

**IRISH LABOUR PARTY AND  
TRADE UNION CONGRESS**

# **REPORT**

of the

## **Twenty-Sixth Annual Meeting**

**Monday,  
Tuesday,  
Wednesday and  
Thursday  
2nd, 3rd,  
4th and 5th  
August, 1920.**

---

**HELD AT THE  
CITY HALL  
CORK  
August, 1920**

---

**PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY OF  
THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE**

IRISH LABOUR PARTY  
AND TRADE UNION CONGRESS

---

REPORT

..... OF THE .....

TWENTY - SIXTH  
ANNUAL MEETING

.....HELD AT THE.....

CITY HALL, CORK

---

MONDAY, TUESDAY, WEDNESDAY & THURSDAY

2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th AUGUST, 1920.

---

PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY OF THE  
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE.

# IRISH LABOUR PARTY AND TRADE UNION CONGRESS.

Offices: 32 LOWER ABBEY STREET, DUBLIN.

---

## NATIONAL EXECUTIVE FOR YEAR 1920-1921. (Elected at Cork Congress).

---

### Chairman:

THOMAS FORAN (Irish Transport and General Workers' Union).

### Vice-Chairman:

THOMAS MACPARTLIN (Amal. Soc. of Carpenters and Joiners).

### Treasurer:

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

### Secretary:

THOMAS JOHNSON (National Union of Shop Assistants, etc.).

### Committee:

THOMAS C. DALY, National Union of Railwaymen.

THOMAS FARREN, I.T.G.W.U. (Stonecutters' Section).

LUKE LARKIN, National Union of Railwaymen.

CATHAL O'SHANNON, Irish Transport and General Workers' Union.

GEORGE NASON, Cork Trades and Labour Council (National Union of Vehicle Builders).

DENIS CULLEN, Irish National Operative Bakers.

(Miss) ROSE TIMMON, Irish National Teachers' Organisation  
(Dublin Central).

L. J. DUFFY, Irish Drapers Assistants' Association.

J. T. O'FARRELL, Railway Clerks' Association.

WILLIAM CUMMINS, Co. Kildare Trades Council (I.N. Teachers' Organisation).



## REPORT OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE FOR THE YEAR 1919-20.

### FELLOW DELEGATES,

The report of the year's activities which we now present was prepared under high pressure conditions, and is necessarily restricted to the more outstanding matters of interest to our members.

The year has been eventful for the Labour movement. While in other countries our comrades have been discussing heatedly the wisdom or effectiveness of what is called "direct action" to achieve political ends, circumstances have compelled the Irish workers on several occasions in the past year to use the strike weapon for political and social purposes. In the Motor Permits Strike of December-January; in the great 'Two Days' Strike to procure the release and save from death the political prisoners on hunger strike in Mountjoy; in the embargo on food exports in spring, and in the present strike against the carrying of munitions of war, the workers used their "industrial franchise" for political and social purposes. The denial of political freedom to Ireland forces the workers to test the power of his economic franchise, to declare his will with much more emphasis than by the mere recording of a vote at a ballot box. The activities of your Committee for the year have been for the greater part with these struggles, and, as a consequence, other very important, but less urgent, work has, to our regret, been left unfinished. We venture to predict that when the history of Ireland's final struggle for freedom comes to be written, some very important chapters will be devoted to the manner in which organised labour acquitted itself in the years 1919-20.

### Death of Mr. M. J. O'Lehane.

In deep sorrow we have to record the great loss sustained by the Irish Labour movement through the death in March last of our colleague, Mr. Michael J. O'Lehane. Mr. O'Lehane, though suffering ill health for some years, was always an active worker in the Trade Union and Labour movement since the first days of the founding of the Irish Drapers' Assistants' Association. He was the General Secretary of that organisation since its inception in the year 1901, and the shop workers of Ireland owe far more than they know to the earnest work and constant watchfulness over their interests by our late colleague.

Always a steady supporter of the prestige and authority of the Irish Trades Congress, he became a member of the Executive Committee in the year 1909, and except for the year 1917 (the greater



part of which he spent in a sanatorium) he was re-elected every year. He was Treasurer in the years 1910 and 1911, and Chairman at Clonmel in 1912.

He was a member of the Dublin Corporation as one of the small Sinn Fein group about fifteen years ago, then advocating the policy of self-reliance in National and Municipal affairs.

A man of wide vision, prolific of practical ideas and plans for the development of the power and the more effective organisation of the workers, wise in counsel and effective in debate, his absence from our meetings has been keenly felt.

### **Resignation of Mr. J. F. O'Farrell.**

Shortly after his election to the National Executive we regret to say that Mr. J. F. O'Farrell, of the Irish National Teachers' Organisation, became seriously ill, and on medical advice felt compelled to send in his resignation. In his place the National Executive co-opted Mr. John Bohan, Dromod, a member of the Executive of the Teachers' Organisation, but he too has suffered from severe illness which has militated against regular attendance at our meetings.

### **Municipal Elections.**

On October 24th and 25th, 1919, a Conference was held in the Mansion House, Dublin, of delegates from Trades Councils to discuss the Local Government Elections. The following Councils sent delegates in response to the invitation: South King's County, Tralee, Wexford, Athlone, Ennis, Cork, Omagh, Queenstown, Mullingar, Waterford, Ballinasloe, Drogheda, Co. Kildare, Arklow, Belfast, Derry, Bray and Kingstown, Tullamore, Dundalk, Edenderry and Dublin. The National Executive was also represented by Messrs. Farren (Chairman), O'Farrell, Bohan, O'Shannon, Gordon, O'Connor, Larkin, O'Lehane, O'Mahony, Johnson and O'Brien.

The Chairman opened the proceedings in a short speech, in which he pointed to the importance of the coming elections to be elected by the system of the Single Transferable Vote, and would give the Labour Party an opportunity such as had not occurred since the Local Government Act came into operation. Mr. O'Shannon dealt in a general way with the functions of Trades Councils, and a wide discussion ensued on the general questions of policy and programme, most of the delegates taking part. The sense of the Conference was clearly marked in favour of defining "Labour candidates," and pledging them to act as a distinct Labour Party, and remain independent of all other parties when elected. The circular sent out in the spring defining a Labour candidate was read to the Conference as follows:—"Labour Candidatures—In view of the use that has in the past been made of the title Labour Candidate by men whose only



intention in using the title was to deceive the workers on the polling day, I have to advise you—

- (1) That only persons who are nominated and financed by legitimate Labour bodies are to be known as Labour candidates.
- (2) That candidates to be nominated by Trades Councils and Trades Unions must be bona-fide members of Trade Unions selected by a recognised Labour Conference.
- (3) The name of a Trade Union or the Labour Party must not be used in support of any candidate who is not a genuine Labour candidate.

It was agreed that this be approved, and the National Executive be requested to circulate it again.

The Secretary was requested to consult with his colleagues and draft a form of pledge on the lines of that adopted by the Dublin Labour Party.

The following was submitted to the Conference on the morning of the 25th :—

"I, the undersigned, agree, if elected a member of the Council, that I will be bound by the decisions of the Trades and Labour Council, and will sit, act and vote with the other Labour representatives on the Council as a Labour Party in the carrying out of these decisions.

"I pledge myself to resign my seat if called upon to do so by a Special General Meeting of the Trades Council called for the purpose of considering my conduct as a Labour representative."

After discussion it was agreed that the Councils be recommended to adopt this pledge.

The Conference also favoured an attitude of strict independence of the Labour candidates from other political parties. Two or three delegates pointed out that the utmost limit of compromise in the minds of their Councils was to agree with the dominant party respecting the number of Labour candidates to be nominated.

Respecting the authority of Trades Councils over the selection of candidates, it was pointed out that some Councils working under old rules, were not representative of the Unions in proportion to membership, and to meet this objection it was urged that the procedure laid down in the Labour Party constitution respecting the selection of Parliamentary candidates should be adopted—namely, a Conference of Unions on a proportionate basis.

A long discussion took place on the Housing question, the predominant opinion being that Town Councils should, while trying to obtain more favourable financial terms from the British Government, use all their power towards building houses, spacious and of good quality, and to trust to the future to settle the financial problem; and that the houses should be built by direct labour under the control of the Municipality.



Other items of a Municipal Programme were but lightly dealt with, the formulation of a general programme for the guidance of the Local Councils being left to the National Executive.

The Conference was succeeded by a Model Election, conducted according to the rules of the Proportional Representation Scheme of the Local Government Board.

At the Elections which took place in January in about 120 Urban districts, Labour candidates were nominated for about — seats. The result of the Elections, taking the country as a whole, showed that no less than 341 Labour candidates had succeeded in securing election; while, in addition to those returned as Labour candidates, we have record of about 116 Trade Unionists who had been nominated by other Political organisations. The following programme was circulated throughout the country in large numbers :—

### **MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS, JANUARY 15, 1920.** **The Labour Party Programme.**

#### *To the Electors,*

The ultimate aims of the Irish Labour Party are to recover for the Irish Nation possession of Ireland's natural resources and the mastery over her destiny, to win for the workers collectively the whole produce of their labour, to secure democratic management and control of the industries by the workers engaged therein, and to abolish all powers and privileges based upon property or ancestry or not granted or confirmed by the freely expressed will of the Irish people.

Having the above objects in view, and to help to make easier their attainment, the Labour candidates put forward the following Municipal programme :—

#### **Housing.**

Good Houses for the Workers: not a mere shelter where the worker's family is crowded like cattle in a byre, but a Home, comfortable, convenient and roomy. Separate bedrooms for the boys and girls. A parlour where the children may read their books, where the mothers and fathers may rest or entertain their friends.

Rents must be Low: all capital charges for building should be borne out of taxation. It is the payment of interest to money-lenders that makes house rents high; the rich people with money to lend, so long as they demand interest, must be taxed to pay for their own loans.

For lending £750 to build a worker's house the money-lenders' charge is 15s. 8d. per week!

Our demand is that the houses must be built, despite the excessive cost. Build the Houses, the financial problem will be settled later on. The alternative before us is to deal with houses as we would deal with food in time of scarcity—ration them, take possession of the unused house room of the wealthy!

### **Health.**

Towards safeguarding the health of the people, and particularly the children, the Labour candidates advocate that—

The Council shall become responsible for ensuring a plentiful supply of pure milk for expectant and nursing mothers and young children.

The Council shall make arrangements for a periodical medical examination of children attending school, and, when necessary, for treatment by competent doctors, free of cost to the parents.

The Council shall provide facilities for giving meals to children attending school, such meals to be provided under conditions of decency and with proper service.

### **Education.**

The fullest advantage should be taken of all present powers to promote education, both for children and adults, and steps should be taken in conjunction with other Town and County Councils to acquire greater powers.

Scholarships should be granted by the Council for Technical Schools, Colleges and Universities.

Grants should be made for specific working-class educational efforts.

The Councils should provide school libraries, educational excursions, gymnasia, popular lectures in science, art, economics, and history (industrial and political), as well as in technical subjects.

Wherever possible the Council should make it a condition of all expenditure on Education that the teachers shall be paid an adequate salary.

### **A Living Wage and Direct Labour.**

The Labour Candidates demand a Living Wage for all public employees: as a step towards this the Councils should fix immediately a wage of not less than 50s. per week for labourers—full Trade Union rates for all.

The Council should be a model employer. This will help to raise the wages of all men and women in private employment. In return for good wages, short hours and fair conditions, and a determining voice in fixing those conditions, the community has a right to claim faithful service.

In all Municipal undertakings direct labour shall be employed. Trade Unions shall be consulted in all matters relating to conditions of employment.

### **Pure Milk Supply.**

The Labour Party demands that—

The Councils shall undertake the organisation of a supply of pure milk of good quality from Municipally-owned dairy farms and from farmers' co-operative societies.



### **Co-operation.**

Workers' Co-operative Societies should be encouraged and supported by the Councils as a protection against profiteering.

Municipal Co-operative Restaurants and Cooked Food Depots should be established and worked in connection with the scheme for the provision of meals for school children.

### **Profiteering.**

The Councils must at once initiate and resolutely persist in active measures against the profiteer and extortionist.

### **Garden Plots.**

Garden plots should be provided for town and country workers, with expert instruction in horticulture. Assistance to be given to plot-holders in promoting co-operation in the working of the plots and the disposal of surplus produce.

### **Combined Action with Other Councils.**

The Labour Party will advocate that wherever possible the City, Town and County Councils, also the Board of Guardians, should combine together to undertake important public works, such as:

The provision of House-building material — brick, stone, cement, timber, etc.;

The organisation of the Coal Supply;

The promotion of Electric Power Schemes by the utilisation of peat bogs, coal deposits, water-power, etc.;

The development of all the natural resources for supplying the people's needs on a non-profit-making basis;

The establishment of Holiday Schools, Convalescent Homes, Hospitals, etc.;

The Employment of the Unemployed by the organisation of public wealth-production, bringing into fruitful contact the unused (or wastefully used) natural sources of wealth—the land and mineral deposits of Ireland.

### **Census of Food Supplies.**

It should also be the duty of the Local Councils to establish machinery for taking records of food supplies and food requirements with a view to ensuring an ample supply of essential food for each locality at a reasonable price in the event of a crisis (e.g., the Conscription danger, foreign interference, derangement of railway services, etc., etc.)

The Labour Candidates stand for increasing the power of the Local Councils, where the workers can obtain actual control over matters affecting their daily lives, and resisting the authority of the Central Government in matters of local concern."

A Memorandum on certain powers and duties of Local Authorities was compiled for the Congress, and distributed amongst the successful Labour candidates.



In connection with the Municipal Elections, reports reached us from a number of towns—including Cork, Limerick, Wexford, Dublin, Derry and Belfast—respecting difficulties that had arisen in the selection of Labour candidates, the nomination of candidates by individual Unions independently of those selected under the auspices of the Trades Council, and the nomination of candidates by Trades Unions running in alliance with another political party. In respect to these questions the view taken by the Executive was that it could not intervene authoritatively in local elections: it could only intervene with advice and guidance; and we took the view that the evils hitherto associated with unauthorised or unofficial candidatures under the old system of election were greatly minimised by the system of the Transferable Vote.

In respect to the County Council, Poor Law and Rural Council Elections, which were held in June, the Labour successes were equally gratifying; but we have not yet obtained full returns of the numbers elected.

Taking the local governing bodies as a whole, Labour has won a very strong position. Every effort must be made to hold and improve upon that position. To do this will necessitate careful and systematic local organisation, and a general uniform policy. We think when the National political situation is easier there should be a series of conferences of Labour members of municipal bodies with a view to the development of a common line of activity.

### **Industrial Resources Enquiry.**

Immediately following the Drogheda Congress a request was made to your Executive to nominate a member to the Commission of Inquiry into the Resources and Industries of Ireland, and it was decided to send in the name of Mr. Thomas Johnson. Mr. Johnson has reported from time to time upon the work of the Commission. The Commission it appears is an autonomous body controlling its own funds and carrying on its own work unimpeded except by the British Government. Its terms of reference are so wide and comprehensive that it was found necessary at an early stage to concentrate its attention in two directions; namely, Food and Food Products, and Power, and to divide itself into sub-committees to deal with these subjects respectively. Mr. Johnson was appointed Chairman of the Food Sub-Committee. Although it has been working actively and closely for twelve months, the Commission realises that its work is only beginning. An Interim Report on Milk and Milk Products has already been published and sold extensively at the price of sixpence. This report gives an indication of one small part of the work in which the Commission is engaged. Your Executive is pleased to record that the general attitude of the Commission to questions in which the Labour movement is specially interested is frankly sympathetic.



## Imprisonment of James Larkin.

A communication was received from the Dublin Trades Council in November inviting the National Executive to meet them to hear a report of a deputation which they had sent to the Chief Secretary and to the British Labour Party in London respecting the refusal of the British Government to issue passports to enable Mr. Larkin to return to Ireland. The Chairman, Mr. Farren, with Messrs. Johnson and O'Brien, learned that the deputation to London had obtained no satisfaction from either the Chief Secretary or the Labour Party; that though their mission was originally intended to deal with the question of passports, Mr. Larkin's arrest in America had altered the position and the Chief Secretary had attempted to hide behind the arrest to evade the passport question. The Trades Council had decided upon calling for a general strike for one day in protest against Mr. Larkin's continued detention in America. Steps had been taken by us to ascertain the feeling in the country in respect of such a proposition. The Chairman of the Council sought to ascertain what the National Executive proposed to do regarding the suggested general strike, but after it had been explained that no decision had been arrived at, we were told that a telegram had been received from Mr. Larkin calling off the proposed strike. The Trades Council then suggested that the movement in Ireland should undertake to raise a defence fund to save Mr. Larkin from a long term of imprisonment., and the Executive were invited to nominate six members to act with six members of the I.T. and G.W.U. and six members of the Trades Council on a Defence Committee. We communicated with the I.T. and G.W.U., seeking information as to their attitude in the matter, that Union being most closely affected by the proposal. We were informed that the Union itself had decided not to appoint representatives on the proposed Committee. They accepted full responsibility for seeing that ample funds were made available to provide for the defence of their General Secretary. In view of this, the Executive resolved that they could not take any part in the proposed Committee.

Immediately after the Drogheda Congress we had cabled to President Wilson, in the name of the Irish workers, asking that facilities should be given to Mr. Larkin to return to Ireland. After his trial we also communicated with the American Federation of Labour while in session at their annual convention, as representing the section of the American Labour movement most influential in Government circles, calling upon them to secure the release and repatriation of Mr. Larkin. To neither of these communications was any reply received. We have been informed that in the course of his trial on the charge of criminal anarchy allegations were made by the prosecution respecting matters arising out of his Labour activities in Ireland, with a view to prejudicing the Court. We are preparing a statement for publication in America intending to show to our



comrades there the truth respecting those charges, and to assure them that nothing he did in that stormy period reflected in any way upon his integrity or forfeited the confidence of his colleagues. We have used our influence in other directions in his behalf, and we have assurances that before his trial the best legal advice and support were at his disposal; and since his sentence, pending the result of his application for re-trial in the higher courts, notice has been taken by the American authorities of the representations being made on his behalf.

We are assured that it has been the invariable practice of the U.S. Government, where a non-American citizen has been charged and found guilty of a political offence during the war, to deport the offender to his own country.

### **Motor Permits Strike.**

After the announcement of the making of the Motor Permit Order had been made in the Press, the Secretary of the National Executive received a letter dated November 22nd from Mr. Foran on behalf of the Transport Workers' Union to the effect that this order would interfere with their members, and a day or two later from the Automobile Drivers' and Mechanics' Union a cutting from a newspaper containing a resolution adopted at a meeting in Trades Hall, Dublin. No other communication was received by the National Executive from the Automobile Drivers respecting their intention to strike.

A meeting of the National Executive was held on November 28th. At this time the President and the Secretary of the Automobile Union were absent in London seeking an interview with the Chief Secretary and the Parliamentary Labour Party. The National Executive invited representatives of the Automobile Drivers and the Transport Union to meet in conference to endeavour to arrive at a common policy. In the course of the discussion it was seen that the two unions principally concerned were pursuing different lines of action. The Automobile Drivers had decided upon calling all their men out this day, November 29th, the date of the order being put into operation. The Transport Union, on the other hand, had decided that their members (drivers) should not apply for permits, but should continue to work for as long as their employers were willing that their cars should go out. The view of the National Executive was that the policy adopted by the Transport Union was the wiser one, and the Automobile Drivers were advised accordingly. It was not found possible at this stage to bring the two unions into line, and it was decided to meet again on the following morning (Sunday), together with representatives of the Stationary Engine Drivers' Union, some of whose members were already affected. The Executive passed and published a resolution joining in the general protest against the order, commending the action of the men and their unions in resolving to ignore the order, and calling for financial and moral support. A further conference was held on Sunday and was followed by other



conferences which included representatives of all the unions affected (e.g., engineers, toolmakers, steam engine makers, bakers, drapers, etc.), with a view to arriving at an agreed line of policy, but it was found that the policies of the two unions chiefly implicated could not be reconciled.

On December 8th notices were issued by the Secretary of the National Executive, calling a special Trade Union Congress for December 16th to consider the situation and take such action as might be decided upon. The Congress was held on the date named and sat for several hours. During the course of the discussion

Mr. Lacy, organiser for the Automobile Drivers' Union, moved the following resolution:—

"That this Congress supports the action of the motormen involved in the Motor Permits Order strike, and calls upon all Trade Unionists not to do the work of the men affected, either with automobile or otherwise, and that if the order is not withdrawn without further notice the action necessary will be taken by the whole Labour movement in Ireland."

To this Mr. Walter Carpenter moved the following amendment:—

"That this Congress resolves that a special deputation consisting of members of the National Executive and of the Unions which are involved in the dispute be sent at once to London to interview the Executive of the English Labour Party with a view to getting sympathetic action in the matter; meantime all motor traffic be withdrawn from use; in the event of this not being successful, a further Congress be called to decide what further action is advisable."

Mr. Lacy said he would withdraw his resolution if Mr. Carpenter would accept an addendum to his resolution from him to this effect:—

"and that we call upon all Trade Unionists not to do the work of the men affected by any other means of transport."

Mr. Carpenter agreed to accept the addendum to his amendment, and Mr. Lacy withdrew his proposition on that understanding. Mr. Carpenter's amendment became the substantive motion. To this Mr. Hart (National Union of Dockers) proposed the following amendment:—

"That the Congress resolves that until such time as the obnoxious order is withdrawn all Trade Unionists should refuse to handle goods to or from motor-hauled vehicles, and that a deputation be immediately chosen, including representatives of the National Executive, the N.U.R., the Dockers' Union and the Transport and General Workers' Union to interview the British Labour Party with a view to gaining their assistance *re* the matter."

Mr. Collins (Electrical Trades Union) seconded the amendment. The President said he would submit Mr. Hart's amendment first to the Congress. However, Mr. Hart subsequently withdrew the amendment, and the President took a vote by a show of hands on the



motion moved by Mr. Carpenter with the addendum accepted by him as put forward by Mr. Lacy. The voting was:—

For	...	...	...	...	12
Against	...	...	...	...	41

The President declared the motion lost.

Mr. M. J. O'Lehane (Drapers' Assistants) then moved the following resolution. He said it was not being put forward on behalf of the National Executive, but with a view to arriving at a solution of the matter:—

"That this Congress agrees in the main with the line of action suggested by the Chairman, viz.: that we endorse the action of those engaged in the motor trade to stop absolutely all motor traffic; that the delegates be instructed to report to their various unions that it is the decision of this Congress that in no case can motor driven traffic or vehicle be handled or repaired by members of any union; that a delegation be appointed to interview the executives or representatives of the following Unions:—N.U.R., A.S.E., Transport Workers' Federation; also the British Trade Union Congress and Labour Party, and pending further developments that a Joint Committee of representatives of the National Executive, I.T.W.U., Automobile Drivers' Union, N.U.R., A.S.E., Mechanics and Toolmakers, Bakers and Distributive Trades, be appointed to deal with the matter and to direct the line of action."

Mr. Kelly (Postmen's Federation) seconded the proposal. The President put the resolution to Congress and declared it carried unanimously, the delegates named being Mr. Bermingham, N.U.R.; Mr. Hart, N.U.D.; Mr. Redmond, A.S.E.; a representative of the A.D. and M.U., with Messrs. Farren, O'Shannon and Johnson representing the National Executive. Mr. John Redmond, A.S.E., moved:—

"That a General Strike Fund be opened which shall be administered by the Committee already appointed to take charge of the strike."

Mr. Collins (Electrical Union) seconded the proposition, which was unanimously adopted. Mr. M. J. O'Connor, Sec., I.A.D. and M. Union, said:—"Our Management Committee has already opened a fund and we will carry it out for our own benefit." The Chairman said:—"If the Union expected the other Unions to take sympathetic action to support them and if any fund were opened it ought to be a general fund. . . . If you have appointed a Committee to carry on the fight and to direct the line of action to be taken, you ought to have a Joint Committee to carry on the finances and administer the funds involved. From the time this Committee gets into operation it will be to the interest of the motor drivers that there shall be a general fund to be administered in connection with the matter. In my view what ought to be done is—from this day forward there should be a General Finance Committee. The Toolmakers will get the same assistance as anyone else."



The Committee appointed by the special Trade Union Congress consisted of Messrs. Mitchell and Lacy, representing the Automobile Drivers' Union; Mason, Irish Drapers; Twomey, A.S.E. (later succeeded by H. Wickham); Killigrew, Steam Engine Makers; Rossney, Stationary Engine Drivers; Jackson, Toolmakers; Cullen, Bakers; with Messrs. Farren, O'Lehane, O'Shannon, O'Farrell, Miss Timmon and Messrs. Johnson and O'Brien, representing the National Executive. The Grocers' Assistants, N.U.R., National Union of Dock Labourers, and Coachbuilders' Society attended only one or two meetings each. The first action of the Committee was to arrange for the delegation to proceed to London to interview the various organisations there, as decided upon by the special Congress.

The Congress was held on December 16, the delegation left Dublin on the 18th, having previously notified the secretaries of the organisations in London of their intention. Interviews were held with Mr. Bowerman, Secretary of the Parliamentary Committee of the British Trade Union Congress; with Mr. J. H. Thomas, Chairman of that Committee and General Secretary of the N.U.R.; with Mr. Robert Williams, Secretary, Transport Workers' Federation; Mr. Turner, Secretary, Shop Assistants' Union; the Editor of the *Daily Herald*; the Executive Committee of the A.S.E.; Mr. Cole, of the Labour Research Department; and the Secretary of the Parliamentary Labour Party, Mr. H. S. Lindsay. In addition to the above, part of the deputation visited Manchester to interview officials of the United Kingdom Society of Coachbuilders and the Steam Engine-makers' Society, and to Birmingham to meet the officials of the Toolmakers' Society. The primary object of the deputation was to make these organisations aware of the situation created in Ireland by the Motor Permits Order and point out the fact that some of these societies' Irish members were already affected by the strike, and the grave danger that very much greater numbers were likely to become affected. An appeal for financial assistance was issued on December 18th by advertisement in the *Freeman's Journal* (the *Evening Telegraph* morning edition), and (a few days later) in the *Irish Independent* (this paper having refused to insert the first draft), in the *Daily Herald*, and in the *Watchword of Labour*. Several hundred copies of the appeal were also sent to the Trade Unions and Trade Union branches throughout Ireland.

Shortly after the declaration of the strike on November 29th the spokesmen of the Automobile Drivers' Union conducted a campaign with the object of extending the strike amongst other trades and occupations, apparently with the belief that if a large number of other workers became embroiled the Government would be forced to give way or, on the other hand, if unable to force a withdrawal of the Order by strike method—that all the unions affected might suffer defeat to the same degree. A claim was made that no traffic which had hitherto been dealt with by motor traction should in any circumstances be handled by other workmen or carried by other means of haulage. On this subject the Special Congress, after full consideration and discussion, came to a definite conclusion. It was realised



that this was not an ordinary industrial dispute between workmen and employers,, where the object was always to bring such pressure to bear on the employers as to compel them to concede the workmens' demand; but it was a struggle directed against a Government whose order was being resisted and who were not amenable to any public opinion in Ireland. As was pointed out by the Chairman of the Congress, Mr. Farren, the supply of foodstuffs and other necessities for carrying on the industries of the country was dependent upon motor haulage, and if no other form of traction were to be introduced the chief sufferers would be the workers and their families. He believed that traffic should be introduced to keep industry going, and firms should be allowed to introduce other means of traction or haulage on the condition that the men who had been displaced by the motor cars being withdrawn were entitled to receive first preference of the employment at the rate of pay they received formerly.

Notwithstanding the emphatic endorsement of this policy by the Special Congress, the Automobile Drivers' Union continued to agitate for the stoppage of all substituted haulage and conducted a campaign of villification against the Transport Union, the Railwaymen's Unions and other unions who refused to follow at the heels of the Automobile Drivers' Union, and one official publicly said:—"If necessary they would drag into the fight those unions which were not acting with them." It is with regret that we have to record that the officials of the Automobile Drivers' Union, from the beginning to the end, misled and were disloyal to the Joint Committee and the findings of the Congress, and more particularly to those other unions whose men had struck work out of sympathy with the Automobile men in their struggle.

The Congress decided to open a strike fund. After hearing the assertion at the Special Congress by one of the officials of the Automobile men's Union that they would retain their own special fund, the Congress decided that all funds should be pooled and that the direction of the strike and apportionment of funds should be in the hands of the Joint Committee. Notwithstanding this, no return was made to the Joint Committee of any funds paid into the Automobile Drivers' Union on account of the strike. The members of the Steam Enginemakers' Union and of the A.S.E. who struck work out of sympathy, unauthorised by their society, were left for several weeks without any strike pay and without any inquiry by the Automobile Union as to how they were living; and this during the time when large sums of money were being paid into the Automobile Drivers' Union on behalf of the men on strike. The members of the Amalgamated Society of Toolmakers, the Transport Union, and the Stationary Engine Drivers, whose societies had authorised the payment of strike pay, were not so badly off, although in the case of the two former unions the amount of strike pay was considerably less than the amounts being paid to the members of the Automobile Drivers' Union out of the funds subscribed by the public. After the formation of the Joint Committee and after the appeal for funds had been circulated, the question was asked of the delegates of the



Automobile Drivers' Union by the Joint Committee whether the country branches of that union were being supported out of the central funds. The answer was to the effect that except in a few towns—which were named—all returns were dealt with by the central office in Dublin and all strike pay remitted weekly from that office. On January 5th the Chairman of the Trades Council, Carlow, wrote complaining that “the members of the Automobile Drivers' Union in that town had not received any strike pay from their Union on the plea that no funds had been remitted from Carlow in support of the Fighting Fund.” Mr. O'Connor, Secretary of the Automobile Drivers' Union, had written to the local Secretary a letter in which he stated: In reply to a wire and letter asking for strike pay: “I am directed to say that we have not got any money from Carlow for our fighting fund. As you know, we sent you strike pay from the time the strike started up to Christmas, on the understanding that money collected in Carlow for our “fighting fund” would be sent to us. Now, we find that this has not been done although you say in your letter that the money has been sent to us. The best thing you can do is to see the local treasurers and get them to send us the money, or if it has been sent on to some other source, to authorise the parties sent it to to hand it over to us so that we will be in a position to forward you the week's strike pay due.” (The Chairman of the Carlow Trades Council *had* remitted to the Joint Committee's general fund the sum of £30 collected by the Council and £100 contributed by Mr. Michael Governey, a total of £130.) About the same time a similar letter had been sent by Mr. M. J. O'Connor, General Secretary of the Automobile Union, to the branch secretary of his Union in Castlebar, stating that “strike pay was sent on to some of their men there only on the understanding that all moneys collected would be sent on direct to him, and asking that this money be paid over to them before they sent on any more strike pay. At a meeting in Tralee, held December 29, at which Mr. M. J. O'Connor, Secretary of the Union, spoke at some length, the following resolution was moved, seconded and adopted:—

“That this public meeting of the people of Tralee strongly protest against the Motor Permits Order as being tyrannical, undemocratic and unnecessary; heartily approves of the action taken by the I.A.D. and M. Union, and commends to the support of the people the “fighting fund” opened by that Union.”

Mr. O'Connor, on being challenged by Mr. O'Brien to deny that he drafted the resolution, did not reply. Time after time, following the first sitting of the Committee, the delegates of the Automobile Men's Union were requested by the Chairman and Treasurer to furnish particulars of the number on strike in the different towns. The first report that was obtained was handed in on January 9th, purporting to refer to the week ending January 3rd. The list contained a total of 613 members, including 400 said to have been in receipt of strike pay in Dublin. A later return for the same week—ending January 3rd—gave only 279 members being paid strike pay in Dublin. Discrepancies of this kind occurred in respect to other



towns, leading the Committee to the conclusion that no accurate information was available respecting the number of men receiving strike pay.

