proposals for affiliation.

Divisional Groups.

The "Individual Members" will be organised in Groups according to Electoral Divisions. They will become the active agents for the political work of Labour in the Constituencies.

It is proposed that they shall elect Divisional or Ward Committees to act in association with the Trades Councils, the Councils to have direct representation on the Ward or Divisional Committees and the Divisional Groups to be represented on the Trades' Councils.

Divisional Delegates to Congress.

The Divisional Group, if numbering 100 members or over, is entitled to send a delegate to Congress, but the delegate must be appointed by the Trades Council (or local Labour party where such has been formed under Clause 4), and this is the only body outside the Trade Union, entitled to be represented.

The Eye of a Needle!

Thus it will be seen that the Trade Union will be always predominant. Adventurers will not find an easy path to notoriety via the Irish Labour Party! Our idea has been that while making it possible we will make it hard for a non-working-class supporter to enter the gates. He or she must pass the test of service to the cause before a jury of Trades Unionists, or forego all ambition of becoming a delegate to the National Congress.

Co-operation of Trades Councils.

To make the scheme work effectively will require the co-operation of the Trades' Councils. They must adapt themselves to the new conditions and accept the responsibility of carrying on the political work of Labour in conjunction with the National Organisation. It will be necessary in many cases for the existing Councils to alter their rules accordingly. We propose to submit to the various Trades' Councils a series of model rules containing suitable provisions and to suggest to them that the existing rules should be revised to fit in with the Constitution now under consideration.

We present this "Draft Constitution and Standing Orders" with confidence, believing that they are practical and well fitted to enable the Irish Labour Party to launch itself into the main stream of the National life.

THE DRAFTING SUB-COMMITTEE,
per THOMAS JOHNSON.

SATURDAY. NOVEMBER 2nd, 1918.

Mr. Thomas Cassidy, the President, took the chair at the resumed proceedings on the morning of Saturday, November 2nd, 1918, and called upon Mr. Thomas Johnson, on behalf of the National Executive, to propose the adoption of the Draft Constitution.

Mr. Johnson said as a result of a consultation between the movers of certain amendments on the Agenda and the Executive, an arrangement was come to by which the Executive was prepared to accept some of these amendments and the proposers were prepared to withdraw others. When they were reached the chairman would intimate the position which they occupied. In proposing the revised Constitution he said it would be generally admitted that the changes that were going on round about them in the Labour movement itself and in the

Condition of the Franchise

actually necessitated some change; and they must make the machinery fit to do the work that they had before them. The movement in the country had developed, and they had to alter the constitution to fit the development. The extension of the franchise included many thousands of new men voters and scores of thousands of women voters who were never on the register before, belonging to the working class, and they must make provision for their entry into the Labour movement if they were to have a Labour Party representative of the people. It was well to bear in mind also in considering the proposed constitution that they were not to be henceforth just a Trades Congress contemplating an annual meeting with a connecting link in the form of an Executive. They were to be a party with

a continuous organic life,

that party to be the men and women in the country, not the Executive and not the elected persons. The idea of the party as an organic institution was at the back of their minds when developing the constitution, the draft of which was before them. It was also desirable to draw their attention to the fact that they contemplated as they had done during the last few years to establish within the one organisation the double function of political and industrial supervision. They thought that the industrial conditions in Ireland and the economic development to which they had attained did not warrant the duplication of the organisation. Even if it were ever desirable the country was too small and the potential membership of the working class organisations did not allow of

a duplicate organisation.

Further than that they took advantage of the failures and mistakes of working class organisations in other countries and profited by them in establishing within the one jurisdiction the

double function of industrial and political activities. Those of them who had followed the course of working class organisations in England, in France and other countries would have noticed that during the course of the last century there had been very violent fluctuations: for a few years the people going strong on the road of industrial and economic organisation, leaving the political work to other people. Then, apparently, when there came a set back to economic and industrial action there was an equally violent movement in the direction of political activity—first an extreme in one direction followed by a reaction in the other direction. There hope was to combine all in the one organisation, keeping the industrial and economic phase foremost, but always allowing the political to run alongside the economic as a corollary and support. It might be objected that such a course, such a line of development, such a method of organisation might tend to weaken their resistance—might in fact be like carrying troops on a passenger steamer or carrying passengers on a troopship thereby inviting attack resulting in the loss of the passengers. They, however, were not a troopship or a passenger ship, but they were aiming at being a battleship fully equipped for war. They thought that by combining the two functions of industrial and political activity in the one organisation they would be a fully equipped body to go forward with the work of

working class emancipation

in Ireland. As to some of the details he would just like to say that they were conceiving of the Trades Councils doing in their localities what the Congress itself did for the whole country. They wanted the Trades Councils to act as the political party in their district, having the supervision of the political activities there. They were making provision for individual membership so as to allow membership to women voters, wives and sisters of workmen, and to those Trade Unionists as were not eligible to come in through their Trade Union. There was very often a minority in a Trade Union who would wish to be associated with the Party but whose Trade Union as a whole had refused to become affiliated with the Congress: they wanted to make provision for those minorities to ally themselves with the organisation. They wanted also to bring into their net in a more direct and personal manner than had hitherto been provided for in the constitution, the individual active member. They wanted to enrol these individual active members as the advance guard of the movement. They wanted to make it possible for the men who were consciously convinced of the value of the Labour movement in politics to become subscribing members, and thereby assist the local

funds for political agitation,

political organisation and electoral work as well as the National funds. In addition to that financial assistance they thought by this means they would be able to have an active fighting organisa-

tion in the localities of conscious members of the working class political movement. Some of the other points would arise in the course of the discussion; but before sitting down he wanted to deal with the second paragraph, "Objects and Methods." They had attempted in putting forward paragraph 2 to set before their people an ideal to work for, distinctly democratic in politics, in industrial and in social organisation. They held that it was perfectly in accord with all the hopes and aspirations of the working classes, and it was something that they could work towards with enthusiasm and some fervour. It would have an educational value. It would give to new recruits into the movement some idea of

the ultimate aims and objects

of the working class movement as a whole, that there was something beyond the raising of wages and beyond the shortening of hours, that there was something they were aiming at beyond the more immediate work of the Trade Unions. There had been an amendment put forward in the name of the Railway Clerks' Association, and to save a further statement he would state his objections to that amendment which was practically taken from the new constitution of the English Labour Party.

Mr. D. R. Campbell (Belfast)—On a point of order—in absolute fairness to those who sent amendments, is it right and just that the mover of the resolution should do this before the mover of the amendment gets an opportunity to explain? I think not.

Mr. Johnson—I am quite satisfied to make my statement later on; but I think it would save time, and as I think it germane to the amendment I thought it better to make my statement now.

The Chairman—I think it would be better to let the Railway Clerks explain their amendment.

Mr. Johnson—I am very pleased with that. I move the adoption on behalf of the Executive of the Draft Constitution as set forth; and I hope it will be accepted with such amendments as we have agreed to (applause). If it were accepted they would be able with that machine to do the work that was set before them, provided they had

the spirit and the will

in the country; but all the machinery in the world was utterly useless unless they had the will and the power at the back of the machine. He begged to move on behalf of the Executive the adoption of the Constitution (hear, hear).

Mr. M. Egan (Cork) seconded.

The President announced that all the paragraphs to which no amendments had been sent in must be taken as accepted; and there would be no discussion on anything, only those paragraphs to which amendments had been sent forward. The Railway

Clerks' Association, he said withdrew their first amendment with the consent of Congress.

The Congress signified its assent; the amendment which was withdrawn was:—

“Insert the word ‘Parliamentary’ between ‘Irish’ and ‘Labour,’ name to read:—Irish Parliamentary Labour Party and Trades Union Congress.”

Mr. J. T. O’Farrell (Railway Clerks’ Association, Dublin) moved the adoption of the following amendment with reference to the “objects and methods”:—

“Delete paragraphs (a), (b), and substitute as paragraph (a):—‘To secure for the workers by hand or by brain the full fruits of their industry, and the most equitable distribution thereof that may be possible, on the principle of the common ownership of the means of production and the popular administration and control of each industry or service.’”

He said he had been asked by his Association to move the amendment, though a member of the Executive, owing to the fact that nearly all their delegates were absent through circumstances over which they had no control. His Union wanted to have a clear definition of the objects as defined by paragraphs (a), (b) and (c) in the proposed constitution. They seemed to them to be rather confusing and somewhat contradictory. In the first place they wanted to know

what did the word “Nation” signify.

Did it mean the organised workers of Ireland? and, if so, why was it not stated explicitly? Did it mean the Irish capitalist against the foreign capitalist? and, if so, they did not think that labour would benefit materially by transferring the ownership and control of the material resources of the country from foreign to Irish capital. They found Irish capitalists were no more friendly towards labour than the capitalist in any other country. As an alternative, did it mean the National Government? In other words did it mean the nationalisation of all the means or resources of the wealth of the country? And if the National Government, as was quite possible, was a capitalist government, were the workers to place the control and the ownership of all the physical resources of the wealth of the country in the hands of that capitalist government? If so it seemed to clash with the next paragraph—(b)—which wanted the whole ownership and control of

the whole produce of labour

by the workers of Ireland. It seemed impossible that they should place it under the control of the National Government or of several capitalists, and at the same time have it owned by the workers alone. Paragraph (b) wanted the ownership—the complete ownership—of their produce by the workers, but the following paragraph wanted the democratic management and control

of the industries and services by the whole body of workers. If they owned it it was on the cards that they must manage and control it. "In the interests of the nation and subject to the supreme authority of the National Government."—here again they were up against the possibility of that National Government being capitalist. It was almost a certainty that the first government would be a capitalist government. Was it possible that that government, if it had the supreme control, would be inclined to give to its own employees, as it were, the complete ownership and control of the whole produce of their labour? If the workers owned it it was hardly worth discussing the control and management. Nobody would mind the control except he had an ownership in a concern. If it were a capitalist government the workers would not own it. In his opinion either (b) or (c) paragraphs should be omitted, because one seemed undoubtedly to clash with the other. One went farther afield than the following paragraph. In the amendment they substituted it was somewhat similar to that adopted by the British Labour Party in its constitution. He thought if they referred to both constitutions they would find they were very similar in many respects. And necessarily so, because

Labour's interests were identical

throughout the world. Consequently, if their objects were consistent at all they must be similar. Their own constitution had words and phrases culled from the British constitution, but the very necessity and condition of things made it necessary that they should be the same in definition and expression. Their amendments, they thought, expressed these three objects quite explicitly because they asked for the full fruits of their labours by the workers and the most equitable distribution that might be possible, on the principle of the common ownership by the people of the means of production and the administration and control by the people of each industry or service. He thought that was a more diplomatic way of putting their objects before the country. The objects as set out by the Executive might cause undue alarm to the country which was not sufficiently educated from the workers' point of view. Strong as they might be they could not afford to cast diplomacy to the winds. They heard a great deal of what would be done if labour got supreme control. They knew they were bound to have that no matter what their objects were. The amendment they proposed, while not going so far afield as the original proposal, was not so confusing to the workers or the public, and was not of such a radical character as to

cause alarm in the breasts

of those who, though they might be workers, were not identified with the workers cause and would go out against this policy. If

it were explained and better understood they might be in favour of it.

Mr. T. Moore (R.C.A., Belfast) seconded. They wanted the position to be more clearly understood. They considered Labour as a whole was not properly educated to understand the clause as inserted in the resolution.

