

Irish Labour Party and Trade Union
Congress.

REPORT

OF THE

TWENTY-FIFTH

Annual Meeting

HELD AT THE

WHITWORTH HALL, DROGHEDA

ON

Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday & Thursday
4th, 5th, 6th and 7th August, 1919.

PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE

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IRISH LABOUR PARTY AND TRADE UNION CONGRESS.

Address: TRADES HALL, CAPEL STREET, DUBLIN.

OFFICERS FOR 1919-20.

Chairman:

THOS. FARREN (Irish Transport and General Workers' Union).

Vice-Chairman:

JAS. C. O'CONNOR (Limerick Trades and Labour Council).

Treasurer:

THOMAS JOHNSON (National Union of Shop Assistants).

Secretary:

WM. O'BRIEN (Irish Transport and General Workers' Union).

Committee:

THOS. MACPARTLIN (Amal. Society of Carpenters and Joiners)
CATHAL O'SHANNON (Irish Transport and General Workers' Union).

THOS. C. DALY (National Union of Railwaymen).

(Miss) ROSE TIMMON (Irish National Teachers).

M. J. O'LEHANE (Irish Drapers' Assistants).

JOHN BOHAN (Irish National Teachers).

J. T. O'FARRELL (Railway Clerks' Association).

LUKE J. LARKIN (National Union of Railwaymen).

DAWSON GORDON (Flax Roughers and Yarn Spinners).

ED. O'MAHONY (Cork Trades and Labour Council).

(The above constitute the National Executive.)

Auditors:

THOMAS DOHERTY (Derry Trades Council).

OWEN HYNES (Brick and Stonelayers' Union).

REPORT
OF THE
TWENTY-FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE
Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress,
DROGHEDA: 1919.

FIRST DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.—Monday, August 4th.

The Mayor (Mr. Michael McGowan, J.P.), and the Corporation of Drogheda attended in state at the Whitworth Hall on Monday, 4th August, and accorded a civic reception to the delegates attending the twenty-fifth annual meeting of the Irish Trade Union Congress. The Mayor was accompanied by Aldermen L. J. Elcock, Thomas McCullough, P. B. Moore, J.P.; P. Lyons, J.P.; and Town Councillors T. V. McQuillan, A. J. McQuillan, D. Reddan, J. S. Kelly, J. Berrill, and D. Branigan. Messrs. T. J. Delahunty, Borough Surveyor; J. Carr, Assistant Town Clerk; P. Garvey, Sergeant-at-Mace, were also in attendance.

Mr. Thomas Cassidy, President, welcomed the delegates and mentioned that their civic reception would be given from a Mayor who was also a workingman (hear, hear). Personally he was very much pleased to learn that the people of Drogheda had paid such a compliment to Mr. McGowan, and he was sure all the workers throughout the country were also pleased. He trusted their deliberations would be fruitful and that the Congress would be a memorable one from the point of view that something had been attempted, something done to further the cause of Labour in Ireland (applause).

MAYOR'S ADDRESS OF WELCOME.

The Mayor, who was warmly received, said—It is but a short year ago since I had the honour of attending the Trades Congress at Waterford. I did not believe at that time when I was inviting you to attend here to-day that I would be in the privileged position of Mayor of my native town to extend to you on behalf of the citizens a hearty cordial welcome to this ancient and historic borough—need I say that you are welcome.

Need I also say that as I survey this vast gathering that my heart swells with pleasure and pride knowing as I do how vital and how important will be the ultimate results of your Congress on the welfare of the people to which you and I belong. For to-day, no matter how conflicting the opinions or views of Monarchies or individuals may appear, the ever living cry of "*Long live the People*" will resound above the babel of Capitalist interests.

They say there is no rose but has its thorns—there is no crown that does not experience its worries or troubles—and, comrades, I can assure you that I have been no exception to the general rule, for my elevation to the position, which I am now proud to occupy, has been obscured by differences which are the direct and natural outcome of parochialism; but so far as you and I, comrades, are concerned, could have no possible bearing on the issue of the vast and important problem with which you are charged. You are assembled here to-day to discuss matters which affect the workers as a whole; it is a sacred trust; it is a battle in which men should be proud to be engaged, and I say to you in all sincerity and without any spirit of dictation that no individual interest should for one moment be allowed to interfere with the vast and important mission with which you are charged. Comrades, we are not living in the clouds, and the sacredness of the burthen which has been laid upon your shoulders should make it imperative on you to submerge any tendencies, political or otherwise, which should tend to divorce from our ranks any man, no matter what his political or religious beliefs may be, from the grave problem of social reconstruction which you and I have at heart.

As I have already said, you are heartily welcome here to-day, and as a Labour Mayor to my fellow-workers, I have accorded all the honour which it was possible for me to extend in that direction. Although differing from me in many respects, the rank and file of the Corporation have heartily co-operated. Perhaps you will appreciate our welcome more fully if I tell you that the Corporation as a whole, apart altogether from your proceedings, assemble here to-day under a great shadow and a deep affliction, for our chief official, Mr. J. B. Connolly, Town Clerk, has just passed away. In the ordinary course death comes to us all, certainly that grim spectre is no respecter of persons for, as Gray tells us—

“All that beauty,
All that wealth ere gave,
Awaits alike the inevitable hour.”

But, as in the present instance, he robbed us of a great Irishman and a great intellect. It comes as an awful shock, for, comrades, in the present crisis through which we are passing we can ill afford to lose such a social reformer as he. I fully agree with Gray—

“That storied urn or animated bust,
Back to its mansion
Cannot call the fleeting breath.”

But knowing the late Town Clerk personally, and in life being opposed to him in many things, now that the great mind is at rest, I cannot experience anything but a sense of loss. Comrades, may I ask you to join with me in appealing to the Great Father of all to
“Have mercy on his soul.”

In conclusion, during the time that you are here you can have full use of the Mayoralty rooms for any meetings or social gatherings

which you may require, and before parting if the prayers of a sinner be of any avail, I pray God that He may bless your deliberations and that the ultimate result will have lasting and beneficial results upon our people (applause).

Alderman Elcock joined in extending a hearty welcome to the delegates to their old city on the Boyne. They, as representatives of the citizens, come there in a united spirit to welcome them heartily to their midst, and they wished that guidance and light would be given to their deliberations. Coming to Drogheda the delegates were coming to a town that possessed great industries in the past. He remembered when the streets were darkened by the throng of the numbers engaged in local industry. Drogheda had then a great ironworks which gave employment to over 700 men and boys, and they turned out the finest work seen in the country—for, amongst others, Guinness's Brewery and the Great Northern Railway. They had also sixteen or seventeen tanneries and leather manufactories. They had two or three flour mills working day and night and three or four salt works. Besides there were other industries. Their harbour was then filled with ships owned by the merchants of Drogheda, had they had a vast coal trade from the town. All this had gone. They hoped that the deliberations of Congress would lead to such arrangements that the employers and people of wealth and knowledge might bring back the lost industries to their town. The Alderman then referred to Drogheda's historic associations, and concluded by wishing the delegates a pleasant and useful time (applause).

Mr. L. Stanley, T.C., and Mr. Cullen, T.C., also joined in the welcome, and Mr. M. Pentony, President Drogheda Trades Council.

Mr. Michael Egan, Cork, proposed a vote of thanks to the Mayor and Corporation, and referred to the pleasure it gave him to see a Labour man in the civic chair.

Mr. D. Campbell seconded. With the earlier advent, he said, of a Labour Mayor, some of the lost industries spoken of by Alderman Elcock, might have been saved. They were met as workers and knew no other creed than that of the toiler. Their aim was the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth (applause).

The Mayor, acknowledging the vote, hoped that Labour's artillery would be kept on the proper quarter and none of it turned by one section of workers against another (applause).

ELECTION OF OFFICERS.

Mr. Thomas McCabe, Drogheda, was unanimously elected Assistant Secretary to Congress.

The following five Tellers were then elected:—Miss Nora Connolly, Dublin, 146 votes; O'Mahony, Cork Trades Council, 116 votes; Byrne, Insurance Agents, Dublin, 112 votes; Drumm, Farriers, Dublin, 105 votes; O'Connor, Limerick Trades Council, 80 votes.

The election of a Standing Orders Committee resulted as follows—

David Campbell, Trades Council, Belfast, 164 votes; Duffy, Irish Drapers, Cork, 120 votes; Summerville, Carpenters, Dublin, 112 votes; Denis Houston, Transport Workers, Belfast, 109 votes; Davin, Railway Clerks, Dublin, 96 votes. There were sixteen nominations.

STANDING ORDERS' REPORT.

The Standing Orders Committee reported their finding with regard to credentials that had arrived after the time allowed under the Constitution. They recommended the acceptance of these credentials which were from:—

Dublin Bookbinders;
Brewery Workers (Cork);
U.K. Coachmakers (National);
Dublin No. 5 A.S.C.J.;
Shipping Clerks;
Flaxroughers;
Dublin Provident Typographical Society;
Enniskillen Trades Council;
A.S.E., Derry Branch;
N.U.R. Additional Delegate (W. Bermingham, New Irish Secretary);
Ennis Trades Council;
Dublin Trades Council; and
Plumbers' Society (Cork).

Drogheda Branch, Plumbers, had not yet tendered affiliation fee, but the Committee recommended that their delegate be admitted if the fee is paid.

The National Executive, following instructions of the Special Congress, recommended that the Flaxroughers' Society, mostly women paying a small contribution, be affiliated at the reduced rate of a penny per member.

Substitutes for delegates were announced as follows and their admission recommended:—

I.T.W.U.: Thomas Ryan, for Michael Holland, Waterford;

I.N. Agricultural Union: J. Byrne, for Jas. Murphy;

Vehicle Workers: William Buckley, for J. O'Neill.

The Standing Orders Committee also reported that 82 organisations, representing 270,000 members, were represented.

The Reports, read by Mr. D. R. Campbell, Chairman of the Standing Orders Committee, was moved for adoption by John Farren (Sheet Metal Workers), seconded by T. Irvine (Postmen's Federation), and carried unanimously.

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

The President (Mr. Thomas Cassidy), Typographical Society, then addressed the Congress. He said:—

Fellow-delegates—In the twelve months which have passed since Congress met in Waterford matters of great moment have taken

place. Some of those momentous events we can look back upon and pride ourselves on the part taken by Irish Labour; owing to the conditions surrounding others we cannot view them with that full delight which their greatness warrants. In August last, while the immediate danger of Conscription being applied to this country was lifted by the establishment of a system of voluntary recruiting, we were warned by the President of Congress (Mr. O'Brien) in his great address that the danger was by no means past. How true that was the events of the months that followed fully proved. From the very first it was recognised that voluntary recruiting was doomed to failure. It was never meant to succeed, but only to be used as an excuse for the imposition of conscription on the Irish people at a later and perhaps more opportune stage, when the determination of the people to resist had been weakened. But in spite of threats, in spite of the imprisonment of the recognised leaders of the vast majority of the people of the country without charge being preferred against them—in spite of the great preparations which the military had made for the imposition of Conscription, and which they daily flaunted in the face of the people all over the country—in spite of all, the people remained steadfast to their pledge of April, 1918, when they solemnly determined to resist by every means the imposition of compulsory military service. Going through the country I saw for myself how great, how perfect were the preparations of the military, with their armoured trains and armoured cars, with their tanks and aeroplanes, and all the appurtenances of war. On the other hand, I saw for myself how great, how grand, was the determination of the people. Never for a moment did they deceive themselves in the thought that danger had passed, never for a moment did they close their eyes to the preparations made for the gathering of the blood-tax. They had made up their minds, and come what might, they were prepared to face rather than submit to being placed under compulsory military service. In looking back on those anxious days I felt that to-day I must pay my tribute to the magnificent spirit displayed by the people; and in my humble way I would desire to point out the lesson of unity it carries with it. In their determination to resist this iniquitous measure the people of Ireland were united as seldom before, and in this unity of purpose success was achieved—the order to apply Conscription to this country was never placed on the table of the British House of Commons. For this success different parties claim credit. No attempt to make party capital out of such a gloriously united movement should be attempted. I prefer that it should be looked upon as a great national victory for an united people against oppression—a victory of Right over Might—a victory to which we are proud the organised workers of the country contributed their full share. Would that the people of this country were united always as they were during those months when the shadow of Conscription hung over our land; would that the unity of purpose displayed throughout that anxious period were maintained.

In August last the world was in the throes of the greatest war nations ever participated in. How we then longed for Peace—for a Peace which would mean the end of war for all time, and restore to subject peoples their freedom. In this we were encouraged by the high ideals promulgated by President Wilson in his famous Fourteen Points. How we later hailed with thankfulness the signing of an armistice on the basis of those Fourteen Points, and how hopefully we looked towards the Peace Conference for the fulfilment in a treaty of the great promises held out to mankind. There never was a gathering which assembled with more hope on the part of the peoples of the world than the Peace Conference in Paris. How have those hopes been realised? So far as the Allied and Central Powers are concerned war indeed has ceased; peace terms have been signed. But while war has ended in France and Flanders, the clash of arms still resounds throughout the world; and who believes that the treaty signed at Versailles will bring that Peace which the world desired. Sir Douglas Haig believes it not, for he is already advocating the training of the youth of Britain for the next great war. General Smuts does not believe it; he signed the treaty because it was imperatively necessary to close the war. The German Ministers who attached their signatures do not believe it; they signed under duress, to save their people from starvation, believing that, anxious as they might be to stand by the terms, the conditions imposed are impossible to fulfil. Wilson, Lloyd George, nor Clemenceau do not believe it, for has not another treaty been entered into between France, England, and America? Orlando, Italy's representative on the Big Four, does not believe it, for is it not reported that he signed a secret alliance with Roumania against the Jugo Slavs? Although war is still raging in many parts of the world and the Peace desired is not yet. I am indeed thankful that the awful carnage on the western front has ended. The treaty with Germany which has followed is indeed harsh in its conditions, and departs much from the principles which we were told animated the Allied Powers. I hope, however, that the mellowing influence of time will bring about such a change of feeling in the minds and hearts of the victorious nations that many of those harsh conditions will be modified, and the conquered peoples given a fair chance to carve out for themselves a new destiny freed from the curse of militarism. The terms of the treaty are, however, claimed by their framers to be just. But was justice not to be mixed with mercy? Reparation for injuries done, it is claimed, is a just proposition, but it can only be just to the extent to which the conquered nations are able to bear the burden, and fair opportunities must be given those countries for the development of their industries so that the conditions laid down may be complied with. The physical restoration of the invaded areas is claimed to be a just proposition, but very little mercy is shown in the condition that 140,000 milch cows, together with a large number of other live stock, must in three months be handed over by a country whose children are dying in thousands for want of milk. I look upon the end of militarism in Germany

with joy, but I want to see militarism abolished wherever to-day it exists throughout the world, including England. I rejoice to know that subject peoples have regained their liberty, and if it is just that this should be so in the domain of the defeated Powers, surely it is equally just that the same principles should be applied to the claims for liberty by the subject peoples of the conquered Powers. We are asked by all the great statesmen to look forward with hope to the League of Nations, and while I welcome the principle embodied in the establishment of such a body, with all its great opportunities to make this world better than it has ever been before, its present constitution can not secure the confidence of the workers. A League of Nations to secure that confidence must embrace all nations and must be representative of the peoples. At present constituted it seems, in the words of the last resolution on your agenda, "a perpetuation under a new form of an alliance of one group of States and an instrument designed for the more thorough exploitation of the working class." It is true that provision has been made for the setting up of an International Labour Commission with the object of applying internationally the principle of the 48 hours' week, the preventing or providing against unemployment, and the regulation of the employment of women and children. This Commission is to be composed of representatives of the countries comprised in the League of Nations. Again, I welcome the principle embodied, but for the same reason as I have before mentioned, it will not secure the confidence of the workers. Our hope is in an International League of the working classes of the world, and for this we will have to continue to work through the International.

Although opportunity will be given to the delegates through a resolution on the agenda to discuss the Russian situation, I cannot refrain from expressing my condemnation of the interference of the Allied and Associated Powers in Russia, and the organised propaganda of calumny which is in existence to influence the public mind against the Bolshevik leaders. Such condemnation does not necessarily carry with it vindication of Bolshevism or a defence of the methods which are found necessary to support the revolution. Bolshevism (as Ramsay MacDonald points out) can be tested only by the free operation of political opinion and experience in Russia. But it is not, apparently, desired that the experiment should be tried, and this free operation of political opinion is being strangled by the support which the Allies are extending to Kolchak and Denikin, and by the widespread distribution of literature designed to poison the public mind against the leaders of the revolution and their followers, and make them appear as the enemies of mankind. The war against the Bolsheviks is a war of interests; it is a war of Capitalism against Democratic rule; it is a war to again set up in Russia the old regime, so that the wonderful resources of that great country may continue to be exploited in the interests of the Capitalist class. It is of this I protest. And in this capitalistic war the Allied and Associated Powers (particular

England) are supporting the reactionary leaders, and hypocritically stating that this support is extended in the name of humanity. I trust the power of Democracy in Britain will be sufficiently strong to yet save that country from this disgrace, and that interference in Russian affairs will be abandoned. I defend not the atrocities which are being committed in the prosecution of the revolution—war itself is an atrocity which I abhor, and in the carrying on of war it is inevitable that acts will be committed that merit the condemnation of mankind. But these atrocious acts are committed by both parties—if they are to be condemned in the Reds they must equally be condemned in the Whites. What I do protest against, however, is the exaggeration indulged in by the agents of the Capitalist class—the manufacture of horrifying tales which have little or no foundation, the circulation of stories such as the now discredited nationalisation of womankind—all for the purpose of alienating sympathy with the champions of an oppressed people. Are the alleged atrocities which are now being so strongly condemned in the case of the Bolsheviks greater than those of the armies of Koltchak or Denikin, are they greater than those which were daily committed under the rule of the Czar and his dictators? Is it imagined that the story of how the Revolution of 1905 was stamped out in blood is forgotten? There was then no interference in the name of humanity. No. The interest of the Capitalist class was then not in danger. The success of the present economic revolution would dethrone Capitalism, hence the interference of our Capitalist Governments. But even now it looks as if the Allies have recognised that they have backed the wrong horse and the sooner that they withdraw their support the safer will it be for themselves.

The most important event, in my opinion, to Irish Labour which has occurred in the past twelve months has been the admission of the Irish Labour Party to the International as a separate unit, and the participation of our delegates (Johnson and O'Shannon) in the Berne Conference, and subsequently at Amsterdam. The very full reports which your delegates have supplied of the proceedings of these conferences make it unnecessary for me to dwell at any length on this subject. Suffice it to say that I trust the International connection thus formed will be continued and strengthened, and that in all efforts to improve the conditions of the workers of the world and to secure for them their rightful position in the control of the world's affairs that Irish Labour will ever take its part.

The decision of your National Executive to participate as a party in the late General Election and the subsequent withdrawal of its candidates was an event which gave rise to many comments and an opportunity to those who are ever ready to malign the Labour Party and accuse it of connection with party politics. In anything which was then done, the advancement and strengthening of Labour's cause was the paramount consideration. The new Electoral Act had given to the workers of the country a greater power than they ever possessed before, and the time was considered favourable to give them

the opportunity to declare their allegiance to the policy which the Irish Labour Party had set forth. We recognised that "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." We had no doubt at the time that the workers of the country of all political parties were anxious for the opportunity to return as their representatives men of their own class pledged to the Labour Party policy; we were fully satisfied that the workers throughout the land were as much convinced as we that it would be indeed unwise to leave the control of the political machine in the hands of either Labour's enemies or professing friends. I am fully convinced that that is still so. But, owing to the acute political differences which existed at the time and the strong desire on the part of the people that the great principle of self-determination, which was to be made the issue of the election in Ireland, should not be clouded, it was soon clearly demonstrated that last December was not the opportune time for Labour to enter the fight for Parliamentary representation. If it had done so it would, in my opinion, have been the greatest error ever made. Strong trade unionists, adherents of their respective political parties, would, under the then existing circumstances, have felt themselves compelled to vote for the nominees of the political parties as against a Labour candidate, and the result would indeed have been disastrous to the cause of Labour. It was this consideration only which led to the withdrawal of the Labour Party from the last General Election. The time is, however, again approaching when this question will once more have to receive the consideration of Irish Labour. It is generally thought that a General Election cannot be long delayed. Will Irish Labour make an effort to secure Parliamentary representation? If elected, will Irish Labour representatives attend Westminster until such time as this country regains her freedom and her right to make the laws to govern the Irish nation? These are questions which, I believe, will have to be faced before we again meet in annual Congress. In the past it was contended that until the Home Rule question was settled it would be impossible to join North and South and form a Parliamentary Labour Party. In 1914 we thought that this settlement was about to be accomplished. It was on this hypothesis that Larkin, in his great address to Congress in Dublin, appealed for the establishment of the "New Party—a Labour Party—an industrial army, a political party whose politics would be the assurance of bread and butter for all." "Now (he said) that the Government of Ireland Bill, which was alleged to be a Home Rule Bill, was on the Statute Book, and would be law in the immediate future, that question was settled once and for all." But once again it was fated that the cup was to be dashed from our lips. The Irish question is not yet settled, and the problem seems more complex than ever. It was then a consideration of Home Rulers and anti-Home Rulers; it is now, in addition, a question of Par-

liamentarianism versus the policy of Sinn Fein. Will Irish Labour have to wait until all these warring elements are brought together in a National settlement before it can enter the arena in an election for Parliamentary representatives? Is it advisable that it should do so? This is a question which, I think, should be answered by the representatives of the workers in Special Congress when the time arrives. And if it be decided that Labour should enter the contest the question of attendance at Westminster at once arises, and must be considered. Owing to the conditions existing last September—Conscription hanging over this country, daily deportations, imprisonment without trial, suppression of public opinion, of free speech, and right of meeting—owing to these conditions it was decided that members of an Irish Labour Party should not attend the House of Commons. For this decision we were accused of playing into the hands of the Sinn Fein Party. Such is not the fact. It seemed to be forgotten that an Irish Labour Party would be composed of men in whose hearts there is love as strong for the Motherland as exists in the hearts of the men composing the other parties; it seemed to be forgotten that as Irishmen we object as strongly as the most ardent or extreme Nationalist to the manner in which this country is misgoverned, and we recognise the futility, from a national political party point of view, under the present constitution of the House of Commons, of the attendance of Irish members at Westminster. But as representatives of the workers we should also recognise that certain circumstances, outside the question of Home Rule or National Independence, might arise where the interests of democracy would be at stake, and which would warrant the attendance of Irish Labour members. Personally, I believe, that so far as Labour is concerned, abstention should only be adopted as a policy—as a protest. I agree that most valuable work for Labour's cause can be done in Ireland by the strengthening of the organisation of the industrial forces, but if we are to elect Parliamentary Labour representatives then we must seriously consider—so long as laws for this country are made at Westminster—whether it would be wise to forego the power which such election would place in our hands to advance the cause in which we are engaged, or the opportunity which it would afford Irish Labour, to assist the representatives of British Labour in their efforts to mould legislation on democratic lines. We have hope in the International idea; why, then, should we deny our support to the champions of Labour's cause in another country when we have an opportunity of assisting them in their struggles. And it may be that the hope for Ireland's freedom will shortly rest in the hands of the democracy of Britain and the British Labour Party!

But no matter what decisions may be arrived at with respect to Parliamentary elections, there can be no possible difference of opinion on the question of contesting Local Government elections. Great powers are possessed by local public bodies, which if exercised to their full extent would tend much to the greater health, comfort, happiness and education of the people in the cities, towns, and

districts of Ireland. It has been stated, in another sense, that the present representatives on these boards are out of sympathy, to a great extent, with the feelings of the people. So far as Labour is concerned, they were never much in sympathy with the feelings of the workers. Let them be Nationalist or Unionist, they represented primarily their own class interests, and the best of them gave but little thought to the interests of the workers. How, after all, could it be expected that the landlord or the landowner on county and district councils would give much attention to the interests of the agricultural labourer, or see that the contracts of their respective boards were carried out under fair conditions of labour; how could it be expected that the house-owner, the house-agent, or the employer on borough and urban councils would give much attention to the interests of town workers; how could it be expected that such representatives would be anxious to put in force the powers they possess for proper sanitation, for better housing, for the provision of public baths, public libraries and recreation grounds for the workers and their children. No, such representatives did not seek election to look after the interests of the worker—their object was to protect their own interests and the interests of their class. And yet they were put in the position by the votes of the workers! It is time the workers of the country woke up to the fact that they possess the power to return their own representatives to these boards—men of their own class who will look after their interests, or men pledged to the policy of the Labour Party. I hope that preparations will be made in every city, town, and district in Ireland to contest the forthcoming Local Government elections in the interests of Labour. I am not one who is out for the entire control of these boards by the representatives of any one class—the interests of all should be represented—but I am out for such a representation of workers as will make their influence effective. I believe that through the operation of the Proportional Representation Act such a fair representation can be secured. And might I here remark that, included in the preparations by Trades Councils and Trades Societies for the forthcoming elections, provision should be made for the instruction of the voters in the Proportional system.

May I here take the opportunity of briefly referring to the coming into operation of the Housing of the Workers Act. For years this question has engaged the attention of Congress, and I welcome the attempt made by the Government to provide the workers of the towns with decent housing accommodation. The financial provisions of the Act are not all that might be desired, nor does it seem equitable that Dublin and Belfast should be asked to raise in the market the necessary money required for their schemes. The heavy burden of interest will unduly raise the economic rent of the houses to be erected and add to the already heavy burdens of the working class. It is stated that the subsidy of 25s. (and in exceptional circumstances 27s. 6d.) for every 20s. collected is a better financial provision than the limit of the 1d. rate embodied in the English and Scotch measures.

I am not a financial expert to contest the accuracy of this statement, but it is really difficult to believe that the British Treasury would grant to Ireland better provisions than those granted to English authorities. If they were really sincere in their professions, I see no reason why the Government should not have given Irish local authorities the option of adopting the English terms. The Act, however, is to be welcomed, and while protesting against its financial provisions and using our strength to have them in the future amended, we should take full advantage of it to secure for the workers in our cities and towns decent housing accommodation. Your resolution on this question calls for the establishment of a National Housing Council, but failing this we should endeavour at the first opportunity to return our own representatives on the public boards in whose hands the working of the scheme is placed.

I also welcome the introduction of the Bill to amend the Labourers' Act, and provide the much-needed housing accommodation for our workers in rural areas.

Other events of interest to the Irish Labour movement have occurred during the year, such as the response of Labour to the call that May 1st should be held as Labour's festival, the great struggle in which the Belfast workers engaged for the recognition of the 44 hours week, and which, while not fully successful, has undoubtedly brought the realisation of that ideal appreciably nearer; the protest strike of the workers of Limerick against applying for military permits to allow them to go to and return from work. These matters are, however, referred to in your Executive's report, and, as they may be the subject of discussion I refrain from comment. Let us, however, learn from the lessons we have gained in all things in which Labour has taken part in the past twelve months the wisdom which will guide our future actions on those straight lines which will ultimately lead us to the accomplishment of our ends. We cannot afford to make many mistakes. The workers of Ireland have shown they are responsive to the call, and this responsiveness on the part of the rank and file makes the responsibility of the leaders the greater.

On all sides at the moment we see industrial unrest. And can we wonder at this. We have for the past four years been warning our people that as sure as morning the industrial war would follow the cessation of hostilities on the Continent. Our forecast has proved but too true. Looking into the future and referring to what would follow the disbandment of the armies, Mr. Johnson, at Sligo Congress, with that clear vision with which he is endowed, used these words: "Many cool-headed students look with fear and trembling on the future of Europe after the peace is proclaimed. They seem to see the gaunt spectre of starvation fronting the peoples and a universal revolt against the rulers who, having led the nations into the war, have failed to save them from the consequences of war. It is a possibility that must be met, and unless courage, wide vision, and strong—even revolutionary—methods are taken by the Governments there may be no avoidance of the uprising of despair." How true the forecast; the

prophecy has come to pass. So far as the Government of these countries is concerned that courage to deal with the changed conditions has not been evident. As England was unprepared for war, so it seems she also was unprepared for peace. But the courage and the energy displayed in tackling the problems arising out of her entrance into war have not been shown in dealing with the social problems arising out of the cessation of hostilities and the demobilisation of the forces. The great reconstruction problem seems yet unsolved, and even when methods have been suggested by their own commission—revolutionary methods, I agree—for the better working of the greatest industry in Britain, the Government, although pledged to embody these findings in an Act of Parliament, seem to be, as of old, considering the interests of the capitalist mine-owner more than the interests of the nation. Let the result of Bothwell be a warning. The same it is throughout all the other industries. The productive activities of the nation are being allowed to fall back into the hands of the profiteers, and profiteering is greater now than ever before. Is it any wonder, then, that grave unrest prevails, and this unrest will prevail until such time as the workers are satisfied that the Government of the country is carried on for the benefit of the people of the country and not for a class. This is the remedy, and the only remedy. Industrial councils may succeed in bringing about the smoother working of an industry, and give to the workers a certain voice in the management; conciliation boards may succeed in settling differences between the workers and their employers, but until profiteering in all things is abolished there can be no industrial peace. Under the present system of Government what applies in this sense to England and Scotland applies equally to Ireland. The Irish profiteer is as avaricious as his cross-Channel brother.

Of the future for the workers of this country few there are who can forecast. One thing, however, is certain, that until the government of Ireland is placed in the hands of the Irish people real development cannot take place. In the meantime, nevertheless, we in the Labour movement can go steadily on in the work in which we are engaged, preparing in the different stages for the realisation of our hopes and the fulfilment of our objects as set forth in the constitution of the Labour Party. The organisation of the workers of the country has made great progress in the twelve months just past. Let the same activity prevail in the months and years to come. Whether the workers should be organised in one big union or no is a matter I will not now discuss. Of one thing, however, I am certain: there must in the future be a clearer understanding existing between the Unions engaged in this work, and there must be greater cohesion on the part of the organised workers of the country. I believe this can be brought about by organisation on industrial lines, and the amalgamation of existing Unions. Let us use our organised strength through the various boards and take advantage of the powers already possessed, and others which we may obtain, to improve the existing conditions of our people until that time arrives when victory complete will crown our efforts and the Co-operative Commonwealth,

which is our aim, is established. Let us strengthen the National Executive. If the work of the Labour Party is to be satisfactorily carried on—and it is increasing day by day—I am of the opinion that the question of appointing full-time chief officers must soon be considered, central offices must be secured, properly equipped and staffed. It is unfair to the movement that the work has to be carried on by men and women whose time is well filled up by attention to their respective callings or official duties.

To accomplish our aims unity is essential. Differences there have been in the past, differences, unfortunately there are at present. Those differences are giving joy to our enemies, who are looking forward to this Congress for such a display of bitterness by the delegates towards each other as will materially weaken the movement in the country. Criticism no one can object to—straight, honest criticism, having for its object the strengthening of the cause in which we are engaged. For such criticism full opportunity will be afforded. Meeting to-day on Boyne's historic banks, I wish to make an appeal. My official connection with the Congress terminates with this Conference. I have always endeavoured to work in harmony with all sections for the advancement of the movement; to an extent I think I have succeeded. I recognise that while differences exist on some matters between the workers of the North and South, that while differences exist between sections in other parts of the country, as trade unionists one is as anxious as the other to advance the cause of Labour. To-day, then, I would ask that whatever the differences may be on other matters, we should cross hands in friendship and resolve that shoulder to shoulder we will in the future fight in that movement which has room for all sections of political thought—but none for personal animosity—and whose object is the uplifting, the emancipation, and the freedom of the class to which we all belong.

In preparing something to say to you this morning in an opening address, I recognised most fully how unworthy I am to occupy the position of President at such an important gathering at such a momentous time. In attempting to deal with the important events which have taken place since last we met I felt how incompetent I am. To Dublin in 1914 my thoughts went back, and I longed for the fiery eloquence and determination of Laikin; to Sligo, in 1916, my thoughts wandered, and I also longed for the great power of reasoning and foresight shown by Tom Johnson in his address to that Congress; to Waterford last year did my thoughts stray, and I thought of the great ability displayed by O'Brien, and I wished that it had been the lot of some of those men to preside on this occasion and deal with the great questions affecting the workers at the moment. But while not possessed of any of the great gifts of these, my predecessors, whose addresses are recognised as the text-books of Irish Labour, yet what I have written is what I believe. It may not be in harmony with the feelings of the delegates in some respects, but I ask you to accept it as the offering of one who is desirous that unity should prevail, that good should be done, and that all means which lie at

our hands to accomplish our ends should be availed of. In carrying out the duties imposed upon me for the next three days, I ask you to bear with me if I at any time transgress the authority of the chair, and by the display of a spirit of tolerance for each other's opinions assist me in the carrying out of my task.

VOTE OF THANKS.

Mr. Luke Larkin, Waterford, proposed that the thanks of Congress be tendered to the President for his address. As at Waterford last year, he would appeal to them to show a united front. To-day, although it might not appear so clearly to them, the dangers to the Irish Labour movement were ten times greater than they appeared twelve months ago. Let no personal bias, he asked, or the welfare of any individuals, over-ride the general welfare of the workers. In the past, he said, they had allowed their greatest weapon—that was the political machinery of the country—to remain in the hands of their oppressors. No matter how well they were organised industrially, and no matter how far they advanced in their struggles, all their efforts would be futile while they allowed political power to remain in the hands of the exploiters. (Applause.)

Mr. T. J. O'Connell, General Secretary of the Irish National Teachers Organisation, seconded, and paid a tribute to the work of the President during the past year.

Mr. Thomas Farren conveyed the vote to the President, whose address, he said, was equal in power to the address of any former President. He (Mr. Farren) was expressing the view of the delegates when he asked that Mr. Cassidy would seriously reconsider his decision as to the future. The Labour Movement could ill-afford to lose such a worker as the President. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Cassidy returned thanks and said he was only too anxious to do all he could to advance the cause in which they were all engaged. No matter how their Executive had been composed in the past the utmost harmony had always prevailed in their Councils. Anything he had done for the Movement as President he attributed to these men. They were always at the helm to keep the ship steadily on her course, and he hoped they would soon have the satisfaction of bringing the ship of Labour safely into harbour. (Applause.)



SECOND DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.—Tuesday, August 5th.

REPORT OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE FOR THE
YEAR 1918-19.

On Tuesday morning Congress took up the consideration of the Executive Committee's Report. Mr. Thomas Cassidy, President, at the outset announced that he would give full scope to every delegate to speak on the important matters before Congress.

The report which had been already circulated amongst the delegates reads as follows:—

“ FELLOW DELEGATES,

The twelve months which have passed since Congress met in Waterford in August, 1918, have been big with historic importance not only for the workers organised in the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress but for the whole people of Ireland and the workers and peoples of all Europe.

Within that period Labour in Ireland has helped to give the finishing blow to the menace of conscription, assisted in demonstrating to the world the electoral demand of the majority of the people to choose and form their government after their own will, taken to itself a new, noble and closely knit political, industrial and social constitution designed to be the foundation upon which the organisation of the working class shall march to its goal, carried the demands of the people and proletariat of Ireland into the councils of the International and won for those demands the fullest and most complete recognition from every Labour and Socialist movement in Europe, America, and the British Dominions, demonstrated its faith and its purpose as never before in the great general strike on Labour Day, held its own and more than its own against the attacks of both militarism and capitalism at home and proven itself a formidable force both in national and international affairs in the political and social fields.

All these may appear but little beside the great events of the year, the declaration of the armistice, the downfall of the Central Empires, the triumph of a second Workers' Republic in Hungary, the rise of new Republics and new states on the Continent, the continued success of the Russian Revolution, the hunger blockade of the late Central European Alliance, and the conclusion of the Peace of Violence and the establishment of the League of Empires. But to the workers and people of Ireland they are big in their own way and they do not prevent a right appreciation of the greater world events.

In those world events Labour in Ireland has not been a silent spectator but an active and not ineffective agent within its own sphere, and in presenting this annual report of its activities your

Executive believes that it is making no false claim when it considers that the part played by Irish Labour in the year's history-making in Ireland and in Europe is as fruitful and as honourable as that played by any similar party in any other country.

It is unnecessary for us to include in this report any details respecting the General Election policy or the revised Constitution of the organisation. The report of the Special Congress which was held in November to deal with these subjects has been printed and circulated.

EDUCATION AND TEACHERS' CLAIMS.

A Sub-Committee was appointed to deal with this question in accordance with the direction of last Congress. Efforts have been and are being made to collect information on the subject with a view to formulating a democratic policy. The problem is admittedly a difficult one and no formal report has been presented.

At the request of the Teachers' Organisation, the Vice-Chairman Mr. Thomas Farren accompanied a deputation of the teachers to London to lay their case before the Conciliation and Arbitration Board dealing with the claims of Civil Servants. Mr. Farren introduced the deputation to Mr. Harry Gosling, the Labour member of the Committee, and succeeded in achieving the end sought, *i.e.* to obtain for the National School Teachers a hearing before that Committee. The result has been that a considerable improvement in their pay has been obtained.

HOUSING.

The opinions of the Executive on the Government's Housing Scheme are summarised in the resolution on the agenda which is submitted in their name.

AMERICAN NAVAL MEN ON CIVILIAN WORK.

A complaint was received from the Queenstown and Cork Trades Councils in September, 1918, that civilian painters working for contractors in Queenstown were being displaced by American naval men. The facts of the case were transmitted to Mr. Samuel Gompers of the American Federation of Labour. We have not been informed of what action, if any, was taken.

MANSSION HOUSE CONFERENCE ON CONSCRIPTION.

The meetings of the Conference continued until the danger was finally passed. The scheme of defence outlined by your delegates in private session at Waterford was with some modification adopted by the Conference.

The Labour movement may justly claim to have played an effective part in the nation's rally against, and the final defeat of, Conscription.

LABOUR ORGANISATION.

During the year the organisation of the workers has proceeded steadily. Large numbers of agricultural workers have become Trade Unionists and show every promise of being an active and virile force in Labour's army. Much dissatisfaction is felt at the low scale fixed as the minimum by the Agricultural Wages Board notwithstanding the efforts of the Labour members of that Board to raise the scale to the rates established in England, Wales and Scotland. Where the organisation has been good considerable advances have been obtained, and as we write claims are being pressed and some strikes are in operation. It is being proved with farmers as with the general body of employers that seldom are advances of wages obtained except by the pressure of organised power.

TRADES COUNCILS.

With the organisation of the small towns and agricultural districts has come a considerable addition to the number of Trades Councils. The National Executive has encouraged this movement, believing that through joint action in these Councils both political and industrial strength will develop.

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR AND SOCIALIST CONFERENCE.

Following upon the decisions of Derry, Waterford and the Special Congress, a delegation was appointed to attend the special International Labour and Socialist Conference to be held at Berne (Switzerland). The appointment of the delegation and the reports of their work in Berne and Paris which reached this country aroused much interest, both inside and outside the ranks of Labour. A special report for presentation to the International on the Irish Labour movement, its rise and development, was prepared in four languages, viz., Irish, French, German and English. English and Irish editions of this report have been published by the Talbot Press, Dublin, under the title "Ireland at Berne." They are on sale at sixpence and one shilling, and it has not been considered necessary to include same in this report.

Later, at Amsterdam, the International adopted your National Executive's demand for the application to Ireland of the principle of full and complete self-determination for the people of Ireland in the terms of the Waterford resolution.

The following formal report was submitted by Messrs. Johnson and O'Shannon on their return from Switzerland and Paris:—

TO THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE AND AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS—

We beg to report that in accordance with the instructions of the National Executive, we attended the International Labour and Socialist Conference held in the Volkshaus, Berne, Switzerland, in February, 1919, as representing the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress, and we have pleasure in submitting in the attached Memorandum a summary of the report of the proceedings of the Conference, and of its decisions, with an account of the part we took therein, and the conclusions at which we arrived as a result of our experiences as your delegates.

To our deep regret, our fellow delegates from the Executive, Messrs. William O'Brien and Thomas MacPartlin, were unable to accompany us to Berne, owing to the gravity of the industrial situation at home at the time of our departure.

We left Dublin on Wednesday, 29th January, and travelled via London and Paris. In London we were compelled to suffer a delay of six days owing to the holding up of visas for our passports by the British and French authorities. We did not therefore leave London until the evening of February 4th, and we did not reach Berne until midnight on the 6th. This meant that we were unable to be present at the opening of the Conference on the 3rd, or at the discussions on the Responsibilities for the War and the League of Nations. We did arrive in time, however, for the discussions on Territorial Questions, on the Permanent Commission for Continuing the Work of the Conference, on the International Labour Charter and on the Dictatorship of the Proletariat as opposed to Parliamentary Democracy. These occupied the last four of the eight days of the Conference, and, as will be seen, we were able in these four days, to make up for some of the time lost through no fault of either the National Executive or the Irish delegates.

Upon the conclusion of the Conference we spent three weeks in Berne and Geneva in studying social and industrial conditions in Switzerland and in informing the Labour and Socialist Press, organisations, parties, and governments in the various continental countries, upon the situation in Ireland, and the aims and aspirations of the working class in Ireland. Returning again through France, we spent three days in consulting the French Labour and Socialist press and party leaders upon the same matters. On our way home to Dublin, we took in London the opportunity of further enlightening influential British Labour forces upon the points of view expressed by us at the Berne Conference.

On Wednesday, March 12th, we arrived home in Ireland, and now, in handing in our report and concluding our mission, we beg to thank the National Executive for honouring us with its confidence as its representatives at the first International Conference of the working class since the outbreak of the war in 1914.

THOMAS JOHNSON,
CATHAL O'SHANNON.

Delegates.

March 29th, 1919.

THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR AND SOCIALIST CONFERENCE AT BERNE.

The initiative for the convening of the Berne Conference was taken by the International Socialist Bureau, and by the various Inter-Allied Socialist and Labour Conferences in which the French Socialist Party and the British Labour Party were the dominating influences. But while this is but the bare truth, it is equally true and no less important that in practically every European country the demand for the re-establishment of the International, shattered into fragments by the War, was growing stronger and clearer from week to week in 1917 and 1918, and it was this universal demand which was the deciding factor in the convening of the Conference. This initiative was approved and accepted by the majority, but not all, of the parties affiliated to the Bureau.

When after many vicissitudes the Conference did meet, the wisdom of its conveners was seen in the interest with which its proceedings were followed by the press, the peoples, the parties, and the governments of all countries, and this despite the enforced or voluntary abstention of more than half-a-dozen of the affiliated Sections, including some of the most important.

The Conference proper sat in the Volkshaus, the palatial headquarters of the Socialist and Trade Union movements in Berne, from the 3rd until the 10th of February. But much of its preliminary work, and especially the difficult and delicate labour of exchanging views and news, and reconciling differences between the delegations from the countries recently at war, had been done at informal gatherings held during the previous week. This smoothed the path for the Conference proper, with the result, that throughout the debates in the Conference and its commissions, an atmosphere of goodwill and understanding prevailed, and this indeed was the great achievement of the Conference, the reconciliation of parties between which the war seemed to have raised barriers which this generation might never have seen broken down again.

THE IRISH DELEGATION AT BERNE.

The Irish delegates presented their credentials to the Bureau on the morning of Friday, February 7th, and these were passed without objection the same evening. The delegates were warmly welcomed by the Secretary, M. Camille Huysmans, and by the French leader, M. Jean Longuet, by several British delegates, and others to whom they were already known. Through the good offices of the Bureau, the delegates were enabled to be present in the Conference itself on Friday, and the distribution of the reports and memoranda which had been prepared in Irish, French, German, and English, was begun on the same day. At the morning session on Saturday, the delegates took their places as fully accredited and accepted delegates and members of the Conference, securing exactly the same status and recognition for Irish Labour and for Ireland, as secured for any other party or country represented at the Conference.