### CONFERENCE OF EXECUTIVES.

On January 30th a special conference representing the Executives of the following Unions was held: A.S.E., Automobile Drivers, Stationary Engine Drivers, Toolmakers, Steam-engine Makers, Transport Union, Bakers, Drapers, and the National Executive. After full discussion of the situation it was decided to call an aggregate meeting of the men on strike in Dublin, and that a ballot be taken on the question of continuing the strike or calling it off. On February 2nd the Joint Committee met, at which Messrs. Crosby and Magee attended, instead of Messrs. Mitchell and Lacy, to represent the Automobile Drivers. That meeting made arrangements for taking a ballot on the following Friday. A further meeting of the committee was held on the night of Thursday, February 5th, to make final arrangements for the meeting on the following day. Mr. Mitchell again was not present, it being explained that he was still unwell. Messrs. Lacy and Crosby attended, and took an active part in the discussion. It had been decided that only those members who were actually on strike should be allowed to take part in the ballot, and that only those who had cards of membership to show should be allowed to enter the place of meeting. The meeting was held on the following morning. Prior to the opening the members of the Automobile Drivers' Union were very enthusiastic and demonstrative in their assertions that they "were not downhearted"; that they "would not under any circumstances apply for permits"; and that they "would fight on until—as the President had expressed it—they eat the stones." The Chairman of the meeting, Mr. Farren, stated the case as it appeared to him, and informed the members present that, in his opinion, there was no sign and no likelihood of the Government withdrawing the order. Much discussion ensued, chiefly having reference to allegations against the Transport Union and the Toolmakers' Union of "scabbing," of "letting them down," and against the Joint Committee for faint-heartedness and unwillingness to help the automobile men. After a long speech by Mr. Mitchell, Mr. Foran attempted to reply. The first sentence gave offence to the automobile drivers present, and they refused to allow him to proceed unless he withdrew the term "hogwash," with which he had described Mr. Mitchell's speech. Mr. Foran refused to withdraw and resumed his seat. After some further charges and counter-charges had been made, the question arose as to taking the ballot. The meeting vociferously refused to take the ballot and declared for a show of hands. The show of hands was taken, when a large majority declared in favour of continuing the strike, the minority refusing to vote by show of hands on the grounds that the meeting was called for



the specific purpose of taking a ballot. From information which was received by the Joint Committee subsequently, it is clear—

1. That on the Thursday instructions were given to the Automobile Drivers that they should vote in favour of continuing the strike.
2. That they should not allow a ballot to be taken.
3. That a considerable number of men who had not been on strike, but had been kept on in employment, were present at the meeting.
4. That cards of membership were issued specially for the meeting, and that a large number of those present were neither motor-drivers nor members of the Motor Drivers' Union, but were grocers' assistants on strike.
5. That members of the Automobile Drivers' Union collected membership cards from those already in the hall with the intention of taking these cards outside so as to allow others to come in by showing them at the door.

No whisper of any negotiations with the Police Commissioner reached the Joint Committee. On the contrary, any suggestion of accepting defeat had been met by the Motor men's delegates with utter implacability. Under no circumstances would the Automobile Drivers' Union allow its members to work under a permit given by the police! Judge, then, if you can, of the astonishment with which the Committee read the correspondence printed in the newspapers on Monday revealing the fact that, while the Joint Committee was discussing the taking of a ballot (having before them the excuse for Mr. Mitchell's absence that he was unwell) the President and Secretary of the Automobile Drivers' Union were negotiating terms of surrender with the Chief Commissioner of Police. The majority of the Joint Committee agreed with the view that a widespread or general strike would lead to even more disastrous defeat for the whole movement than the defeat of the Automobile Drivers alone. They would have been prepared to accept an honourable defeat, having made a demonstration of protest, but they would not have considered for a moment an appeal to the police for a modification of the Order to cloak their defeat, and, under the pretence that they had won a valuable concession, hailed their humiliation as a glorious victory!

It may be noted that the Automobile Drivers' officials were in conference with the Commissioner of Police and Mr. Wayte on the Wednesday evening and Thursday evening prior to the aggregate meeting, but no mention of this was made to the Joint Committee at their meeting on Thursday.

### Adult Working Class Education.

Following the resolution on this subject passed at Drogheda, a sub-committee was appointed to consider a scheme and report as to what steps should be taken with a view to carrying out the instruction



of Congress. The Committee considered that the work undertaken by the Connolly Labour College accorded with the wishes of the Congress, and recommended that the National Executive should assist the Committee of the College in promoting this scheme of adult working class education. It was decided to vote the sum of £25 towards the fund of that College for the current year. A permanent Director of Studies has been appointed and a scheme set up to provide facilities for the study of economics, industrial history and local government, and there has also been issued a series of lessons on public speaking. These will be made available for classes in the country, and it is hoped that full advantage will be taken of the opportunities that the College is providing. We commend the work of the College to Trade Union branches and other working class organisations.

### **Arrest and Deportation of Secretary.**

About 1 a.m. on Wednesday, March 3rd, the house of our Secretary, Alderman Wm. O'Brien, was visited by a company of soldiers in charge of an officer, and, guided by a policeman, his house was searched, a number of papers removed, and Mr. O'Brien himself placed under arrest. He was taken to Mountjoy Prison in a military waggon, where he was kept for a few hours. Early on Thursday morning he was deported to Wormwood Scrubbs Prison. No one was informed at the time of his whereabouts, nor of the reasons for his arrest. The facts were brought before the Parliamentary Committee of the British Trades Union Congress, and to the Chairman of the British Parliamentary Labour Party, in the following terms:—

Dublin, March 5th, 1920.

I have to inform you that about midnight, March 3rd, the house of our Secretary, Mr. William O'Brien, was visited by a company of soldiers, who placed him under arrest. His house was searched and a number of papers removed. Mr. O'Brien was taken away in a military waggon, since when neither his mother or sister, with whom he lived, nor any other person, so far as we know, has been informed of his whereabouts. It is reported in the Press that Mr. O'Brien was taken to England early yesterday morning (Thursday), but of this we have no confirmation. These are the bald facts. No charge of any kind has been made, and none of his colleagues can think of any possible justification, even from the point of view of the British Authorities, for Mr. O'Brien's arrest and deportation. The only guesses we can make at a reason are:

1. That he is Secretary of the Irish Labour Party and Trades Union Congress, which has expressed strong views in regard to the military occupation of Ireland by foreign troops. For these views the whole Executive, indeed, the whole working class movement in Ireland, are equally responsible.



2. That he is General Treasurer of, and one of the Executive Officers of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, which, as you know, is the most powerful Trade Union organisation in Ireland, and has consequently engendered the dislike of the anti-Labour elements who incite the Castle to action.
3. That at the Municipal Election held in January, Mr. O'Brien was elected to the Dublin Corporation as an Alderman, after having stated in his election literature that he was in favour of establishing a Workers' Republic in Ireland.

We cannot imagine any other reasons than these, if these may be considered reasons, for our colleague's arrest. We are bringing those facts to your notice, not because there is anything peculiar in the case—many cases equally inexplicable have occurred during the last few months—but because his position as a Trade Union official suggests to us that this is the beginning of a new offensive on the part of the British Forces. We make no appeal for special consideration for Mr. O'Brien, and we make no suggestion as to what action the British Labour movement ought to take to prevent the development of this new offensive on the part of the Government and the troops which they control, but we think that you have a special responsibility, as representing the organised workers of Great Britain.

With fraternal greetings,

I am, yours sincerely,

For the National Executive,  
THOMAS JOHNSON, Acting Sec.

After about three weeks' imprisonment without any charge and no apparent reason why he should ever be released (seeing that there was no reason for his arrest), Mr. O'Brien decided to go upon Hunger Strike, insisting that he should be either released alive or taken out dead. On the sixth day of his hunger strike several urgent messages were received from the Governor of the Prison saying that Mr. O'Brien was dangerously ill. The Treasurer, accompanied by Mr. Foran of the Transport Union, crossed that night to London to visit him.

Having seen him in the prison, and realising the gravity of his condition, they saw Messrs. Adamson and Henderson, Members of Parliament. Mr. Adamson put a question to the Prime Minister demanding that Mr. O'Brien should be released before it was too late, and then if necessary bring him to trial on whatever charge may be preferred against him. Mr. Bonar Law, on behalf of the Prime Minister, in the course of his answer, said that "he was arrested on suspicion of being implicated in a murderous conspiracy that has resulted in the death of so many loyal servants of the Crown in Ireland. His Majesty's Government had given



careful consideration to the subject, and they have definitely decided that they will not release him, even though he should in consequence commit suicide by refusing to take food." He further said that "the first duty of any Government is to protect the lives of the citizens, and the Irish Government have taken the responsibility of deciding that the arrest of this man was necessary to carry out that object." Notwithstanding these statements, owing to the pressure that was brought to bear upon the Government by the Parliamentary Labour Party, and by Trade Union leaders outside, and the unwillingness of the Home Secretary to be responsible for the death of Alderman O'Brien while in his charge, and the fact that the Stockport election was to take place next day, he was released from the prison on Friday night, March 26th, and taken in an ambulance to a nursing home.

### STOCKPORT ELECTION.

During the time Mr. O'Brien was in prison a vacancy occurred in the Parliamentary constituency of Stockport. A group of Irish workers, most of them active members of the Labour Party in the district, approached the candidates of the Unionists, the Liberal and the Labour Parties, to find out their views upon the position in Ireland. They also waited upon the Executive of the British Labour Party with the same object. Being dissatisfied with the answers they received, they decided to name a candidate of their own, and, without consulting Mr. O'Brien or obtaining his views, they nominated him for the vacancy. Your Executive announced publicly that Alderman O'Brien's candidature was not with its consent and was decided upon by the local Irish workers without consultation with this Executive. The Stockport committee have explained that their purpose in carrying on the contest was to draw public attention in the most effective way to the imprisonment of Mr. O'Brien, and there is no doubt that the contest was an effective piece of propaganda work.

Three weeks after Mr. O'Brien's removal to the nursing home an offer of parole was made on behalf of the Home Secretary, on certain conditions. The following letter was thereupon published in the London and Irish Press:

"Dear Sir,—It is now four weeks since the Government, bowing to the demand of all decent people, decided to release Alderman Wm. O'Brien from Wormwood Scrubbs and send him to a nursing home, to recover from the effects of his hunger strike protest.

"It will be remembered that Alderman O'Brien was taken from his bed at midnight by a military force, deported to England the next morning, without charge or trial, and imprisoned in Wormwood Scrubbs prison. After waiting for a fortnight to learn when he would be tried and on what charge, he resorted to the only means of protest left to him, and refused to take food. At the end of a week, the prison doctor and governor,



realising that his life was in danger, communicated with his relatives in Dublin, calling upon them to cross the water to visit him, as he was expected to die.

"Members of the Labour Party in the House of Commons being informed of the state of affairs, backed by trade union colleagues who were not in the House of Commons, made strenuous efforts to avert the impending tragedy. When Mr. Adamson, leader of the Labour Party in the House, raised the question, Mr. Bonar Law, for the Prime Minister, replied as follows: 'It is a fact that Alderman O'Brien has been arrested and deported for reasons which convince the Irish Government that this action was necessary. He was, indeed, arrested on suspicion of being implicated in a murderous conspiracy which resulted in the deaths of so many loyal subjects of the Crown in Ireland'; and, in response to a supplementary question, he said—'The first duty of any Government is to protect the lives of the citizens, and the Irish Government has taken the responsibility of deciding that the arrest of this man was necessary to carry out that object.'

#### **Parole Demanded.**

"Mr. O'Brien was released, as before said, to a nursing home. He has now recovered, and is threatened with re-incarceration in Wormwood Scrubbs Prison; but, knowing that immediately on his re-arrest he would resume the hunger strike, there is some hesitation being shown. They have offered to Alderman O'Brien that he might go to reside with friends in London, on condition that he gives a written parole in the following terms—namely:

" 'I, William O'Brien, undertake on my honour, if released from custody, to take no part in politics, either directly or indirectly, and undertake to reside at ——— and to return to Wormwood Scrubbs if asked to do so.'

"Of course, such a proposal could not be accepted by Alderman O'Brien, and the alternative, if the Government plans are carried out, is that he shall be re-arrested and taken to Wormwood Scrubbs. The hunger strike will then be resumed, followed by release, presumably, to a nursing home, ad infinitum. For there is no more reason why he should ever be released than there was for his original arrest.

#### **No Part in Politics.**

"But what shall we say of a Government who offer parole to a man on his honour who is 'suspected of being implicated in a murderous conspiracy, and whose arrest was necessary to protect the lives of loyal subjects of the Crown in Ireland'? We suspect that the real reason for our colleague's arrest and deportation may be found in that part of the form of parole in which he is asked to undertake to take no part in politics. As it is gener-

ally known, Alderman O'Brien is treasurer and one of the chief executive officers of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union. He is also secretary of the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress. These organisations have done much within the last year or two to put fear in the hearts of the upholders of the present political and social system enthroned in Ireland. They have many enemies among the frequenters of the Kildare Street Club, the real seat of Government in Ireland. It was to keep Alderman O'Brien out of politics and out of trade union activities that his deportation was arranged for.

### **Call to English Workers.**

"We are bringing this statement to the notice of the working class public of Great Britain, and we ask them, in the name of organised labour in Ireland, to make a united demand that our colleague—and with him every other Irish prisoner now interned—shall be forthwith released, and if that demand is not acceded to at once that militant working class action shall be resorted to.

"THOMAS JOHNSON,

"Acting Secretary, Irish Labour Party."

"April 26, 1920."

Notwithstanding all our efforts, the Secretary was not released until the 6th of May, nine weeks after his arrest.

### **Amalgamation of Unions.**

In accordance with the instructions of Congress, a sub-committee was appointed, consisting of the Chairman, with Messrs. O'Lehane, Johnson, O'Farrell, O'Shannon and O'Brien, to consider a report on the general lines of a scheme or schemes with a view to submitting them to the consideration of a Special Congress. Several meetings of this Committee took place, but its work was interrupted by the frequent illness and subsequent death of Mr. O'Lehane, who was instrumental in having the resolution passed by Congress. Other urgent calls upon the activities of the members of the Committee prevented the completion of their work. The matter has not by any means been passed over. Meetings have been held between representatives of the unions engaged in the distributive trades, and the basis of a scheme has been laid before them with a view to amalgamation of the distributive trades unions. We append to this report a copy of the scheme outlined, but would intimate that the prevailing opinion is that any such schemes of amalgamation should form a part of and lead up to a larger scheme of general amalgamation of all the unions on a strictly industrial basis, with one central general executive. The Committee recommends that this should be the objective of the incoming Committee when continuing the enquiries.



## Food Control.

A deputation from the National Executive waited upon the Department of Agriculture in November to ascertain what was their policy in respect to (1) the Cost of Living and price control; (2) the Profiteering Act; (3) Tillage Orders; (4) Flax cultivation; (5) Minimum wage for agricultural labourers. Resolutions on each of these subjects were passed at the last Congress. The deputation consisted of Messrs. O'Lehane, Dawson Gordon, Johnson and O'Brien. Mr. Johnson made the opening statement, and the members of the deputation explained the views of the Congress and Labour Party respecting the food shortage and the need for the conservation of Ireland's supplies before allowing exportation, opposing the demand for decontrol then being made by merchants, manufacturers and farmers in the expectation of higher prices. The deputation claimed that there should be a control of prices for Ireland, leaving the exportable surplus to seek the best market; that the people of Ireland should derive some definite advantage from their favoured position as a country producing ample supplies of food. They noted with satisfaction that an announcement had been made since the deputation was decided upon that the policy advocated by Congress of continuing the Compulsory Tillage Order had been followed; also that the Department intended to pursue its policy of restricting exports whenever a shortage of any commodity was threatened. They protested against the low minimum rates being fixed by the Agricultural Wages Board, contrasting them with those adopted in England, Wales and Scotland.

Mr. Gordon dealt especially with the flax cultivation problem, urging that steps should be taken to encourage flax cultivation in southern and midland counties, and scientific methods both of cultivation and preparation for manufacture. He complained of the insanitary and wasteful methods of scutching flax now in vogue in Ulster, and advocated a central system of scutching. Mr. T. P. Gill, Secretary of the Department of Agriculture, and Professor Campbell, in reply, said that most of the claims made by the deputation had their hearty support; that the Department was doing its utmost within the limits of its powers and its financial resources to carry them into operation. They claimed with special pride that the Council of Agriculture being mainly composed of farmers, had, under the guidance of the Department, freely agreed to the proposal to continue the 15 per cent. tillage order. They explained that the Department had no authority in respect to the Profiteering Act, which it was intended should be administered by the Board of Trade through local committees.

## Bacon and Butter Embargo.

Announcements were made in February that the British Government had decided as a matter of general policy to remove as quickly as possible control of prices of all commodities, and that the control of bacon and butter would come to an end on March 31st. This



decision was come to in direct opposition to the advice of its own representatives in this country, of the farmers' and merchants' organisations who, while favouring decontrol, considered the time chosen for removing control inopportune, and despite repeated and definite warnings from the National Executive that decontrol, during a period of scarcity, would inevitably lead to monopoly prices and would be actively opposed by the workers of this country. In face of all warning decontrol took place. In anticipation of a rising market both farmers and merchants withheld their supplies from the public during the few weeks preceding decontrol. Immediately free markets became available, prices bounded up rapidly till, within a fortnight, bacon had reached over four shillings a pound and butter four and sixpence. Conversations with Union officials had taken place in respect to the action which should be taken in view of the possibility of such a state of things arising. The Irish Council of the National Union of Dock Workers passed resolutions favouring an embargo on export of food, and decided to put same into operation. The National Executive supported the action of the Dock workers, and, following the two days' strike (which will be dealt with in another paragraph) issued a statement through the Press. (It should be noted that in view of the possibility that home markets had been denuded of supplies as a consequence of the two days stoppage, it was decided as a precautionary measure, that no exports of food should be allowed, pending inquiry as to the state of the markets.)

The statement as published reads as follows:—

“ April 15th, 1920.

#### **FOOD CONTROL.**

“ The National Executive of the Labour Party has considered the position in regard to food supplies and has decided to give instructions that, beginning to-morrow (Friday) the embargo on the shipment of food stuffs except butter, bacon and live pigs should be removed for the present.

“ In regard to Cattle, the Labour Party Executive strongly urges upon representatives of the Agricultural Organisation Society on behalf of the small farmers, and the Irish Farmers' Union on behalf of the large farmers, to meet representatives of the agricultural labourers, both north and south of Ireland, for the purpose of devising a scheme of future control. Organised workers in general are determined to make every effort within their power to bring about a reduction in the cost of living, especially in so far as affects those food commodities which are produced abundantly in Ireland. We consider that it is the duty of those engaged in cattle raising and agriculture to organise their industry so as to provide the people of Ireland with food at a reasonable price.

#### **“ LOCAL COMMITTEES.**

“ At a date to be fixed in the near future it will be necessary to take action to prevent the export of cattle and agricultural produce



until prices are reduced to a sum within the reach of the working classes. We, therefore, urge upon the organisations above named the necessity of taking immediate steps to come together and make arrangements for a proper organisation of the industry so far as it affects the trade within Ireland. It is our intention to call for local committees to be appointed immediately in every town to regulate the shipment of produce from their area in such a manner as to ensure that the requirements of that locality shall be provided for at maximum prices to be fixed.

"In respect to potatoes, the total quantity at present in Ireland is sufficient to allow of large exports. This exportable surplus is entirely in the northern counties. With so large a quantity in excess of home requirements, we consider that the present price is unjustifiable, and that shipment should be prohibited until prices are reduced to a reasonable level in Irish towns. Representatives of the railways, docks and other workers in all northern ports should meet and make arrangements for regulating the local retail price.

#### " HOME DEMAND FIRST.

"It is necessary that the export of bacon and live pigs should be entirely prohibited until further notice. Irish bacon-curers have every facility for the killing and curing of all pork now in the country. Supplies are short, and it is necessary that both prices and exports should be controlled. Curers and merchants are asked to make arrangements for the distribution and sale within Ireland of all bacon they handle.

"Butter also should be retained in Ireland until the home demand is satisfied. While the shortage continues creameries and butter factors will need to make arrangements to supply Irish markets alone, and prices should be brought down to not exceeding 3s. per pound.

#### " NO WISH TO ACT UNFAIRLY.

"We desire it to be thoroughly understood that in taking this drastic action we have no wish to act unfairly towards any legitimate Irish interest. We wish to insist firmly, however, that the time has arrived, and the country must understand that *the Irish workers claim protection from that brand of profiteering which follows the market irrespective of the people's needs*; and that some advantage should accrue to the people of this country from the favourable agricultural position they occupy.

"Farmers in particular, merchants, shopkeepers, and the public generally should, even in their own interests, co-operate in this definite effort to put a stop to the perpetual rise in the cost of living with the consequent demand for further increases in wages."

For the National Executive—

THOMAS FARREN, *Chairman.*

THOMAS JOHNSON, *Acting Secretary.*"

The above announcement was cordially approved of by the workers of the country in general, but the Limerick and Cork bacon-curing

firms made public announcement that they would cease the purchase and curing of pigs and that they would close down their factories. The following communication (which, although intended for the bacon trade particularly was applicable to industries in general) was thereupon published throughout the press in the form of:—

**"AN OPEN LETTER TO THE IRISH BACON CURERS, DEALERS AND FEEDERS.**

"Gentlemen,—It is not practicable to address you individually on the subject of bacon supplies and prices, therefore we seek the permission of the newspapers to address you collectively.

You are hurt by the action of the Labour Party in declining any longer to assist in the export of pigs or bacon from Ireland until prices to the Irish consumer are reduced to a reasonable level.

We have some sympathy with you in your vexation, knowing that you are not wholly responsible, or rather that your responsibility rests upon your failure to do your duty to the Irish public: possibly through ignorance of what is that duty.

But it was necessary for some one to take quick and decisive action. Within two weeks retail prices had risen by no less than eightpence per lb., with the prospect of an additional fourpence per lb., within a few days.

The workers of the country are in no mood for this. You and all concerned have been warned many times within the past five years that the people will not stand by and see home-produced food pass their doors, attracted by the magic lure of their richer neighbours.

On the first of the month the control was removed. Immediately a rush of speculators forced up prices. Irish traders joined in the scramble; the consuming public pays the penalty.

A history of these days would record that, not the swine of Gadara, but the swine traders of Ireland became "possessed" and rushed headlong to destruction!

Do we love our "sister nation" so intensely that we must conform to her every whim without demur, and adapt our tastes and habits to suit every variation in her statesmen's minds?

We have said in extenuation of your failure to prevent extortion that you may be ignorant of the duties you have imposed upon yourselves.

**"YOUR DUTY TO YOUR COUNTRY."**

We shall explain our meaning. You have assumed the responsibility of providing bacon for the Irish people. You chose this duty voluntarily, and the people hitherto have accepted you at your own valuation; they have acquiesced without questioning your ability or organising capacity.

To provide food of this particular kind is your duty to your country, that is the service your country demands of you in your capacity of merchants or traders. You have ignorantly and selfishly thought that your only consideration need be to buy cheap and sell dear. Despite your political professions, of whatever brand, you



have conformed to the social philosophy of nineteenth-century Manchester, "Every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost."

The workers are now making an attempt—by shock tactics if you will—to arouse you to a sense of responsibility, and, either by co-operating with you, or, if you fail, by acting without your aid, to proceed to erect a sounder social structure.

## **TWO ALTERNATIVE PROPOSITIONS.**

We lay before you two alternative propositions.

The first is that the bacon-curers and merchants, through their associations, the workers engaged in the bacon-curing industry, through their Trade Unions, and the breeders and feeders, through the Agricultural Co-operative Societies, should meet *immediately* and devise ways and means of governing the industry in Ireland, having as the primary purpose to supply the Irish people with bacon at a reasonable price.

The organised Labour movement in general, including those workers engaged in transport, will act as a safeguard for the interests of the consuming public.

The second and alternative proposition is, that failing immediate action by those engaged in the industry towards the regulation of prices and conserving of supplies, the organised workers themselves will take the task in hands.

We intend to be quite open in the matter and lay our cards upon the table.

## **THE COMMON INTEREST.**

We do not recognise the right of the owners of bacon factories to withhold their premises and machinery from use at their own discretion against the common interest. These material structures have been built and adapted by the workers for a social purpose—*i.e.*, to provide bacon for the people. If those who hold these things in trust refuse to fulfil their trust, the people must relieve them of their trust.

We have available the workers and their experience, the killing staff, the curing staff, the clerical staff. We have the means of distribution within Ireland at our disposal, we have the co-operative market of Great Britain for our surplus.

We shall enter at once into negotiation with the organised workers of England, Scotland and Wales through their Wholesale Co-operative Societies. They will be glad to provide the necessary finance to enable us to pay for the pigs, knowing that after our home needs are satisfied they will have a plentiful supply for distribution to their working class membership at a price which has not been inflated by the interposition of the profiteers.

## **"WE SHALL TAKE THE RISK."**

A protest may be raised that it will be illegal to enter into possession of a factory without the proprietor's sanction, that such an act would be prevented by the armed forces of the British Crown. We answer: Perhaps; perhaps not! We shall take the risk.

We shall take our chance that the miners, railwaymen and dock workers of industrial Britain would kick against the use of their Government's forces to prevent the development of a scheme which would provide them with cheaper bacon!

To our friends, the breeders and feeders of pigs, the small working farmers, we would also add a word:

No one who thinks on the subject will attach blame to you for accepting the price that is thrown at you for your pigs. Your function in the communal life is to produce food, and you are not to be blamed for the failure to organise the distribution of that food justly.

### **A REASONABLE PRICE.**

We recognise you as fellow-workers, recompensed on a different basis, it is true, but nevertheless you depend upon the expenditure of personal effort for a livelihood as we do, not upon the exploitation of other men's labour, nor upon rents nor interest, nor upon profit in exchange.

Our proposals will ensure you a reasonable price for your pork. You know from experience that excessively high prices do not promote healthy business, that when prices become abnormal breeding and feeding quickly degenerates into mere gambling.

Your true interests will be best served by direct association with the town workers. When your organisations, the co-operative societies, enter into trading relations with the town workers, through their organisations, and act together to control the export trade in the goods you produce by your hands from your lands, we shall have found a way to the solution of many problems that at present confront the nation.

### **IMMEDIATE ACTION.**

Together we can supply our fellow-workers direct with our surplus food, dispensing with the profiteer and the gombeenman. Together we can obtain from the workers of other lands such goods as they may have to spare which we may need, again without the intervention of the profiteer. Together we can build in Ireland a social order based upon Labour—the workers in agriculture, the workers in industry, transport, and distribution, and those engaged in useful social service. Through this economic alliance we can realise our political aspirations.

To revert to our previous argument, we say to curers, merchants, and feeders that immediate action is imperative. Our two propositions are before you. The first, if acted upon without delay, may save the necessity for more radical measures. The second remains in reserve!

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

THOMAS FARREN, *Chairman.*

THOMAS JOHNSON, *Acting Secretary."*

32 Lower Abbey Street, Dublin.



## CONFERENCE WITH FARMERS AND MERCHANTS.

The result of this course of action was that conferences were held (1) with farmers, merchants and shippers of bacon, (2) with farmers, bacon-curers, and merchants at the offices of the Department of Agriculture under the chairmanship of the Vice-President of the Department, Mr. H. T. Barrie. As a result of these conferences those engaged in the bacon trade agreed that of the stocks at that time in their hands at least thirty per cent. should be ear-marked for Irish consumption at the price ruling prior to the end of March—that is to say, the control price—and that, after the existing stocks were disposed of, the legitimate demand of the Irish consumers was to be supplied in full at not exceeding this price. An arrangement was also agreed to by the representatives of the live pig exporters that the number of pigs exported should not exceed the number allowed under control—namely 17.5 per cent. of the total number of pigs placed on the market. The effect of this arrangement was to reduce the price of Irish bacon to the consumer within a week by about one shilling a pound while allowing for a reasonable price to be paid to the feeder.

The agreement to supply bacon at the control price, an average of around 2/8 a lb. was faithfully adhered to by the South of Ireland curers until the North of Ireland curers, having broken their undertaking, entered into competition in the pig markets and forced the prices upwards. It is to the shame of the North of Ireland bacon-curers that they, having through their representatives given an undertaking to the Chairman of the Department of Agriculture, flagrantly violated that undertaking, and they were severely reprimanded by Mr. Barrie for their conduct. The question of re-imposing the embargo was carefully considered, but in the circumstances prevailing during the last two months connected with the munitions hold-up, and the fact that bacon, even at 2/8, is not an article of common consumption by the workers, led us to decide against taking action for the present.

In respect to the butter trade. An agreement was arrived at that when the best quality butter became freely available at not exceeding 3/4 per lb., no further restriction would be placed upon exports. Certain machinery which had been in operation under the food control for the licensing of exports was adapted to meet the temporary requirements of the situation. After this machinery had been working for a couple of weeks the market price of butter in England fell to below the Irish average, and it was then unnecessary to continue the use of this licensing system. But, as we write, prices seem to point to the necessity for again bringing compulsion to bear upon the butter trade, otherwise this country will be left without butter during the winter and early spring. Prices are again mounting, and conferences are being held with the representatives of the farmers to consider what steps are to be taken to provide for next winter's needs at a reasonable price. If no satisfactory assurance is given that the country's interests are being properly conserved by those



whose duty to the country it is to provide butter, we shall advise that the workers' veto be again brought into operation.

### **FUTURE CONTROL.**

On this question of embargoes on exports your Executive realise the dangers and difficulties which are involved in such action being taken without a thorough understanding of all the circumstances and the facts relating thereto. We consider that there should be an authoritative body, properly equipped, having expert advisers whose sole purpose shall be to safeguard the common weal and to keep constant watch upon the supplies and requirements of food and other necessities. Tentative efforts have been made towards the establishment of such a body—unofficial, yet having the authority which the combined power of agricultural producers and urban workers could wield.

We have made tentative proposals towards the establishment of a National economic alliance between workers in agriculture and workers in the towns, believing that if such could be accomplished, this alliance of workers in agriculture and workers in other industries would become the paramount authority in this country. Unfortunately, up to the present, it has not been possible to reach the small working farmer. The larger and wealthier farmers who are employers of labour have not been able to rid their minds of the obsession that their capital entitles them to a specially privileged position in the community, and gives them a right, apart from temporary social convenience, to extract from the produce of labour a considerable portion, in perpetuity, apart from any question of services rendered. We do not think it impossible that the small working farmer, who lives by the labour of his own hands, will come to see his community of interest with the wage-earner of the towns. Had this fundamental principle been agreed to, it would have been possible, we think, to enter into conference and to conduct negotiations on equal terms as amongst men having identical interests. Failing this agreement, however, we have consented to enter into conference with the representatives of agricultural interests to see if it is possible by agreement to provide for the needs of the Irish people at reasonable prices. Into such a conference, of course, we entered with the realisation that interests are in conflict and that, while our first proposal suggested a unity of interests as producers, under the second proposal we enter into a conference of contending interests as representing food consumers to make the best bargain we can with food producers.

### **Education Bill.**

On the day following the introduction of the Education Bill, the National Executive was sitting, and passed the following resolution unanimously, which was published in the Press:

"We strongly protest against the administrative scheme



of the new Education Bill as being reactionary and bureaucratic, making mockery of the Irish people and their demand for a genuinely National and democratic education system, and giving all power to a British Government Department consisting of two British politicians and one permanent official, who may or not be an educationist, and depriving the popularly elected Local Councils of even the limited powers in educational affairs they at present possess. We call upon all friends of education and democratic control to oppose the Bill.

"We protest against the delay in settling the long-standing and much accentuated financial grievances of teachers, and call upon the responsible authorities to take steps, independent of the course of the new Education Bill, to remedy the great hardships these public servants have to suffer."