Mr. D. R. Campbell (Belfast T.C.) supported the phrasing of the "Objects" as set forth in the draft constitution. As they were dealing with the general aims of the workers, he said it was thought necessary to put the statements of the objects in short, pithy paragraphs. Under the proposed constitution the industries and services would be under the supreme authority of the National Government. The Railway Clerks' amendment would allow for each trade controlling its own industrial produce without regard to the Government or the workers as a whole. The Railway Clerks' welfare and particular interests must be subject to the interests of the nation as a whole. The object was to recover for the nation complete possession of all the natural physical sources of wealth of the country, and to recover for the workers the rightful ownership and control of the produce of their labour. There was nothing that he could see in the Executive's recommendation to prevent the fullest and most

democratic control of the industries

by the workers engaged therein, always having regard to the interests of the people as a whole not being jeopardised. Under the Railway Clerks' amendment the Railway Clerks could run the railways, and the Seamen and Firemen the transport, and that could be done without regard to the interests of the workers as a whole. Having regard to the people to whom they were appealing, he thought it better to have the objects set out in pithy paragraphs than having them run into one. In that way they could understand what the objects aimed at were. Therefore, he supported the draft constitution.

Mr. Thomas Johnson said he disagreed with Mr. O'Farrell that his proposition gave a clearer definition of what the workers desired than the proposition set forth in the draft constitution. He claimed that it was because of the desire to be definite that had led to the confusion in the minds of Mr. O'Farrell's friends. He was sure there was no confusion in the mind of Mr. O'Farrell, and he could have made a better defence of the proposal than he (Mr. Johnson) could. They were asked what did they mean by the nation? Was it the working class? No; it was not. They knew that the working class in the proletarian sense in Ireland was only half the nation, that they had another half which was not proletarian, but was very largely of the peasant proprietary class. They recognised that those working for wages or for their own livelihood on their own land were to be included

before arriving at the nation. The emphasis in the paragraph must lie upon the

“ natural physical sources ”

of wealth which are to be owned by the nation. The point of this paragraph is that it deals with only the raw materials inherent in the soil, the rocks and rivers. That was to be owned by the people of the country. But that was not the whole question. They had then “ to win for the workers the ownership and control of the whole produce of their labour.” That was also defined. The third paragraph (c) in the draft was not contradictory of paragraph (b). It suggested the democratic management and control of all industries and services—such as teaching—by the people engaged in these industries and services. As against that ideal the railway workers asked them to adopt a management which was, as one might say, an earlier stage in the development of democracy. One might liken it to what would be aimed at in a Collectivist State rather than

in a Workers' Republic,

and that it was rather inspired by the ideas and ideals of Sidney Webb and Arthur Henderson as against those of James Connolly and George Russell. He would ask the Congress to subscribe to James Connolly and George Russell rather than to Sidney Webb and Arthur Henderson (hear, hear).

On a count only two voted for the amendment which the President declared lost.

Miss Kelly (Irish Women Workers' Union, Dublin), by consent of Congress withdrew the following amendment:—

“ That (b) and (c) should be combined so as to form one object.”

Miss Kelly (I.W.W.U., Dublin) moved the following amendment to the draft constitution:—

“ That (j) and (k) be amalgamated and read as follows:—‘ To co-operate with that movement in order to :—(1) Further the establishment of a democratically controlled League of Nations which shall promote international unity and safeguard the right of small nationalities; (2) Raise the standard of social legislation in all countries to ever higher levels; (3) Assist in the world-wide struggle of the working-class for emancipation.’ ”

In doing so, she said—We urge the Irish Labour Party to add to their programme their desire to assist in forming a democratically controlled League of Nations. We do this because it is essential that a new system of managing International affairs be started, and that new system must be directly responsible to the peoples. Already the governments are planning to establish a League of Nations which will serve their own Imperialist and capitalist ends. The workers of the world must not allow a new form of tyranny to be established. They must think out a scheme for a League of Nations which will really help to make the world

safe for democracy. The Internatoinal League cannot neglect this task and Ireland ought to be prepared to join with

the peoples of other nations

in insisting upon a League which will work for the good of nationality and democracy.

Mr. Peter Birmingham (Plumbers, Dublin) seconded.

Mr. Cathal O'Shannon (I.T. and G. W. U., Cork) opposed the amendment. Theoretically, he said, he was not opposed to a League of Nations—that was, to a League of the Nations; but if it was to be what he meant by a League of Nations it must be a League of the Nations themselves not of the capitalists or Imperialistic governments of some of those nations. There was no proposal that he had been able to discover, either in Great Britain, in the United States, or in the central countries in Europe for the kind of League of Nations that he would desire. All such proposals, schemes, and plans were based upon the existing States or the States that would come into existence after the war. For that reason he could accept none of them. Since the League of Nations here was first started it had run in many directions. Like the hare that some of them used to hear of in the country—the witch hare—it had taken many shapes and forms, but none of them were satisfactory. As a matter of fact the week before in the National Congress in the French Socialist Party Lonquet threw out a proposal that

the French Socialist Party

should accept, approve and add to their programme a League of Nations. It was suggested in the amendment that the League of Nations should be such as should promote International unity to safeguard the rights of small nationalities. He had no doubt that a capitalist League of Nations would promote International unity to some extent. Unless he was very much mistaken without any League of Nations there was already International unity against Bolshevism in Europe which, since the Russian revolution, was coming out on top in most countries of Europe, and was likely to come out on top in England and in this country as well. A League of Peoples, if they liked, but not a League of States. Besides there was no guarantee whatever that even the most democratic League of Nations that was presently conceivable would safeguard the rights of small nations which were safeguarded only by the logic of events and the differences between the big Powers and the big States. There would not have been any self-determination in Bohemia only for certain events that recently happened. If there was to be any League of Nations that they could stand by it should be a League of Nations in the Internationale (applause).

The Chairman declared the amendment rejected, but the figures were not given.

Mr. C. Kelly (Postmen's Federation, Dublin) asked for certain

information with regard to article (d) of the constitution:—"The proposal to obtain for all adults who give allegiance and service to the Commonwealth," etc. They were bombarded by that question of allegiance in Ireland; and he would like to know something about it.

Mr. Johnson said it simply meant all the men and women of the Irish community that gave service and allegiance to the Irish community; that all adults in the community that they were striving for should have

full political and social rights

and liberties provided they gave service and allegiance to the Commonwealth. He contended that was the least and the most that could be expected of any nation.

Mr. T. Dalton (Waterford Trades Council) moved the following amendment to Clause 3 of the draft constitution relating to membership:—

"Add clause (a):—"Individual subscribing members shall be members of a recognised Trade Union.'"

He said that they had the experience of candidates for municipal bodies who were outside the Trade Unions seeking election. They were inclined to raise the standard of workers before getting in, but when they got returned they did not keep it up, but were inclined to take another course. Nobody should be allowed to be members of a Labour Party unless they were going to be **Trades Union members.**

Mr. Thomas Irwin (Dublin Operative Plasterers) seconded. He thought the next amendment on the agenda forwarded by the Limerick Trades Council should be embodied with this amendment, being about the same subject. The object of both, he thought, was to prevent what was known as people outside the Labour movement coming in and foisting themselves upon the movement. He thought, somehow, that the Executive, in putting forward their own constitution, followed the lines of the English Labour Party in allowing outsiders in. Some of them in Dublin knew some of the tricks adopted by some of those people who

posed as the friends of Labour

at election times. Those people should be kept out. They were no addition. There were enough outside who should be in the movement. In Dublin they had all sorts of people who at election times posed as friends, and became strong Labour candidates, and he was against having any of them.

Mr. C. Kelly (Postmen's Federation, Dublin) said he opposed the amendment. He was a member of an existing Trade Union, and might cease to be one, if, as was threatened, he was in a state of disemployment. Then he would be out of the Association, and if the amendment were carried he would be kept out of the Labour Party. If the amendment was made to read to reject any person for membership who had not been a member of his

Trade Union it would be clear. That would prevent anyone who was not a member of his Trade Union from coming in. To cut off every man who is not a member of a Trades Union would materially hurt some people who were not in a Union, because they had to leave through no fault of their own.

Mr. P. Coates (I.T. and G.W.U., Waterford) said he did not wish to keep out of the Labour Party any middle class people who would help the workers in the attainment of their objects. On the Continent and other countries the middle classes had played a very important part in the working class movements. As a matter of fact it was no exaggeration to say that the driving

forces behind German democracy

mainly came from or originated in the middle classes. They could include amongst men of this kind Marx, Leibknecht, Longuet, Lenin, Trotsky, and others—and there was no country in Europe to-day that required more educational work of that character from their middle classes who were in thorough sympathy with the objects of the workers than Ireland did. They had very little literature in Ireland to-day from the working class point of view. In Ireland they had a very good friend of Labour from the middle class in Mr. W. P. Ryan.

Mr. John Cronin (Limerick Trades Council) said he was very pleased to say that the Waterford Trades Council had very much the same opinion about this matter as the Limerick Trades Council. But, in consultation with the Executive, they had decided to withdraw the amendment standing in the name of the Limerick Trades Council, which read—

“Individual members are objected to on the grounds that it encourages trade unionists to remain out side their respective organisations; the only stipulation being that they accept the Constitution and policy of the party.”

They withdrew, he said, when he got an undertaking that the Trades Council would be the Executive authority in its own district, and nobody without the permission of the Trades Council could go on and put themselves on the Labour ticket. They had bitter recollections of friends of Labour, and in future they were going to have no friends of Labour except those affiliated with the Union.

Mr. T. Murphy (I.C.W.U., Dublin) said he was in agreement with the amendments. The proposition put forward by the Executive was

altogether too loose

for his way of thinking. It would open the door for people to get into the Labour movement who were not friendly towards them but would use the movement for their own personal advantage. He was sure if Mr. Kelly lost his position and left the movement or the Society of which he was a member, his Society would consider his position and retain him as a member. If he

lost his position through fighting for a principle he (Mr. Murphy) did not know of any Trade Union that would take such drastic action as to force him out. They saw a certain type of people trying to get into the movement, such as

"wardheelers,"

for their own advantage, and if the proposition of the Executive were carried they had no means of testing the bona-fides of those people.

Mr. Cathal O'Shannon (I.T. and G.W.U., Cork) opposed the amendment, but he agreed, he said, with many of the arguments of Mr. Murphy and other delegates. However, he would remind them that this was not a new feature in the Irish Trade Union Congress. In fact it had been in the constitution of the Congress for the past couple of years, but not exactly in the same form in which it appeared in the agenda. Provision was made for individual subscribing members. Now it was made deliberately for certain purposes. The purpose was not to exclude anybody who was a genuine, he did not say friend of the Labour movement, but who was a genuine man or woman associated with the Labour movement and believing in all the ideals of the Labour movement. If they were to carry the amendment what were they going to do with the

big number of women voters

who could not become members of any Trade Union because they were not actual wage earners? He was absolutely opposed to anyone like wardheelers getting into the Labour movement. That was one of the reasons why he voted for Labour entering the elections—in order to prevent men who were not Labour men getting up on platforms and declaring they were Labour candidates. There were men and women—there were a good many women, wives of workers—who could not be members of a Trade Union, and were they going to exclude them? They would find that the Executive, in its draft constitution, entitled those to come into and work in the movement. The Executive had adopted safeguards by which they should not exercise any undue influence or voting power in the movement. As a matter of fact their test would be the electoral machinery more than anything else. They could not obtain any representative position within the movement except through a Trade Union or the local Labour bodies. So far as Parliamentary position or any elected position was concerned they could not be elected by their Ward group—they must come through a recognised Union or Trades Council. He would ask them to have some consideration for the women voters. The essential principles and the essential foundation of the Labour movement would be maintained without those amendments.

Mr. D. R. Campbell (Belfast T.C.)—What is the clause that Mr. O'Shannon refers to where representation of the subscribing

members could be only obtained through the local Labour Party?

Mr. Thomas Johnson—A recognised local Labour Party group?