IRELAND IN THE DISCUSSION ON TERRITORIAL QUESTIONS.

Our unavoidably late arrival prevented our securing representation on the Commissions which drafted the statements on Responsibilities, the League of Nations, and the Territorial Questions. For the same reason, we were unable to take part in the debates on the first and second of these questions. The Commissions it should be noted are committees appointed by the Conference to study the various problems and draft statements or resolutions for presentation to the full Conference in accordance with the opinions expressed, amending and re-drafting them again if necessary after discussion, and finally submitting them for adoption. With the exception of the declarations on the Dictatorship of the Proletariat versus Parliamentary Democracy, all declarations were finally carried unanimously by the Conference, if we except the abstention of M. Albert Thomas and M. Milhaud, on the question of Responsibilities.

In the discussion on Territorial Questions, Ireland figured prominently. The speaker for Ireland was Cathal O'Shannon. He spoke in both Irish and English, and demanded free and absolute self-determination for the Irish people, and the recognition by the Powers and the Peace Conference at Paris of the Republican declaration of Independence at Easter Week, confirmed by the people at the General Election, and stressing Ireland's determination to continue at War until her aspirations are fulfilled. His declaration almost immediately followed that made on behalf of the British delegation by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, and thus threw the Irish Labour and National demands into sharp contrast with the Home Rule under the government of England attitude of British Labour.

As important as this was the striking reference to Ireland made by M. Mistral (France), who was Chairman and reporter of the Commission, in his report to the Conference on Territorial Questions, referred to later on in this report.

IRELAND ON THE PERMANENT COMMISSION.

Ireland figured prominently and effectively on the Sunday, in the discussion on the basis of representation for the Permanent Commission of the Conference. The Permanent Commission, it was decided, should be charged with the duty of seeing to the carrying out of the decisions of the Conference, select a delegation to place these decisions before the Peace Conference, draw up statutes for the new International, and make arrangements for the next Conference. It was at first proposed that this Commission should be confined to representatives from the Big Four of the Conference—France, Germany, Austria, and Great Britain—but this would have been most unsatisfactory. Thomas Johnson spoke for Ireland, and for the smaller countries both subject and free, claiming equal representation for all. He demanded that Berne should command, and not plead with, the Paris Conference, and he pointed out that to the subject nations of the British Empire, Ireland, Egypt, and India, no freedom is promised, emphasising again the certainty of continuous war in Ireland if the Irish claims remain unsatisfied. In the end all the countries represented were given two delegates each on the Commission. In the absence of the other Irish delegates, Messrs. Johnson and O'Shannon became the representatives of Ireland.

The Commission met immediately after the Conference had closed, appointed a Commission of Inquiry to visit and report on Russia, and selected Huysmans, Branting, Henderson, Longuet, Renaudel, MacDonald, and Stuart Bunning to convey the Conference's decisions to the Peace Conference. The Germans and others did not seek representation on this delegation owing to the impossibility of their visiting Paris until the Peace treaties are signed. For a similar reason, Amsterdam instead of Paris, as originally intended, was selected as the temporary headquarters of the Bureau. The next meeting of the Permanent Commission was arranged provisionally for April in Amsterdam, and of the whole Conference, for July or August.

There were present at the Conference about 105 delegates, representing twenty-four Nations, viz., Great Britain, Germany, France, Alsace-Lorraine, German-Austria, Ireland, Tcheko-Slovakia, Hungary, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Finland, Poland, Russia, Lettland, Georgia, Esthonia, Greece, Bulgaria, Armenia, Argentine, Spain, and Palestine. Delegations from Australia and Ukrania arrived too late.

Existing governments were represented on the Conference by the delegates from Germany (Majority), Bavaria (Independents), Austria, Hungary, Georgia, Bulgaria, and Bohemia. The American Socialists did not receive their passports until the Conference was over, and the American Federation of Labour refused to send a delegation.

Italy, Switzerland, Serbia, and Belgium were not represented, owing to the decision of the Labour and Socialist Parties of those countries not to take part in the Conference. Speaking broadly, it

may be said that the Conference represented the moderate elements of the Socialist movement in the world.

One of the tragedies of the War was the break up of the Labour and Socialist parties over questions arising out of the War, and these dissensions were reflected in the decisions of the parties to attend or to abstain from the Berne Conference. In some cases parties opposed the project because they were not prepared to "confer with the German delegates," other parties, notably the Bolsheviks of Russia and the Spartacists of Germany, refused to attend because they alleged that it was being held with the connivance of Capitalist Governments, and its promoters were "social patriots."

The opening speech of the President, Branting (Sweden) showed clearly that his sympathies were with the Entente, that he was strongly antagonistic to the Soviet form of Republican organisation, and that he was wedded to the older theory of democratic progress by way of parliamentary government, and "the realisation of Socialism through the creation of a well-ordered common production." He emphasised the point that the Berne Conference must only be considered as a preparation for a larger and more representative International to be held at as early a date as possible.

RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE WAR.

Albert Thomas and Renaudel, the leaders of what up to a year ago was the Majority section of the French Socialist Party (but now converted into a minority), demanded that the first duty of the Conference must be to pronounce judgment upon the question of responsibility for the War, and to get a declaration from the delegates of the German Majority as to their attitude on this question. They also demanded that the Conference should make a declaration as to the role which democracy is to fulfil in the establishment of the Socialist order, this being coupled with a denunciation of the Bolshevik movement in Russia.

During the discussion which followed, Eisner and Kautsky (German Independents) admitted the special responsibility for the immediate outbreak of War of the Imperial Government of Germany. Kautsky, who had been deputed by the new German Government to examine diplomatic documents, said "the guilt of the German Government is clearly established to-day upon the diplomatic documents." The hope was expressed that the diplomatic documents of the Entente Governments would, at an early date, be scrutinised in a similar manner, by representatives of the Socialist parties.

Fritz Adler asserted that "Austria prepared the War long before the Sarajevo murder. They knew that, on the 5th July, 1914. Count Stoysch went to Berlin, carrying a letter from the Emperor Francis Joseph to William the II., and there, on that day, War was decided upon in complicity with Bethmann-Hollweg. From the 7th July, the whole of Austria prepared for War."

A special commission to report upon this question was appointed, consisting of the President, and eight other delegates, representing

Germany, France, England, Holland, Hungary. The agreed report which was accepted by the Conference contained a memorandum by the delegates of the German Majority, stating that the German proletariat had, through the Revolution, abolished and destroyed the old system which was responsible for the War, and had proved through action its determined will to rebuild a world ruined by War and to fight with the workers of all countries for the realisation of Socialism in the League of Nations.

THE PEOPLES' LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

The resolution on the League of Nations opens by stating that "The Union of the Peoples of the World in an intimate association has always been one of the fundamental objects of the International. This ideal arises from the solidarity of the working classes of all countries. . . ." It points out that "future wars can only be prevented by the creation of such a League." This League shall be formed by the Parliaments of the different countries (not by the Cabinets), representation in the central organ of the League shall be by delegates representing all parties in those Parliaments. All the Nations, organised on the basis of national self-determination, should be included in the League of Nations, and should have equal rights and equal duties. Such peoples as have not yet obtained self-determination shall, under the protection of the League, be encouraged and assisted to fit themselves for membership in the League of Nations.

"The League must create an International Court which by means of mediation and arbitration shall settle such disputes as have arisen, or obviate such as may arise, including such as are considered vitally to concern the power or honour of the states.

"The League of Nations must abolish all standing armies, and bring about complete disarmament. If any armed force should be required, it shall be under the control of the League."

The above extracts from the resolution indicate that the conception of a League of Nations held by the Conference was radically different from the scheme proposed by the victorious Powers at Paris, which it may be noted, was not published until after the Berne Conference had concluded. The discussion showed, however, that there was much distrust of the Paris Conference, and it was felt that the strongest pressure from the workers would have to be applied if a real League of Peoples was to be inaugurated.

Mr. Arthur Henderson, in supporting this resolution, expressed his anxiety that the Berne Conference should speak effectively to the Paris Conference. They should say to their Governments now at Paris: "Their balances of Power have failed, their standing armies have not saved our children from slaughter, their secret diplomacy has resulted in disaster. All this must be revolutionised immediately; we desire a real League of Nations NOW. They could not watch the proceedings at Paris without feelings of positive distrust. . . . They should say to Paris that the Peace Treaty

must provide for no political or economic restrictions for the benefit of one nation at the expense of another, nor should it seek to bolster up tariffs of one country in order to cripple and embarrass the industry of another. . . . THE PARIS PEACE TREATY MUST SECURE THE COMPLETE RECOGNITION OF THE RIGHTS OF SMALL NATIONS AND EVEN OF THOSE PEOPLE WITHIN THE BRITISH EMPIRE ITSELF—A RECOGNITION OF THE PRINCIPLE THAT NO PEOPLE MUST BE FORCED UNDER A SOVEREIGNTY UNDER WHICH IT DOES NOT WISH TO LIVE."

TERRITORIAL QUESTIONS.

The many problems under this head occupied the Conference at least three days, apart from the discussions within the Commission appointed to draw up a report. Mistral (France), in presenting the report, made a statement which summarises the thoughts of the delegates as expressed in the discussion. Mistral's position in his own party and his importance as draughtsman of this declaration on Territorial questions, makes this statement of the highest importance, and contains most satisfactory evidence of the Irish influence on the Commission.

"What was it," he asked, "which above all created the gulf between Germany and France? Not the indemnity inflicted in 1871. Not the armistice conditions, but the tearing away of Alsace-Lorraine against the will of the people. If the same fault is committed under the pretence of securing strategical guarantees, or on any similar ground, one day Europe will be again plunged into blood. Those who want to annex peoples against their will are short-sighted statesmen. He instanced the last Balkan War where the alliance of yesterday flew at each other's throats for the sake of territory. Again the treaties of Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest, the changes and reconstitution of Poland, the dismemberment of Austro-Hungary, THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE OF IRELAND, all showed that the previous groupings had been unsatisfactory. They could not hold, and had to be broken up, and the only way to break them up was by violence. The principle animating the Commission was the right of self-determination—a principle that had been placed in the forefront of the resolution of the Inter-Allied Labour and Socialist Conference held in London in February, 1915, and also affirmed at the Conference of neutrals in Copenhagen in the same year, and the Conference of the Socialist parties of the Central Powers in Vienna. It was also put forward in the programme of the Russian Revolution. Last of all, it had been proclaimed emphatically by President Wilson, the only head of any State who had taken a wide view of world affairs. It was in this spirit that the Commission had done its work. It demanded respect for minorities within states. In cases of conflict, they pointed to the League of Nations as the supreme authority. They had kept to general principles, and had left the Conference to determine whether

the various and numerous concrete problems should be referred either to the present or some other Commission. Finally, the Berne Conference should say to all the Governments that the peoples who always suffered—who were always the victims of every war—would not allow them to violate the principles that the Governments had told the peoples they were fighting for."

Mistral then read the report, from which in its form as finally adopted unanimously, we quote the following passages:—

"The Conference considers that a democratic solution of the various nationality questions is the only guarantee of a righteous and lasting peace. The arbitrary and enforced union of people of different nationality in a single state has been and will always be a cause of international disputes and therefore a danger to peace. The nationalities question is therefore of international importance and a solution can only be found within the League of Nations. Against the tendencies which have come to light aiming at the delimitation of parties according to the relations created by the military conflict, the International Conference would place in opposition the following principles:—

1. "The right of all Nations to determine their own fate, and to decide in which state they will belong within the League of Nations.
2. "Any nationality question in disputed territories will be submitted to a Plebiscite, under the control of the League of Nations, whose decision is final.
3. "The protection of national minorities, like that of national majorities, to be secured by a minimum of national rights, determined and guaranteed in its application by the League of Nations. . . .

"THE CONFERENCE APPEALS TO THE WORKING CLASSES OF EVERY COUNTRY WITH ALL THEIR STRENGTH TO EXERT PRESSURE ON THEIR GOVERNMENTS AND TO COMPEL THEM TO RESPECT THESE PRINCIPLES IN THE INTERESTS OF THE CONCLUSION OF A LASTING PEACE.

"Where a systematic policy of denationalisation has distorted the development of an oppressed nation and has had the effect that an eventual plebiscite would perpetuate a state of amnesty to oppression, the League of Nations must in its decision give due regard to the state of affairs."

This final clause was incorporated in deference to the demand of the Swedish delegation. It has particular application to such territorial areas of Bohemia, Transylvania, Alsace-Lorraine, etc., as have been denationalised of deliberate purpose by the dominant power. It has also its implications in relation to the so-called "Ulster" problem.

The predominant opinion of the speakers in regard to such questions was that while giving due weight to language, tradition, economic

relationships, etc., the present will of the people must be the chief determining factor.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald spoke for the British delegation on this territorial question. He said they were informed on the Commission that there was some misunderstanding about the attitude of British Labour, and he proposed to make it quite definite. He then proceeded to say that "for years the British Labour Party had definitely taken the position that it was in favour of Home Rule for Ireland. . . . You will find that in the new Parliament the Labour Party will uphold the old policy of British Labour in favour of the Irish demand." He went on to say that the Party supported the demand for Home Rule for India, and "though the Egyptian question was not hitherto figured largely in British politics, we will be prepared to apply the same principles to Egypt as to India." After dealing with strategical places and Colonies, he said, "We shall vote for the resolution, not for the purpose of applying it to other peoples or Empires, but honestly to apply them to the British Empire and trying to make the Empire a lever for the liberation of all peoples that come under its sway."

We felt that this statement of MacDonald's was very unsatisfactory, that despite the promise in the last sentence to honestly apply the principles of the resolution to the British Empire, he withheld the right of self-determination for Ireland, India, and Egypt, substituting therefor the privilege of self-government within the British Empire. This pronouncement was much less satisfactory than that of Henderson on the League of Nations resolution, already noted.

O'Shannon thereupon stated the case for Ireland's right to absolute freedom in the choice of sovereignty and in determining her own form of government whether within or without the British Empire, summarising the printed Memorandum which had been presented to the Conference.

We have no hesitation in saying that the feeling of the delegates as indicated by the reception of this statement in the Conference and by private conversations was definitely and in many cases enthusiastically favourable to Ireland's demands in full.

An illustration of the spirit with which the Conference dealt with territorial problems, may be seen in the way the Danish and German delegations dealt with the problem of Slesvig. At the request of the Bureau the delegations conferred and arrived at a complete agreement which reads as follows:—

"The German and Danish delegates unanimously declare that the question of the new frontiers to be established between Germany and Denmark will not be solved by force, but by the right of self-determination of the populations concerned, namely by a plebiscite. This plebiscite will be made particularly for three different regions:—

1. For the region of exclusively Danish language of the North Slesvig.

2. The district situated south of that region, which is of predominately Danish language, but of predominately German sympathy. This district is composed of eight or ten communes.
3. For the town of Flensburg, if a minimum of one-fourth of the voting population demand the plebiscite.

The communes designated under No. 2 will vote each one separately for itself.

The preparation and conduct of the plebiscite must take place in complete freedom.

The plebiscite, in order not to be influenced by the tendencies of the moment, should not take place until after a certain time has elapsed.

The frontier is to be laid down in such a way as to avoid enclaves of population.

National minorities will in both states be guaranteed the same national rights.

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CHARTER.

A Commission was appointed to draw up a report on International Labour legislation. This Commission collaborated with the International Trade Union Conferences also sitting at Berne, and finally agreed upon an identical programme—an International Labour Charter.

It is too long to quote in full, but we make the following quotations from the report as adopted :—

“ Under the wage system, the capitalist class endeavour to increase their profits by exploiting the workers as much as possible. Such methods, if they are unchecked, undermine the physical, moral, and intellectual powers of the workers and their children. They prevent the development, and even endanger the existence of society. The capitalist attempt to degrade the workers can only be entirely removed by the abolition of the capitalist system. But the evil can be strongly mitigated, both by the resistance of the organised workers, and by the intervention of the State. By this means the health of the workers may be protected, and their family life maintained, and they can secure the opportunity of attaining the education needed to enable them to fulfil their duties as citizens in the modern democracy.

“ The limits which capitalism has reached are very different in the various countries. One of the dangers here involved is that the industry and labour of the more progressive countries are impaired by a system of sweated labour in the more backward countries. The need to establish an international standard of labour legislation has been rendered doubly urgent by the terrible upheaval and fearful devastation of the life forces of the people brought about by the War. The foundations of a League of Nations however will make it possible to satisfy this need.”

Then follows "without prejudice to any more far-reaching resolutions which may be adopted by Trade Unions," a long series of demands for minimum requirements which are already carried out in part in some countries, and must be converted into a code of international law by the League of Nations on the conclusion of peace.

These demands deal with the following:—

Compulsory primary education. Technical and higher education to be free and available for all.

Restriction of the hours of labour of children and "young persons."

Restriction of employment of women (a) at night, (b) in dangerous occupations, (c) before and after child-birth.

Sunday rest.

Prevention of accidents and protection of health.

Home industries.

Wages Boards, and legal minimum rates of wages.

Unemployment and accident insurance, etc., etc.

Amongst the etceteras we should perhaps quote in full a clause of especial interest to members of the Gaelic League:—

"Employers who employ at least five workers of foreign tongues shall be required by law to post up in the mother tongue of such workers all labour regulations and other important notices, and also to arrange at their own expense for such workers to be given instruction in the language of the country."

THE DECLARATIONS OF PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP AND PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY.

The Irish delegates signed the Minority, or Adler-Longuet declaration on the Dictatorship of the Proletariat as opposed to Parliamentary Democracy. But although this was the official title of the discussion, it does not convey a correct idea of the points at issue. The truth is that a tendency early revealed itself to condemn the Soviet system of Government root and branch without hearing the case for the Soviet, and in the absence of the Russian Bolshevik Social Democratic Labour Party, which is responsible for the establishing the Soviet Republic, as well as of those parties which are known to support the Soviet. To this course strong opposition was made within the Commission. In the end the majority within the Commission carried the Branting declaration with its implied condemnation of the Soviet. This appeared most unfair to the Irish delegates for the following reasons—(1) The Soviet system was not discussed on its merits. (2) Parliamentary democracy as known in France and Great Britain is not necessarily the last word in democracy. (3) Under the name of "Bolshevism" the Majority lumped all the violent manifestations of the Russian Revolution regardless of the fact that so far as the evidence goes these are the results not of the new system, but of the military action of the Russian counter-revolutionaries, supported

militarily and financially by the Entente Governments and at one time by the late Imperial German Government. (4) The Russian opponents of the Bolsheviks at the Conference were obviously giving only one side of the story and were not expressing the more recent opinions of their respective parties (Menshevik Social Democrats and Social Revolutionaries). (5) The Bolsheviks of Russia and many of their supporters in other countries were not present at the Conference, and indeed would not have been admitted into Switzerland by the Swiss Government. (6) The supporters of the Branting declaration made no attempt to examine the Soviet system but attempted to bind the Labour and Socialist movements to a political and not an industrial form of democracy.

The Adler-Longuet declaration, while not perfect, more nearly expressed the point of view of the Irish delegation and as such was signed by the Irish delegates. In the end the real decision under more favourable circumstances on the Soviet and on Bolshevism was postponed to a later Conference. The majority accepted the proposal for a mission of enquiry into Russia, and this was supported by the Irish delegates who took part in the selection of the members of the mission at the meeting of the Permanent Commission.

THE MEMORANDUM ON IRELAND.

In addition to the printed reports and memoranda prepared beforehand with the authority of the National Executive which were distributed to the delegates, the Irish delegation prepared on the spot a special Memorandum on Ireland for the use of the Conference delegation to Paris. This Memorandum contained that section of our report dealing with the Irish Working Class and National Aspirations, the heads of our general arguments, a sketch of the military and economic conquest of Ireland, a review of the present situation in Ireland, and appendices dealing with Irish statistics, and the Conclusions of Karl Marx on the relations between Ireland and Great Britain. The Memorandum was the joint work of the two delegates, and was printed in French and German editions. Branting, Chairman of the delegation to Paris, promised the delegation's attention to our claims.

THE DELEGATES AND THE IRISH CLAIMS.

The delegates were interviewed on behalf of many European and American papers, and in their turn they interviewed several Swiss editors, and secured the support of the Labour and Socialist press in several continental countries, and as well, the support of sections of the non-Socialist press. The Memorandum was sent to every important paper throughout the world, to many leading men and women, to the more important political organisations in every European country, including Governments. It was quoted from extensively in the press, and is still being noticed in various papers. It is on sale in every kiosk and in every important bookstall in Switzerland.

PROPAGANDA OUTSIDE THE CONFERENCE.

The Irish delegates were highly gratified with the keen attention and interest shown by their fellow-delegates in the written and spoken declarations made on behalf of Ireland. In this connection they noted the particular attention given by the French, the Austrians, the British, the Dutch, the Greeks, the Germans, and the Jews. On all sides the warmest sympathy with Ireland was expressed, and there were many welcome and acute enquiries as to the strength and policy of the Irish Labour movement, the attitude of the workers in Great Britain, the prospects and policy of Sinn Féin, the relations between the workers in the Unionist parts of Ulster and the workers in the rest of Ireland, the December General Election, the Insurrection of Easter Week, the resources of Ireland, the attitude of the people generally, etc. Huysmans, Longuet, Kautsky, Bernstein (who was there as a visitor), Adler, Troelstra, and other leading delegates showed an accurate and fairly comprehensive knowledge of Irish affairs. Other delegates were friendly, but not very well informed.

IN PARIS.

On their way home the Irish delegates spent some four days in Paris. There they met Sean T. O'Ceallaigh, the envoy of Dáil Éireann, and on comparing notes with him, found that on the whole, his experience in Paris corresponded with their own in Switzerland, and that both delegations had come to practically the same conclusions as a result of their experiences.

In Paris the Irish delegates had again a most hearty welcome in Socialist and Labour circles. Longuet, Jouhoux, Dunois, and other leaders of the Socialist and Trade Union movements, were interviewed with eminently successful results. The two great Socialist dailies, *Le Populaire* and *L'Humanité*, were enlisted on the side of Ireland, and certain misleading impressions due to British propaganda, and especially the propagation of the idea that the Lloyd George Convention of 1917-1918 was a real offer of free self-determination, were promptly and effectively corrected in the Trade Union daily, *La Bataille*.

Arrangements were made for the publication of a new Paris edition of the Memorandum on Ireland.

Enquiries were made into the strength and methods of organisation of French Trade Unionism, and the Confederation Generale du Travail was consulted upon the forthcoming International Trade Union Conference.

THE STRENGTH AND WEAKNESS OF THE CONFERENCE.

Taking a broad and general view of the Conference, it seemed to us that its outstanding merit was its success in bringing the delegates of so many countries together, and more particularly in its bridging of the bitter and vindictive differences between the parties representing countries lately at war—for instance, the present German Majority and the present French Minority, both of which had sup-

ported their respective Governments during the war. If it was a merit that the number and importance of parties represented, it was a demerit that the Russian Bolsheviki, the Italians, the Serbians, the Belgians, the Swiss and the Americans were not present. Viewing it from another aspect, the Conference was strong upon the political side, but weak, and to our mind regrettably so, upon the industrial side. From this resulted our definite impression that the delegations present, with few exceptions, among which, however, we include our own, felt that they had not the full driving force of the industrial organisations behind them, and hence they were inclined rather to advise or appeal to than to command the Governments and the Peace Conference. But it would be unfair and unjust to record this impression without qualifying it with noting that this weakness was obviously due in large measure to the terrible disintegrating effect which the war has had upon all organisations, institutions, and personalities upon the Continent, an effect which cannot be realised by anybody who has not seen the shadow the war has cast upon the whole political and social life of the Continent. The shadow of the war hung heavily over the Conference, as did the divisions which it had created in the working-class movement and parties, and it coloured all the speeches, declarations and debates. Besides, it must be remembered that the Conference was but a preliminary Conference for the creation of a new International, and not a definite Congress of the parties represented. Hence its timidity in certain respects, and its reluctance to do anything which would impair the new-born unity of the workers, or tend to exclude definitely any national section. Hence, too, its general tendency to the Right and Centre, instead of the Left, as we would have preferred.

But for all that, and with all its inherent and accidental defects, the Conference was successful in bringing the Labour and Socialist parties of all countries together again, in making easy the way for the new International, and in laying down in a clear and definite, and, in our opinion, satisfactory manner, the general principles of a real Brotherhood of Peoples based upon territorial arrangements and an international morality which would secure the peace of the world, not only durable but just for our people as for all others. This, indeed, was the key-note of the Berne Conference—it was Inter-National as never before, and it was at the same time international in the full historic sense.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS.

As a result of our experiences in Switzerland and France, and outside our experience in and around the Conference, we have come to certain general conclusions, political, industrial, and social, which we believe will be of value as well as interest to the Labour Movement, and the people generally, in Ireland.

(1.) Outside certain small circles, there is a general indifference to the claims and the state of Ireland, but no hostility, and some friendliness. This, we think, is due to several causes. Chief amongst them is the lack of knowledge, information, and propaganda

about Ireland. Next to it we should put the effects of British War Propaganda during the war, a decidedly anti-Irish propaganda which is, however, partially discounted by the common knowledge that it is propaganda. In short, Europe knows little, and cares little about Ireland, especially since Parnell's day.

(2.) The indifference can be turned into interest in many cases, into active friendship in some, once the veil of ignorance is lifted. But in lifting it, it must be remembered that time lost over several years must be made up, and that in making up this time, Ireland will have to compete for attention with a score of causes and countries which are not only geographically closer to Europe, but economically nearer as well, and have acting on their behalf, well-organised and freely financed agencies, committees, newspapers, reviews, and so forth. Switzerland is an international clearing house in which the peoples of Europe, with the exception of the Irish, compete for attention, and Ireland was practically unknown in the stock of this clearing-house until the Irish delegation's pamphlet went the round of the papers and the bookshops.

(3.) Outside the Labour and Socialist movements, the statesmen and Governments, so far as we could ascertain, were actuated by only one motive: that of material gain, and territorial grab. In ways we were appalled by the terrible cynicism of Europe; above all, by the open, naked, and unashamed, disregard of the Peace Conference for all principles of right and justice.

(4.) On the other hand, we found that if the men and powers which rule in all but Socialist countries can be convinced that Irish affairs are materially an advantage or a disadvantage to them, they will begin to pay attention and court to Ireland. Thus we found that Ireland's capacity for food production, Ireland's capacity for military action as a menace to European Peace, and Ireland's ability through the Irish in Australia and America, to thwart the diplomacy of Europe, would gain for Ireland most friendly attention abroad.

(5.) We return home again with our convictions upon (a) the abolition of customs frontiers, and (b) the material and moral advantage of the liberation of Ireland and of Ireland's capacity for independent government strengthened ten-fold.

(6.) Finally, we have grown still stronger in our conviction that the Soviet Government of Russia is Ireland's best and most disinterested friend, and that at least so far as justice and principle are concerned the Labour and Socialist Governments are our only hope, and our only friends amongst the Governments.

In view of all this, we felt a strong temptation to remain much longer in Berne, Geneva, and Paris, in a missionary capacity, but the absence of the necessary authority, and our knowledge of the needs of the movement at home, compelled us to give up the idea of carrying out this vitally essential work.

THOMAS JOHNSON.
CATHAL O'SHANNON.

**MEETING OF THE PERMANENT COMMISSION OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR AND SOCIALIST CONFERENCE AT
AMSTERDAM, APRIL 26-29, 1919.**

**Report of Delegates of the Irish Labour Party and
Trade Union Congress.**

. TO THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE.

In the unavoidable absence on general strike business in Limerick of my colleague, I attended alone the Amsterdam meeting of the Permanent Commission of the Second International.

The sittings extended over the four days, April 26-29.

THE DELEGATIONS.

Delegates present at all or some of the sittings represented France, Great Britain, Italy (Irredentists), Germany (Independents), Denmark, Sweden, Holland, Belgium, Luxemburg, the Ukraine, Ireland, Argentine, Australia, Russia (Social Revolutionaries), Georgia, Esthonia, Belgium.

The delegates of the German Majority, the Letts, and the Russian Mensheviks, did not arrive until the sittings had concluded. Austria and Hungary were not represented owing to passport difficulties. The parties which abstained from the Berne Conference did not seek representation, and presumably for the same reasons the Bulgarians and the Norwegians abstained.

THE RETURN OF THE BELGIANS.

The Belgians had abstained from Berne but were represented at Amsterdam. At the opening of the sittings they asked that at the next general Conference the German Social Democrats should be made to answer for their attitude and acts during the war. On receiving assurances on this point the Belgian delegates declared themselves satisfied and agreed to remain in affiliation with the Second International.

IRELAND AT THE COMMISSION ON TERRITORIAL QUESTIONS.

Upon my arrival I handed to the Secretariat a resolution on Ireland setting forth our claims in the same terms as at the Waterford Congress, 1918. This resolution was examined in the first instance by the Commission on Territorial Questions and subsequently adopted by the Permanent Commission in plenary session.

Troelstra presided over the Commission on Territorial Questions and the three parties concerned attended and explained their points of view. Ryan attended on behalf of Australia, MacDonald on behalf of Great Britain, and your delegate on behalf of Ireland.

I summarised the case for Ireland as held, at home and explained at Berne, and showed the exact state of affairs in Ireland and its reactions in Europe, America, and the British Colonies.

Ryan read his mandate from the Australian Labour Congress declaring in favour of the same self-determination and freedom for Ireland as for all other nationalities in Europe.

Macdonald, on behalf of the British delegation, declared himself in agreement with the resolution, and the resolution was unanimously adopted by the Commission on Territorial Questions.

INTERNATIONAL DECLARATION ON IRELAND'S RIGHTS.

On Tuesday, April 29, Troelstra reported on the Irish resolution to the Permanent Commission in plenary session. In the absence of Branting, Henderson (Great Britain) was in the chair, and it was by him the question was put. The resolution was adopted unanimously by the Commission, thus becoming the official declaration of Labour all over the world, and part of the policy of the Second International.

The general principle enunciated at Berne had been applied at Amsterdam in the concrete case of Ireland.

The declaration reads in full :—

“The International Conference demands that the principle of free and absolute self-determination shall be applied immediately in the case of Ireland; affirms the right of the Irish people to political independence; requires that this self-determination shall rest upon a democratic decision expressed by the free, equal, adult and secret vote of the people without any military, political, or economic pressure from outside, or any reservation or restriction imposed by any Government.

“The Conference calls upon the Powers and the Peace Conference to make good this rightful claim of the Irish people.”

OTHER NATIONALITIES.

Other declarations on national questions recognised the claims put forward on behalf of Finland, Georgia, Esthonia, Armenia, and the Jews.

THE UKRAINE.

On a division the following resolution on the Ukraine was carried by a majority of one :—

“The Conference taking into account the claims for independence of the various Ukrainian Socialist parties, asks that the Ukrainian people be enabled as soon as possible, to give expres-

sion to its wishes as to whether it desires to constitute itself into an independent State, or be united federally to the Russian Republic. And, in order to avoid all misunderstanding, the Conference declares that it accords to the Ukrainians the same right to independence as to other nations that have detached themselves from Russia."

OTHER TERRITORIAL QUESTIONS.

Further declarations expressed satisfaction at the agreement between the Social Democratic Party of Georgia and the Armenian Revolutionary Federation "Daschnakzonticun" to find in the general principles of the Berne Conference a solution of the question of territories in dispute between Armenia and Georgia; protesting against the invasion of the Hungarian Republic by foreign troops; declaring the right of Austria to retain its separate independent statehood or unite with Germany, according to the will of the majority of the German-Austrian people; declaring that the frontiers between the Polish State and Germany must be determined by plebiscite in regions of mixed nationalities; rejecting all proposals depriving Germany of eastern and western provinces for the purpose of securing to Poland access to the sea already secured to Poland through the Vistula.

AGAINST PERSECUTION.

Resolutions were adopted demanding liberty and protection for the Jews in all States; protesting against the persecutions of Roumanian Socialists by the Roumanian Government; and denouncing the ill-treatment of the Jews in Roumania.

THE SAAR VALLEY.

After discussion and considerable division of opinion the Commission made a declaration opposing the detachment of the Saar, the Palatinate, and the Left Bank of the Rhine from Germany, and while agreeing to the principle of reparation for losses, demanding that arrangements for such payments shall be made by the League of Nations and that Germany's property, political, civil and other rights shall not be violated.

THE GERMAN COLONIES.

After discussion and a division, Troelstra's resolution on the German Colonies, as against Macdonald's, was carried by an overwhelming majority. The resolution demands that all colonies and dependencies, and not merely those formerly under German rule, shall no longer be regarded as the property, and be administered, in the selfish interests of any nation, and protests against the annexation of the German Colonies as opposed to Socialist principles which demand equal rights for all peoples and reject all annexations.

Your delegate voted with the majority on this question.

THE PEACE CONFERENCE AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

The Commission discussed the report of the interview between the Committee of Action, on behalf of the Berne Conference, and Lord Robert Cecil, on behalf of the Peace Conference. Your delegate joined in the expression of general dissatisfaction with the replies of the Peace Conference and of the general demand for a firmer attitude and strong action on the part of the International with reference to the League of Nations and the Peace Conference. In a lengthy declaration the Commission reiterated the principles of a Peoples' League of Nations as enumerated at Berne, declared that the Paris Covenant of the League was not in accord with these principles, opposed any peace which is in contradiction to President Wilson's Fourteen Points, demanded an interview with the Big Four, insisted upon solutions in conformity with the decisions made at Berne and Amsterdam, and saddled the Governments with responsibility for any situation arising from a refusal of their demands.

GENERAL DECLARATION.

The following general declaration was carried:—

1.—“The Conference declares that, although in accordance with its duty it has presented solutions of the problems of national independence that were placed before it, the Conference does not presume to have decided the boundaries of the States whose rights and independence it has recognised. The Conference considers that the solution concerning these questions should be found not in paper resolutions but in consultations, establishing in the most formal manner, the wishes of the populations concerned.”

2.—“The Conference refers the examination of territorial questions which are still unsettled, to its Committee of Action, which will recommend solutions based on the principle of the right to self-determination of peoples.”

INTERNATIONAL BULLETINS AND PRESS.

The following decisions regarding the press activities of the International were agreed upon:—

1.—Publication by the Bureau of a monthly Bulletin containing the official resolutions of the International and its affiliated Parties; a monthly chronicle of the political, trade union, and co-operative activities of the affiliated Parties to be supplied by the national organisations; articles and studies by members of the affiliated Parties to be sent through the Parties; the Bulletin to be published by the International Secretariat, each Party to contribute to its expenses and receive in exchange a certain number of copies.

2.—Publication by each affiliated Party of a Bulletin intended to supply information to the Parties in other countries.

ADMINISTRATIVE DECISIONS.

After discussion, and on certain of the points a division, the following administrative decisions were agreed upon:—

The next general International Labour and Socialist Congress shall be held on February 2, 1920. (The meeting place will probable be Lucerne, Switzerland, although Geneva, the seat of the League of Nations, is possible.)

The next meeting of the Permanent Commission will be held at Lucerne on August 1, 1919.

The Committee of Action to meet at Paris on May 10, 1919. This meeting to be charged with—(a) presenting the Amsterdam resolutions to the official Peace Conference at Paris; (b) demanding passports for Russia for the Commission of Inquiry appointed at the Berne Conference, and in case of refusal by the Governments, substituting a Commission of Neutrals; (c) choosing a Commission of Inquiry to go to Germany in agreement with the Social Democratic parties of Germany; (d) examining the territorial questions left over at Amsterdam, especially the Ottoman question, and acting above all on the principle of the right of the peoples to dispose of their own destiny; (e) drawing up for the February Congress new statutes for the International, and in this connection getting into communication with the Trade Union and co-operative organisations; (f) and preparing a reply to the Moscow Manifesto (the manifesto issued by the Third or Bolshevik International) to be submitted to the next meeting of the Permanent Commission.

On the question of fixing the date of meeting your delegate voted with the minority in favour of an earlier date.

Arising out of these questions it was reported that the Committee of Action had decided to send a delegation to the Italian and Swiss Parties to seek their co-operation in the reconstruction of the Second International.

GENERAL.

As at Berne, I took the opportunity at Amsterdam of informing general foreign opinion on the present situation in Ireland, the position of the Irish Labour Movement, and the national claims. I am happy to be able to report that all the evidence went to show that much closer and more general interest in Irish affairs is now being taken on the Continent than at the time of the Berne Conference.

In conclusion, I desire to thank the National Executive for honouring me with the completion of the task undertaken by its delegates at Berne.

CATHAL O'SHANNON.

Dublin, May 5, 1910.

ADDENDUM.

The Paris Meeting of the Committee.

The Committee of Action met in Paris on May 10, 11 and 12.

The Committee wrote to the representatives of the Powers asking for a hearing on the conditions of the peace (see below for the reply of the Peace Conference).

The Committee drew up new statutes for the International and these are to be sent to the affiliated Parties. The budget of the Secretariat was fixed at £5,000.

A delegation composed of Longuet and Macdonald and subsequently Buxton, instead of Huysmans, was appointed to confer with the Italian Socialist Party with reference to the International and report to the Lucerne meeting in August.

Henderson (England), Mistral (France), Wibaut (Holland), and subsequently the Secretary, were nominated as the Commission of Inquiry to go to Germany after the signing of peace.

A new demand for passports for Russia was made.

Arrangements were made for settling Armenian-Georgian disputes by referendum.

The next meeting of the Committee was fixed for June 25 at Southport when the annual Conference of the British Labour Party will be held.

A number of new reports were received dealing with the dismemberment of Turkey, the persecution of the Jews in Roumania, etc.

The Secretary reported that on their arrival at Amsterdam after the meeting the German Majority and the Lettish delegations declared that they would have voted for the Troelstra and against the Longuet resolution on the Ukraine.

The Secretary announced that he had received from the German Majority a declaration repudiating responsibility for the attack against the democratic government of Lettland and fastening responsibility for this on troops of German volunteers maintained by the Baltic barons. He had replied that disavowal of responsibility was not sufficient and that the duty of the German Government was to render these volunteers powerless and re-establish by the aid of its own troops the democratic government of Lettland. This reply was approved by the Committee.

The Committee issued a lengthy declaration on the preliminaries of peace and the Peace Treaties, embodying in it the principles of the Berne Conference.

On May 14 Henderson received from the Supreme Council of the principal Allied and Associated Powers (in other words the Peace Conference) a reply to the Committee's demand, transmitted verbally by Lloyd-George, refusing to hear the deputation upon the terms of the peace.

CATHAL O'SHANNON.

Dublin, June 21, 1919.

A mass meeting was held in the Mansion House, Dublin, on April 7th, under the chairmanship of Mr. Thomas Cassidy, when the delegates made a public report of their experiences. The following resolution was adopted:—

RESOLVED:

"This mass meeting heartily supports the demand of the International Labour and Socialist Conference of Berne for the establishment of a thoroughly democratic Society of Nations, organised on the basis of free National Self-determination and the inclusion of all nations, subject and sovereign, neutral and belligerent, without exception.

"The Paris Covenant does not fulfil these conditions and is therefore unworthy of the support of the Irish people until such time as its statutes are brought into harmony, by actual application, with the principles laid down in the Berne declaration.

"We declare it to be an essential condition of the successful prevention of war that any such League of Nations must be in fact a free Society of Peoples, not a League of rulers, governments, or cabinets, but a Society fully and directly representative of the Parliaments and the sovereign peoples, an association of the working masses of all nations organised in self-governing industrial republics; and that the present capitalist system of trade and industry, aiming at the capture of markets, inevitably results in war, and must be supplanted by a democratic system of production and distribution, which will remove from industry the incubus of the rent, interest, and profit-mongering class, and give to the workers by hand and brain, full control over the proceeds of their labour.

"We further declare our resolve to join with the workers of all lands, in accord with the International, in celebrating Thursday, May 1st, Labour Day, as a general holiday to demonstrate our active support for such a democratic Society of Nations as will include Ireland as a free and equal partner therein, and we call upon the workers throughout Ireland to join us in celebrating the First of May as Labour's great annual festival.

"Finally, we call the attention of our fellow-workers in other lands to the British Government's practice of treating prisoners convicted of political and industrial offences, as felons; we denounce that Government's barbarous treatment and continued imprisonment even after exposure of the most brutal cruelties, of political prisoners in Ireland and Great Britain, and we condemn the new system of crime detection by that Government in kidnapping children and imprisoning for the purpose of torturing or bribing them into giving information incriminating other persons."

One definite and valuable result of these activities is that Ireland as a national unit and the Irish Labour Movement as distinct and separate from other national Labour movements, have been recognised

and accepted by the Labour and Socialist parties of the whole world. And, if we may be allowed to prophesy, political power in most of these countries will before long be in the hands of these parties.

LABOUR DAY, MAY 1st.

One of the recommendations of the International Congress was to the effect that the 1st of May celebrations should be associated with the demand for a democratic league of peoples based upon national self-determination.

The Trades Councils of Limerick and Waterford also forwarded to us resolutions recommending that May 1st should be appointed as Labour Day and observed as the workers' holiday.

A call was thereupon made by your Executive upon the workers throughout the land for a general stoppage of work on Labour Day to demonstrate the solidarity of the workers and to re-affirm their adhesion to the principle of self-determination.

The response was magnificent. Practically the whole country, outside the Belfast area, kept holiday, again proving, as on 23rd April, 1918 (No Conscription Day), that the workers when united are all-powerful.

In Dublin, where the military proclamation prohibiting public meetings and processions held sway, the workers had to be content with their silent, workless demonstration. But elsewhere throughout the country enthusiastic meetings and processions took place. At these meetings the following resolution was adopted:—

RESOLUTION PASSED AT LABOUR DAY DEMONSTRATIONS, MAY 1st, 1919.

"We, the workers of.....in mass meeting assembled, declare our adhesion to the principle of the International Labour Movement in favour of an International League of Peoples, as opposed to a league of governments, diplomats, and rulers. It must include all nations willing to subscribe to its constitution and must be based on the right of all nations to a free choice of sovereignty and form of government, and must therefore begin by proclaiming for Ireland and all other subject nations, the right of self-determination.

"While giving enthusiastic support to the project of a League of Free Peoples, we declare:

"that a permanent peace must find its foundations in a complete change in the conditions under which the wealth of the world is produced and distributed;

"that as we repudiate the right of imperialist states to exploit nationalities, so we repudiate the right of capitalists to exploit individuals for the purposes of profit.

"We further declare—

"that the demands of the workers of Ireland for an improve

ment upon the standard of living which prevailed in pre-war days, are justified and must be conceded;

“that until the increase in money wages is so much greater than the increase in the cost of living as to provide a higher standard of life, there can be no satisfaction of the present claims;

“and that in economic affairs the object of the Labour Movement must be to win for the workers an ever-increasing share of the produce of their combined labour, until the present system which gives the control of industry to those who live upon rent, interest, and profit, is abolished.”

We regret to record that there have been reported to us a few cases of victimisation consequent upon the keeping of Labour's holiday. The spirit of tyranny is still active in the land, and it is not monopolised by an alien government!

BELFAST STRIKE.

In the summer and autumn of last year a general agitation began in the Belfast shipyards for a shorter working week. A strike was then threatened but action was postponed because of the Government's need for munitions and ships to carry on the war.

After the armistice the agitation was resumed and resulted in a “rank and file” strike lasting several weeks. During part of this period the strike extended to the electric power stations with the result that all the industries which depended upon electric power were closed down. The Strike Committee controlled the city.

The failure of the shipyard workers in Scotland and England to act with similar energy and unanimity in a demand for shorter hours caused the Belfast men to resume work with only part of their demand conceded.