In March last, Mr. O'Connell, General Secretary of the National Teachers' Organisation, waited upon the National Executive as a deputation to explain fully the position that the teachers had taken up in reference to the Bill. We replied to the Teachers' Executive assuring them of our confidence in their singleness of purpose in defence of the teachers' interests, and pointed out that the ground of our opposition to the Bill was different from that of most of those who criticise the teachers' action. We said:—

"We do not object to local control or a local Education rate, though we think Education should be mainly a National charge; but we want the local control to be genuine, not a pretence; we want the teachers, through their organisations, and the parents of the children, to have much more influence on the Educational affairs than this Bill proposes to give.

The Bill limits the powers of the Local Committee to carrying out the orders of the Department, and compels the local authorities to pay out of the rates for such schemes as the Department imposes. The Local Committee is to consist, in respect of half of its members, of persons nominated by the Lord Lieutenant, and this Committee is to have charge of Technical Instruction. At present the local Elected Authority has control of the local administration. Under the Bill this control ceases.

The proposed Council of Education again has only a shadow of popular authority. It is too large to have Executive power, and is probably only intended to meet twice or thrice a year to make representations and give advice on Educational affairs to the Department. The Department, we all agree, means a single unnamed permanent member, with his staff of permanent secretaries and officials, spurred on or retarded according to the whims and vagaries, malevolent or benevolent, of two political chiefs imposed upon the country as political chance determines. These major provisions of the Bill are most obnoxious, and far outweigh the other clauses which, we agree with you, would bring about valuable improvements to our educational system.



We believe that if the benefits and improvements cannot be obtained except at the cost of the reactionary scheme of control, then the country had better wait a little longer for the benefits, and seek some other method of providing for the teachers, improving schools, and adapting the curriculum to Ireland's ideals."

We have agreed to co-operate with the Teachers' Organisation in their effort to carry into effect the resolution of their annual meeting to convene a Conference or committee representative of bodies interested in Education, "in order to frame a programme or programmes in accordance with Irish ideals and conditions, due regard being given to local needs and views."

### **International.**

We received invitations from the International Socialist Bureau to send delegates to an International Socialist Congress to be held in Switzerland in February (afterwards postponed to August) for the purpose of reviving or reconstructing the International, commonly known now as the Second International. We decided that, in the present state of dis-organisation, while there exists so much conflict of opinion within the Labour and Socialist parties of the world respecting the constitution of any future International organ of the working class, its functions and its relations with the various State Governments, the Irish Labour movement should not enter into formal affiliation with the International Socialist Bureau.

To remove some evident misunderstandings, it is desirable to point out that sending the Irish Labour delegation to the Berne conference did not involve affiliation to what is called the "Second International." That gathering, as explained in last year's report, was a Special Conference, attended by delegates from National Labour and Socialist parties, whether or not they had been associated with the old International Bureau. That conference has failed in its avowed object of reuniting the International structure which the war had shattered.

### **British Railway Strike, 1919.**

In September, 1919, a general strike of railwaymen in Great Britain was declared. The National Executive issued a statement for the Press announcing that general support would be given to the railwaymen in their struggle, and a mass meeting was called under the auspices of the National Executive at the Mansion House on October 5th to arrange for the support of the railwaymen. It had been decided by the railwaymen's organisations that their purposes would not be served by calling out the Irish railwaymen, who had, nevertheless, declared themselves ready at any moment to answer the call to cease work. The meeting was a very successful one in point of numbers, and very enthusiastic, but information was received during the course of the meeting that a settlement had been arrived at between the Government, the companies and the unions.



## The Two Days' General Strike.

In the beginning of April a large number of men, something over a hundred, who had been arrested for political offences and were imprisoned in Mountjoy, had gone on hunger strike to enforce the compact that had been entered into, whereby political offenders would be dealt with as in a special category. The hunger strike of these one hundred men began on the 5th April, and by the 10th their condition had become critical. The Military Governor of Ireland, Lord French, had laid it down definitely, in reply to appeals from certain of the visiting justices, that he would make no relaxation in their treatment. "They had chosen to refuse food, and if they chose to die—well, let them die!"

An urgent meeting of the Resident Committee was called by telegram for 10.30 on Monday morning, the 12th of April. The Committee decided, in the grave circumstances then prevailing, to issue a call to the workers throughout the country to make a solemn and decisive protest—swiftly and without warning—by a general stoppage of work. A Manifesto was immediately issued, and was on the streets in the evening papers at twelve o'clock. Telegrams were sent all over the country conveying the decision of the National Executive. The Manifesto was in the following terms:

### "To the Workers of Ireland:

"You are called upon to act swiftly and suddenly to save a hundred dauntless men. At this hour their lives are hanging by a thread in a Bastille. These men, for the greater part our fellow workers and comrades in our Trade Unions, have been forcibly taken from their homes and their families, and imprisoned without charge; or, if charged, tried under exceptional laws for alleged offences of a political character, in outrageous defiance of every canon of justice.

"They are suspected of loving Ireland and hating her oppressors: a heinous crime in the sight of tyrants; but one of which hundreds of thousands of Irish workingmen and women proudly acclaim their guilt.

"No one, therefore, is guaranteed his freedom; no one dare be confident that he or she is safe from molestation or can rely upon protection by law or justice.

"Our fellow-workers now in Mountjoy, Wormwood Scrubbs and other prisons have adopted the only method now remaining to them to protest against the injustice of their imprisonment and against being treated as criminals. They have for eight days been on hunger strike. To-day, though many are at the point of death,

their titled jailers venomously shriek, 'Let them die.' We workers dare not allow this tragedy to come to pass. Verbal protests are vain. Resolutions, votes, constitutional practices, have been worn to shreds. They are cast aside as useless.

"As Trade Unionists, we have only one weapon left—a General Strike—a weapon that may be used but seldom and only in times of supreme crises.

"Such an occasion has now arisen. The call is urgent. There is no time to gather your delegates into conference.

"Therefore, we the undersigned, on behalf of the National Executive, hereby call for a general stoppage of all work throughout the country to-morrow (Tuesday), April 13th (with the exception of those employed on newspapers, telegraph service, baking of bread, and essential food distribution, humanitarian services, and necessary work amongst horses and cattle), in protest against the barbarous treatment of the political prisoners, and demanding their release.

"Workers! Let your response to this sudden call be so unanimous as will impress the people of other lands with your determination to put an end to tyranny and oppression.

"Irish workers, in the name of humanity, give a lead in this, as you did in your fight against Conscription.

"Signed on behalf of the National Executive,

"THOMAS FARREN, Chairman.

"THOMAS JOHNSON, Acting Secretary.

"32 Lower Abbey Street, Dublin.

"April 12, 1920.

The following morning representatives of a number of unions met in the offices of the Labour Party, and those of them who were members of unions having their headquarters in England sent the following statement to the London "Daily Herald":

#### **CALL TO BRITAIN.**

"To the Workers of Britain":

"We, the undersigned, members and officials of Trade Unions, having their headquarters in Great Britain, send this message in the name of humanity and of labour solidarity to our fellow-members in England, Scotland and Wales.

"Your fellow-workers throughout Ireland have given a unanimous response to the call of their National Executive to enter upon a General Strike in protest against the treatment meted out by the Military Governor of this country to the Irish political prisoners, a hundred of whom are lying at the point of death.

"The protest of Ireland's workers, be it never so passionate, will not be heeded by the Governors of this land, whom you, the workers of Britain, have allowed to wield authority over—an authority without moral support, depending wholly upon



force of arms—at this moment of writing, military aeroplanes are hovering, menacingly, over the crowds in Dublin streets).

"You, too, workers of Britain, must speak in the only language that will be heard; speak and act instantly!

"If you have the spirit of freemen, prove it now! If you have hearts to feel, show what you are made of this very day! If you would do one act that will forever bind the workers of these countries together indissolubly, not resolutely and determinedly within the hour you read this message!!

"THOMAS MacPARTLIN, Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners.

"J. J. REDMOND, Amalgamated Society of Engineers.

"CHARLES P. KELLY, Union of Post Office Workers.

"THOMAS BOYLE, National Union of Vehicle Builders.

"MICHAEL SOMERVILLE, Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners.

"SEAN M. O'DUFFY, Electrical Trades Union.

"CHARLES HEMPENSTALL, National Union of Railwaymen, D. and S.E.

"M. F. O'FARRELL, do., Loco G.N.R.

"WALTER WALSH, do., Broadstone.

"R. HENNESSY, do., Inchicore.

"J. KENNY, do. (No. 1).

"WILLIAM DOYLE, Amal. Society Locomotive Enginemmen and Firemen.

"THOMAS O'REILLY, Amal. Society Locomotive Enginemmen and Firemen.

"E. O'CARROLL, Railway Clerks' Association.

"WILLIAM DAVIN, do.

"JOHN O'NEILL, Amalgamated Tramway Workers.

"THOMAS CASEY, do.

"THOMAS JOHNSON, National Union Shop Assistants and Acting Secretary Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress."

The response to the call for a general strike was immediate and universal, outside the Belfast area. The country closed down completely. Probably never has there been so sudden and dramatic a strike in the history of the Labour movement anywhere. Without previous warning the whole nation had responded. In all parts of the country the workers showed their initiative and resourcefulness. In preparation for the possibility of an extended stoppage, Workers' Committees began

the organisation of the food supply. Local Town Councils in many towns handed over the use of the municipal buildings to the Workers' Committees.

On the evening of the second day the news came that the British authorities had capitulated. The strikers were released and removed to the various hospitals in the city. On this news becoming known, orders were given to the country that work was to be resumed next morning, and this order was carried out with the same faithfulness and unanimity as the call to cease work had been obeyed.

### **British Labour Delegation.**

In January a delegation from the British Parliamentary Labour Party visited Ireland, with a view to enquiring at first hand into the position of affairs. After visiting Thurles, Cork, Limerick, and Belfast, they returned to Dublin and invited the members of the National Executive to meet them at their hotel before returning to London. In response to this invitation Messrs. Farren, O'Lehane, McPartlin, O'Farrell, Daly, Johnson, O'Brien and O'Shannon waited upon the delegation—namely, Messrs. Henderson, Adamson, Smith, Wilson, and Parkinson. A full and frank discussion took place, in the course of which it was made quite clear to the delegation that the vast majority of the workers in Ireland were in full and complete agreement with the National demand for complete political freedom, and were prepared to take their share in the building of the Irish State now in course of construction. Their demand was that these building operations should be allowed to proceed without interference by British armed forces, and that these forces should be withdrawn immediately.

### **The Government of Ireland Bill.**

On this subject a letter was received from Mr. H. S. Lindsay, Secretary of the Labour Party, House of Commons, asking whether the Irish Trade Union Congress would like the Party to move any particular amendments to the Bill. We replied saying "that there are no amendments which we could suggest to the present Partition of Ireland Bill. In our view the Labour Party's best policy would be to ignore it as we shall probably do even when it becomes an Act."

### **Trade Union Organization and Wages Movements.**

The organization of the workers into the Trade Union movement has proceeded steadily and, while we hear of lapses here and there, taking the country as a whole, each month adds to the total number of organised workers.

In most trades there have been advances gained in the rates of wages; in many, reductions gained in hours of labour, and in some a valuable agreement has been arrived at with employers, whereby workers shall be granted a yearly holiday of a week or fortnight *with pay*.



The prices of household commodities have continued to advance, so that the advance in money wages has been largely, if not altogether nullified. In the Spring of the year an inquiry was made to test the validity of the Board of Trade returns on the cost of living in their application to Ireland. The result of this inquiry showed us that at a time when the Board of Trade schedule showed an advance of 135 per cent. over pre-war prices on the average workman's consumption of foodstuffs, the advance of foodstuffs in Irish towns was 175 per cent. !

### **Arbitration in Trades Disputes.**

A very considerable number of disputes have been settled during the year, after reference to arbitration. In two or three towns Conciliation Boards have been established for the purpose of settling disputes before a strike or lock-out takes place. We appreciate the efforts of these gentlemen who have worked so hard in these directions. We do not wish to detract in any way from the value of either conciliation or arbitration boards, but we think it desirable to direct a warning against any proposal to make arbitration in trade disputes compulsory. The work of the Conciliation Boards will prove most effective when there is no binding promise from either employers or employed to go before such a board. The fact that it exists and is available to the parties will be sufficient. In cases suitable for arbitration, the name of the arbitrator should be agreed upon by both parties, each side willingly referring the case to him. Any attempt on the part of any Government authorities to compel Trade Unionists to submit their disputes to arbitration must be vigorously resisted.

### **Report of Delegates to the Scottish Trades Union Congress.**

Messrs. Foran and MacPartlin were selected at Drogheda to convey the greetings of the Irish Congress to their colleagues in Scotland at the Congress to be held in April, 1920. It was found that Mr. MacPartlin was not able to go to Scotland, and the National Executive appointed the Treasurer, Mr. Thomas Johnson, to attend in his place. The following is their report :

"We attended the twenty-third annual meeting of the Scottish Trade Union Congress, which was held in Dunfermline on April 28, 29 and 30th. It was the largest Congress yet held, and the report of the Parliamentary Committee recorded the steady growth in the power and influence of Trade Unionism throughout Scotland. The discussions ranged over a wide field, and the resolutions provided occasion for some very interesting and important debates. The attitude of the Congress towards Ireland may be indicated by the following quotation from the Chairman's address and the resolution adopted by the Congress. Mr. Thomas Shaw, Secretary to the Glasgow Trades Council, was Chairman :

"I believe," he said, "that in the main the people on this side of the Channel have not considered the conditions prevailing at any time from any other standpoint than that of accepting that Ireland must be governed, not as the Irish people desire, but as a country forming part of the Empire, to be ruled or governed from Westminster; while, on the other hand, the majority of the Irish people have persistently demanded the fullest measure of freedom as a separate nationality. With them nationhood is of first importance, and they believe intensely that the principle of nationality is based in the very foundation of human society, while Imperialism to them means their subjection to rule from without. It is futile to expect that time will change the attitude of the Irish people. The principle of nationhood grows stronger and more virile as education and enlightenment has spread among them. The problem is, therefore, whether Britain shall continue by compulsion to retain Ireland as part of, or that Ireland shall be separated from, the United Kingdom. Labour has decided that the principle of self-determination shall apply to Ireland. The history of Ireland and the conditions prevailing in that country prove conclusively that consent by the governed is impossible, nor can Ireland be bound by force to the United Kingdom; therefore, self-determination must mean separation. Britain would then be no worse off, for the political connection does not create trade and economic relations between the countries. Trade is carried on as with any other country."

The Congress resolution, which had but one dissentient, reads as follows:

"This Congress views with alarm the present grave position in Ireland, where every demand of the people for freedom is met by military repression. The Congress expresses its opinion that the only solution of the Irish problem is the granting of self-determination to the Irish people, to whom it expresses its sympathy in their struggle for freedom; and further demands that the engine of repression—namely, the Army of Occupation—shall be withdrawn from Ireland, and that the popularly elected representatives of the Irish people shall be made responsible for keeping order and making laws for the government of their country."

Probably the most significant event of the Congress was the discussion and decision on the question of the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors. The five years' period of notice had lapsed. A vote is to be taken this year in each locality throughout Scotland for (1) the continuance of the present licensing system; (2) a reduction of licenses; (3) a public ownership; (4) total prohibition. The discussion, therefore, was not of an academic character. It had reference to practical issues. A



resolution was put forward on behalf of the Parliamentary Committee favouring public ownership and control of the liquor traffic. To this an amendment was moved by the Glasgow Trades Council, saying:

"That this Congress is of opinion that the total prohibition of the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquor as a beverage would be of great advantage to the workers of this country."

After a most excellent debate, and some speeches of a very high order were delivered, a vote was taken, when 110 voted for prohibition and 74 for public ownership. A further resolution, strongly urging upon all Trade Unionists to vote for "No License," under the Temperance (Scotland) Act, was carried by 102 against 40.

Our general impression of the Congress was that the debates were good; the speakers were generally masters of their subjects; but the idea seemed to prevail over the minds of the delegates that if they would persist in meeting and passing resolutions their demands would some time be given effect to. In this wise we felt that their Congress differed from similar meetings in Ireland—where the speakers all seem to be conscious of the fact that resolutions demanding this, that, or the other, were of no effect unless they indicated a resolve on the part of the people concerned to act for themselves.

We were received with great friendliness and cordiality, as representing the Irish workers, with many expressions of hope for our success and envy for the militant, self-sacrificing spirit of our people.

The Congress appointed Councilor E. Shinwell, of the Glasgow Trades Council, and Councillor James Hood, of the Scottish Miners, as fraternal delegates to the Irish Congress.

THOMAS FORAN.

THOMAS JOHNSON.

## Munitions of War.

Immediately following the refusal of the London dockers to ship munitions of war to Poland, a steamer arrived in Dublin containing a cargo of military equipment, including military motor wagons. The Dublin dock workers refused to discharge this cargo, and the work was done by the military themselves. A few days later the same steamer brought a cargo to Kingstown, which again had to be discharged by the military. The railwaymen at Kingstown refused to work a train until it was proved that there were no munitions of war in the trucks. About this time a circular letter was received by the branches of the National Union of Railwaymen containing a copy of the resolution passed by the Executive Committee of that organisation. The resolution read as follows:—

“That, having regard to the false statements on the important questions as to International relations as made by Bonar Law in the House of Commons concerning the Allies’ policy with regard to Russia, and the obvious futility of the League of Nations; this Executive Committee, being convinced that the policy of Poland is being carried out at the behest of the Capitalist Nations of Europe, feel compelled to recognise that in order to render humane service to *the people of all countries*, the action of the dockers in refusing to load the “Jolly George” is worthy of practical support.

“We, therefore, instruct our members *to refuse to handle any material* which is intended to assist Poland against the Russian people.”

This resolution was cordially approved by the Irish railwaymen. Acting in accord with its spirit and interpreting it as equally applicable to Ireland, the members of the National Union of Railwaymen employed at the London and North Western Railway steamers, North Wall, Dublin, refused to assist in the unloading of certain packages containing arms, or to work on the steamer under an armed guard. This action led to the dismissal of over four hundred men.

Your Executive decided to send a delegation to London to interview the officials of the various organisations of transport workers and railwaymen, so as to find out what attitude they were likely to adopt respecting the shipment and the transport of munitions from England to Ireland. A conference of the Transport Workers’ Federation being held at Southampton was availed of to put the case before the assembled delegates. Beyond the advantage gained by speaking to the delegates direct, no definite benefit was gained, no promises given. The Chairman (Mr. H. Gosling) pointed out that they had decided to call for a special Trade Union Congress to discuss the question of handling munitions of war for Poland and for Ireland, and they preferred to leave the question in abeyance until that Congress met.



### **Appeal for Funds.**

We decided to issue a public appeal for funds to support the dismissed men, and that the fullest possible support should be given by the Executive to the railwaymen and dock workers in their struggle. The following statement was issued on June 9th and published widely in the Press:—

“The situation which has developed in respect of the refusal on the part of the Irish workers to handle munitions of war for the British Army of Occupation calls for the serious attention of the Irish people.

The men who work in the transport industries have laid it down emphatically that they will not be parties to the attempted reconquest of Ireland by British military forces. Railwaymen, dock workers, and carriers are quite fixed in this resolve, and they will be supported by the organised workers in every other industry.

### **Premier's Threats.**

“By the chances of circumstances it has happened that the railwaymen at the North Wall have been the first to be victimised in this phase of the national struggle. Over 400 men have been locked out of their work for nearly three weeks because they will not bind themselves to handle war material. The British Premier has uttered threats, but these men will not be cowed by a vain “show of the tushes of power.” They have sacrificed already nearly £5,000 in wages, and this on behalf, not of themselves, but as the people of Ireland as a whole.

“The issue that is raised is, in our opinion, identical with the issue that was fought to victory two years ago in the struggle of the Irish Nation against conscription. Then it was sought to take our bodies and compel us to bear arms in a fight not of our choosing; now, they seek to compel us to become co-workers with them in the destruction of our Nation.

### **At Least £1,000 a Week.**

“It is the imperative duty of every man and woman in Ireland to rally to the support of the locked-out men. Their numbers may be increased within a short time to any extent, according to the wisdom or folly of the British forces. For the present, however, our concern is for the four hundred men, their wives and families. Funds must be raised immediately to provide for their sustenance. Lock-out pay from their Union, even were it granted, would be entirely inadequate in these days of high prices, to provide even a pittance. At least £1,000 a week will be required. Up to the present the general public have subscribed less than £100!

“Trades Councils throughout the country are hereby requested to take in hand immediately the formation of local committees for the purpose of organising collections.

“Sympathisers and supporters outside the trade union ranks should be invited to co-operate on these local committees; it may become necessary in the near future for them to undertake other and more extended responsibilities.

### **Irish Workers' Answer.**

"It should be made plain to all who profess and call themselves Nationalists, Republicans, or Trade Unionists that if they do not support the men who are bearing the brunt of this attack they lower themselves to the level of those whom all condemn; who make professions with their lips but hypocritically refuse to give effect to their professions by their acts. "We should leave the glasshouse before we cast a stone." Let us not earn the taunt that Ireland, too, has "let them down" !

"We wish the country to understand clearly that the issue is knit. King George of England, through the mouth of his Prime Minister, says in effect that Irish dock workers and railwaymen, my subjects, MUST do as they are bid, even though in the doing they become traitors to their own nation.

"The Irish workers answer: Not all the armies of your Empire can compel us to act the renegade. We refuse to assist you in your war. We are MEN, not parts of an inanimate machine.

### **The Galloper's Words.**

"To quote the words of the English Lord Chancellor: 'The crisis has called into existence one of those supreme issues of conscience amid which the ordinary landmarks of permissible resistance to technical law are submerged. We shall not shrink from the consequences of that view, not though the whole fabric of the Commonwealth be convulsed, and we shall tread the path of destiny, knowing that whether it leads to freedom or disaster it is the only road which does not lead to dishonour.'

For the National Executive,

THOMAS FARREN, *Chairman.*

J. C. O'CONNOR, *Vice-Chairman.*

WM. O'BRIEN, *Secretary.*

THOMAS JOHNSON, *Treasurer and Acting-Secretary.*

### **MR. LLOYD GEORGE AND THE RAILWAYMEN.**

A meeting of delegates from Irish branches of the N.U. Railwaymen and the Executive of that organisation was held at Bristol on June 16th and 17th. This meeting decided to appoint a deputation to wait upon Mr. Lloyd George in London.

Following the publication of an official report of their interview, we issued the following, dated June 22nd, 1920:—

"The essence of Mr. Lloyd George's long statement at his meeting with the Irish railwaymen is contained in the last few lines of the report of the interview—viz.:

"You ask us, the British Government, to recognise that a body of men—dock labourers, railwaymen, or any body of men—have a right to say that they will not carry what the Government think to be absolutely necessary for its essential functions.

"But, as long as the Government is there and, for the



moment, the only Government there, then it must have everything which it thinks absolutely necessary in order to carry out its functions." On this point he said:

"We have really got to be absolutely adamant."

And, having all the experience of five years' war in Europe to build upon, having a stupendous reserve of war material at call, they are prepared to use all their might and power—their machine-guns, armoured cars, aeroplanes, tanks and siege guns—to compel a simple railwayman and dock labourer to do the thing he will not do!

Two years ago it was as British soldiers that Irishmen were thought to be absolutely necessary to carry out this Government's functions. Irishmen said "No." To-day it is the labour power of railwaymen and dock workers the Government thinks "absolutely necessary to carry out its essential functions." Railwaymen and dock workers again say "No."

It bids fair to become a contest between the plain man's will against the might, majesty and power of an up-to-date barbarism. The Prime Minister and the War Minister are evidently scheming to provoke social disturbance in Ireland. They threaten to suspend Irish railway services, and are to manoeuvre so that the railway workers shall appear to be responsible for the consequent distress. Tory newspapers and eminent statesmen have been for a week or two talking freely and quite gratuitously of a general railway strike. This has been done to poison the air so that the blame for the disturbance to commerce that will follow Government action will be directed against the men. This is in accordance with a well-worn plan of British politicians, but it won't succeed on this occasion. There has been no talk about a general strike of railwaymen within the ranks of Irish labour. It is their enemies who have done this, seeking to create dissension in the country. It is the duty of Irish workers generally to counter these schemes. We can defeat them by pitting our frankness against their chicanery; our will and wit against their numbers and material power. We must not allow ourselves to be provoked into precipitate action. Impulsive acts, however justifiable, may prove to be unwise, unless impulse is guided by thought. Our plans must be carefully considered with due regard to all the probable consequences. Railwaymen and dock workers, supported by the public generally, have resolved not to handle munitions. Let them hold fast to that resolution—without exceeding it. Do not play into the hands of our enemies. Let no man leave his work until he personally is dismissed. Tactics must always depend upon circumstances, and in this crisis the wise procedure is for the railwaymen to remain at work, but not to handle munitions. Labour, not Lloyd George, must choose the ground and occasion for such further action as may be necessary. Irish railwaymen have given ample evidence in recent years of discipline and loyalty to principle. We are confident that again on this occasion they will prove their mettle

Full consideration has been given to the awful example of the S.S. Leinster. In that case the British military authorities did not hesitate to sacrifice the lives of hundreds of civilians through their use of a mail and passenger steamer for the conveyance of troops.

But, having given full weight to this warning, we advise that for the present railwaymen cannot improve upon their first resolution—that is, not to handle munitions of war or drive special troop trains. To the general public we wish to say that if the threatened suspension of Irish railway service becomes a reality, the responsibility must be borne by that "Authority" which wants to compel Irish workmen to become accomplices in their vile deeds.

Steps are being taken to cope with any emergency which may arise. If this new trial comes upon our people it will be met and surmounted as other and greater evils have been overcome by discipline, sacrifice and solidarity.

On behalf of the National Executive,

THOMAS FARREN, Chairman.

WILLIAM O'BRIEN, Secretary.

THOMAS JOHNSON, Treasurer and  
Acting Secretary.

32 Lower Abbey Street,

Dublin, June 22nd, 1920.

Since that date public interest has been aroused, and the response to our appeal has been steady and generous. The struggle has spread all over the country until the number of men who have been dismissed approaches 1,500. It has been the policy of your Executive, after conferences with representatives of the dock workers and railway workers from all parts of the country, to avoid precipitating a general stoppage of railway services. We therefore resolved to advise the men against striking work out of sympathy with their dismissed comrades. We advised where a man was dismissed for refusing to handle munitions or to carry armed men (soldiers or police), that his colleagues should not refuse to work, but that, provided the objectionable material had been removed, the work should be carried on by the staff. It was fully realised that this was a reversal of the usual policy in Irish Trade Union disputes, but events have fully justified these tactics. The military authorities have been clearly disappointed. Mr. Lloyd George played for a general stoppage of the railway system to be brought about by the action of the workers and hinted at the catastrophe that he foresaw and for which he sought to make Labour responsible.



It was also found necessary to issue a definition of "munitions of war," and we decided that for the purposes of this struggle and until developing circumstances called for a change, the articles not to be handled were guns, ammunition for guns, bayonets, bombs, aeroplanes, and such things obviously designed for the purpose of destroying life—that is, killing materials of all kinds.

It is not necessary to enter into details respecting the course of this struggle; they are familiar to the majority of our affiliated membership. It seems probable that by the time Congress meets the trouble may have reached a crisis.

We are fully aware of the gravity of the issues involved in this conflict. We are challenging not only the right of an Imperial power to subjugate a small nation by armed force, but we are also challenging the generally accepted conception of the relations between employer and employed. Railway companies, backed by the Government, contend that the workman's duty is simply to obey orders, to carry any materials that may be handed to him, irrespective of the use to which these materials may be put—in other words, that the workman is part of a system, of a piece of machinery; he is not a responsible agent. The worker's contention, on the other hand, is that when he knows that he is being used for a purpose against which his soul revolts, he would be violating his conscience if he were to agree to be so used. This contention involves a claim that the workman is a responsible human being—not a cog in a machine; that he is a conscious co-operator in the work in which he is engaged, and has a right to decide whether or not he will participate in the work according to whether its purpose is worthy or degrading. Such a conception of industrial relations is doubtless revolutionary—but it is the conception which shall prevail in the Irish Commonwealth of the future.

(Signed),

THOMAS FARREN, Chairman.  
 J. C. O'CONNOR, Vice-Chairman.  
 THOS. MacPARTLIN.  
 J. T. O'FARRELL.  
 ROSE TIMMON.  
 CATHAL O'SHANNON.  
 LUKE J. LARKIN.  
 JOHN BOHAN.  
 DAWSON GORDON.  
 E. O'MAHONY.  
 T. C. DALY.  
 L. J. DUFFY.  
 WILLIAM O'BRIEN, Secretary.  
 THOMAS JOHNSON,  
 Treasurer and Acting Secretary.

## APPENDIX TO N.E. REPORT.

### Union in the Distributive Trades.

(Suggestions Submitted to Joint Conference).

" Following the discussion at the Drogheda Congress, a number of informal conferences have taken place respecting the overlapping and competition for membership by Unions catering for workers in the distributive trades. Unfortunately, owing, first to the illness and lamented death of our colleague, Mr. M. J. O'Lehane, followed by the very great pressure of other matters requiring immediate and close attention, it has not been found possible to call this conference together earlier.

" It is generally acknowledged by all concerned that the state of organisation amongst shop workers of all kinds is unsatisfactory. There are still a very large number outside the ranks of Trade Unionism, despite the existence of five or six competing Unions. And the competition between Unions tends towards friction and waste, and consequent weakness for all concerned.

" And the competition between Unions tends towards friction and waste, and consequent weakness for all concerned.

" It is thought by the National Executive that the time is opportune to make a serious attempt to remedy these evils by a bold measure of unification.

" The distributive trades appear especially suitable for an industrial form of organisation, and the feeling within the respective societies is sympathetic to such an idea. The obstacles in this industry are few, and such as there are can by a little effort be overcome.

" The following outline of a scheme is based on the successful experiment of the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation of Great Britain. In the iron and steel trades eight or ten Unions competing and quarrelling five years ago, after three years' federation on this plan, are now amalgamated into one Union (with over 100,000 members and £250,000 reserve) and working smoothly.

" We therefore submit for your consideration and discussion the following proposals as the basis of a scheme of amalgamation, viz. :—

" That the various Trade Unions catering for shop workers should—



- " 1. Combine in a close federation, to be called the Federation of Distributive Trade Unions.
- " 2. The Federation should consist of, in the first instance, the Irish Drapers' Assistants' Association; the National Amalgamated Union of Shop Assistants; the Irish Grocers' and Vintners' Assistants; and also a new Union of Distributive Workers (to be described later). In addition to the foregoing, other Unions such as the Irish Clerical Workers, the Irish Transport Workers' Union, and the Irish Women Workers' Union, which have members working in distributive trades, shall affiliate to the Federation such of their membership as are working at these trades.
- " 3. From and after a given date all organising work in connection with distributive trades shall be undertaken by the Federation. Each of the affiliated societies shall bind themselves not to make any new members or to re-enter lapsed members. The Federation shall have control of all organisers, shall conduct all wage movements, and shall be responsible for sanctioning strikes.
- " 4. The Federation shall be managed by an Executive Committee representative of each of the affiliated societies.
- " 5. The permanent officials attached to the Trade Union organising staff of the affiliated societies shall take office under the Federation, and shall receive salaries not less than they were receiving at the time of the transfer, and such salary shall be guaranteed to each officer so long as he remains an officer of the Federation. No officer of the Federation who continues to hold a position in an affiliating society shall be paid a salary for both positions.
- " 6. Each affiliating society shall pay to an initial organising fund of the Federation the sum of — per member. Thenceforward, and in addition to this, each affiliating society will pay a proportionate share every three months of the expenditure of the Federation.
- " 7. Under the Federation, separate sections of the trade—e.g., drapers, grocers, vintners, etc.—shall continue as semi-autonomous bodies, whose committees will be responsible for advising the Central Executive and initiating new proposals affecting their sections.
- " 8. The Central Executive of the Federation will consist of representatives of the Executives of the affiliated societies.
- " 9. The country will be divided into Divisional Areas, each Area under a Chief Divisional Officer. Acting with him there would be a Consultative Committee representing the several trade sections in the division.