Mr. Campbell—Is it a fact?

Mr. Johnson—It is.

The President—It is dealt with on page 4, paragraph 5, of the draft constitution.

Mr. Johnson—"Individual subscribing members shall be organised into divisional or ward groups under the direction of the Trades Councils or local Labour Parties." The divisional ward group is formed under the auspices of the local Trades Council, or if there is no Trades Council in the district, the local Labour Party which is a working class body, and the individual membership scheme must be worked through them. That gives perfect security.

Mr. Thomas Twomey (Cork Trades Council) said he supported the amendment owing to experiences in connection with the Labour movement for 25 years, and of what they might expect from those who were not with them. They might have friends, but when the time came they would not support them, except a very few. The only hope of their redemption was to have machinery which they could put into force when the occasion arose. Their best friends were inside the ranks of the Trades Unions, either in disputes or on public Boards.

Mr. Wm. Logue (Derry Trades Council) supported the recommendation of the Executive. It was assumed, he said, by the arguments put forward that all Trades Unionists were democrats; but they would find people in the Trade Union movement where outlook on the general political policy was very narrow. Because of

the accident of birth

or position they should not debar men or women from the movement who were very sympathetic and gave practical demonstration of adherence to the democratic policy. The suggestion of the Executive was not to be confounded with the industrial question. It dealt with the political aspect of their movement; and those people should not be prevented from co-operating in their aims and objects. In the north they had some Trades Unionists who were anything but democratic, and they were to be allowed in, while people who gave practical demonstration of their democratic faith were not. That was very inconsistent with a democratic policy.

Mr. D. R. Campbell (Belfast Trades Council) said they were establishing somewhat of a precedent. They were endeavouring to establish an industrial and political movement, and there lay the danger, if danger there were, in affiliating subscribing members. When this question was first mooted he was very much opposed to it. It was necessary to provide greater safeguards

than were in the draft constitution. He should like to know
who was to be the judge

of the eligibility of the persons who became subscribing members in the first instance. Was it the National Executive?

Mr. Johnson—Read Clause 6.

Mr. Campbell—Yes; it says they shall be organised into Divisional or Ward groups.

Mr. Johnson—Under the direction of the Trades Council or local Labour Parties.

Mr. Campbell—In the Divisional or Ward groups under the direction of the Trades Council or local Labour Parties. Shall they have the right of admission?

Mr. Johnson—They are the people to do the work.

Mr. Campbell—You make the provision that the local Labour Parties shall consist of subscribing members. A few men want to become subscribing members. What is the mode and who are to be the judges of the eligibility of these members?

Mr. Johnson—The Executive in that case.

Mr. Campbell said the Union might object in a district. They would have to provide safeguards to prevent certain classes of individuals coming into the movement in this way. They should see and know who was the person who subscribed. He might be a wrong type of Trades Unionist; and he (Mr. Campbell) wanted to know who was to be the critic and the revisor of the eligibility of those who were to be the members of the Labour Party or body? They should keep in mind that this movement was one of a political and industrial character. There was no other party that combined the industrial (the economic and the wages) movement and the political movement. For that reason they were entitled to

take greater safeguards.

While those people might be true politically they might not be sound on the industrial question. Having regard to the smallness of the representation in the Congress they should take every safeguard to prevent local Labour Parties from putting forward wrong ones.

Mr. Johnson said he was glad this matter had been raised in the way that it had been. The Executive knew quite well that they were raising a question that would excite, perhaps, some controversy or doubt. The Executive could quite understand the position of those who were doubtful or hesitant about accepting this new element into the movement. They had recognised the whole surrounding circumstances. They had a vast number of women now enfranchised, and if they were to adopt the amendment the whole constitution would be abrogated so far as women were concerned, except they were in Trade Unions. If they read the constitution closely they would find that the Executive were fully aware of the need for safeguards. As they stated in a little

circular, which they sent out with the constitution, it was possible, but barely possible. for a non-Trade Unionist to get to be a representative at the Congress. Even that possibility was only through a nomination or selection of the Trades Council in the area. In the round of the local constituencies the local Labour Party would know who were non-Trade Unionists, and they were hoping that the Trades Councils everywhere would do this work. If they did the work they would be the judges and deciding bodies under the constitution. The constitution made it possible that after consideration by the Executive they might deem it desirable, if the Trades Council would not touch the political side of the work, to approach those of the Trade Unionists in the area who would do so to organise themselves into a section, or branch, or group, or Party in that particular area; but it was only

through the Unions

that this work would be done; and that was provided for quite securely in the draft constitution. He had spoken of the women and the exclusion of women, but he would put to them another possibility that might arise if this amendment were passed and the resolution lost. They had recently received into their ranks the teachers, comprising a large number of men and women who were just coming into the Trade Union world. It was quite conceivable that at another annual election the organisation, as an organisation might decide not to remain a Trade Union any longer. He did not say it was probable. But it was conceivable, and a large minority of men and women who were quite convinced of the necessity of a Labour Party would have no way of coming into the movement if they adopted the amendment. It would be possible for them to come in if the constitution as proposed were carried—it would be possible but still difficult. He submitted that the constitution as drafted was water-tight.

It protected the Unions

and gave the movement full control and the determination of its own future. The danger of any outside influence was very small or none at all, except through the sieve of a Trade Union or Trades Council (applause).

The voting was:—For the amendment, 20; against, 87.

The President declared the amendment lost.

The following amendment, in the name of the Railway Clerks' Association, to article 4, paragraph (b), dealing with the National Congress was accepted by consent:—

"In paragraph (b) in lines 6 and 7, delete the words 'or over' and insert before '1,000' and '1,500' the word 'over.'"

The following amendment relative to article 4, standing in the name of the same body, was withdrawn by consent:—

"In paragraph (b) delete all words in parenthesis from 'where' to 'representation' inclusive, and substitute:—'In no case shall the aggregate delegation from a Trade Union and its

Branches be in greater proportion to the total membership in Ireland than that provided for in this clause."

Mr. Dalton, on behalf of the Waterford Trades Council, moved the following amendment to article 4:—

"In (b) on first line of final paragraph delete 'one delegate' and insert 'two delegates.'"

He said that they found in Waterford that very seldom did affiliated Trades Councils send delegates. It was also the feeling that Trades Councils should have the power to send two, thinking one would not be sufficient.

Mr. Thomas Dunne said many Trades Councils were not able to send a delegate.

Mr. D. R. Campbell (Belfast T.C.) said there was an old maxim in sending delegates to the Congress to send two, in order to insure that a proposition on the agenda would have a seconder and be discussed. The case might be met by reducing the minimum number of 5,000 and so give them an additional representative. It might be advisable to find some means of giving them additional representation.

Mr. Cathal O'Shannon said he was in sympathy with the desire of the Waterford Trades Council that Trades Councils which had not exactly the full membership of 5,000 should have more than one delegate. He did not think, however, that a Trades Council with 400 or 500 members ought to have two delegates. That would not be fair to Congress or the other Trades Councils. He thought the matter would be met by the suggestion of Mr. Campbell by reducing the number to, say, a couple of thousand.

Mr. N. Rimmer (N.U.R.) opposed the amendment, because he objected to making the door for membership still wider. They did not need a dual representation or anything further than could possibly be helped.

Mr. Thomas Johnson said the next clause showed that if Trades Councils undertook the work of the local Labour Party they would be entitled if they had 100 subscribing members in their constituencies to send an extra delegate to Congress.

The President declared the amendment lost, but the figures were not announced. He also stated that the following amendment, in the name of the Limerick Trades Council, dealing with delegates to Congress (Article 4 of the Constitution) was withdrawn with the permission of the Congress:—

"(b) paragraph 1, add:—'Trade Union Branches may send delegates to Congress in addition to the number that may be deemed fit to be sent by the head office, provided that the added delegates are not in excess of the total number allowed by Rule.'"

Mr. T. Moore (Belfast) on behalf of the Railway Clerks' Association moved the following amendment to Clause 5 of the draft constitution (Local Labour Parties):—

"Delete all words from 'and' in line 7 to 'as' in line 8, and insert the word 'who' before subscribe in line 8."

He said his object was to find out what the Executive meant with regard to "such other working class organisations." They wanted that defined. As a Northern delegate he had come there time and again and had observed certain facts connected with the Congress, and he held the supporters of these amendments should bury sentiment. They should not imagine they were the only Labour men.

They in the North

were good Labour men and admired Connolly's name as much as they in the South did; but they knew that Henderson's name stank in their nostrils (Cries: "No, no). They would do all they could to forward the Labour movement, but they should know the fight that had to be made in the North.

Mr. J. T. O'Farrell (Dublin) seconded.

Mr. Thomas Johnson said this particular clause was put in so that the Congress might have an opportunity of deciding a rather vexed question. In 1914 in Dublin it was proposed in the constitution then being adopted to make provision for allowing the Independent Labour Party, the Socialist Party, and Co-operative Societies into the organization, as was the case in the English Labour Party. It was then decided not to adopt such a procedure. There was definite and rather strong pressure from the I.L.P. in Belfast and the Socialist Party in Dublin that they should find a way into the Irish Labour movement as a Socialist Party. The Executive wanted the Congress to declare its will upon that matter. They realised that there might grow up other organisations

of a propagandist nature

that were quite in agreement with them and were prepared to subscribe to the whole constitution but wanted to confine their activities to the propagandist side of the movement. Such an organisation could affiliate in the same way as a branch Trade Union and thus would become affiliated to the Party. It was in the mind of the Executive if the constitution passed to suggest to Trades Councils certain rules to make provision to fit the local Trades Council work into the local Labour Party work. The authority would be left in the hands of the Executive to see that a body such as the Independent Labour Party was eligible to come into the Irish Labour movement provided it subscribed to the constitution and policy of this Labour Party; but it was for the Congress to decide whether such a Labour organisation was to come in or not.

Mr. Duffy (Cork) said he did not see how they could resist this proposal in view of the fact that they carried Article 3 with

regard to membership. It was unfair that those two progressive organisations,

the Independent Labour Party

and the Socialist Party, as well as the Co-operative movement should be debarred from representation in the Labour Party and at the Congress.

Mr. D. R. Campbell—I take it that these bodies are to gain representation through being part and parcel and forming a component part of the local Labour Party?

Mr. Thomas Johnson—Through the local Labour Party; and that Party would have liberty if they desired to send such men to the Congress.

Mr. O'Farrell (Dublin) said in view of the remarks made he would withdraw the amendment by leave of the Congress.

The amendment was withdrawn, consent being signified.

The Lord Mayor of Dublin

(Ald. L. O'Neill) was a visitor at this stage of the proceedings and was accommodated with a seat on the platform.

The President, on behalf of the Congress, extended a welcome to his Lordship who received an ovation.