PROPOSED NATIONAL WAGES AND HOURS MOVEMENT.

The following circular, dated January 30th, was issued to the affiliated societies and branches:—

Trades Hall, Dublin,
January 30th, 1919.

To the Secretary.

A CHARA,

At a meeting of the National Executive, held on Saturday, 25th inst., the following resolution was adopted:—

“That the National Executive call an All-Ireland Conference of Trade Unions, to be held in Dublin on Saturday, February 8th, to consider the following proposition, and to take action thereon as may be decided:—

“That pre-war standard of wages ruling in Ireland was too low for even that ‘frugal and decent comfort’ which Pope Leo

XIII. declared that justice demands. The cost of food, based upon the low standard of pre-war days for a working-class family of five persons (see Board of Trade Returns), is to-day 129 per cent. higher than in July, 1914. To secure a 20 per cent. improvement on pre-war standard requires an increase of money wages of 155 per cent. on the rates ruling in July, 1914. The needs of to-day also call for a reduction in the hours of labour—first, to give leisure for recreation; and, second, to absorb the unemployed. It is, therefore, necessary that a general united national demand be made to establish—

“1.—A working week of 44 hours.

“2.—A wage of not less than 150 per cent. above pre-war rates—i.e., about 20 per cent. advance on pre-war real wages.

“3.—An absolute national minimum of 50s. per week for all adult workers throughout Ireland, who are at present, or who, after the 150 per cent. increase, would still be in receipt of less than that amount.”

The Conference will take place at the Mansion House, Dublin, beginning at 11.30 a.m.

A small Delegation Fee of 2s. 6d. per Delegate will be charged.

The National Executive hopes that the Conference will be well attended by Delegates from Trade Unions in all parts of the country to take counsel on this very important matter. They consider that a united movement of “all trades, all grades,” is greatly to be preferred to a series of spasmodic efforts in different districts at different times.

The National Executive has no intention of deciding beforehand what demands shall be made by the various Unions; they are anxious to promote common action, and to give a lead on a sound basis for a claim applicable to the whole body of workers.

Doubtless, some sections have already received advances approximating to the suggestions made in the resolution set out above. These will be expected to give whatever assistance is necessary to level up the standard of their less fortunate fellow-workers.

Yours fraternally,

WILLIAM O'BRIEN,

Secretary.

THE SPECIAL CONFERENCE.

Delegates from over 100 Unions attended the Conference.

WELCOMED BY THE LORD MAYOR.

The Lord Mayor of Dublin, who was the only visitor, the proceedings being conducted in private, got an enthusiastic reception.

In bidding the delegates a hearty welcome to the Mansion House for the third or fourth time during his occupancy of it, he said he sincerely hoped that their deliberations would be of great advantage

to the vast body of the men and women whom they represented and of great benefit to the common country (applause). Especially did he hope they would be of great benefit to Dublin and the uplifting of its people. As Labour was steadily coming into its own and would in the near future rule the material destinies of mankind in the world, he trusted they would appreciate the solemn duties cast upon the representatives of the Labour movement, and that no action of theirs would retard the going forward of that movement, for one false move made now might make the lives of those they were out to serve miserable (applause).

On the motion of Mr. J. T. O'Farrell (R.C.A.), seconded by Mr. M. J. Egan, J.P., Cork, a vote of thanks was accorded to the Lord Mayor for his sympathy and active interest on behalf of Labour.

Mr. Thomas Cassidy (Derry) Chairman of the National Executive, who occupied the chair, said the delegates had assembled at a time of great unrest in the labour world. In Belfast thousands of men were engaged in a dispute which was the greatest that had ever taken place in that city (applause). They should express a tribute of admiration to the Committee in Belfast who were conducting that dispute (applause). On the Clyde and other parts of Scotland, in London and throughout England, they found a similar state of affairs: and if they took the Press opinions on the matter they might come to the conclusion that this great unrest was nothing less than another "German Plot" engineered by those terrible folk from Russia called Bolsheviks.

THE REAL CAUSE.

The real cause, however, was a feeling amongst the workers that they had again been deceived. Four years ago they were called upon to put all their energies into the great struggle taking place on the Continent. Statements were made that that struggle was to make the world safe for democracy and for the salvation of small nations. The workers were promised if they did their duty that a grateful country would not forget them in the days to come and that the conditions to which they would return would be much better than those they left behind. The wounded heroes were promised faithful attention. The demobilised men from the army and munition workers were to receive employment and new and other industries were to be reconstituted and everything possible was to be done once the world was made safe for democracy to make these countries fit places for heroes to live in. Great reconstruction schemes were to take place, but the promises made were not being fulfilled, and it was no wonder that the workers were suspicious. Advantage was taken at the time of the armistice to force upon the country an election which, in his opinion, was one of the most corrupt elections that had ever disgraced England or any other country. The workers recognised those things, and there should be no cause or reason for surprise that they should take matters into their own hands and make the future safe and secure for themselves and their fellows.

ONE OF THE REMEDIES.

One of the remedies to avoid a glut on the labour market through the men returning from the army, and a reduction of wages and a worsening of conditions, was the establishment of a shorter working week, the arguments for which were strong and great. Owing to the high prices of the necessities of life, higher wages should be paid to the workers, and for these reasons the National Executive of the Irish Labour movement had put forward the programme submitted to the Conference. In considering that programme he asked the delegates to be calm and collected, and thereby show that they appreciated the difficulties ahead of them.

Mr. Thomas Farren, Vice-Chairman, moved that the Conference "approves the principle of the programme submitted by the National Executive; recommends the various Unions to give special consideration to the terms embodied therein in putting forward their demands," and requests the Unions concerned to submit their considered decisions on this programme to the National Executive not later than 1st May, 1919."

He said the Executive thought the demands of the workers ought to be handled, not on sectional, but on national lines. Otherwise the effect might be disastrous. If considered as a national question, they might be able to do some good for the workers. The capitalist Press would no doubt say that their proposals were revolutionary. They might be revolutionary, but, if they were, all the better. It was time that they were revolutionary, and that the system which obtained for so long in that country, by which a certain class lived on the sweat of the workers, would go

"AS ONE MAN."

It would be said that the granting of such exorbitant and extravagant demands would ruin the trade and industry of the country, but they saw by the returns that the banks were overflowing with money, and there was never so much on deposit in the history of banking in Ireland. That means that the employing classes were never before so wealthy, and it was time that they should part with some of that to the workers who earned it, and whose standard of living was not anything nearly as good as it was in pre-war days. In that respect their proposals would mean a slight improvement. If the Government as an antidote to Bolshevism thought it necessary to give an unemployed man 29s. a week to maintain himself, or a man with six dependents 50s. a week when out of employment, surely a man doing hard work should not receive a lesser sum than 50s. a week as a minimum wage. In their proposals, which were somewhat elastic, the Executive had left room for the different Unions to consider a shorter week if they so desired it, and there was nothing in the resolution to compel Unions to accept the programme in its entirety.

What was proposed was a maximum of hours and a minimum wage and, when they had the views of the various Unions they could put forward their mandate, acting as one man.

Mr. Michael Somerville (Dublin A.S.C. and J.), seconded. He thought the time for receiving the decisions of the Unions should be limited to April 1st.

Mr. Cronin (Limerick Trades Council) said the time should be limited to the 1st March.

A number of other delegates agreed that the Unions should move more quickly, and return their decisions by March 1st, May 1st being regarded as too lengthened a period for taking action.

The Executive were strongly criticised for fixing the date as May 1st, and with the time altered in accordance with the general concurrence of the delegates to March 1st, the motion was put and carried with unanimity.

BELFAST AND BERNE.

Mr. Wm. O'Brien, Secretary, proposed:—

“That this special Conference of Irish Trade Unionists expresses its hearty appreciation of the splendid and inspiring fight being waged by our fellow-workers of Belfast for a shorter working week; that we offer our most cordial good wishes that their efforts will be crowned with success; and that the National Executive be instructed to convey these views to the Belfast Strike Committee with an assurance of the hearty support of all Irish workers—moral and financial.”

Mr. M. J. Egan, J.P., Cork, in seconding, suggested that every worker in Ireland would be asked to subscribe 1s. per week to support the men out, and to keep them out until such time as they would have secured the victory for which they were fighting.

The proposition, with the addendum suggested by Mr. Egan, was carried with acclamation, and a collection amongst the delegates resulted in a substantial sum being obtained.

Mr. Coates (I.T.W.U.), on behalf of the Cork Trades Council, proposed:—

“This All-Ireland Trade Union Conference calls on the International Labour Conference sitting at Berne to do everything in its power to have the right of national self-determination extended to Ireland. Further, the Conference calls on all Labour bodies throughout Ireland to hold mass demonstrations in their respective districts to pass similar resolutions and send them to the Berne Congress.”

Mr. W. J. Murphy (Heating Engineers, Dublin), seconded the resolution, which was unanimously adopted, and it was decided to cable this call immediately to Berne.

TO FIGHT AT LOCAL ELECTIONS.

The Chairman said on behalf of the National Executive he was asked to impress upon the delegates the necessity of at once preparing for the forthcoming county, rural district and Poor Law Guardians elections, so that they would be contested on behalf of Labour. They should put forward as many delegates as possible, as these were bodies upon which Labour should have adequate representation, as well as on the Corporations of the cities, the elections for which will take place in January.

Mr. Depew, T.C. (Sligo Trades Council), said as the Government might introduce a measure of Proportional Representation, as was done in Sligo, for those elections, it would be well for Labour bodies beforehand to hold model elections, so as to ensure that their candidates would be returned when the real election came.

The Chairman said the Congress had declared itself on behalf of the principle of Proportional Representation, and he was sure the National Executive would keep its mind fixed on any measure of the kind which might be proposed. In all probability they would have the Proportional Representation system in operation in Ireland before the 1920 elections.

The proceedings concluded.

Following the receipt of reports from affiliated Societies, the following circular letter was issued:—

IRISH LABOUR PARTY AND TRADE UNION CONGRESS.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE.

Trades Hall, Dublin,

May 1st, 1919.

To the Secretaries of Affiliated Societies.

RE PROPOSED UNITED NATIONAL WAGES AND HOURS MOVEMENT.

A CHARA,

Following on the Special Conference held in Dublin on the 8th February last, steps were taken by the National Executive to ascertain the views and position of the various Unions on the programme outlined at the Conference.

The result of these enquiries leads the National Executive to the following conclusions:—

The country generally supports the principles adopted by the Conference, viz., that a shorter working week is necessary; that all claims for advancing of wages should be based upon the necessity for an improvement on the pre-war standard of life of the workers generally—that is to say, upon an increase in the *real* wages, as distinguished from the *money* wages, paid prior to the war.

Owing to the variation in local conditions, and the large number of separate Union demands and understandings, it is considered

impracticable for a simultaneous demand from all grades and all trades to be made. The National Executive advises the Unions to proceed with the wages and hours movements they have in hand wherever possible in unison with the other Unions in the same industry or locality, and to lay stress in all their claims upon the necessity for raising the actual standard of life above the conditions prevailing in July, 1914. To arrive at this improvement it is clear that the rise in money wages since the outbreak of war must be greater than the rise in the cost of living.

The National Executive knows that it will not be possible to secure this increase in all trades or districts at one bound, or without strong and persistent effort, and they wish to impress upon affiliated Societies the importance of strengthening their organisation and pursuing an educational campaign amongst their members on the value of solidarity and united action by the workers in all trades.

You will find enclosed herewith copy of a circular letter sent by the National Executive, addressed to the Employers of Ireland, and sent to the Chairmen of Public Bodies throughout the country, outlining the claim of the Labour Party, which speaks for itself.

It is hoped that the publication of this letter in the local papers will have a good effect in educating the public as to the purposes and hopes of the Labour movements. Please see your local newspaper Editors with a view to getting the letter published in full in their columns.

Yours fraternally,

WILLIAM O'BRIEN,

Secretary.

—A manifesto in the form of an open letter to the Employers of Labour and Property Owners of Ireland was widely circulated throughout the country and commanded widespread attention. The letter read as follows:—

IRISH LABOUR PARTY AND TRADE UNION CONGRESS.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE.

Trades Hall, Dublin,

May 1st, 1919.

TO THE EMPLOYERS OF LABOUR AND PROPERTY OWNERS OF IRELAND.

GENTLEMEN,

We desire to address you in the name of the organised working-class in Ireland. We wish to state as clearly as we are able in a few words, what is the cause of the so-called unrest amongst the workers, why we are dissatisfied with the conditions of employment, rates of wages, hours of labour, etc., and to explain where, in our opinion, lies the responsibility for the deplorable conditions in which the great majority of the workers of Ireland live and labour.

For several years before the outbreak of war in Europe there had been an upward movement in prices; the cost of living had been steadily rising, until in July, 1914, the workers had to pay 23s. for the same amount of food that they were able to buy in 1904 for 20s. The prices of clothing, boots, and sundry household requisites had risen even higher than of food. But wages, *i.e.*, the price of human energy, or labour power, had been very nearly at a standstill. Advances here and there had been obtained as a result of sundry strikes, but employers in general, responded to any claim for higher wages with their usual excuse that "the business could not afford more."

What was the position of the workers in those seemingly far-off days? The evidence of your eyes and ears should be enough, but we will quote some figures compiled by independent enquirers to support the evidence of your senses.

In Father McSweeney's study of *Poverty in Cork* (price 3d., Purcell & Co., Cork), we read the result of a very careful enquiry into the wage and living conditions of one thousand and ten working-class families in that city, comprising a population of 5,058 persons. "In these 1,010 families are found representatives of all the workers, skilled and unskilled, in the city." Out of these 1,010 families 495, comprising 2,524 persons, were in receipt of a total (family) income averaging below 21s. per week. Even that is not the worst. Of the 495 families no less than 354, comprising 1,832 persons, were in receipt of an average income, per family, of only 13s. 9d. per week!

In the memorandum by Messrs. Smith-Gordon and Cruise O'Brien on "Food, Famine, and the Workers," published in May, 1917, we were told that careful enquiry disclosed these facts, *viz.*—that in Dublin the average pre-war wage of organised unskilled workers was 22s. 6d. per week, and of unorganised casual workers 20s. per week, when employed. (In estimating the annual income, allowance must be made for periods of unemployment owing to temporary slackness, short time, sickness, etc.)

It is unnecessary to seek independent testimony respecting wages in other towns. We know, and you know, that Dublin rates were typical of Belfast, and that conditions in Cork can be matched in many of the smaller towns throughout the country.

In the Report and Tables relating to Irish Agricultural Labourers for 1915, published by the Department of Agriculture (Cd. 8,386—1916, price 2d.), we read that the average wages paid in Ireland for different grades of agricultural workers, *i.e.*, general labourers, cattlemen, and ploughmen, range from 12s. to 16s. 6d. per week "for men who do not live in free cottages or receive allowances of any kind."

Such was the position at the outbreak of war. Do you consider it was satisfactory? Was the agricultural labourer to remain content with his 12s. to 16s. per week, or the town labourer with 13s. 9d. to 21s.? Bear in mind this, that the food requirements alone to keep

an average family in health, according to the conservative estimate of the most competent authority (Mr. Seebohm Rowntree), could not at that time be bought for less than 15s. per week.

When you paid him 20s. per week, or thereabouts, you evidently expected him to provide out of 5s. per week, the rent, coal, light, clothing, and all the innumerable household expenses for a family, not to speak of anything for newspapers, books, education, toys, trams, subscriptions, church, charity, or any of the innumerable calls of the modern community. Or must we conclude that you counted upon the workmen remaining unmarried and childless, so that you might obtain cheap labour, or was it that you never allowed a thought concerning the way the workers lived to disturb your peace?

After the outbreak of war, prices rose daily. Farmers prospered; merchants, shopkeepers, manufacturers, all found their bank balances growing rapidly. Wealth came to you unconsciously, as the dew from heaven. Your deposits in Irish Banks alone have increased by £46,000,000 (forty-six million pounds sterling) in the years 1914-1918.

Did you voluntarily share your new-found wealth with your workers? No. You waited until compulsion was applied by the power of their trade unions, the threat to strike, and the regulations of the State. And, after all the advances in rates of wages which have thus far been forced from your hands, what is the position of the workers to-day? This: (1) that as compared with July, 1914, the cost of living for the working-class family has increased 115 per cent.: 20s. in 1914 would purchase as much food, clothing, and household requisites as 43s. will purchase to-day; (2) that, with the exception of a few industries closely connected with providing munitions of war, rates of wages have not kept pace with the advance in the cost of living.

We find, therefore, that the workers to-day are actually in a worse financial position than they were in the days before the war, a position which, as we have already indicated, was even then intolerable. It is scarcely necessary to point out that the history of the world, and of Ireland, and more especially the events of the past two months in Europe, have not tended to make the people bear contentedly evils which were felt to be unendurable four years ago.

The present claim which we make on behalf of the workers is for a higher standard of life than that which they suffered in 1914.

We insist that in cases where men were employed in 1914 at starvation rates, i.e., below 20s. per week, that these rates must be deemed to have been raised to the minimum level of 20s. per week—a rate we are ashamed to name—and that we now require an advance over and above the real-wage standard represented by that 1914 minimum.

In these and in all other cases we claim that money wages

must be raised to a point that will more than equal the increase in the cost of living. The only question that is open to discussion is "How much above the 1914 real-wages standard (after adopting 20s. as the pre-war minimum), is to be accepted in settlement of present demands?"

We want something more than a bare minimum existence wage. To quote a great English writer (William Morris): "We want to see a state of things brought about in which it would be impossible for an honest man to have any anxiety about his livelihood. We say that a man's due livelihood ought to be assured to him in return for such useful work as he could do. But what is a man's due livelihood? We say that due livelihood means not merely so much food, clothes, and shelter as will enable a man to live, and go on working to-morrow as he works to-day, but ample and agreeable food, good and handsome clothing, and comfortable housing, such as only those called 'gentlemen' now have; and not only that, but education to enable people to make the most of their minds; and short hours of work, so that life may be enjoyed as a constant pleasure. And we call this due livelihood because every industrious man or woman could have all these things if society were properly arranged; and every person naturally wishes to have them. Therefore, such a livelihood is the proper one for a human being, and any livelihood inferior to it is unfit for a human being."

We will anticipate your answer. We fancy we hear a chorus of voices crying: "The industry cannot afford it," "To pay these wages will ruin us," "We shall stop tillage and turn our land to pasture," "The men are not worth more; you want more for the labourers than we ourselves earn, who are the owners."

Perhaps you will pardon us for replying that these answers don't relieve you of your responsibility. It is your business to see that the industry does afford it; to put more land under tillage, not less; to provide a due livelihood for all workmen. To answer as you habitually do is to confess your incompetence.

Ireland and all its natural resources belong by inalienable right to the whole people of Ireland. You, the present generation of employers and property-owners, either by your own action or by your acceptance of rights and privileges legalised by an alien legislature, have usurped authority over the material resources of this country. At the least it must be said that you have accepted trusteeship for the administration of the estate called Ireland.

If you claim that your function is that of trustee on behalf of the people—and it is the only claim you dare put forward to justify your assumption of authority in the realm of industry and agriculture—we charge you with having ignominiously failed to carry out your trust. You have sought your own profit at all times without regard to the people's welfare. You have failed to administer the estate economically and efficiently. So long as you are comfortable, so long as your bank account is healthy, so

long as your children are fed and clothed and educated, you care nothing for the condition of the workers. You think of them as men and women whose destiny is to work for your profit, and when you do not see the prospect of a profit to be got out of their labours, you cease to employ them. Their future is no concern of yours; their children are allowed to go hungry, unclothed, and uneducated.

Ireland's resources are ample to provide all her needs. Her people are intelligent and energetic. You control her resources, you direct her industry and agriculture. It was your duty, if you honestly considered your possessions and power as a trust on behalf of the nation, to devise ways and means for making the most of the material wealth of Ireland, to feed, clothe, house, educate, and make happy the Irish people. How lamentably you have failed!

Some of you will plead that the blame is unjustly charged against you, the Irish employing and property-owning class; that the political domination of Ireland by England has been designedly used to hamper and restrict your enterprise, and that while such domination remains you are thwarted in the efficient discharge of your trust.

To those who make this plea we reply:

We are fully conscious of the blighting effect of Imperialist dominion over Ireland. We give due weight to this excuse in extenuation of your failures, but it is of no avail. You cannot hide behind that screen. In the field of political agitation your class has long held unquestioned sway. The workers followed your lead, on one side or the other, implicitly for generations, fought for you, suffered for you long and patiently. Yet, you have failed even in this—a political settlement has not yet been attained. But while you, on either side, have fought for or against, and never tire in applauding or denouncing the political subjection of this country, you combine in greedy embrace of the economic system that was the origin and purpose of the political subjugation. Your predecessors partook of the fruits of tyranny. You, in your turn, have joined hands with your political enemies and have opposed and denounced every movement towards the supersession of that system of industry and commerce on which England's political dominion is based.

The present methods of industry and trade are doomed; the existing economic relations between men cannot long continue. Ireland is not able, even did she so desire, to enter with success upon the scramble for foreign markets. Ireland's material prosperity must be measured not by the money value of exports and imports, not by the statistics of foreign trade, but by the plenitude of the supply of good and useful things brought forth from her soil and made available for the use of her sons and daughters.

So long as you, as a class, retain the "stewardship" of your

estate (which you claim to be the social sanction of proprietorship) the responsibility is yours for ensuring that this supply of good and useful things shall be made available for all worthy citizens.

It is not our duty to propound a remedy. So long as you retain your legal rights as owners the workers have no alternative but to persist in their claims for higher wages. Any remedy we could suggest must inevitably involve a complete alteration in the basis of your system, must end in giving control of the processes of wealth production and distribution to the people engaged in those processes in the interests of the community, not by virtue of ownership, but of service. We would eliminate the motive of profit-making from industry, and direct our energies to organising the production of goods for the use and service of the people. Such a course would solve at the same time both the political and economic problem. The present political system could not long survive a revolution in the economic system.

For the moment you, the legal proprietors and employers, are the people whose duty it is to lift the country out of the economic and social bog into which you have driven it. And you fail at your peril!

For the National Executive of the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress,

THOMAS CASSIDY, Chairman.

THOMAS FARREN, Vice-Chairman.

THOMAS JOHNSON, Treasurer.

WILLIAM O'BRIEN, Secretary.

CONFERENCE OF DISTRIBUTIVE TRADE UNIONS.

Two conferences between representatives of the several Unions catering for distributive trades was held with a view to arriving at an agreement to prevent overlapping and competition for members. Nothing definite resulted from the meetings, but it is hoped by your Executive that the report of the Sub-Committee on Amalgamation which is appended may promote fruitful discussion on this vitally important subject.

REPORT ON AMALGAMATION.

A Sub-Committee consisting of Messrs. Johnson, O'Lehane and O'Brien were appointed to draw up a scheme for the consolidation or amalgamation of Trade Unions.

Appended to this report is a memorandum on the subject, submitted by the Sub-Committee to provide the basis for discussion. It is hoped that the Unions concerned will give serious thought to the problem.

It should be mentioned that the proposals contained in the memorandum do not necessarily represent the views of all members of

the Executive as it has not been found practicable to discuss these proposals in detail at a full meeting of the National Executive.

PROPAGANDA IN GREAT BRITAIN.

During the year many opportunities have been availed of by interviews with publicists, by newspaper propaganda, and by public meetings to make known to our fellow-workers in Britain the views of the Irish Labour movement in regard to Ireland's national claims, her economic position and the demands of the Irish workers on the varied questions that have arisen—e.g., conscription, food supplies, wages rates, Russia, military oppression, etc. A movement is developing, chiefly on the Tyne and Clyde, for the establishment of an Irish Labour Party in Britain. While your Executive has encouraged the organisation of Irish Labour men and women in Britain into political groups, we have pointed out that they cannot become directly affiliated to our organisation but should seek to work through the British Labour organisations, both locally and nationally, political and industrial, and use their opportunities to force their British fellow-workers to face boldly the implications of their professed love of liberty and their doctrine of self-determination. While thus working for Ireland's freedom they will at the same time be able to fight effectively for their own economic and social emancipation as members of the working class.

LIMERICK STRIKE.

On Monday, April 14th, there began in Limerick City a strike protest against military tyranny which, because of its dramatic suddenness, its completeness and the proof it offered that workers' control signifies perfect order, excited world wide attention.

Your Committee were informed by telegram that a general strike had occurred as a protest against the "military permit" system. The causes which led to the drastic action were as follows:—

A local Volunteer named Byrne had been shot during the course of a conflict between the police and a body of Volunteers who had attempted to remove him from the hospital. The police who held watch over Byrne had resisted the Volunteers, though it was stated at the inquest on behalf of the relatives that Byrne was not legally a prisoner.

At the funeral, which was attended by great numbers of sympathisers, British troops lined the roads with bayonets fixed, armoured cars passed the procession to and fro, aeroplanes hovered over the hearse, "the show of the tushes of power" being obtruded in a most provocative manner.

Notwithstanding all this the people declined to be provoked into violent action.

Thereupon followed the proclamation of Limerick city as a special military area under the Defence of the Realm Act. In defining the boundaries across which no passage in or out

would be allowed without special written permission of the military authorities the city had been cut in two—the River Shannon was made one of the boundaries notwithstanding that the city covers both banks of the river, including Thomondgate. On the Thomondgate side lies Cleeve's Condensed Milk and Butter Factory and a Distillery, besides several smaller undertakings where in all a large number of the workers are employed. The effect of the proclamation therefore was to compel all those Thomondgate workers whose homes are on the south side of the Shannon to obtain a military permit to proceed to and from their work and to undergo examination at the bridge four times a day by military sentries attended by policemen. Similarly all those workers who lived in Thomondgate but whose employment was on the south side, or who desired to go to the centre of the city for shopping or any other purpose, were required to undergo a military and police scrutiny.

With the prospect that such conditions were to come into operation on the Tuesday morning hurried meetings of the Trades' Council were held on Sunday, and it was decided late on Sunday night to call on the whole of the workers of the city to cease work on Monday morning as the most effective form of protest available to them as Trade Unionists.

Their action was supported by the public in general, even the Chamber of Commerce showing sympathy.

The Strike continued from day to day exciting great attention from the press. Several representatives of the American newspapers were in the city awaiting news of the first Atlantic Aeroplane flight which it was intended should start from a spot a few miles from the city. These newspaper men made the most of the occasion, and in the absence of the flying news wrote up every incident connected with the strike for the edification of the world.

The effectiveness of the control and thorough organisation of the city by the Strike Committee was acknowledged by all. No work was done except by permission of the Committee. Shops were allowed to open for stated periods—scales of prices were fixed—food supplies were organised in the county and in the city; the city was policed by the Strike patrols.

In the absence of any information except such as could be gleaned from the newspapers, your Committee instructed Mr. Johnson to proceed to Limerick on Wednesday afternoon to enquire as to the position and report and to assist in every way possible the local Committee. This he did, and the Strike Committee have in very generous terms recorded their appreciation of the help he was able to give.

There is no basis for the newspaper suggestion that the National Executive sought at any time to supersede the Strike Committee.

The National Executive met at short notice in Dublin and

discussed very fully the report received from Mr. Johnson. They also heard a deputation of Railwaymen from Limerick and Inchicore and discussed the situation as it affected the railways.

They afterwards held meetings at Limerick and conferred with the Strike Committee upon the situation. Various proposals were discussed, and it was finally decided* unanimously by the Strike Committee on the tenth day of the strike to call upon all who could resume work without the necessity of applying for permits to do so, and those whose daily occupation required them to procure permits to continue in their refusal to accept this sign of subjugation and slavery pending a decision of a special Trade Union Congress to be called immediately.

A further decision a couple of days later led to a general resumption of work, and a telegram was received from Mr. Cronin, Chairman of the Strike Committee, announcing this fact and stating that the Committee decided that the holding of a special Congress should be abandoned.

An appeal was made by the Strike Committee for funds, but unfortunately the machinery for raising funds of this kind is too slow to meet urgent needs. Seven or eight thousand pounds per week were needed. Not more than fifteen hundred pounds of cash had come to hand at the end of the second week.

Within a week after resumption of work the military ban was lifted.

The fight made by the working men and women of Limerick brought glory and honour to the working class. They made a spirited protest at a great sacrifice, and we believe that their fight saved other cities and towns from a similar tyranny. Notwithstanding the lying boast of the Chief Secretary (Ian Macpherson) at Belfast, the Government was compelled to revise its programme of repression. All the honours of the struggle are with the Limerick workers.

LABOUR POLICY IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

A memorandum is appended to this report giving the heads of a suggested Labour policy in local affairs. We hope that sufficient time will be allotted during the Congress to discuss these most important subjects closely affecting the lives of the people and having greater possibilities of creating a revolutionary change in social conditions than can be hoped for from parliamentary representation.

STATISTICS AND INFORMATION BUREAU.

A beginning has been made with the organisation of a bureau of statistics and information respecting Trade Unions, social conditions and local government affairs. It is hoped in time to have available for the use of affiliated societies accurate information respecting the economic and social conditions of the workers, the state of Trade Union organisation, the conditions

of employment, and rates of wages, etc., in various industries and occupations, and on many other matters on which questions are likely to arise in the course of a Trade Union's activities.

We appeal to Secretaries of Trades' Councils and Trade Unions to supply whatever information is at their disposal for the purpose of establishing this bureau and to reply to the queries that are from time to time submitted by the Secretary.

PROPOSED IRISH PUBLIC HEALTH COUNCIL.

At the beginning of July a communication was received from the Chief Secretary inviting us "to submit the names of persons from whom he might select a representative to be appointed on the Council."

The Act provides that the Council is to consist of seventeen persons, seven of whom are to be Government officials, four others medical practitioners nominated by the Chief Secretary, "one of whom shall act as Chairman of the Council under the direction of the Chief Secretary," and "six other persons having practical experience of matters relating or incidental to or affecting the health of the people," also to be nominated by the Chief Secretary.

After consideration the following resolution was passed by your Executive and sent to Mr. Macpherson:—

"That having regard to the constitution, powers and methods adopted to constitute the proposed Public Health Council, we refuse to accede to the request of the Chief Secretary to nominate a labour representative to act on the Council."

At the conclusion of his work for the Mansion House Conference (referred to in last year's report) the National Executive requested Mr. Thomas Johnson to devote his whole time to the work of organisation and propaganda. This he agreed to do and has since been fully engaged in Labour Party and Congress work.

(Signed)

THOMAS CASSIDY, Chairman.
 THOMAS FARREN, Vice-Chairman.
 M. J. O'LEHANE.
 M. J. EGAN.
 ROSE TIMMON.
 T. C. DALY.
 JOSEPH MITCHELL.
 THOMAS MacPARTLIN.
 J. T. O'FARRELL.
 CATHAL O'SHANNON.
 THOMAS JOHNSON, Treasurer.
 WILLIAM O'BRIEN, Secretary.

REPORT OF THE FRATERNAL DELEGATE TO SCOTTISH CONGRESS, 1919.

Owing to the unavoidable absence of Mr. Thomas Johnson, consequent upon the Limerick Crisis, I was the only Irish Fraternal Delegate at the Twenty-second Annual Congress of the Scottish Trades Unions at Perth on 23rd, 24th, 25th, and 26th April last. There were 220 delegates in attendance, representing a Trade Union membership of over half a million. Mr. Neil S. Beaton (National Amalgamated Union of Shop Assistants and Clerks) presided. On behalf of Labour and Co-operative Organisations in Perth, a cordial welcome was extended to Congress by Mr. J. M. Rae, President of the Perth Trades Council, and Mr. James Taylor, President of the Perth Co-operative Society.

Mr. Neil Beaton, in an able and reasoned address, dealt with many topics of international, national, and social importance, including the Russian Revolution, Scottish Home Rule, Industrial Reorganisation, and a Forty-Hour Week.

The items of the agenda were varied and comprehensive and brought forth very instructive and interesting debates. The Women Delegates contributed very eloquent and argumentative speeches. The recommendation of the Scottish Parliamentary Committee advocating a 40-hours week for all workers was rejected by a large majority, Congress deciding that each Union should determine its own maximum hour week. A resolution demanding "Home Rule" for Scotland was carried with acclamation.

Congress suspended Standing Orders to deal with the following telegram which was sent from Limerick by Messrs. Cronin and Johnson:—"Limerick workers for ten days have been on strike against the veto placed upon their movements by your military authorities. Your servants, the Army of Occupation here, refuse to allow the citizens to proceed to and from their daily work except under military permits. Limerick workers refuse to submit to this indignity and sign of subjection. You, Scottish workers, cannot absolve yourselves from responsibility unless you take some action immediately."

In response to the wishes of the Delegates I explained the local position of affairs, and on the proposition of Mr. Robert Allan (Glasgow), seconded by Mr. William Kelly (Dennistown), the following telegram was despatched to the Prime Minister and Scottish and Irish Secretaries:—"This Congress views with the greatest concern the repeated imposition of military law in Ireland, and demands the immediate withdrawal of the embargo on the workers of Limerick, believing it to be injurious not only to the Irish people but to the workers of Great Britain."

The motion was unanimously and enthusiastically adopted by Congress, and the Delegates manifested great sympathy with the Trade Unionists of Limerick.

I addressed a Labour Demonstration meeting organised by the

Local Trades Council, at which Mr. Thomas Johnson was advertised as a speaker, and attended a reception and concert given in honour of the delegates by the Perth Reception Committee and Co-operative Societies.

The proceedings were happily closed by an interesting presentation to Mr. Geo. Carson, one of the founders of Glasgow Trades Council fifty-six years ago. A cheque for £500 was handed to Mr. Carson on behalf of the Congress and subscribers. The Scottish Parliamentary Committee very kindly presented it with three volumes of Burns' and Scott's Poems.

W. B. MacMAHON.

APPENDIX No. I.

MEMORANDUM RESPECTING AMALGAMATION.

There are something like 700,000 adult wage earners in Ireland—potential trade unionists. At present from 250,000 to 300,000 are organised, and about 220,000 are associated, through their Unions, with the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress. They are members of about SEVENTY different Societies, many of these catering for the same craft or occupation. Several of the Societies are small local bodies, weak in bargaining power or compelling force, and there is no good reason for their continued existence as separate organisations.

The problem before us is how best to organise these forces of labour—first the 250,000/300,000 presently in Unions, and secondly the other 400,000/450,000 still outside—with a view to (a) defending positions already won; (b) improving the standard of living and the status of the workers; (c) influencing in the workers' favour the political authorities, local and national, and (d) eventually taking over the control of industry by the organised working class.

In propounding a solution to such a problem, we think a considerable amount of autonomy, local in a regional sense, and sectional in an industrial sense, is desirable, subject only to the central control in matters which directly affect the whole.

Difficult as the problem is, it is much simpler in Ireland than the similar problem in Great Britain. There the number of workers is ten times as great, and the Unions number over a thousand. In Ireland we have a general opinion favourable to unification, and we have a very important fact that nearly half the total organised workers are enrolled in four or five general workers' unions, comprising men and women engaged in a great variety of occupations but which may all be classified into ten or twelve main industrial groups.

Of the proposals we have to make, this fact is the pivot.

OBJECTIVE.

(1) We propose that the ultimate objective should be a single all-inclusive Irish Workers' Union—one Union for all workers—one

authority to be finally responsible for financing and controlling all the larger movements.

INDUSTRIAL SECTIONS.

(2) Subject to this ultimate authority to organise all workers into Industrial Sections, each Section to be self-governing, so far as the affairs of the industry alone are involved; the Sections to be managed by an Industrial Council or Section Committee representative of the several crafts and callings within the Section. In effect this would mean that the Industrial Section (comprising all crafts and occupations in the industry) would be practically a separate Industrial Union, except that financial control would be retained by the governing body of the whole Union.

LOCAL AND NATIONAL SECTIONS.

The Sections to be organised both locally and nationally. Every town or district to have a Section for each industry carried on in the locality; each local Section to be linked up with a National Council of its Industrial Section.

TRADES COUNCILS' OR WORKERS' COUNCILS.

With this form of organisation the Trades' Council would become the Council of the Industrial Sections, and the Delegates would be chosen by the workers at the various crafts and occupations represented on the Sections (as at present), with the addition, in view of future developments, of Delegates appointed by the Works or Shop Committees of the larger business establishments, factories, works, etc., in the locality.

TRADES' COUNCIL EXECUTIVE.

(5) The Trades' Council would thus become a General Committee of the local Workers' Union. Its functions would be to control local labour movements, and act generally as the local authority in all that concerns the workers' public activities. Its Executive would be the Officers of the local Industrial Sections, with such addition as might be deemed wise.

NATIONAL GOVERNING BODY.

(6) The Governing Body would in the main be appointed by and from the several Industrial Sections, with, perhaps, the President, Vice-President, Treasurer, and Secretary, to be appointed by the whole Union.

SECTIONS.

(7) The following might constitute the Sections :—

- 1.—*Agriculture, Land, Quarries, Roads, and Fisheries:*
General Agriculture, Dairying, and Cattle, Road Workers, Quarrymen, and Fishermen.

2.—*Transport and Communications:*Docks, Railway Service, Shipping, and Carting,
Motor Traction, Air Service.3.—*Building and Construction:*

Navvying, Structure Workers, and Furnishing.

4.—*Food Supplies—Preparatory Processes:*Flour Mills, Bakeries, Butchers, Pork Butchers,
Confectionery Trades, Breweries and Distilleries.5.—*Distributive Trades (including Catering and Personal Services):*Shop Workers, Drapery Trades, Ironmongery
Trades, Grocery Trades, Warehousing and Porters,
Clerical Staffs, Hotel Workers, Hairdressers.6.—*Engineering and Metal-working Trades (including Ship-building).*7.—*Clothing and Textiles:*Spinners and Weavers, Cotton, Woollen and Flax,
Tailors and Dressmakers, "Making-up" Trades,
Cotton and Linen Goods, Bootmakers, Leather
Workers.8.—*Printing, Paper, and Allied Trades:*

Printing Trades, Paper Trades, Bookbinding, etc.

9.—*Public Services—Municipal and State:*Post Office, Law Officers, Education, Excise and
Customs, Land, etc.10.—*Miscellaneous.***PRESENT PROPOSALS.**

Such is a rough outline of the form of organisation to be aimed at. How can it be attained? With nearly a hundred different Societies, most of them Registered Trade Unions, each of them having to go through tedious legal formalities after securing a sufficient majority, amalgamation will be a slow and doubtful process, especially considering the varying scales and benefits, and differences in the value of Reserve Funds in the different Societies per head of membership (not to speak of the difficulties that "vested interests" may create, but which are much less to be feared in Ireland than in Great Britain).

If amalgamation of all existing Societies is impracticable within a reasonable time, is it not possible and practicable to move rapidly towards an amalgamation of all Unions by a consolidation of Unions within defined *Industrial Sections or Groups*, each Section having a Council or Committee charged with responsibility for the industrial movements of that Section? We think it is, and we suggest that all the General Workers' Unions, including—e.g., the I.T. & G.W.U., National Union of Dock Labourers, National Amalgamated Union of Labour, Women Workers, Clerical Workers, etc., should modify or perfect their present system so as to conform to the plan already

outlined; that is to say, every member of these several Unions should be allocated in the books to a specific Industrial Section.

In each town or district separate Industrial Committees or Workers' Industrial Councils to be formed of Delegates from each of the Craft Unions in the Industry and from the Industrial Section of the general workers' Unions. These Councils to be responsible for organising the industry locally and to have control of all general movements relating to the industry in the locality.

These local workers' Industrial Councils to be linked up nationally by a National Industrial Council representing (1) the local Councils, and (2) the national organisations of the component Unions.

This National Industrial Council to be responsible for the organisation of the industry nationally and have control of all national movements. It should have at its disposal such whole-time officials and organisers, with such staffs as may be found necessary for the carrying on of the work essential to effective organisation on a national scale.

In the smaller towns where the crafts and trades are at present unorganised or only partially organised, or where the number in the several trades are too small to constitute effective or economic branches, the general Unions should be encouraged to enrol all workers, tradesmen and others, without distinction, allocating them to their separate Industrial Sections. These country sections to be kept in touch with their Industrial headquarters through their Union headquarters. Transfer cards should be issued to men who may move from one town to another, who would be called upon to conform to the rules and conditions of the Unions operating in the district whither they have transferred.

FINANCE.

It is not proposed to form a Central Fund for dispute pay; each organisation within the Industrial group will continue to be liable, as at present, for Strike or Lock-out and Unemployment pay, or such other "friendly benefits" as they are committed to. But a Central Fund for Industrial Council or Organisation purposes is proposed, to be subscribed by the affiliated Societies. A first payment of say threepence per member and subsequent payments at the rate of say one halfpenny (or one penny) per member per week. It is intended that out of this Fund shall be paid all the expenses of Organisers and Staffs. (The surplus from one Industry, if any, might be used to make up a deficiency in another where the expenses of organisation are greater.)

It is possible that a number of the existing Unions will be willing to transfer their members *en bloc* to one or other of the general unions as soon as this or any similar Industrial Scheme is in working order. Other Unions may be willing to transfer the Trade operations and liabilities—*i.e.*, Dispute and Lock-out pay, etc.—retaining control of the friendly benefits and granting extra Dispute pay in consideration of higher contributions. All such tendencies towards consolidation should be encouraged.

As the Industries take on this form of organisation their National Councils will be joined together into a Supreme Council of One Big Union for defence or offence, as occasion may require. This Council would become the chief authority over all the industrial activities of the workers, deriving its power from the Workers' Industrial Councils.

* * * *

The above scheme may be put into operation by any single industrial group without waiting for a general acceptance by other industrial groups. If, for instance, the four or five Unions catering for workers in the distributive trades would agree, there is nothing to prevent them taking action immediately on the lines suggested. They would become more effectively organised at lower cost than by the present methods.

APPENDIX No. 2.

SUGGESTED IRISH LABOUR PROGRAMME FOR LOCAL GOVERNMENT ELECTIONS.

The policy of the Labour Party in Local Government affairs shall be to use the powers and machinery of Local Government towards attaining the objects defined in the Constitution of the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress, *i.e.* :—

“ 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 interests of the nation and subject to the supreme authority of the National Government.”

Some of the following proposals may be put into operation without going beyond the present laws and regulations governing local authorities. Others will depend upon the amount of power in the peoples' hands to enforce their will :—

(a) A Central Council to be formed consisting of delegates appointed by the local government bodies to advise and assist local bodies and co-ordinate their activities.

(b) Combined action to be taken by municipal bodies wherever possible—e.g., in promoting electric power schemes, provision of house building material (brick, stone, cement, etc.), banking, insurance, holiday schools, convalescent homes, hospitals, etc.

(c) By similar co-operation between local bodies, to arrange a qualifying examination for municipal workers: professional, clerical and overseeing staffs.

(d) To discountenance corruption and bribery and “ graft ” in every form.

(e) To assist in developing the national resources on a non-profit-making basis.

(j) To set up machinery for keeping records of food supplies and food requirements with a view to ensuring a permanent supply of essential foods for both town and country.

(g) To make a survey of present industrial capacity and potentiality.

(h) Action also to be taken to encourage tillage and to discourage grazing.

(i) Recognition and encouragement to be given by municipal bodies to co-operative societies formed by agricultural and town workers, whether for production or distribution.

(j) Joint action between Town Councils and Boards of Guardians to establish useful productive undertakings—agricultural and industrial—to absorb the unemployed.

(k) Facilities for the supply of school meals, municipal cooked food depots and restaurants to be provided either directly by the municipality or by co-operative societies assisted by the municipality.

(l) Municipal occupation and use of land, buildings, or machinery wherever it is unreasonably withheld from use.