- " 10. In each Divisional Area there would be branches of the Irish Drapers' Assistants' Association, where such exist at present; branches of the N.U. Shop Assistants, where such exist at present; branches of the Grocers' and Vintners', where such exist at present; Distributive Trades sections of the Irish Transport Union, where such exist at present; of the Irish Clerical Workers' Union, where such exist at present. Also a branch of the New Union, divided into trade sections (see later clauses). Each of the above will send representatives to the Divisional Council, which will meet periodically (say, every three or six months) to discuss general questions of policy affecting the division, and make representations to the Central Executive.
- " 11. A smaller Consultative Committee, consisting of one member appointed by each Society (in the Division) would act with the Divisional Officer—but this officer would be responsible to and directed by the Central Executive.
- " 12. FINANCE.—After the initial contribution of — per member from the Societies, the expenditure of the Federation will be met by the payment each quarter of a proportionate share from each Society, based on its membership.
- " 13. The Federation will, in case of disputes, pay a sum of — per week per man to supplement dispute pay paid by the Unions, but only in cases where the dispute has been sanctioned by the Central Executive. (Each Society will be represented on the Central Executive, which will control strikes). The sums so expended out of the Central Fund will be recovered (in the quarterly settlement) from the affiliated Societies in proportion to their membership.

### THE NEW UNION.

- " 14. It is further proposed, as an essential portion of the scheme that a New Union shall be formed, to be called 'The Union of Distributive Workers.' It shall be the object of this New Union—
- (1) To enroll all distributive workers at present unorganised; and
  - (2) To accept as transfers from existing Unions all members who apply to be so transferred.
- " 15. The New Union shall become a component unit in the Federation on equal terms with the existing Unions.
- " 16. The organisers taken over by the Federation from the existing Unions shall enrol in the New Union all new



members, the existing Unions having agreed not to accept any new members or to re-enter lapsed members.

- “ 17. The New Union shall for the first year be managed by the Central Committee of the Federation, and the officers shall in the first instance be appointed by this Committee.
- “ 18. The New Union shall confine its activities to Trade Union work, leaving for later consideration the question of providing Friendly Benefits.
- “ 19. Under the scheme it is intended that the New Union shall continuously expand—first, through the enrolment of distributive workers at present unorganised; and, second, by the transfer from existing Societies of their present membership. Existing Societies shall continue to hold their members for benevolent purposes, and will deal with the smaller questions that arise in connection with individual grievances, but will transfer their organising activities and larger wage movements to the Federation. Ultimately, when the industry has been thoroughly organised, and the members of the various Unions become convinced by concrete example of the value of unification, it is expected that complete amalgamation with the new Industrial Union will ensue.”

## Addendum to the National Executive Report.

Arising out of the demand in Great Britain that Trade Unionists should refuse to handle munitions for Poland and for Ireland, a special Trade Union Congress was held in London on 13th July. At this Congress a resolution was moved by the National Union of Railwaymen, and carried by a small majority, in the following terms :

" That this Conference of British Trade Unionists is satisfied that the present position in Ireland is such that demands the immediate consideration of the whole trade union movement, and does not warrant any section of the workers being allowed to fight alone a battle for freedom. The Conference is satisfied that the present state of Ireland is due (1) to the denial of the British Government to recognise the claim of the Irish people, expressed in a constitutional way for many years; and (2) the failure of the British Government to deal with those who defied all law and order and supported open rebellion, and which has resulted in this example being followed by others, with such disastrous results.

" This Conference, therefore, in the name of the organised workers of Great Britain, calls for a truce between all parties, by the Irish people themselves using their power and influence to stop all murder and outrage, and by the Government withdrawing the Army of Occupation. In the event of such a truce as suggested being arranged, the Government to open forthwith an Irish Parliament, with full Dominion powers in all Irish affairs, with adequate protection for the interests of minorities."

A further resolution, moved by the Miners' Federation, was carried by a much larger majority—viz. :

" That this Congress protests against the British military domination of Ireland, and demands the withdrawal of all British troops from that country, and demands the cessation of the production of munitions of war destined to be used against Ireland and Russia; and, in case the Government refuses these demands, we recommend a general down-tools policy, and call on all the trade unions here represented to carry out this policy, each according to its own constitution, by taking a ballot of its members or otherwise."

The Parliamentary Committee of the British Congress met Mr. Lloyd George on Thursday, the 22nd July, to lay their case before him. On Friday evening a telegram was received, confirmed by a letter received on Saturday, asking if representatives of the National Executive would meet the Parliamentary Committee of the British Congress on Monday afternoon. The Resident Committee decided in the circumstances that it was



advisable to accept this invitation so that misunderstandings respecting our position should be removed. Messrs. Farren (Chairman), MacPartlin, O'Shannon, O'Farrell, Johnson and O'Brien, therefore, crossed to London and interviewed the British Congress Parliamentary Committee on Monday afternoon, 26th July. In the meantime the report of the interview between the Parliamentary Committee and Mr. Lloyd George was published in the newspapers, from which it appeared that Mr. J. H. Thomas, Chairman of that Committee and General Secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen, had suggested that it might be possible to "make a deal" with the Irish Labour Party which would lead to peace in Ireland. To prevent any misunderstandings as to our purpose in visiting London, before meeting the Parliamentary Committee we sent the following statement through the London "Daily Herald" to the British Trade Union movement:

"Since leaving Ireland we have read the newspaper reports of the discussion between Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Bonar Law and Mr. J. H. Thomas, M.P., and before meeting the members of the Parliamentary Committee we desire to make it clear to our fellow workers in Great Britain that we are not here to 'make a deal' with Mr. Lloyd George or the British Government.

"No Negotiations."

"We were invited by the Parliamentary Committee of your Trades Union Congress to send representatives to meet them. We readily acceded to their request as representatives of the workers of one country to those of another. We feel that with your growing sense of responsibility for the acts of your capitalist imperialist governors it is but our duty to assist your leaders to form a right judgment if we can.

"But we wish to lay it down emphatically that we will not enter into any negotiations with your Government. That is not our business.

"The Irish people have elected, in accordance with rules set by the British Parliament itself, a body of representatives. These duly authorised representatives have met and formulated the will of their constituents, which in successive elections has been confirmed. They have appointed a committee to speak and act on their behalf. All this has been done in conformity with the accepted democratic practice, and, for the time being, we leave to this organ the responsibility of engaging in diplomatic negotiations.

"If L. G. is Honest."

"If your Prime Minister is honest when he says he will discuss affairs only with responsible organised opinion, he knows where to find it. He will cancel his Proclamation suppressing these organisations; he will no longer compel them to discuss public affairs in secret meetings.

" Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. J. H. Thomas and you all are deeply concerned about the state of Ireland, the destruction of life and property. Irish Labour is asked to use its influence to prevent crime and preserve order.

" Our reply is that you have arrogated to yourselves the right and power to do these things. You have sought to govern without the consent of the governed. You are therefore debarred from asking us to come to the assistance of your executive officers. Relinquish your authority, withdraw your forces, leave to the Irish people the responsibility and power, and we shall then show whether we can 'deliver the goods.'

" Compact with Labour."

" While declining to 'make a deal' with your Government, the Irish workers are willing to enter into a compact with the British workers, whereby each side will engage to exercise its utmost pressure, both industrial and political, within their respective spheres towards the honest application of the principles for which your Government proposed to enter the war, and the spirit of the conditions laid down by the President of the United States, which led to the armistice.

" We venture to adopt as our own the language of that eloquent gentleman in his speech at Buckingham Palace, December 28, 1918:

" 'We have used great words, all of us have used the great words 'Right' and 'Justice,' and now we are to prove whether or not we understand these words, and whether they are to be applied to the particular settlements which must conclude this war. And we must not only understand them, but we must have the courage to act upon our understanding.'

In the course of our interview, after outlining the events that led up to the conference, Mr. Thomas made a suggestion that a joint deputation representing the two bodies might wait upon Mr. Lloyd George. We thereupon made it quite clear and definite that we would not discuss Irish political affairs with Mr. Lloyd George, or any British Minister, either directly or indirectly. While we were prepared to meet representatives of the British workers at any time, we would not enter into negotiations with the British Government. Mr. Thomas assured us that when he spoke of "making a deal" there was no sinister intention. In the course of further discussion as to the possibilities of peace between the two countries, we made it clear that when we spoke of the withdrawal of the Army of Occupation we did not limit our demand to the withdrawal of the recently imported active service troops, but all the armed forces of the British Crown in Ireland. We informed them that the proposal to empower a specially elected representative assembly to draw up a constitution would receive our support, provided it were guaranteed that such a constitution would be made operative without any limitations whatsoever and without reference to any British



authority. We agreed that if the chairman of such an assembly were nominated by the President of the United States, we would consider that a sufficient guarantee that its findings would not be thwarted.

The question of protection for minorities was raised, with special reference to the Ulster minority. We assured them that all the power of organised Labour would be available to ensure freedom for the expression of the religious faith and political opinion of minorities.

In reference to the demand for a cessation of war-like operations and the destruction of life and property, we pointed out that it was the presence of British troops which was responsible. We were prepared to guarantee that the withdrawal of these forces would be followed by peace and protection of life, and offered that if all British troops and armed police were withdrawn from any area, say, the County of Cork, we would undertake that order would be maintained in such area.

The value of this deputation proved to be of a negative character; but, nevertheless, of some importance. It will not any longer be possible for Mr. Thomas to give the impression that Irish Labour is prepared to compromise the National demand or to make deals with the British Government behind the backs of the elected representatives of the Irish people.

(Signed),

"THOMAS FARREN (Chairman).

"THOMAS MacPARTLIN.

"CATHAL O'SHANNON.

"J. T. O'FARRELL.

"WILLIAM O'BRIEN.

"THOMAS JOHNSON."

July 28th, 1920.

*July 28 1920*

# NATIONAL EXECUTIVE MEETINGS.—Attendances and Payments to end of June

Name.	Full Executive (12 Meetings)		Dublin Resident Committee— (16 Meetings)		Total Expenses and rail fare as per scale.		Other Meetings.				£	s.	d.
	Present	Absent	Present	Absent									
Thomas Farren	12	—	15	1	—	Newbridge, Mullingar, Dundalk, Bray, Cork, Belfast, London					26	4	2
M. J. O'Lehane	6	—	3	—	—								
J. T. O'Farrell	7	5	11	5	—	London, Tuillamore ... ..					8	6	10
T. C. Daly	7	5	12	4	—								
Miss Timmon	12	—	14	2	—								
Wm. O'Brien	9	3	10	4	—								
Thos. Johnson	12	—	15	1	—	Belfast, Cork, London (3 journeys), Waterford, Kilkenny, Carlow, Mullingar, Bray					31	7	2
Thos. MacPartlin	9	3	9	3	3 6 3								
L. J. Larkin	11	1	—	—	28 14 10	Wexford ... ..					3	0	0
John Bohan	5	7	—	—	12 6 6								
E. O'Mahony	5	7	—	—	17 1 10								
Dawson Gordon	5	7	—	—	11 8 3								
J. C. O'Connor	10	2	—	—	33 0 2								
G. O' Shannon	8	4	8	8	1 8 3	London, Manchester ... ..					12	17	6

(NUMEROUS OTHER SUB-COMMITTEE MEETINGS WERE HELD INVOLVING NO EXPENSE.)



# STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS TO 30th JUNE, 1920.

INCOME.			EXPENDITURE.		
	£	s. d.		£	s. d.
Balance from last year ...		999 17 6	Drogheda Congress Expenses:—		
Affiliation Fees:—			Auditors Fees and Expenses ...	9 16 6	
Account 1919-20 ...	1177 10 2		Congress Officials and Com-		
Account 1920-21 received to date	480 18 0		mittees (as per scale) ...	28 0 0	
		1658 8 2	Sundry Expenses ...	7 13 1	
Delegation Fees:—			Rent of Hall, Hire Tables, etc.	43 14 6	
Account 1919, Congress ...	190 0 0		Reporting Congress ...	23 6 0	
Account 1920, Congress, re-	55 0 0				112 10 1
ceived to date ...		245 0 0	Printing Accounts ...		343 5 0
Limerick Strike Fund ...		26 2 6	Newspaper Advertisements (meet-		
Motor Permit Strike Fund ...		716 7 7	ings) ...		18 4 8
General Strike—Donation from			National Executive Meetings ...		107 6 1
Dublin Joint Committee A.S.C.			Other Meetings, Delegations, Tra-		
and J. and G.U. Carpenters			velling Expenses, etc. ...		83 11 11
towards expenses ...		7 7 0	Fraternal Delegation (Scottish Con-		
Sundry Sales Pamphlets, etc. ...		7 11 6	gress) Expenses ...		12 19 4
Bank Interest ...		64 4 5	Limerick Strike Fund ...		31 11 3
			Motor Permit Strike Fund—		
			Account Strike Pay:—		
			A. S. Engineers ...	249 0 0	
			Steam Engine Makers ...	34 16 8	
			A.S. Toolmakers ...	138 5 2	
			Irish Transport Union ...	128 2 6	
			Auto Drivers' Union ...	130 0 0	
				£680 4 4	
			Advertising Appeal, Newspapers ...	40 0 0	
			Deputation to London, Expenses	22 17 0	
			Do, Telegrams ...	2 8 5	
					745 9 9
			Miscellaneous Expenses, Meetings,		
			hire Hall, books, etc. ...		29 11 1
			Labour Research Department		
			Affiliation ...		10 0 0
			Share Expenses Berne Conference		10 17 7
			Reporting Special Congress re		
			Motor Strike ...		7 17 0
			Furnishing Offices ...		164 9 7
			Rent, Six Months ...		26 0 0
			Connolly Labour College		25 0 0
			Sundry Office Expenses, Postage,		
			Telegrams, Stationery ...		48 15 11
			Miss O'Keeffe—Typist and Clerk		60 0 0
			Thomas Johnson ...		305 0 0
					£2142 9 3
			Balance, Cash in hand ...	72 2 9	
			In Bank, I.A.W.S. ...	1314 0 3	
			In Bank, National ...	351 13 4	
				£1737 16 4	
			Less Cheques issued but not cashed	155 6 11	
					1582 9 5
		£3724 18 8			£3724 18 8

## AUDITOR'S REPORT.

We the undersigned have examined the books of the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress and certify that the above Statement of Accounts is correct and in accordance with the books of the Congress. All the items of Income and Expenditure were vouched. The books were well kept and receipts were produced in all cases. In view of the additional work placed on the Treasurer during the past couple of months we consider a special word of praise is due to him for the manner in which the accounts were presented to us.

THOMAS O'DOHERTY (Derry),  
OWEN HYNES (Dublin), } Auditors.

24th July, 1920.



## LIMERICK STRIKE FUND.

	£	s.	d.
Clonmel Teachers	5	0	0
Tralee Teachers	3	12	6
Cahiriveen Teachers	2	0	0
Banagher Teachers' Association	7	5	0
Tralee Teachers (per Miss Cronin)	4	0	0
Dingle Teachers	1	0	0
Maryboro' Teachers	3	5	0
	£26	2	6

## MOTOR PERMITS STRIKE FUND.

	£	s.	d.
R. Mulcahy	1	0	0
Mrs. Mulcahy	1	0	0
Castlebar Trades Council	30	0	0
George Nesbitt	3	0	0
International Tailors	20	0	0
Miss Barton	1	0	0
E. J. Howell, Derby	0	10	0
Spailpin	0	10	0
H. Foran, Amalgamated Tailors	26	0	0
Cumann na mBan, Maryboro'	2	0	0
Tramway and Vehicle Workers	10	0	0
Mrs. Reddin, Artane	1	0	0
Carlow Trades Council	30	0	0
M. Governey, Carlow	100	0	0
Rev. P. O'Farrell, P.P.	1	0	0
Rev. J. Murphy, C.C.	1	0	0
Cu Uladh	0	10	0
Geo. Sear, junr., Adstock	0	4	6
P.L. and G.L., Dublin	1	0	0
Tramway and Vehicle Workers	13	16	6
Well Wisher (per Art O'Brien)	30	0	0
Balbriggan Sympathiser	1	0	0
Rev. P. O'Keeffe, C.C.	2	0	0
T. F. Ua Connhidhe, Longwood	0	10	0
J. G. Douglas	1	0	0
J. Murphy	2	0	0
Anonymous (per Mrs. Wyse Power)	2	2	0
Mrs. Wyse Power	1	1	0
Irish Tailors, Dublin Branch	40	8	6
Amalgamated Carpenters (Dublin)	20	0	0
Amalgamated Slaters	5	0	0
Waterford Workers' Council	5	0	0
D. P. Sullivan, Miltown, Co. Kerry	1	0	0
A. Friend, per J. Murphy	20	0	0
R. Allen, Trim	1	0	0
Irish Drapers' Assistants	25	0	0
Miss Eitne Inglis, Ballinasloe	2	0	0
A. J. Rahilly	1	0	0
Meath Labour Union	5	0	0
Amalgamated Tailors, Kells	1	6	0
Postmen's Federation (per C. P. Kelly)	10	0	0
Glass Bottle Makers	3	3	0
Women Workers' Union	10	0	0
I.T.G.W.U., Mountrath	10	0	0
M. Collins, M. J. Staines	25	0	0
J. P. Kavanagh, Kingscourt	0	2	6
P.O. Workers, Bray	2	0	0



Dublin Typographical Society	...	...	...	...	10	0	0
Municipal Officers T.U.	...	...	...	...	30	0	0
N.U.R., Broadstone No. 2	...	...	...	...	2	0	0
Stone Cutters (I.T.W.U.)	...	...	...	...	3	0	0
A.S.E. (Dublin)	...	...	...	...	30	0	0
Marble Polishers (I.T.W.U.)	...	...	...	...	1	10	0
Employees Anglo-American Oil	...	...	...	...	5	0	0
M. Collins	...	...	...	...	5	0	0
Arnott's Employees	...	...	...	...	0	12	0
E.T.U. (Dublin No. 2)	...	...	...	...	5	0	0
Amalgamated Carpenters (Dublin No. 4)	...	...	...	...	6	10	0
Miss Moynihan, Cabra	...	...	...	...	0	10	0
Dublin Central Teachers	...	...	...	...	10	0	0
N.U.R., North Wall	...	...	...	...	18	9	0
Irish Bakers	...	...	...	...	10	0	0
A.S.E. (Dublin No. 1)	...	...	...	...	15	11	1
N.U.R., Galway	...	...	...	...	9	0	0
R.C.A., Dublin	...	...	...	...	15	15	0
Edenderry Trades Council	...	...	...	...	5	0	0
Amalgamated Carpenters and Joiners (No. 6)	...	...	...	...	7	0	0
A.S.E., No. 3	...	...	...	...	36	0	6
Furnishing Trades Association, Limerick	...	...	...	...	1	6	6
H. Brophy, Kot, India	...	...	...	...	2	0	0
Bricklayers	...	...	...	...	10	0	0
R.C.A. (per T. J. Bierne)	...	...	...	...	7	10	0

---

£716 17 7

# REPORT

OF THE

## TWENTY-SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

### Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress, CORK: 1920.

#### FIRST DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.—Monday, August 2nd, 1920.

The twenty-sixth annual meeting of the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress was held in the City Hall, Cork, opening on Monday, August 2nd, 1920, under the Presidency of Mr. Thomas Farren, Chairman of the National Executive. Those on the platform, in addition to the members of the National Executive, were Very Rev. Dr. Thomas, O.S.F.C.; the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor of Cork (Mr. T. McSweeney, T.C.); Alderman Liam de Roiste, M.P.; Professor O'Rahilly, T.C.; Messrs. B. M. Egan, T.C.; J. O'Leary, T.C.; Tadg Barry, Ald.; G. Nason, President Cork and District Trades Council; J. H. Harty, Vice-President do.; Michael Hayes, Secretary do.; R. Day, T.C.; M. Egan, T.C.; T. Long, N.T.; E. Shinwell, Glasgow; and Shapurji Saklatvala, Bombay and London, Fraternal Delegate of Workers' Welfare League of India.

#### OFFICIAL RECEPTION.

Councillor Barry M. Egan, on behalf of the Lord Mayor, Corporation of Cork and citizens extended to the delegates to Congress a very hearty welcome to Cork City. The business on which they had come was of the most vital importance to the interests of the country. The Corporation of Cork had shown itself in the forefront of their movement in so far as it laid down principles of Trades Unionism within their own area. It had laid down rules by which trades unionism would be fostered and helped in every way in the conduct of the business of the Corporation. He regretted very much that Congress may be deprived of the pleasure of an address of welcome by the Lord Mayor himself. The Lord Mayor had an important appointment, and were it at all possible he would be with them (applause).

The Chairman announced that the Lord Mayor had written expressing regret that owing to important business he could not attend; but that he had asked Mr. Barry Egan and other members of the Corporation to be present and act on his behalf.

Professor O'Rahilly, T.C., joining in the civic reception, said it was certainly informal, but the times in which they lived were sufficient explanation of that. These were not festive times in Ireland.



He thought they would understand the reason for the informality of the reception and also understand the necessary business that prevented the Lord Mayor from being present. The Lord Mayor was a hard-working public servant in Cork, and the Mayoralty was no longer a sinecure, for the circumstances of the times combined with it a great number of other duties, some of which had taken his lordship to Dublin. If the reception the members of the Corporation and he extended to Congress were informal it was none the less sincere. One of the objects that had taken the Lord Mayor to Dublin was the *Oireachtas*; and in that connection he expressed the hope that the time would come when the workers of Ireland, and the Gaelic League—all idealistic, cognate, movements—would be working in harmony, with the Labour movement and all such Irish movements. Some persons charged the Labour movement with being materialistic. But it is, perhaps, the greatest idealistic movement in Ireland at present. They in Cork were idealistic too, and apart from any specific aims welcomed the Trades Union delegates as fellow-idealists working for a common emancipation. The Labour Party relied primarily on the will of the people to produce the moral force to protest against physical compulsion. At the present moment were they not all grateful for and proud of the fixed determination and expression of the Irish railwaymen, and the dockers—and indeed the whole Irish Labour movement—in standing up before the whole world as a protest, and a very effective one, and please God successful, protest against every form of physical compulsion and tyranny (applause). They all had a great deal in common, and those who attacked the Labour Party as materialistic, and applied to it a great many other bogey words, all had the sinister object of disrupting the great unity of the movement. He believed in the principles of the Irish Labour Party and did not want to see it disrupted or broken up.

He hoped that the small movement started in Cork a few years ago to nationalise the so-called National University would succeed, and that the institution would be brought into closer touch with the democracy of the country. As an educationalist he and many like him were willing to give help to the Labour movement. But why should he talk as an outsider. Brain workers had to work for their living just as well as manual workers and other workers. The Labour movement in Ireland was founded on the rights of humanity, on its dignity and natural rights. It protested against all iniquitous forms of society and would never consent to struggle with straight moral principles such as the English Labour party did when they played false to Ireland, talked lip sympathy on self-determination, and then went into the factories to make munitions and send armed miscreants over here. The Irish Labour Party could never afford to ignore the straight moral question put to every man in the country: Are you for or against the people of Ireland? The English Labour Party had not answered that question straight. The Irish Labour Party acted on self-determination, and when the time came to control the destinies of their own country—in plain English when



they had an Irish Republic (applause)—for he believed Labour would not suffer for its self-sacrifice and love of moral principles—and when they had a democratic Republic controlled by the Irish people and worked in the interests of the Irish people, the Irish Labour Party would have the reward of having the one country in Europe with a real, genuine economic and political democracy (loud applause).

Alderman de Roiste, T.D.E., Cork City, first spoke in Irish and continued that he considered it a very high honour to participate in that reception to Congress. The workingmen of Ireland during the past five or six years had shown that they were the only democracy in Europe that understood thoroughly what democracy was. Not only that, but the working man in Ireland, the democratic people of the country were animated with three greatest forces on earth—the spirit of democracy, the spirit of nationality and the spirit of true religion (applause). In other countries the democratic forces were separated oftentimes from national forces, were separated from the forces of religion, but in Ireland these three forces were combined for democracy, these three forces are invincible and unconquerable. The power of the three forces was demonstrated when the country was faced with great crises, and they won. Recently they were again faced with a great crisis and the workingmen faced the great power of the military machine which is in the country. And they are winning the greatest fight of all—the right to live in this country. In that greatest fight while these three forces were combined they would win. In that fight they were fighting on a national and democratic issue. They were fighting for the principles declared, during the great war in Europe, by the Allies. The leaders of the Allied forces declared that they were fighting for democracy, for the right of small nations, for civilisation and for everything that the people of every country held dear. They knew by their action since the war finished that they were hypocrites. But they in Ireland, and he hoped the working people in other countries, outside the country Professor O'Rahilly spoke of, were fighting a fight, no matter the force or the power against them, and they had got to win their fight for democracy and nationality (applause). The alternative was—if democratic forces did not win—the old system of militarism and capitalism, crushing the workers in all countries. "It is better we should die," he declared amidst loud applause, "than live under that old system again." The leaders of some of the military forces, he continued, were again talking of democracy and peace in the world. They could have peace at the Peace Conference if they acted rightly or justly, or according to their own declarations. They again act the hypocrite and talk of peace because the victorious army of the Bolsheviks had beaten them (applause). They in Ireland were going to see that peace would be on the principles of democracy, nationality, and the right of the worker to his share on the earth. These were the principles Irish Labour men stood for, and if they went on as they were going, with solidarity, sagacity and high ideals, and with that strength and judgment with which they had been acting, no power on earth and no force on earth could beat the Irish Labour



movement. They saw what the capitalist and militarist forces and the people behind it were doing in a corner of Ireland—in Belfast—separating the workers on side issues, the same as they separated men 300 years ago. He did not know how far they would succeed, but any Labour man who did not see the game afoot and would be led astray by sectarian bigotry was a traitor to the Labour movement and a fool for himself. Ireland was one of the most democratic countries in Europe. The whole spirit, the tradition of its nationality was democratic. They were still imbued with the true spirit of democracy and looked forward to the day when they would have a real democratic rule in the country. They were all working to that end, and he trusted that the Labour organisations would continue to work with the wisdom, courage and sagacity without fear of any military machine until they had their own land and their own people ruling in it (applause).

Very Rev. Dr. Thomas, O.S.F.C., Hon. President Cork and District United Trades Council, said he had been honoured by his friends of that Council with the commission to extend to Congress a hearty welcome. Up to recent years little account was taken of such assemblies as this, because the workers were regarded as a section of the community whose interests were merely departmental, but the events of recent years have proved that the workers' attitude is the pivot on which the State revolves, and that every other interest is inseparably interwoven with theirs. New social conditions are bound to emerge from the cauldron of disruption brought on the world by the late war; the foundations of our present economic conditions are being fearlessly scrutinised, and in certain quarters are scathingly denounced and condemned. It cannot be denied that the present world-wide labour unrest evidences something seriously wrong in the conditions governing social relations. A section of workers may at any time grow restless from some cause for which there is a palpable explanation, but all grades of workers of every nation cannot rebel against their conditions unless the basic principles governing that condition are seriously wrong. Who or what will right them? . . . . . The workers have made it clear that they are determined to alter the outlook of their ranks, and to make the world a brighter and a happier place for those whose lot it is to labour. I have sufficient confidence in the sound judgment of the organised workers of Ireland to believe that in their efforts to reconstruct society they will keep in the forefront of their ideals the recognition of Christian principles. These principles enshrine the charter of the highest and broadest liberty that man can aspire to enjoy. They are the only effectual power that can defeat the enemies of human progress, for they enshrine the claim of all men to an equitable share in the good gifts of nature. They strike at the root of the claim that prevails to-day too generally—that might should triumph over right; that bureaucracy should supersede the brotherhood of man, and that poverty and helplessness may be exploited lawfully for the aggrandisement of the more fortunate. We are living in an atmosphere charged with momentous possibilities for the welfare or ruin of the best

interests of humanity. That atmosphere necessitates clear, calm, and unbiassed judgment based on recognition of Christian rights and Christian principles, to solve the problems that confront you. You are imbued with those principles, and the future is safe in the hands of such men as you. Whilst extending to you cordial greetings of welcome on behalf of your brother Trade Unionists to our city, I pray God's blessing and guidance on your deliberations, which will be anxiously watched by all who recognise their social and national responsibilities (applause).

Mr. George Nason, President of the Trades and Labour Council, extended a cordial welcome to the delegates. He assured them that everything possible would be done by the Reception Committee to make their visit to Cork a happy one. That afternoon they would have a trip around the Harbour. He hoped that in the present critical moment of the country's history when their actions were being closely watched, that nothing would be done that would not benefit the workers, and that the results of their deliberations would tend to the betterment of the Irish Labour Party (applause).

The Chairman announced that he had a letter from Mr. Robert Smillie expressing regret he was unable to attend. There were on the platform fraternal delegates from the Scottish Trades Union Congress and the Indian Workers' League, who would at a later stage take an opportunity of extending greetings to the Congress. On behalf of the delegates he thanked the representatives of the citizens for extending a welcome to the Trades Union Congress to Cork. That welcome had been extended on behalf of the Cork Corporation, the citizens in general, and Cork District Trades Council. He asked Congress to show its appreciation of the welcome.

The delegates all stood and loudly applauded.

The Lord Mayor of Cork entered at this stage and was enthusiastically greeted. Having addressed a few words in Irish, he said he made a special effort to be there because he recognised the importance of the work Congress had in hand, and he joined with his fellow-representatives in the Council in extending to the delegates a very hearty welcome to Cork. They did not recognise the conference at all as a mere class assembly, but as a national conference, and recognised that in recent developments in Ireland a distinct bond of unity had been created amongst all Irishmen who were labouring for the welfare of an Irish Republic, and the Labour Party generally and representatives of Labour bodies had assisted in bringing about that bond of unity. He wished to acknowledge that and to make it clear that whatever may be their different political views as to how the country should be governed when the Republic was in being, they were all one in the fundamental fact that they stood for a free Republic in Ireland. What was called the operations of the army of the Republic was as much a matter for their interests as those primarily engaged in looking after it in the military side, for most of these men were drawn from the bodies of men the several delegates represented. They understood that there were operations proceeding



at present, constructive and otherwise (a laugh). It was very essential that it should be understood that Ireland was doing an extraordinary thing—carrying on a constructive movement in the country, notwithstanding what the newspapers describe as a state of anarchy. They had achieved something that had not been done in any other country during the war which some people think is closed, but which they knew with the “protectors” of “law and order” running amok was very much alive still. It would give their enemies much food for reflection to know that they were one for a Republic (applause) and to defend it, for they were primarily charged with the work of building up the future of Ireland. He believed they would all give their whole attention to that work—consolidating the work of the Republic and making Ireland the one country in Europe where men would be happy to live.

The Chairman thanked the Lord Mayor for coming to greet them at such great inconvenience. They in the Labour movement deeply appreciated his attendance on the platform knowing as they did the circumstances and the difficulties he had to arrive in time. It showed that he was in thorough sympathy with the aspirations of the Irish working classes (applause).

#### **ELECTION OF ASSISTANT SECRETARY.**

The next business was the election of Assistant Secretary, and it was formally moved and agreed that Mr. Michael Hayes, Sec. Cork and District United Trades Council, be elected.