The Lord Mayor, acknowledging, the welcome said he hoped their deliberations would be of great service to the cause of Labour and equally of great service to the cause of their common country. Their movement and personality were bound up undoubtedly in the destinies, not alone of this country, but of the world; and the time was rapidly coming—day by day they would see it—although at the moment this country was in a dreadful crisis—when Labour intended to take its proper place in the lifting up of this dear old country (applause). At that moment they were in

the freest spot upon earth

(cheers) and from time to time there met within the portals of the Mansion House people of different degrees—socially, politically, and perhaps morally. Indeed, on the flag outside might be inscribed the legend that the Mansion House was “the Home of Civil and Religious liberty.” As Mr. Johnson or Mr. O'Brien could inform the delegates many famous gatherings had taken place there. In referring to some of these, he said that indeed the first place that De Valera and his comrades struck when released from jail was the Mansion House, and he was proud and happy to receive them. A short time afterwards another body took possession of the Mansion House and on looking in he saw a great many of them dancing round the Red Flag (loud applause). After that they had there a dethroned king absolutely and emphatically kicked out of his own country, and the only platform in the whole world that he could speak from was in the Mansion House. Then they had a Sinn Fein Convention following another

historic meeting attended by some very big people, and they had under consideration the

case of the Belfast prisoners

whom they got to be treated as Christians and not as slaves. Of all the people, however, that came there there were none that he appreciated more than he did the workers of Ireland. A few years previously, when he had his back to the wall, actually fighting for his very existence—actually fighting to keep bread and butter on the table to feed his wife and family—the labourers of Dublin and of all Ireland did not forsake him in his hour of need; and he would be very ungrateful if ever he forsook them (applause). Never had he stood on a political platform as a politician. When he was a young man Ireland was in the throes of the Parnell split. Even in those far-off days he could see what a pity it was that Irishmen should be disunited; but in those days

he registered a vow

that never would he stand on a political platform, although he had very strong opinions of his own, until the time came when he could stand with Irishmen of every denomination and class, all banding themselves together, arouse their country from the slumber in which she was sleeping. He was very happy to think that day was near at hand with the help of the Labour movement and with the help of some men who were on that platform. He should never forget the inspiring sight of last April when men representative of all political thought met in that Mansion House and, backed by the Railway delegates, hurled their ultimatum to Britain that she had gone far enough in regard to Conscription for Ireland. They would agree with him too, he thought, when he said that the action they took on April 23rd constituted that a red-letter day not only in their own movement but a red-letter day in the Labour movements of the world (applause), and when Ireland again took her place among the nations he was in great hopes that the men who would largely contribute towards bringing her once more to the forefront were such as the delegates whom he saw before him that day. He bade the Congress a hearty welcome to the Mansion House (prolonged applause).

Mr. Wm. O'Brien, Secretary of the Congress, moved the thanks of the assembly to the Lord Mayor for his attendance, for his address and for the welcome extended by him to the delegates. The Lord Mayor, he said, was a man who

deserved well of the Labour movement.

They had many friends when the movement was becoming strong and powerful; but in the dark days of 1913 in Dublin they had very few friends. The Lord Mayor of Dublin was one of them; and from his (Mr. O'Brien's) experience of public life in Dublin for twenty years he had not the smallest hesitation in saying that no Lord Mayor had to anything like the same extent won the confidence and admiration of the people of Dublin and of Ireland

as had the present Lord Mayor. When his year of office expired the voice of the people as a whole would demand that he would remain on. The previous day they had asked him to take up a very onerous task, and he felt sure from what he knew of him that the Lord Mayor would take it up with the same confidence as he took up the call last April to form the Mansion House Conference. The Lord Mayor had been engaged during his term of office in demanding proper treatment for political prisoners—even up to a few days previously. On the Mansion House Conference there had been two men who, because of their fight against Conscription had been deported. The delegates were issuing a call in order to give the Lord Mayor a fair chance of taking up the work of getting the men who were taken away from them restored to their liberty (applause). They were told there was

no liberty in Germany,

but they saw how Germany had been compelled to release their colleagues, Liebknecht and others. There were political prisoners besides those in the prisons of Europe; and they had in British prisons Lynch, of Silgo, and MacLean, of Glasgow, whose instant restoration to liberty they should demand (loud and prolonged applause).

Mr. Cathal O'Shannon (I.T. and G.W.U., Cork) said as one of the Red Flaggers he seconded the motion. The Lord Mayor always kept the Mansion House open for Labour and was always ready and willing to do all in his power to help the workers. The Lord Mayor had spoken of his efforts on behalf of the prisoners, but they were only expressing the feeling of the general body of workers throughout Ireland when they said that not only did they rejoice at the

release of Liebknecht,

not only did they deplore the imprisonment of MacLean, Lynch, Higgins, and others, but they also raised their voices in protest against the sentence of death that still was hanging over their comrade in America, Tom Mooney (loud applause). Mooney had not yet been executed, but it was fixed for December; and it would be a fine thing and a magnificent thing if the Irish workers who had prisoners of their own to look after would not forget the worker prisoner in the United States of America (applause). He hoped they would go back to their Unions and do something practical in that direction. He should like to refer to the horrible and brutal treatment of the prisoners in Belfast who were suffering from the prevailing plague. They were men and should be treated as human beings and not as dogs, and to secure that treatment for them it should not be necessary for the Lord Mayor to use his influence or efforts. The Irish Labour movement was determined to secure human rights for the workers, and they would make it clear that their people would not be treated like slaves, machines or dumb beasts, and to those confined in Belfast prison they

extended not only their sympathy but the support of labour as expressed through that Congress (applause).

Mr. Moore (Belfast) speaking as a delegate from the North of Ireland supported the motion. He would like, he said, if the Lord Mayor of Belfast would meet them in the Labour movement as the Lord Mayor of Dublin had done (applause).

The President in putting the motion, said as a North of Ireland representative, he joined in the expressions of thanks to the Lord Mayor of Dublin who they should all recognise had been very kind to them in the Labour Party (applause).

The motion was adopted with acclamation, the delegates rising from their seats.

The Lord Mayor suitably replied.

Mr. D. R. Campbell (Belfast) moved that a cablegram would be despatched to President Wilson and to Governor Stephens, of California, reiterating the demand of Congress, that Tom Mooney should be given a fresh trial.

The motion was carried as well as a motion calling for the release of those political prisoners whose names had been mentioned by Mr. O'Brien.

Mr. Houston (I.T. and G.W.U., Cork) moved that the Trades Unions would take steps to provide funds in connection with the trial of Tom Mooney. It was a desperate state of affairs, he said, that a man who it was proved conclusively had no connection with a crime at all should be in prison with

a sentence of death

hanging over him. He was sure whatever Irishmen could do they would do to help in this matter.

Mr. Wm. O'Brien (Secretary), in seconding the motion, said in a supplement to "The Voice of Labour" they had published a statement of the Mooney case, and there was not a worker in Ireland that did not know the facts. The agitation for the past two and a half years had cost a great deal of money. One pamphlet alone got out explaining the case had run into, he believed, a million copies. The sinews of war were required, and he hoped they would see they were provided and sent to John Mooney, his brother, who was in England in connection with the agitation. The expenses of John Mooney should be paid on this side, and any money raised could be sent to California.

The President declared the motion unanimously adopted.

The business of the Agenda was then resumed.

Mr. Dalton on behalf of the Waterford Trades Council moved the following amendment to Clause 5 of the draft constitution:—

"After 'shall have power,' in line 4, add:—'to demand that the Trades' Council shall take a plebiscite of all the Unions affiliated to the Council as to the propriety or otherwise of the Trades Council's action. The National Executive shall be bound by the result of the plebiscite,' and delete remainder of paragraph."

The reason for the amendment, he said, was that the Council and the Executive might come to loggerheads over some particular action, or the probability was that the Council in their action might or might not decide according to the views of the individuals affiliated; and they held if the Council should not agree to the National Executive the National Executive

should not have authority

to take the work out of the Council's hands and hand it over to the Labour Party constituted by the National Executive without consulting the members of the Council affiliated.

Mr. Thomas Dunne (Waterford T.C.) seconded. The idea of the amendment, he said, was to give the members of the Union self-determination as to their action.

Mr. Thomas Johnson pointed out that if this amendment were adopted it would prevent the possibility of a local Labour Party being established in any area where there was a Trades Council which refused to take up political work—where there was a big minority or a minority of the Unions willing to do the work, but the Council as a whole would not do it. Clause No. 5 would allow the Executive to proceed to the organization of these particular Unions which were favourable to forming a local Labour Party. If they took a plebiscite of all the bodies affiliated to the Trades Council they might have the whole thing turned down though they might have 10 or 15 out of 25 or 30 ready to form a local Labour Party in a city or district. If they took the case of Belfast. Suppose there they had a Trades Council with a membership of 50 Unions. Those 50 Unions as a whole might refuse to take up the work of a local Labour Party, but 25 of the Unions might be prepared to do so. They could form the Party under the Rule as proposed, but the amendment would prevent this; it was for the Congress to decide if they would give the Executive that power.

The President, on a show of hands, declared the amendment lost.

The delegates of the Limerick Trades Council withdrew the following amendment:—

"That in our opinion it is a bad policy for Labour to pursue in establishing parties outside the strict Trade Union movement, and as such should be condemned by Congress."

The following amendment by the Limerick Trades Council in respect of Clause 6 (Individual Subscribing Members) was withdrawn by consent:—

"We suggest the formation of Ward Groups within Trades Councils as in our opinion all other groups outside should be treated with suspicion."

The following amendment by the Limerick Trades Council respecting the proposals as to "Finance" was withdrawn by consent:—

"That in the opinion of this Congress 1/- per member per

year from every Trade Unionist in the country would realise an adequate sum for present requirements."

Mr. Dawson Gordon (Flaxroughers and Spinners, Belfast) said in so far as the proposal (to raise the affiliation fee to two pence per member) was passed it placed his Society in a very peculiar position. It might have compelled the withdrawal of their affiliation from the Congress because of the fact that the Society practically only subscribed about 2d. per week. If they were to pay their affiliation fees out of that they would not be able to subscribe the additional fee. In that event they would have to withdraw from the Congress; or it would mean a small part of the Union would have to subscribe, and instead of getting more Congress would get less.

Mr. Thomas Johnson said he thought they would have had an amendment to that proposition, but as it was they were putting themselves in line with the British Labour Party in that respect. They were very glad that not many societies would adopt the position that Mr. Gordon's society might be compelled to adopt. The prices of everything had been doubled!

Mr. D. Campbell (Belfast T.C.) said to avoid the possibility or a probability of making a false statement with regard to the total membership could not there be some middle way adopted to meet the case of a Union such as Mr. Gordon's which was largely

composed of women members.

There might be a small subscription applicable to women workers.

Mr. Thomas Johnson said their constitution was not like the laws of the Medes and Persians, though they did not want frequent changes. If Societies could not pay the 2d. they might make a levy, and he did not think that was impossible even for the Flaxroughers' Society.

Mr. Wm. Logue (Derry) suggested that the matter would be referred to the Executive with a recommendation that they would deal with any exceptional cases that would arise.

Mr. James Hughes (I.T. and G.W.U., Dublin) said in the case of his Union 2d. per head would probably amount to the payment on the occasion of the next Congress of anything from £800 or £1,000. That would be an extraordinary tax upon the Union.

Mr. Thomas Johnson—It is still only 2d. per member.

The President declared the motion for the adoption of the proposal in the draft constitution carried, it being understood that Mr. Logue's suggestion that the National Executive should deal with special cases, especially where women's unions were concerned was agreed to.

Railway Clerks' Association to Article 8 of the constitution (National Executive) was adopted:—

"In line 3, paragraph 1, delete the words 'to be.'"

The following amendment being considered unnecessary was withdrawn by leave:—

“Add to last paragraph:—‘who shall remain in office until the next Annual Congress.’”

Mr. T. Moore (Railway Clerks' Association, Belfast) moved the following amendment to Article 8 (National Executive):—

“Add a new paragraph to read: ‘The recommendations of the National Executive in reference to the political policy of the Irish Labour Party and Trades Union Congress must be submitted to, and, in all cases have the sanction of, an Annual or Special Congress.’”

Mr. O'Farrell (R.C.A., Dublin) seconded.