(m) The fullest use to be made of the power to build, equip and staff technical schools, libraries and gymnasia, by means of which the mental and physical powers of the youth of the country may be developed and disciplined.

(n) Rigorous enforcement of the powers to close and demolish insanitary houses.

A National Housing Authority comprising representatives of the Local Authorities and the Trade Unions in the building trade to take charge of the re-housing of the people throughout the country.

Houses to be let at a rental which does not include any charge for interest on capital expended, any such charge to be borne by the national exchequer.

(o) All employees of public bodies to be paid Trade Union rates, with a minimum of 50/- per week for adults.

Enforcement of reasonable discipline and due service from all public employees. Amongst men and women engaged in the communal service it shall be held to be a disloyal act on the part of any worker to malingering or waste.

Subordinate officials to be selected jointly by the workmen and employing authority, subject to having passed the qualifying examination.

(p) The adoption of every available means to provide a free education with all facilities for every child in primary, secondary, technical and university schools and colleges. No distinction to be made on account of the financial position of the parents.

Medical inspection and treatment of school children to be made universal and free.

(q) Public halls to be provided for use of Trade Unions and similar working-class organisations.

(r) Extension of school gardens in both town and country.

Provision of land for gardens for town and country workers and assistance in promoting co-operation amongst plotheolders.

National Executive Meetings—Attendances, and Payments.

| NAME | Full Executive— 15 Meetings | | Dublin Resident Committee— 6 Meetings | | Total Expenses, including Rail Fares, as per scale | OTHER MEETINGS | |
|----------------------|--------------------------------|--------|---|--------|---|---|-------------------|
| | Present | Absent | Present | Absent | | | |
| Thomas Cassidy ... | 12 | 3 | — | — | £ s. d. 34 10 11 | DUBLIN—Conference of Distributive Trade Unions <i>re</i> overlapping | £ s. d. 4 12 2 |
| Thomas Farren ... | 14 | 1 | 5 | 1 | 4 17 2 | LONDON—Teachers' Deputation ... | 12 15 0 |
| M. J. Egan ... | 10 | 5 | — | — | 35 14 7 | DROGHEDA—Congress Meeting ... | 2 12 6 |
| C. O Shannon ... | 12 | 3 | 5 | 1 | 2 14 0 | Mansion House Conference (7 Meetings) ... | 32 4 9 |
| M. J. O'Lehane ... | 11 | 4 | 4 | 2 | 3 0 0 | WATERFORD—Conference <i>re</i> Elections ... | 1 13 5 |
| T. C. Daly ... | 13 | 2 | 5 | 1 | 17 1 11 | BRAY, LOUGHLINSTOWN, AND WEXFORD | 2 6 0 |
| Miss Timmon ... | 12 | 3 | 6 | 0 | 3 5 8 | | |
| Joseph Mitchell ... | 8 | 7 | — | — | 19 15 3 | | |
| J. T. O'Farrell ... | 12 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 8 8 | | |
| Thos. MacPartlin ... | 8 | 7 | 4 | 2 | 5 4 6 | | |
| Thos. Johnson ... | 13 | 2 | 5 | 1 | — | LONDON—(Anti-Conscription Deputation <i>Re</i> International ... | 5 15 0 5 13 6 |
| | | | | | | ATHLONE—Meeting ... | 1 1 6 |
| | | | | | | THOMASTOWN—Conference ... | 1 19 2 |
| | | | | | | TULLAMORE—Meeting ... | 1 0 0 |
| | | | | | | LIMERRICK—Ten Days ... | 6 12 2 |
| Wm. O'Brien ... | 13 | 2 | 5 | 1 | 6 5 6 | CONFERENCES <i>re</i> ELECTIONS— Navan ... | 3 4 9 3 19 11 |
| | | | | | | Cork ... | 4 13 9 |
| | | | | | | Waterford ... | 2 7 6 |
| | | | | | | DROGHEDA—Congress Meeting ... | |

Mr. Cleary, Waterford Workers' Council, moved the adoption of the report and Mr. McGinley, Irish Tailors, seconded.

Mr. Smyth, South King's County Trades Council, asked was it intended by the National Executive to apply the 44 hours week to agricultural labourers.

The Chairman said the Executive put the matter before the workers of the country, and it was for the workers to say whether they would go on with the movement or not. They expected to embrace everyone, but left it to the different Unions to decide.

Mr. Smyth said those connected with agricultural interests—farmers, merchants and labourers—were anxious to know if it was intended to apply the policy of the 44 hour week to the agricultural labourers, whose work was of a purely seasonal character. For his part he was not prepared to accept a limited hour like that for the agricultural labourer.

The Chairman said it was a very interesting point. He thought the Executive left the matter in the hands of the local Unions to make their own decisions. He believed they were the parties to say yea or nay.

Mr. O'Donnell, Irish Clerical Workers, said he understood the National Executive were to give instructions for a 44 hour week to be enforced generally throughout the country. He wanted to know if any guidance or lead had been given by the Executive.

Mr. O'Brien, Secretary, said originally three alternatives were put forward, and it was their view one of these would apply to each section of workers. These included a 44 hour week; a wage of 150 per cent. above the pre-war rate, or a national minimum of 50/- per week. The National Executive had no authority whatever to take up and put forward a united demand for improved conditions. That came within the province of the affiliated unions. The Executive had no authority to take out a single man or give strike pay. That was entirely in the hands of the different unions, to whom a circular of instruction had been sent defining the situation. The Executive Report (page 49) made that quite clear. They might also see the "Open Letter to the Employers of Labour and Property Owners of Ireland." They felt that the very most the National Executive could do at the time was to give a lead to the local unions on the lines they should follow. Considering the great diversity in size and strength, for instance, of the organisations, a united demand was practically impossible at the present stage of the development of the Irish Labour Movement. There were workers organised in the larger centres for over 100 years and as a result had worked up wages to a high standard. On the other hand, there were workers who had only just come into the movement. The alternatives offered therefore gave the unions the option of suiting their own requirements and their particular circumstances.

Mr. O'Donnell said his impression was that the unions were waiting for instructions from the National Executive. He had never seen the letter alluded to.

Mr. O'Brien said it had been published.

Mr. Thomas Johnson, Treasurer, said out of 250 circulars sent out asking for information, they got replies from 67 bodies, of which 37 approved without reservation of the programme. Some said it was not applicable to their districts because of agreements; others approved with reservations.

Mr. Doherty, Derry, asked was the National Executive aware that the teachers' initial salary was only £2 a week. Did they know the teachers had accepted the Killanin Report, and were they going to force the teachers to abide by the section and see that they would, at least, be entitled to the minimum.

Miss Tierney, Cork Teachers, said it was not the National Teachers' Executive that had accepted the Killanin Report but the National Teachers throughout the country. The scales were for pre-war times, and there would be the bonuses in addition to the present scales laid down in the Killanin Report. In that way they would be able to bring their salaries up to the minimum of 50/- a week.

Mr. Smyth asked could he raise the question of the attitude of Irish Labour in the event of a general election. He suggested that the next Government of England would be a Labour Government.

Mr. Thomas Johnson said if the Congress decided on any particular policy the National Executive would carry out their instructions.

Mr. Smyth said they all took it that the present Government could not stand and that the next Government would be a Labour one.

Mr. Barry, Cork, said he wanted to raise a question on the attitude of the British Labour Party to Irish Self-Determination.

Mr. Johnson said he was surprised that they had allowed that question to pass. It should have been discussed with the Berne Conference Report. It was extraordinary that the Congress should have allowed 30 or 40 pages dealing with a very important phase of Irish Labour to pass without a word of discussion.

Mr. Davin, Railway Clerks, referred to the question of propaganda in Great Britain and asked was anything done to bring about a greater spirit of co-operation with the British Labour Party.

The Chairman said that the feeling existing between the British and Irish Labour Parties was much better than some time ago. His own desire was to have all the Labour Parties in the world joined as closely as possible. (Hear, hear.)

MOVEMENT IN ENGLAND.

Mr. Thomas Johnson said the Chairman had asked him to say a word or two upon certain phases of the movement in England and Scotland. Quite a number of requests came to them, particularly from the Tyne and the Clyde, asking that groups of Irish workers in those districts should be allowed to form branches, as they said, of the Irish Labour Party and come into direct affiliation with the Irish Labour Party in Ireland, and, following on these requests, Mr. Farren and he were appointed to go over and interview the people who were sending forward these suggestions. Mr. Farren was not

able to go, but he (the speaker) attended four or five meetings on the Tyne and on the Clyde, and conversed with those who were promoting this organisation, and it was quite evident that there was a widespread desire on the part of workers of Irish descent and birth in those districts to organise and to have some connection with the movement in Ireland. There was every prospect that these various groups would come together in a united organisation in Great Britain, working through the British labour organisations and keeping up a close, fraternal relationship with us in Ireland. We have rather discountenanced a proposal that some of them made that they should become directly and organically affiliated with this organisation. We are quite willing and ready to grant the people of Great Britain, the citizens of that country, self-determination, and we do not think it desirable that we should detach those Irish workmen from the British organisation and attach them to ours. But we do want them to organise themselves in groups, bring all their influence to bear upon the national and local labour organisations in Great Britain, and keep in close touch with our work in Ireland. They are very ready and willing to fall in with that suggestion, and he thought there was the making of a very powerful movement that would help the British Labour Party to a more militant policy, industrially and politically, and at the same time force the British Labour Party, local and national, to face this issue: that their protestations on behalf of self-determination must have application in respect to Ireland. (Applause.) These various groups are quite determined to adopt that policy and force that issue upon the British Labour Party, but concurrently with that they are also determined to look after the interests, politically and industrially, of the Irish workmen, who are mainly unskilled workmen, in Great Britain. We are trying to get into touch with Lancashire and South Wales to encourage similar organisations of Irish workmen. We have informed the British Labour Party of our purpose in that matter and they have raised no objection whatever. On the contrary, they pointed out that, when the Labour Representation Committee, recently formed in Belfast, applied for affiliation to the British Labour Party, they had advised the Belfast Labour Representation Committee to seek affiliation with the Irish Labour Party. (Applause.) The position, therefore, as he saw it, was that the Irish Labour Movement was to-day a self-contained, separately organised movement, and, having established itself as a definite, national entity in the Labour Movement, it was able to meet and discuss and treat with the British Labour Party as an equal, separate national entity, and he thought that was a very desirable state of things to have arrived at. (Applause.)

Mr. Barry, Cork, inquired would they have an opportunity of discussing the attitude of British Labour towards Irish Self-Determination.

Mr. Johnson replied with another question. Was it their business at that Conference to call to order the British Labour Party?

Mr. Smith (King's Co.) referred to the paragraph of the National Executive Report in connection with propaganda in Great Britain and asked would they be in a position to discuss their relationship to British Labour with regard to the coming elections. Were they prepared to send over men to help British Labour in winning a Labour Government, and if that be so, what position were they in the Labour Movement in Ireland going to take up in reference to the Irish elections? What attitude are we of the Labour Party in Ireland to take up towards the coming elections for Parliament if we agree that we must assist our British brothers in winning a Labour Government?

The President said he thought he must rule out the last portion of the question for the wide question of the General Elections for the three kingdoms. As to the question of propaganda in Great Britain he thought Mr. Johnson's explanation was full and clear.

Mr. P. T. Daly (Dublin) thought Congress should compliment the Executive on having opened up negotiations with the Irish in Great Britain, but there was an aspect of the question that had not been touched. If a Frenchman or German, or other nationality went to Great Britain, that did not prevent him keeping in direct touch with the movement in his own country, and if we find on the Tyne, or Clyde, or elsewhere, a number of Irish who are willing and anxious to assist the Labour Movement in Ireland, he thought we should take advantage of whatever offer they make. While congratulating the Executive he hoped they would endeavour to link these men up with the people at home. When they came home they would be more likely to go into the movement with enthusiasm. He agreed with Mr. Johnson that there should be no attempt to divide men in those countries; but that would not be a division. It would be only a cementing of their interests with us at home, and getting men, who would not join the Labour Movement in England, into the movement, and to use their influence as units of these organisations to keep their people straight on the issues we desire. (Applause.)

The President said they had first to bear in mind that they should do nothing that would have the appearance of detracting from the influence of the British Labour Party in England. They did not want to take any body of Irishmen in Great Britain into the Irish Labour Movement without them being directly associated also with the British Labour Movement.

Mr. Brennan (Railway Clerks, Dublin) said he thought if they were going to take individual trades unionists in England and attach them to an Irish Trades Union, they would have the British trades unionists retaliating. They did not want the North of Ireland to be attached to an English body. The point raised by Mr. Davin had not been answered. Had any steps been taken to secure an exchange of fraternal delegates?

The President said the National Executive had taken no action directly, but that matter could be discussed when they came to the election of Fraternal Delegates.

Mr. Harte (National Union of Dockers) said there was a body called the Self-Determination League and in its constitution there was a clause that they should not interfere in English politics, but he thought it would be better if they and the Irish Labour Party used their united strength, with the English Labour Party, in instilling into the latter the necessary data so that they could come along and help Irishmen in her national aspirations.

Cathal O'Shannon spoke first in Irish. With reference to the last speaker's suggestion that the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress should get into direct touch with the Irish Self-Determination League in Great Britain, he pointed out that that League was not a Labour Organisation. The policy of Irish Labour should be that any direct touch outside Ireland should be with a labour organisation. He did not want to be taken as attacking the Irish Self-Determination League, which had got its job to do and it contained workingmen, shopkeepers, and capitalists, etc. In fact, there were some people in it whom he would not like to touch with a forty-foot pole. (Laughter.) It was not an organisation with which Irish Labour should be in direct touch in Great Britain. As to the organisation of Irish workers in Great Britain, Congress and Labour in Ireland should certainly do everything in their power to organise or help the Irish workers in Great Britain to organise, and to organise effectively. The Irish workers in Great Britain could do much, not only for themselves, as workers in Great Britain, but they could do much to push forward some of the principles upon which that Congress stood, particularly the principle of freedom and self-determination; but he held that the workers in one country should belong to the labour organisation in that country. The Irish workers in Great Britain could help themselves and us by organising their electoral strength in order to get our common objects carried into the British Labour Movement and throughout Great Britain. There were other ways, but personally he would rather see direct action in Great Britain. But, as one delegate had said, their job in Ireland was to see that every worker in Ireland got into that Labour Party and Congress. As to the attitude of the British Labour Party on the question of self-determination, that was an international question and should have been dealt with on the International Section of the Report.

Mr. J. O'Duffy (Electricians, Dublin) said that sometimes, when Irishmen went to England, they got out of touch with their own country. There were many ways of educating them.

Mr. O'Connor (Asylum Workers, Dublin) said the Congress had affiliated to it 20,000 workers who were members of cross-channel organisations, and suggested that these men should be asked to use their influence with their Unions on behalf of self-determination for Ireland.

Mr. Kelly (Postmen's Federation, Dublin) said that instead of wasting time about educating people whom they would never educate, they should turn attention to their immediate needs and to the propa-

ganda at home. There were a quarter of a million workers represented there, but he was sure there were a great many outside. As long as the Englishman gets five meals a day he doesn't give a d——. (Laughter.)

The paragraph on Propaganda in Great Britain was agreed to.

When the report of the National Executive dealing with the Limerick Strike was reached no delegate offered to discuss it, and Mr. Wm. O'Brien, Secretary, commented on the want of inclination to take up its consideration. In view, he said, of certain statements made it was desirable to have the report discussed; those statements ought to be repeated at Congress, where they could be met.

Mr. O'Donnell, Irish Clerical Workers' Union, said he would say something but not for mere destructive criticism. There were many things being said which he believed should be cleared. He knew the Executive did good work; at the same time he felt that the National Executive did not do everything that should have been done. The Limerick strikers were let down by somebody. Whether the strike was right or wrong—he believed it was right—but only £1,000 was received from the whole workers of Ireland after it had been on for ten days. There was something wrong about the hesitation of the National Executive in going to Limerick, and, generally speaking, there was some kind of feeling that nothing would be done. He did not know whether the National Executive did not feel they had powers to support the workers of Limerick. He had been told by one member that the Executive felt they had not the power to do certain things. If they had not the power they should have had it to call on the workers to help in any such question. It was said that the Chairman had obtained a permit and bought his railway ticket, yet he did not go personally to Limerick. He did not know whether that was true or not; but if it was, it was a very serious thing for their Chairman as representing the workers of Ireland. Then there was some other statement that a proposition made for the evacuation of Limerick was made by the National Executive as a way to break up the strike. He did not believe that was so. He believed whoever said that spread it as a false report. But he was convinced the Limerick strikers were let down. He had information that if they had held out another week they would actually have won.

Mr. Douglas, Belfast, said he had some remarks to make with reference to a dispute in his own district recently. In regard to the management of these disputes, such as occurred in Limerick and Belfast, the Executive management of the disputes, unlike the powers that be, called the disputes when they had not powder in their chest to make a successful fight. They had an illustration of that in Belfast. They had to go in there and admit themselves beaten—beaten purely because of want of consideration of the

monetary side. The courage and determination of the men were great, but they had no powder in their chest; and the Trades Unionists were so slow to send in powder that in a semi-starvation state the men had to go back. He was sorry to say Limerick proved abortive. With more attention to monetary interests the issue in both places would have been more successful of course. Morally the strikes were a success.

Mr. O'Flanagan, Typographical, Dublin, said he believed with regard to the Limerick strike that the National Executive had done all it was possible in the circumstances. It was said that the Limerick strike was let down by somebody. Those words were being rather common in the mouths of people who were opposed to them. The Executive, who were interested in bringing that dispute to a successful conclusion, did their best and if circumstances were against them they were not responsible. The strike was a direct challenge by the workers to the military tyranny that existed and still exists in Ireland. It was reported in the Press of England that the strike was a Sinn Fein movement and English Labour did not support them. But it struck him that it was in the interests of Labour generally for British trades unionists to come to the rescue of Irish Labour. If it came to a question of direct action and they were expecting support from the other side, it struck him that British trades unionists would let them down.

Mr. Anthony, Cork, said both strikes proved practically abortive ("No, no.") They might certainly have had a good moral victory. One thing in connection with a local or national strike that should be borne in mind was the power of £ s. d. He did not agree with the gentlemen who said that Limerick was let down by the Executive. It was easy to cast a stone at officials. He had no sympathy for officialdom, but at the same time it should be remembered that it had onerous duties to perform. They had not arrived yet at that stage of perfection in the movement that they could produce a perfect Executive. The Limerick strike had been precipitated. Many workers in Cork and throughout the country wanted to know at the time what was the real cause of the trouble. Many thought it was caused through Sinn Feinism. Others said it was a direct hit at Labour by the military authorities. Into these matters he did not intend to go. The strikers failed to get the means of support at the proper time. If they as trades unionists had wished to show their sympathy, it should have been practical sympathy, and before going into a general strike they should consider the finances, or powder, as their Northern friend termed it. Without money they were only beating the air.

Mr. T. MacPartlin, Dublin, protested against the statements that either the strikes of Limerick or Belfast were abortive. It was a win, the strike in Limerick, because since then the military

tyranny had not placed a ban upon any industrial centre. Belfast returned to work after ten or twelve days, but they saw the result of that fight in shorter hours and increased wages in other centres. In every big effort like this it was said that the strike was abortive. The same was said of 1913, but they all knew the benefits of it since. The Clyde, he claimed, was the most successful fight fought in Britain for years. They were not to judge the results immediately; these were to be judged later. And let them get it out of their heads that a little subscription here or there would win strikes. It would not. (Applause.) When serious efforts were being made it might be well to consult the Executive. The Executive did their best under all circumstances. Let them have the help of the rank and file. Judged by results the strikes in Limerick and Belfast were a success.

Mr. Davin, Dublin, said the National Executive of the Labour Party had no power whatever to declare a national strike. Some of the discussion took place under that assumption. It was the unions that would have to be accountable. If there was victimisation the National Executive would have nothing to answer for. He held with Mr. McPartlin that it was not money that wins. It was the spirit of the men going into the fight with the belief that they were fighting in a just cause. (Hear, hear.) On account of the high cost of living if they wanted to win a fight in future they would have to get hold of the food supplies. In a continued fight 12s. or 15s. strike pay was not sufficient. They must keep in their own land the food supply. The workers were faced with starvation and should be prepared to face the food situation and handle it. There was no use in men coming from Limerick and asking the National Executive to assist them unless they were prepared to deal with the question of the food supply. Some of the railway men had been called scabs for not going out. He thought the railway men did right to consider their position before rushing into action; and in getting the views of the National Executive. The workers had to look to the Executive for a lead. If they did not there would be anarchy in their movement.

Mr. Duffy, Cork, said that Mr. O'Donnell had declared the National Executive had let Limerick down. No man knew better than he that that was untrue.

Mr. O'Donnell—I did not say that. I said these statements were made, and I want to have the thing made clear.

Mr. O'Duffy protested against the statement in the report that the Limerick Chamber of Commerce had shown sympathy to the strikers. Some people professed sympathy when it paid them not to show hostility. He did not know that they should at all discuss the reasons why the strike did not take any other turn than the one it took. The bulk of the delegates knew quite well that the National Executive had in view other methods than those ultimately adopted and they also probably knew why those other methods were not

resorted to. He was not going to blame anybody. It was the result of subterranean influences. An appeal had been made for funds and he was sure everybody throughout the country was anxious to subscribe, but instead of putting down the money they were taking up the newspapers every day to see what would turn up. If Limerick had got the £1,700 the first week they got afterwards there would be a different tale. The people did not act as generously as they should have done, and those who did act did not act in time.

Mr. William O'Brien said the lying and slanderous charges that were in circulation should be repeated before Congress where they could be met. A persistent campaign of lying and innuendo had been going on against the Executive. It was stated that the Executive let down the workers of Limerick and he demanded that the charges be repeated there or dropped once for all. So far, out of that Congress of the workers of Ireland not one delegate made the statement that the Executive let down Limerick. The nearest one came to it was "Somebody let down the workers of Limerick." Who was that somebody? Let them have that out. Mr. O'Donnell was in Limerick and he ought to be able to say who that somebody was. They would like to have the benefit of his views. It was easier to see the right course to be adopted after the event. Would Mr. O'Donnell or somebody else stand up and tell Congress what ought to have been done on the occasion of the Limerick strike? The first intimation the Executive received was that the strike was on. They received a telegram on the Monday of a strike against the permit system. He sent a telegram to Limerick wishing the strikers success and asking to be kept informed of events. He got no reply, and then rang up the newspaper offices for information. He got what information appeared in the evening papers. On Tuesday there was no further information. He still awaited a reply to his telegram but none came. On Wednesday he got together all the available members of the Executive and they discussed the matter informally. In the absence of information they considered that the best thing to do was to send a man to Limerick. Accordingly Mr. Johnson was asked to proceed there. Later two Limerick men arrived and gave them information of the position in Limerick as it stood at their departure. They had a meeting of the resident members of the Executive and he summoned the non-resident members by telegram for next day. Not a moment was lost. When they met they decided the best thing was for all the members to adjourn to Limerick. It was pointed out that no trains were running on Good Friday. Mr. Cassidy had a meeting of his Association on the Monday and Mr. O'Lehane was also engaged with his Association. Consequently Tuesday was the first day on which the National Executive could go to Limerick. Any apparent delay was due to these facts, over which they had no control. They gave Limerick all the assistance in their power. Anything that was not done was due to lack of machinery rather than lack of desire or earnestness on the part of the Executive. Belfast had been mentioned. Immediately the Belfast strike took place a telegram of

encouragement was sent. No reply was received. When they met in Congress a fraternal resolution was passed, and the delegates proffered their financial support. The closing of the strike made a levy on affiliated members unnecessary. He repeated in reference to the Limerick strike, let the statements that had been spread be made before Congress. If they were not made then let the campaign of lying, slander and innuendo cease. (Applause.)

Mr. Kelly, Postmen's Federation, Dublin, said they all knew there had been a lot of innuendo about the strikers being let down in Limerick. Anybody who knew the responsible position the members of the Executive were in would agree that they did their best in all the circumstances. The Limerick strike was a moral victory. He wished to have this matter finished once for all, and was glad to hear such an effective reply as had been given by Mr. O'Brien. (Hear, hear.) The air had been cleared. If anybody let Limerick down it was certainly not the Executive.

Mr. Boyle, King's County, said the delegates, instead of blaming the Executive, should congratulate them. He noticed a message had been sent to the Scottish Congress and that they replied with a message of support. He wanted to know if a similar message was sent to the Labour Party of England and if so what reply was received.

The Chairman explained that the Scottish Congress was in session at the time and the English Congress was not. That was why the message was sent only to them.

Mr. James C. O'Connor, Secretary Limerick Trades Council, said there had been a good deal of talk about the Limerick strike. Coming from Limerick and speaking for the workers there, he declared that Limerick was *not* let down. (Applause.) They held they made the greatest fight ever made by any united body of workers in a big city. They showed the world that the workers were able to run the city in spite of the presence of any foreign Government. They held they won in Limerick (applause) and they blamed nobody for letting them down. They fought their own fight with the help of the Executive and fought well. Mr. O'Connor then handed in the last proclamation issued by the Strike Committee.

Mr. Larkin, Waterford, said there was also reference made to the railway men not taking direct action. There was no ground for any insinuation that the railwaymen were not ready to act when the National Executive would call on them. The railwaymen had consulted with the Executive, had called their own workers together in Limerick and sent delegates to the other districts in Ireland. They put their machinery in motion and were ready to take action when they were called on (applause).

Mr. Thomas Farren, Dublin, said the people who had been responsible during the last few months for sending out scurrilous statements about the members of the National Executive had not the courage to come and repeat there the statements they made outside. He was prepared to defend the action he had taken and the action

taken by the National Executive. They did everything they could at the beginning to get information about the strike. They arranged means of communication lest they could not get news by telegraph. They had held meetings in Dublin at which a deputation from the Emergency Committee of the Railwaymen attended. It was not fair to the railwaymen to say they did not do the right thing. The Emergency Committee pointed out that if the Limerick railwaymen ceased work the whole system of the Great Southern was put out of gear. They said, "We are prepared to take our stand with the other workers if they come out on a national strike." It was not fair that one section of workers should fight the battle for other sections. They decided then that the proper thing to do was to adjourn the Executive meeting to Limerick. Mr. O'Brien pointed out it was not possible to get all the members of the Executive to Limerick till the following Tuesday, and they would agree it would not be fair that a section of the Executive should take the responsibility of deciding on such big questions as the strike presented. It was right that as many as possible should be present. They went to Limerick, not, as they told the Strike Committee, to take charge of the dispute but to give any assistance in their power. They did all that was possible to help them. They had joint meetings of the Executive and Strike Committee. Certain questions were discussed, amongst them the question of a national stoppage of work. He said under the Constitution they had no power as an Executive to order a national stoppage of work. They then agreed that a National Conference might be called, but made it clear if they did call a national stoppage it would be only a demonstration for a few days as they realised that under the existing state of affairs they were not prepared for the Revolution. Some people said Limerick was a failure. It was a glorious triumph for the organised workers of Limerick (hear, hear). He said that Limerick made one mistake, and that was by declaring a general strike for an indefinite period. If they had declared a strike for a week they would have accomplished—as they did accomplish—more than the workers of any other country on God's earth. They took control of the city, and the manner in which they ran the city was a credit to them. People said the working classes were not fit for running a Government. The Limerick workers proved they could run a Government as efficiently, and more efficiently, than any other class. During the time of the strike there was not a single arrest. The attitude they took up was that the strike was a demonstration against the tyranny that was being imposed on them. They broke down the tyranny, for in a few days after the strike the barriers were taken away (applause). The National Executive had made certain proposals to the workers of Limerick. They did not make them in any haphazard way. Steps had been taken in the event of their being accepted to have these proposals carried out. They were prepared to defend all that had been done by the Executive, and he hoped the people who had been making the lying, scurrilous statements about them would have the decency and the

ourage to come forward and say what they had to say—if they had anything to say against the Executive (applause).

Mr. Good, Cork, said the railwaymen of Cork could not get in touch with Limerick for two days, to see what was going on. He had no hesitation in saying that correspondence from Limerick was tampered with by the military authorities, and Cork was anxious not to send information that would give light and instruction to the enemy. While in a position to call the men in Cork out, he felt, until they knew definitely what was going on in Limerick, the origin and cause of the dispute, it would not be wise to take such action. The moment they were put in possession of the facts, their men instructed him to tell their Executive in London that they were prepared to down tools whether the Executive cared about it or not (applause). They were fully prepared to do everything their Executive wanted them to do but they claimed they knew conditions in Ireland better than the Executive did, and there were times they could not carry out their instructions much as they might like to do it. He got it through the post—did not hear it at all, but got it in black and white—that their National Executive had let Limerick down. Such statements should not be sent out unless the parties who made them were prepared to come there and repeat them so that they might be replied to. He saw nobody coming forward to back up those statements before Congress. Yet these statements had been forwarded broadcast throughout the country. He too held the National Executive could not call a national strike without consulting all the parties affected. He undertook the responsibility of telling the railwaymen at Cork to remain at work as they did not know the position of affairs, but at the same time he felt that the military were trying to kill the Labour movement and he wanted to see all the workers of Ireland fighting that battle.

Mr. Hickey, Cork, said the first speaker had said the strikers were let down by somebody, and the Secretary very rightly asked him who was that somebody. He too would like to know who that somebody was.

Mr. T. C. Daly, Railwaymen, said he stood up not to defend the National Executive but the organisation to which he belonged. It had been assailed by the usual cowardly methods of innuendo. It had been said in Limerick that it was the railwaymen who let down the Limerick strikers. It was the first time, at least in his memory, that a charge had been made against the railwaymen of failing to respond to the call of Labour. He would like very much that the men who said somebody let Limerick down would come out there openly and say who it was, as it was said openly in Limerick that it was the railwaymen. He was in Limerick at the time of the strike and had full opportunity of knowing conditions. Recently he had been in England, in Plymouth, and he told them there how Limerick had fought and conducted their strike. He told them in Plymouth it would be well for the workers of England and elsewhere if they could take a leaf out of the book of Limerick or Dublin.

The railwaymen were prepared to meet the criticism directed at them. Who was it, he asked, defeated Conscription, or originated the movement for its defeat? Railwaymen. Who originated and carried through the successful celebration of Labour Day? Railwaymen. And now, forsooth, they were told by cowardly innuendo that the railwaymen let down the workers of Limerick! He said, standing there representing the railwaymen, that he had only to get the word from the National Executive to press the button and the railwaymen would have answered the call (applause).

Mr. Carpenter, International Tailors, Dublin, said that coming to the Congress he was under the opinion he was going to get the names of the men who were said to have let the Limerick workers down. Names had been bandied about by men who were told by others to do it, and the others were present in that hall but they had not got the moral courage to get up and say to the Executive of the Labour Party and the Trades Union Congress what they said to a few ignorant members of the working class in Dublin. He had been listening to these stories and had been told that Wm. O'Brien and Johnson would be pulled to pieces at that Congress. He asked when he was told the story who would do it, and he was told that P. T. Daly would do it. The whole discussion had been a vindication of the action of the Executive. The National Executive could not have taken any other action than what they did, and he said that as one who was an advocate of the General Strike. He knew what the General Strike meant—that it has got to be backed up by guns, that it meant a Revolution; and until they were prepared for Revolution there was no use calling a General Strike. Unless they were prepared to use the guns and hoist the Red Flag from one end of the country to the other there was no use in condemning the National Executive because they did not call a General Strike. The workers were not class conscious enough, not educated enough, and not ready for a General Strike. When the day came that they were class conscious and educated the workers would not want leaders—they would go out themselves. He could listen no longer to members of the Executive being abused. Limerick itself had declared emphatically that it was not let down. He hoped the day would soon come when they would be ready for the General Strike, when they would be able to put in practice in Ireland what they had done in Russia and establish a Soviet Republic (applause).

Mr. Keys, Limerick Railwaymen, said he was there to answer for the conduct of Limerick railwaymen during the strike. They had nothing to be ashamed of. They had consulted with the delegates from Inchicore and the Executive could defend their action.

Mr. Allen, Postal Telegraph Clerks, Belfast, said in view of Mr. O'Brien's statement everybody present ought to be satisfied.

Mr. P. T. Daly, Dublin, said he would be the last to criticise a body of which he had been a member to anybody who was not a member. If the Limerick workers were satisfied that was an end.

to the matter. He denied there was a word of truth in the suggestion of Mr. Carpenter that he (Mr. Daly) had said at any time that the Executive had let the Limerick strikers down. With regard to the foundation of these stories, and with regard to their circulation, he was absolutely ignorant. He had no knowledge of them and he repudiated them before Congress (applause).

Mr. O'Donnell said he wished to make it clear that he was not associated with these rumours that were going round. He did his part at that strike and knowing as he did why the strike was let down—

Mr. Johnson—Tell us what that means.

Mr. O'Donnell said he made no definite charge. He believed that a Special Congress should have been held before the Executive went to Limerick.

Mr. O'Brien said he wanted to know who was the somebody Mr. O'Donnell had said let the Limerick strikers down.

Mr. O'Donnell said what he contended was that the delay of the Executive in going to Limerick allowed certain under-currents to get to work to sap and undermine the movement in Limerick.

Mr. T. Johnson said they did not know where Mr. O'Donnell stood—whether he was intending to denounce the Executive or the people of Limerick, or whether he merely wanted to throw open the floodgates. He (Mr. Johnson) dissented from the tone adopted by speakers on both sides suggesting that the Limerick strike could have been won, or that strikes of this kind could be entered into with the expectation of winning. He disagreed with the view that the Limerick Committee should have waited to consult the National Executive. The Limerick Committee should have acted quickly if their action was to be of any effect. There were times when local people must take on themselves the responsibility of doing things and taking the consequences, and this, he asserted, was one of them. But when that action had been taken there must be due consideration given to any suggestion of an enormous extension of that action. They could never win a strike by downing tools against the British army. But there was always the possibility in Ireland that aggressive action on this side might prompt aggressive action on the other side of the Channel. It was for them as an Executive to decide whether this was the moment to act in Ireland, whether there was a probability of a response in England and Scotland, and their knowledge of England and Scotland did not lead them to think that any big action in Ireland would have brought a responsive movement in those countries. A general strike could have been legitimately called in Ireland on twelve occasions within the last two years. But it was not a question of justification. It was a question of strategy. Were they to take the enemy's time or were they to take their own? They knew that if the railwaymen came out the soldiers would have taken on the railways next day. They knew if the soldiers were put on the railways, the railways would have been blown up. They knew that would have meant armed revolt. Did they as Trades Unionists

suggest that it was for their Executive to say such action should be taken at a particular time, knowing, assured as they were, that it would have resulted in armed revolt in Ireland. He believed it was quite possible that it would be by the action of the Labour movement in Ireland that insurrection would some day be developed. There might be occasion to decide on a down tools policy which would have the effect of calling out the armed forces of the Crown. But Limerick was not the occasion. They went to Limerick with a definite proposition which, if adopted, would have had an effect in Ireland, England and America, which would have been of tremendous force and would not have cost a single life. Their proposal was that the men and women of Limerick, who, they believed were resolved and determined to sacrifice much for the cause they were fighting, should evacuate their city and leave it an empty shell in the hands of the military. They had made arrangements for housing and feeding the people of Limerick if they agreed to the Executive's proposition. Many of the men in Limerick with whom they consulted were in favour of that proposition. The Executive then placed it before the local Committee, and having argued in favour of it left the matter in the Committee's hands. They decided against it. That was the last word. The Executive did not go to Limerick to take out of the hands of the Limerick Strike Committee the conduct of their own strike. Let them remember what the strike was. It was a protest, and the Limerick Committee emphasised the fact, against a military tyranny. They did not expect to beat the British Army. They intended to protest and their protest was effective; and they did the wise thing in the end. Rather than have one going back to-day and another to-morrow they called the strike off. He could say, as he said elsewhere, that the people of Limerick deserved the highest praise and congratulation on the conduct of their work, on the organisation of their strike, on their willingness to obey the dictates of the Workers' Council, and on the power and organisation they showed. They had done all that could have been done even had they had piles of money. Supposing they could have remained out for three months, what would have happened? They would have resumed employment at the end of three months exactly as they did at the end of two weeks. A strike in the City of Limerick would not defeat the British Army. That was the central fact of the situation. Their protest was an effective one and that was all that could be expected and that was all that was looked for. He hoped that the result of the Limerick strike would not deter another city from taking similar action in similar circumstances. It would have required £7,000 or £8,000 a week to keep Limerick above water if they had to pay for food, etc. There was no sign of any sufficient monetary response at the end of a fortnight. He granted the people of Ireland were behind the workers of Limerick in sentiment, but that sentiment must be expressed quickly in finance if such a strike as that of Limerick was to be carried on for any lengthened period. If there had been £10,000 a week coming in the end of the strike would have been

the same. He maintained there was no one to blame for the failure, so-called, of the Limerick strike. It was no failure. Limerick did its work well, and he thought, if they got his mind, no one would acknowledge it more readily than General Griffin. (Applause.)

The Chairman said his name had been brought into this discussion at the outset. What occurred in connection with his case was this. He was very busy at the time through Ireland and his General President was over assisting him. He, as a matter of fact, informed him (the Chairman) of the Limerick strike. Owing to their work through different parts of the country he had not received Mr. O'Brien's message regarding the meeting called in Dublin for Thursday. When he went to Dublin in preparation for their Easter Conference he met Mr. O'Brien, who gave him all the information he had, and outlined what the National Executive proposed. He (the Chairman) was determined to go to Limerick on the Tuesday. He did not ignore the permit system when it was necessary to have a permit for such business as was on hand. When his business was over on the Monday he received instructions from his Executive to proceed to Drogheda. Therefore he did not go to Limerick on the Tuesday, although he had his permit for the journey in his pocket book. He considered the duties of his own Association should have been his first thought. Furthermore, he was satisfied the National Executive had taken all the steps to assist the workers of Limerick in all the ways they possibly could. He had full confidence in the Executive when going off on his own duties to Drogheda. He was satisfied, too, that the men of Limerick were carrying out the ideas of the workers of Ireland. He was sorry Mr. Cronin was not present. He had received a letter from him that morning asking him to thank the people who nominated him for the Vice-Chairmanship. He considered it his duty to mention receipt of that letter. The contents of it, he was sorry to say, he could not read. He believed Mr. Cronin had gone too far in his explanation of his absence. There was a certain charge made in that letter, not in connection with the strike, but in connection with other business, that he did not wish to put before the delegates.

Mr. Dowling said he would support a vote of confidence in the Executive.

Chairman—If this report is passed it will be a vote of confidence.

The report as a whole was then submitted to the meeting and adopted, there being but one dissident. Mr. Smyth (King's County Trades Council).

SCOTTISH FRATERNAL DELEGATES.

The President then introduced and welcomed the Scottish Fraternal Delegates—Mr. Wm. Shaw, Chairman of Parliamentary Committee, Scottish Congress, and Mr. Joseph Houghton, General Secretary, Scottish Union of Dockers. He said they were always pleased to receive representatives of Scotland, and he hoped the time was near at hand when this custom of visits from fraternal delegates would be

spread throughout the whole world and when representatives of one country would, year after year, send men to get into touch with the workers of other countries.

Mr. Shaw then addressed Congress. He said they had been appointed by the Scottish Congress Parliamentary Committee to convey to them greetings from the Scottish Trades Union Movement. He did that all the more cheerfully and heartily because he had witnessed the spirit of the Irish Movement since his arrival in Drogheda. It was rebel, and a rebel coming amongst rebels must find kin spirits. They appreciated the fact that there were difficulties in Ireland, so far as the working classes were concerned, which were exactly the same as concerned them in the Scottish Movement. Their interests were being looked after in the same manner, and the hope expressed by their President that they might be more closely linked together in the near future must convey a deep meaning to every member of the Congress. They found Irishmen on the Clyde and elsewhere making the economic emancipation of the working-classes their first consideration, and took as keen an interest in it as those who belonged to Scotland. That was the kind of relationship that, in his opinion, should prevail. In the trades union movement it was necessary that they should recognise the interdependence of the peoples of all countries. If they did that honestly and sincerely, and brought it into their lives, trying to propagate it amongst their fellows, in the very near future he was confident that, with their class solidarity, they would not require a revolution. What they wanted would have come by a process of evolution unknown to themselves. They would have practically created a new order of society without a revolution. Having organised and recognised their own solidarity he was certain that the working-classes were quite able to command and control all the means of livelihood. Much progress had been made during his twenty years' membership of a trades union, and he believed that much of the spade work put in by Keir Hardie and by Smillie and others—(applause)—was now beginning to bear fruit. By organisation the workingmen had prevented the employer class encroaching on their standard of comfort. He commended the shop stewards system, and said that even in his own most conservative society—(laughter)—the Amalgamated Carpenters, as a result of that system, there was a complete revolution going on. It was not a paltry increase of wages they were out for, but complete economic emancipation (applause). With reference to direct action, Mr. Johnson had given them the cue. It entirely depended on circumstances, and the circumstances Mr. Johnson referred to placed their National Executive in much the same position as the Parliamentary Committee of the Scottish Trade Congress with regard to the Clyde strike. It was worked up by the rank and file in the workshops, and if the Parliamentary Committee had stood aloof from that movement trades unionism was damned in Scotland for years to come. According to the form of organisation set up it was not allowable for a Branch Secretary to dominate the Branch. They must interest

the rank and file, not to be fireside members and sending their wives to pay their contributions. That must be the policy throughout the whole trade union movement, and the men in office had got to adopt the tactics of men who were in a progressive line of thought. As regards direct action, it depended on circumstances. If they presented themselves, seize the opportunity. It mattered little to him about apparent results. Limerick might not have shown immediately apparent results, but it was just possible that Limerick might be like the Clyde and may be only beginning to show results, such as had accrued to the building trades of Scotland, from a fifty to a forty-four hour week and no reduction in pay. The Transport Federation and others also reaped benefits from the strike. But the forty-hour movement was alive still. Military force or imprisonment had not killed it. If the same circumstances arose again he was convinced they were prepared to take action of the same nature. They were not going to be guided or driven like dumb dogs. The more it was sought to bully an organisation the more virile it would become. They could get no more clear example of that than in the history of Ireland. (Applause.) They had tried to suppress the soul of Ireland but it was an absolute impossibility. He was convinced that no greater lead could be given to the working-class to the movement through the whole of Britain than the power and spirit shown by the Irish working-class movement in opposing Conscription. (Applause.) It had been suggested that there were certain organisations being set up in Scotland which would in all probability prevent sections of Irishmen from organising in the Labour Party, but he was pleased to say that in the City of Glasgow that was not going to obtain. As a matter of fact, the Irish voter was keenly interested in the Labour Party. It was true that Irishmen in Glasgow were determined to keep their own identity. In Springburn they had formed a Branch of the Irish Labour Party, but they were anxious and willing to co-operate with the Labour Movement in Glasgow as far as elections were concerned; and, while the Trades and Labour Council were only constituted for twelve months they had gone a long way on the road which leads to co-operating with Irishmen in elections, and it was quite clear to him that, so far as religious or political differences were concerned, the Irish worker in Glasgow was recognising that his interests were identical with those of the workers who might be opposed to him in religion or politics or many other matters. He was linking up with his fellows on the question of Labour Emancipation, and they had that broader and bigger question which was being faced in Ireland, and where they were more advanced, in all probability, than in Scotland. From the spirit of that Conference he took it that there were going to be men chosen in Ireland to represent them directly in making the laws and in the government of the country. That was what they were out for in Scotland, and, as far as possible, organising in that connection. In conveying to them the greetings of the Scottish Trades Congress he assured them that he did so heartily,

and that the rank and file in Scotland were with them and hoped for their success. (Applause.)