#### **ELECTION OF TELLERS.**

The election of Tellers was then proceeded with, and the following were nominated:—Joseph O'Neill, Dublin; Miss Nora Connolly, Dublin; D. R. Campbell, Belfast; T. Irvine, Belfast; Seumas Byrne, Dublin; M. O'Flanagan, Dublin; J. Hickey, Cork, and M. Hill. Cork.

Messrs. Campbell, Byrne and O'Flanagan withdrew, and a poll resulted as follows:—M. Hill, 126; Joseph O'Neill, 110; Miss Nora Connolly, 109; James Hickey, 65; T. Irvine, 54. Messrs. Hill, O'Neill and Miss Connolly were declared elected.

#### **STANDING ORDERS COMMITTEE.**

The following were nominated for the Standing Orders Committee:—Messrs. H. Dale, Dublin; D. Houston, Belfast; D. R. Campbell, Belfast; J. Bermingham, Dublin; C. P. Kelly, Dublin; J. Hickey, Cork; E. P. Hart; M. O'Flanagan, Dublin; E. Comber, Dublin; M. Somerville, Dublin; W. Davin, Dublin; Healy, Cork; Jas. Slevin, and W. Keneally, Cork.

Messrs. Hickey and Keneally withdrew, and a poll resulted as follows:—Campbell, 135; Bermingham, 113; Houston, 109; Davin, 91; Somerville, 83; O'Flanagan, 45; Hart, 23; Comber, 23; Slevin, 18; Kelly, 17; Dale, 13. Messrs. Campbell, Bermingham, Houston, Davin and Somerville were accordingly elected.

### PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

The President said:—Before I address you I think it is only fit that we should pay a mark of respect to one of our comrades who has taken a very prominent part in the Labour movement for many years, a man who was a member, up to the time of his demise, of your National Executive. I refer to the late Mr. M. J. O'Lehane, who did such yeoman service for the Drapers' Assistants of Ireland in endeavouring to secure for them human conditions under which to live. Therefore I think it is only fit to pay a mark of respect to our late colleague. I also desire to pay a mark of respect from us, representing all the Trades Unions of Ireland, to the people of Cork on the great loss they have sustained in the brutal murder of the first citizen of Cork. I ask you fellow-delegates to rise in your places as a mark of respect to the memory of those two men.

This request was complied with, all Congressmen remaining standing in impressive silence for a minute.

The President then delivered his address as follows:—

Fellow-delegates—My first duty is to thank you most sincerely for the great honour you have conferred upon me by electing me to the highest position in the gift of the Trade Unionists of Ireland. It is a position any man might well feel proud to occupy. I appreciate the honour all the more because I am aware of my shortcomings and that I do not possess the qualifications necessary to fill such an important position; rather I believe you have honoured me in recognition of years of honest effort on behalf of the workers of Ireland.

It is usual in the Presidential address to review the position for the preceding twelve months, and, to say the least, the twelve months that have passed since the Congress last met in Drogheda will be memorable in the history of the Trades Union movement in Ireland. Events have taken place during that period which will remain as landmarks in its history. For the workers of Ireland, by their spirit of self-sacrifice and the devotion to principle they displayed, have made the movement a power in the land which commands the respect of all. And may I express the hope that you, fellow-delegates, will be zealous guardians of the honour of the Labour movement, that you will never allow irresponsible people to incite you to abuse your power. Remember, the position that Labour occupies in Ireland to-day is the result of years of toil and suffering, and has been made possible by the glorious sacrifice of James Connolly (applause).

In the industrial world the year that has just passed has been a strenuous one. The workers of all countries have been gallantly striving to burst the bonds of slavery that enchained them. The



war of the workers has been waged in the same way, but, I am glad to say, for nobler ideals. Heretofore all our energies were being wasted in an endeavour to obtain increased wages, but most of us have realised our efforts were futile, for increased wages meant increased prices, and increased prices meant greater profits, and after all our sacrifice and suffering we find, instead of the workers enjoying a better standard of living, we have made the wealthy people more wealthy. And so as we have learnt our lesson let us profit by it. We must, at any cost, get out of the vicious circle. There is only one remedy: the abolition of the wage system, and the substitution therefor of the control of industry by the workers, based on a system of co-operation. The present capitalistic system, with its attending evils—rents, interests and dividends, must be abolished before the workers can secure economic freedom. Notwithstanding what the "peace-makers" may do, there will never be peace in the world until the system is destroyed which alone is responsible for having brought civilisation to the state in which we find it to-day.

I have already said it is usual to review the position for the preceding twelve months; but on this occasion, in order to properly visualise the existing state of affairs, it will be necessary to look further back.

It is but seven years since the Parliament of Labour last met in Cork. What changes have taken place since then! Little did any of us dream at that time that it would be possible the workers of the world would allow the capitalists to bring such desolation and misery on the people in order to satiate their greed. At the time the Congress last met here, in 1913, the seeds of avarice which had been sown were nearly ripe. They had then sown the seeds; they are now reaping the whirlwind. In their lust for wealth and power they have created something over which they will weep tears of blood.

We are now in the second year since the armistice was signed, after four and a half years of the most frightful carnage which the world has ever known, and in which the flower of the manhood of Europe was sacrificed—and for what? During the time the holocaust was taking place we were told the war was waged to make the world safe for democracy, for the freedom of small nations, and the war to end all wars. Fine phrases, no doubt, but in the light of after events what blatant hypocrisy! Is the world safe for democracy to-day? Are the principles of democracy being observed towards the people of Russia? Rather has not there been a most relentless war waged against them. Has not every marauding band that could be induced to wage war been supplied with an abundance of money and equipment in an endeavour to defeat the Russian people? Thanks to the splendid heroism of the great Russian people, all their efforts have failed. Why have the people of Russia to suffer all this misery? In a word, because they have put into operation in their country the true principles of democracy: government by the people; because they have sounded the death-knell of capitalism, of government by autocrats; because they have destroyed a system of society in which the wealthy few have lived in indolence at the expense of



the great mass of the people. God grant the workers of all countries will strive to emulate the heroic deeds of our brothers in Russia (applause).

And the war was to end all wars! Were there ever so many wars at the same time in the history of the world as there are to-day, notwithstanding the fact that the peacemakers are nearly two years at their job? The letting loose of the dogs of war was a simple job, but the making of peace is not so easy, for they are finding it hard to agree over the division of the spoils.

And what of the League of Nations, under which we were promised the Millennium, the instrument which was to settle all disputes between the nations? How has it carried out its functions with regard to the Adriatic? What action has its members taken to bring that buccaneer, D'Annunzio, to account for resorting to force in Fiume? And why was no action taken? Because it was done in the interest of one of the countries represented by the Big Four.

The thieves cannot afford to quarrel. I have mentioned the Big Four. Rather, I should have said, the Big Three, for one of the quartette has already been repudiated by the elected representatives of his country for the ignominious betrayal of the fine principles he enunciated in what are known as the Fourteen Points. What has become of the doctrine of the freedom of the seas? The principle was bartered for a night's lodging in Buckingham Palace.

Government by the consent of the governed! How has this fine principle been honoured? Our own dear land is a striking example of the negation of this doctrine. There is no necessity for entering into details regarding the remainder of the Fourteen Points; they all met the same fate. President Wilson, had he remained true to the principles he enunciated, had an opportunity to render a service to humanity never before presented to any man in the history of the world, and he failed miserably. Had he insisted on the principles being observed as he was in a position to do, his name would have been recorded in history as one of the world's greatest men. His failure is largely to be attributed to the fact that his own hands were not clean, for he represented a system of government—a capitalist system—under which there is no freedom for the working class; a tyranny which strikes down every man or woman who attempts to rescue the workers from slavery; a tyranny which has claimed thousands of victims, which has filled its jails to overflowing, among the number Eugene Debs, that grand old champion of the proletariat, and whose latest victim is James Larkin, who rendered such service to the workers of this country (applause).

And what about Ireland?

Organisation of the workers has gone on steadily, and it is no exaggeration to say, in proportion to the working population, Ireland is one of the best organised countries. I am pleased to say there is evidence on all sides that the workers are desirous of becoming more efficiently organised. If we are to properly equip ourselves for the work before us we will have to immediately prepare our plans to lay the foundation for uniting the workers in one union with self-govern-



ing sections responsible to a central executive. In this connection may I issue a note of warning—this work cannot be done in a haphazard way to achieve the object in view. We must give the matter very serious consideration, the best brains in the movement must be devoted to the task, for we must build up a structure that will be able to withstand all assaults that may be directed against it (hear, hear).

The year that has just passed has been remarkable for the incessant demand for increased wages from all workers owing to the ever-increasing cost of living, and considering the nature of the demands involving such numbers we were fairly free from industrial disputes.

We had striking evidence during the year that the workers were preparing to take direct action for something nobler and grander than a few miserable shillings increase in wages.

Early in the year the motor drivers put up a gallant fight against the imposition of a petty tyranny imposed by an alien government.

Another movement was initiated by the dock workers, and was immediately backed by the National Executive who issued a manifesto to all workers in the transport industry calling on them to refuse to handle for export certain articles of food. Without hesitation the railwaymen and dockers manfully responded. The embargo was necessary owing to shameless profiteering on the part of the producers and manufacturers. Direct action in this matter was entirely successful. The people who are alleged to govern this country were unwilling to deal with profiteers. The workers by giving them a taste of their power soon brought them to their senses, and when they realised the workers meant business they displayed great anxiety to come to an understanding. A curious coincidence is that the day on which the first conference was held was the anniversary of the date on which James Fintan Lalor in the year 1847 addressed the following words to the landlords of Ireland:—

“ You are far less important to the people than the people are to you; you cannot act or stand alone, but they can in the case that has arisen; the main power is in their hands and little in yours ” (applause).

And at the conferences which were held subsequently we made our position quite clear that the principle we stood for was the same as the doctrine preached by James Fintan Lalor in 1847 that “ the soil of Ireland belongs of right to the entire people of Ireland, and is the rightful property not of one class but of the nation ” (applause).

Last January, after a lapse of six years, the workers were given an opportunity to test their strength at the polls when elections were held for Municipal and Urban District Councils. 650 Labour candidates were nominated, and 364 purely Labour candidates were returned. In many districts Labour has secured a clear majority on Councils, and is the second largest party in the country. In many Councils Labour men have been elected Chairmen; and in Wexford, a Labour man in the person of Richard Corish, Alderman, has been elected Mayor (applause).



In this connection the position is unique. On former occasions Labour men have been elected to the positions, but that was an act of grace on the part of the political parties in power. On this occasion the positions were secured not as an act of grace but as a result of the powers of Labour. The results of the elections are certainly very encouraging, the most gratifying feature being that Labour successes were not confined to any one portion of the country. The workers North and South fully realise their responsibilities and clearly demonstrated the awakening of class consciousness among the workers of Ireland, and that they are willing to give their allegiance to the Labour Party.

And now a word to the elected representatives. The future of Labour is in your hands. On you, to a large extent, depends the future of the political Labour movement in Ireland. You have got to prove your fitness to govern. The social emancipation of the workers largely depends on your efforts. You should use to the fullest extent the power you possess, and where the welfare of the community is concerned let no red tape prevent you doing your duty. If you have not the powers necessary then don't hesitate to take them.

I have dealt with the economic and social aspects of the situation. Now we have to consider the most serious problem that confronts us. From the political, or rather, I should say, the national point of view, the position was never so serious. The country has been turned into an armed camp. The soldiers of a foreign Power are billeted all over the country with all the paraphernalia of war. The country is being governed by naked force, and in the attempt to carry on this system of government England's army of occupation has truly lived up to the reputation it has made for its brutal treatment of the people they are trying to keep in subjection. During the past four years our people have suffered martyrdom at the hands of the greatest tyrant in history, a tyrant whose empire was built on the murder and spoliation of every unfortunate people who possessed anything worth stealing and were not in a position to defend themselves. During that period the acts of aggression committed against the Irish nation are appalling, 75 people were murdered, 2,412 were deported. There were 653 armed assaults on unarmed civilians, 26,000 raids on private houses, 7,504 arrests, 2,194 sentences, 413 proclamations and suppressions, 53 newspapers were suppressed, 532 courtmartials, and in addition several towns were sacked and property worth hundreds of thousands of pounds destroyed. And all this suffering at the hands of one of the defenders of small nations, of whom Connolly truly said:—"In the name of liberty it hangs and imprisons patriots, and whilst calling high heaven to witness its horror of militarism it sends the shadow of its sword between countless millions and their hopes of freedom." And why have our people had to endure all this agony? In a word, because the people of Ireland refuse to submit to a foreign domination (hear, hear).

We hear a lot of talk these days about constitutional agitation. Nearly two years ago the people of Ireland declared in no uncertain voice, in a constitutional way, the form of government under which



they want to live. How were their wishes met? Did we get the form of Government the people, by their votes, declared for?

When the elected representatives of the people met to endeavour to put into operation the expressed will of the people the assembly was declared illegal, and its members were arrested and gaoled without trial. Again, at a later stage, when the people in January last once more declared for the clean cut, the men who were honoured with the confidence of the people were rounded up in the most brutal fashion and cast into jail without trial. In the offensive after the January elections many Labour men were among the victims, including William O'Brien and Cathal O'Shannon.

As a protest against this method of tyranny the men in jail resorted to the hunger-strike, and their efforts were supported with the full force of the Labour movement. If ever there was an occasion when direct action for a political motive was justified it was then. The lives of hundreds of the flower of our race were in danger. All appeals on the ground of justice and humanity were unavailing. Direct action was necessary, and the workers of Ireland did not hesitate to apply the remedy. They may well feel proud of the work accomplished, for they have made history, and have set a headline for the workers of other countries (applause).

Again, on the question of handling munitions to be used for their own destruction, the workers are playing a manly part, the railwaymen bearing the brunt of the struggle. The issues involved are of tremendous importance; the situation needs very careful handling. The loyalty of the men is being put to a great test, but they are responding magnificently—their discipline is wonderful. Let the men be of good cheer. There is ample evidence the whole resources of the country are behind them, for the people realise the importance of the issues at stake. As I am writing these lines the battle is almost won; the first issues on which the fight was started has been acknowledged, and success has been achieved (applause).

At the present moment the position in Ireland is more than serious. The existing conditions cannot continue for long. There must be a change. We are up against our fate. There is no half-way house; it must be either complete independence or extermination. Lying propaganda will not succeed. Outrage mongering by people whose hands are dripping with the blood of Amritsar will have no effect.

We are not prepared to sell our birthright for a mess of pottage. There is no use in flying kites; there is no chance of making a deal. Irish Labour can neither be bought nor cajoled (applause).

We offer no apology for the things we have said, or the part we have played, for, in the words of James Connolly:—"The cause of Labour is the cause of Ireland; the cause of Ireland is the cause of Labour. They cannot be dis severed. Ireland seeks freedom. Labour seeks that an Ireland free should be sole mistress of her own destiny, supreme owner of all material things within and upon her soil." So be it (loud applause).



### VOTE OF THANKS.

Alderman Wm. O'Brien took the second chair and called on Mr. Irvine, Belfast, to propose a vote of thanks to the President for his address.

Mr. Irvine—I have great pleasure in moving a vote of thanks to the President for his very eloquent and beautiful address. They had their political differences in the North but were staunch under the Labour banner. In the municipal elections they carried out the contest on the straight Labour ticket and returned eleven candidates in the city of Belfast (hear, hear). These facts proved that Labour in Belfast was mindful of its duty and did it though it was in a more difficult position than in the South. They were often told by different classes how to cure the ills existing, but he would remind these people that Labour and Labour only will cure them, and Labour was going to do it (applause). That was the only solution. Labour will do it and must do it (renewed applause). He had great pleasure in proposing the best thanks of Congress to the Chairman, their President, for his very admirable address.

Mr. Clifford (Cork) seconded. He was sure the advice and instruction contained in the address would be harkened to. They had reason to congratulate and be grateful to the President and National Executive, a very able and competent body, for the manner in which they took charge of and guided the destinies of the Irish Labour movement during the very trying period of the past twelve months.

The vote was passed with acclamation.

Alderman O'Brien—I have pleasure in conveying to you, Mr. President, the hearty vote of thanks just passed.

The President—I deeply appreciate the vote of thanks, and let me say that in the few words, the scattered thoughts I have put before you, I do not claim that they have any literary merit. This much I do say: They are the honest convictions of a Labour man (cheers).

### STANDING ORDERS COMMITTEE REPORT.

The Chairman Standing Orders Committee brought in the following report:—The Standing Orders Committee had before it the list of substitutes for delegates names already sent in and makes the following alterations to the printed lists:—Seumas O'Brien for T. M'Namara, Irish Transport and General Workers' Union; J. J. Farrelly, Dublin Trades Council, for P. T. Daly; Vehicle Workers—D. Burke for David Willix; Irish Transport and General Workers' Union—J. J. Hurley for T. Murphy; Drapers' Society—F. Murphy for M. Drumgoole. In addition to the supplemental list the following additions are recommended for admission to Congress:—Killarney Workers' Council—W. Bland; Sligo Trades Council—H. Depew; Engineers' Union—J. J. Redmond, P. F. M'Intyre; Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners, Cork District—John P. Weldon and James Barry.

The Committee recommended the admission of these delegates. Report agreed.



Congress then adjourned at 1.30 until 9.30 on Tuesday morning.

### **TRIP ROUND CORK HARBOUR.**

At 2.30 p.m. the delegates went for a trip around Cork Harbour on the invitation of the Reception Committee. The steamer "Ireland" was chartered and 253 passengers boarded her as she left St. Patrick's Quay. Music was supplied by the Cork Workingmen's Brass and Reed Prize Band. The trip was thoroughly enjoyable. The extensive Motor Tractor Works of Messrs. Ford were seen to advantage as the steamer passed down the river by the beautiful wood walk, the Marino, on to Blackrock, out to Lough Mahon. All places of interest were noted down the "sea avenue" to Cove, such as Glanmire Passage, Monkstown, Rushbrooke, etc. From Cove, the steamer swinging out to the outer harbour, gave the visitors splendid opportunity to view the harbour from Roche's Point. On the return a call was made to Cove, refreshments being served at the Queen's Hotel. The stay for two hours was occupied in a visit to the magnificent Cathedral, St. Colman's, and the town generally. The steamer berthed at Cork at 9 o'clock giving delegates ample time to be within their hotels or residences before Curfew hour—10 p.m.

---

### **SECOND DAY.—TUESDAY, AUGUST 3rd, 1920.**

Congress resumed at 9.30 a.m. under the chairmanship of the President (Mr. Thomas Farren).

### **REPORT OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE.**

At the sitting of the second Session Congress took up the consideration of the Report of the National Executive for the year 1919-20, which had already been circulated. See pages 3 to 54. The Chairman formally moved the adoption of the Report.

On the reference to the death of Mr. M. J. O'Lehane,

Councillor Daly (Dublin) said that as it was the first Congress since his lamented death he thought it only due to his memory that an official instruction should be given their Secretary to convey the sympathy of Congress to the relatives of the deceased. He moved a motion to this effect.

The Chairman—On behalf of Congress and my own I have already taken such action. It can be sent officially as from Congress.

Motion agreed to.

On the paragraph on the resignation of Mr. J. F. O'Farrell,

Councillor Daly raised a question. At last year's Congress in Drogheda, he said, there was a nomination on the list for the Presidency of the Labour Party of Mr. James Larkin. The nomination was struck out because of the fact that Jim Larkin was not a

delegate to Congress. Now, in the room of Mr. J. F. O'Farrell, the National Executive had co-opted a gentleman named Mr. John Bohan, for whom everyone had the greatest respect. "But," he said, "I must point out that Mr. Bohan was not a delegate to the last Congress, and, if my recollection serves me right, I do not think he is a delegate to this Congress. I hold that what it was not in the power of the Congress to do, it is not in the power of the National Executive to do. There was an unwritten law during my connection with Congress that in cases of resignation or death the man who comes next in order on the list of those nominated is invariably co-opted. I want to know why that custom was not followed; and also why the Executive went outside the ladies and gentlemen composing the delegates to co-opt a member of their body.

The Chairman—The delegates will remember that Mr. O'Farrell was the nominee of the Irish National Teachers' Organisation. Unfortunately Mr. O'Farrell got into bad health and he found it impossible to attend his duties. The Executive had some correspondence with the Irish National Teachers' Organisation on the matter and had a communication from them to the effect that they, the National Teachers, would be very glad if the National Executive co-opted Mr. Bohan who was a member of their Executive. I don't agree for one moment with Mr. Daly that we were bound to take the next on the list. Standing Orders are quite clear on the matter. Paragraph No. 8 of the Constitution says: "In the case of death or resignation of any of the members the remaining members have power to co-opt a successor." We believe, moreover, that we acted in justice to the National Teachers' Organisation; and that we were entitled to give consideration to the views of their organisation. The only reason we co-opted Mr. Bohan was that it was the request of the National Teachers' Organisation and we were entitled to accede to that request.

Alderman O'Brien—In addition to the point mentioned by the Chairman, and in reply to the suggestion that the runner-up is invariably co-opted and should have been on this occasion, it is well to know that for the election of National Executive last year there were twelve candidates for the ten seats, and the two who were unsuccessful were ineligible according to Constitution because one represented the Cork Trades Council and a delegate from the Cork Trades Council was amongst the successful candidates. And the second was a railwayman, of which there were two among the successful candidates (applause).

Councillor Daly did not think either explanation covered the point he had raised. Congress, in its wisdom, had thought Standing Orders binding in connection with the name of Jim Larkin. It was held Congress could not vary the Standing Orders. Then neither could the Executive, and according to Standing Orders no person but a delegate to Congress is eligible for election. He raised the question to enunciate the principle laid down, and that the Executive when co-option takes place should secure that only delegates to Congress will be co-opted.



Mr. Bradley, Engineers—The explanation given from the platform ought to be accepted by Congress (applause).

The Chairman said that Mr. O'Farrell belonged to the National Teachers' Executive which suggested and recommended the name of Mr. Bohan to the National Executive as his successor. The National Executive had no axe to grind in acceding to the request of the Executive of the National Teachers' Organisation to which the retired member belonged; and he believed they were justified and did right in co-opting Mr. Bohan as a member of the National Executive.

The paragraph was then put and agreed.

### MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS.

On the paragraphs relating to Municipal Elections,

Councillor Daly (Dublin) said—I don't know whether any delegates to this Congress were delegates to the Conference held between the National Executive and the representatives of the various Trades Councils. If there were, I think it necessary to jog their memories in connection with this part of the report which is inaccurate; and some suggestions made were not before the Conference and not decided as laid down in the report. He drew particular attention to the paragraph at the end of page 5 on the Housing question. Before going further, it might be better if the minutes of the Conference held on 24-25, October, 1919, were read and also the resolution adopted at that Conference.

The Secretary having read the minutes of this Conference, Councillor Daly asked if these minutes had been approved.

Chairman—To whom would they be submitted?

Alderman O'Brien—Will Councillor Daly tell us?

Councillor Daly held that at that Conference it was clearly enunciated that on all questions affecting the election to Local Governing Authorities the members of Trades Councils or Labour Party were to be the party to have charge of and to conduct the election. He had not heard anything in the minute dealing with that question. His recollection was borne out by his colleagues, and they reported to the Dublin Trades Council that the Trades Councils and Labour Parties as formerly were to have control in connection with the selection of candidates, and the running of the elections. "You, Mr. Chairman," he went on, "yesterday in your very admirable address, alluded to the fact that there was only one place in Ireland where they elected a Labour Mayor. No delegate had a right to feel prouder of that than I do. But if we had all over the country the same solidarity with regard to Labour and the elections as there was in Wexford we would have considerably more than one Labour Mayor (hear, hear). I am convinced I am right on this point, and I feel this report is not correct, and that there has been a breach in regard to the position of the Conference, and that has been covered in some way in the report submitted to this Congress. This is the first opportunity I have had of discussing the matter, and I take it to dissent from its accuracy.



Mr. MacPartlin—Will Mr. Daly tell us what does he dissent from. Or is this a popularity stunt? (applause).

Councillor Daly—You must not have been listening. I referred to the fact that the second last paragraph on page 3 is incorrect. Trades Councils were given the conduct of elections, the selection of candidates for election, and other matters in connection with the elections.

Mr. MacPartlin—You deliberately charge that the minutes were falsified?

Councillor Daly—Precisely.

Mr. MacPartlin—There are a number of delegates from Trades Councils here and they will be able to say whether those minutes are false, or deliberately bolstered up to cover up the position. In Dublin the Trades voted for Labour and won.

Councillor Logue—We take this opportunity of putting our views as far as the Dublin Trades Council is concerned before this Congress. He held that the decision of the Special Conference in regard to the Municipal Elections was departed from by very important officials of the Labour movement in Ireland. But the decisions were carried out by the Dublin Trades Council, which as honourable men they were bound to do. But when they sent forward official Labour candidates they were faced with candidates from a powerful Union in Ireland, and some of them running on the Sinn Fein ticket and others running as Labour men representing a powerful Union. Every one that came to the special Conference had not afterwards the same sad results to put before Congress as they had, for one man running as official Labour from the Trades Council was faced by another Labour man who poured all the poison of villification upon him and said they were going to beat official Labour.

Mr. Foran—The Union referred to is a powerful Union, and if we have power we have sense and wisdom, and we showed that in the Municipal Elections in Dublin. We cut free from the contaminated and corrupt Trades Council of Dublin. The Transport Union candidates stood as Labour men and pure Labour men and were elected. Their records since in the Municipal Council and other public bodies prove that they are the right kind of Labour men. At any rate none of them have yet been repudiated by their own Unions (cheers).

Mr. MacPartlin—While not attaching any importance to any particular party in Dublin at present, this Congress, representative of all Ireland, may be able to settle this whole difficulty and give every man in the Labour movement who is entitled to it his place. The entire of the unpleasant business would be too much for Congress. It was a very dirty business and no decent man would like to have to repeat it. He thought if the Labour men throughout other parts of Ireland would agree to inquire into this matter the difficulty in Dublin may be got over. They recognised that the Labour movement was never stronger than at present, and one of the chief reasons bringing about that great position was the splendid work of their effective and very progressive National Executive (hear, hear). The



Labour movement in Dublin about four years ago was the most effective Labour body in Ireland, almost equal to the National Executive. Every big movement for Labour in Ireland sprang from the Dublin Trades Council. Now it was not recognised by the real workers in Dublin—they won't recognise it under any circumstances. There is the Transport Union. It refused to touch it, and other Unions just as effective as the Transport refuse to touch it. "I think," he added, "that there are in Cork, Waterford and Limerick sufficient brains, on inquiring into the entire case, to arrange some scheme of settlement. There ought to be one central authority in Dublin independent of the National Executive, and I hope Congress will be able to do something to reconstitute that central authority—central Executive—in Dublin so that the workers can have confidence in it and be able to give it whole-hearted support.

Chairman—I am going to rule this discussion raised by Mr. MacPartlin out of order. This discussion about the Dublin Trades Council is entirely out of order. We are dealing with the Report of the National Executive in connection with Municipal Elections. The internal affairs of the Dublin Trades Council are not our business.

Mr. Logue—Is it fair to the officers of the Dublin Trades Council to let one man make charges and refuse a hearing to people defending the Trades Council?

Chairman—I did not think you were the whole of the Trades Council.

Mr. Logue—MacPartlin claims to speak for the workers of Dublin.

Mr. Farrelly (Vice-President, Dublin Trades Council) said the Council carried out the mandate of the special Conference. Labour, irrespective of political parties, was the dictum. "But men broke from that mandate who were with us to the last, up to the morning of nominations," he continued. "We stuck to the mandate, and carried out the instructions faithfully of Labour in the city of Dublin. You have men on that Council who asserted that mandate but deserted it, and now standing up to condemn our actions for carrying it out, and telling us we are belonging to no body, that we are not worth while dealing with." The candidates they got elected did not draw on any second great power to secure election. They fought clean and straight. "And I want to tell this Congress," he added, "that the difference between Labour in Dublin is just a matter of position for the moment."

Mr. Nolan—It is deplorable to see this disunity and division in Trades Unionism in Dublin. It is perfectly true to say that the bulk of the Dublin workers are not in sympathy with the Trades Council. And it is certainly the fact that Labour candidates who contested the Municipal Elections independently came to the Trades Council, and did vote and take part in all the proceedings up to a few days before the elections came off, and then they suddenly left, possibly because their original intention to subserve certain principles was not compatible. It must be admitted Council did not uphold the official party, but those in the minority represented a bigger section



of workers. The majority was seventeen, and those who differed went away and fought the official party up to the very last, and some of the actions were of a character no honourable-minded man on either side could support. If they were to make Labour as all-powerful as they desired in the country, the workers must have toleration for each other. There can be something done to alleviate the position and bring peace amongst the workers of Dublin.

A Delegate—To a point of order. One delegate has been already ruled out of order for discussing the affairs of Dublin Trades Council.

Chairman—I must say that Mr. Nolan dealt very successfully with the elections and Trades Council at the same time. I believe that Mr. MacPartlin and Mr. Nolan are imbued with the right spirit and want to bring an end to an unpleasant state of affairs. But I must say that is not going to be done in the discussion of the National Executive Report.

Mr. O'Flanagan—I would like to point out that the official Labour party in Dublin in selecting some candidates was not above criticism. With regard to men in the Labour movement in Dublin referred to as Sinn Fein members of the Corporation, I must certainly say that though they had not any immediate identification with the work of the Dublin Trades Council, but since they went into the Dublin Corporation on the Sinn Fein ticket their record is as clean as any other Labour party in it.

Mr. Bradley supported the paragraph and deprecated the obnoxious personalities that members of Congress threw at each other. Delegates to Congress should be above such and ought to base their arguments on toleration and logic. The preamble in the Report on the Elections contained everything necessary and essential to bring into operation a consolidated Labour Party.

The Mayor of Wexford said that something should be done to bring into existence a Labour Party in Dublin that would inspire full confidence throughout the country, for the country always looked for a lead to Dublin.

Mr. Houston, joining in this request, said that when recently in Dublin, on labour matters, he found that employers were placed in a very poor position compared with Belfast employers, because the former in existing conditions were allowed to fight out causes for the latter. The Labour movement in Dublin should lead and could lead if there were unity amongst the Dublin workers themselves.

Mr. Meehan suggested that Standing Orders be suspended in order that the question may be taken up and some machinery put in motion to rectify matters.

Chairman—Any delegate can go to the Standing Orders Committee and ask that permission. I now rule that Congress proceed to the next paragraph.



## IMPRISONMENT OF JAMES LARKIN.

In conjunction with the reference in Executive Report to the Imprisonment of James Larkin, the following resolution was taken:—"That this Congress declares the arrest and imprisonment of James Larkin, General Secretary of the I.T. & G.W.U., and a former member of our National Executive, in New York on a charge of criminal anarchy, to be a gross outrage on every principle of justice, a violation of individual liberty, and of the right of freedom of opinion and freedom of speech, a brutal and criminal act of class hatred, inspired by ruthless and unscrupulous capitalism, an attack upon the rights of the working-class as much in Ireland as in America; and that we demand, in the name of just and fair dealing, and on behalf of the organised workers of Ireland, that the U.S. Government release Larkin immediately. And we call upon the labour and working-class organisations in America, and especially those of Irish birth or descent, to use their power and influence to undo this grave wrong."

Mr. Foran (Irish Transport and General Workers' Union) moving it, said that James Larkin was and always would be the General Secretary of their Union. Some people, for their own ends, were trying their damndest to drag Jim Larkin and others in the Union down, but anybody that knew anything about the history of the Union and the men associated with Larkin would immediately turn down that suggestion with the contempt it deserved. But probably to newer people in the movement some explanation was necessary. "I was," he continued, "the first President of the Union, and am President up to now. (Applause). When Jim Larkin was leaving Ireland he charged me with the responsibility of not only looking after the Union, but of his wife and family. And people who now oppose us never put one foot past the other to know how these people were treated." The Union then could ill afford to send money away, but it sent half its funds away to Jim Larkin to do the work he had done since he left Ireland. Some weeks ago Jim Larkin's son and himself were refused passports to visit him in America by the representative of the American Government in this country. "We," he concluded, "want the co-operation of every trade union and labour organisation in Ireland to assist in bringing about the speedy release and return of our general secretary. These are our only motives in putting down this resolution, and I am sure all trade unions will give us all the support and assistance that they can to bring about that happy result. (Applause).