Mr. Thomas M'Partlin, on behalf of the National Executive, opposed the amendment. He said that from time to time questions might arise upon which it would be necessary to take action quickly, and a decision could not be put off until they called a Congress from the whole of Ireland. Recently they had a practical illustration of the

necessity of a quick move

and afterwards, when submitted to the Congress, the policy of the Executive was strengthened by the vote of the Congress. There was a special crisis with reference to the food supplies in Ireland. At that time there was practically a famine threatened within a month; and if they waited for a Congress all the food would have been gone. There was nothing for the Executive to do but take action, and they did so with great success. There was also another occasion, and although a motion was brought forward at the Congress to criticise the action of the Executive it got no support. The Conscription menace had to be taken in hand immediately. It was a question with regard to which they could not wait for two or three weeks or a month. They got into it and called a special Congress to strengthen their deliberations, and the result was

the defeat of Conscription

in Ireland. The adoption of the amendment would tie the hands of the Committee, even in important crises, and they could do nothing until Congress met again. There was no use in looking for men who were able and fit to conduct a movement if they gave them no power.

The President declared the amendment unanimously rejected.

Mr. John Cronin, on behalf of the Limerick Trades Council, moved the following amendment:—

“That the National Executive to be truly representative of Ireland should be constituted of Representatives from the four provinces of the country, or at least a representative from each of the cities of Ireland as by this means we feel certain we will obtain a more general consensus of opinion and a more equitable distribution of Executive funds.”

He said he expected determined opposition to the amendment. When considering the forwarding of the amendment at Limerick they got a copy of a newspaper known as the "Southern Democrat" containing a report of a speech made by Mr. Houston at Charleville in which he stated that at the Waterford Congress his Union and the Railway workers had joined together and had done simply what they liked. If that was the line upon which the Congresses were going to be run such small Unions as that at Limerick had small use of coming there. They thought the most representative way in which the Executive would be elected would be to have the four provinces represented upon it, or if not the provinces at least to have the principal cities. It would be familiar to the delegates that small Unions could not get representation on the Executive. Names were submitted at Congress whom none of them knew, and they knew nothing about their abilities. They had, however, been fortunate in picking out good men. The idea of the Limerick Council was that if the Executive was more representative of the country the Trades Union movement would be benefitted. Only for Mr. Egan the whole South of Ireland

would be disfranchised,

and if he remembered rightly Mr. Egan was last on the list. He contended that to make the Executive more representative, if not more intelligent,—for there might be some brains in Limerick, Clare and Waterford—the amendment should be adopted and the four centres should be asked to nominate a delegate (hear, hear).

The President—There are two proposals named in the amendment, and which is it—the cities or the provinces you propose?

Mr. Cronin—The cities: Dublin, Cork, Waterford, and Limerick. The North of Ireland is well able to look after itself. So far as Dublin is concerned it is able to look after its own representation.

The President—Is it the provinces or the cities you want to be the area? Will you agree to the four provinces?

Mr. Cronin—Yes.

Mr. Wm. Logue (Derry T.C.) seconded. They probably had a grievance in the North, though Mr. Cronin, probably, might not recognise it. In Derry they would have been practically disfranchised had it not been for the circumstance that a delegate from that city had been elected President. They found that the general constitution of the present Executive was more or less confined round about Dublin, with the exception of Mr. Mitchell from Belfast, and those already named. That was calculated to have a detrimental effect throughout the country. If they had representatives from the different parts of Ireland they would have men with first hand knowledge of questions agitating the different localities to direct the deliberations of the Executive. It was

antagonistic to the democratic principle

that certain areas should get preferential treatment. If adopted, Mr. Cronin's suggestion would bring solidarity to the movement.

Mr. D. R. Campbell (Belfast T.C.) said that with regard to giving representation by provinces he did not know how the movers suggested that the men should be elected. Would it be only the Trades Unions of the provinces who would elect, or would the whole voting strength of the Congress determine what the choice would be of the group or district? He saw serious difficulties in giving effect to the amendment by merely stating a principle without having the machinery to carry it out. If this amendment were accepted they would have no machinery for selecting the candidate from Limerick or Munster. It was introducing a new situation, although Mr. Larkin at one time advocated it. For it there was a great deal to be said, but they should have the full and complete machinery for carrying out the work in the way it was desired.

Mr. Cathal O'Shannon (I.T. and G.W.U., Cork) said he was opposed to a geographical basis of representation within the movement. If the amendment was prepared to go as far as to combine industrial and geographical representation as in the Soviets he was prepared to go with it. They were an industrial body and

not a geographical body

and recognised absolutely no distinction between the worker in Belfast and the worker in Cork or in Derry. They would give full weight and no more than full weight to the voices of the Trades Unionists of any particular area. Their basis had always been the basis of Trades and Unions, and the representation should always remain upon that basis. He would prefer that the National Executive should be constituted upon another basis—namely that it would be divided into a number of departments. The head of each department would be the Executive whose special duty would be to deal with the trades in the particular departments. But the Congress had not arrived at that stage. They were going as far as the movement would allow them to go; and so far as the National Executive was concerned they would go much farther than the movement would allow them. They had been

split in the Labour movement

as in other movements about that city or province idea, but they cared for neither province or city, but for the body of workers and the industrial interests they represented (applause). He hoped Congress was not prepared to go back to the old geographical divisions. They had done and were over with them in Ireland, and they wanted to have done with other divisions too; and so let them be one National Labour Movement speaking for the whole country (applause).

Mr. Thomas Irwin (Plasterers) said he was not altogether in sympathy with the amendment, nor was he in sympathy with or

in support of the manner of electing the present Executive. The Executive to be truly representative should be representative of the industries and not of any part of Ireland. There was no representation of the most important industry of the country—that was the engineering industry. Some scheme should be devised by which each important industry in the country should be represented on the Congress Executive. Wherever they got a man they should get a good man. They had not the machinery for doing a lot of things, but by the time of the next Congress the Executive as at present constituted might devise a scheme by which the engineering, building, furnishing, woodworking and other important trades would be represented there industrially in industrial groups if they liked (hear, hear).

Mr. Moore (Railway Clerks' Association, Belfast) said the best way to have representation was to have every Trades Union and Council in Ireland represented at the Congress and let them try to get their representatives on the Executive. He did not believe in these schemes at all. If Labour was interested in the Trades Union movement let them send their men there.

Mr. Houston (I.T. and G.W.U., Cork) said he wished to completely contradict the statement attributed to him. He did not make the statement to which Mr. Cronin called attention. He thought the reporter was rather drawing on his own imagination. He said on that occasion that if there was a combination on the part of the

Railway men and the Transport workers

they could paralyse the whole industrial work of the country; and if the reporter said that there was a combination of these men at the Congress he wished to contradict that. With regard to representation by provinces and its effect on them in the South and the West of Ireland—he did not know if the West had any representatives present or not—were they going to get that representation if they did not come in? Sligo had a representative there, but Galway which was of more importance than Sligo had not. He did not care for representation for mountains, dales and valleys. It was the people who wanted representation; but the people were not organised.

Mr. Cronin—The statement I refer to appeared in two or three newspapers, and as far as I know it was not contradicted and had given rise to a lot of controversy.

Mr. Thomas Foran (I.T. and G.W.U., Dublin) said if it meant a combination between the Railway men and the Transport Workers' Union they believed it was in the interests of the Trades Union movement. It was absolutely essential that the Transport workers should have a proper understanding with the Labour movement. Complaints were made that Limerick was disfranchised, but that was not so, for their Union had branches all over the country, and they had delegates there and were voting

as a Union. They were voting unitedly upon all questions, and voted for those whom they believed to be most competent

to guide the Labour movement

in Ireland. Limerick, Waterford, or any other centre where they had branches was not disfranchised. They had representation there through the Transport Workers' Union. They voted together for the best interests of the Labour movement, knowing neither parishes, cities, or provinces; and he hoped they never would (applause).

The President said he declared the amendment lost practically unanimously.

The following amendment in the name of the Waterford Trades Council to Article 10 of the draft constitution (Parliamentary Candidates) was withdrawn by consent of Congress:—

"Add new clause:—(c) By Parliament shall be meant a Parliament representative of the Irish people and sitting in Ireland."

Mr. J. T. O'Farrell (Railway Clerks' Association, Dublin) moved the adoption of the following new clause to Article 10 of the draft Constitution:—

"Insert additional clause, headed 'Revision of Constitution,' to read: 'This Constitution shall come into operation on and from 4th November, 1918, but shall be subject to revision at each Annual Congress on representation of a signed requisition from six or more Trade Unions or Branches of Trade Unions or other affiliated bodies.'"

He said that his Association thought that this proposition should have come from the Executive. They had decided to ask Congress for permission to change the date from the 4th to the 7th November, which was the

anniversary of the Russian Revolution

(applause). Its adoption would prevent any one from moving frivolous amendments at the Congress when there would have to be a requisition from six or more bodies.

Mr. Thomas Johnson (National Executive) said the real objection and only objection which he or the Executive had to the clause was that the constitution was not fixed. It was subject to growth and development, and even for a year or two it might be worth while for single Unions to send in amendments to the constitution. Until they were satisfied as to its "workability" it was not advisable to fix it as the Railway Clerks proposed to do. It should be a little elastic until they found it was quite workable, and they might then agree to a rule about sending in amendments.

Mr. D. R. Campbell (Belfast T.C.) said he opposed the amendment.

One man could deliver a truth

as well as a thousand, and there was no constitution that he

knew of which insisted that an amendment should have six branches backing it up or drafting it. If this proposal were carried it would bar out suggestions or amendments by a branch or Trades Union, unless backed up by six others. That was a retrogressive step.

Mr. Cathal O'Shannon (I.T. and G.W.U., Cork)—Would it be better to withdraw the second part of the clause and allow the first part with an alteration of the date to November 7th to stand part of the constitution?

Mr. O'Farrell—If Congress accepts the first part of the proposal we will withdraw the second portion—from the words "but shall be subject to."

The clause as altered was agreed to, and the date changed from November 4th to November 7th, and as adopted for addition to the constitution it read: "This constitution shall come into operation on and from November 7th, 1918."

The President said they would pass on to the Standing Orders.

Mr. Thomas Dunne (Waterford Trades Council) moved the following amendment to clause 1 of the Standing Orders (National Congress):—

"After 'National Executive' (line 5) add: 'or upon the receipt by the National Executive of a requisition from at least five Trades Councils having a total affiliated strength of 15,000 members.'"

Mr. Thomas Johnson suggested that Congress would accept the amendment.

The President declared the amendment unanimously adopted.

The following amendment to Article 3 of the Standing Orders (Delegation Fees) was accepted:—

"Line 1, paragraph 2, delete the words 'rail and hotel.'"

The following amendments by the Railway Clerks' Association to Clause 9 of the Standing Orders (Resolutions and Amendments) were accepted or withdrawn as indicated—without discussion:—

"Line 1, paragraph 1, delete the words 'proposed resolutions' and substitute the word 'propositions.'"—Accepted.

"Delete all words from 'signed' in line 2 of paragraph 1, to 'Organisations' inclusive, and substitute: 'transmitted through and endorsed by the Secretary of the Organisations.'"—Withdrawn.

"In line 1, paragraph 2, delete the word 'suggested.'"—Accepted.

"In line 2, paragraph 2, delete the words 'authorised officials,' and substitute 'Secretaries.'"—Withdrawn.

"Insert additional paragraph to read:—'The order in which Resolutions shall be inserted on the Agenda shall be decided by the National Executive.'"—Accepted.

The following amendments in the name of the Railway Clerks' Association were accepted by Congress without discussion in

connection with Clause 10 of the Standing Orders (Limitation of Speeches):—

“Add to paragraph 2:—‘Each delegate on rising to speak must announce his (or her) name and Society he (or she) represents.’”

“Add new paragraph to read:—‘In the event of a proposal to take ‘the previous question’ or to proceed to the next business, being moved and seconded, it shall, after the proposer of the resolution in question has been heard be put to the vote and if the proposal is carried, the resolution under discussion shall be deemed to be disposed of and Congress will proceed to the next item on the Agenda.’”