Mr. Joseph Houghton, General Secretary, Scottish Union of Dockers, said he was an Englishman representing Scotsmen. The workers of Scotland had the same struggle as their brethren in Ireland and they saw only one way out—only one solution—and that was organisation in the industrial and political field. They had a land question in Scotland same as the workers in Ireland. The Scotch workers were just as landless as the Irish were. All they had was what they stood up in. All they had got was their labour power. They were now struggling to get out of the mire. They had a housing question, too, just as the Irish workers had. They had the dirtiest and rottenest slums in Glasgow and Edinburgh that could be found in the world. They might be bad in Dublin, but there was much of a muchness when they looked over Scotland. The Scotch Trades Unionists were calling a National Conference and asking every delegate to come with a mandate to say whether they would down tools or not to force the Government to deal with the housing question. After that they would call for the nationalisation of the land, and nothing short of that would satisfy them. The cause of poverty was the ownership and control of the means of life in the hands of the capitalist classes. The workers of Scotland were beginning to see now how they were humbugged last December. Bothwell election proved that in Lanark the workers had awakened to the fact that they had been lied to and hoodwinked. If they had no political means whereby they could express their protest they had another weapon which they were ready to use. He referred to Direct Action. The Conscription Act had got to come off the Statute Book. (Applause.) The workers of Ireland had made up their minds on this question from the beginning. But he wished to remind them that the thinking rank and file of Scotland and England decided against Conscription and the Parliamentary Labour Party voted for it—plunged the country into it—and were never brought to book. That was the workers' own fault. They were now waking up and realising that political conscription meant industrial conscription. The Triple Alliance were shortly taking a ballot with reference to the withdrawal of British troops from Russia, and if that ballot was in favour of withdrawal, as he believed it would be, then the withdrawal of the Army of Occupation in Ireland would be considered, and must follow, before the miners, the railwaymen and the transport workers would return to work. (Applause.) If the Government thought the army and navy were enough to cope with a situation like that, the joint action of the Triple Alliance would teach the Government that the army and navy could not be held in reserve when the nations' life and interests were being withheld from the people. If they got "Bothwells" in sufficient numbers, he believed they would find a solution for the Irish question. They would return such men as would bundle out the old gang—the whole damned lot of them—bag and baggage. Then they would have the power to give Ireland Self-

Determination. With such organisation inside and outside the House of Commons they would be possessed of the power, economic and political, which would solve their troubles. Let them, he continued, never forget the value of the industrial weapon. He hoped to see the industrial side grow up as well as the political. He believed the time was coming when the workers would take control in the workshops and factories. They were nearing the time when they would have the one industrial union, and a time when a man would have access to the means of production by which he lived. They might call that Socialism or what they liked. It would mean the abolition of wage-slavery. The Constitution of the Irish Labour Party declares that the wealth of the nation should be owned by the people. He welcomed that Constitution, and wished that the Scottish and English Trades Unionists would realise, what they had realised in Ireland, that the line of demarcation between political and industrial organisation was so close that they could not separate them. In conclusion, he referred to the conspiracy to defeat the Sankey Report and said that at present the shipping was as big a scandal as were the mines; and if they could stop the mines and the railways, why should they not stop production in connection with the land and thereby threaten the Government with national disaster if it did not concede their demands. (Applause.)

Mr. Birmingham, National Secretary Railwaymen, proposed a vote of thanks to the Scottish Fraternal Delegates. He welcomed the statement of Mr. Shaw that "it was a pleasing thing for rebel to meet rebel." It had been mentioned in the debate of the morning that it was desirable and necessary to remind Irish workers abroad of their nationality. His view was that if a man had to be reminded of his nationality they had better let him go. While he (the speaker) was away, no one needed to remind him he was an Irishman. It had been his good fortune to come in contact with all nationalities and to see that in the progressive movements Irishmen were usually at the top. (Hear, hear.) He believed though there should be some understanding between this Congress and their friends across the water. They here might be able to let them know what was required for the country they had left behind. Direct Action had been referred to. He agreed with every word said with reference to the reasons why they should have Direct Action. He was happy to say his Society were prepared any moment to take Direct Action. He was proud to say Ireland was not affected by Conscription. He congratulated the Irish workers on their pluck and courage. They had acted as a guide for the world in the future. In the election addresses on the other side it was stated Conscription would be abolished after the war. That pledge was not carried out. They were promised over 1,000,000 houses to make England an Ar country for Ar men to live in. They had designed houses, but only houses on paper. But the most serious thing was the secret circular of Winston Churchill sent out to see how many soldiers could be relied on to take the places of the railwaymen on strike. If the general body of workers allowed

that sort of thing they would be guilty of such a crime that any stick would be clean enough to assail them with. The British intervention in Russia, he concluded, was the greatest crime in history. (Applause.)

Mr. Denis Cullen, Bakers' Union, seconded. The presence of the Fraternal Delegates, he said, served to remind them that the interests of the workers of all countries were identical. Sometimes they were apt in Ireland to be impatient with their friends across the water. Although there were men on the other side who would not only sell, but who had sold Labour, there were also men, good men and true, as good as they had in Ireland, who were doing great work for their movement, work which they in Ireland appreciated, and they wished the Fraternal Delegates to carry back their appreciation of the work carried on by these men under tremendous difficulties. It was the duty of Irish Labour now more than at any other time to see that no prejudices between the countries should be allowed to interfere with the future relations of Labour.

The Chairman then presented the Fraternal Delegates with copies of W. P. Ryan's "Irish Labour Movement," James Fintan Lalor's "Essays and Writings," and Michael Davitt's "Fall of Feudalism." Messrs. Shaw and Houghton briefly acknowledged.

DR. BHAT'S SPEECH.

Dr. Bhat, Workers' Welfare League of India, then addressed Congress. He said:—

Mr. Chairman and other Comrades,—I bring no joyous greeting. I am only deeply grateful to you for the honour and favour you have shown me in allowing me to come before you to-day. I will not abuse your goodness by indulging in rhetoric, but will only read you a statement for your serious consideration. I stand before you on behalf of the Workers' Welfare League of India, which is constituted of Indians and Europeans, both individually and collectively as Trade Union and Labour bodies, both standing together on a common economic and labour platform, where there is no clash of interest, for the cause of labour is one throughout the world. As industries know no geographical bounds, and are closely interdependent on all sides in all countries, any isolation of labour in any part of the world can only be pernicious—even an isolated advance to a great degree in conditions, moral and physical. For the very existence of countries with backward labour makes them the happy hunting ground of the master classes, and it is the desire for the possession of these countries with backward labour and plenty of raw material that has led to all these wars, wherein capital has been the only gainer, and the labouring masses of mankind the only loser—of their very lives. And even short of war, the driver of slave labour gets into the habit of his profession, and, when he returns home, still practises his slave-driving methods on home labour. These and other considerations have abundantly proved to us the truth of Lord Robert Cecil's words

(*Daily Chronicle*, Feb. 15th, 1919), that "Bad labour conditions in any one country operate with fatal effect in degrading labour conditions in another country." The Workers' Welfare League of India therefore works for the equalisation of labour conditions everywhere, not by degrading labour where it is advanced, but by improving conditions where they are low, as in India.

Thus, coal in India is produced, at the pit's mouth, at about ten shillings per ton cheaper than here. No complications as to transport charges, etc., occur here. So this can only be explained by the very low wages paid to the coal miner: 5d. to 8d. per *day* of 12 hours, by law. This cheap coal, and low wages paid to the railway labourers enable the coal freights to be one-sixth to one-tenth of what they are here. The postal and telegraph service, too, is worked on cheap labour, the wages per *month* of postal runners being between the limits of 8/4 and 12/-, and of postmen, 16/6 and 23/6 —per month. Limestone is quarried on the same wages as coal miners, and transported even cheaper. The cheapness in all these directions gives the investor in iron and steel in India an advantage over the investor here of twenty shillings per ton of pig iron. And similarly, paper, glass, leather, oils, soap, cement, etc., are all worked on cheap labour, with resulting cheap production. Nor is the great agricultural industry itself, employing over two-thirds of the whole population, an exception—cotton, rice, wheat, jute, tea, coffee—all are extracted cheap out of a miserably low paid peasant class.

And the excuse made for this iniquity is that living is cheap in India. Even if it really was cheap, it could only be so on the starvation wages of the agricultural labourer; and in a mainly agricultural country cheap living can only be a curse. But living is *not* cheap in India. The law of world prices has acted in India, as elsewhere. The most easily perishable articles of food are taken away from the peasants at iniquitously low rates, and they are preserved and transported elsewhere and are sold—sold even back to the peasants themselves—at the world market rates. Can any sneering cynicism be more contemptible than paying a labourer 3d. to 4d. a day, and then calling his living cheap? On these miserable wages the men work at least twelve hours a day, by law. Even if there were travelling facilities like trams or buses, the workmen could not afford the fares out of his wages. But there are no such facilities, and so the workmen have to walk to their working place, sometimes four and even six miles—two to four hours more added to the twelve. An interval of half an hour is given for the mid-day meal. Now, the entrance and exit of the factories are so narrow, that it takes much time for the labourer to get out of the factory for his meal and then come in again, for he can't have it in the factory. So it has been calculated, a man gets only twelve to thirteen minutes for his meal. And the meal consists of very coarse rice, a chapatis made of that wonderful grain named bajri, which you here call birdseed. For one rice meal a day costs £2 4s. a year, and the average income of an

Indian is less than £2 a year. Thousands and thousands of labourers, therefore don't get one square meal in two days. "Cheap living," it is called.

And children between 9 and 14 are also employed, on half the men's wages, for six hours a day. If two factories are near each other, they work six hours in each, for the sake of a few pennies.

And the homes of these workers, of thousands and thousands of them, are mud hovels, one room tenements, 8 ft. by 10 ft. by 10 ft., and sometimes 8 ft. by 8 ft. by 10 ft., in which the whole family lives, and sometimes more than one family. And remember, poor people are naturally prolific. The sanitary arrangements are not worth the name. What with this overwork, underfeeding, overcrowding, and bad sanitation, the mortality among them is frightful. The general mortality for the country is 33 per 1,000—i.e., 18 per thousand more than here. Think what this means. Eighteen lives per thousand are lost, unnecessarily, every year. They ought not to be lost, for they are not lost here. In 315,000,000 this works out at nearly five million preventable deaths every year—five million cold-blooded murders every year, committed by those who refuse to change the lot of these poor people for the sake of "cheap living." In the working class districts the mortality is much higher—between 60 and 70 per 1,000. And the infant mortality in certain industrial wards was between 500 and 675 per thousand—that is, one-half to two-thirds of all children born die before they reach one year of age. Disease, too, is rampant. Six million people died, *died*, with the influenza alone, in six months. Every year the plague, the cholera, and so many other diseases, levy a frightful toll on the lives of the people. But all these diseases are mere excuses for death and misery. The real disease is starvation, with bad hygiene. It is easy to accuse the people of being dirty, and all that. But surely over-crowded, ill-ventilated hovels, the over-working and chronic fatigue, are not the people's fault, but the employers? And why not educate the workers into a better life? After 150 years and more of settled British rule, not more than 6 per cent. of the population can read or write. Though for thirty years the people have with one voice clamoured for education, at least primary, the Government will not give it, on the plea that they have no money. But they have money to advance to already rich private companies. And over half the Budget money goes for the army, navy, and armaments, and over a fifth for railways, all for the benefit, not of the poor illiterate Indian who can only afford to travel on foot, who does not bring more than a minute fraction of the moneys earned by the private owners of the railways, not for the benefit of the people at all, but for the benefit of the great merchant class, who have interests that need cheap railways for cheap transport, and for defence, a cheap army, too—for the Indian soldier gets but a miserable pay, and his wife a pitiable separation allowance, and his widow an iniquitously low pension.

On this great foundation for cheap production is being based an industrial edifice, that grows with alarming rapidity. Cheap pro-

duction in India and sale at the world market rates gives an enormous margin of profit. Here is an issue of the paper "Capital," giving you statistics of Indian companies whose dividends are paid in India and the enormous profits, paying dividends from 50 to 300 per cent., but two other things besides—one, the great advantage, to owners owning industries in a country with a low-conditioned labour, and the other, the fact that the Indian and European capitalists have joined hands, while labour in India is isolated from labour elsewhere, and kept persistently low, in order that bad labour conditions in any one country might operate with fatal effect in degrading labour conditions in another country. To-day, if you demand better conditions here, the bogey of foreign competition is held up before you. And to-day it is not a mere bogey—the threat has materialised. A number of companies have transferred their capital and plant from England over to India, the land of slave labour and raw materials, and they say that if the European workmen, say, zinc smelters, want their raw products or their concentrates, they may spare these European workers what is left after meeting their own requirements. You know how much is left after meeting the capitalist's requirements. The result of this transfer of capital has been to compel thousands of workmen in England to change their job, or starve. This, then, is the logical result of slave labour in India. Labour here has to join hands with labour in India, with labour all over the world, and equalise labour conditions everywhere—otherwise you can only grovel in your bad conditions, or, if you dare to wish to better yourselves, starve.

There is another, and greater reason, why you should help us. Our methods of diagnosis and prevention of disease are not keeping pace with the increased speed in our methods of transport. If they were, the pandemic of influenza would have been impossible. Only last Saturday we read how the coast population of Labrador has been almost entirely wiped out by the influenza and the plague. We read that cases of plague had been again imported into Great Britain a few days ago. To-day at least, if not in all times, we cannot afford to keep our neighbours in ill-health, and expect ourselves to retain *our* health. And to-day our neighbours are 20,000 miles away. For the sake of the health of the world, we have to raise the condition of the labourer in India, which, so far as I am aware, is the worst plague spot in the world, dragging down the health of the world. For it is the worker, and most of all the worker there, who is most exposed to disease, and who succumbs most easily to it, and keeps it up and spreads it. It is this object of the Workers' Welfare League of India that ought to commend itself to you, more even than the other appeal to your self-interest. It is for this equalisation of labour conditions, moral and physical, all over the world, that we want your help.

There are two ways in which you can help us, very effectively. The first is legislative help. Remember that Indian legislation is "British made." To-day there is a Bill—the Government of India

Bill—being discussed in both Houses of Parliament. It is conveniently silent on any matter whatever of Labour legislation, and the feeling is that no proposal or amendment to introduce labour matters into it will be tolerated for a moment. We of the W.W.L.I. have, however, put in our memo. of evidence before the Joint Committee of the Houses, where, if the bold step of referring the whole Bill back for reconsideration cannot be taken, we insist on at least seven amendments:—(1) Popular franchise for all workers and soldiers; (2) Labour legislation to be treated as an integral British Empire question, and no power over Indian workers to be given over to Indian or European non-workers until the workers get full franchise rights; (3) Recognition of the right of workers to combine. At present there is no positive law permitting labour to organise; but there are any number of sedition laws which can and do effectively crush any attempt at labour organisation. (4) Repeal of all laws humiliating labour, and those that make labour criminally punishable for breach of contract; (5) Formation of *International* Ministry of Labour in India; (6) Nomination of Labour representation by non-labour bodies, like the Government, to be admitted as one stage worse than no representation whatever; and (7) immediate report in wages, hours of work, etc., for all workers, including Government employees.

I should be very much surprised indeed if we are allowed to give our evidence. It does not lie in our hands, and so I don't bother about it. But I do wish this point of view to be taken up by the Labour Party as a party question, by the people as a question vitally affecting their very lives, not only in this country, but everywhere where labour is advanced, and where there are human beings who are alive and want to live in health and in peace. They should all insist and act for labour legislation in India on the lines denoted and the equalisation of labour conditions first in the British Empire, and then outside as well.

There is another way in which you can help us. It is with direct action—sympathetic strikes on behalf of the workers in India. Remember that unless the Indian workers' condition is approximated to yours, you are lost. For you may strike for better conditions for yourselves alone as effectively as you like. The utmost you can get will be the worker's control over your industries, which is so much talked of. But you won't get the industries: you will only get their carcases: their dead skeletons, the empty factories, the empty warehouses. The capitalist to-day laughs at your attempts, as his plans are perfected already: to transfer himself to lands of low-paid docile labour, and raw material in plenty, and then, from there, spare you "what is left after meeting his own requirements." For the sake of your daily bread, of your life—nay, for the sake of your ideals—if you strike, strike for fundamentals, and not for non-essentials which can never help you: strike, not for two shillings a week more or a halfpenny less for a pint of beer, but for greater *purchasing* power for your wages. Strike, not for mere local advance or local redress of grievances, but for the general principles of the well-being

of all Trade Unions: strike rather for the benefit for others than for yourselves; strike for the equalisation of labour conditions everywhere, and make individual grievances the basis for a general fight for a principle, rather than degenerate your energy into local bickerings. That is why I want sympathetic strikes, on behalf of your fellow-workers: say you won't handle the mail bags from India because they have been polluted by the touch of slave labour; say you won't touch the cargo in ships from India because the products shipped have been raised on slave labour and tainted, too, by the touch of slave dockmen and slave sailors; say you won't touch any Indian article at all, unless it has not been polluted by non-trade union touch; say you strike to prevent the cutting of the world's throat by the ruffian employers of Indian labour on murderous terms. Strike as human beings, and not as frogs in a well. Let me assure you of one thing. At present we cannot strike for you, for we are not, cannot be, organised. Help us to do so, and the day is not far off when 240 million workers will act—let me say it plainly now—we will act, not for you and us alone, but for the world, and we—you and we—will succeed. To attain this success, I request your help for the Workers' Welfare League of India, which, as I said before, stands for the equalisation of labour conditions by raising them where they are low, as in India. Join individually, and get your trade unions to affiliate. Make us, and yourselves, too, a strong body, numerically, financially, and morally. For it is by uniting with the workers in other countries, and by that alone, that we can attain the object we stand for. Apart, we are doomed to fail. Together, nothing can stop our success. Let us join hands, now. (Applause.)

Mr. Good, Cork, proposed a vote of thanks to Dr. Bhat. Listening to his remarks, he said, it struck him that in India they were living under much the same conditions as Irishmen had lived under. The exploiters, not satisfied with their profits in Ireland went to India to get bigger profits out of slave labour. They, Irishmen, were no parties to the crimes that were taking place in India. If the workers of India only realised their power and exerted their strength they could sweep British Government and all it stood for out of the Indian Empire.

Mr. Tadg Barry, Cork, seconded the vote of thanks, which Dr. Bhat replied to.

SECRET SESSION. POLICE AND PRISON OFFICIALS' UNION.

On the recommendation of Standing Orders Committee, Congress, on Tuesday evening, decided to hear a deputation from the Police and Prison Officials' Union present a statement of their present position. The deputation consisted of ex-Sergeant McElligott, R.I.C., and Sergeant Lakey (London), of the Executive National Union of Police and Prison Officers of the United Kingdom.

Messrs. McElligott and Lakey addressed the Congress at length, explaining the meaning of the strike of police, the attitude of the Police and Prison Officers' Union towards the Government, the public, and the Trade Union movement, and the intentions of the Union in regard to the Irish police system.

In the course of the discussion which followed the delegates expressed divergent views respecting the position which should be adopted by the Trade Union movement in relation to the police and eventually the following resolution was adopted by a large majority :—

“ Provided its membership in Ireland prove its Trade Unionism by direct action to secure the objects outlined in the addresses delivered by the delegation, this Congress assures the Police and Prison Officers Union of its support and sympathy.”

Messrs. McElligott and Lakey returned thanks and withdrew.

THE DUBLIN PRINTING TRADE DISPUTE.

Standing Orders Committee recommended that Mr. O'Flanagan, of the Dublin T.P.S., and Mrs. Mortished, of the Women Workers' Union, having applied for an opportunity to bring before Congress the facts of the lock-out in the Dublin Printing Trade, that they be heard immediately after Dr. Bhat.

Mr. M. O'Flanagan (Dublin T.P.S.) returned thanks for being allowed to state the facts of the lock-out. They might say that the printers, like the poor, were always with them. It might also be running through their minds that these disputes were got up annually in Dublin, but that was not so. Following upon the special Trades Congress in Dublin last year the Dublin Printing and Kindred Trades Alliance fell into line with the programme outlined by that Congress, and sent in a demand to the Master Printers for an increase of wages and a reduction in hours. After a series of conferences they succeeded in getting an increase of 10/- a week all round; but in the case of the D.T.P.S. the employers made a reservation to the effect that unless rules and working conditions which they had drafted were signed by the officials and Executive Committee of the Society the increase would not be applicable to them. In order to avoid friction they met the employers and considered their proposals, which the employers said were only to clarify the situation, as it was not clear enough for them. They were always ready to pick holes in the Society's rules. The men could not agree to their proposals and were threatened that in the event of their rules not being signed within a week, ending the 28th June, the men would not get the increase that day. The men turned in on the 23rd June as usual but, before proceeding to work, they went to the management in the different offices and demanded to know what were they to receive the following pay day. They were told that their wages would be 60/-, while for the previous three weeks they had been receiving 70/-. The result was that their men walked out. Some people had suggested that before proceeding to that extremity they should have

consulted with the Alliance officials, and, if possible, avoid a dispute; but he did not think that any more aggressive action could have been taken by any group of employers than this threatening to reduce men's wages. This lock-out was entering on its ninth week, and, while he did not want to enter into any recriminations, he believed if they were organised as one big union on industrial lines they would not be walking the streets of Dublin to-day. (Applause.) It had cost them something to finance this lock-out. They had been able to pay about 450 men 30/- a week, which was running into £700, and they were paying their apprentice boys also. It might be a fantastic idea of his, but he suggested that, where any trade was involved in a dispute, it was up to the trades unions in Ireland generally to finance the men and give them as much strike pay as they would receive in wages. (Applause.) Some cynical persons might suggest that no one would work if they could avoid it, but if it were the case the employers would not be so willing to fire men out, if they knew organised labour was behind the men. The dispute was nearly developing as far as the newspaper offices were concerned, because there was a dispute in Clonmel Asylum, and the Committee of Management sent up advertisements to the Dublin Press advertising for scab labour. The Secretary of the Clonmel Trades Council communicated with him, and he called his Executive Committee together that night and instructed their men to print no scab advertisements. They also did the same thing with reference to the employers, who prepared a mis-statement for the Press, and it also was held up. It might appear strange that their Union were singled out for this attack, but the Master Printers' Association had pursued the D.T.P.S. with hellish vindictiveness for the last six years. They wanted to smash their Union, but they would not smash their Union or their spirit. (Applause.) If they went down in this fight it would mean that such proposals would be up to every unit in the Kindred Trades Alliance in the future. If they demanded wages the employers would say: "We will give you an increase, but we must get our pound of flesh. If you think that principle is involved, I imagine, said the speaker, it is up to Congress to do all you can to defeat the employer. The best way to do that was to support the Society morally and financially. There were a lot of girls involved in this dispute, and if they were to let their men rat on the girls, or scab on them, they might not be walking the streets. On one occasion of the Women Workers Union being locked out they came to the machine men and asked them would they feed the machines while the girls were out, and they replied that they would not allow their men to scab on the girls. That was the one grievance the employers had against them. The girls had shown a fine spirit, and he wished some of the men in the trades union movement had the same spirit. (Applause.) He knew there were various calls on their resources, and it was not always possible to meet an appeal as quickly as under ordinary circumstances. The Limerick strike was spoken of that day,

and it was pointed out that it was mainly a question of finance that brought about a sudden termination. The thing was to get it exactly when you wanted it. They wanted it now. Their men working were paying £1 a week out of their wages to finance the lock-out, and that showed that they were not prepared to go back. Since then they had put in a demand for an increase, and he was glad to say that fourteen offices had already increased their wages above that demanded by the Dublin Printing and Kindred Trades Alliance.

Mrs. Mortished, of the Irish Women Workers' Union, in her appeal for the women locked-out, said this was the third prolonged lock-out within two years. The women had lost wages for five months out of a period of twenty months. This was particularly hard, owing to the low standard of wages, which had only reached a minimum of £1 1s. in the past few weeks. This minimum represented double the wages they were receiving a year ago. The funds of the I.W.W.A. were low owing to the fact that they had to finance women in the tobacco trade locked out for seven weeks owing to men's dispute. They received not one shilling of support for this. It was, of course, impossible to give anything like a fair allowance to women involved in the printing lock-out, following so immediately on the tobacco lock-out, and they must therefore appeal for help now. Women considered this fight of vital importance all round, as, if the Masters were allowed to win, the whole organisation of the printing industry would suffer, and any progress on the part of the workers would be more strenuously opposed. The women were suffering uncomplainingly in this fight; but it was up to the Labour Movement as a whole to see that the consequences of it do not press so hardly on them as to cause acute distress, or weaken their loyalty to trade union principles. (Applause.)

Mr. Wm. O'Brien (Secretary, Congress) said that in the last few days they decided on issuing an appeal on behalf of the Irish Women Workers' Union, as, on account of the low wages they received, they could not be expected to have sufficient funds to finance this dispute. He asked Congress to urge their respective organisations to contribute to the appeal. (Applause.)

Mr. John Farren (Dublin)—Has the National Executive sent out that appeal?

Mr. O'Brien—It was put in type, but I am not sure if it has gone out.

Mr. Farren said the Dublin Typographical Society had a big strike within the past four years, and it was no wonder their funds were run out. They were always one of the first to help any other trade in Dublin or any part of Ireland that were down. If in order, he would move that the National Executive be instructed to send out an appeal on behalf of the Typographical Society and Women Workers combined.

Mr. Collins (Electrical Trade Union, Dublin) seconded. He said when his Society were attacked the only Society that sent them financial assistance was the Dublin Typographical, though they sent

an appeal to the Trades Council and other bodies, and they won hands down.

Mr. McPartlin (Carpenters', Dublin) asked why were not all the workers in the Irish printing industry in the one Union? He outlined the course adopted by his own Society. There was work leaving Dublin at present and done by trade unionists round about, which could be prevented if they were all in the one Union. A Union conducted on sensible lines was able to fight when they were up against a real enemy.

Mr. O'Flanagan said that their raising the strike allowance was not to make great fellows of themselves, but because of the price of bread.

Mr. J. Redmond (Engineers, Dublin) said the only salvation of the working classes of all countries was not sectional trades unionism, but the one big Union. (Applause.) He thought Mr. McPartlin would agree that that should apply also to the workers connected with the building trade.

The President said they would have an opportunity of discussing that matter more fully on the question of amalgamation.

Mr. Redmond said the fact of the Dublin printers striking £1 a week levy to support their fellows in what they called a basic attack on trades unionism, he held that they were worthy of the support of every man in the Congress.

Mr. W. J. Murphy (Whitesmiths, Dublin) advocated the appeal as showing that they were really in earnest, and deplored any personal matters being brought in.

The President, in putting the resolution, wished to say a few words. Being connected with the printing industry, his silence might leave an impression that he was opposed to any support being extended to the Dublin Typo. Society. On the contrary he was very much in favour of it. (Applause.) It would show the Dublin employers that they had to beat down more than a little society of printers. To his mind it was the primary idea with many of the Dublin employers to beat down the Society. Some people might say that the Amalgamated Typographical Association would be anxious to see that accomplished. That was not so, but they were anxious to see the printers of Ireland joined more closely together than ever they were before. They were anxious to clasp the hands of their Dublin brethren in amalgamation. We had always considered it most ridiculous for five or six unions to be catering for the workers in one industry. He asked Congress not only to pass this resolution, but to take it home to their different Unions and ask them to give all the financial support possible to the Dublin Typographical Society; and he hoped the same would be done on behalf of the Women Workers, who had shown such a spirit on this and other occasions gone by. (Applause.)

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

NOMINATIONS NOT IN ORDER.

The Standing Orders Committee reported that the following nominations not being in conformity with Standing Orders were ineligible and would not appear on the Ballot Paper :—

Chairman—Mr. James Larkin.

Vice-Chairman—Mr. John Cronin.

Treasurer—Mr. Brady.

As these eliminations left no candidates for the position of Vice-Chairman, the Standing Orders Committee recommended that nominations in writing for that office be received by Congress.

MESSAGE FROM PRISON.

The Secretary read the following telegram :—" Hearty wishes for success of Congress, the result of which must reflect credit not alone on Irish Labour, but on Ireland as well. Thank God the day is ours when Irish Labour is a force to be reckoned with. May God speed the cause is the prayer of yours fraternally,

GAFFNEY, Manchester Prison,
late Carlow."

(Applause.)

THE PUBLIC MEETING.

Under the auspices of the Irish Labour Party a great public meeting was held in the Mall and was attended by several thousands. The speakers were the Mayor of Drogheda, Messrs. T. Cassidy, Chairman of Congress, Wm. O'Brien, Secretary, Wm. Shaw and Joseph Houghton (fraternal delegates), Duffy, Bermingham (N.U.R.), and Miss Cahalan, and D. R. Campbell.

THIRD DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.**THE LATE MR. GEORGE GREIG.**

The President said they had received a telegram, with regret, announcing the death of Mr. George Greig, Belfast, District Secretary of the National Amalgamated Union of Labour, a very old friend of his and of a good many delegates at the present and past conferences. He had passed away on the previous day, and, personally, the President proceeded, he was very sorry. Mr. Greig had done a man's part for the Labour Movement in Ireland. Although not an Irishman he recognized that the interests of all were identical, and, as a Scotchman, he always gave full sympathy to the aspirations of the Irish people.

Mr. Gray (Derry Trades Council) said he could not express how sorry they were in the North-West of Ireland at the death of Mr. Greig, the ablest advocate of Labour who ever entered the district. He proposed that a vote of condolence be tendered to Mrs. Greig and the Executive in Belfast and let them know that they had the sincere sympathy of the delegates.

Mr. Bermingham (Railway Servants) seconded the resolution, which was passed in respectful form, all delegates standing.

ONE BIG UNION PROJECT.

In accordance with Standing Orders Committee recommendation, the first business taken was consideration of resolution submitted by the Irish Drapers' Assistants' Association on "Organization" in conjunction with the "Report on Amalgamation"—see Appendix No. I. to the National Executive Report.

"That, in the opinion of this Congress, the powers of the National Executive should be very considerably increased so as to secure generally more co-ordinated effort in regard to Industrial and Political action, and that the incoming National Executive be instructed to draw up a scheme to be submitted to a Special Meeting of Congress. Such scheme to be forwarded to the various Affiliated Bodies at least three clear months prior to the date fixed for the holding of the Special Conference.

"The following suggestions are set forth as an indication of the idea underlying the proposal, and are, of course, merely by way of suggestion:—

- "(1)—The National Executive to have special control in regard to disputes in consultation with the Executive or Executives of the Society or Societies which may be affected, or which are likely to be affected, and have power to declare, if the Executive or Executives of the Societies to be affected so recommend, a strike in any particular trade or calling, or in any number of trades or callings, to the extent of, should it be thought necessary, a general strike throughout the entire country.
- "(2)—That each Society should contribute to the funds of the National Executive at the rate of so much per member per year. The amount to be decided by the Special Congress, and from time to time to be fixed at subsequent Congresses.
- "(3)—That all Trades Unionists affected by a Strike or Lock-out be paid from the National Funds controlled by the National Executive.
- "(4)—That no Strike should take place except in consultation with, and after having received the sanction of, the National Executive.
- "(5)—That the National Executive have charge of all political and other propaganda.
- "(6)—That the membership of the National Executive be 14, including President, Vice-President, Treasurer and Secretary—three of whom, together with the Secretary, shall be resident in Dublin, three in Belfast, and two in Cork.
- "(7)—That full statutory meetings of the National Executive be held at least monthly."

Mr. O'Lehane (Drapers' Assistants), in proposing the adoption, said the resolution standing in his name was one of vital importance to the Trade Union movement in this country. He held it to be an absolute necessity to call a Special Conference to discuss the underlying idea of amalgamation, or co-ordinated effort. Some people did not like the idea of one big union, or of being absorbed, but the fact remained that in the Presidential Address and the speeches delivered yesterday it was emphasised over and over again that there must be uniformity of action. That was brought before them clearly and forcibly in regard to what transpired at Limerick. The Executive Committee were blamed for not doing something which they had no power to do. That Committee had very little power indeed at the present time. He believed that, if they were to take collective action nationally, or even by districts, or if they were to involve more than one union in a trade dispute, there must be some centralized authority fully empowered to deal with such matters, and it must not rest in the hands of any one union to involve a number of, or all other unions for that matter, without first consulting these unions and receiving the sanction of the centralised authority set up by the whole body of trade unionists in Ireland. He thought there was no union in existence to-day which had not, directly or indirectly, involved other unions without consulting them; and so far as his own union was concerned, he must plead guilty in that direction also. They wanted to get away from that and place the movement in a position that there will be co-ordinated effort throughout the various units in the country. To his mind that must be brought about by a centralised fund as well as centralised control. Of course it was a very big question. Last year it was on at the Waterford Congress and got very little serious consideration. But events had moved rapidly since, and every incident that had taken place in connection with trades union effort in this and other countries had gone to show the vital and urgent necessity for the adoption of some such scheme or method as was outlined in the resolution he had submitted. No doubt many union representatives would be slow to adopt what seemed to be a system that would do away with their individuality, or be a break in the continuity of the craft union system which had been the forerunner of the present organised effort in this and other countries. Some people might think that the final decision resting with the National Executive would make the procedure too slow, but it need not be slow if the system were in proper order. Unless they were prepared to sink prejudices and predilections with regard to past systems he feared they would be in Drogheda or elsewhere criticising each other because certain things were not done. They would have to take time by the forelock and learn something from the lessons of the past twelve months. They would be up against old-standing institutions and machinery and vested interests, but they were difficulties which would have to be met, and he believed they could be overcome. Therefore he urged them to consider this vital question and nothing should be left to haphazard when a union was in difficulties. There should be a closer and more binding force

than there was at present, although, generally speaking, the loyalty displayed was splendid, still it was not sufficient. Any union might be in difficulty at any time, and a centralised authority should be in a position to call on all the forces, if necessary, or as many as might be deemed advisable. He hoped no personal feeling or selfish motive would influence the whole movement in dealing with this great question. They must put forward the scheme they believed to be best for the common good, and he believed they could hammer out a scheme that would be one of the most lasting and successful that had ever been thought out or put into operation in this or any other country. (Applause.)

Miss Cahalan seconded.

Mr. T. Johnson (Treasurer, National Executive) said he had been asked to say a word or two in explanation or amplification of the memorandum, the first half of which deals with the objective, but, so far as their immediate purpose was concerned they would begin with the paragraph headed "Present Proposals." In the view of the Sub-Committee it was desirable that this matter of amalgamation should be discussed fully at this Congress, with certain definite ideas in the minds of the delegates. He did not disagree with Mr. O'Lehane's resolution, but they had before them a concrete suggestion of a line of policy, and this would enable them to discuss their aspiration with something tangible in their minds. He thought it desirable that in any scheme of amalgamation or federation they should think, not merely of the moment, or of strengthening the trade union movement for aggressive or defensive action in the immediate future, but they should have in mind a line of development which would prepare the working-class movement in Ireland for the possibilities of the more distant future. This scheme suggested that the right way to go about amalgamating and really strengthening the organisation of labour was to organise, to federate the unions catering for specific industries, to bring these unions closer together in local and national federations, and then combine these federations into one big amalgamation. They had a number of unions in the country that were seeking to organise all classes of workers, craftsmen and others, in their particular unions. They had seen within the last year or two a development of quite a number of unions which were adding to their titles "*Allied Trades*." It might be very desirable, and it was an indication of quite a legitimate aspiration for the Drapers' Assistants, for instance, to seek to ally to themselves all those industries or callings or crafts which might be more or less closely associated with the drapery trade. They had the Clerical Workers seeking to absorb in its Union all those allied to clerical workers. Now, that was a very wide term. The engineer and the carpenter was allied to the clerical worker, because some clerical work was required in their occupation, as the representatives of the clerical workers would be the first to claim. It required some clerical work, through the recent arrangements made by the Board of Munitions, etc., to make up the engineers' wages. With a little more of that wonderful imagination that the clerical

workers were showing, they could draw into their ranks the brick-layer and every other trade. (Laughter.) So that if they took the Drapers and Allied Trades, the Clerical Workers and Allied Trades, the Grocers' Assistants and Allied Trades, the Transport and General Workers' Union, the Agricultural and General Workers' Union, etc., they were all desiring to have an amalgamation. It was suggested that the preliminary titles in all these cases should be dropped and that it should be the Allied Workers Union; but the suggestion was not practicable. They had union organisation to consider, they had the present structure of these organisations to consider, they had the present facts to deal with, and that was the most important consideration. Now, the suggestion in this scheme of amalgamation was that those unions directly associated with the building trades, with the engineering trades, with the distributing trades, should be brought together and federated nationally and locally, and that these unions should appoint an Executive or Council which should take charge of the wider and bigger movements connected with that industry. And the hope would be that, once that line had progressed to a certain distance, they would come together and form themselves into a National Federation of Irish Workers. But there was a point that would undoubtedly be seized upon as showing a weakness in this scheme drafted for their consideration, and that was that, while a local authority in the building, agricultural or engineering trades group should have control of the wage and hour and trade movements in these industries they would not have control of the finance, and he agreed that it was desirable, as an ideal, that the authority controlling the movement in any particular industry should also control the finance and have the distribution of strike pay in their hands. But he thought that was not as easily attained as they would wish, and they could go a long way towards their ideal without raising the question as to who was to rule finances. They knew that the financial control of some unions was across the water, and of other unions in this country, and if they were going to wait until they got one single financial control, they would have to wait too long before they got far on the road to these ideals. And this suggestion was very like the scheme at present in operation in the Miners' Federation in Great Britain. The Miners' Federation generally controlled the bigger movements in regard to mining, but it did not control the finance and had no authority over strike pay. Yet it had considerable authority. The Miners' Federation of Great Britain was not yet the power that it would be in the future. It was not yet the one big union of the mining industry, but it had considerable power and tremendous weight in the mining industry, and this scheme, if adopted, will deal with the various industries in Ireland as the Miners' Federation is doing for the mining industry of Great Britain. The effect of its adoption would be that those general workers' unions, which he had referred to, would have immediately to put themselves into the position of allocating to their industrial sections every member of their union. He gave illustrations, but said there was not much need for him to

go into detail because the scheme he had in mind was outlined as succinctly as he could do it in the memorandum that was before them. But he wanted to say that it was only on these lines, in his opinion, they could prepare the organisation of labour in Ireland to undertake the duties that would be incumbent upon the organised workers in the future if their hopes were at any time to be realised. If the building industry was to take charge of building operations in Ireland, all workers in the building industry would need to be under one control and working in close co-operation. They must have that hope in front of them, and they must build according to their hopes, and not according to their immediate needs. He suggested that if they showed any general agreement with the lines of development formulated in the memorandum, and then proceed to pass the resolution proposed by Mr. O'Lehane, it would be a guide to the future Executive as to how they should go about drawing up any definite proposals for a special Congress.

Mr. J. J. Hughes (Transport Workers, Dublin), said that the matter contained in Appendix No. I. was a very clear and definite proposal, with which he agreed almost in its entirety, but there was a tendency in the resolution of the Drapers' Assistants on which he would like to say a word of criticism. As regards the end that Irish Labour was pledged to seek, viz., the control of industry by the workers engaged in that industry, there was no question, and he thought it was no longer open to argument that the material means for reducing that ideal to actual practice lay in the One Big Union (applause). The average Irish worker must recognise that his interests lay in close co-operation with his fellow Irish workers, and the desired end could only be achieved by amalgamation. From the pressure of opinion in the rank and file would come the organisation, in its most perfect form, of the Irish working-classes. Of course he entirely agreed that there should be an extension of the powers of the National Executive, and above all in its internal organisation, in well organised offices and a staff sufficient to supervise in a more general and efficient way the activities of the various affiliated unions, so as to advise and direct their activities in a properly co-ordinated manner, and that all that energy put forth in all ends of the country may be effective and trained towards the one end. An important part that such an Executive, and only such a body, would play would be providing the necessary statistical information to guide themselves along the road they are travelling, statistics as to all the public problems and all the interests of a general character with which affiliated unions had to deal with from time to time. While he agreed that the Executive's powers should be extended, he did not agree that the necessary amalgamation would be brought about by pressure from above. The Executive could easily intervene here and there for the success of activities to bring about co-ordinated action between trades mutually affected by one another's work. It would interfere with advice, and

should be enabled to do so with effect. With regard to the suggestion in the resolution that no strike should take place except in consultation with, and after having received the sanction of the National Executive, to his mind that was, in the present state of Irish organisation, absolutely impracticable. There was such a mass of wages movements that the supervision, even by one Union, anyway broadly extended, of all the activities in that Union was extremely difficult. Where they had an Executive responsible for the whole organisation, which was not closely in touch with affiliated trades, such supervision and direction would be practically impossible. To carry out the suggestion would require and pre-supposed the existence of industrial organisation. It would be feasible and eminently desirable where there was any such machinery in the way of industrial organisation, because it would be possible, through the officials of that industrial section, to standardise and regularize things from one end of the country to the other, so that minor causes for disputes would be removed, and that the Executive would then only have to deal with larger issues, which was about all that such an Executive could effectively deal with. The initiative in amalgamation, which was the only possible solution, to his mind, of the existing state of affairs, a state of affairs which daily became more marked as the organisation of the Irish workers became more complete—the only possibility of such an amalgamation lay in the movement from the other end, from the ranks. And that could be well achieved by a close study and possibly a discussion to-day on the very excellent suggestions contained in Appendix No. I. It seemed to him that the real difficulty in the way, though one might think otherwise at first glance, would be psychological rather than material, the feeling, perhaps not expressed, that in any such organisation, the identity and individuality of individuals and individual unions would be lost and swamped. He did not think that any such scheme as was outlined in Appendix No. I., especially if fostered and directed by the National Executive, that there was any danger of swamping, because the scheme pre-supposes the organisation of a national section on industrial lines, and then, inside that national section, the organisation of minor sections in each of which the trade organisation, however small, would have its proportionate representation, and so the danger of being swamped was prevented.

Mr. Duffy, Cork, said there were few present who did not recognise that the One Big Union was the desirable goal and that it was inevitable some day. He was quite prepared and quite anxious to see established the One Big Union. But was the One Big Union possible to-day, and if it was not, what was the alternative and how was it to be brought about? If Congress agreed that organisation must be on the lines of the One Big Union would the members of the Union throughout the country act on the suggestions and recommendations of Congress? He

was much afraid there were big sections of organised workers in this country who either through fear or want of knowledge were not prepared to merge their individuality at the moment and scrap their existing machinery and merging in the One Big Union. The difficulty was that the people who were represented there were not prepared to go nearly so far as the bulk of the delegates were prepared to go. He thought they should be prepared to get to the goal of the One Big Union by stages; and educate the rank and file to the ideal which was their aim. They should also aim at unification as far as possible now. The danger that he saw present was that the fight of the Trades Union movement might be diverted from a fight against employers to a fight amongst the unions. They should take steps to guard against that by endeavouring to set up some machinery by which it would be ensured that the full force of the various unions would be brought to bear against what they might term the common enemy. Mr. Johnson had mentioned that one of the difficulties in the way of the One Big Union was the officials of the unions. He (Mr. Duffy) suggested that if this was the only difficulty that they should superannuate the officials. Another point. The motion of the Drapers' Assistants stated "that no strike should take place except in consultation with, and after having received the sanction of, the National Executive," should never be allowed to convey the idea that a petty local dispute should wait over, pending the instructions of the National Executive. That holding back should only take place where national interests were at stake. He disagreed with Mr. Smyth, who said they should not commit themselves to paragraph 5 ("That the National Executive have charge of all political and other propaganda"). If local unions undertook propaganda much of it might be in conflict with the policy of that Congress. For instance, he saw that a certain Trade Union in Tuam proposed a resolution condemning the Co-operative Movement, and Congress was pledged to the Co-operative Commonwealth. Mr. Brennan had said they should wait to bring in the non-unionists. That was a policy of despair. They should not wait an hour. He suggested they should act on the terms of the resolution and summon a special Congress before which a programme should be placed; that programme should be considered beforehand by the various unions throughout the country.