Mr. Farrelly (Dublin) had great pleasure in seconding the resolution.

Mr. Cathal O'Shannon, speaking in Irish, supported the resolution. He pointed out that the Government that presently held Larkin in prison in America was not the British Government. "It is the United States Government. And it is up against



the American Government that Larkin is now," he said. "And not because he was Jim Larkin or General Secretary of the Union, but because, like Eugene Debs and hundreds and thousands of other labour men, Communists and Socialists, he took the workingmen's part against the bosses. And it will be, I hope—it should be—a warning and illustration to us workers in Ireland that we have just as much to fear from the boasted democracy of the United States Republic as we have from the old Empire across the way. When we in Ireland talk about a free government in Ireland, let it not be the kind of government that sends Larkin and others like him to prison. But let it be the kind of government that has no prisons for anybody except the people who put the Larkins in gaol. (Applause).

Mr. McPartlin, as one who fought along with Larkin in other and dangerous times, supporting the resolution, warned every worker in Ireland to rise to strength and power on what they themselves accomplished and not to be depending on the use of other men's names to advance their own position. Men were doing their utmost to divide the workers in their forward fight for freedom. "But we must," he said, "fight for our own and give of our best, as Larkin did. That is the best way to help Larkin. Larkin left Ireland after a great fight, and the Union suffered a great deal in that fight. James Connolly took up the work, and though half the Union's funds were sent away, he made that Union the great Union it is. And he did it on his own merits, and not on the use of the name of anybody else. Let us try and emulate James Connolly, and we will win for Larkin and win for the Labour movement." (Applause).

The Chairman, putting the resolution and reference in National Executive Report, which were adopted with acclamation, said he was associated with Jim Larkin in the dark days, when everyone's hand was against him, and he had but few followers who stuck to him through thick and thin. The men who fought with Larkin did so because they believed then, as it is now admitted, that he was fighting for the emancipation of the working-class people in this country, and fought for no other reason than that they believed he was doing great work on behalf of the workers of Ireland. He agreed with Mr. MacPartlin that they should not exploit the name or work of any other man. Let us all do a little bit. Few of us can be Jim Larkins. Let us be influenced by him and endeavour to do our work to the best of our ability and to serve the class to which we belong. This resolution is put down to call public attention to the manner in which "the liberty-loving Republic of America" have treated a man who was belonging to the working classes. Larkin is imprisoned in America because he tried to propagate there the ideas he inculcated into the workers of Ireland; because he endeavoured to bring the workers of America into line with the workers of Ireland; and because he tried to get them up off their knees and fight the capitalist class. (Cheers).



## MOTOR PERMITS STRIKE.

On the references in National Executive Report to the Motor Permits Strike,

Mr. M. J. O'Connor (Automobile Drivers and Mechanics) said that it was not merely a report on the issue, but a very vindictive attack on his Union. The strike, he continued, was brought about by the Government seeking to make the motor drivers get on their hands and knees to them for a permit to drive a motor-car—permission from the Government to earn a living. His Union, though small, decided to fight that, and successfully, in so far as that the Order was modified, notwithstanding the fact that they were told that the Government would not alter a comma in it. The modifications secured were substantial, for a whole clause was struck out that sought to make it law that if a permit was granted while in one employment it should be immediately surrendered again if employment were changed, and then another permit should be got. In regard to the complaint as to the only communication received by the National Executive from his Union respecting the intention of the members to strike, and that at that particular time their President and Secretary were in London seeking an interview with the Chief Secretary and the Parliamentary Labour Party, he said "we went over to see the recognised Trades Union leaders of England, and did not go to see the Chief Secretary; but on the recommendation of the Labour Party in England, and on its advice a deputation was arranged, and we took that advice and went to meet the Chief Secretary." Regarding the other Union—the Transport Workers—affected, it was set out that it was impossible to reconcile the two methods by which the two Unions decided to fight the strike. The National Executive thought the policy of the Transport was the wiser one, and the motor drivers were advised accordingly. But at a special congress in the Banba Hall the decision was that the decisions of the Automobile Drivers' Union was the proper one, and not the decision of the Transport Union. Some weeks afterwards Trades Congress met again, but the attendance of 53 out of 250 delegates, he believed, was a sufficiently significant commentary on its representative character. That Congress opened a strike fund, but their Union (Automobile) had previously opened their own fund, and it had been so well responded to by the public it was agreed to continue it. "The moment that fund was opened advertisements inserted on behalf of our funds were dropped, but had to be re-inserted after a period of two or three weeks when we found that the fund opened by Congress was not being responded to as it should be, and some people believing that our fund was dropped did not subscribe. We adopted the self-preservation order and re-advertised the fund to keep the strike going. During the whole course of the fight and ever since we did not get one half-penny from the fund opened by the Trades Congress; but I understand it was used to pay members



of other Unions affected. I believe, as far as we are concerned, for a very good purpose." The statement on the resolution passed at the meeting in Tralee, and the challenge of Mr. O'Connor by Mr. O'Brien, was, he said, absolutely incorrect. The time of that challenge was at a meeting in Liberty Hall in January, when Mr. O'Brien took the resolution out of his pocket and challenged me with drafting it. To say I did not reply is not correct. I said I did not deny it or admit it. That is the position I took up, and that is the position I take up now.

Alderman O'Brien—That is not so.

Mr. O'Connor—So you say.

Alderman O'Brien—Mr. O'Connor is deliberately twisting what took place on that occasion. I knew Mr. O'Connor drafted that resolution, and he was afraid to deny it.

Mr. O'Connor, continuing, referred to the Conference on January 20th and the aggregate meeting called to decide whether the strike should be continued or called off. He contended there that it was the right of the men on strike to decide whether or not the strike should be called off, if they were to act democratically. Mr. Johnson objected, as he said the time was too short to arrange to get the views of the men in the country; and Mr. O'Brien objected, because, as he said, in parts of the country some men who were affected were not long out on strike, and would therefore be in favour of continuing it. Their Union answered that objection by saying that only those branches that were in existence prior to the strike coming into effect would get the right to vote. Mr. O'Brien agreed with that resolution, and it went with the addendum. He denied the accuracy of the following references in connection with the aggregate meeting of strikers: (1) That on the Thursday instructions were given to the Automobile Drivers that they should vote in favour of continuing the strike. (2) That they should not allow a ballot to be taken. (3) That a considerable number of men who had not been on strike, but had been kept on in employment, were present at the meeting. (4) That cards of membership were issued specially for the meeting, and that a large number of those present were neither motor-drivers nor members of the Motor Drivers' Union, but were grocers' assistants on strike. (5) That members of the Automobile Drivers' Union collected membership cards from those already in the hall with the intention of taking these cards outside so as to allow others to come in by showing them at the door. Statements in these were absolutely incorrect. And on point No. 5 he had made inquiries, and it was not so. He was told, on the contrary, that members of the Transport Workers' Union who were not affected by the strike, and had no right to be there, were there. "The National Executive Report then goes on to say," he continued: "No whisper of any negotiations with the Police Commissioner." That is a very serious implication, for it means that we negotiated terms of surrender with the police. And it



is a very remarkable thing that we find that expression in the official organ of the Transport Workers, the 'Watchword of Labour.'" He maintained that these charges were levelled at them in order to cover up the negligence and inaction of the Joint Committee. The chairman of that committee, Mr. Farren (Chairman of Congress) had told them that the Joint Committee would be very glad if the matter were taken out of their hands, as they were anxious to wash their hands of the whole affair. Negotiations were opened up with the Chief Commissioner of Police, Colonel Johnstone, through Mr. Wayte, of the Taxi Company, with Mitchell, Crosbie and himself. And ultimately, after two or three interviews with the Government and the Union—a fact which was a victory in itself, the Government climbing down to negotiate with a small Union like the Automobile Drivers!—they got one clause dropped, and others substantially modified, while the issue of permits was to rest with the Chief Commissioner in the D.M.P. area and with the General Inspector of R.I.C. for the remainder of the country, and not with petty police officials as originally provided. If we had taken the Permit Order lying down, fifty per cent. of our members, because of their political opinions, would have been refused permits. Half-a-dozen were refused permits, but so far as they were concerned they could get work driving heavy lorries without permits. The mention in the report about the funds implied that they were misapplied—

Mr. Johnson—No, no.

Mr. O'Connor—It says: Information was not available, and things were carried on in a slipshod manner. The accounts of our Union are certified and audited by a chartered accountant, and not by an officer of the Union. On this particular matter he dealt with the references to the funds and strike pay in Carlow, and read correspondence explanatory of the entire crux. He went on, that at the special conference in Banba Hall, a general strike for a day or two was suggested, but turned down as not advisable; that that should be the last card. But later, at a meeting in the Trades' Hall, Mr. Cathal Shannon said that, if necessary, a general strike would be resorted to, and it would be a strike not only for the removal of the permit order, but a strike for the removal of the British Government that issued the permit order. Everything failed to bring about a settlement, and then they were told to accept the order and go back to work. But his Union believed, and he submitted to Congress, that every avenue was not explored, and that the decisions of the special congress were not carried out and another congress not summoned as to a general strike. There was nothing left for his Union to do. They were prepared to fight the British Government on the question, and if the question were fought then the question of fighting the Government on the munitions business would not exist at all. "We fought as long as we could," he concluded; "but we did not get the help we should



have got, and because we did not get that, a settlement had to be come to. If our settlement were surrender, what would it be if the whole permit order was accepted. I don't know what action Congress will take, but I believe there was something more behind the references in the Report than appeared, and because the Union was a small one."

Mr. Johnson said that the reason the subject was dealt with at such length in the Report was that from the beginning to the end of the strike, and after it had closed, charges were levelled against this, that and the other Union, and also against the National Executive. It was stated that the Automobile Drivers were let down, the object being apparently to suggest that there was a dead set being made against the Union because it was a small Union and because there was a certain amount of friction between it and a big Union in the Transport industry. "The Report of the Executive can be substantiated in its entirety. Mr. O'Connor contravenes our statements. It is for Congress to judge which is correct." Proceeding to deal with the lines of cleavage and difficulties that arose and developed, he said that the only intimation that the National Executive received from the Automobile Drivers' Union respecting the strike was on November 24th, and was conveyed in a newspaper cutting. Right from the beginning the officials of the Union hoped and counted upon bringing in all other unions that could be brought in by hook or by crook. In the action they took on the Permit Order, everybody supported them—everybody held that they were right in their refusal to apply for Permits. But, as is said in the Report, other people were affected besides this Union, and differences of view as to the best way to fight the order developed from the beginning. Mr. O'Connor had referred to the parallel between that strike and the present one on the munitions question. "There is a good deal of parallel and identity," he continued. "But the tactics adopted in respect to the present strike were the tactics opposed and refused by the Automobile Drivers' Union on the Permit Order. That is the secret of the whole trouble. On December 6th, in the report of a meeting held in the Trades' Hall by the Union on the question, all the speakers emphasised the importance of involving as many other Unions as possible in the strike, and so by a chain of events to bring in all other Unions. In fact, one speaker went so far as to say that "if the other Unions would not come in we would drag them in." That is the secret of the trouble that ensued. If these tactics were followed, what would be the result? It was claimed that no transport should be allowed that had hitherto been done by motors. The immediate effect of that would have been the isolation of many towns throughout the country, and kept people from being supplied with the necessities of life. That view precipitated the crisis. The Automobile Drivers wanted to ride upon the backs of all other Unions which would inevitably be drawn in, and then: "if we don't win, we will all go down



together." In the opinion of the Executive that was not a sensible policy, and their view was confirmed by a special congress. But despite that confirmation, the Auto Drivers refused to acquiesce, and desired at all costs to bring in other Unions. It had circulars issued denouncing other people who had complied with the general order—denouncing them as scabs and making all sorts of malignant charges against people who did work authorised by the central authority. He maintained that slipshod methods were practised in the conduct of the Union, but he did not, nor was it made in the Report, make the slightest suggestion, nor was there any intention to suggest, that there was any misapplication of any kind—there was nothing wrong in regard to finance. The suggestion is that there were no authentic or reliable reports to go on, especially as to the number of men of the Union out on strike. The numbers did vary in a curious way. He did not want to charge the officials too harshly on that, for he appreciated the difficulties they had because of an outbreak of fire in their offices. But he did suggest that from beginning to end there was no reliable data to go upon as to the number of men out. As to Funds, there was a very definite decision by Congress that there should be one single fund. But the Secretary of the Auto Union said that they would carry on their own fund. And they did, despite the appeal that we issued. There was no objection to that on the understanding that the money should be centralised when collected, and all monies dealt with on something like equal terms to the men affected, as the railwaymen were doing at the present time. But never from that day to this was any record received from the Union as to the amount of money received at any particular time, or the amount expended. There was no unification of the funds, and the central body had no knowledge of what was happening. The Union then carried on its negotiations for surrender entirely apart from and in secret so far as the Joint Committee were concerned. The Joint Committee know nothing about these negotiations until they saw the announcement in the papers on Sunday with a great hulla-balloo about the great victory. Next day the correspondence was published! And during the time these negotiations were going on a special meeting of the members of the various Unions affected was being held in Banba Hall—even at the very hours these negotiations were going on with the authorities in respect of a final settlement of the strike! That was a good indication of the spirit in which the strike was carried on by the Auto Drivers' Union. The spirit in which they conducted it was in antagonism to the other bodies implicated on their behalf. "That is the protest," added Mr. Johnson, "we are making. The Auto Drivers' Union were not loyal to the Special Congress, were not loyal to the National Executive, were not loyal to their fellow-victimised workers, were not loyal to the Trade Union movement. And we ask support for the Report of the Executive in condemning the action of Auto Drivers in the conduct of that strike. (Applause.)



Mr. McCormack (Grocers' Assistants) said that at this particular time they were about being embroiled in serious trouble themselves. In reference to the conference at Banba Hall, his committee sent stewards to the door to allow none of their members into the hall. He was quite confident none of their members did go in except in the cases of having to deliver letters or a telegram to a member at the meeting.

Chairman.—There is not the slightest imputation that the Executive of your Union were responsible.

Mr. McCormack.—Is the National Executive in a position to substantiate the statement that some grocers' assistants were at that meeting?

Chairman.—Yes.

Mr. McCormack.—I would like to get the names of any such members present in the Hall except those who got instructions to deliver messages.

Mr. Slattery (Auto Drivers' Union) said that he was in Waterford at this particular time, and the Waterford men in the Union had a very strong feeling against the men in charge of the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress in allowing horse-drivers to do the work ordinarily performed by motor men. He would like to know why 300 to 400 men were taken out at North Wall dock in connection with this strike and 20 to 40 men were left there handling motor spirit. Spirit was sent from Cork to Clonmel, and the workers there refused point blank to handle it. There was some friction, and one night the Constabulary removed it to the police barrack, and the "big bugs" were able to get their supplies from that source. He would like Mr. Johnson to explain, on the principle of one man one job, what he would think if, as a member of the Clerical Workers' Union, he (speaker) went down and applied for an engine-driver's job. His point was, that horse-drivers in Waterford, Cork and elsewhere did work ordinarily done by motor-drivers. In regard to the Transport Union in Cork, Alderman Barry, Donovan, Lynch and others were very sympathetic to the auto men, but they did not get the "magic word" from headquarters in Dublin.

Mr. Morrissey (Nenagh)—The Transport Workers' Union men in Nenagh absolutely refused to bring petrol, and the members of the Auto-Drivers' Union brought motors down and drove themselves.

Mr. Luke Larkin (Waterford) said that Mr. Johnson had struck the right note regarding the action of the Auto-Drivers. They did not go to the proper quarter and place confidence in its hands to carry on the strike when it originated. (Hear, hear). "As a member of the National Executive," he continued, "I want to clearly vindicate our position. We were completely in the dark as to the position of affairs. We had not even a letter at the time, but we had knowledge that the Auto-Drivers had formed a deputation and gone across to the other side, seeking the sympathy of the labour leaders throughout England. When Mr. Lacy came



before the National Executive to discuss the matter and place the position before us, one of his first statements was to the effect that he believed the fight of the Automobile Union was a fight for the people of Ireland, and that the National Executive should take it up and make it such. We thoroughly agreed, and asked him to place the matter in our hands, but he refused to do it." He had a great admiration for the rank and file of the Auto-Drivers for their great fight. He hoped what had taken place would be a lesson and warning to all Unions—in effect that they would take a lead from the action of the railwaymen, and whenever they wanted sympathy or support, or were in trouble, that the only place to get it was from their own people here at home in Ireland. (Applause).

Mr. Foran asked what did the Auto-Drivers do after their secret negotiations in the Castle and all their blowing to the bosses about all the fighting they were going to do. And they did nothing. "We had," he said, "to clean up the mess they had made when the engineers and other trades were victimised and would not be allowed to return to their jobs because of the action they had taken in going out in support of the Automobile Drivers who went back to their jobs, and to hell with everybody else. The Transport Union had to tell the bosses that there would be no work until these men are in." (Applause).

Mr. Cathal O'Shannon said that he did not say anything of the kind as that if a general strike were necessary it would come off. The general strike weapon is not a thing to be played with. Some people's imaginations were struck with the phrase "general strike," just as more people's imaginations were struck with the phrase "home rule," and others with the phrase "republic." "We deal not in phrases, but in hard facts. There are times when a general strike, as has been demonstrated, is necessary. But let us put it out of our heads that the moment someone's big toe is pinched that there must be a general strike.

Mr. Ryan (Waterford)—The attitude of Transport Union workers in Waterford during the strike had been described as scabbing. It was not, because the carters in Waterford behaved as they were told to behave. The men in Waterford were not going to take instructions or directions from any one but their own Executive. From the experience he had in Waterford he was not surprised that the Motor Permit strike was lost.

Mr. Mitchell (Auto Union) said that the object of the Order was to get at one class of people only, and these were of the Republican party, because it was sought to deprive them of the use of motors. There were more of their members victimised than any other Union. They were victimised by their employers, who got the help of the biggest Union in Ireland to beat the Auto-Drivers' Union. "Because," he said, "we recognised the Trades Council. The men on the platform refused to give us a hint; and Mr. Foran refused to come to a conference because our general secretary, with whom he had a difference, was at



that conference. I say we put up the biggest fight ever put up in Ireland, and the National Executive did not do as they should have done. The strike was on a fortnight before the National Executive called Congress, and that Congress decided that all motor traffic should stop, and that everything facilitating the motor traffic should be banned. But Transport Workers' Union men were delivering petrol with horses.

Mr. Hart deplored the time they were wasting in destructive work as in this discussion, instead of being engaged in constructive work. It was a fact that Mr. Lacy tried to force a national strike. They did not want to penalise all the workers, and the reason he proposed an amendment to the resolution at the conference, and which he afterwards withdrew, was in order that work in Ireland should go on.

Alderman O'Brien said it was essential that the entire matter should be discussed at length, because the principles involved were vital and went to the very foundation of the manner in which the whole trade union movement is to be conducted. There was an analogy between the motor drivers' strike in reference to permits and the present strike on the railways in reference to munitions. But there was no analogy between the tactics of the motor drivers and those men who were guiding the destiny of the railwaymen in this country. The National Executive had handled other questions of transcending importance in the last twelve months, and in the preceding twelve months. But from start to finish there was no co-operation with them on the part of the Automobile Drivers' Union, no comradeship. The sole desire of the Auto-Drivers' Union was to drag everybody in. Suppose the railwaymen had taken up the same attitude in the present crisis, what position would they be in. Would not every industry in Ireland be involved? But the situation is limited down, in connection with the railway strike, to making a definite protest against munition transport here. The general sense of the movement approved that policy. Some people had a peculiar notion of the catch cry: "The injury of one is the concern of all. That was the principle of Larkin in 1913, and everything went right. The injury of one, say the Motor Drivers, is the concern of all. But would you believe it that the strike was on for five weeks, and while they of the Automobile Union received 25s. to 30s. a week, the members of the A.S.E., who were not directly involved, came out in sympathy, walked about the streets of Dublin for five weeks and never received one penny from the Automobile Drivers or anyone else. Members of the Transport Union employed in Dublin were withdrawn, but the Auto-Drivers were in and receiving full wages, and it was these men who had to convince Mitchell that the members of his Union should be withdrawn.

#### **GREETINGS FROM THE BRITISH COMMUNISTS.**

Congress adjourned for lunch. Before doing so, the Chairman read the following telegram:—"Communist Party of Great



Britain established at great National Convention in London on Saturday sends fraternal greetings to the Irish workers whose representatives are now assembled in Congress at Cork. It has by resolution expressed its whole-hearted sympathy with them in their present struggle, and supports their determination to resist by direct industrial action the military occupation of their country. Signed—MacManus, Chairman; McKin, Secretary." (Applause).

### AFTERNOON SESSION.

On resuming at 2.15 p.m., Congress resumed the discussion on National Executive's Report on the Motor Permits Strike.

Mr. Kenny (Post Office Workers) said that, notwithstanding all the discussion, his difficulty was that nothing definite was placed before Congress from the representatives of the Automobile Drivers' Union to put them in a position to vote on the matter. So far there was nothing but charges and counter-charges, and an intelligent decision was impossible as the matter was put before them. Perhaps mistakes had been made on both sides. He asked that an end be put to the discussion.

Mr. Nolan asked why the National Executive did not acquaint the Automobile Drivers of their duty—that they should have put the matter before the National Executive.

Chairman—We did that.

Councillor Logue (Dublin Trades Council) said that the Dublin Trades Council took some interest in this strike, and substantiated the contradictions of the Report of National Executive that the Auto Union sent a deputation to seek an interview with the Chief Secretary in London. They went to seek an interview with the British Labour Party, who rightly asked what help are you getting in Ireland; what help is the Transport Workers' Union giving. He wanted to make it plain that representatives of the Dublin Trades Council did not go to interview any British Chief Secretary; that they enlisted the sympathy of labour in England. They came back to find the answer to the queries of the English Labour Party, and that answer was now given.

Mr. Keneally (I.T.G.W.U.) said that what was really wrong from the start was the want of discipline amongst the Motor Drivers, because it seemed that, instead of they appealing to the National Executive, they wanted the National Executive to appeal to them.

Mr. Redmond (Engineers) asked Congress to support the National Executive Report. The Engineers had good reason to be proud of the part their members took in the strike. (Hear, hear). Their members decided to carry out the order that no repairs were to be done. The result was that three of their members refused to touch a car for repairs, the owner of which had a permit, and were dismissed. They said, sack the lot; and while all their men came out of Thompson's, but three of

the motor drivers were left in. What did Congress think of that? It was one of the instances showing the way the Automobile Drivers' Union conducted the strike. His members were allowed to walk the streets of Dublin, and were it not for the action of the Transport Union a lot of their members would be victimised. He asked Congress to give a unanimous vote for the National Executive Report on the Motor Permits Strike.

Mr. Hickey (Dockers) said that they had, so far as their work was concerned, carried out the decision of Special Congress in reference to the stoppage of motor traffic absolutely. They withdrew motor men and those who assisted in motor carriage. That resolution was not carried out in Cork; and they found men driving motors and carrying petrol from the stations.

Mr. Slattery—The three men in Thompson's were not drivers; they were mechanics.

Mr. Mitchell—On a point of order, I say that many of the statements made are misleading everyone.

Chairman—That is not a point of order.

Mr. Anthony (Typo. Association) said that the statements for both sides were being reiterated over and over again. He believed that there was sincerity on both sides, but that some misunderstanding was engendered owing to the newness of the Motor Drivers to the Trade Union movement. The speeches of Mr. Johnson and Mr. O'Brien should get rid of the idea present in the minds of the Auto-Driver that the Executive in any way let them down. People should disabuse their minds of the notion that catch-cries would fight, or win for the labour movement. There also existed the opinion that if persons were linked up with the Trade Union movement they had only to state a case to the local Trades Council, have it forwarded to the National Executive—and, heigh-presto! the thing is done. The sooner such opinions were got rid of the better for the Trade Union movement. He had no doubt but the Auto-Driver, or a section, were disappointed at the ultimate result of the strike. He could only speak for Cork, and he knew that in Cork the organised workers pledged themselves to support by every means in their power the Auto-Driver on strike. His society subscribed to the National Executive because, as a disciplined force, they recognised its authority in the matter.

The Chairman said that he wished to defend the National Executive, particularly as that was the first opportunity he had of meeting the slanderous statements circulated against him personally. The newspapers were full of lying statements. There were whisperings going around that the Chairman of the National Executive let the motor drivers down. He had allowed a full and frank discussion on the whole question, because it raised a very important question: are the Trades Unions of Ireland going to act and be loyal in support of one another; to help and support one another in trouble; and that people looking for support are going to be loyal to themselves. The National Executive realised



that this strike over the Motor Permits was not local, but that it affected the workers in every part of Ireland. Consequently it invited the Motor Drivers to meet them and talk over the subject in order to see what could be done to help and assist them. They did come to that meeting, and were told what the Executive believed to be the proper steps to adopt. Other Unions affected were got together, and a conference was held to seek agreement on a common line of policy. An agreement could not be arrived at, and the fight started. Immediately it did the Motor Drivers started a campaign of blackguarding—that they would pull other Unions into it, and drag the Executive into it whether it liked it or not. “But we cannot be forced to do anything,” said the Chairman, amidst applause. “The fight went on, and a special Trades Congress was called, and it was a representative Congress, even though there were only sixty delegates present; but of these only two were delegates from the Transport Workers. At the Congress I said that, in my opinion, the time had not arrived when they were going to paralyse the whole industry of the country. I said that I believed all motor traffic should cease, and that other means of transport ought to be substituted; and, further, that motormen on strike should get first preference on jobs arising from this increased horse traffic. Congress decided by an overwhelming majority that that was the proper policy to adopt. And it was decided there and then to appoint a Joint Committee of the Trades concerned to act in conjunction with the Executive. At the first meeting of the Joint Committee the representative of the Motor Drivers’ Union attended and refused to accept the decision of the special congress. They went further: that the decision we put before them of the special Trades Union Congress was not correct. I felt in a responsible position, and any self-respecting man in that position would do as I did. I sent them to their Union, and told them until you bring me word that your Executive is prepared to accept our interpretation of the decision of Congress we will do no more business. They went to their Executive, and came back and admitted that we were right.’ There were meetings for a few months on this question—representatives of the Engineers, Stationary Engine Drivers, Transport Workers and Tool-makers. And those men, members of amalgamated societies, were on the streets for six weeks, and no one offered them a “rap,” notwithstanding the fact that the newspapers were informing them each day of the subscriptions flowing in to the “fighting fund.” So the game went on. It was nearly time we got sick of the job. We were not sick of the fight for the men, but of the contemptible deceit practised by their leaders. The position was hopeless, because in a fight of its description the whole of the motor services should cease in order to make the fight a success. But when two-thirds of the motors in Ireland were running as usual, I saw that the game was up. It was said that Mitchell said they would get more concessions, but that they would not tell the aggregate



meeting about it. "We won't tell them; we will tell the bosses," who were taking part in the negotiations going on at the time, and they were hoodwinking the other men affected and who had come out in sympathy. They had sufficient confidence in the employers and in the Commissioner of Police, but none in the National Executive, or in the unfortunate men on the streets for ten weeks in support of them. "There is the statement made that the Chairman said the game was up," he continued. "It was very nearly time to tell the unfortunate men the truth, and I make no apology for the part I played in it. In similar circumstances I would do the same again. (Applause). For the rank and file of the motor drivers I have nothing but the highest respect; they fought a clean fight, and fought well. I think that they were badly lead, and that if their officials had a little more experience they would have handled it differently. Let us hope this case will be an example to other Unions—that when they get into a fight that is going to be a fight of National importance and involve other workers, there must be discipline and recognition of the National Authority. In striking contrast to the action of the Motor Drivers' Union we have the splendid example of the Railwaymen of Ireland. (Applause).

A vote was then taken for or against the National Executive's Report on this subject, with the result:

For	...	...	...	...	150
Against	...	...	...	...	5

The announcement of the figures was received with loud cheers.

## ADULT WORKING CLASS EDUCATION.

On this paragraph in the National Executive's Report,

Mr. Cathal O'Shannon said that at last year's Congress in Drogheda he supported the movement dealing with working-class education. The Connolly Labour College was established. Congress, the Executive and some of the labour organisations did support that movement. However, were it not for the support got across the water through public meetings it would not have been possible for the Connolly Labour College to have gone on during the past winter; and with only a few noble exceptions the labour movement in Ireland had not backed the decision of last year's Congress. The affiliated organisations had not subscribed as they should have done.

Miss O'Connor thought the National Executive may have given a better example to the Trades Unions by giving something more than £25 to support the Connolly Labour College.

Chairman—We gave £25 for the current year. He hoped that the National Executive would always help the College along.



## FOOD CONTROL.

In conjunction with the paragraphs in the Report on Food Control, the following resolutions were taken :

(1) " That this Congress asserts the right of the Irish workers to a full supply of Irish-raised food at rates they can afford to pay; and with a view to efficiently distributing such supplies of food as may be made available, instructs the National Executive to promote in each town the formation of Food Committees, controlled by Labour bodies, which shall formulate the workers' demands and direct the operation of such business agencies as the workers may establish to handle the supplies.

(2) " 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."

Mr. Hughes (I.T.G.W.U.), in proposing resolution No. 1, said it was an assertion of the principle that the people of Ireland had a right to live in Ireland and get the necessary food to maintain life. It was also to establish that the prices of food should be fixed in Ireland not at the rates that are paid by wealthier countries that import our food, but at rates that can be paid by the ordinary people in Ireland. It is an assertion of the rights of humanity over the rights of property. The Labour Party of Ireland had on one or two articles of food taken action to control prices, and its action had been effective. The question of control of food export and fixing prices of food has been found to be a very complicated one, needing expert handling. The second portion of the resolution emphasised the difference between revolution in words and revolution in action. He had occasion to decry the references of Professor O'Rahilly that any distinction could be drawn between the Irish Labour movement and the Irish Nation. There is no distinction. " Who are the people of Ireland, apart from Irish Labour?" he asked. The Labour Party has on the spot the business machinery to handle goods. They should form co-operative stores controlled by the workers. He hoped the National Executive and Congress would direct energy and attention to that vital phase of the question which, in its entirety, was one of life and death to the Irish Nation.

Mr. Seumas Byrne, seconding, drew attention to the fact that the price of butter had gone up 20 per cent. in fourteen days, and that in the summer they were paying 3s. 4d. a lb. for it, it would be much higher in price shortly. The people at the moment could hardly get sufficient to keep them, no matter what the increases in wages, in view of the ever-increasing cost of all necessary commodities. If they sat tight and allowed the price of one essential food to be raised 20 per cent in fourteen



days, it would be up 100 per cent. in a few months. There was no action taken by the National Executive during the last twelve months so much appreciated by the people of Ireland as that which placed an embargo on certain food exports and regulated the prices of these—butter and bacon—subsequently. He hoped that the Executive would set to work immediately with these Food Committees with the view of putting a stop to this abnormal increasing of food prices and huge profiteering going on at the moment.

Mr. Bradley (A.E.U.) urged that they ought to put into operation the socialisation of the means of living. It was their bounden duty to see that the necessary machinery was created so as to give food to the people of Ireland. A real co-operative movement should be brought out and profiteering by the capitalist classes swept away.