The following amendment to Clause XI. (Election of National Executive) standing in the name of the Railway Clerks’ Association was also accepted:—

“Delete all words from ‘Amendments,’ in line 3, paragraph 2, to ‘Resolutions’ in line 4, and substitute ‘Final Agenda.’”

Mr. E. O’Carroll (Railway Clerks’ Association) moved the following amendment to Clause XI. of the Standing Orders (Election of National Executive):—

“In paragraph 3 delete all words from ‘except’ in line 2, to ‘Representative’ in line 4, inclusive.”

He said they moved this amendment in order to alleviate any suspicion that might be in the minds of any members of Associations at the Congress. The organisation which he represented had no suspicion, but it was quite possible that some suspicion might exist in the minds of some delegates or representatives of some Unions affiliated to Congress. It might occur that a few Unions could dominate the National Executive. Under the constitution it was possible that two Unions could have four members on the Executive and two otherwise. That would be a total of six out of fourteen. They believed that no Union however large should be represented by two.

Mr. T. Moore (R.C.A., Belfast) seconded.

Mr. Thomas Johnson (National Executive) said the position of the Executive in this matter was that it was the acceptance of an idea that had prevailed in the constitution for several years back and

had worked satisfactorily.

It seemed to him they ought to continue it.

Mr. O’Farrell (R.C.A., Dublin) said so far as he knew the arrangement had not been in operation for two or three years, as stated. There were only two Unions which could take advantage of that clause, and it would practically reserve six seats to them out of fourteen. They did not want to destroy the confidence of the small Unions by having this taking place. Where there were only fourteen seats one or two or three Unions should not have a monopoly.

Mr. Cathal O’Shannon (I.T. and G.W.U., Cork) said it was

not accurate to state that this clause was inserted in the Standing Orders in order that if there were two men in a small Union of outstanding ability that they should be eligible for election. In some of the bigger Unions there might be more than one man to go on the Executive, and should that bigger Union not be allowed to put forward two men if they had them who would be considered to be

fit and proper officers?

Or should a small Union be debarred from putting them forward if they had them? If the Congress was going to be anything like what it ought to be—if it was going to seek out the best stuff,—surely the big and small Unions would play fair and give and take. They were starting a new era and a new constitution, and they wanted everybody in the Labour movement who was prepared to take part in their activities, political and industrial. They were trying a big experiment which other Labour parties did not try, and they believed it would work successfully in Ireland. They were turning over an absolutely new leaf, and in doing so he asked that they would begin not only with a new constitution in the letter but that they would begin with a new spirit in the movement (applause).

Mr. N. Rimmer (N.U.R., Dublin) supported the amendment. The Railway Union, he said, was second to no other in the country. It was not their policy and they did not claim that they were entitled to more than one member. By this method they would give a better opportunity to the smaller Unions, and would get more general information and ability from all the Unions represented at the Congress by the same method.

Mr. J. J. Hughes (I.T. and G.W.U., Dublin) opposed the amendment on the ground that the proposal of the Executive in the constitution was much more democratic.

The voting was:—For the amendment, 33; against 47.

The President declared the amendment defeated.

Mr. Thomas Johnson (National Executive) said with regard to the scale of allowances the last Congress at Waterford at its close and without giving very much consideration to the matter proposed a certain revised scale for officers. In revising the scale again and submitting it the Drafting Committee had reduced considerably the amounts suggested at Waterford. They were in advance of the old allowances under the old constitution, but they were reduced from what they were advanced to in Waterford.

The President put the motion for the adoption of the Constitution and Standing Orders with the amendments accepted and declared it carried unanimously.

NEW BUSINESS.

The Oath of Allegiance.

Mr. Chas. Kelly (Postmen's Federation, Dublin) asked for permission to introduce a matter of very great importance and interest to Irishmen. Certain Irishmen, he said, had received an order to take an oath of allegiance to King George, his heirs and successors. He wished to propose a resolution on the subject.

The President said as chairman he did not believe that they as a Congress should give any opportunity for discussing this question. He was informed, and believed, that this matter had been discussed by the Association to which Mr. Kelly belonged, and they had taken certain steps. He did not see why they should be asked to express their views upon it.

Mr. Kelly said most of the civil servants were unorganised, and the Association which he represented was only the tail of a cross-channel one. They had no voice or authority in the matter.

Mr. Luke J. Larkin (N.U.R., Waterford) said they in the Waterford Trades Council thought the civil servants employed in the Post Office at Waterford had not the gumption to take this matter up themselves through their organisation,

nor had they the manhood

to stand by the organised workers on the 23rd April. Had they the manhood to take a stand of their own the voice of Ireland would be behind them in opposing this imposition being put upon them. He brought the matter forward at the Waterford Trades Council who passed a very strong resolution to be forwarded to all organised bodies. What was the upshot? Those officials got so nervous that they went to the Trades Council and would not allow them to send out the resolution. They should now be let stew in the mess they had made for themselves.

Mr. Kelly said if some members in Waterford had not the backbone to protest they in Dublin had. Owing to what had taken place a large number of men and women were under orders of dismissal.

Mr. John Good (N.U.R., Cork) moved that Mr. Kelly would get liberty to introduce the question.

Mr. Moore (R.C.A., Belfast) held that notice should be given. There was no use, he said, of springing matters upon them.

A vote was taken; and there were for discussing the question, 70; against 5.

Mr. Kelly then moved:—

"That this Congress strongly condemns the arbitrary action

of the British Government in forcing existing Irish civil servants to take the Oath of Allegiance

under threat of dismissal,

such action being a distinct breach of contract and contrary to all sense of Justice."

A large number of civil servants are now in danger of dismissal, about 50 in Dublin alone, owing to refusal to swear.

He said the resolution was of extreme importance. There were no politics in his action, but he was trying to help people who were a long time in the service. They were asked to take this oath while nations were in turmoil and the British Press were applauding the actions of workers in other countries in upturning monarchies. Such a course was absolutely repugnant to their sense of justice. As civil servants they thought this a piece of panicky legislation forced in Parliament through

some enemy of Ireland,

and by it they thought they would get Sinn Feiners out of the service. It was not Sinn Feiners they would get out at all. It was the working classes. It was said the civil servants had not backbone. It was unity they wanted and a lead. The rank and file had taken the oath under the greatest possible pressure. This was only the thin end of the wedge, and it would require their whole determination. He did not take it and was not going to take it. The railway servants would probably be the next who would be asked to take it.

Mr. John Good (N.U.R. Cork) seconded the motion. If they, he said, were to take an oath let them take it to the people whom they represented. They had seen what monarchs had brought the peoples of the world to. They should not do anything which should keep such a system in existence. A man should not be asked to take an oath that his conscience was against; and they should stand by one another (applause).

Mr. Edward Lynch (Queenstown Trades Council) said at
the Haulbowline Dockyard

the Trades Unionists were given to understand that it was the intention of the authorities to apply the Oath of Allegiance to them also. They realised that if it were attempted to be forced upon them it would be done for the purpose of crushing Labour, that it would tie them up and restrict their Trade Union and Labour activities. They called together 250 of the men affected and asked the Trades Council to take up the matter on their behalf. It was recognised to be a Trades Union question and that those men should be supported. If they were left derelict they might have to scab on their fellow workers who had not taken the Oath of Allegiance. They took legal advice and prepared instructions for the Unions. A meeting was held and pledged support to the men affected. He had a resolution that it was intended to submit to the Unions to be passed by them. It was:—

"That this Branch views the imposition of the Oath of Allegiance, as a grave

menace to the Trade Union movement,

that it is a deliberate attempt to destroy our power of combination, and render the worker subservient and slavish in his employment; considers that an injury to one is the concern of all, and shows its unity and solidarity, by calling on our members to make the day following any member is asked to take the Oath a day of abstinence from work—(1) as a demonstration of fealty to the men concerned, and (2) to provide the necessary time for a full and free discussion to determine our future action in connection with the matter.

"That the Trades Council delegates be requested to ask the Council to co-ordinate the actions of its constituent societies who are taking a similar course so that unity and precision of action may take place between the various societies."

Proceeding he said that before coming to the Congress he was informed that

the competent Naval authority,

the Admiral of the Port, wrote to the Admiralty stating that it was most inadvisable to apply the Oath of Allegiance to the dockyard workmen, as in his opinion it would cause grave disturbances in the yard. They were further informed that a letter came back that the matter was not to be proceeded with any further. If the civil servants had adopted a similar course of action as those in the Royal Dockyard it would probably not be attempted to be applied to them either (applause).

Mr. Larkin (N.U.R., Waterford) said he was not opposed to the substance of the resolution, but he was opposed to delegates introducing it there owing to the attitude they took on the question. In Waterford they regarded the matter as being so vital that they intended that their resolution should have reached the whole Trades Unions, and that there should have been a Special Congress called to deal with it. He trusted the civil servants and those in the Post Office would loyally support the resolution themselves.

The President declared the motion unanimously adopted.

Vote of Thanks.

Mr. Moore (R.C.A., Belfast) moved a vote of thanks to the Chairman. He did so, he said, because he represented one of the bodies that gave the Chairman most to do on that occasion. Mr. Cassidy filled the chair well and gave them an idea of a man capable of self-determination, but they could expect nothing else from a man from Derry of "No Surrender" fame. He had presided over that meeting well. During the proceedings there had been nothing but good will, and he made a pleasant impres-

sion throughout the deliberations. He deserved the heartiest vote of thanks which the assembly could afford him (applause).

Mr. Henry March (Painters, Cork), in seconding said that all through the proceedings the Chairman displayed ability and tact. It was a pleasure to attend a Congress where business was conducted as it had been on that occasion.

Mr. Wm. O'Brien (Secretary), in putting the motion, asked that it would be passed with acclamation.

The delegates gave a hearty response to the call.

The President in his reply said when at Waterford he was asked to take the presidency he recognised it was a position of responsibility. That responsibility was greater now than ever before. Though he recognised his unworthiness, in the present state of the Labour organisation he could not shirk the responsibility which he was asked to take up. His desire while in the chair was to give every one fair play and to allow a full discussion on the questions before the meeting. He had endeavoured to do that at that Congress in order to get a clear decision arrived at (applause).

The proceedings concluded.



APPENDIX.

MANIFESTO ISSUED SEPTEMBER, 1918.

IRISH LABOUR AND THE GENERAL ELECTION.

To the Workers of Ireland,

You will shortly be invited, the great majority for the first time, to cast a Vote in a General Election. Nominally, you will be privileged to elect members to represent your interests and wishes in Parliament; in reality, to a greater degree than ever before, you are to choose which of several National Ideas you subscribe to.

THE IRISH LABOUR PARTY sets forth its views upon political and social affairs, and asks for your support.

Economic Power.

For ten years past in Ireland the workers' movement in industry has been growing in power and influence, and Trade Unionism has established itself as the most potent weapon in the hands of the workers. It is upon the power of this industrial organisation that the working masses must in the main rely to win their emancipation. In the right to decide when to sell and when to withhold their labour lies the strength of the workers' position. This has been especially true of Irish Labour since the outbreak of War and will continue for a long period after peace is declared. Whatever part Labour is destined to play in the political life of Ireland its part in the industrial and economic life must always take precedence, since in Ireland as everywhere else economic power must precede and make possible political power.

Political Power.

But we have been taught by experience not to allow the victories of Trade Unionism to be brought to nought by laxity in politics—by leaving the political machinery of the State in the control either of Labour's enemies or of professing friends, who are not themselves of the working class. We must support our Trade Unionism by our politics; we must be ready to use every

weapon that has been placed in our hands, to avail of every opportunity which comes in our way, to strike blow upon blow in the age-long fight for liberty.