Mr. O'Shannon said Mr. O'Lehane's resolution simply wanted a special Congress to deal with this whole question. Some one had said that the question was not before the affiliated organisations. Why was it not before the affiliated organisations? The agenda was sent out, and the resolution of Mr. O'Lehane had been up before the Waterford Congress. They had been talking of amalgamation and the One Big Union for years. There was little use of the National Executive and Congress drawing up plans unless the delegates and the secretaries of the different

organisations brought the matter before their members. He agreed that amalgamation must come through the action of the rank and file rather than through Congress and the National Executive; but it was for Congress and the National Executive to encourage the movement towards amalgamation. He did not think the movement was prepared for the One Big Union. He was for the One Big Union. He did not want to see two unions affiliated fighting each other as in Co. Meath. He wanted to see them all in one organisation. But he thought they must proceed by stages. The National Executive suggested a step-by-step policy. Mr. O'Lehane's motion went farther. It struck at the root of the matter when it said the Central Organisation should have control of the finances. They would not get much farther unless the Central Organisation had control of finances. And if the Central Organisation had finances it would have control, because whoever paid the piper called the tune.

Mr. Comber, Irish National Painters, said they should organise on a purely Irish national basis. There was a good deal of talk about moral and financial support, but the majority of the unions were not able to give moral or financial support when they were wanted, because the morals and the finances were in the hands of cross-Channel Executives (laughter and applause). He suggested a meeting of all purely Irish Trades Union delegates to take into consideration the forming of a purely Irish Confederation.

Mr. Thomas Foran, President I.T. and G.W.U., said he was going to vote in favour of the resolution and the recommendation of the Executive, not because he believed they were going to solve any of the problems that confronted Congress, but for the simple reason that they furthered the idea of the One Big Union. He would content himself by pointing out the failure of the present system of organisation, and leaving it to delegates and unions in general to consider how long they would tolerate the present methods and present machinery in the trade union movement. The previous day they had a very perfect illustration of the inadequacy of the present methods in the discussion regarding the situation at Limerick. If they had had the One Big Union, decisions could have been arrived at promptly, and the result would have been more satisfactory at Limerick. Again they had had the representative of a union organised for over 100 years telling them of their absolute weakness and coming to Congress and asking the help of all unions affiliated to Congress. If the printing trades were organised on the idea of the One Big Union they would not need to come and appeal to Congress. Then they came along to another important section of the community, and found one of the representatives of that section telling the delegates that he was not in favour of a 44-hour week for agricultural labour. That man represented a local or parochial union in Ireland which did not carry much influence. Next he would refer

to the strike that was going on in the Co. Meath. At present the farm labourers were on strike in that county. And why? Because a small union in the county went to the farmers and made an agreement over the heads of the agricultural labourers. But the agricultural labourers repudiated that union. They had the union in question represented in Congress that day. They of the Irish Transport Workers' Union had tied up the farmers all over the County Dublin. The railwaymen, and the dockers, who were members of their Union, were assisting them. The drovers were members of their Union; the butchers were members of their Union, with the result that the farmers could not send any cattle into the Dublin markets until they settled with the Transport Union. The farmers, instead of sending their stock into Dublin, were sending them through Belfast, and he was sorry to say they were getting facilities in Belfast. He hoped the railwaymen and dockers of Belfast would remember that an injury to one was the concern of all. The agricultural labourers of Meath were doing great work on behalf of agricultural labourers all over Ireland. If in Meath and Kildare they succeeded in improving their conditions, they would at the same time improve the conditions of agricultural labourers throughout the country generally. It was not farmers merely they were fighting but the organised capitalists and ascendancy gang of Ireland. Although the recommendation before Congress did not go far enough to satisfy him, because he believed that the One Big Union was the only salvation of the working classes, he realised the difficulties owing to having amalgamated societies and unions and saw it was not possible for them to come into the One Big Union; at the same time there must be some common policy to work upon, and he agreed with the recommendations of the Executive as a very great step on the road to their ideal of the One Big Union.

Mr. MacPartlin, Amalgamated Society of Carpenters, Dublin, said that five years ago there might have been a need for the resolution they were discussing. To his mind there was no need to-day. When he found a union like the Transport Union which had a membership of 10,000 or 12,000 three and a half years ago having nearly 100,000 members to-day he came to the conclusion that the work suggested by the resolution had been carried out. The amalgamated unions, he said, were a long time organised; they had been organised when the system that controlled the workers was different from what it was to-day. The men were changing the rules to meet the changed conditions and would be found as progressive as the amateur trade unionists of to-day (laughter). When the amateur trades unionists got into difficulties it would be very handy for them if they had the National Executive to fall back upon. He protested against the reflections cast upon the cross-channel unions. Somebody had referred to the tin-gods of the small unions. These little gods they met in the front rooms of the publichouse (laughter). They were no use to the

trade union movement. He concluded by saying that though he had a great admiration for the Transport Union, he was not to be taken as saying that it was conducted in the way he would like it. He would oppose the resolution.

Mr. John Redmond, Amalgamated Society of Engineers, said while they were talking on the question of amalgamation the engineering unions had been working. A scheme had been drawn up which included every trade of the engineering industry with the exception of the boilermakers and the shipwrights. Within the next few months those trades would be embraced in One Big Union which would *not* be called the Amalgamated Society of Engineers. The name would be "The Engineering Trades Union." He was a believer in the One Big Union, but he recognised, as O'Shannon and Tom Foran recognised, and others as well, that the only way to bring it about was by the organisation of their industries. One delegate suggested that they should call a meeting of purely Irish Unions. If Congress acted on that suggestion they would exclude from their deliberations men in the amalgamated societies who were as good fighters as any in any society in the country. The engineering unions had a total of 9,000 members in Ireland. 6,500 were in the North in Belfast, and 2,500 in the South. Congress therefore could realise their position. The Amalgamated Society of Engineers would want a lot of educating on the question of an Irish Union. One delegate spoke of federation. As one who knew something about federation he could tell them that federation had absolutely failed. Federation had bolstered up the small union at the expense of the big union. And smaller unions had a vote greater than the larger unions. He thanked the Executive for bringing their proposal forward and said he hoped to see the day when they would have not only one union for Ireland but one union for every country in the world.

Mr. W. J. Murphy, Whitesmiths, Dublin, said if they applied the principle of self-determination to Irish Trade Unions the difficulty would be immediately solved. Possibly the National Executive might be able to overcome the difficulty too if they appealed to the English Trades Unions on the same question of self-determination.

Mr. O'Farrell, Railway Clerks, said the recommendations in the appendix were the recommendations not of the National Executive as such, but of a sub-committee of the Executive. They all agreed with everything said so far as the principle was concerned. They were all out for the solidarity of Labour. But they had got to consider the practical application of the principle. He believed in building from the ground, and therefore agreed with Messrs. Hughes and O'Shannon. He opposed the suggestion of leaving the internal affairs of a union to be administered by the local Trades Councils. Let them take the railwaymen, for

instance. Suppose they decided on a national policy and they were affiliated with the local Trades Councils. Their proposal might be accepted by one Trades Council but turned down by another. Moreover, they had the experience of a Trades Council where the members of the strongest union represented were prevented recording their votes. A good deal had been said about the amalgamated unions. He reminded the delegates that the action of the amalgamated unions contributed very considerably to the success of the anti-conscription demonstrations, and the same was true with regard to the Labour Day celebration. It was proposed that the Executive should elaborate a scheme to bring about the ideal of the One Big Union. This would involve months and months of labour; and preparations for the elections, and propaganda work would have to be undertaken. Then they would call a special Congress at great expense and bring the unions together to discuss the merits and demerits of the scheme. The special Congress would possibly turn it down. Rather than have the proposal defeated in this way he appealed to have it withdrawn. The time was inopportune for this motion which, if passed, would drive the amalgamated unions to form another labour organisation, and he asked Congress not to force them into that position. If they carried the resolution they would destroy the very thing they were out to create.

Mr. Bermingham, National Secretary, N.U.R., Ireland, opposed the resolution, but said he wanted it to be understood that he welcomed the motive of the resolution. No one knew the weakness of sectional unionism better than he did, and for that reason supported organisation on industrial lines. He saw in the proposal before Congress a very dangerous element, and agreed with O'Farrell that the passing of the resolution might create a position of great danger in the Irish Trade Union movement. Someone had spoken of the handicap that existed on account of the relationship of Irish Trade Unionism with Trade Unionism across the water. For twenty-four years the Irish railway section of his organisation had a membership of something like 3,500 strong. During the whole of that twenty-four years the Irish organisation did not pay the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, for, according to their financial report, his society were losing £2,000 on the Irish organisation. That was his reply to the man who spoke of the handicap of being associated with English societies. In the course of a very short time they would have an Executive Council in Ireland on behalf of the railwaymen of this country, and it would be responsible for the administration of Irish affairs. His advice was for them to put their heads together to amalgamate themselves into one powerful union, whatever they might call that union. There was greater trouble with the officials of small unions on this question than with the rank and file. But as long as members had the right of control—as they had—their organisa-

tions must not be controlled by officials. His sympathy and assistance was with them and their ideal, but it must be had on a different sphere from what it was requested that day.

Mr. T. Barry (I.T.W.U., Cork), said it struck him that if they were not prepared to accept the ideas put forward in the resolution, they were quite ready to accept the ideal. Everyone agreed with the theory that all the industrial group should be brought together, and he thought that, instead of by resolution, they should try by affiliation to lead up to that. He suggested that the National Executive be empowered to call together representatives of the various groups as mentioned, and that they should be empowered to act on their own, and by the time of next Congress, or if necessary at a special Congress, the matter would have arrived at a more forward stage.

Mr. Luke Larkin (Railwaymen, Waterford), said there were certain portions of the resolution which his society could not consistently support, owing to their position, but, as a body of Irish workers, he thought Congress thoroughly understood that in the main they supported the proposals, and heartily welcomed them as coming from the National Executive. Some delegates had referred to the question of amalgamated unions supporting Irish workers. Well, he thought the action of the railwaymen on the question of conscription and on last Labour Day, when they took the machinery of control into their own hands, was sufficient answer as to what they were prepared to do for Irish labour. They had heard a lot of cold water thrown on the National Executive in various discussions, all mainly based on the one point that they got no lead from the National Executive. Now, when they had the National Executive seeking to outline a policy of industrial organization he was sorry to see some of the smaller organizations meeting their suggestions as they did. The railwaymen were hopeless to fight their cause for years because there were five different organizations catering for them. About four or five years ago a fusion of forces took place and from that time there was no programme put forward but it met with success. Coming back to Irish organizations, he said he held no brief for the Transport Union, but everyone would agree it was a big union and its ranks were open to every class of worker in Ireland, and he had been assisting the Transport Union on the question of industrial organization on these grounds. In the South of Ireland there were unhappily to-day too many small organizations. In some small towns and cities they would find two or three organizations catering for clerical workers. The position was similar with regard to the agricultural workers, and he failed to see why that should be, or why they could not build up one big organization. As to the question of officials, he agreed with some of the delegates who had spoken that officialdom greatly barred the way as far as the rank and file were concerned. He thought if the rank and file in the various organizations were given a full opportunity of considering this question by the time a

special congress would be called their difficulties would not be so great as they were to-day. He therefore suggested that a special congress be held for that object. (Applause.)

Mr. Harte (National Union of Dockers) said that at the last Congress of his organization the question for amalgamation was passed, but not with whom they were to be amalgamated. Knowing the majority of the men of his organization he would like amalgamation with an organization catering for the same class of work. In the meantime they were willing to work in conjunction with other unions catering for the same class of work, to uplift and benefit the workers engaged in the transport industry. He would like to see that carried out not only by the Dockers but by these other organizations, but unfortunately such had not been the case. In the North of Ireland they had the case of a union interfering with a number of workers whom the Dockers had organized and had got certain concessions for which they were very pleased. Another organizer then came and by honeyed words took them over, and after twelve months cast them aside because he could do nothing for them, the consequence being that to-day they were being uncatered for. The union was the General Workers' Union. This must not go on. Labour must not be allowed to become disorganized. He mentioned a number of unions in the South of Ireland catering for the same class of work and called it a most ridiculous state of affairs. Irish labour must take up the question and his union was prepared to allow its members to decide their future policy. (Applause.)

Mr. Farrelly (Dublin Trades Council) said that when they considered all the difficulties that existed and which would be up to the National Executive, who had promulgated this particular scheme, he thought the time was not ripe for deliberate action by Congress for or against, but it should go as a recommendation to the National Executive that they take into consideration the many points put before them that day and appoint a Sub-Committee from the Executive for further consideration of this question. They must consider that the members of the older-established unions had vested interests from long years' membership which could not readily be set aside.

Mr. Rooney (I.T.W.U., Drogheda), said it seemed that, in the abstract, the principle of the one big union found acceptance amongst the Congress. But there were undoubtedly very great and very many difficulties to be overcome before this ideal was brought into the realm of practical politics. He thought that if a Sub-Committee of the Congress were appointed, with power of appealing to certain unions in the country at informal conferences at various times, they might possibly eliminate a lot of the weaker organizations and thus get a certain distance towards the ideal for which they were striving. But he did not want to deal with the general question now. He only wanted to emphasize the necessity for tackling this question immediately. As an instance of the inefficiency of the present system he stated that, in connection with the County Meath

strike, they had obstructed the cattle trade and prevented largely the export of cattle from Drogheda. But unfortunately that day cattle were brought under police protection from a farm in the vicinity of the town, driven by a farmer who was one of the bitterest opponents of labour, and when he went to the docks they were handled by another union. He was glad to hear Mr. Harte say that the Dockers were prepared to consider this question fairly and squarely, because it was that union that was responsible for assisting this employer to beat organized labour in County Meath. This was only an example of the urgent necessity for some co-ordination of the organized labour forces in the country. He suggested that the National Executive or Congress should appoint a Sub-Committee, who should call a conference between the Dockers and the Transport Union to consider the co-ordination of their forces in the country. Such a conference might ultimately result in reducing the number of unions in the country, and when this was done, there would not be much difficulty in getting the amalgamation which they called the one big Union. (Applause.)

The President said it appeared to him there was a feeling that this matter, important as it was, had been very fully discussed. He therefore asked Mr. O'Lehane to reply, and Mr. Johnson would get a similar opportunity.

Mr. O'Lehane, in reply, said the arguments put forward against the proposal were not very substantial, and he did not think they were insuperable. The time had arrived when something should be done. The passing of the resolution did not commit them to anything except the calling of a Special Congress. It said that any proposal that may be formulated must be before the rank and file for three months. Whilst differing on detail they could agree on the main question that some such scheme was desirable. He submitted the resolution should be carried unanimously, and he appealed to all the delegates to support it.

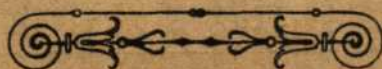
Mr. Johnson said he did not think any objection should be raised to the idea underlying Mr. O'Lehane's resolution, and he would vote in favour of it. The discussion had varied from the propositions contained in Mr. O'Lehane's addendum to his resolution and the memorandum on amalgamation in the National Executive's Report. He thought if the resolution was passed the Committee could not do better than follow the lines of the memorandum, but in the meantime he would suggest that their attention as representatives of individual unions should be directed to the last paragraph of the memorandum which suggested that groups in any particular industry could to-morrow or next day get together and form a Workers' Industrial Council. He hoped they would follow the suggestions in the memorandum. (Applause.)

The resolution was put to Congress, and, on a division, was declared carried by 131 votes to 50.

APPOINTMENT OF SCRUTINEERS.

Scrutineers were appointed at 10.45 in accordance with Standing Orders Committee Report. The following are the names of those nominated and the number of votes received by each :—J. Dowling, Limerick, 153 ; J. O'Sullivan, Cork, 31 ; D. Cullen, Dublin, 166 ; M. Cleary, Waterford, 132 ; D. Magee, Dublin, 29 ; J. Farren, Dublin, 46 ; R. Anthony, Cork, 48 ; P. McGinley, Dublin, 47 ; and J. Clarke, Belfast, 39.

Messrs. Cullen, Dowling, Cleary and Anthony were accordingly declared elected.



STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS TO 30th JUNE, 1919.

| | | INCOME. | | £ s. d. | | £ s. d. | |
|---|-----|---------|-----|---------|----|---------|---|
| Balance from last year | ... | ... | ... | 1441 | 7 | 5 | 4 |
| National Union Shop Assistants | ... | ... | ... | | | | |
| (omitted in error from last year's account), Delegation Fee | ... | ... | ... | 2 | 0 | 0 | |
| Affiliation Fee | ... | ... | ... | 3 | 4 | 3 | |
| | | | | <hr/> | | | |
| Delegation Fees:— | | | | | | | |
| Special Congress, Dublin, Nov., 1918 (189 Delegates) | ... | ... | ... | 47 | 5 | 0 | |
| Special Congress, April, 1919 (339 Delegates) | ... | ... | ... | 42 | 7 | 6 | |
| Drogheda, received to date | ... | ... | ... | 31 | 0 | 0 | |
| | | | | <hr/> | | | |
| | | | | 120 | 12 | 6 | |
| Affiliation Fees for 1918-19 | ... | ... | ... | 3 | 0 | 0 | |
| Affiliation Fees for 1919-20 to date | ... | ... | ... | 170 | 3 | 0 | |
| | | | | <hr/> | | | |
| | | | | 173 | 3 | 0 | |
| Sales of Report | ... | ... | ... | 29 | 17 | 0 | |
| Sales of Pamphlet | ... | ... | ... | 3 | 12 | 0 | |
| | | | | <hr/> | | | |
| | | | | 33 | 9 | 0 | |
| Publication of Pamphlet ("Ireland at Berne") | ... | ... | ... | 35 | 0 | 0 | |
| Donation, St. Catherine's (Dublin) | ... | ... | ... | 50 | 0 | 0 | |
| Defence Committee | ... | ... | ... | | | | |
| Individual Subscribing Members (Stamp Sales) | ... | ... | ... | 34 | 9 | 10 | |
| Special Appeal, 1918 | ... | ... | ... | 195 | 15 | 6 | |

| EXPENDITURE. | | | | £ | s. | d. | £ | s. | d. |
|--|-----|-----|-----|-----|----|----|-----|----|----|
| Waterford Congress Expenses | ... | ... | ... | 14 | 15 | 4 | | | |
| Reporting Waterford Congress | ... | ... | ... | 10 | 10 | 0 | | | |
| Delegation Fees overpaid and refunded (I.T.W.U., Sligo) | ... | ... | ... | 2 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| Grant to Waterford Trades Council | ... | ... | ... | 25 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| | | | | | | | 52 | 5 | 4 |
| Special Congresses, etc., Expenses | ... | ... | ... | | | | 47 | 1 | 0 |
| Printing Accounts | ... | ... | ... | | | | 281 | 0 | 4 |
| National Executive Meetings | ... | ... | ... | | | | 135 | 18 | 2 |
| Other Meetings, Delegations, Con- ferences | ... | ... | ... | | | | 99 | 5 | 1 |
| International Delegation Expenses:— | | | | | | | | | |
| Berne-Geneva-Paris-London, per C. O'Shannon and Thos. | ... | ... | ... | 121 | 15 | 0 | | | |
| Johnson | ... | ... | ... | 40 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| Amsterdam, per C. O'Shannon | ... | ... | ... | 13 | 13 | 0 | | | |
| Translations | ... | ... | ... | | | | 175 | 8 | 0 |
| | | | | | | | | | |
| Donations:—"Leinster" Dependents' | | | | | | | | | |
| Fund | ... | ... | ... | 20 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| M'Carron Fund (Derry) | ... | ... | ... | 10 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| Lynch Fund (Cork) | ... | ... | ... | 10 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| | | | | | | | 40 | 0 | 0 |
| Belfast Strike Fund | ... | ... | ... | 50 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| Do. Collected at Special Congress | ... | ... | ... | 14 | 5 | 0 | | | |
| | | | | | | | 64 | 5 | 0 |

[illegible]

| | | | | | | |
|--|------|----|----|-------|----|----|
| | £ | s. | d. | £ | s. | d. |
| Limerick Strike Fund ... | 50 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| Do. Collected and remitted to date ... | 1719 | 9 | 6 | | | |
| | | | | 1769 | 9 | 6 |
| Labour Research Department ... | | | | 12 | 7 | 6 |
| Expenses, Fraternal Delegate to Scot- tish Congress ... | | | | 11 | 11 | 1 |
| Postage, Telegrams, and Sundry Expenses ... | | | | 38 | 14 | 9 |
| Pamphlets ... | | | | 4 | 16 | 0 |
| Thomas Johnson, Salary ... | | | | 115 | 0 | 0 |
| | | | | £2847 | 1 | 9½ |
| | £ | s. | d. | | | |
| Balance—I.A.W.S. Bank | 659 | 7 | 0 | | | |
| National Bank, | 340 | 10 | 6 | 999 | 17 | 6 |
| | | | | £3846 | 19 | 3½ |

AUDITOR'S REPORT.

We, the undersigned, have examined the foregoing Balance Sheet and Statement of Accounts and found them correct. We are pleased to report that the accounts were presented to us in a very satisfactory and efficient manner, and we note with pleasure that the decision of the Special Congress last year to fix definite dates for payment of affiliation fees, the closing of the accounts, etc., contributes in no small way to this result. The Balance Sheet closes on June 30th, and all moneys received to the credit of and all account chargeable to the funds of the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress since that date are carried forward to next account.

(Signed) L. J. DUFFY (Cork).
W. P. O'DOHERTY (Derry)

INDIVIDUAL SUBSCRIBING MEMBERS.

| | Per | Stamps | Sold. | £ | s. | d. |
|---|-----|--------|-------|-------|----|----|
| Per R. Beggs | ... | ... | ... | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Per Miss Mary Mullen | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| General Union of Carpenters (per M. Culliton) | ... | ... | ... | 2 | 19 | 9 |
| Dyers and Bleachers (per S. Byrne) | ... | ... | ... | 0 | 3 | 9 |
| N.U.R. (Grand Canal Street) | ... | ... | ... | 0 | 5 | 6 |
| A. S. Carpenters (No. 6, Dublin) | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 5 | 0 |
| Bray and Kingstown Trades Council | ... | ... | ... | 10 | 10 | 0 |
| I.T.G.W.U., No. 1 (per J. O'Neill) | ... | ... | ... | 2 | 10 | 0 |
| I.T.G.W.U. (High Street, Dublin) | ... | ... | ... | 2 | 1 | 9 |
| I.T.G.W.U., Cork (per F. O'Sullivan) | ... | ... | ... | 0 | 14 | 0 |
| I.T.G.W.U., No. 1 (per J. Metcalfe) | ... | ... | ... | 12 | 10 | 0 |
| | | | | <hr/> | | |
| | | | | £34 | 9 | 10 |

SPECIAL APPEAL (1918).

| | | | | | | |
|---|-----|-----|-----|----|----|---|
| Stationery Engine Drivers (Limerick) | ... | ... | ... | 2 | 6 | 0 |
| Electrical Trades Union (Cork) | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 15 | 0 |
| Whiteners' Trade Union (Dublin) | ... | ... | ... | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Operative Plasterers (Dublin) | ... | ... | ... | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| National Union Assurance Agents (Dublin) | ... | ... | ... | 4 | 7 | 0 |
| Railway Clerks (Limerick) | ... | ... | ... | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Stationery Engine Drivers (Per W. J. Muldowney) | ... | ... | ... | 15 | 0 | 0 |
| Irish Railway Clerical Workers | ... | ... | ... | 9 | 11 | 0 |
| N.U. Railwaymen (Ballinasloe) | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 8 | 0 |
| N.U. Railwaymen (Limerick No. 3) | ... | ... | ... | 9 | 0 | 0 |
| U.K. Coachmakers (Inchicore) | ... | ... | ... | 5 | 13 | 9 |
| Dublin Typographical Society | ... | ... | ... | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| Vintners' and Grocers' Assistants | ... | ... | ... | 33 | 3 | 0 |
| Athlone Trades Council | ... | ... | ... | 9 | 11 | 0 |
| Brewery Workers (Cork) | ... | ... | ... | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| U.K. Coachmakers (Dundalk) | ... | ... | ... | 2 | 9 | 6 |
| Operative Plumbers (Dublin) | ... | ... | ... | 10 | 0 | 2 |
| N.U. Railwaymen (Westland Row) | ... | ... | ... | 3 | 9 | 6 |
| Amalgamated Society Painters (Kingstown) | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 19 | 0 |
| Irish Drapers' Assistants | ... | ... | ... | 25 | 0 | 0 |
| Limerick Carmen's Society | ... | ... | ... | 13 | 7 | 0 |
| Railway Clerks (Dublin) | ... | ... | ... | 11 | 15 | 7 |

 £195 15 6

LIMERICK STRIKE FUND.

| Irish Transport and General Workers' Union (per Head | | | | | | £ | s. | d. |
|---|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|------|----|----|
| Office) | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1000 | 0 | 0 |
| I.T.G.W.U., Maryboro' | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| I.T.G.W.U., Dungarvan | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | 1 | 0 |
| I.T.G.W.U., Mallow | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| I.T.G.W.U. (Theatrical Section, Dublin) | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| Teachers, Downpatrick | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Gweedore and Rosses Teachers' Association | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Tullamore Teachers | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 10 | 0 |
| Skibbereen Teachers | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Castlebar Teachers | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 5 | 17 | 6 |
| Macroon Teachers | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 3 | 13 | 0 |
| Portumna and Woodford Teachers' Association | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Enniskillen and Manorhamilton Teachers | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Mansion House Conference | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 500 | 0 | 0 |
| Post Office Employees, Dublin (per C. P. Kelly) | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Dublin Brassfounders | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Mr. McKean (Dublin) | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Belfast Painters (per D. McCrory) | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 8 | 0 | 0 |
| Dublin Trades Council | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Miss G. Griffin | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| P. J. O'Neill, Maryboro' | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Vintners' and Grocers' Assistants | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 14 | 11 | 0 |
| Earlestown (Lancs.) Self-Determination League | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 3 | 10 | 0 |
| Amalgamated Society Tailors (Dublin) | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 8 | 0 | 0 |
| N. Society of Brushmakers (Dublin) | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 5 | 0 | 9 |
| Collected (per D. McDevitt, Belfast) | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| Sean McDermot S.F. Club (per E. Delaney, Belfast) | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Dublin Operative Butchers | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 50 | 0 | 0 |
| Tyneside (Gateshead, Newcastle, etc.), Irish Labour Party | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 30 | 0 | 0 |
| D. Barnes (Belfast) | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| N.U. Railwaymen (Mullingar) | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 6 | 0 | 0 |

 £1729 3 3

Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress ... 50 0 0

Remitted to Treasurer Limerick Trades

Council to 30th June ... 1769 9 6

In hand at date, 30th June ... 9 13 9

 £1779 3 3
RECEIVED SINCE CLOSE OF ACCOUNT.

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|---|----|---|
| Clonmel Teachers | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| Tralee Teachers, No. 2 Association (per H. Flynn) | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 3 | 12 | 6 |
| Cahirciveen Teachers | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Banagher Teachers | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 7 | 5 | 0 |
| Tralee Teachers (per J. C. Cronin) | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| Dingle Teachers | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Maryboro' Teachers | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 3 | 5 | 0 |

BALANCE SHEET.

Mr. Duffy moved the adoption of the Statement of Accounts, and Mr. McCormack seconded.

Mr. D. Magee said that £200 sent by his society, Municipal Employees, to the Limerick fund did not appear on the Balance Sheet.

Mr. Logue, Irish Clerical Workers, said £100 was sent by his union and no credit was given.

Mr. O'Connor (Limerick Trades Council) said owing to the length of time it took for the money to come in there was no chance of getting a Balance Sheet of the Strike Committee Fund prepared in time for Congress.

The Chairman said it was the Congress Balance Sheet they had to consider. He hoped the Balance Sheet of the Limerick Strike Committee would also soon be published.

Mr. Magee said they got acknowledgment of the £200 from Limerick, but they thought it would have been also acknowledged in the Congress Balance Sheet.

Mr. Brown (I.T.W.U., Limerick) and Mr. O'Donnell (Clerical Workers), said they were present when the £200 was received from Mr. Magee's society.

Mr. Johnson, Treasurer, said he must make it clear that the money did not come into his hands and therefore he could not account for it in this Statement of Accounts.

Mr. Marsh (Amalgamated Painters, Cork) said there was an item on the Balance Sheet which showed the salary of Mr. Thomas Johnson, but there was no item showing the salary of the Secretary. How had that occurred?

Mr. O'Brien, Secretary—The explanation is that the Secretary receives no salary. (Applause.)

Mr. Duffy said that Mr. O'Brien had refused to take a salary.

The Chairman said that generally an honorarium was given, but Mr. O'Brien refused to take any money at all.

Mr. Barry (Cork) said notwithstanding that it was only right Mr. O'Brien should be paid.

Mr. Campbell (Belfast) said there was one item that he would like to emphasise. It was the first time it appeared on their Balance Sheet. That was the £175 for the International. He thought the delegates would agree that no £175 had ever been spent to such advantage. They should express their appreciation of the services of the delegates who had gone to the Continent on their behalf. While appreciating the decision of Mr. O'Brien he too thought he should be paid. He thought no man should occupy an honorary position in the Congress when they had money to pay him. (Hear, hear.) The position of Secretary should be a paid one.

Mr. Allan (Irish Post Office Clerks) said he gave his vote last year believing the Secretary would get £60, and he thought they should insist on the £60 being paid.

Mr. Davin said the time had come in the Irish Labour Movement when they should make the position of Secretary a permanent one.

Another delegate suggested that the offices of Secretary and Treasurer should be combined.

The Chairman said his own opinion was that the time had arrived for the appointment of a full-time Secretary.

Referring to contribution to the Belfast Strike Fund, Mr. Houston (I.T.W.U., Belfast) said, I wish to tell the Congress that the Belfast workers very much appreciated your message and resolution assuring us of your support. It was said it was want of money that beat us. I tell the Belfast workers that if they had made up their minds there and then to send to you, as they ultimately did, but withdrew their decision later, they would have got much more and would have been enabled to carry on for a considerable time. I wish to thank you for the contribution that you gave at the Extraordinary Congress.

The resolution in favour of adopting the Statement of Accounts was carried.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT ELECTIONS.

(See Appendix No. 2 to National Executive's Report.)

Mr. Thomas Ryan asked whether it would be advisable that Congress should take some steps to instruct delegates as to what action should be taken in regard to the forthcoming Local Government elections.

The President said he believed the National Executive had made some suggestions, and called upon Mr. Thomas Johnson.

Mr. Johnson said he thought this really the most important subject they could have dealt with. In the cities and towns within the next five months they would be electing new Councils to run the municipalities for the next few years. They had put forward a number of suggestions for a labour policy. There was a definite policy running through them. If they took them as a whole they would find that it was proposed that municipalities, directed by labour, should take as much power as they possibly could into their hands to run the country. He knew that some of the suggestions in the memorandum would take the local councils far beyond their legal powers if they attempted to put them into operation. But he thought it was incumbent upon the labour movement to press upon the local councils to undertake these things, whether inside or outside their legal authority. These suggestions contained, for instance, a proposition for the municipal occupation and use of land, buildings and machinery, wherever it was unreasonably withheld from use. That was a revolutionary proposal. (Hear, hear.) It meant that if an employer, or body of employers, landowners, etc., by virtue of their legal authority over any machinery, building or land, refused to allow such to be put to productive use, the municipality should take over possession and run it in the interests

of the people. (Applause.) That was definitely a revolutionary proposal, and it would mean, if the municipalities adopted it, that the forces of the law would be invoked to prevent them. If it were done in a hundred towns in Ireland the forces of the law would not be able to carry out the law. And it would mean that the municipalities would take possession of the country and run it in the interests of the people. (Applause.) They suggested that municipalities should use their legal powers, and go beyond their legal powers, to build, equip and staff technical schools, libraries, and gymnasia, by means of which the mental and physical powers of the youth of the country might be developed and disciplined; and those of them who appreciated the value of physical powers well developed would realize the value of gymnasia. There were countries in Europe which had recently obtained self-determination and a Republic, which had been able to do so by virtue of the fact that they had well-developed gymnasia. He threw that out as a suggestion, but whether they adopted these methods or not, certainly the development of the physical powers of the youth of the country was a very necessary line of policy for labour. They suggested that there should be a conscious and definite support given by the municipalities to the development of co-operative enterprise, productive and distributive. That was also going outside the legal powers of the local authorities; but they must put before the people a line of policy which is constructive, and if it was going to challenge the Government, well challenge them upon a municipal policy which they dare not over-ride. If they took the clauses one by one he suggested that they embodied a forward line of policy of a constructive nature which would, when carried out, mean a complete and radical change in the relationship between the workers of Ireland on the one side and the land and property owners and the Government of the country on the other. (Applause.)

A delegate said they had matter that would take a fortnight to discuss, and he suggested that a resolution should be moved.

The President said it was desirable that Mr. Johnson should explain the ideas embodied in the proposals, and let the delegates convey them to the different parts of the country. The first thing was to get their representatives on the boards, and then try to carry out the programme put before them.

Mr. Ryan (Waterford) said that in Waterford they had six labour representatives who made a good fight and gained an increase for the Corporation workers, and after three weeks a letter came from the Chamber of Commerce regretting that the Corporation should take such an unwise step as to create a standard, which should be left to the individual employers around the town. Some time ago, when the Corporation had a Housing Scheme under discussion, labour asked for decent, three-room houses, but instead of that they got dog boxes. He suggested two points for the consideration of these Councils, viz., the question of Housing, and creation of a minimum of 50/- per week wages.

Mr. Campbell (Belfast) said there was one point on which the Executive might have laid a little emphasis, viz., that a unique opportunity would arise in January next for getting representatives on boards, where it had hitherto been hopeless. Hitherto it had been absolutely necessary to get a majority in the constituency, while at the next elections all that would be necessary was to get a proportion, and the number of representatives should be increased at least four-fold. The fact might also be emphasized that, if they missed that opportunity they had to go back into the wilderness for a further three years, the most important three years that the majority of them were likely to see. That should give sufficient impetus to them to seize this opportunity of obtaining a maximum representation. He hoped the Executive would see their way to issue a circular drawing the attention of all to the vital necessity of getting their house in order in every district, having their plans prepared, their candidates in the field, and securing a large representation on all the public boards throughout the country. (Applause.)

Mr. Brennan (Railway Clerks) said he appreciated much of what Mr. Johnson had said in connection with the programme of the Irish Labour Party, but he thought he started at the wrong end. He had told them some of the things which it was hoped they would do, but he didn't tell them how they were going to do that, nor what the National Executive were going to do to help trade unionists in capturing representation on the boards. That was most important, and he considered the first duty of the new Executive should be to formulate some scheme which would guide trade unionists in the matter of the coming elections. They didn't want any sham trade unionists going forward as candidates, and in order to obviate that it was absolutely necessary to know the machinery. Their first duty was to prepare some guide on that point.

Mr. Wm. O'Brien said they had done that.

Mr. James Byrne (National Assurance Agents) said they could not establish and run an election machine in a day, and they would be up against a perfect machine at the forthcoming elections. Proportional Representation gave them the chance of a lifetime. He suggested that this matter be referred to the Special Congress that was going to deal with the question of the amalgamation of unions.

Mr. Cleary (Postal Clerks) suggested that Paragraph C. should be altered altogether. He suggested that entry to municipal services should be by competitive examination, and promotion by qualifying examination.

Mr. Johnson, Treasurer, said the point raised by Mr. Brennan they had in hand. Through the good offices of a valued friend they were having a compilation produced dealing with the present powers of local governing bodies and they were hoping that would be available for affiliated bodies within the next few weeks. On the question of preparation for elections they must leave that in the hands of the local bodies. It was for them to take such action

as they might decide. Unless these bodies supplied them with the information the Executive desired they could not do much. They were giving full consideration to the matter raised, and would do their best to give a lead to local bodies throughout the country. They had already indicated to Labour bodies what a Labour candidate should be. They laid it down that simply because a man called himself a Labour candidate was not sufficient. A man must not be merely an honorary member of a trades union. He must have practical experience within the ranks and should be nominated and financed by a Labour organisation. (Applause.)

MEATH STRIKE CORRECTION.

On the recommendation of Standing Orders Committee, Mr. Rooney (Drogheda) was allowed to make a correction of his statement in connection with the Meath Strike, that cattle driven under police protection were handled at Drogheda Quays by the Dockers. Since making that statement he had been informed that the cattle were being held up (applause), and he hoped the National Union of Dockers would understand that he had made the statement under a misapprehension. (Applause.)

ELECTION OF OFFICERS.

The scrutineers reported that the total number of voting papers returned was 216, and there was only one spoiled vote. The following was the result:—

| | | | |
|----------------------------|-----|-----|-----|
| Chairmanship—Thomas Farren | ... | ... | 157 |
| P. McGuirk | ... | ... | 54 |

Mr. Farren elected.

| | | | |
|-------------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|
| Vice-Chairmanship—James C. O'Connor | ... | ... | 157 |
| Dermot Logue | ... | ... | 45 |
| L. J. Duffy | ... | ... | 10 |

Mr. O'Connor elected.

Treasurership—Thomas Johnson—unopposed.

| | | | |
|---------------------------|-----|-----|-----|
| Secretaryship—Wm. O'Brien | ... | ... | 141 |
| Patk T. Daly | ... | ... | 71 |

Mr. O'Brien elected.

National Executive—T. MacPartlin, 171; Cathal O'Shannon, 168; T. C. Daly, 160; Miss Rose Timmon, 160; M. J. O'Lehane, 157; J. F. O'Farrell (Teachers), 155; J. T. O'Farrell (Railway Clerks), 152; L. J. Larkin, 148; Dawson Gordon, 147; Ed. O'Mahony, 142; M. J. Egan, 103; John Good, 57.

Miss Timmon and Messrs. MacPartlin, O'Shannon, T. C. Daly, O'Lehane, J. F. O'Farrell, J. T. O'Farrell, Larkin, Gordon and O'Mahony elected.

Auditors—Thos. Doherty, 132; Owen Hynes, 125; M. O'Flanagan, 72; R. F. Blackburne, 60.

Messrs. Doherty and Hynes elected.

Fraternal Delegates to Scottish Trade Union Congress, 1920—
T. MacPartlin, 174; Thos. Foran, 160; M. J. O'Connor, 65.
Messrs. MacPartlin and Foran elected.

It was subsequently announced that Mr. Duffy had withdrawn his nomination, a fact that had also been notified before the ballot took place.

The Agenda was then proceeded with.

Mr. D. Houston proposed No. 2 Resolution on the Agenda:—

FOOD SHORTAGE AND TILLAGE.

"That in view of the great scarcity and dearness of food, and the gloomy prospects of the international food supply by reason of the after-consequences of the war, the National Executive be instructed to oppose any relaxation of the Tillage Orders for next season, and to seek the co-operation of the English and Scotch Labour Movements towards this end."

—IRISH TRANSPORT AND GENERAL WORKERS' UNION.

He said it was regrettable it should be necessary, after all the resolutions they had passed for the last half century about emigration from their shores, and after the fight which the workers of Ireland had made on behalf of the Irish farmers, that it should be necessary to appeal to these people not to create new industry, but to maintain the industry we have. But the fact remained, if the information which came to him in the last few days was correct, that they were going to have less industry next year on the agricultural side than they had at present. "This," said the speaker, "is a very serious matter for the agricultural workers, but it is a much more serious matter for you." From what they knew of the way the food supply of the rest of the world was going, it was going to have little enough for itself, and therefore there was very little hope of the industrial centres in Ireland getting from foreign sources anything like the supply they had got heretofore at a reasonable price. Hence the necessity of having, in their own country, for the use of the industrial centres, a good supply of food. It had come to his knowledge that many farmers were laying down in grass land which had been used for flax, oats, wheat and barley growing. He was informed that a flax syndicate, which had under cultivation last year 1,800 acres, had cut it down this year to 1,400, and next year they intended making a further reduction to 800 acres. If this was to go on all over the country, particularly in Ulster, as he thought it was, where were their agricultural workers to go? They were going to get the emigrant ship because the towns were, unfortunately, already overmanned with workers, men and women. Of course the farming class would tell them that they could not go on any longer with the high wages, that it was not paying. Well, he submitted that the industrial population of Ireland should make a serious effort to convince the farmer that that was the policy that was going to kill

the Irish farmer. There was no country prosperous, or going to succeed very far, without a healthy, happy agricultural population (Hear, hear). The farmer himself killed his own industry in the past because he paid such a wage. The industrial centres did the same. They paid such a wage that the workers had to leave the country. They could not live in it, and consequently the home market was killed. Now any industry—and it applied particularly to farming—which had not a home market, was bound to go under. Bullocks did not want shirts (laughter); human beings did, and the more human beings they had the more the industry of Ireland would be absorbed. He impressed on Congress the necessity of insisting on the farmers tilling the land.

Mr. Rooney (Drogheda), in seconding, said he would like to make it clear that this resolution was nothing in the nature of an appeal to the British authorities, who were responsible for the tillage regulations in Ireland. He considered that the Labour movement in Ireland had quite sufficient power of its own to enforce regulations if it so willed and took the necessary steps. For a long time the farmers had met their demands for increased wages with the threat that they were going back to grass, that if the wages were put up to a living standard they would dismiss the workers and do with a herd and dog. They had definitely come to the conclusion that profits were far more important than human beings. It was up to Congress and the affiliated units to see, by direct action, that the farmers would be compelled to fulfil their obligations, not to the British Government, but to the Irish people, who were depending on the resources of the land. The farmers seemed determined on a policy of pasturage, but he had come to the conclusion that they could be prevented if the weapon of the boycott was adequately used, and if proper steps were taken to make their trade in bullocks a very bad paying transaction. The food situation he regarded as a serious one, having regard to the immense market opened in Europe on the cessation of hostilities.

Mr. Ryan (Thomastown, Kilkenny), supporting, contradicted the allegation of the farmers that tillage would not pay, and mentioned the market quotations. He held that compulsory tillage was not put into operation in a proper manner on the big ranches. The best land in Ireland had been left untilled. He claimed that the labourer should be put in a position to say that he demands the land. (Applause.)

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

Congress adjourned at 5 o'clock.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 7th.

Congress resumed business at 9 a.m., Mr. T. Cassidy, President, in the Chair.

CLONMEL ASYLUM STRIKE.

Having obtained permission to make a statement on this subject, Mr. M. J. O'Connor said the strike originated over a demand for £1 per week over pre-war wages, and a 56-hour week, as sanctioned at the Waterford Congress, and which was sent to all the asylums in Ireland, who met it in different ways. The 56-hour week was conceded by the Committee of Management, but they decided to refuse the £1 per week increase of wages on pre-war rate. The strike was on now eight weeks and the Committee had not been successful in getting any scabs into the institution. The Demobilized Soldiers' and Sailors' Federation absolutely refused to let any of their men in. As it was a fight on a question of principle the Asylum Workers' Union had given it their support, and the Committee of Management had made up their minds that they would fight it to the bitter end. From what they could see the Committee was made up of two elements that Labour was up against—the shopkeeper element and the farming element. The Farmers' Union of Tipperary were behind them because they had come out in their true colours. The Trades Council had taken up the matter wholeheartedly for the men. They now wanted the moral support of Congress, and accordingly he moved:—"That this Congress protests against the action of the Committee of Management of Clonmel Asylum in misapplying public money and prolonging the dispute existing with their staff, believing that their action constitutes a breach of the agreement with the Irish Asylum Workers' Union, and inflicts an amount of unnecessary suffering on the inmates who are mainly drawn from the working-classes; that we pledge our support to the Union and call on the Committee to settle the dispute and end a deplorable state of affairs for the Asylum."