Mr. Hart (Dockers), supporting the resolution, recalled that when the embargo was placed by the National Executive on butter and bacon the Dockers obeyed the instruction not to export it, whereas other Trade Unions were handling these very same commodities for export. During that embargo they were also confronted with the difficulties of the capitalist classes trying all manner of means to get commodities shipped. A case of butter being surrounded with eggs, for instance. When that was discovered it was decided in future not to ship any eggs from the firm that had so acted. It was very necessary that the National Executive should give the food question its immediate attention, and that if it did not devise means to bring down the cost of living, it would at least keep it stationary.

Mr. Johnson said that the matter was a very important one, and the National Executive may claim that the action taken on it during the year had been of a very important character. It was so successful at the time that people thought they should be able to repeat that action ad lib. The action taken in respect to the embargo on bacon, butter and live pigs was in accordance with the policy enunciated at Congresses during the last three or four years when questions affecting the food supplies of the country had been under discussion. "We believed, and Congress confirmed our assertion," he continued, "that the people of this country had the first claim upon the food produced in this country, and we may go further than that and say they have a right to that food at the absolute cost of production as viewed from the labour standpoint." He wished to give credit to the Dockers for, in the first instance, being the people who decided on the policy of the embargo; and amongst the first men to take that action were the Belfast Dockers. The matter was first raised in connection with the two-day strike, and they all knew the developments that followed. There was no doubt that the action that was taken was effective. It impressed the capitalist elements in Ireland and the labour elements in other countries as to the possibilities of similar action for a similar purpose. "But,"



he said, "we were in an advantageous position over the English workers. We are the controllers of the food that we export. They are not the producers of their food, they are the consumers; we are the producers. We were able to follow the lead of the British Government, the German Government, the French Government, the Australian Government, and all the other governments during the war which controlled the essentials of life in so far as they could control them." The effect was to bring down the prices of these particular commodities very rapidly. However, it should be remembered that the increases had been rapid and abnormal following an extraordinary series of events, the control and sudden de-control. The position to-day in regard to the steady increase in prices of butter and bacon is not analogous. The present method of arriving at market prices they did not admit was a just one, but they had to move with caution and consider all points when bringing into operation the powers of the embargo. Consequently, they entered into consultation with the farmers and their organisations and the merchants and their organisation to see could they arrive at an understanding in regard to the retention in Ireland of her food production, and arrive at, if possible, reasonable prices beyond which the embargo would be put into operation. In the case of the bacon, for instance, an agreement was arrived at, and prices came down. The Northern curers broke the agreement that their representatives entered into. The Northern curers agreed upon the retention within Ireland of sufficient supplies for the ordinary requirements of the people at the controlled price. Members outside the curers' organisation in the North refused to abide by that agreement, except in so far as it should apply to stocks they then had in their stores. They shipped all they could at the highest prices they could get, with the result that the Southern curers, who were keeping to their compact, were met in the markets of the country by the Northern curers, who were able to pay higher prices for the live pigs. The Chairman and he went to Belfast on the matter, and consulted with the Labour Party there and the Trades' Council. "We were assured," he said, "that the increase of 4d. to 6d. a lb. for bacon did not concern the people there very much. They had not yet begun to feel the effects of the advances, and we hesitated to ask the Belfast Dockers to re-impose the embargo." There was also trouble looming on the railways at the time, and solidarity was required in respect to that. They had it also in mind that at 2s. 8d. per lb. Irish bacon was to a considerable degree outside the reach of the poorer classes of workers in this country, and that if the embargo were renewed it would be to a great extent on behalf of a class of people that had not a very strong public feeling on the matter. That was the reason they did not re-impose the embargo. He thought it fair to the Southern curers to say that they made an attempt, and succeeded, in keeping their compact until the keen competition of the North compelled



them to go beyond these fixed rates or close down. The Report of the National Executive showed that they had gone some little way towards trying to bring into being something in the nature of a combined Council which would represent the working agriculturist and working townsman. They felt that it would be an excellent accomplishment if the agricultural workers of Ireland and the urban workers were brought into unison. Assent had been obtained to the proposition that the people of Ireland had first right to the food produced in the country. Agricultural workers must be taught to go a little further, and with combination between them and the urban workers, they would control the food supplies. "We have something to give them," he said, "if we are going to take something from them, and if we could devise ways and means to get them to unite with us for the economic conservation of Ireland's resources we have accomplished pretty well all we require to accomplish." The way to effect that combination was to get into touch with the working farmers, and make it clear to them that their enemies are the capitalist exploiters. The problem of food supplies and food prices brought them to recognise the interdependence of nations. When they spoke of prices and talked of markets it must be at once admitted that they were in the coils of the capitalist system. "The end that we seek," he concluded, "is the inauguration of a co-operative commonwealth, a Workers' Republic. That cannot be brought about in a year, but much could be brought about by a genuine organisation of the working agriculturists with the workers of other industries." (Applause.)

Mr. McCormack said that if the export of butter were stopped it was also essential to stop the export of cheese in order to achieve their objective. He expressed the fear that butter would be 5s. a lb., for purchases during the season that were put into cold storage.

Chairman—I am happy to be in the position to be able to inform Congress that provision has already been made for the winter requirements. At the last conference we had with the Department of Agriculture the position was made secure. We have a guarantee from all the people in the industry that sufficient supplies for the requirements of the people of Ireland will be cold-stored, and not at a greater price than at present pre-winter's supply will be cold-stored.

Miss O'Connor said that butter that had been in cold storage up to last week had changed hands and been sent over to England. There was very little butter in cold storage now.

Mr. Johnson—It is from now on, from August 1st, that next winter's supply will be cold-stored.

The Chairman—As a matter of fact, no one will be allowed to export butter from Ireland except under licence, and that is not issued unless there is proof that their quota of the total amount required for home supply up to next spring at a price not greater than rules to-day is in cold storage.



Mr. Irvine (Belfast) proposed resolution No. 2. Councillor Houston (Belfast) seconded. Ireland, he said, was pre-eminently an agriculturist country, and the industry which gave the greatest proportion of work to the workers. If the industry were allowed to diminish further than at present it would be disastrous. The time, he believed, had come when the ranches from Fair Head to Mizen Head should be broken up. If that were only done thousands of Irish workers would be made happy on Irish soil instead of having to go to the ends of the earth to eke out a miserable existence. The demand he made was not unreasonable, for no person should have a right to the exclusive use of any portion of Irish soil unless it was used for the benefit of the Irish people. Congress had a right to demand that that be so, for it was not the farmers secured the rights they at present enjoyed in their "holdings"—and these rights were much more advantageous than those of any farmer in the British Isles, and most of the farmers on the Continent of Europe—but the workers in the towns and cities of Ireland. Their fight was not intended to banish extensive landlords and establish a worse type. (Hear, hear). He continued to examine the industrial side of the question, and also its bearing on stopping emigration, on which point he drew attention to the fact that within three months of this year 1,500 young men and women had emigrated. He appealed to Congress to demand the breaking up of the ranches.

Mr. Eamonn Rooney (Drogheda) said that the regulation of the Department of Agriculture that farmers should put under tillage an extra 15 per cent. of their land was not being carried out. And at the conference on the question one of the farmers of Meath said that the Department had given them an undertaking that it would not enforce the 15 per cent. Too much reliance could not be placed on the assurances of the Department of Agriculture. Furthermore, there was no use relying on any regulation by the Government of occupation. It had no machinery for enforcing these regulations. "We have got," he added, "to find the machinery ourselves. The potential legislation is there, and the military organisation is in the country, and forces that if properly co-ordinated can secure a much higher percentage than 15 under tillage."

The Chairman then put the resolutions, together with the Report as stated, and they were unanimously agreed to.

## INTERNATIONAL.

On this part of National Executive Report,

Mr. Eamonn Rooney moved that the following sentences be deleted: . . . "in the present state of disorganisation while there exists so much conflict of opinion within the Labour and Socialist parties of the world respecting the constitution of any future International organ of the working class, its functions

and its relations with the various State Governments" . . . . He maintained that this reference was misleading, and that it was for other and stronger reasons that they declined to affiliate with the International.

Mr. Carpenter seconded for the same reasons, and also as a direct challenge to the representatives who went to Berne; whether it is their reason or the reason of a majority of the Executive. They went to Berne to help the left wing of the revolutionary movement. Mr. Johnson had said they stood for a Workers' Republic, but the Second International does not, as they understood a Workers' Republic, and that is the reason for the recommendation that there be not affiliation with the Second International. The only International that stands for a Workers' Republic is the Moscow, the Third International, the International of the Soviet.

Mr. Nolan (Bookbinders) maintained that when they consented to affiliate with the International they did not give the delegates plenary power over all its principles. The Report from the Berne Conference expressed full acquiescence with all the statutes and constitution laid down from Paris to Stuttgart. It was said in their report to the International that since 1896 the Irish Socialist Party had been unceasingly working to distribute literature of a Marxian character. That is where the crux came in, for they could not acquiesce in the Marxian doctrines.

The Chairman—We are not here to discuss the affairs of the Irish Socialist Party. We are here to do our own business. We are now simply discussing the Report, giving the reason for not affiliating with the Second International.

Mr. Nolan—Are we not identical with the Irish Socialist Party.

Chairman—There was a joint deputation to the International, but we are not responsible for the action of any organisation outside our own.

Mr. Duffy (Drapers) asked were they in order in discussing a matter that was fully discussed twelve months ago.

Mr. Nolan continued that all parts of the country were building up the country according to National ideas, and the first thing to consider is the question of raising the edifice out of the minds and brains of Irishmen without any reference to Internationalism. "What," he asked, "did Internationalism do to avert the great war in 1914? Internationalism could never submerge the national idea."



## Standing Orders Committee Report:

### IRISH CLERICAL WORKERS' UNION.

The Chairman of the Standing Orders Committee announced that the Committee made the following recommendation:

"Committee had before it a request from Mr. Logue to admit to Congress three other delegates as representing the Clerical Workers' Union. The Committee had gone into the matter at great length and brought in other delegates whom Mr. Logue considers do not represent that Union. Having listened to evidence the Committee came to the following decision: That having heard representatives of both sides claiming to be Irish Clerical and Allied Workers' Unions, and considered the report and findings of the National Executive thereon, Standing Orders Committee recommends that the first application—that of Mr. Griffin—be taken as coming from the governing body of the Union, and the credentials issued in connection therewith are in order and in conformity with the Constitution of Congress. This is without prejudice or expression of opinion on the matters in dispute in the Union concerned.

Mr. McIntyre moved the adoption of the Report, and was seconded by Mr. Hickey.

Mr. Logue (Dublin) said that he would move on behalf of the Irish Clerical Workers' Union—

Chairman—I beg to remind you that you are not a delegate from that Union, and therefore cannot move a resolution in their behalf.

Mr. Logue—Then I move as President of the Dublin Trades' Council that that portion of the Standing Orders Committee report dealing with the dispute in the ranks of the Irish Clerical Workers' Union be deleted. And I do so because of this fact: the Committee had no authority to deal with it, and the case is awaiting the decision of the Dail Eireann Court; and any action taken here may prejudice the case.

Mr. Farrelly seconded.

Mr. Nolan thought that neither party should be admitted to Congress until the question was settled.

The Chairman said that he was not going to be frightened by having Dail Eireann thrown at him. "Our position is this," he said, "we are the Labour Party of Ireland" (hear, hear), and on all labour matters we will accept no dictation from Dail Eireann or anybody else. (Applause). In this matter the National Executive got applications from two people claiming to be one

body. They were invited to come before the National Executive to give them an opportunity of stating their cases. When they did so it was said that the question in dispute was going to be dealt with in another court. "I said," he added, "that we are going to be the judges from the Trade Union standpoint, and our decision is going to be final. I will now ask for a vote, and let it be decided whether we are going to be the supreme authority on matters of Labour or not.

On a poll there voted:

For Mr. Lague's motion	...	...	11
Against	...	...	153

The Chairman declared the amendment lost, and then put the Standing Orders Committee's recommendations, when

Councillor Daly (Dublin) proposed, as a further amendment, that the Report of Standing Orders Committee be varied by amending that portion dealing with the Irish Clerical Workers' Union; that both sections be excluded from Congress pending the decision of Dail Eireann, and that this Congress agrees to abide by the decision of Dail Eireann.

The Chairman said that this amendment was only trying to get the same motion in again, and he was not going to accept it.

The Report was then put and agreed to, with one dissentient.

#### **BELFAST EXPELLED WORKERS.**

The Chairman of Standing Orders Committee announced that a deputation of the Belfast Expelled Workers had been heard, and put before Committee the serious aspect of the position with which they are confronted. The Committee looking on the matter in such a serious light, it recommends that at a Private Session to-morrow at 9.30 the statements of the men affected be heard, and that Congress consider action to be taken.

Agreed.

### **IRISH LABOUR PARTY AND TRADES UNION CONGRESS.**

#### **THIRD DAY.—AUGUST 4th, 1920.**

When the Congress resumed at 9.30 the Chairman introduced the following deputation from the Belfast Expelled Workers—Messrs. Travers, O'Donovan and Hanna.

Mr. Travers, who was cordially received, first addressed the meeting in Irish. They came to Congress to ask that the principles of Trade Unionism be enforced in Belfast and to say that organised blackguardism must be crushed. They, in Belfast, were struggling for the right to live and work as Trade Unionists. The enemy was doing all in their power to prevent that. "We have appealed," he said, "to the management committees in Belfast, but we being in a minority were powerless, and they told us in effect that they would do nothing for us. In these circumstances we come before you



to ask that you put pressure on the Executives across the water to see that we get the right to live and work in Belfast." He recalled that at a meeting of the men of Workman and Clark's shipyard on July 23rd last, and to which were imported people from Bangor and other places, an appeal was made to the basest passions to stir up religious bigotry, and to drive Sinn Feiners out of Ulster and not to allow "rotten Prods." in loyal Ulster. "A 'rotten Prod.' is a man," he explained, "with the same amount of toleration as ourselves—to give the right to all workers to think and act on civil and religious affairs as one may think fit. A "rotten Prod." is the same as a "Mickie." In 1849 seven thousand Roman Catholic families were cleared out of Armagh to make room for the Protestants. That policy is still being pursued to-day, and the way in which the unemployment question and the housing difficulties are settled is to put the "Mickies" and the "rotten Prods." out of their houses and their jobs and fill them with real "true blues." On July 21 men armed with sledge-hammers and other weapons swooped down on the Catholic workers in the shipyards, and did not even give them a chance for their lives. There was no aggression towards them, no provocation, or no "rebel" cries. The gates were smashed down with sledges, the vests and shirts of those at work were torn open to see were the men wearing any Catholic emblems, and then woe betide the man who was. One man was set upon, thrown into the dock, had to swim the Musgrave Channel, and having been pelted with rivets had to swim two or three miles, to emerge in streams of blood and rush to the police office in a nude state. "These men tell us," he said, "that they will not work with us, if we are not one of their number. Unless one signs a declaration that he is not belonging to the Sinn Fein Party, does not intend to belong to it, that he will not work or act with them (Sinn Fein), he will not get work in the Belfast shipyards." He proceeded to quote from the "Belfast Evening Telegraph" reports of this Orange meeting of July 21st, at which Mr. John Holness seconded a resolution repudiating anyone in the works who had alliance with Sinn Fein, or the party of the Red Flag, red revolution. The speech resounded with "Dollie's Brae," "Kick the Pope" sentiments; and in his appeal said that as employees they would stand by the employers, and the employers would stand by them (laughter). John Crumlin said that they would not, as "loyal workers in a loyal State," again work with disloyal Sinn Fein workers, whose object was to overthrow the great British Empire which "our sons and brothers had to build up." A Mr. Wells boasted of the fact that he was one of "Carson's navy." The meeting closed with the singing of the "National Anthem" and a hearty invitation to those present, and who were not in the Orange Order, the Ulster Volunteer force, or Ulster Labour Party, to join at once. At first sight this matter may seem a mere recurrence of Orange bigotry, and but simply and solely a religious question. "It is not," he declared. "It is



first, last and all the time an economic question. The capitalists view with alarm the progressive spirit that is sweeping over this country. They see that Sinn Fein, the Republican element, is breaking the old political prejudices and barriers; and that the Labour movement equally is broadening the Orangeman's mind so quickly that it would be only a matter of time when the Boyne would be bridged, and that then the ascendancy gang would lose their power. He explained the insidious methods by which a worker's views were sounded in order that he may be marked out. "We sent a deputation," he concluded, "to the management of Harland and Wolff's to see if the men affected could be segregated in order that we may have a sporting chance and to have a military guard placed at the entrance to the place where we would be working. That was turned down. We suggested to the management to close down the works and give the Orangeman a dose of his own physic and teach him the hardships of unemployment. They told us that the hooligan element would break loose and that property would suffer. So you see that property in Belfast, as in other towns, is more sacred than life. Workers were flying in all directions from Belfast to seek employment. A good many others stood their ground. I was offered a job in Birmingham, but thought that it would be cowardly to leave Belfast during this crisis. I thought that, on principle, it was better to face the music, and that if we are to go down that we were going down in a good cause. (Applause).

Mr. O'Donovan said that in the North of Ireland they were living under conditions that did not prevail anywhere else on God's earth. They came to that Congress to try and better themselves in the Trade Union movement—they were only trying to uphold the standard of the natural right to work and the right to live.

Mr. Hanna, who admitted that he had had to put three thousand miles between Belfast and himself to open up his small mind and rid himself of ideas imbued into him, said that when he went to work at Harland and Wolff's on the Monday morning the foreman came to him and advised him not to start work that day. He did not leave his work, but stuck on to Wednesday. "It was," he added, "odds on me amongst the Prods." The men now driven from their work in Belfast were, as events had always proved, the back-bone of Trade Unionism in the North. When labour troubles came there it was D. R. Campbell, Hazlett and Tom Johnson were looked to in order to help them out. In these crises the men were all good fellows, but then a psychological moment in politics came, and these men were driven to the extent of playing the "kid's game." When that moment came, the Catholic workers were driven out; and even in the Catholic quarter, when men presented themselves for work, the foreman explained that he was sorry and all the rest of it, but had to refuse them just because they were Catholics. There were 400 Protestant ship-workers driven out. Even the sons of a Protestant by



his first wife, who was also a Protestant, had to go because their father re-married and took a Catholic woman as his wife. Toleration, friends! During the strike for the 44-hours week the capitalist classes saw that the Belfast workers were one. That unity had to be broken, and it was accomplished by appeals to the basest passion and intensive bigotry. When that intolerance and bigotry cooled and simmered down, those now expelled from work because of religious or political or social beliefs could perhaps crawl back. "We don't want that humiliating condition. We want to go back with the God-given right to work for our wives and families, the God-given right to work and enjoy the fruits of our labour, irrespective of creed or class" (applause). The objective behind the present situation in Belfast was to split the workers, and that was proved in the fact that meetings organised to drive out the Catholics were held in the yards of Workman and Clark; but when Jim Larkin went outside the yards to organise the workers in the Labour movement for their own benefit he got six months in gaol. Any man who spoke in favour of the advancement of labour was a victim, and in this connection he pointed to the work of Simon Greenspon, a Jew, who did great work during the 44-hours strike, and was now in England expounding the cause of the Belfast expelled workers. They were proud of Greenspon. He expressed the hope that pressure would be brought to bear on the Trade Unions across the water to pay the men locked-out their full wages, and mentioned that the Plumbers' Society were giving their members £2 a week. That should be done in equity and justice, for the men affected were fighting one grand cause—the right to live. (Applause).

Mr. Hennessy (N.U.R.) said he was sure that Congress listened to the statement of the deputation on the present situation in Belfast with feelings of the greatest disgust. They would stand by their fellow-workers in Belfast, and would not rest until they had extricated them from their present position, and had secured the right to live, as God had given them, to work in Belfast or any other city or town in Great Britain or Ireland in which they thought it necessary to make a home. The occasion would have to be met by action, and, as on other occasions, they looked to the National Executive to give them a lead. They looked to the Executive to take the situation in hand immediately that Congress was over, and decide on the best steps to be taken to do away with the very pitiable state of affairs now existing. There was no doubt about it but the Catholic workers of Belfast were going through their hour of agony. He proposed—"That this Congress views with regret and disgust the serious attacks made on the workers of Belfast, and authorises the National Executive to immediately take whatever action may be desired to protect the interests of our victimised fellow-workers." In fighting this question the Executive would not alone have the unflinching support of the railwaymen, but of every organised worker in Ireland.



Mr. Campbell (Belfast T.C.) seconded. The history of the National Executive for the last couple of years gave them every confidence in passing this matter on to it. There was no doubt but that the events leading to the present state of affairs in Belfast were fomented by the thinkers on the opposite side in order to destroy the unity that had grown, following the solidarity of labour in Belfast on the 44-hours week strike. There was some high political move, and the economic one of the immediate moment, at the back of the outburst, which was swelled up by a six months' propaganda in the Press.

Mr. Bradley (A.E.U.) said he did not think the resolution moved was explanatory enough, and moved the following as an amendment: "That the delegates assembled at the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress regret that Belfast has proved again the most fertile soil in which to sow the seeds of dissension in favour of capitalism and against Trades Unionism. Trade Unionists demand the right to work and the right to live, and consider the organised onslaught on certain workers in Belfast a direct stab at labour, the workers only safeguard. We call upon all Trade Unions to use every means at their disposal to see that their members can carry on their ordinary occupations without molestation. Further, if by common sense and reasoning the Belfast men do not refrain from molestation, this Congress instructs its Executive authority to bring into operation ways and means, even of a very drastic character, to ensure freedom for organised workers, Independent of what views they hold, religious or political."

The Chairman rules this was not an amendment, and suggested that if Mr. Hennessy and Mr. Bradley conferred they could agree on the wording of a resolution.

Mr. Bradley agreed, and went on to say that it was necessary to preserve the greater amount of self-control, the wider and more troubled became the times, in order that they should not do anything of a rash character that may hinder their progressive movement. They wanted to give all freedom of action and the right to hold any views so long as these views did not come into direct conflict with the right of all to live and work in a free country. To achieve that purpose, action of a very drastic character may have to be adopted—even to the extent of stopping all imports into Belfast. "We will," he said, "have to give them a dose of their own medicine; and we cannot fight these hooligans with gloves on, but must use our bare fists to it."

Mr. Collins (Electricians) mentioned that Greenspon was the member of his Union who at their Executive meeting placed the case of the Belfast workers before it, and asked for assistance for the men locked out in Belfast. "I moved," he said, "a resolution at that Executive meeting that our members affected be granted victimisation benefit, and that instructions be given the Irish Labour Party to take immediate action in the matter. I could not get a seconder for that resolution on the Executive.



And I was told if I changed my resolution to read 'lock-out benefit' I would get a man from London to second it. And I had to do so." Their general secretary at that meeting tried to cloud the issue and make out that the present situation was brought about by retaliatory methods. That reasoning was based on one of the officials of their Union and a member of the Executive driving forty miles in a char-a-banc and seeing a couple of police barracks burned down. He denied the suggestion that there was aggression by their section of the workers to call for retaliation, but seeing the attitude of the official element of British Labour he had to consider the position, and carried a resolution sending Greenspon to get into touch with the British Labour Party, but he had not succeeded yet in getting that interview. "I hope the Executive will take up the whole matter immediately; but, for God's sake, do not depend on any support from the official element in the British Labour Party."

Mr. Cathal O'Shannon said that if the workers in the shipyards and other industries in Belfast, even though in a minority, against whom these pogroms were carried out, took a lesson from the workers in other countries it would not be quite so easy to drive them out. They should take up seriously, as an essential of the Trade Union and Labour movement, the founding of labour police or trade union police. The whole question was whether a man with his trade union card is not going to be allowed to work without the application of any terms except those contained in the rules of his Union. "We say that in other parts of Ireland strong on Republican lines, that if anybody asked a trade unionist to step out of his work if he did not give a pledge of allegiance to Dail Eireann, that we would fight on that issue just exactly as the men now out in Belfast are fighting." (Applause). Mention had been made of drastic action and measures in this matter, but they should not forget in this connection that they could only apply part of the remedy, for they did not control industry or trade unions in Belfast. In a somewhat similar situation in Hungary the Communists and trade unionists were pogrommed as the workers are now in Belfast. Certain action was taken, but it was taken universally. Therefore, with the control of the big industrial organisations, the Labour Party across the water had a weapon in its hand which, if they wield it, would soon settle the question of the Belfast shipyards. But they did not use it for themselves, they did not use it for Ireland, and he did not believe they would do it for Belfast. "We must," he concluded, "therefore go along and tell them that this is not a political question, but an industrial question. It is not a political question except in the broad sense. It is a trade union question. It is the last battle of capitalism and landlordism against the rising working class." (Applause).

Mr. Anthony (Cork), supporting the resolution, moved an addendum that "It be an instruction to the National Executive

to request the various bodies affiliated to this Trade and Labour Congress to levy themselves for the financial support of the victimised men of Belfast." In that way, he considered, the hands of the Executive would be strengthened. The phrase "drastic action," he pointed out, was capable of one or two interpretations; and Mr. Cathal O'Shannon had pointed out the danger in one direction if it took a certain form. He was sure they could leave the question of action to the Executive; and that the Executive, with the history it had in the Labour movement for the last few years, would do nothing wrong. If the trade and Labour bodies put their hands in their pockets as a tentative measure they would be doing the right thing at the moment.

Chairman—I would ask Mr. Anthony to withdraw that addendum.

Mr. Anthony—I will.

Chairman—It is a question of principle and not of relief. He added that the workers of Ireland would fight to bring the issue to a successful close. They had to make it clear that they were not concerned with men's political or religious beliefs. They demanded the right of the Belfast Catholic or Protestant to live and work, and that he must have freedom of thought. Mr. Hanna informed him that the number of persons affected is 12,000; and that one-fourth of them are Protestants. He then put the revised resolution as agreed to by Messrs. Hennessy and Bradley: "That this Congress views with regret and disgust the serious attacks made on the workers of Belfast, and authorise the incoming National Executive to take immediately whatever action they may deem necessary to protect the interests of our fellow-workers."

It was carried with acclamation, and Messrs. Travers and Hanna thanked Congress for its action.

#### **LATE JOHN CLARKE (Typographical Association, Belfast).**

The Chairman said that since Congress last met John Clarke passed away. He asked the delegates to rise in their places and signify their respect to his memory.

This was done.

#### **INTERNATIONAL.**

The discussion on reference in the National Executive Report to the Internationale was continued, and in connection therewith the following resolution was taken:

"Whereas the Second Internationale at a recent Conference in Lucerne passed a resolution embodying the principle of recognition of the right of Britain to send an Army of Occupation into Armenia; and whereas, in the opinion of this Congress, their attitude in regard to the Soviet Government of Russia is not above suspicion, this Congress hereby directs the National Executive to withdraw the affiliation of the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress from



the Second Internationale immediately; and, furthermore, directs its affiliation with the Third Internationale."

—Dublin Trades Council.

Mr. Farrelly moved and Mr. Mitchell seconded the adoption of the resolution.

Mr. MacPartlin (Carpenters) opposed the resolution. He never knew of the existence of an Irish Socialist Party. He knew cranks who thought they were Socialists. There were men like Walter Carpenter, Rooney and William O'Brien—

Mr. O'Brien—Mr. Chairman, I can produce documentary evidence that I am not a Socialist, and that I have never been a Socialist (laughter).

Mr. MacPartlin said that the ruling idea, the one common factor, with the Irish people, was to have Ireland identified all over the world by the workers as a separate nation. "How many," he asked, "like myself, know anything about the Internationale, or want to know anything about it? We want to know about Ireland and the Labour movement in Ireland. He asked Congress to turn down Rooney and Carpenter and the resolution, and leave the Report as it stood.

Mr. Duffy (Drapers) wished to point out that the resolution was not in order, because it asked for certain reasons that they should withdraw from the Second Internationale. "You cannot," he said, "withdraw from a body with which you were never affiliated. And I ask you, Mr. Chairman, to refuse this motion of the Dublin Trades Council, for it is founded on ignorance, and is not in order."

The Chairman read the first paragraph on page 31, which states: "To remove some evident misunderstandings, it is desirable to point out that sending the Irish Labour delegation to Berne conference did not involve affiliation to what is called the 'Second International.'"

Mr. Cathal O'Shannon supported Mr. Rooney's motion, and also Mr. Duffy's contention, that the Dublin Trades' Council resolution on the Third Internationale was out of order. It was quite clear that the Report meant to make it plain that the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress never affiliated. The invitation to affiliate with the Second Internationale was sent to the National Executive, and it decided not to affiliate, and on that the Communists and brother Nolan's friends all agreed, but for different reasons. He supported Mr. Rooney, because the Executive might have expressed the reasons that that particular meeting of the National Executive did not affiliate. "My reason," he said, "would pretty well be known, because the Second Internationale burst up at the beginning of the war, and since then it is a moribund body, dead and done with, having nobody supporting it except the pro-war social democrats in

Germany and the pro-war Labour Party in England. It is practically dead and damned. If it were a fact that this Congress were not affiliated to it because of the present state of disorganisation, and where there would exist so much conflict of opinion, if the question arose, that is a reason why Ireland should be in, in order that our little efforts may be directed towards making a real and effective instrument out of the Second Internationale." The Dublin Trades Council resolution was out of order, and it appeared that those who proposed it did not know the difference between the Second and Third Internationale. They did not know anything about it. "The constitution of the Third Internationale is a Communist constitution," said Mr. O'Shannon, "and I tell Mr. MacPartlin that the Socialist Party of Ireland is a Communist Party. And I don't believe that the Third Internationale can admit to affiliation a non-communist organisation such as the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress. The resolution ought to be withdrawn, and he asked Congress to show that the particular reasons in the Report are not the reasons why they did not affiliate to the Second Internationale.

Mr. Thomas Johnson, defending the National Executive's Report, said that he presumed that Mr. Rooney's motion was to refer the paragraph back, because they could not delete the work of the National Executive. "It is the opinion," he continued, "of the majority of the Executive that for the reasons stated in the Report it is not desirable to attempt affiliation with either the Second or Third Internationale at the present time. I contend that the reasons given, if there were no other reasons, are sufficient. Some of us may have additional reasons; but while the present state of disorganisation exists there will be so much conflict of opinion within the Labour and Socialist parties of the world respecting the constitution of any future Internationale, that we should not, in my opinion and in the opinion of the majority of the Executive, seek affiliation, because we were not in a position to decide on the merits or demerits of the policy the working-class organisations of the world should pursue respecting their relations to their governments, in regard to dictatorship of the proletariat, etc. Their principles are in divergence. We have not discussed them, but they are being discussed throughout the world. While there is this disorganisation, while there is this universal conflict of opinion in the different countries, I say it would be a calamity for us to enter into controversy about them in this country (hear, hear). In the present state of affairs we are better doing our own work. Let our entry into the Internationale be on the work we are doing. Let the Internationale come to us and say they are prepared to follow our lead, for we are doing things that they are only preaching about (applause). We are doing the things, and they are talking as to whether these things ought to be done (applause). I submit that our explanation is sufficient in itself, and should remain in the Executive Report.



The Chairman put Mr. Rooney's motion, and on a poll there voted :

For	...	...	...	...	54
Against	...	...	...	...	97

The motion was accordingly declared lost. The resolution moved by the Dublin Trades Council was withdrawn, and the reference in Report then put and adopted.

### FRATERNAL DELEGATES' ADDRESS.

The Chairman introduced the fraternal delegates—Messrs. E. Shinwell (representing the Scottish Trade Union Congress) and Saklatvala (of the Workers' Welfare League of India). He said that a telegram had been received from Mr. James Hood, Kilmarnock, Scotland, who was appointed to accompany Mr. Shinwell, saying that owing to illness he was unable to travel and wishing the Congress success.