Hence it is that the Irish Labour Party announces itself as a combatant in the coming electoral struggle.

The War's Reactions.

The predominant issue before the electorate will be one not of our choosing. We should have preferred the entry of organised Labour into the political arena had been to fight on questions directly connected with the social and economic condition of the people. We recognise, however, that our wishes must take into consideration the realities of the situation in the abnormal conditions now prevailing, and the realities to-day are the War and its reactions. Among these reactions Ireland's national claim stands out boldly demanding satisfaction.

Self-Determination.

On this claim the recent Labour Congress at Waterford again declared itself. We adopt the principle of the Russian Revolution, supported as it is by the pronouncements of President Wilson, and the Premiers and politicians of all the warring and neutral Powers, viz.: "the right of all peoples to self-determination." We mean thereby that Ireland, no less than Belgium or Serbia, Poland or Finland, Bohemia or Esthonia (and these no less than Ireland), shall have the right to decide its own form of Government, to choose its own sovereignty, to determine its own destinies without limitations, except such as are voluntarily conceded or are common to all nations.

We assert before the world that Ireland is denied this right by the power of armed force, and we call upon the Democracies to make good their professions by their actions, and set free the Irish Nation from its involuntary bondage.

To strengthen our hands as representing the workers of Ireland when pressing this demand upon the Labour Parties of other Nations (both of the old world and the new) we ask you to support the Labour Candidates in the coming Election.

Closely allied with the subject of Ireland's status as a Nation, but by no means wholly dependent thereon, is the question of Conscription. In unison with the people as a whole, the Labour Party has taken an active part in the fight against the project to compel Irishmen by force to bear arms. We are resolved to persist in our resistance come what may. We stand firmly on this ground—that no outside authority whatsoever has a right to compel a man to kill his fellow-man. Each individual must be left free to act or not to act in such a matter as his conscience

directs. Holding this principle, the Irish Labour Party will refuse to be bound by any bargain between the British Government and any set of Irish politicians or parties whereby in exchange for an Irish Parliament a Conscript Army shall be provided. We should oppose military conscription even in an Irish Republic for as valid reasons as we should oppose it under any other form of Government or misgovernment. We believe that a well-ordered community will never lack resolute voluntary defenders; the test of good government is to be found in the readiness of the governed to rally to the defence of the Commonwealth.

What is Freedom?

But it is not enough that Labour in Ireland should have an international policy, or that we should be resolute in our antagonism to Conscription.

For the worker living year in and year out, even in so-called prosperous times, with the barest margin between his daily work and starvation, it is not enough to know that his elected representatives stand for the freedom of Ireland as a political state.

On thousands of labourers, artizans, agricultural workers, clerks, shop-workers, teachers, and the vast miscellaneous mass of men and women, who work for wages, the question presses every pay-day: What is to be our lot in the free Ireland of the future, what is to be our portion under the new regime? Must we forever remain hewers of wood and drawers of water for wealthier, but less worthy neighbours, who wield the powers of government through the use of their often ill-gotten wealth? Who is to control and direct the industrial life of Ireland and to what end? Are we to leave the moulding of the future Irish Nation in the hands of those whose ideas and interests demand a continuance of the present servile status of the workers? To the workers a free Ireland must mean an Ireland wherein human personality has been released from bondage; wherein men shall no longer be marketable chattels. To this end we recall the words of our late comrade and leader, James Connolly:—

"Ireland as distinct from her people is nothing to me; and the man who is bubbling overⁱⁿ with love and enthusiasm for 'Ireland' and can yet pass unmoved through our streets and witness all the wrong and the suffering and the shame and the degradation wrought upon the people of Ireland—aye, wrought by Irishmen upon Irish men and women, without burning to end it, is, in my opinion, a fraud and a liar in his heart, no matter how he loves that combination of chemical elements he is pleased to call Ireland."

Ultimate Aims.

It is of little use to lay down any detailed programme of reform. The people may propose, but the War God, with the

help of his hand-maiden "Dora," will effectually dispose of all programmes until his thirst for human blood is quenched.

Our ultimate aims may be defined as follows:—

To recover for the Nation complete possession of all the natural physical sources of wealth of this country.

To win for the workers of Ireland, collectively, the ownership and control of the whole produce of their labour.

To secure the democratic management and control of all industries and services by the whole body of workers, manual and mental, engaged therein, in the interest of the Nation and subject to the supreme authority of the National Government.

To obtain for all adults who give allegiance and service to the Commonwealth, irrespective of sex, race or religious belief, equality of political, and social rights and opportunities.

To abolish all power and privileges, social and political, of institutions or persons, based upon property or ancestry, or not granted or confirmed by the freely expressed will of the Irish people; and to insist that in the making and administering of the laws, in the pursuit of industry and commerce, and in the education of the young, Property must always be subordinate to Humanity, and Private Gain must ever give place to the Welfare of the People.

It is to these ideas we ask the workers to declare allegiance. Every proposal tending towards these objects will have our support, every attempt at retrogression shall be vigorously opposed. We yield to none in determination to win for Ireland freedom, but we intend, so far as in us lies, that in the Ireland of the coming day, Freedom shall be a reality, that Labour shall be assured its rightful place in the social order, that flaunting luxury and waste shall be abhorrent, and hunger and ignorance but memories of the black night of capitalist imperialist domination.

Ireland or Westminster?

In April last the Mansion House Conference on Conscription declared with a chorus of assent from the workers that "the passing of the Conscription Bill by the House of Commons must be regarded as a Declaration of War on the Irish Nation." That this was no frothy rhetoric, but cold, stern reality, let the condition of Ireland to-day testify. A British Army of occupation has its units in every corner of the land, military law is paramount. We read daily of deportations, imprisonment without trial, suppression of public opinion, of free speech, of the right of meeting, of the perfecting of the machinery for enforcing military service.

To join in friendly palaver with the authors of this oppression implies a moral surrender, belying the spirit of the people. The National Executive has therefore decided by a unanimous vote that the members of the Irish Labour Party shall not attend the House of Commons. It is conceivable that altered circum-

stances and the interests of the workers and democracy may however warrant a change of policy which shall be determined by a special National Congress.

If further reasons were necessary to fortify this decision we need only adduce the proved futility of attendance at the British Parliament during the War; the disregard which that Parliament has shown to its own acts and pledges; the importance of strengthening the case of Irish Labour in demanding separate representation as a distinct national unit on the "International," more especially at the Conference of Labour Delegates from all Nations which will assemble at the same time and place as the Peace Conference.

In our opinion the most valuable work for the cause of Labour is to be done in Ireland; in perfecting the organisation of the industrial forces, in consolidating the victories already won, in educating the constituencies in our ideals and programme in obtaining control of the machinery of local government.

A REFERENDUM OF IDEALS.

With the foregoing Statement of the programme and policy of the Irish Labour Party we approach, with confidence, the men and women of the Irish working class—"that numerous and respectable class, the men (and women) of no property," ever to be relied on as the faithful guardians of Liberty.

Wherever Labour Candidates are nominated, having the approval and sanction of the Irish Labour Party, we ask for your votes, your help, your enthusiasm, and your influence; where Labour Candidates are not nominated, see to it that Labour's national ideals, Labour's social and industrial programme are not submerged.

We for our part promise that you the workers of Ireland shall have no cause to regret the trust you repose in the Party of Labour. We shall fight the Election on the grounds of principles and policy, we shall not be drawn into discussions of the merits or demerits of the rival candidates, of their personal foibles, their private virtues and faults. In our view this will not be an occasion for the election of persons so much as a referendum of ideals. We shall try at all times to carry out the contest having that view always before us.

For the National Executive Irish Trade Union Congress and Labour Party—

THOS. CASSIDY, Chairman.

.... THOS. FARREN, Vice-Chairman.

THOS. JOHNSON, Treasurer.

WM. O'BRIEN, Secretary.

SPECIAL CONGRESS.

MANSION HOUSE, DUBLIN, NOVEMBER 1st and 2nd, 1918.

LIST OF DELEGATES.

Assurance Agents, National Union of Life:—

Mr. J. Byrne, 6 Whitworth Place, Dublin.

Mr. John Dunphy, 7 Banna Villa, Ranelagh, Dublin.

Asylum Workers' Union, Irish:—

Mr. M. Kenna, Richmond Asylum, Dublin.

MMr. A. Doyle, Richmond Ssylum, Dublin.

Automobile Drivers' and Automobile Mechanics' Union, Irish:—

Mr. Peter Boyle, 7 Kingsland Park Avenue, S.C.R., Dublin.

Mr. Eugene Lacy, 18 Talbot Street, Dublin.

Breweries' Workingmen's Society, Cork:—

Mr. John O'Sullivan, 8 Madden's Buildings, Blackpool, Cork.

Brick and Stone Layers' Trade Union:—

Mr. James Litholder, 49 Cuffe Street, Dublin.

Mr. Owen Hynes, 49 Cuffe Street, Dublin.

Bakers, National Amalgamated Union of:—

Mr. Denis Cullen, 22 Upper Ormond Quay, Dublin.

Mr. Francis Moran, 22 Upper Ormond Quay, Dublin.

Bakers, Operative (Cork):—

Patrick Murphy, J.P., T.C., 49 Sunday's Well Road, Cork.

D. O'Keefe, 10 Langford Row, Cork.

Patrick Shanahan, 18 Thomas Street, Cork.

Carpenters and Joiners, Amalgamated Society of:—

R. Waugh, 42 Deramore Avenue, Belfast.

James Barry, 33 South Mall, Cork.

Cork District—Thomas Ronayne, 22 Greenmount Buildings, Cork.

Dublin 1st Branch—Mr. Michael O'Callaghan, 5 Malpas Place, Dublin.

Dublin 3rd Branch—J. F. Healy, 1 Northcourt Avenue, Dublin.

Dublin 7th Branch—Mr. J. Brophy, 32 Lower Ormond Quay, Dublin.

Dublin 5th Branch—Mr. Edward J. O'Neill, 46 Smithfield, Dublin.

Dublin 4th Branch—Mr. Thomas M'Partlin, 35 Lr. Gloucester Street.

Carpenters and Joiners, General Union of:—

Mr. R. Brophy, 55 Ring Street, Inchicore, Dublin.

Coachmakers, United Kingdom Society of:—

Dublin—Patrick Kirk, 14 Ellis Quay.

Patrick Borlaw, 13 Leland Place.

Corporation Workmen of Dublin Trade Union:—

Mr. Daniel J. Magee, 24 Winetavern Street, Dublin.

Mr. Robert Tynan, 24 Winetavern Street, Dublin.

Clerical Workers' Union, Irish:—

Mr. T. Murphy, c/o 1 College Street, Dublin.
 Mr. D. Logue, " "
 Mr. G. Griffin, " "
 Mr. T. Slator, " "
 Mr. R. F. Blackburn, " "
 Mr. R. Clarke, " "

Drapers' Assistants, Irish:—

Mr. M. J. O'Lehane, c/o Cavendish House, Dublin.
 Mr. L. J. Duffy, " "
 Mr. Wm. Hore, " "
 Mr. R. J. Hayes, " "
 Mr. W. J. McNabb, " "
 Miss C. Cahalan, " "

Electrical Trades Union:—

J. J. Collins, 27 Mount Temple Road, Dublin.
 J. C. Twomey, 88 Phibsboro Road, Dublin.

Engineers, Amalgamated Society of:—

Derry Branch—Mr. Edward M'Cafferty, 11 Northland Avenue, Derry.
 Mr. William Taylor, 7 Sackville Street, Derry.

Farriers, City of Dublin Operative:—

Mr. Benjamin Drumm, 36 Hardwicke Street, Dublin.

Fire Brigade Men's Union, Dublin:—

Mr. P. T. Daly, T.C., 177 Clonliffe Road, Dublin.
 Thomas Giffney, Central Station, Tara Street.