Mr. Power, Irish Tailors (Clonmel), in seconding, said that unfortunately this was not like an ordinary dispute. A third party was concerned, and that was the helpless and unfortunate patients. At the start of the dispute the trade unionists of Tipperary recognised it as an attempt, on the part of a public board, to use public funds to fight trade unionism, and had used some of the means at their disposal to fight the Committee, the Farmers' Union and the Employers' Federation. As a member of Trades Council he could say that Clonmel at least, and for that matter Tipperary, was prepared for a General Strike for an indefinite period, if needs be, because they considered that this was an attack on trade unionism in Tipperary and would be a precedent throughout the country. He believed that Congress would have done the best day's work since its opening by pledging their support to the Asylum Workers' Union. He described the suffering endured by the patients in the asylum as appalling. It was said the Committee's case was that a man coming into employment should not get as much pay as a man or woman with ten years' service. But there was a scale of pay, before the war, according to years of service, starting with £20 and going up

to £42, and the increase asked was £1 per week on that scale. The Employers' Federation, the Farmers' Union and the Press were up against them, and he asked the Congress for their moral and, if need be, their financial support, because, if they took up this fight they would be taking it up for all Ireland. If the asylum workers were beaten he warned Congress that trade unionism would suffer.

The resolution was adopted unanimously.

HIGH COST OF LIVING.

Mr. Anthony, Typographical Association, proposed:—

"That this Congress calls for an immediate inquiry into the abnormally high cost of living in the towns and cities of Ireland, with a view to preventing the further exploitation of the working masses of the country by capitalists and middlemen, who have, during the war period, amassed considerable fortunes through profiteering, and that this inquiry shall include in its scope power to recommend to the proper authorities the advisability of fixing a maximum price on articles of food and clothing (such price to be fixed after allowing a fair margin of profit for cost of production and distribution), whereby a decent standard of living may be assured to all workers."

It was painfully obvious, he said, to all of them whatever might be their trade, that profiteering was rampant throughout the land. They had seen in their own country, although they had been described as a poor people, the enormous amount of capital or wealth, in the shape of money deposits, that was lying at the disposal of the Joint Stock Banks in this country. Coincident with the rise in the balances in these institutions they heard a good deal about Labour unrest. And why not Labour unrest? People were groaning under the reign of the profiteer. Some weeks ago a question was asked in the House of Commons as to the purchasing power of £100 now as compared with pre-war days, and the answer to that question was a revelation to him. The Board of Trade figures given from time to time were most misleading. While they heard that the cost of living was 107 per cent. up they knew that 160 per cent. would be nearer the mark. But the answer to the question in the House of Commons was that the workers did not spend as much; consequently the cost of living had gone down (laughter). He hoped when his resolution was passed it would not end merely like a lot of other resolutions passed in the country. He would like to see machinery put in motion to deal with the question to which it referred. He was not an advocate of Direct Action. But if there was anything in the history of this country that would justify extreme measures and Direct Action it was the present profiteering. He found that when the workers were out for a living wage, the politicians, Sinn Feiners, Unionists, Nationalists and all the others, were against Labour. Notwithstanding all they heard they were

divided and would continue to be divided as long as they were prepared to stand down that one party might fight another party.

Mr. Clarke (Belfast) seconded.

Mr. Kelly (Dublin) asked who would carry out the inquiry.

Mr. Anthony—I suppose the British House of Commons.

Mr. O'Brien—Does the House of Commons govern Ireland? ("No, no.")

Mr. Anthony—If Dáil Eireann would do the thing better for us I would be satisfied.

Mr. Duffy said he believed in Direct Action. The British Government were the greatest profiteers in this country.

Mr. Smyth (King's County) said there was only one way to reduce the cost of living, and that was through the application of the co-operative system.

The resolution was adopted, Mr. Duffy only dissenting. He gave as his reason that he did not see any good in the resolution.

HOUSING QUESTION.

The following resolutions were next dealt with:—

"That this Congress condemns the financial provisions of the Government's Housing Scheme as being quite unfitted to meet the requirements of the Irish workers, necessitating the payment of from 12/- to 16/- per week (according to locality) for rent and rates, of which amount no less than 4/- to 5/- per week is to be taken out of the pockets of the tenants to pay interest to money-lenders, in addition to a further 8/- or 10/- interest per week per house to be borne by the taxpayers. We declare that no scheme will be satisfactory which requires the payment by the tenant of interest charges on borrowed money."

"In view of the urgency of the housing problem in every part of the country, we call for the establishment of a National Housing Council comprising representatives of the local authorities and the Trades Unions in the building industry. This Council should take over the whole responsibility of housing and town planning from existing authorities with full power to survey the housing requirements of the whole country, commandeer or manufacture building materials as required, and build or arrange for the building of houses wherever required."

"That this Congress instructs the National Executive to use its utmost endeavours to secure as an urgent measure that more housing be provided for workers in rural districts, at least 70,000 additional houses being required immediately; further, that larger plots be allotted with each house, and that rural workers of all other grades, as well as farm-workers, be made eligible for labourers' cottages."

Mr. Johnson said it had been arranged that he should move the resolution on behalf of the National Executive, and that Mr. Farren, on behalf of the Transport Union, would be seconder. Proceeding, he said the first paragraph dealt entirely with the

financial aspect of this housing scheme, and it was important for them to recognise that, whatever problem there was in connection with housing in this country was at bottom a financial problem; but this only illustrated in a very definite and clear fashion what was at the bottom of most social problems—finance and interest (hear, hear). The figures in this resolution had been challenged; but he wanted to prove to them that, though they were somewhat modified by the change in the Government's figures, offering 25/- for every £1 of rent collected, as against the first offer of 20/-, the figures in the resolution were by no means exaggerated. He quoted a speech of Mr. Cowan, Chief Engineering Inspector to the Local Government Board, delivered in Belfast in June last, where he stated that a house costs twice as much to build as formerly, that money costs twice as much to borrow, and that a house to be built in accordance with modern ideas, must be at least 50 per cent. more capacious. The estimate of a distinguished authority in Belfast (Sir Robert McConnell) was even higher than that. It meant, according to Mr. Cowan's calculation, that for every shilling of rent paid before the war, one must now get six shillings; the Belfast authority put it at 7/6. Mr. Cowan referred to the many houses let in Belfast at 6/- per week, and, according to his calculation, the economic rent of similar houses, if built under present conditions, would be 36/-. According to the other estimate it would be 45/-. Now, that went far beyond the estimate in his resolution, and Mr. Cowan ought to know far more about estimates than he did. But, taking the estimate of Government inquiries across the Channel and the estimates of the Citizens' Association in Dublin, taking them all, he found that the lowest cost of a house of decent quality would be £650, if they were to include roads, sewers and the cost of site. The items were:—Cost of house (Mr. Cowan's estimate), £520; roads and sewers (Citizens' Association), £70; site (based on cost of Fairbrothers' Fields, Dublin, at 12 houses to acre), £60; total, £650. The interest on capital at 6 per cent. would be £39, 15/- per week; sinking fund, 1 per cent., £6 10/-; repairs, management and insurance, £7 16/-; total, £53 6/-, or 20/6 per week. That was exclusive of rates. The Government proposed to give 25/- for every £1 of rent collected, exclusive of rates, and his analysis led him to this, that if there was to be avoided any increase of rates the tenant must pay 9/- per week for rent, and the Government would pay 11/3. That was 20/3 for rent alone, exclusive of rates. The rates would vary according to valuation, and, according to rateable conditions in the different towns, but they could reckon it as a fact that the lowest charge for rent on the tenant under this scheme would be 9/- per week, exclusive of rates. These he put down at £12 5s., on a £15 valuation, or say 5/- a week more for rates, making in all 25/6 per week. To avoid any charge on the rates the tenant must pay 14/- per week, or 9/- for rent and 5/- for rates, the Government

paying 11/3 per week on the basis of 25/- for every 20/- of collected rent. Thus the total charge for the house, both on the Government and on the tenant, including rates, was 25/3. Now, what were the facts with regard to this finance? It meant that out of that 25/3, fifteen shillings was going to pay interest on capital to money lenders. If the people of the country, and the people of England and Scotland, were to realise that what they are paying week by week is really interest to money lenders, they would have a better idea of the economic situation in which they are living. When we realise that what is called rent is mainly interest, we will be inclined, perhaps, to cut at the roots of the economic system which lives upon money lending and payment for money lending. The second paragraph deals with the authority which, in their opinion, ought to control the housing of the people of Ireland. They thought that, despite peculiarities in one city or another, the problem was the same throughout the land, and should be dealt with by a National Council on which the building trades should be specially represented. In his view, whatever scheme was proposed which would result in building houses ought to be supported by municipal representatives and by the Labour movement, despite finance. If they got the houses then he was sure that some day—the sooner that day the better—the financial side of the question would be solved. If they had houses they could live in them. And he suggested that they ought to copy from the example that was universally set by the Governments of the various countries in national emergencies. When a Government wanted to house its soldiers in a district where they found there was no other accommodation, they went from house to house, and tallied the rooms available; and when they found there was a house with more rooms than people to fill them, they put the soldiers there. He suggested similar action to municipalities, or even to trade unionists. If they were to go and tally the houses where there were empty rooms, and put people in them, it would be a very effective stimulus to the activities of the governing bodies (applause).

Mr. Thomas Farren (Dublin), seconding, said the resolution should be the first thing taken up by the Labour bodies they hoped to see elected to the public Boards. It was in fact one of the most important questions that faced Trades Unionism in Ireland. Those of them who had any experience in rural Ireland knew the plight of the farm labourers who were forced to live in the hovels and sheds of their employers. They knew how the employers whinged and cried when the men tried to improve their conditions. They knew how the farmers adopted the meanest and most cowardly form of action by threatening to turn the labourer and his family on the roadside. The man who worked for an employer should not be in the house of that employer; because in the case of a dispute the danger was that the man and his wife and children would be thrown on the roadside. In Meath

and Kildare when the labourers went out, the first thing they were threatened with was an eviction. They must make the labourers independent of the employers. Housing conditions in Ireland was a disgrace to civilisation. Usually in rural Ireland the houses were two-roomed or one-roomed, and a man and his wife and four or five children were condemned very often to live in one room. They would insist that the smallest number of rooms in a house should be five, that the man and wife, boys and girls might have different rooms, so that the family could be brought up as Christians and human beings ought to be. He firmly believed that until such times as they were able to build decent houses for workers they would never get a proper sense of independence in the workers. The houses must be built, and when they were built they could go into the question of who should pay (hear, hear).

Mr. D. Campbell (Belfast Trades Council) said he must oppose the resolution in the terms in which it was given. Why, he asked, when the cost of building, site, and rate of interest had only been doubled the pre-war rent should be increased six times. Six shilling a week houses, he knew, were changing hands at less than double pre-war price.

Mr. Allen (Irish Post Office Clerks, Belfast), agreed with Mr. Campbell. They talked in their proposal, he said, of getting money from the Government free of interest. But where would the Government get the money free of interest. The Government must get the money from them, and were they prepared to give the Government their money free of interest. As regards workers with five or six children living in one-roomed and two-roomed houses, well they had to educate the workers to spend more money on rent and less on drink. They had men in Belfast earning £10 a week living in slumdom. Education was absolutely essential.

Mr. Cleary said he would like to hear where the money was to come from.

Mr. Douglas (Furnishing Trades, Belfast) said it did not matter what the houses cost—whether it was six times or twenty times the pre-war figure—the main thing was the getting of them. If the rents were so very high as it was suggested they would be, that very fact would be good propaganda for the workers, and would stimulate them to rise and defend their lives as nothing else would do.

Mr. Keegan (Engineers) said the members of his union instead of waiting for local councils to build houses for them, were building the houses within their own ranks for themselves. Their union had, he ventured to say, one of the best housing schemes promoted in the Three Kingdoms. Explaining the scheme, Mr. Keegan said that when the house was built for him, the member paid the rent to the union and owned the house in a certain

number of years. If such a scheme could be adopted by unions in general it would solve the difficulty of housing.

Mr. O'Donnell (Workers' Council, Cavan) resented the statement regarding the advisability of the worker spending less money in drink. They heard enough of that sort of thing from the capitalists without hearing it from a trades unionist. No housing scheme, he said, that would involve the paying of interest on borrowed money would be satisfactory. But they wanted the houses, and as the money to pay for building came from them, they were prepared to give it for the workers (applause). When they recognised that the money to build the houses was taken from them they would easily settle what the rent would be.

Mr. Johnson, in reply to Mr. Campbell, said the figures in the resolution were very much more moderate than Mr. Cowan's. Mr. Cowan might be an extremist; but he (Mr. Johnson) was a moderate (laughter). The figures in the resolution were modified by the new scheme raising the amount of the Government contribution by 5/-. Minus the modification the financial estimate in the resolution was absolutely sound and could not be controverted. It was based on all the estimates that had been made by the Government and local authorities. As to how the money could be raised without paying interest it was solved every day in the week. It was solved by a process of taxation. It was out of the fund of taxation the money would have to be found.

The resolution was unanimously agreed to.

EDUCATION.—THE KILLANIN REPORT.

On the recommendation of the Standing Orders Committee, the resolution of the Irish National Teachers' Organization on this subject was taken.

The resolution read:—

"That in the interests of Irish Education we demand that the recommendations contained in the report of the Killanin Education Inquiry Committee should be made operative without further delay."

Mr. P. J. Quinn (I.N.T.O., Dublin), who moved the adoption, said the Killanin Committee was set up after considerable agitation by the teachers, who, at their Congress at Easter, accepted its findings, but on the distinct understanding that they were more or less satisfactory for the moment, and without prejudice to any further claim by them. The scale of salaries could be put into operation at any time without any Bill being required at all. They would like to see the whole recommendations put into force, but a reasonable time for putting the scale into force or introducing a Bill had expired, and the teachers were becoming absolutely impatient, and had made up their minds to wait no longer, unless definite and drastic action was taken, and if the teachers did not get what they wanted there would be an addition to the unrest in the country.

Mr. McCarthy (Central Teachers' Association, Dublin), seconded, saying that the conditions of education in Ireland and the treatment of the teachers were a scandal and a disgrace to the British Empire.

Mr. Irvine (Postmen's Federation, Belfast), said there were four different organisations of teachers in Ireland, and it was because the teachers were not united that the report was not put into operation.

Mr. Quinn said the cause of the delay was political. The teachers were the victims of political jugglery on the part of the English politicians.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

REVOLUTIONISING EDUCATION.

Mrs. Mortished (Irish Women Workers' Union) proposed the following resolutions grouped:—

'That this Congress shall not separate until it has appointed a Committee which shall work in conjunction with experienced students of education to devise a scheme whereby education in Ireland may be so revolutionised as to meet the real needs of the rising generation.'

"That, pending the extension of the school age limit, this Congress recommends Trade Unions to endeavour to obtain for all workers under 16 years of age a curtailment of working hours and facilities for education in the leisure thus gained."

Mr. O'Donnell (Cavan Workers' Council), in seconding, suggested that there was no real system of education in the country. It was supposed to be catering for the workers, but was beyond any control from the workers. He thought the attitude of the workers generally towards the question was nothing to be very proud of. Go about the country and look at the sort of buildings tolerated. Some places they might find fairly good schools, separate schools for separate denominations, but if they went inside they would find the teacher attempting to divide himself into five parts. He would briefly sketch what might be a basis of reconstruction, his intention being to put something forward as a basis of argument. As to furniture and decorations, the school should be a model to suggest to the child what a home should be. There should be a refectory, and one meal a day should be compulsory on all the children attending the schools. They did not want the term "necessitous children." This system would afford means of proper training in cookery to the girls, and, worked in conjunction with it, especially in the rural districts, there should be a school garden, and thus, they would be introducing to the children, at the beginning of their lives, a picture of co-operative work. He further suggested something in the way of a school uniform. He had great belief in the effect of clothes on children, and that it influenced the child's self-respect

to be properly dressed. Such a scheme would supply the girls with the means of training in laundry work. He hoped the time would come when the private wash-tub would disappear, and the school become the laundry for the locality. The next point was free school books. The control of the school should also be in the hands of a local committee. He endorsed the proposal in the resolution to appoint a Committee, and suggested that their report should be drawn up in pamphlet form. The present school system he described as a tragedy.

Mr. J. F. O'Farrell (Teachers) said he had considerable experience in the work of primary education, and no one desired a radical change more than he did, to give effect to some of the ideas that had been expressed with regard to better conditions as to buildings, comfortable surroundings and facilities, but, at the same time, he was doubtful of the wisdom of appointing a Committee from that Congress, there and then, to deal with the matters referred to. The resolution already adopted by the Congress would meet very largely every question that had been raised there. The Killanin Commission provided for the setting up School Attendance Committees, with power to rate for the upkeep of schools, providing new schools, better houses for teachers, free books, meals and fuel, and for medical inspection also. Now, that went a long way, and he preferred to see Congress and the Executive Committee concentrating upon giving effect to these recommendations, if they were agreed upon by all parties interested and connected with education, rather than setting up a Committee to draft and prepare a new scheme. Reference had been made to the fact that in some villages there were two or three schools for different denominations. Well, he thought that any attempt to interfere with that would interfere with the fundamental principle on which education had been administered so long, and he would advise Congress to approach that question very cautiously. Until they had control of their own affairs it would be rather a ticklish question for Congress. As regards the school programme, their experience as teachers was that every faddist must get his particular fad into the programme with the result that teachers really had not time to do the work of real education in the schools. After all the real work of a teacher was in the development of character, and, as things were at present, a teacher would want to be twenty-four hours a day in the school in order to cope with all the different subjects that were put upon him. The temperance reformer, the elementary science advocate, and even the people interested in cruelty to animals came along and wanted their particular methods in the schools, and the Irish language must take up some time. The result was a programme so utterly unsuitable that the children and parents were getting fairly disgusted with the work. He would like to see some Committee starting what would be a workable and suitable programme, having regard to the circum-

stances, but further than that he would not like to go at the present time (applause).

Mr. Houston (Belfast) said he agreed with the last speaker on the question of the school programmes. He had it on reliable authority that whenever a scheme was tried in Scotland and turned out a failure, it was then shoved on to Ireland. That was the sort of education they had—the refuse of the School Board system.

The Chairman said the only contentious matter was the appointment of a Committee from that Congress.

Mr. Boyle (King's Co. Trades Council) said he was not prepared to go the whole way and give full powers to the Committee appointed.

The President suggested that the first section should be withdrawn and the second section put to the Congress.

A delegate said the real objection was to setting up a Committee haphazard here and now.

The President asked would Mrs. Mortished consent to having the matter referred to the National Executive.

Mrs. Mortished was understood to agree to this course, and the second section was then carried *mem. con.*

JIM LARKIN'S RETURN.

On the recommendation of the Standing Orders' Committee, Mr. Thomas Foran, President I. T. and G.W.U., was allowed to bring forward a matter of urgency. Mr. Foran said he would read a resolution which would explain itself. It was—"That this Congress of delegates of the Irish workers condemns the action of the British and United States Governments in refusing passports to Jim Larkin to return of the exercise of his duties as General Secretary of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, and on behalf of the Irish working class, Congress demands that the workers and working class organisations of Great Britain and the United States secure facilities for Larkin's return to Ireland." That resolution, Mr. Foran explained, was the outcome of a cablegram Larkin sent to him saying he was held up in America owing to being unable to get passports. He was sure Congress would assist in the endeavour to facilitate Larkin's return.

Mr. John Farren (Sheet Metal Workers, Dublin), seconded. Only for Larkin, he said, the Labour movement in Ireland would not occupy the position it did to-day.

Mr. Hawkins (I.T.W.U., Cork), supported the resolution. The action of the British Government was bad enough, but what were they to think of the United States, the supposed friend of Ireland. The American Government were the greatest bluffers in the world.

He took it there had been some intrigue with reference to this question of passports. Larkin never did anything to bring discredit to his name (hear, hear). He had always stood up to redress the wrongs of the downtrodden.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

REVOLUTION IN EUROPE.

Mr. Cathal O'Shannon proposed the following resolution, which appeared on the agenda in the name of the National Executive:—

"The working class in Ireland renews its fraternal greetings to the workers of Russia; congratulates the Workers' Republics of both Russia and Hungary upon their successful resistance to the attack made upon them by International Capitalism; sends best wishes for the success of the workers' revolution in Germany and Austria; and condemning as an attack upon the workers the intervention of the Allied and Associated Powers in Russia and Hungary, calls upon the Labour and Socialist Parties in the Entente countries to take action at once to save these Workers' Republics, and declares its readiness to give such help as is in its power to make this international action effective."

Mr. O'Shannon spoke in Irish and English. "The resolution, he said, was clear and defined. All the powers of Capitalism, Imperialism and Militarism in Great Britain, in France, America, Japan and Germany were leagued together for the crushing of the Workers' Republics of Hungary and Russia. They overthrew the Bavarian Workers' Republic, and they had now overthrown the Hungarian Workers' Republic. But in spite of two years of war they had not overthrown the Russian Workers' Republic (applause). That Workers' Government stood for exactly the same kind of freedom, political, industrial and social as the Constitution of the Irish Labour party stood for. The hypocritical Wilson, the cynical Clemenceau, the crafty Lloyd George, sent the word around the world that the Bolsheviks had committed atrocities. They said too they had communised the women of Russia. The Bolsheviks did not do anything of the kind. But they abolished the housing system which in this country compelled boys and girls, men and women, to herd together in one little stall (applause). The workers of Russia fought for two years against the joint navalism of the Imperialists, and they would beat them as they defeated Germany at Brest Litovsk. The English working class, the French working class, and the American working class had failed the Bolsheviks. If they ever called for the support of the Irish working class he was sure they would not fail them. They send them greetings from the Irish workers. They would send greetings to France and Britain to-morrow if they formed working class Governments. Their triumph—the triumph of the Irish working class—was bound up with the triumph that was coming, yea, that had come, to the Bolsheviks of Russia.

Mr. Rooney (Drogheda) seconded the resolution, which was unanimously adopted.

MILITARY OCCUPATION OF IRELAND.

Mr. T. C. Daly (Railway Workers) proposed the following on behalf of the National Executive:—

"That this Congress formally enters its protest against the continued occupation of this country by the military forces of the British Empire despite the clearly expressed will of the Irish people. We call upon the workers of England, Scotland, and Wales to use all the forces at their command to compel their Government to withdraw the Army of Occupation from Ireland immediately."

He said they had seen that day how the spirit of freedom was exercised with regard to their friend, Jim Larkin. . The Great Republic, so-called, had refused to allow the originator of the true militant Labour movement in this country egress to come to his native land. So it was with those who defended law and order in this country. They wanted to crush the working classes. His contention was that they were faced as workers with a mischievous and vexatious interference with their ordinary citizenship. In the town of Plymouth he had to appeal to the sentiment of the English, Welsh and Scotch delegates of his own organisation to impress on them the necessity of withdrawing military occupation from this country, and he was proud to say that the representatives of 500,000 organised workers carried a far stronger resolution. He held it was a far easier and more economic proposal to withdraw the troops from this country than from Russia. True it was that crimes of various descriptions happened in every country, but he ventured to suggest that the percentage was far greater in any other country than in Ireland. He asked them to pronounce in no uncertain voice that we who love freedom do not require military or any other forces here (applause).

Mr. Thomas Johnson (National Union Shop Assistants), in seconding, said the resolution embodied the kernel of the whole Irish question, or, if they liked to put it so, the whole English question. They took their stand with Sir Edward Carson and the Ulster Covenanters in declaring—"Leave us alone." When Carson could join hands with Sinn Fein and Nationalist, and Capitalist could join with Labour in saying—"We merely want to be left alone," surely the present military occupation had no justification? They claimed that the military forces of the British Empire should be withdrawn. It was a very simple proposition, but he thought it would pave the way for solving all the questions of political and social relationship between the British Empire and the Irish people.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

PEACE TREATY AND LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

Mr. O'Shannon proposed the resolution that stood in the name of the National Executive:—

"That this Congress condemns and repudiates the Covenant of the League of Nations and the Peace Treaties drawn up at Paris as being a breach of the principles of democracy and self-determination and opposed to the accepted policy of the Labour Movement expressed nationally and internationally, a perpetuation under a new form of an alliance of one group of States, and an instrument designed for the more thorough exploitation of the working class, the more effective suppression of all liberties, political, social and national, the imposition of a peace of violence and therefore of injustice upon peoples outside the Entente, and the continued oppression of subject peoples under the Entente, particularly Ireland, India, and Egypt; and Congress pledges the Labour Movement in Ireland to help to resist the carrying into effect of the Paris Covenant and Treaties, and to assist the workers and peoples of all countries to realise their aspirations for political and social freedom through an international league of the working-class of all countries."

The Irish delegates, he said, at the Berne and Amsterdam Conferences did their work and did it well. They might not be satisfied with everything that happened at these two Conferences. The Irish Labour movement, like the Labour movement in practically every country in the world, early in the war, or at least before the war was half over, came to certain decisions as to the peace that was to follow the war. In most cases these decisions were arrived at almost unanimously, and independent of the cause and justness or unjustness of the war. Here as elsewhere they agreed that after the war there should be no further opportunity for a combination of any set of Capitalistic Powers against any country. The Amsterdam and Berne Conferences adopted that resolution and elaborated it. But the necessary steps had not been taken to carry out this programme of the Labour and Socialist parties throughout the world. They had occasion at Berne and Amsterdam to criticise the inaction of the International leaders of the Labour movement. He was sorry that Congress did not discuss the report relating to the International delegations, and express their views on that particular matter. Let them consider what the Paris Conference had done. President Wilson had come over from America with fourteen very magnificent principles or points. But neither President Wilson nor any of the freedom-mongers made any attempt whatever to have these principles carried out. They, or some of them in the Labour movement, had never much confidence in Wilson. Wilson had had his chance but did not take it. And now four men, Orlando, Clemenceau, Lloyd George, and Wilson had created a greater hell in Europe than the war itself had created. The war was a war between one militarism against another militarism, but the

"peace" was a fight between Militarism, Capitalism and Imperialism on one side and the working classes, and nobody but the working classes, on the other side. He wanted Congress to say in the face of the whole world what the Unionists said about Home Rule. It would not, they said, pass Portadown! The Peace Treaty, Congress would say, would not pass the Irish Coast (applause).

Mr. Rooney seconded the resolution and it was agreed to.

ADULT WORKING-CLASS EDUCATION.

Mr. Jas. J. Hughes (I.T.G.W.U., Dublin), proposed the following:—

"That the incoming National Executive be instructed to promote, or to co-operate with other organisations in promoting a scheme of adult working-class education to be made accessible to members of affiliated societies throughout the country."

He said the promoters of the movement distinguished between working-class education and education as understood in the ordinary sense. Education, as they had it, assumed and supported the existence of the present social system, accepted it completely and excluded utterly any suggestion that there can or should be any better social system. With that exclusion and that outlook of established educational system the working-class movement was entirely at variance. They held that there should be another interpretation of life, another social outlook, not on the basis of competition but having more or less a non-competitive basis—that all should be workers. The suggestion was that they establish a Central Labour College, and a Committee working in Dublin had already done something in that direction, and suggested the endowment of the Connolly College which would provide for proficiency in the various subjects. The situation at present in Europe illustrated how vital was the promotion of working-class education. Revolution might establish a system, but it would not be permanent until the average worker was educated up to the level of that system. As he understood the Labour movement of the future, the rank and file would play a much larger part in the working of their unions and the officials would be relegated to the position of carrying out the routine work of the organisation as specialists in that technical work. There accordingly arose the necessity of the rank and file having a thorough grasp of all their problems (applause).

Mr. Thomas Nagle (Transport Union, Naas), seconded the resolution. He said if the workers of Ireland wanted to prove that they were more advanced than the workers of Great Britain, as had been stated there, they should impress on the National Executive the necessity of organising a Labour College, with branches in various parts of Ireland.

The resolution was adopted unanimously.

NEWSPAPER MISREPRESENTATION.

Mr. E. Lynch (Queenstown Trades Council) proposed the following:—

"That this Congress deprecates the persistent campaign of misrepresentation carried on in the capitalist press against the Labour Movement; and is of the opinion that the printing and allied trades should exercise their industrially organised power towards a mitigation of this insidious and effective attack, which in critical moments is highly destructive to the unity of the Labour Movement."

He said the employers realised the importance of the Press, and the Labour Party had made no attempt, or a very inadequate attempt, in this country to build up a counter Press whereby they might counteract the misrepresentation which had been spread continuously against their movements. They knew how the Press leads public opinion, and the power it possesses that, in moments of strife the Press was used against them by the employers, which had the effect of weakening the *morale* of their army in parts. The campaign carried on against their comrades in Russia and other countries had been very effective, and they heard of the atrocious crimes alleged to have been committed by the Bolsheviks. He thought the printers and allied trades should do something towards mitigating this and, if possible, put a stop to it. It was not fair to those men who were fighting such a splendid battle in those countries, that we should deliberately assist in spreading this campaign of calumny against them. There was another aspect of the resolution. It was asking for the use of industrial power for other purposes than what they had been accustomed to use it in the past. It was, as some delegates had called it, a dictatorship. His opinion was that they had not enough of dictatorship and should dictate a little more. Well-organised trades dictated to the employer that he must not employ non-union labour, and in that sense they were dictators, and desired to have a little more of that dictatorship.

Mr. W. J. Murphy (Whitesmiths, Dublin) seconded.

Mr. J. T. O'Farrell (Railway Clerks) opposed the resolution. He said it was enough to have one form of censorship in the land and not set up another. He did not think the labour movement should give power to any Union authority to arrogate to itself the right to censor any news which did not meet their views, and it was not fair to the printers that they be asked to uphold it. He moved as a compromise that they proceed to the next business.

Mr. Seamus Byrne (Insurance Agents) scoured this, but the amendment was lost by 70 votes to 24.

Mr. Anthony, Cork, said the only way out of the difficulty of the Capitalist Press was the establishment of a Labour Press. The acid test of their sincerity in this matter was the amount they were prepared to contribute to subsidise a Labour paper. The Labour Press they had was only one of six pages. It should be twenty pages.

The President (Mr. Cassidy) said the only thing was to impress on the workers that the Press was in the hands of the capitalist class,

and to place no reliance on them. Let a Labour Press be established. They were talking about it day after day, but there was very little done. Get it into the minds of the workers that a Labour Press is necessary. Ask for it and get it.

Mr. Farrelly (Dublin Trades Council) said this was one of the most important points before Congress since they met. He agreed that it would be throwing an extraordinary onus on the printer. He suggested to those who bought the daily Press, that they should have sufficient consistency to stand aside, say, for one month and refuse to buy a single newspaper edited by the capitalists. It would soon make them change their tactics so that they would not try to pervert the pure mind of labour by issuing innuendoes.

Mr. Quinn said the only remedy was the establishment of a daily labour paper for Ireland, but the danger was that, if it were started to-morrow, it would be suppressed. He thought, however, that they had a fairly decent paper in England, the *Daily Herald*, and he would suggest to their Executive that they should approach the authorities on that paper and ask them to give a complete page to Irish labour affairs, and they could circulate the paper throughout the country.

Mr. Kelly (Postmen's Federation) said the resolution would put a responsibility on the printing trade which they could never accept.

It was agreed that the question be put, and on a division the resolution was carried, amidst applause, by 72 votes to 43.

OLD AGE PENSION.

Mr. Walsh (Railwaymen) proposed and Mr. Smyth seconded:—

"That the qualifying age for Old Age Pensions be reduced from 70 to 60, the pension be increased to £1 per week, and that superannuation allowance from Trade, Friendly, or Benefit Societies be no longer a barrier to the granting of the full amount: the Labour members to be asked to urge on this matter."

Resolution agreed to.

SECRET REPORTS RESPECTING TEACHERS.

On the motion of Mr. O'Connell, Teachers' Organisation, seconded by Mr. Cleary, Waterford, the following resolution was adopted:—

"That this Congress condemns the present practice of the Board of National Education, whereby teachers are penalised, even to the extent of having their salaries withdrawn, on the strength of anonymous or secret reports, and we claim for the teachers against whom charges may be preferred the right of the ordinary citizen to a full, fair, and open trial before penal action is taken."

TRADE UNION AND CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENTS.

Mr. Davin, Railway Clerks, proposed:—

"That having regard to the mutual interests of the Trade Union and Co-operative Movements, this Congress strongly urges upon the workers of Ireland the desirability of taking a more active interest

in the development of the Co-operative Movement, and with a view to the promotion of a better understanding and closer relationship between the two Movements, requests the National Executive Committee to examine the position as early as possible, and make such recommendations as appear necessary to the affiliated organisations." If they decided to pass the resolution, he said, he would ask them to give instructions to the Executive Committee to deal with this important question at once. This year and last they had expressed their appreciation of the Russian Revolution. The success of that Revolution was largely due to the fact that in Russia the co-operative movement was firmly established. The function of Trade Unionists in the past had been to go to employers for more wages. To-day if they got increased wages they had to pay more for food and clothing. They must now take in hand the control of the supplies and necessities of life. They could only do that through the co-operative movement. They might well copy the co-operative movement across the Channel whose trading amounted to £156,000,000 a year. They had been able to distribute over there £26,000,000 in profits. He thought there should be a recommendation to the Executive Committee that the funds of the Trades Unions should be invested in the co-operative movement. Most of their funds were invested in concerns to beat themselves. The Executive Committee should be asked to call in experts before submitting a scheme to the workers of the country.

Mr. Hill (Cork) seconded the resolution, and it was unanimously adopted.

INCOME-TAX.

The following resolution, of which, on the recommendation of the Standing Orders Committee, the Limerick Trades Council had charge, was unanimously agreed to:—

"That as a result of the present tax levied on the workers earning £130 a year (which on the present value of money is equal to about 55 guineas), we demand that steps be taken by the National Executive with the Government to have the abatement increased to at least £250 a year; and pending such increase they be instructed to devise means and advise affiliation bodies how best to resist the present exactions."

NATIONALISATION OF TRANSPORT INDUSTRIES.

Mr. O'Farrell, Railway Clerks, proposed:—

"That this Congress, whilst welcoming the creation by Parliament of a Ministry of Ways and Communications, and approving generally the Bill now passing through the House of Commons, in so far as it establishes the principle of Government control and the unification and co-ordination of the Transport Services of the country, expresses its regret that the purchase clauses of the Bill, as originally introduced, have been eliminated, and records its conviction that no measure will prove satisfactory for dealing with these vital National Services in a way that will secure the highest interests of the community which does not provide for the complete nationalisation of all forms of

transport and their administration by the State under provisions which will ensure that those who are engaged in the Transport Industry shall have a direct share in determining the conditions under which it is to be carried on.

"It is therefore, resolved that the Government be urged to prepare and elaborate, within the period of two years, during which the control under the present Bill is to continue, a definite policy of State purchase and management along the lines indicated, and that a copy of this resolution be sent to the Prime Minister, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, and the Minister-Designate of Ways and Communications."

Mr. O'Farrell said, in support of the resolution—The Ways and Communications Bill at present passing through the Lords, is, with all its faults, more revolutionary in character than might have been anticipated, as the principles of the Bill run counter to accepted constitutional and legislative precedent. It is indeed the one really practical step the Government have taken towards the carrying out of that great policy of industrial reconstruction about which we heard so much during the last election. Although the Bill does not pledge the Government to Nationalisation, we should welcome it as a great step along the road which leads that way. State control and centralised administration are very like the almost certain precursors of complete Nationalisation, upon the great transport industry, upon the successful development of which the industrial rejuvenation and prosperity of the country so largely depend. If we only take one branch of transport—the railways—as at present owned and administered, we shall see how difficult it is to have an efficient or effective transport service while the prevailing conditions obtain. There are in Great Britain about 80 different railway companies. In Ireland alone, where we have only 3,400 miles of railway (including the light railways) there are (counting the joint lines) no less than 38 different companies administered by 231 Directors. Many of these are addle-headed old men, knowing nothing of transport and caring less, but placed in positions of power and control simply because they have money. You can form a slight idea therefore of the hopelessness of getting all these separate and distinct concerns to agree upon a common policy—unless indeed it be a policy which promises increased dividends. The railways have been worked for profit without any regard whatever for the interests of the community or the economic and industrial development of the country. Well, the Ways and Communications Bill, as at first introduced, empowered the Government, through a Minister of Ways and Communications, to take over full control for a period of two years after the passing of the Bill of—

- (a) Railways.
- (b) Light Railways.
- (c) Tramways—except Municipally-owned Tramways.
- (d) Canals, Waterways and Inland Navigation.

- (e) Roads, Bridges and Ferries, and Vehicles and Traffic thereon.
- (f) Harbours, Docks and Piers.
- (g) The Supply of Electricity.

It empowered the Minister, by Orders in Council, to purchase compulsorily (if necessary) the whole or any part of these undertakings and work them under the provisions of the Bill. It further provided for the purchase of the whole or any portion of the 700,000 privately-owned wagons which at present encumber the different lines, particularly in Great Britain, to the detriment of the ordinary trader and public owing to the great wastage of shunting and unnecessary haulage they involve. The evident object of the Bill was to provide a temporary means of dealing with transport so that in the intervening two years of Government control there would be an opportunity of devising a final and definite policy of Transport Nationalisation. For this reason the Bill was welcomed by the Labour Party and supported by them, while making it plain that nothing less than complete Nationalisation would satisfy Labour as an ultimate solution of the problem.

But the advocates of private enterprise are strongly entrenched in the present House of Commons, and although the Bill came pretty safely through the Committee Stages, it was sadly clipped in the Report Stages—the Government capitulating in order to remain in power, to the storm of organised opposition developed and led by great capitalist representatives who oppose not only Nationalisation but any measure that tends to lead that way. My Joynson Hicks (representing the Road Motor Development interests), Sir Frederick Banbury (representing Railway Shareholders and Directors) were able to make serious inroads into the Bill. The purchase clauses were practically eliminated, or, at all events, rendered of such a nature as to involve possible delays that may cause the greatest stumbling blocks to be placed in the way by designing opponents of Nationalisation. More serious than all was the fact that harbours, docks and piers have been excluded from the scope of the Bill, except that the Minister may call on the owners to make what he considers necessary improvements, but there are also loopholes for getting out of this difficulty or at all events of delaying the work. Consequently those reactionary institutions—the dockowners and, of course, the ship-owners—will be left undisturbed and at liberty to still remain the clog on the wheel that they have always been—both in the manner in which they have catered for the community and the manner in which they meet their employees. Many other amendments have been agreed to which take away from its utility, but the Bill is still in many respects a great revolutionary measure as far as it goes.

However, it is impossible to expect really successful control when the ownership lies with other people whose influence may be used to hamper and obstruct that control. Therefore, the remedy is complete Nationalisation—notwithstanding the shrieks of the shareholders and their grim prophecies of national bankruptcy and ulti-

mate ruin. We hear a lot about the deficit on the railways in 1919. It is estimated at £60,000,000, but it is never mentioned that £50,000,000 of this amount goes to pay dividends on capital—a large proportion of which is merely nominal and has never been paid up. This deficit can easily be wiped out by the elimination of competitive services; by the common use of all rolling stock and its consequent corollary, the elimination of the privately-owned wagon. In the common use of the private wagon during the past few years there has been a saving of £3,000,000 per annum. Then the utility of the lines can be enormously increased by the electrification of certain important sections and eventually of the whole lot, by the building of larger wagons and the standardisation of all rolling stock. And last, though not least, by the elimination of the hundreds of antiquated old gentlemen who have encumbered the various boardrooms in the past.

But all concerned must definitely understand that no measure of Nationalisation will be accepted by the workers which does not give Labour a share in the control. The Railway Nationalisation Society and the various Railway Trade Unions have agreed to propose the appointment of six permanent Commissioners not changing with the coming and going of Governments, to manage the railways in the event of their being Nationalised, three of these to represent the Government and the other three to be appointed directly by Labour. Even Lord Robert Cecil has recently stated that no industrial system could be satisfactory unless the utmost use was made of the skill and knowledge of the worker, who should be directly represented on the Boards of Management. That statement is good enough for us, provided the representation is sufficiently strong to be effective. Those who are making their last desperate fight against the flowing tide of Nationalisation should take care that they are not grasping at the shadow and missing the substance. Those who endeavour to enrich themselves at the expense and to the detriment of the rest of the community will have their day of reckoning—sooner or later—and the terms they would get by peaceful submission to the inevitable will certainly not improve by frantic resorts to methods of an insidious and underhand character.

Mr. Davin seconded.

Mr. Duffy (Cork) opposed, because (he said) the latter portion of the resolution assumed that this country was a domestic province of the British Government. He protested against sending the resolution to the English Prime Minister and other British Ministers. He proposed that the resolution be withdrawn.

Mr. Good seconded.

Mr. O'Farrell said they should welcome the advance of the principle of nationalisation no matter from what quarter it came. They had passed a resolution in favour of nationalisation before. If they followed the principle advocated by Mr. Duffy they would have to withdraw Messrs. O'Brien and Foran from the Coal Commission.

Mr. T. Foran—We represent the miners who are members of the Transport Union, and not this Congress.

The resolution was carried by a majority, the voting being 92 for and 21 against.

DISCHARGED SOLDIERS AND TRADES UNIONS.

The following resolution stood in the name of the I.T. and G.W.U. :—

"That this Congress protests against the attempts now being made to persuade discharged and demobilised soldiers and sailors to enter civil employment as scabs and strike-breakers. We call upon all ex-soldiers and demobilised men to join their trade union, and take their proper place in the struggle for the emancipation of the working class. We recognise that whatever differences there may be respecting the rights and wrongs of the war (or of military service in the British Army), that men who are no longer in the army, but in civil employment, are a menace to the Labour movement as a whole, if they remain unorganised outside the trade unions, or become organised into associations which are promoted and patronised by their industrial enemies for the purpose of lowering wages and breaking down the resistance of the organised workers."

To this was added, on the recommendation of the Standing Orders Committee :—"And further, Congress is opposed to ex-service men who enjoy pensions accepting a lower rate than the standard trade union rate prevailing in any employment they may enter."

Mr. Kennedy (I.T.W.U., Dublin), proposed the resolution, which, he said, was not put forward in any spirit of antagonism towards these men. They wanted them now to march in the ranks of Labour. He wanted it to be absolutely clear that the resolution did not refer in any way to the Discharged Soldiers' Federation.

Mr. Slattery (Automobile Drivers' Union) seconded, and also said there was no opposition to ex-service men. In the last couple of months half the men joining his union were demobilised soldiers.

The resolution was agreed to.

TRAINED NURSES.—CONDITIONS OF EMPLOYMENT.

Mrs. Mortished proposed :—

"That this Congress, being aware of the conditions of work, hours, and remuneration of all grades of Trained Nurses, condemns them as thoroughly unsatisfactory, and recommends the work of the Irish Nurses' Union to the assistance of all Trade Unionists, and particularly of all Labour members of Boards of Guardians, City and County Councils, and other Public Boards."