Flaxroughers and Spinners (Belfast):—

Mr. Henry White, 36 Bowness Street, Belfast.
 Mr. Dawson Gordon, 17 College Street, Belfast.

Labour, National Amalgamated Union of:—

Derry (112) Branch—Francis Friel, 5 Ann Street, Lecky Road, Derry.
 Joseph Carabine, 5 Ann Street, Lecky Road, Derry.

Plumbers and Domestic Engineers, United Operative:—

Dublin—Peter Birmingham, 76 Lombard Street, West, S.C.R., Dublin.

Painters, Amalgamated Society of House and Ship:—

Dublin—Joseph Farrell, 45 Upper Wellington Street, Dublin.
 M. Smith, 22 E. Nicholas Street, Dublin.
 Cork—Henry March, 20 Adelaide Street, Cork.
 William Perrott, 23 Greenmount Buildings, Cork.
 John Murphy, 12 St. Catherine's Place Cork.

Postmen's Federation:—

Chas. Kelly, 7. Joseph Terrace, Wellington Street, Dublin.
 Mr. Irvine, Postmen's Federation, Belfast.

Plasterers, Dublin Operative:—

Mr. Thomas Irwin, 22b Nicholas Street, Dublin.

Plasterers and Slaters, Cork:—

Michael Crowley, Richmond Hill, Cork.

Packing Case Makers' Society:—

Wm. Shanks, 3 Chamber Street, Dublin.

Railway Clerks' Association:—

National Executive Committee—

J. T. O'Farrell, 1 Botanic Avenue, Glasnevin, Dublin.

W. Davin, 5 Church Street, Howth.

Irish Council—

Mr. W. B. MacMahon, 7 Ardmore Avenue, N. C. Road, Dublin.

Mr. T. Moore, 94 Oldpark Road, Belfast.

Mr. E. O'Carroll, 21 Philipsburgh Avenue, Clontarf, Dublin.

Mr. E. O'Mahony, 87, Rathmore Place, Cork.

Cork Branch—Mr. W. F. O'Donoghue, 5 Janeville Terrace, Sundays Well, Cork.

Dublin Branch—Mr. W. MacNamara, 49 Tyrconnell Road, Inchicore, Dublin.

Mr. W. J. Briscoe, 37 Charleville Road, Cabra, Dublin.

Waterford Branch—J. Downey, 43 Thomas Street.

Railway Men, National Union of:—

Mr. R. Hennessy, 19 Rose Terrace, Inchicore, Dublin.

Mr. T. Daly, 22 Parnell Place, Cork.

Mr. N. Rimmer, 2 Beresford Place, Dublin.

Mullingar Branch—Mr. John McKeon, 5 St. Patrick's Terrace, Mullingar.

Cork, No. 1 and No. 3.—John Good, 54 Grand Parade, Cork.

Broadstone (Dublin) Branch—

Mr. Walter Walsh, 195 Phibsboro' Road, Dublin.

Thomas Kenny, 14 Temple Cottages, Broadstone, Dublin.

Dublin District Council—J. Devin, 43 Kennedy's Villas, James St., Dublin.

J. Connolly, 8 Bath Av., Beggar's Bush, Dublin.

Maryboro Branch—Timothy O'Rourke, Dublin Road, Maryborough.

Westland Row Branch—John Noctor, 9 Railway Cottages, Lansdowne Road, Dublin.

Inchicore Branch—Mr. John Kenny, 22 Tyrconnell Street, Inchicore.

Waterford Branch—L. J. Larkin, 40 Sallypark, Waterford.

Connaught District Council—Mr. Patrick Fahy, Galway Station, Sligo.

Shop Assistants, Warehousemen and Clerks, National Union of:—

Mr. Thomas Johnson, 13 Ranfurley Drive, Belfast.

Ed. Owens, 1 Glengall Street, Belfast.

Sligo Branch—Michael Nevin, c/o Connolly's, High Street, Sligo.

Sheet Metal Workers and Gas Meter Makers, Dublin:—

John Farren, Trades Hall, Dublin.

Shipping and Transport Clerks' Association:—

Mr. Thomas Davy, 14 Grand Canal Place, Dublin.

Sailors' and Firemen's Union:—

Mr. J. H. Bennett, 4 Commons Street, Dublin.

Mr. George Carter, 4 Merchant's Quay, Cork.

Mr. A. O'Hea, 22 Butcher Street, Londonderry.

Saddlers and Harness Makers, Dublin:—

T. Devereux, 12 St. Kevin's Terrace, Dublin.

Stone-cutters' Union of Ireland:—

Mr. Thomas Farren, 1 Johanna Ville, Crumlin Road, Dublin.

Teachers' Irish National Teachers' Organisation—Central Executive Committee:—

— Judge, Poyntzpass.

Mr. J. F. O'Farrell, Whitecross, Laytown, Co. Meath.

Mr. J. E. McNelis, Castle Caulfield, Tyrone.

Mr. P. J. Quinn, 10 Ring Street, Inchicore.
 Mr. T. J. O'Connell, General Secretary, Streamstown, Westmeath.
 Mr. W. B. Lawlor, Kilmoyley, Ardfer, Tralee.
 Mr. James Cunningham, J.P., Ballincollig, Cork.
 —Bohan, Johnstown Bridge Dromod.
 Mr. J. Ryan, Kilfenora, Co. Clare.
 Mr. J. T. M'Gill, 62 Chief Street Belfast.

Typographical Association:—

Mr. Thomas Cassidy, 41 Chapel Road, Waterside, Derry.
 Mr. John Clarke, 12 Frederick Street, Belfast.

Typographical Provident Society, Dublin:—

Mr. M. O'Flanagan, 35 Lower Gardiner Street, Dublin.
 Mr. Fred Brooks, 35 Lower Gardiner Street, Dublin.

Tailors and Tailoresses, Amalgamated Society of:—

Mr. W. J. Leeman, 9 Agincourt Avenue, Belfast.

Tailoring Machinists and Pressers Trade Union, International:—

Mr. Walter Carpenter, 44 York Street, Dublin.

Trade and Labour Union, Irish National:—

Mr. James Murphy, C.P.L.G., Ballinamuddagh, Ballagh, Enniscorthy.
 Mr. R. F. King, Lower Church Street, Enniscorthy.

Trade and Labour Union, Mullingar:—

Mr. David Hyndman, Austin Friars, Mullingar.

Teachers: Dublin Central Association:—

Mr. P. J. O'Hagan, Cambridge Road, Ringsend, Dublin.
 Miss Timmon, 39 Harold's Cross Road, Dublin.
 Mr. P. Cummins, Waldorf Hotel, Blessington Street, Dublin.

Teachers: South Dublin National Association:—

Mr. Frank O'Gorman, Coolmine House, Sandyford.
 Miss M. Doyle, 16 Achill Road, Drumcondra.

Transport and General Workers' Union, Irish:—

Mr. Thomas Foran, P.L.G., Liberty Hall, Dublin.
 Mr. James J. Hughes, Liberty Hall, Dublin.
 Mr. P. Nagle, 8 Camden Street, Sligo.
 Mr. Michael Lynch, New Street, Sligo.
 Mr. Michael McCarthy, Liberty Hall, Dublin.
 Mr. William Vickers, Liberty Hall, Dublin.
 Mr. Joseph Metcalfe, Liberty Hall, Dublin.
 Mr. Joseph O'Neill, Liberty Hall, Dublin.
 Mr. John Dillon, Liberty Hall, Dublin.
 Mr. J. Gannon, Liberty Hall, Dublin.
 Mr. Thos. Kennedy, 20 Charlemont Mall, Dublin.
 Mr. J. Walsh, 17 High Street, Dublin.
 Mr. James Lawlor, Ballymount Lane, Crumlin.
 Mr. James Flanagan, 122 Corporation Street, Belfast.
 Alderman Richard Corish, 15 Charlotte Street, Wexford.
 Mr. John O'Brien, Coolyheran, Ballysimon, Co. Limerick.
 Mr. Denis Houston, 8 Camden Quay, Cork.
 Mr. Richard Hawkins, 27 Grafton Street, Cork.
 Mr. Dan Barrett, 29 Gillabbey Street, Cork.
 Mr. C. O'Shannon, 8 Camden Quay, Cork.
 Mr. John Brew, 8 Camden Quay, Cork.
 Mr. Patrick Wilson, 14 Convent Hill, Waterford.
 Mr. L. A. Veale, Abbey side, Dungarvan.

Mr. M. Nolan, Burrowfield, Baldoyle.
 Mr. E. Kelly, 15 Aberdeen Square, Bray.
 Mr. Joseph Gaule, 12 Coombes, Arklow.
 Mr. Michael Smyth, Athgarvan, Newbridge.
 Mr. M. Holland, 2 New Lane, Waterford.
 Mr. P. Coates, 1 Cathedral Square, Waterford.
 Mr. John Dowling, 8 Catherine Street, Limerick.
 Mr. W. J. Reilly, Farnacordy, Sligo.
 Mr. P. Tuohy, 17 High Street, Dublin.
 Mr. P. Hanratty, 17 High Street, Dublin.
 Mr. R. Flood, Emmett Hall, Inchicore.
 Mr. Matt. Caul, Baskin Lane, Cloghran.
 Mr. G. O'Driscoll, Chapel Lane, Blanchardstown.
 Mr. C. J. Supple, Foxhill, Athy.

Trades' Councils :—

Athlone—Mr. Henry Broderick, Chapel Street, Athlone.
 Bray—Mr. Michael Doyle, 2 Marine Terrace, Bray.
 Thos. Crimmins, New Town Park, Blackrock.
 Belfast—D. R. Campbell, 11 Kimberley Street, Belfast.
 Cork—Mr. Denis Kiely, 33 St. Patrick's Hill, Cork.
 Mr. Thos. Twomey, 15 Bandon Road, Cork.
 Dublin—Mr. Thomas Boyle, Trades Hall, Capel Street.
 Mr. Wm. O'Brien, Trades Hall, Capel Street.
 Drogheda—Mr. Thomas McCabe, 16 George's Street.
 Derry and District—Mr. Wm. Logue, 12 Creggan Road, Derry.
 Mr. Geo. Hogan, 20 Florence Street, Derry.
 Kilkenny—Mr. Pierce Wall, Abbey View Cottage, Kilkenny.
 Limerick—Mr. John Cronin, Mount Prospect, Rosbrien, Limerick.
 Mr. James Casey, 23 Bowman Street, Limerick.
 Mullingar—Mr. Thos. J. Redmond, 13 Greville Street, Mullingar.
 Queenstown—Mr. Edward Lynch, Lake Road, Cuskinney, Queenstown.
 Mr. Daniel Ronayne, 17 St. Colman's Square, Queenstown.
 Sligo—Mr. Thomas Kelly, Knappagh Road, Sligo.
 Tralee—Mr. Patrick Casey, 4 Urban Terrace, Rock Street, Tralee.
 Waterford—Mr. Edward Dalton, Trades Hall, Waterford.
 Mr. Thomas Dunne, Trades Hall, Waterford.
 Mr. Matthew Warren, Trades Hall, Waterford.
 Wexford—Mr. Patrick White, King Street, Wexford.

Women Workers' Union, Irish :—

Miss Louie Bennett, Gayfield, Killiney.
 Miss Chenevix, 1 Pembroke Park, Dublin.
 Miss S. Kelly, 17 Kings Inns Street, Dublin.
 Miss Bridget Kelly, 9 Upper Camden Street, Dublin.
 Mrs. Lawlor, 2 Donnelly's Cottages, Terenure, Dublin.
 Miss K. Harrington, 14 Greenmount, Dublin.