She instanced the miserable salaries and unenviable conditions of nurses in Dublin, Wexford, Meath, Kilkenny, and Mayo, and submitted the following memo:—

“Condition of Nurses in Hospitals as described by Miss Reeves, President of the Irish Nurses' Association, at a meeting called as a counter-stroke to the propaganda of the Irish Nurses' Union ('Irish Times' report):

“The hours of work of nurses varied from 60 to 70 hours per week, and a 56 hours' week seemed to her a reasonable time to ask. The conditions of training also varied. In some instances a fee of £50 was charged, while in others it was from £15 to £30, but an agreement was entered into by which a nurse gave a year or a year and a half to the hospital at a very small salary at the end of her three years training. During training the salaries varied from £4 to £10 in the first year, £6 to £12 in the second year, £8 to £14 in the third year, and about £20 in the fourth year.

“The Irish Board of the College of Nursing, Ltd.,—also an anti-Trade Union body—adopted the following proposals in March last as a desirable *improvement* on existing conditions:—

“Abolition of fees on nurses entering hospital.

Probationers should receive in the first year, £12; second year, £15; third year, £20, minima.

“Maximum working hours, 56 per week, distributed to allow a day off in fourteen; in night duty a night off weekly.

“No nurse should be kept on night work for more than three months continuously.”

(“Irish Independent” report, 26th February, 1919).

Miss Timmon, Dublin, seconded the resolution, which was adopted.

AGRICULTURAL WAGES BOARD.—MINIMUM WAGE.

Mr. Phelan (I.T. and G.W.U.) proposed:—

“That this Congress demands that the minimum wage fixed by the Agricultural Wages Board shall be raised immediately to a sum at least equal in purchasing power to a pre-war wage of 20/- per week.”

They should raise the status of the agricultural labourer to that of the railwaymen, he urged.

Mr. Ryan (Callan) seconded, and said the minimum wages fixed was not sufficient to enable a man to support a family. The agricultural labourers produced the food when the Government needed it, and were rewarded in some places with a minimum wage of 26/-.

The resolution was adopted.

YEARLY HOLIDAYS WITH PAY.

A resolution on this subject was submitted by the Irish Women Workers' Union. It was "That this Congress asserts the right of all workers to a yearly holiday on full pay of not less than two weeks." Unanimously agreed to.

CERTIFICATES OF COMPETENCY AND ABOLITION OF EYESIGHT TEST FOR ENGINE DRIVERS.

Mr. Muldowney (Stationery Engine Drivers, Dublin), proposed, and Mr. Morgan (Dublin) seconded:—

"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 these 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.

"That it be an instruction to the National Executive of the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress 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 enginemmen.

"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."

Mr. Walsh (N.U.R.) opposed the resolutions. They were out, he said, for control, and claimed that if an examination was put forward it must be without the assistance of the men. If the resolution said "Stationary Engine Drivers" they would take no action.

Mr. Duffy supported Mr. Walsh, and the resolution was put to a vote, with the following result:—For, 6; against, 91.

The Chairman said he hoped the result would be a warning that resolutions should be clear in future.

TEMPORARY CLERKS IN GOVERNMENT SERVICE.

The resolution on this subject, on the recommendation of the Standing Orders Committee, was amended to read as follows:—

“ That this Congress is of the opinion that the Government should make provision for the abolition of the system of temporary appointments with various Government departments while providing for all those who have been employed in these offices during the war by placing them upon the same basis as permanent Civil Servants; their period of service as temporary Civil Servants to count.”

Mr. McGuinness proposed the adoption of the resolution. These temporary clerks had been forced out of their positions, he said, on account of the war, and trade unionists should support their claims now. The resolution was no interference with the competitive examination system.

Mr. Power (Waterford) seconded.

Mr. Allen (Belfast) said if the resolution was passed and carried into effect it would mean that young men coming forward in Ireland would be excluded from examinations for years to come. The temporary clerks were not forced out of their jobs, but they accepted employment which they knew was to be only of a temporary nature from the Government. He opposed the resolution.

Mr. Kelly (Dublin) also opposed it.

Mrs. Mortished asked would the Clerical Workers explain why they had not given assistance to the Civil Servants.

Mr. Doherty (Derry Trades Council) supported Mr. Allen in opposing the resolution. There were twenty boys in Derry, he said, who had qualified for the positions of clerks in the Post Office but they were not called. Derry was filled with temporary clerks and it was most unjust to the others he mentioned.

Mr. Logue (Clerical Workers) supported the resolution, and said it was the right to live they were supporting for these temporary clerks who were the backbone of Irish Trades Unionism. They were now dealing with Government offices created by the war. The clerical workers were not dependent on the Whitley Report. They relied on the strength of their organisation. They were determined to fight whether they had the assistance of Congress or not. They meant to assert the right of the temporary clerks to live in their own country and he hoped that Congress would support them.

Mr. Cleary (Post Office Clerks) said he would be sorry to deny the right of any man to live. But they objected in interference with the right of their organisation to live. They objected to interference with competitive examination. They must fight for their members, and he thought they had justice on their side.

Mr. Cathal O'Shannon supported the resolution, and said his experience was that the temporary clerks were the backbone of a fighting organisation.

Mr. Holohan (Belfast) said the Ministry of Labour employed thousands of temporary clerks. Possibly it would become a permanent institution under a different name. He thought temporary clerks employed during the recent years should be allowed to compete at the examinations like other candidates. He did not think they should interfere with men who were in these positions before going to the war and who had already qualified.

Mr. Davin supported the resolution, as did also,

Mr. Slattery, who said he had been employed in the Department of Agriculture. When the temporary clerks there tried to organise they were regarded as Bolsheviks and forced out of the job.

Mr. O'Donnell (Clerical Workers) said, in reply to Mrs. Mortished's query, that the Secretary of the Civil Servants went to him for assistance and he gave all the support he could and told him everything he could, and volunteered to go to his meetings if his (Mr. O'Donnell's) presence would be of any good. Besides he told the Secretary that Civil Servants would have to get rid of snobbery and become organised workers.

Mr. Somerville said one of the speakers convinced him of the need for the abolition of permanent employment (laughter). If it was said the temporary clerks were the live members of the union. If permanency were abolished it would make the Labour movement in Ireland more effective as a fighting force.

After Mr. McGuinness replied a vote was taken and the resolution was carried by 69 votes for to 39 against.

RIGHTS OF CIVIL SERVANTS.

Miss Tierney (I.N.T.O.) proposed, and Mr. Allen (Post Office Clerks) seconded:—

"That this Congress strongly condemns the regulations of the Board of National Education, which deprive National Teachers of the ordinary rights of citizenship, and on behalf of the organised workers of Ireland, we pledge our fullest support to the Teachers' Organization in their determination, as decided upon at their last Congress, to disregard these rules in so far as they prevent teachers seeking election, and afterwards acting as Labour representatives on local councils.

"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." This was the form of the resolution suggested by Standing Orders, an Enniskillen resolution on the same subject being dropped.

Mr. O'Shannon opposed, because, he said, he agreed with the principle that all civil rights should be exercised by teachers and civil servants. There was a complaint of the lack of fight shown against dismissals of civil servants and teachers because the individuals concerned exercised their rights of citizenship. The organisations concerned should fight these cases. Until they were prepared to fight on behalf of those victimised he could not support the resolutions.

Mr. Kelly (Postmen's Federation) said if the Civil Servants organised and had a bit of backbone there would be no necessity for the passing of this resolution. He supported the resolution in the main, but agreed with Mr. O'Shannon's criticism.

Mr. Boyle asked Mr. O'Shannon had he any first-hand information regarding the cases to which he referred in the Teachers' Organisation. Was he sure the teachers had not fought?

Mr. O'Shannon said that not being a teacher he had no first-hand information, but he had information that in the City of Derry some teachers were dismissed for exercising political rights.

The Chairman said he understood the Derry cases were settled.

Mr. O'Farrell (Teachers' Organisation) said that was so. The Teachers' Organisation was prepared to take drastic action for the re-instatement of the men. These cases were settled and the parties concerned were paid their full salaries during the time they were out (hear, hear). The teachers had made up their minds they would not ask for civil rights any longer. They were going to take them (applause).

Mr. Houston said but for Mr. O'Farrell's statement he would have opposed the motion.

The resolution was then agreed to.

PLACE OF NEXT CONGRESS.

Mr. Redmond (Mullingar) said the Mullingar Trades Council were anxious to have the next Congress in their town and he was asked to propose that it be held there. As he had now seen the difficulty of providing accommodation for the delegates he thought it would be better to leave the matter in the hands of the National Executive (hear, hear). Congress then decided that the Executive should fix their next meeting place.

VOTES OF THANKS.

Mr. Davin proposed a vote of thanks to the Mayor, the Municipality and the Reception Committee.

Mr. Dowling seconded, and alluding to the Red robes of the Aldermen and Councillors, said next time they met, they hoped to be welcomed by a Red Council (laughter and applause).

Mr. M. Pentony (Chairman, Drogheda Trades Council) returned thanks, and said they considered it an honour to have the Parliament of Labour held in their town.

Mr. Anthony (Cork) proposed a vote of thanks to the Press. Mr. Windsor (Belfast) seconded, and Messrs. Tobin and Ryan (the latter representing the "Daily Herald," London), acknowledged.

Mr. Redmond proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Cassidy, the outgoing Chairman of the National Executive, to whom he paid a warm tribute.

Mr. O'Mahony (Railway Clerks) seconded, and

Mr. Cassidy, acknowledging, said when he took up the presidency he recognised they were passing through troublous times. He did not ambition the chair but could not refuse to do his part when difficulties were ahead. While all the dangers were not passed, the big danger hanging over the workers of the country was gone, and there would never be an attempt made again to enforce conscription in Ireland. He was fully satisfied that the movement was in the hands of men who would carry it on in the same clean manner as he had endeavoured to do, recognising that their province was the advancement of Labour and not to be mixing themselves up with other parties. He was glad that the proceedings had been so harmonious, for certain persons were gloating over the prospect that during the week they were going to have a bear garden in the Whitworth Hall and that the delegates would be jumping at each other's throats. Their conduct would disappoint many of the enemies of Labour outside, and would also disappoint many of the workers throughout the country, who, instead of helping their movement, were endeavouring to injure it by spreading false reports. (Applause.)

Mr. Thomas Farren expressed thanks for having been elected to the Chair, and then presented Mr. Cassidy with the silver gong (the gift of the Drogheda Trades Council) which he had used throughout the proceedings. It would, Mr. Farren said, be a memento of Mr. Cassidy's term of office.

Before separating the delegates in chorus sang "The Red Flag."



Names of Societies Affiliated, 1919=20.

| NAME OF SOCIETY | No. of Mem- bers Jan. 1st, '19 | Affiliation Fees paid | SECRETARY | DELEGATES' NAMES AND ADDRESSES | Dele- gation Fees Paid |
|---|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------|---|--|---------------------------------|
| Assurance Agents, National Union of Life. | 300 | 2 10 0 | B. Brookes, 23 John Dalton Street, Manchester. | James Byrne, 8 Whitworth Place, Drumcondra, Dublin. | 1 |
| Asylum Workers' Union, Irish. | 1500 | 12 10 0 | Patrick Casey, District Asy- lum, Limerick. | A. Doyle, Richmond Asylum, Dublin. P. Casey, Asylum, Limerick. M. J. O'Connor, c/o P. Casey, Asylum, Limerick. | 3 |
| Automobile Drivers and Mechanics T.U., Irish. | 1100 | 9 3 4 | Liam Slattery, 22 Dawson St., Dublin. | Jas. Mitchell, Cabinteely, Co. Dublin. Liam Slattery, 22 Dawson St., Dublin. | 2 |
| Agricultural and General Workers Union, Irish National. | 2000 | 16 13 4 | Richard F. King, Lr. Church Street, Enniscorthy. | R. F. King, Enniscorthy. James Everett, Wicklow. James Turner, Ashford, Co. Wicklow. James Byrne, Gorey, Co. Wexford. | 4 |
| Bakers' (Irish) National Amalga- mated Union of. | 2000 | 16 13 4 | Denis Cullen, 22 Upr. Ormond Quay, Dublin. | J. Brown, Artisans' Hall, Garfield St., Belfast C. Noonan, 32 Sitric Road, Dublin. F. Moran, 22 Upper Ormond Quay, Dublin. D. Cullen, 22 Upper Ormond Quay, Dublin. | 4 |
| Bookbinders and Machine Rulers, National Union of (Dublin Branch) | 200 | 1 13 4 | Robert Burke, Trades Hall, Dublin. | Robert Meates, 4 Lower St. Columba's Road, Drumcondra, Dublin. | 1 |
| Brick and Stonelayers, Ancient Guild of Incorporated. | 500 | 4 3 4 | Owen Hynes, 49 Cuffe Street, Dublin. | Owen Hynes, 49 Cuffe Street, Dublin. | 1 |
| Boot and Shoe Operatives, National Union of (Dublin Branch). | 200 | 1 13 4 | A. Lowe, 31½ Upr. Kevin St., Dublin. | Henry Dale, 11 Upper Bridge Street, Dublin. | 1 |
| Breweries Workmen's Association, Cork. | 50 | 1 0 0 | John McCarthy, Mechanics' Institute, Cork. | John O'Sullivan, 8 Madden's Buildings, Blackpool, Co. Cork. | 1 |
| Brushmakers, National Society of (Dublin Branch) | 100 | 1 0 0 | Wm. Murphy, Trades Hall, Dublin. | Edward Tucker, 37 Capel St., Dublin. | 1 |
| Coachmakers, U.K. Society of | 1283 | 10 13 10 | James Nicholson, 195 Oxford Road, Manchester. | W. Gardiner, 18 James St., North Dublin. D. Sullivan, 16 Chapel Street, Cork. | 2 |
| Carpenters and Joiners, Amalga- mated Society of. | 7974 | 66 9 0 | A. G. Cameron, 131 Wilmslow Road, Withington, Manches- ter. | R. Waugh, 42 Deramore Avenue, Belfast. | 1 |
| Do. Dublin No. 4 Branch. | | | E. F. McDermott. | Thos. MacPartlin, 35 Lr. Gloucester Street, Dublin. | |
| Do. Dublin No. 5 Branch. | | | E. J. O'Neill, 46 Smithfield, Dublin. | E. J. O'Neill, 46 Smithfield, Dublin. | 1 |
| Do. Dublin No. 6 Branch. | | | Michael Somerville, 23 Arm- strong St., Harold's Cross, Dublin. | Michael Somerville, 23 Armstrong St., Harold's Cross, Dublin. | |
| Do. Dublin No. 7 Branch. | | | J. Brophy, 32 Lower Ormond Quay, Dublin. | J. Brophy, 32 Lower Ormond Quay, Dublin. | |
| Carpenters and Joiners, General Union of (Dublin District). | 500 | 4 3 4 | John J. Redmond (District Secretary). | Thomas Dunne, 10 Richmond Row, Portobello, Dublin. | 1 |
| Cutters (Shirt) Belfast Society of. | 144 | 1 4 0 | W. J. Patterson, 10 Trinity Street, Belfast. | | |
| Clerical Workers Union, Irish. | 6000 | 50 0 0 | D. Logue, 1 College Street, Dublin. | P. McGuirk, 1 College Street, Dublin. D. Logue, do. do. do. D. H. O'Donnell, do. do. do. P. J. McGuinness, do. do. do. H. A. Holohan, 41 Bentinck Street, Belfast. A. Roche, 3 Sunville Terrace, Thomond Gate, Limerick. D. J. Blood, Scarlet Street, Drogheda. J. Power, 9 William St., Waterford. | 8 |
| Clerks (Shipping and Transport) Association of Great Britain and Ireland. | 400 | 3 6 8 | Wm. Carruthers 23 Queen's Square, Belfast. | Wm. H. Carruthers, 128 Balfour Avenue, Belfast. | 1 |
| Dock Labourers, National Union of | 1300 | 10 16 3 | Irish District Council Secre- tary—James Hickey, 4 Mer- chant's Quay, Cork. | W. J. McNulty, 74 Longtower Street, Derry. E. P. Harte, c/o Mrs. Woods, Mona- ghan Street, Newry. James Hickey, 4 Merchant's Quay, Cork. | 3 |

| NAME OF SOCIETY | No. of Mem- bers Jan. 1st, '19 | Affiliation Fees paid | SECRETARY | DELEGATES NAMES AND ADDRESSES | Dele- gation Fees Paid |
|--|--|-----------------------------|---|--|---------------------------------|
| Drapers' Assistants' Association, Irish. | 4000 | £ s. d. 33 6 8 | M. J. O'Lehane, Cavendish House, Parnell Square, Dublin. | M. J. O'Lehane, Cavendish House, Parnell Square, Dublin. L. J. Duffy, Do. T. Fitzpatrick, Do. Miss C. Cahalan, Do. | £ 4 |
| Electrical Trades Union. | 850 | 7 1 8 | J. Rowan, 12a Withy Grove, Manchester. | J. J. Collins, 27 Mount Temple Road, Manor Street, Dublin. J. M. O'Duffy, 7 Reuben Avenue, S.C.R., Dublin. | 2 |
| Engineers, Amalgamated Society of, Do. Inchicore Branch. | 246 | 2 1 0 | L. Keegan, 2 First Avenue, Inchicore, Dublin. | L. Keegan, 2 First Avenue, Inchicore. | 1 |
| Do. Dublin, 3rd Branch. | 100 | 1 0 0 | Thomas Herbert, 9 Lord Ed- ward Street, Dublin. | J. J. Redmond, 9 Lord Edward Street, Dublin. | 1 |
| Do. Derry Branch. | 204 | 1 14 0 | Wm. Taylor, 26 Barry Street, Derry. | Wm. Taylor, 26 Barry Street, Derry. | 1 |
| Fire Brigade Men's Union, Dublin. | 27 | 1 0 0 | J. Lynch, Central Station, Tara Street, Dublin. | P. T. Daly, T.C., 177 Clonliffe Road, Dublin. | 1 |
| Farriers, City of Dublin Operative. | 56 | 1 0 0 | James Gorman, 53 Bolton St., Dublin. | Benjamin Drumm, 36 Hardwicke St., Dublin. | 1 |
| Furnishing Trades Association, Na- tional Amalgamated. | 1000 | 8 6 8 | Alex. Gossip, 58 Theobald's Road, London, W.C.1. | David Douglas, 1 Finsbury Street, Cragagh Road, Belfast. | 1 |
| Flax Roughers and Yarn Spinners. (@ 1d. by special arrangement) | 9600 | 40 0 0 | Dawson Gordon, Engineers' Hall, 17 College St., Belfast. | Dawson Gordon, 17 College Street, Belfast. George Keith, 50 Mary Street, Belfast. | 2 |
| Locomotive Engine Drivers and Firemen's T.U. (Belfast and Dublin). | 606 | 5 1 0 | Wm. Reid, 79 Ravenhill Road, Belfast. | | |
| Linen Lappers T.U., Irish. | 300 | 2 11 0 | S. Dobbin, 27 Derg Street, Belfast. | | |
| Labourers' National Amalgamated Union (190 Branch), Derry. | 500 | 4 3 4 | James McClea, 17 Howard St., Derry. | James McClea, 17 Howard Street, Derry. | 1 |
| Labour Union (Meath). | 300 | 2 10 0 | James Blunt, Bellewstown, Drogheda. | Jas. P. Kelly, Market Square, Navan. | 1 |
| Municipal Employees Trade Union, Irish. | 1600 | 13 6 8 | Dan Magee, 24 Winetavern Street, Dublin. | Dan Magee, 24 Winetavern St., Dublin Robert Tynan, Do. Thomas Lawlor, Do. Patrick Johnstone, Do. | 4 |
| Plumbers and Domestic Engineers, United Operative (Dublin Lodge). | 300 | 2 10 0 | Robert Boyd, Trades Hall, Dublin. | Peter Bermingham, 26 Lombard Street, West, S.C.R., Dublin. | 1 |
| Do. (Drogheda Lodge). | 14 | 1 0 0 | P. Lennon, Drogheda. | Daniel Lennon, 41 Fair St., Drogheda. | 1 |
| Do. (Cork Lodge). | 80 | 1 0 0 | J. Walsh, Cork. | D. Morley, 4 Annville, Ballinlough Road, Cork. | 1 |
| Painters and Decorators, National Amalgamated Society of Operative House and Ship. | 2228 | 18 11 4 | J. A. Gibson (Assistant Gen- eral Secretary), 4 Camp St., Lr. Broughton, Manchester. | J. Farrell, 37 Upper Wellington St., Dublin. | 1 |
| Do. (Cork Branch). | | | Wm. Perrott, 23 Greenmount Buildings, Cork. | Hy. Marsh, 20 Adelaide St., Cork. | 1 |
| Painters and Decorators T.U., Irish National. | 515 | 4 5 10 | Edward McCabe, 27 Aungier Street, Dublin. | Edward Comber, 27 Aungier St., Dublin Edward McCabe, Do. | 2 |
| Postmen's Federation. | 3000 | 25 0 0 | G. H. Stuart Bunning, Parlia- ment Mansions, Victoria St. London, S.W. | C. P. Kelly, 4 St. Joseph's Terrace, Wellington Street, Dublin. | 2 |
| Post Office Clerks' Association, Irish. | 1900 | 15 16 8 | W. Nally, 4 Cavendish Row, Dublin. | T. Irvine, 13 Cadogan Street, Belfast. J. T. Cleary, 4 Cavendish Row, Dublin. J. Allan, Do. | 2 |
| Packing Case and Box Makers, Dublin. | 43 | 1 0 0 | Wm. Shanks, Trades Hall, Dublin. | Michael Brennan, 1 Ross Road, Dublin. | 1 |
| Pork Butchers' Society, Limerick. | 500 | 4 3 4 | Martin Barry, Limerick. | Michael MacNamara, Back Lane St., Limerick. John Reddan, Halpin's Lane, Nicholas Street, Limerick. | 2 |
| Railway Clerks' Association. | 2000 | 16 13 4 | A. G. Walkden, 25 Euston Road, London, N.W. Irish Secretary—J. T. O'Far- rell, 48 Henry St., Dublin. | Michael Brennan, 2 De Burgh Road, Phoenix Park, Dublin. J. T. O'Farrell, 48 Henry St., Dublin. W. Davin, 5 Abbey Terrace, Howth. A. Walsh, 17 Leinster Road, Rath- mines, Dublin. | |

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|---|---|-----------------------------|---|---|---------------------------------|
| Railwaymen, National Union of. ... | 17794 | £ s. d. 148 5 8 | J. H. Thomas, M.P., Unity House, Euston Road, Lon- don. Irish Office—2 Beresford Place Dublin. | John Good, 51 Grand Parade, Cork. L. J. Larkin, 40 Sallypark, Waterford. James Birmingham, 2 Beresford Place, Dublin. | £ 3 |
| Do. Leinster District Council. ... | | | Joseph Connolly, 8 Bath Avenue, Dublin. | James Slevin, 43 Kennedy's Villas, James Street, Dublin. J. Maher, 19 Cross Avenue, Kings- town. | 2 |
| Do. Mullingar Branch. | | | J. McKeon, 5 St. Patrick's Terrace, Mullingar. | Wm. Daly (Loco.), Military Road, Mullingar. | 1 |
| Do. (No. 1) Broadstone (Dublin) Branch. | | | B. Finnigan, 16 Avondale Road, Phibsboro', Dublin. | T. C. Daly, 20 Great Western Villas, Phibsboro'. Thos. Cunningham, Railway Cottages, Cabra. | 2 |
| Do. No. 2 Broadstone, Dublin. ... | | | Walter Walsh, 195 Phibsboro' Road, Dublin. | Walter Walsh, 195 Phibsboro Road, Dublin. | 1 |
| Do. Kingsbridge Branch. | | | John Connor, 3 Black Street, Dublin. | M. Cahill, 10 Harold's Road, Dublin. | 1 |
| Do. Westland Row Branch. | | | J. Noctor, 9 Railway Cottages, Lansdowne Road, Dublin. | Jas. Needham, Signalman, Harcourt Street Station, Dublin. | 1 |
| Do. Waterford Branch. | | | Michael Nugent, 3 Emmet Place, Waterford. | Thomas Blount, Waterford. | 1 |
| Do. Drogheda Branch. | | | T. McCabe, 4 St. Mark's Ter- race, Drogheda. | David Dawson, Drogheda. | 1 |
| Do. Limerick No. 3. | | | J. Dickenson, 8 Brown's Square, Edward Street, Limerick. | Michael Keyes, Hayes Cottages, Garry- owen, Limerick. | 1 |
| Sheet Metal Workers and Gas Meter Makers, Dublin. | 120 | 1 0 0 | John Farren, 20 Blackhall Place, Dublin. | John Farren, 20 Blackhall Place, Dublin. | 1 |
| Stationary Engine Drivers' and Fire- men's T.U., Irish. | 600 | 5 0 0 | W. J. Muldowney, Dublin Office: 22 Lower Gardiner Street. | John Morgan, 111 Seville Place, Dublin. W. J. Muldowney, 10 South Dock St., Dublin. | 2 |
| Shop Assistants, Warehousemen, and Clerks, National Amalga- mated Union of. | 919 | 7 13 2 | John Turner, Dilke House, Malet Street, London, W.C. Irish District Council: J. W. Kelly, 7 College St., Dublin. | Thomas Johnson, 13 Ranfurly Drive, Strandtown, Belfast. Edward Owens, 1 Glengall St., Belfast. | 2 |
| Typographical (Dublin) Provident Society. | 1000 | 8 6 8 | M. O'Flanagan, 35 Lr. Gardi- ner Street, Dublin. | M. O'Flanagan, 35 Lr. Gardiner Street, Dublin; Herbert Bleakley, 35 Lr. Gardiner Street, Dublin. | 2 |
| Typographical Association (Man- chester). | 1329 | 11 1 6 | H. Skinner, Caxton Hall, Chapel Street, Salford, Man- chester. | T. Cassidy, 41 Chapel Road, Water- side, Derry. M. Anthony, c/o D. Denehy, 3 Ophelia Place, The Lough, Cork. | 3 |
| Teachers' Organisation, Irish Na- tional. | 10525 | 87 14 2 | T. J. O'Connell, Gardiner's Place, Dublin. | J. Clarke, 12 Frederick Street, Belfast. Miss Katie Tierney, Churchtown, Buttevant, Co. Cork. J. F. O'Farrell, Whitecross, Julians- town, Drogheda. | 5 |
| Do. (Dublin Central Teachers' Association). | | | P. Cummins, 58 Blessington Street, Dublin. | P. J. Quinn, 10 Ring St., Inchicore. J. T. McGill, 62 Chief Street, Belfast. T. J. O'Connell, 9 Gardiner's Place, Dublin. | 2 |
| Do. (Co. Westmeath Teachers' Association). | | | T. B. Galvin, Ballinahown N.S., Athlone. | C. D. McCarthy, Lissane, Achill Road, Drumecondra. | 1 |
| Do. (Co. Kildare Teachers' Orga- nisation). | | | Patrick Byrne, Kilcullen N.S., Co. Kildare. | Miss Rose Timmon, 39 Harold's Cross Road, Dublin. | 1 |
| Do. Drogheda Teachers' Associa- tion). | | | Maurice Lyons, Williamstown N.S., Dunleer, Co. Louth. | M. Timon, Multifarnham, Mullingar. | 1 |
| Tailors and Tailoresses, Amalga- mated Society of (Dublin Branch). | 200 | 1 13 4 | Henry Foran, Trades Hall, Dublin. | Thomas Downes, 2 Victoria Terrace, Irishtown Road, Dublin. | 1 |
| Tailors, Machinists and Pressors T.U. (International). | 550 | 4 11 8 | Walter Carpenter, 44 York Street, Dublin. | Walter Carpenter, 44 York St., Dublin. Miss Mary Clinton, 18 Primrose Street, Dublin. | 2 |

| NAME OF SOCIETY | No. of Mem- bers Jan. 1st, '19 | Affiliation Fees paid | SECRETARY | DELEGATES NAMES AND ADDRESSES | Dele- gation Fees Paid |
|---|--|-----------------------------|---|--|---------------------------------|
| Tailors and Tailoresses Union, Irish. | 1700 | £ s. d. 14 3 4 | Dermot J. Stewart, Ardee House, 38 Talbot Street, Dublin. | J. Power, Clonmel. Edward Murphy, 38 Talbot St., Dublin. P. McGinley, 38 Talbot Street, Dublin. D. J. Stewart, 38 Talbot St., Dublin. Joseph O'Neill, Liberty Hall, Dublin. John Dillon, do. do. J. J. Hughes, do. do. J. Gannon, do. do. John McCabe, do. do. Peter Spain, do. do. Patrick Byrne, do. do. Nora Connolly, do. do. Joseph Walsh, 147 North King Street, Dublin. | £ 4 |
| Transport and General Workers' Union, Irish. | 66,000 | 550 0 0 | Thomas Foran, General Presi- dent, Liberty Hall, Dublin. James Larkin, General Sec. | John Bohan, 36 Blackhall Place, Dublin. John Coffey, 6 Meath Square, Dublin. Michael Keevey, 10 High St., Dublin. James Ralph, 32 Aungier St., Dublin. T. Crimmins, 6 Annville Terrace, New- town Park, Blackrock. James Moore, Larracon, Lucan. James Woods, North Street, Swords. P. Mathews, I.T. and G.W.U., Skerries. Denis Houston, 122 Corporation St., Belfast. C. Daly, Church Street, Clara. Wm. J. Reilly, Farnacordy, Sligo. Geo. N. Geraghty, I.T. and G.W.U., Roscommon. C. J. Supple, Duke Street, Athy. | 68 |

Transport and General Workers'
Union, Irish.

Wm. Elliss, I.T. and G.W.U., Carlow.
J. Reade, 3 Blackmill St., Kilkenny.
Daniel Morrissey, Silver St., Nenagh.
Edward Histon, Church St., Newcastle
West.
N. T. Phelan, I.T. and G.W.U., Kil-
macthomas.
D. Hawkins, 8 Camden Quay, Cork.
J. Brew, do.
D. Hill, do.
J. Ahern, do.
J. O'Connell, Kilnockin, Drumsigo,
Mallow.
Frank O'Neill, 8 Camden Quay, Cork.
Tadg Barry, 21 South Terrace, Cork.
Jeremiah Murphy, 73 Boherbee, Tralee.
Alderman R. Corish, 15 Charlotte St.,
Wexford.
Wm. Stafford, Mount St. Joseph's
Place, Priory Hill, New Ross.
Edward Kelly, 15 Aberdeen Square,
Bray.
Thomas Nagle, I.T. and G.W.U., Naas.
M. Smyth, Athgarvan, Newbridge.
Peter Connor, Kilsallagh, Edgeworths-
town.
J. McGrath, 91 O'Connell Street,
Limerick.
E. Mullen, Liberty Hall, Drogheda.
E. Gargan, St. Patrick's Cottages,
Drogheda.
E. Rooney, 62 West Gate, Drogheda.
James Hoskin, Castle St., Castlebar.
Cathal O'Shannon, Liberty Hall
Dublin.
Thomas Farren, Liberty Hall, Dublin.
David Hall, Cultrumner, Drumree,
Meath.

| NAME OF SOCIETY | No. of Mem- bers Jan. 1st, '19 | Affiliation Fees paid | SECRETARY | DELEGATES NAMES AND ADDRESSES | Dele- gation Fees Paid |
|--|--|-----------------------------|---|---|---------------------------------|
| Transport and General Workers' Union—(continued). | | £ s. d. | | T. Campion, Cloneen, Castlecomer. Owen O'Malley, Achill, Swords. Patrick Ryan, Thomastown, Kilkenny. J. Dowling, 91 O'Connell St., Limerick. H. G. Brown, do. do. Michael Gabbett, do. do. J. O'Keefe, do. do. Tom Ryan, 29 Short Court, Waterford. Larry Veale, I.T. and G.W.U., Dun- garvan. Thomas Foran, Liberty Hall, Dublin. Wm. O'Brien, do. do. M. McCarthy, do. do. Joseph Kelly, do. do. Thomas Kennedy, 20 Charlemont Mall, Dublin. P. Stafford, 41 Great Clarence Street, Dublin. Wm. Kinneally, 374 Blarney St., Cork. J. Connor, I.T. and G.W.U., Tulla- more. W. Ryan, 1 Walshe's Cottages, Black- boy Pike, Limerick. P. Kelly, 55 Lepper Street, Belfast. | £ |
| Vintners and Grocers, etc., Irish National Union of. | 1200 | 10 0 0 | P. Hughes, 20 Parnell Square, Dublin. | Jas. Stapleton, 6 Shamrock Terrace, North Strand, Dublin. P. McCormick, 6 St. Malachy's Road, Glasnevin. Thos. Burke, 94 Duleek St., Drogheda. John O'Neill, 2 Teresa's Place, Glas- nevin, Dublin. | 3 |
| Vehicle and Tramway Workers' Amalgamated Association of (Dublin Branch). | 600 | 5 0 0 | Thomas Casey, Middle Abbey Street, Dublin. | | 1 |

| | | | | | |
|--|-------|-------|---|--|---|
| Women Workers' Union:—Irish Nurses' Union Branch. | 366 | 3 1 0 | Mrs. Mortished, 29 Sth. Anne Street, Dublin. | Mrs. Mortished (Irish Nurses' Union), 29 South Anne Street, Dublin. | 1 |
| Whitesmiths and Heating Engi- neers' (Dublin). | 98 | 1 0 0 | W. J. Murphy, Trades Hall, Dublin. | W. J. Murphy, 5 Royal Terrace, Fair- view, Dublin. | 1 |
| TRADES AND LABOUR COUNCILS. | | | | | |
| Athlone. | 1600 | 1 0 0 | John F. Martin, 3 Court Deve- nish, Athlone. | Thos. Berry, Perry's Cottage, Athlone. | 1 |
| Arklow. | 250 | 1 0 0 | James Davis, Harbour Road, Arklow. | | |
| Belfast. | 15000 | 3 0 0 | D. R. Campbell, 11 Kimberley Street, Belfast. | D. R. Campbell, 11 Kimberley Street, Belfast. John Windsor, 205 Shankill Road, Belfast. | 2 |
| Bray and Kingstown. | 3000 | 1 0 0 | James Murphy, 45 Main St., Bray. | Joseph Metcalfe, 11 Dargan St., Bray. Edward Byrne, 9 Florence Road, Bray (representing Local Labour Party). | 2 |
| Ballinasloe. | | 1 0 0 | Wm. Griffin, Brackernagh, Ballinasloe, Co. Galway. | Wm. Griffin, Brackernagh, Ballinasloe. | 1 |
| Cork. | 10000 | 2 0 0 | Thomas Twomey, 15 Bandon Row, Cork. | Edward O'Mahony, 87 Rathmore Place, Cork. M. Egan, J.P., T.C., 19 Commons Road, Cork. | 2 |
| County Kildare. | | 1 0 0 | M. Smyth, Athgarvan, New- bridge. | Nicholas P. Byrne, 1 Dublin Road, Naas, Co. Kildare. | 1 |
| Cavan (Workers' Council). | | 1 0 0 | M. O'Donoghue, Cavan | P. O'Donnell. | 1 |
| Carlow. | 1659 | 1 0 0 | Daniel Fenlon, Carlow. | T. Little, 6 Market Square, Carlow. | 1 |
| Clonmel. | | 1 0 0 | T. Hally, Labour Hall, Abbey Street, Clonmel. | | |
| Drogheda. | 2400 | 1 0 0 | Thos. McCabe, Foresters Hall, Drogheda. | Michael Pentony, Foresters Hall, Drogheda. | 1 |
| Derry. | 10000 | 2 0 0 | Edward McCafferty, 11 North- land Avenue, Derry. | Thomas Doherty, 35 Waterloo Street, Derry. | 2 |
| Dublin. | 25000 | 5 0 0 | P. T. Daly, T.C., Trades Hall, Capel Street, Dublin. | Robert Gray, 6 Lewis Street, Derry. John Farrelly, 4 Charleville Mall, Dublin. R. F. Blackburne, 51 Denzille Street, Dublin. | 2 |

| NAME OF SOCIETY | No. of Mem- bers Jan. 1st, '19 | Affiliation Fees paid | SECRETARY | DELEGATES NAMES AND ADDRESSES | Dele- gation Fees Paid |
|------------------------------------|---|-----------------------------|---|---|---------------------------------|
| Edenderry. | | £ s. d. 1 0 0 | H. Healy, Edenderry, King's County. | Thos. Freyne, St. Mary's, Edenderry, King's Co. | £ 1 |
| Ennis. | 1500 | 1 0 0 | Patrick Hogan, 5 Steele's Ter- race, Ennis. | Patrick Hogan, 5 Steele's Terrace, Ennis. | 1 |
| Enniskillen. | 800 | 1 0 0 | P. J. Nulty, Forthill Street, Enniskillen. | Wm. Clarke, 29 Belmore Street, Ennis- killen. | 1 |
| Kilkenny. | 2000 | 1 0 0 | W. Corrigan, Michael Street, Kilkenny. | Pierce E. Wall, T.C., Abbey View Cottage, Kilkenny. | 1 |
| King's County. | 2500 | 1 0 0 | James J. Boyle, Horseleap N.S., Moate. | James J. Boyle, Horseleap, Moate. | 1 |
| Limerick. | 10000 | 2 0 0 | J. C. O'Connor, Mechanics' Institute, Lower Glanworth Street, Limerick. | James C. O'Connor, Mechanics' Insti- tute, Limerick. Michael Reddan, Mechanics' Institute, Limerick. | 2 |
| Monaghan. | | 1 0 0 | John Quigley, The Hill, Monaghan. | | 16s |
| Mullingar. | 1500 | 1 0 0 | Thos. J. Redmond, 13 Greville Street, Mullingar. | Thomas J. Redmond, 13 Greville St., Mullingar. | 1 |
| Maryborough (Leix and Ossory). ... | 2000 | 1 0 0 | James Lacey, Grattan Street, Maryboro'. | Timothy O'Rourke, Dublin Road, Mary- borough. | 1 |
| Newry. | | 1 0 0 | D. F. Sheridan, 2 Caulfield Terrace, Newry. | | |
| Omagh. | 750 | 1 0 0 | Patrick McHugh, Dromore Road, Omagh. | John Farnan, St. Columbs Terrace, Omagh. | 1 |
| Queenstown (Workers' Council). ... | 1000 | 1 0 0 | Sean O'Connor, 42 Lower Mid- dleton Street, Queenstown. | Edward Lynch, Cuskinny, Queenstown. | 1 |
| Sligo. | | 1 0 0 | H. Depew, T.C., Trades Hall, Castle Street, Sligo. | Alderman John Lynch, New St., Sligo. | 1 |
| South King's County. | 1600 | 1 0 0 | Michael Dalton. | T. P. Smyth, Glentara, Roscrea. | 1 |
| Tralee. | 2000 | 1 0 0 | John Leisk, William Street, Tralee. | Patrick Casey, 4 Urban Cottages, Tralee. | 1 |

| | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|------|-------|--|---|---|
| Wexford. | | 1 0 0 | Patrick White, King Street, Wexford. | Patrick White, King St., Wexford. | 1 |
| Waterford (Workers' Council). | 3000 | 1 0 0 | M. Cleary, 1 Lady Lane, Waterford. Robert Allan, 156 George St., Glasgow. | Michael Cleary, 1 Sion Row, Ferry Bank, Waterford. Wm. Shaw (Chairman Scottish Con- gress, 1919-20), 95 Bath St., Glasgow. John Houghton (Scottish Union of Dock Labourers), 57 Oswald Street, Glasgow. | 1 |
| FRATERNAL DELEGATES. | | | | | |
| Scottish Trade Union Congress. | | | | | |

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 Orders.

(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;

Over 1,000 members, but not exceeding 1,500—Three delegates;

Over 1,500 members, but not exceeding 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 500 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 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.*

*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.

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 the 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 National Executive shall abstain strictly from identifying themselves with or promoting the interests of any candidature and endorsed by the National Executive.

11.—This Constitution shall come into operation on and from November 7th, 1918.

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, or upon the receipt by the National Executive on a requisition from at least five Trades' Councils having a total affiliated strength of 15,000 members.

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 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 the 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.—Propositions 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.

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 discussion 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.

The order in which Resolutions shall be inserted on the Agenda shall be decided by the National Executive.

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. Each delegate on rising to speak must announce his (or her) name and Society he (or she) represents.

11.—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.

12.—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 Final Agenda.

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.

13.—MEETINGS AND QUORUM.—The National Executive shall meet at least once a quarter, five members at any meeting to form a quorum.

14.—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.

15.—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.

16.—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.

17.—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 overnight 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 attendance 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 9 of the Constitution to be fixed by National Executive.

IRISH TRADE UNION CONGRESS,

1894-1919.

| Year | No. of Delegates | Locality | President | Secretary | Treasurer |
|------|------------------|---------------|---|----------------------------|------------------------|
| 1894 | 119 | Dublin ... | Thomas O'Connell (Carpenter) ... | John Simmons ... | Patrick Dowd |
| 1895 | 121 | Cork ... | J. H. Jolley (Printer) ... | " ... | J. H. Jolley |
| 1896 | 93 | Limerick ... | James Dalton (Printer) ... | " ... | " |
| 1897 | 86 | Waterford ... | P. J. Leo (Pork Butcher) ... | " ... | " |
| 1898 | 90 | Belfast ... | Richard Wortly (Tailor) ... | " ... | P. J. Tevenan |
| 1899 | 62 | Derry ... | James M'Carron (Tailor) ... | " ... | " |
| 1900 | 77 | Dublin ... | George Leahy, P.L.G. (Plasterer) ... | Hugh M'Manus ... | Alex. Taylor |
| 1901 | 73 | Sligo ... | A. Bowman, T.C. (Flax Dresser) ... | E. L. Richardson, T.C. ... | " |
| 1902 | 98 | Cork ... | Wm. Cave, Ald. (Bootmaker) ... | " ... | Geo. Leahy, P.L.G. |
| 1903 | 86 | Newry ... | Walter Hudson, M.P. (A.S.R.S.) ... | " ... | " |
| 1904 | 74 | Kilkcenny ... | Wm. Walker, T.C. (Carpenter) ... | " ... | " |
| 1905 | 72 | Wexford ... | Jas. Chambres, P.L.G. (Saddler) ... | " ... | E. W. Stewart |
| 1906 | 72 | Athlone ... | Stephen Dineen (Baker) ... | " ... | " |
| 1907 | 87 | Dublin ... | James M'Carron, T.C. (Tailor) ... | " ... | " |
| 1908 | 85 | Belfast ... | John Murphy, P.L.G. (Printer) ... | E. L. Richardson, J.P. ... | " |
| 1909 | 108 | Limerick ... | M. Egan, J.P., T.C. (Coachmaker) ... | " ... | " |
| 1910 | 85 | Dundalk ... | James M'Carron, T.C. (Tailor) ... | P. T. Daly, T.C. ... | M. J. O'Lehane, P.L.G. |
| 1911 | 75 | Galway ... | D. R. Campbell (Insurance Agent) ... | " ... | " |
| 1912 | 87 | Clonmel ... | M. J. O'Lehane (Draper's Assistant) ... | " ... | D. R. Campbell |
| 1913 | 99 | Cork ... | William O'Brien (Tailor) ... | " ... | " |
| 1914 | 94 | Dublin ... | James Larkin (Transport Worker) ... | " ... | " |
| 1915 | ... | ... | NO CONGRESS HELD | " ... | " |
| 1916 | 81 | Sligo ... | Thomas Johnson (Shop Assistants) ... | " ... | " |
| 1917 | 111 | Derry ... | Thomas M'Partlin (Carpenter) ... | " ... | " |
| 1918 | 240 | Waterford ... | William O'Brien (Tailor) ... | " ... | " |
| 1919 | 220 | Drogheda ... | Thomas Cassidy (Printer) ... | William O'Brien ... | Thomas Johnson |

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