Mr. E. Shinwell (Scottish Trades Union Congress), who was received with applause, extended to Congress greetings of a most cordial kind from their comrades in the Scottish Labour movement. He did so with particular pleasure, having regard to the intimate relations that had always existed between the Irish and Scottish Trades Union Congresses. They had been good enough to send delegates to the Scottish Congress, and they responded. In that way a real genuine bond of fellowship had been created between the two movements. In the earlier part of that Congress speakers had referred in scathing and disparaging terms to the Labour Party on the other side. He suggested that the generalisation was rather too sweeping in character. There remained in the Labour Party many who were profoundly dissatisfied with the ambiguous and vacillating utterances of the leaders of the British Labour Party, and particularly in regard to their ambiguity on the Irish question. (Hear, hear). He was very glad to say that the Scottish Labour movement had made its position perfectly clear, and he had been asked to convey to them a resolution which was unanimously agreed to no later than July 10 at a special congress convened by the Scottish Trade Union movement. That resolution says: "That this Congress views with alarm the present grave position in Ireland, where every demand of the people for freedom is met by military repression; and Congress expresses the opinion that the only solution of the Irish problem is in the granting of complete self-government to the Irish people, to whom it expresses its sympathy in their struggle for freedom, and further demands that the engine of repression, the army of occupation, be withdrawn from Ireland; and that the popularly elected representatives shall be made responsible for keeping order and making laws for the government of the country" An addendum to that resolution was subsequently adopted to the effect that "Congress calls upon its

affiliated organisations to refuse to manufacture, handle and transport munitions or transport troops for the purpose of repression in Ireland." (Applause). He considered his visit to Cork on the present occasion unique and in the somewhat rare and refreshing intervals that his nerves were not disturbed by machine guns, and that was not requested to "halt" at the point of murderous-looking weapons being held up to his nose, he was able to exploit hitherto unknown regions and make exhaustive inquiries on the present state of affairs. He had also listened with interest to the discussion on the deplorable and tragic situation in Belfast. And he would go back to Scotland to tell of all he had seen and heard, in the hope that the Scottish movement would be of still greater assistance to Ireland in the future. "The first thing," he continued, "that I wish to say is that, in my judgment, there will be no peace in Ireland until complete independence has been established." (Applause). And, again, that the first approach to peace must come through the withdrawal of the army of occupation. And over and above all, that if there were to be reservations, these must be subject to the consent of the Irish people, and cannot be imposed from without. Furthermore, and which I believe to be of the utmost importance, that the feud between the Irish people and the British Government may assume such proportions as to create a chasm that will become unapproachable, and, in addition, that this feud may involve the British workers. I have reached these conclusions, and my future policy, and I hope the future policy of the Scottish movement, will be determined by these conclusions." Proceeding, he struck a note of criticism, and said that unless the Labour movement in Ireland grew up alongside of and assisted its influence in the political movement the problems of labour would remain to be solved after political independence had been secured. (Hear, hear). He also suggested that it was desirable, having regard to the whole facts of the case, and particularly bearing in mind what was happening in Belfast at present, to get into closer communication with the workers of England and Scotland, and place before them in the Trades Union branches and elsewhere the facts both regard to the Belfast situation and the stupid and pernicious activities of the military in the South and West. He was convinced that the workers on the other side were unacquainted with the actual facts of the case, and for that the people of Ireland were partly to blame, for it was their duty to conduct an extensive propaganda campaign on the other side in order to make known the real facts. With regard to big Scottish problems, he said that they were disillusioned. They were promised a new world, which had not yet arrived. On the contrary, they found that war had become a permanent feature of their national life; that democracy was at a discount; that the Kaiser had not yet been offered up on the altar of patriotic sacrifice; that indemnities were not forthcoming; that, in short, the indemnity policy had the opposite effect to that originally



intended; and they had come to the conclusion that "our first and immediate task must be to overthrow the present British Government. "We may," he said, "differ with regard to method and certain details, but in this fundamental question the Scottish movement is united—the present British Government must go." In Scotland they were confronted with a great many after-war problems, particularly in the industrial centres, where there was a considerable amount of unemployed labour. On the Clyde practically one thousand men were dismissed every Saturday from the shipyards, and that has been going on for some time. Trades Unionists were beginning to feel the pinch. The official trade union had itself to blame, for in the agitation over twelve months ago for a reduction of hours of labour it criticised the movement of the Clyde workers, and did all it could to hamper and impede their forces. The authorities became alarmed and, following custom, sent tanks and all the machines of war down with the excuse that private property was in danger. "The men were beaten down," he said, "and some of us for our sins enjoyed the hospitality of His Majesty in some of the institutions on the other side. But that movement was the first great industrial movement in Scotland. It will go on and grow, and if the official trades union movement is not prepared to recognise the new spirit and the new constitution in the movement, then the official movement must go the way of obsolete things." He mentioned that at present Scotland was in the throes of a great rent war against the Rent Act, which gave landlords liberty to demand an increased rent of forty per cent. from the tenants. It had been decided not to pay rent until the obnoxious Act was withdrawn from the Statute Book. On the question of organisation of labour they had also conferred, and they were no longer going to permit the capitalist classes to decide what was a fair day's work and a fair day's pay. Their primary object would be the control of industry by the workers through the medium of trades union organisations. The Parliamentary Committee had considered the whole question of organisation, and particularly the question of a central authority, which would have the power to compel the ranks to accept its authority. In Scotland they recognised the essential of the international spirit. They believed that no nation could stand alone, that no nation could be completely independent; that there should be, and that there is, identity of interests. That the Irish workers and Scottish and English can find some common ground, and that that common ground can be extended to the workers of the world. He asked the Irish workers, while recognising their aspirations and giving free play to their ideals and the creation of national sentiments, to come into line with the workers of the world, for with the workers of all lands united they had nothing to lose except their chains, and had the whole world to gain. (Applause).

Mr. Saklatvala (Workers' Welfare League, India), who was enthusiastically received, said that the day was almost at hand



when they would forget lands and nationalities and remember only the workers, irrespective of labels of nations or religion. It was impossible for them to divide themselves. Hitherto, the divisions of man from man was perpendicular; but the time had come when they would have to re-group humanity horizontally—to take up those who remained so long the bottom dogs—not to make them top-dogs, but so as that there shall be no bottom or top-dogs. They in Ireland were a Christian nation, and should so fashion their lives as to be a pattern to others. If their lives were not such, it was the lives of the beasts of prey in the shape of human form. (Applause). He drew a picture of the idle rich, and asked what would it be if the miner and all other workers were to emulate that example. There would be starvation, cold, hunger, and the absolute closing-up of industry. If the process were reversed, and all made work, the duke would lose his dyspepsia, and by honest work give them 240 tons of coal per year extra. (Applause). They claimed that the world should live the life of the worker, and every man would have comfort and happiness, and there would be an end to jealousies and bickerings and the free play by one upon the many. He referred to the present world expenditure of society, and vividly described the ill conditions of housing, etc.; and these things existed because on everything they had to work they found it was the property of someone else, who said this is my land or these are my materials. The juggling institutions of mankind, called Parliaments, were responsible, for they so legislated that those who did no work voted the laws to make them the owners of everything in the world. They, as workers in Ireland or Scotland, and all over the world, could never become masters of their own destiny or owners of the goods they produced unless they were owners of the raw materials. They could secure these for the proletariat by an honest process of international "Communism," and disregarding the present dishonest system of tyranny. That system of tyranny was allowed to continue because the British workers' organisation helped the masters to remain owners of the raw materials, by going out and training millions of slaves, paid 6d. to 14d. a day, to work on the same industries as were conducted at home. He produced an Indian paper, entitled "Capital," giving lists of names of many Englishmen and Scotsmen financing great factories in India and in the East, and said: "Take my word, in the next five years those master-classes are going to say to you that they will no longer bring raw material to these countries, because they have them dealt with by cheap labour. My message to you is: "Please cease to be stupid. Look upon the land of the workers, and if you want to be free, shake hands with these workers producing goods under slavish ignominious conditions; for only together can we free the workers of the world, and not nation by nation. That is why international communism becomes a vital essence to fight international world-wide industrialism." In spite of all difficulties, labour in India is going to assert itself on August 22nd, when



there will be held in Bombay the first Indian Trades Union Congress. (Applause).

The Chairman formally moved a vote of thanks to their colleagues from Scotland and India.

The vote was carried with acclamation, and in conveying it the Chairman, on behalf of the workers of Ireland, presented Mr. Shinwell and Mr. Saklatvala with a memento of their visit—viz.: "The Fall of Feudalism," by Michael Davitt; "The Evolution of Sinn Fein," by Robert Mitchell Henry; and "Labour in Ireland," by James Connolly.

Both delegates heartily thanked Congress for these gifts, and cordially acknowledged the enthusiastic receptions given them.

The Chairman proposed: "That we send greetings in the name of the Irish workers to the workers of India at their forthcoming Congress."

Passed unanimously.

#### ARBITRATION IN TRADE DISPUTES.

The discussion on the N.E. Report was resumed.

Touching this item in the Report, Mr. Johnson said that the National Executive thought it very necessary that there should be a general note of warning uttered to the whole trade union movement in Ireland against an idea that had been disseminated, quite innocently perhaps, but nevertheless an injurious notion, that because there were certain conditions in the political world, certain changes taking place in their midst, that they must give way the right to strike. It had been suggested here and there that all disputes between employers and employed, especially relations between local authorities and their employees, that there must be something in the nature of compulsory arbitration. The idea was going forth that strikes must not be allowed, and that trade unions must submit their cases to arbitration; and, incidentally, that employers must submit their cases to arbitration. He had nothing to say in respect to the employers; but, so far as the Trade Union movement as a whole was concerned, and as the present National Executive can influence it, "we will not submit to compulsory arbitration in trade union disputes under any government or under any authority." He hoped it would go forth from Congress that any proposal for compulsory arbitration in Trade Union disputes will have to be fought. He did not think that once Congress had spoken there would be any further need to refer to the matter, but he thought Congress should speak its mind on that occasion and so settle the question—that the Trade Union movement is against compulsory arbitration, and will not agree with compulsion being enforced under any authority whatever.

The Reference was agreed.

## MUNITIONS OF WAR STRIKE.

On this part of the National Executive Report, Mr. Duffy (Drapers) said that this matter transcended in importance anything attempted so far by the railway and Labour movement, and he thought that there should be a clear expression of opinion in it by the parties most directly interested. He also thought Congress should express its opinion of the attitude of the General Secretary of the N.U.R., who from the first day of the dispute and all through had done everything in his power to side-track the issue, and hide the fact that the Irish railwaymen and dockers are refusing to handle materials to be used for the purpose of killing; and is endeavouring to direct attention to something he (Mr. Thomas) called Dominion Home Rule. Six weeks ago a conference with railwaymen from Dublin, Cork and Belfast took place in Bristol on this question of munitions transport, but, so far as they could understand from the published reports, there was no mention by Thomas and Cramp of munitions at all. Their whole interest was to get the rank and file of the railwaymen in Ireland to discuss with Lloyd George the momentous question of Dominion Home Rule. The sympathy of the Executive of the N.U.R. towards the Irish railwaymen was manifested clearly by the fact that not one penny of money has the Executive paid to the victimised Irish workers. He thought, too, that there should be an expression from the representatives of the N.U.R. as to what did transpire at that conference; and also at the interview with Lloyd George, because if the published statements were correct they were entirely venomous. As a matter of fact, a very important question was raised in that discussion: the question of the withdrawal of the army of occupation from Ireland. The interpretation placed upon that request by Thomas was highly dangerous and controversial. Mr. Thomas defined the army of occupation as the excess in military over and above the pre-war standard for Ireland. That is not the army of occupation, for when they asked for the withdrawal of the army of occupation from Ireland they meant every soldier, sailor and every armed section of the garrison in Ireland. One member of the deputation, at least, fell into Mr. Thomas's trap, much to their surprise. Congress was entitled to receive from the representatives of the N.U.R. the true facts, and the views of their Executive on the matter. There were also some other organisations affected, and some of them might require advice, as the question was being asked as to what did form munitions of war. There should be a clear and definite understanding.

Mr. Cathal O'Shannon did not think the reports of the Bristol conference and of the conference with Mr. Lloyd George necessary, but he did think it desirable that it should be made clear and definite that the statement of Mr. Cramp at the British Trades Congress on Ireland and Russia that the Irish railway workers had been consulted, and favoured what he called the Dominion



status, was without foundation. Furthermore, at the interview of the British Labour Parliamentary Committee with the Prime Minister, Mr. Thomas introduced a modification of the N.U.R. resolution, which was not justified by British Trade Union Congress or by the supporters of the N.U.R. That modification was Dominion Home Rule, with county option to contract out.

The Chairman pointed out that this discussion could only be raised on the resolution of the National Executive dealing with the government of Ireland.

Mr. MacPartlin said that they should avail of the occasion to congratulate the railwaymen for the splendid effort they were making on behalf of the people of Ireland. (Applause). The railwaymen were showing an absolutely unselfish spirit that should be recognised, and Congress ought be proud to congratulate them on one of the best fights ever made for Ireland.

Mr. J. Birmingham (Irish Secretary N.U.R.) said that the railwaymen in Ireland were prepared in the interests of the country and to safeguard everybody without considering their own interests to adopt the course they had taken. "Five hundred of these men," he continued, "went without wages or pay for three weeks, and were determined to continue it. That, probably, is the test for our critics." He reminded them that they had, however, to abide by the rules and regulations of their Union. As to the Bristol conference, he was sorry that there was a victim made in Cork. That man was an old politician, and in order to bring, perhaps, a closer and clearer issue he immediately took on a certain amount of political prescience, no doubt with the intention of creating a solution of the question. "With regard to the Bristol conference," he added, "we have no apology to make; we do not intend to make any apology. Thank God one thing did take place in Bristol at that conference, so far as the N.U.R. was concerned, and that was that we were able to cement our members, North and South, together. We stand out as a body of men not only willing but prepared to make sacrifices in the interests of our country. (Applause).

Mr. Foran, correcting the impression made that it was the railwaymen were the first to start the fight against munitions, said it was the Dublin Dockers started the fight. He hoped that Mr. Hart, who represented the Belfast Dockers, would take the opportunity to repudiate the statement that appeared in the newspapers on Tuesday, August 3rd, that "the Belfast dock labourers would not work with anyone who assisted those in the munitions of war strike." He regretted to hear Mr. Birmingham standing up so rigidly for rules. Rules could be too rigidly observed, and in the present case by observing the rules they would be helping to murder their own kith and kin.

Mr. Hart said that he could not verify or repudiate what happened in Belfast while he was in Cork. Previous to coming

to Congress he was in Belfast, and there learned that forty-five men were victimised, and perhaps because of the fact mentioned. He had a meeting of those men, stated to them what he intended to do in order to put matters right, and these men were quite satisfied with the efforts he was making on their behalf; and he could answer Congress that these men would get all the assistance possible for him to give them. It was reported in the "Belfast Evening Telegraph" that the Catholic workers in the lower dock victimised other workers. That statement is untrue, and only emanates from the brain controlling the "Belfast Evening Telegraph." The men victimised would have to be re-instated and compensated for time lost owing to that victimisation. "If that were not done," he said, "we will ask the Transport Federation to hold up all steamers and give Belfast Unionists a dose of their own medicine."

Mr. Hennessy said that there should be no jealousy between the Unions in this question. It was immaterial who started the strike. The railway are involved in it, and they should all appreciate each other's services (hear, hear). It should be remembered that the Executive of the Railwaymen's Union was not in Ireland; and that they had to be bound by the rules of the Union so far as the administration and benefits of the Union are concerned. "The railwaymen in Ireland," he said, "are acting according to their conscience, and do not care whether or not the rules allow any benefits or not. We are using our position as citizens of this country." He wished to thank sincerely their comrades throughout Ireland for the splendid financial support they had given them; and to pay tribute to the National Executive, to whom they went for advice, and who were their guides in the struggle. They did not recognise anyone outside the four shores of Ireland (hear, hear). "If we can get," he concluded, "assistance from other workers—and I have not given up hope—if we can get that support and help, by all means we will accept it. If we get no help we will still go on with this struggle, and go down as Irishmen, or come to the top as Irishmen." (Applause).

Mr. Kelly (Belfast) said that the Transport Workers had been charged with starting victimisation at the docks. He repudiated that emphatically.

The Chairman said that they were engaged in one of the biggest fights that the Irish Labour movement had ever taken up. It was no time for criticising one another. It was a time for being loyal to each other.

Mr. Bradley said that the National Executive in this crisis had carried out their duties admirably, and Congress was unanimous in leaving it in their hands to carry it on to the end.

Mr. T. C. Daly said that he was at the Bristol Conference, but had not the doubtful honour of appearing before Mr. Lloyd George. But whether in England, Scotland, or at that Congress, the same principles actuated him in all places. He thought he



was entitled to say that the railwaymen, at least, had acquitted themselves in a proper and admirable manner. They did not mind who took the lead; but, he said, "we are the men who will be there at the finish. Let us all go on and win the battle for Ireland, and make it what it should be—a free and happy land." (Applause).

Mr. Davin (R.C.A.) thought that the question of support or otherwise from the leaders of amalgamated unions across the water was being laboured too much. "If the delegates here," he said, "simply concentrate their influence on the struggle and give the necessary assistance to prosecute the fight to a successful conclusion, they will be doing better work for the Labour movement and the men engaged in the fight." Mr. Duffy had raised the point as to the definition of munitions. The Executive had clearly laid down and defined the position from that point of view, and no one would dispute the fact that not one section of the workers engaged in the fight went outside that definition. He wished them to concentrate on the question of financial assistance in response to the appeal of the National Executive. Everyone who recognised the principles of the fight, who agreed with the application of the principle of self-determination for the country, should give the silver bullets to assist the fight. Therefore, parish committees should be formed to see that every man and woman subscribed to the fund in the several districts. "The time may come," he added, "when the transport industry will close down, with resultant disorganisation throughout the country; and the different districts must be ready to face that position, and have certain organisation to meet the requirements. Therefore I hope that Congress will send a message to the Irish people, saying it is the duty of every Irishman and woman to subscribe to the fund in support of the men engaged in the fight. (Applause).

Mr. Larkin (Waterford) said that the action of the Irish railwaymen since they came back from the Bristol Conference was sufficient answer to the critics of anything that was reported as having happened there. (Hear, hear). They had placed the conduct of the strike in the hands of the National Executive of the Irish Labour Party; and went as trade unionists to their own Union to discuss the question of the strike, and that only, in spite of attempts to side-track them from the main issue. There may have been some slight errors, little technical offences, but the ultimate result was the accomplishment of having five men from the North and South of Ireland, five men of extreme views in opposite directions, voting for one resolution: the withdrawal of the army of occupation from Ireland. "Regarding the question of responsibility," he said "I think our attitude proclaims that we recognise our responsibility is to the people of Ireland, and no one outside it; and that attitude has been maintained right through." He expressed appreciation of the manner in which the workers and people of Ireland were backing them up in the struggle. Mr. Bradley had struck the right note when he said

that the National Executive had justified itself in the conduct of the fight, and he (Mr. Larkin) was bound to say that the railway-men reiterated their confidence in the National Executive and left the matter in their hands to carry it to a successful issue.

Mr. Nason (Cork) moved the closure, and it was agreed.

The reference in Report was unanimously adopted.

### SCRUTINEERS.

The following were nominated for the position (five) of Scrutineers:

Seumas Byrne, Dublin.  
Alderman McGuirk, Dublin.  
W. Kenneally, Cork.  
J. Farrelly, Dublin.  
O. Hynes, Dublin.  
James Barry, Cork.  
E. O'Mahony, Cork.  
John Farren, Dublin.  
Irvine, Belfast.  
Gilloway, Dublin.

Messrs. Farren and Irvine withdrew.

The poll resulted as follows: Eamon O'Mahony, Cork), 153; Owen Hynes, Dublin, 127; Wm. Kenneally, Cork, 115; Seumas Byrne, Dublin, 114; Ald. McGuirk, Dublin, 98; James Barry, Cork, 64; John Farren, Dublin, 45; J. J. Farrelly, Dublin, 35; J. G. Gilloway, Dublin, 21.

Messrs. O'Mahony, Hynes, Kenneally, Byrne and McGuirk were declared elected.

Subsequently Mr. O'Mahony (the Chairman) announced that they had received in sealed packets 300 ballot papers.

Ald. O'Brien then called the roll, and the papers were distributed.

Answering a point raised by Mr. Vennard, Mr. R. Anthony (Cork) said that he was withdrawing his nomination for auditorship.

### UNION IN DISTRIBUTIVE TRADES.

In connection with above, the following resolution was taken:

"Resolved that in view of the urgent necessity for solidifying the Irish Trade Union movement, this Congress urges that the National Executive should at once give effect to the terms of the Drogheda resolution, and call a special Congress to consider a scheme of promotion, amalgamation or closer co-operation within the movement."—Irish Drapers' Assistants.



And there was moved as an amendment :

"In the light of disturbances which have recently taken place in Trades Union circles, and which have given the avowed enemies of organised labour immense satisfaction, this Congress is of opinion that the time has arrived when an authoritative body should be set up with power to deal with and finally settle all disputes arising between unions or sections of unions. That this Congress empowers the National Executive to act as an Arbitration Court, to whom all such disputes shall be submitted, and whose decisions shall be final."—Irish Clerical and Allied Workers' Union.

Mr. Duffy moved the resolution, and said that the question of the amalgamation of Unions had been discussed for the past two or three years, and at Drogheda last year Congress directed that it be discussed at a special congress in order to promote a scheme of amalgamation. That special congress had not been called, but still there had been an amount of discussion between unions that may be looked on as overlapping. So far as representatives in the Distributive Trades were concerned, they were called together, and Mr. Johnson placed before them the scheme outlined in the Appendix. At that congress itself he averred there was very substantial evidence to show the necessity for a central authority wielding greater power and enjoying the full confidence of the various unions. The Motor Permit question, for instance, proved it, and the dissatisfaction that did arise in connection with that matter could never have arisen if there were a central authority exercising administrative powers to decide on certain issues and to issue a mandate that would be binding on all constituent unions. He hoped that the National Executive would this year carry out the instruction in the resolution, for the question was one of first-rate importance. "Instead of more Unions," he said, "we want greater unity amongst the Unions, and the rank and file of the movement realise that the time for closer organisation and greater unification has arrived, and that we cannot allow any further time to pass without giving effect to these proposals. The objections to one big union had passed long since. The workers of this country are sufficiently class conscious to recognise that sectional organisation, the overlapping organisation, is hurtful."

Miss Cahalane (Dublin) seconded the resolution, and said that her organisation felt the want of closer unity in their particular industry.

Mr. Nolan said that the question involved great issues. There was no doubt but the principle uppermost in their minds that a true unification in Ireland would abolish the wage-earning fallacy. The Printing and Kindred Trades was a perfect piece of scientific organisation.

Mr. Griffin moved the amendment. He was in thorough agreement with all Mr. Duffy said.

The Chairman—If the spirit of the resolution proposed by the Drapers' Assistants is carried out there will be no necessity for your resolution at all. In these circumstances, if you withdraw your resolution and let Congress discuss the resolution on the Executive's report, it will meet the case. I know, from my dealings with you people, that they are in agreement with the views of the National Executive on the matter.

Mr. Griffin—I agree.

Mr. Kelly (Shop Assistants) said that his Executive in London, before whom he put the matter, were agreed to do anything in the best interests of the Shop Assistants. If the new Union were adopted they would transfer any members who so desired, and those who did not could continue as individual members of the central branch. His Executive would welcome anything that in the opinion of their Irish members would be most advantageous for them from a trade union point of view. They wanted closer co-operation, because they had repeated cases of members trying to escape from one union into another. Immediate action was necessary to prevent overlapping and competition between trades unions—a condition that existed especially among the distributive trades. He held that there should be brought into existence, on proper industrial lines, one vast Union in the Distributive Trades, and then they would have a national union in the true sense.

Mr. O'Farrell opposed the resolution. It would be unfair to the incoming National Executive to pass the resolution if they expected it to be carried out, for there had been passed along to the National Executive already sufficient to keep them going for a considerable time to come. It was hardly fair to give them the task of evolving that grand theoretic ideal of one big union. Mr. Duffy was splendidly optimistic, but had not told them even of any progress being made with regard to the proposal for the Distributive Trade. To settle the question of one Big Union at a special congress was absolutely impracticable. Before they tried to unite by conscription they should give sufficient time to see the success of the scheme in the Distributive Trades. The principle of union by conscription was never successful.

Mr. MacPartlin also opposed the resolution. When he did so twelve months ago he pointed out that the Transport Union was an example for any person who wanted one large union. That Union was going on sufficiently well, but the people who talked about it did not join the Transport Union. The question at issue was really what was best for all the workers; and if such a scheme is best it will be promoted by men like O'Farrell and Johnson, who, if they think it is necessary, will call the workers together to formulate a scheme. Congress should turn down the resolution.

Mr. Johnson said he thought Mr. MacPartlin had argued Mr. Duffy's case. If Congress passed the Report the new Executive would continue consideration of the subject with the idea in mind



that there should be something equivalent to a town-planning scheme laid down for the building-up of the Irish Trade Union movement.

Mr. McCormack (Grocers' Assistants) opposed the resolution on the grounds that any scheme for amalgamation of unions in industrial trades should come from within and not from without. He said that he did not get any official notification of the conferences of the Distributive Trades except one, and at that meeting he could not express any opinion for or against the scheme which was now propounded. They had no opportunity of discussing it, whereas the Union Mr. Kelly represented had.

Mr. O'Neill (Carpenters) asked what about the great amalgamated societies whose ramifications extended far beyond the British Isles, to America, Australia, Canada and Africa. The question at issue involved a great task that should be minutely inquired into at a small congress.

Councillor Daly said that unless the motion at the previous Congress were rescinded the present resolution was out of order.

The Chairman\* agreed that the resolution was out of order, and so ruled.

The Report was then adopted.

## • ADDENDUM TO REPORT.

### DEPUTATION TO LONDON.

Mr. Daly moved the endorsement of above.

The Chairman said that this was only signed by six members of the National Executive. It was a matter of great importance to the Labour movement. It dealt with a deputation from the Irish Labour Party National Executive to the British Trades Union Congress. They received an invitation from the British Trades Union Congress asking for a deputation from the National Executive to discuss matters arising out of the special Trade Union Congress that was held dealing with the question of munitions. They believed that they were entitled to go and meet their labour colleagues on the other side of the Channel. "But before we went," he said, "we made our position quite clear—we issued a statement to the effect that we were going to meet our colleagues in the Labour movement to discuss matters arising out of the special Trades Union Congress. It was necessary at the time to make our position quite clear because of the report of the interview that the British Trades Union Congress had with the Prime Minister. We were at all times prepared to meet our colleagues in the British Labour movement, but we were not going to have any truck with any Government officials or political parties. At the interview we had an exchange of views, and we put the position of the Irish Labour movement very clear. We declined emphatically to take part in any deputation to the Prime Minister either with or without representatives of the British Labour Party. A discussion took place on the serious position in Ireland, and we were asked to make suggestions to bring the present

situation to an end. And we did put up a proposition. We made a proposition to the effect that if the Trades Unionists wanted to settle this vexed question of Ireland it could be done in a very simple way. We called attention to the statement made by the Prime Minister of England on dealing with the question of Poland, when, on July 21st, he made the statement: 'Poland has chosen her own government by universal suffrage, and it was intolerable that any country from outside should come in and impose upon her a government she does not want.' We said that if they wanted to settle the Irish question it could be done in a purely constitutional way by deleting the first two letters and substituting the three letters, Ire. (Applause). That did not seem to have the desired effect, because our colleagues on the other side—they would not be able to get that done in a purely constitutional way, though the British people and government always boasts its constitution. In the course of further discussion we made a further proposition, that if this question were to be settled in a proper way it should be settled between the selected representatives of the people of this country and the selected representatives of their country, and that so far as we in the Labour movement were concerned we were prepared to do everything humanly possible to have an honourable settlement of this seven-century dispute. We suggested a Constituent Assembly, brought into being by an election on adult suffrage by proportional representation, and that this Assembly should prepare a Constitution for the government of this country, and that we were prepared to give a guarantee that the people in Ireland would honour the findings of such Constituent Assembly, on condition that the British Government would agree that the findings of that body would be guaranteed by a neutral power—America or Russia, we suggested. The Parliamentary Committee agreed and believed that the setting-up of a Constituent Assembly would meet the case, but on the question of the guarantee they did not agree. They believed that it would be impossible to get their people to agree that the findings should be guaranteed by a neutral power. We said that we had been bitten too often to accept their word any more. We also said that if the army of occupation were withdrawn—and that withdrawal we demanded—we were prepared to give ample guarantees that the people in this country would be responsible for law and order. And that if we did not satisfy them that we were able to look after the government of the country that then they could send back the army of occupation. We said that we were willing for the experiment to be tried in any one county in Ireland, Cork for instance. I believe that the interview had some use, for I believe that the members of the Parliamentary Committee understand the position from our standpoint better than they did. We said that we were glad to meet them, and that on a future occasion the Irish Labour movement was prepared to discuss these matters.



Mr. Campbell asked if he were to assume from the Chairman's statement that the negotiations were going on through proxy—was there another party in Ireland, the only authoritative party, to speak for the workers of Ireland on this particular matter. If that were the case, how could they (the deputation) give a guarantee to rule Cork or any other district, from which the troops were withdrawn, to preserve peace and order. "How do we stand as a Trades Union Congress?" he asked. Can we speak up to a certain point, but not to the whole hog.

The Chairman—I said, and still maintain, when the British Trades Union Congress were not able to give any guarantees, that the elected representatives of the country are the people to be taken into consultation. We are democrats. We claim that the people should rule. The people of Ireland not very long ago gave their allegiance to a party on this particular question, and that being so, I believe that they would be the proper people to settle eventually the question. We as a Labour Party are prepared to do our share in the work, and I do not think that we went beyond our powers when we said that the workers are prepared to take over the reins of government if necessary.

Mr. Johnson supplemented the Chairman's statement by explaining that the proposition put to them was that they, representatives of the workers of Ireland, should go behind the backs of the people who were elected to represent the people generally for the actual discussion on terms of settlement.

The Report was agreed.

Congress adjourned.

The Addendum was approved and Congress adjourned.

## **DELEGATES ENTERTAINED.**

On Tuesday night the Cork and District Trades and Labour Council entertained the delegates to Congress at the Technical Institute, Sharman Crawford Street. The arrangements, which were in the hands of the Reception Committee, were all that could be desired, and those present enjoyed themselves thoroughly. Local artistes did their part in making the night a pleasant one. Most of the delegates had arrived by 9.30, and the entertainment was such that even if there were no curfew regulations very few of them would have left before the early morning. As things are, however, they had no option in the matter; all had to remain until after 3 a.m.

# IRISH LABOUR PARTY AND TRADES UNION CONGRESS.

---

**FOURTH DAY.—AUGUST 5th, 1920.**

---

When Congress resumed at 9.30, in accordance with the recommendation of Standing Orders Committee, the following resolution was considered :—

## **VICTIMISATION OF DUBLIN SHIPPING CLERKS.**

“ This Congress strongly condemns the action of Coast Lines, Ltd., in victimising 27 members of the clerical staff of those sections of the Shipping Combine formerly known as the British and Irish Steamship Company, the Tedcastle Line and the Laird Line, because of legitimate trade union action taken by them in support of their reasonable and just demands for better conditions of service. Congress views the attitude adopted by the Company as a challenge to trade unionism generally; calls for the immediate reinstatement of the whole of the clerks still locked out, and warns the officials immediately responsible for the antiquated tyranny meted out to the victimised men that a persistence in their present policy may have serious and far-reaching results for which they alone will have to accept responsibility. That copies of this resolution be sent to Messrs. Barry and Baird—the Dublin Managers of the Shipping Sections affected.”

Mr. O'Farrell moved the adoption of the resolution, and, reciting the history of the case, said that the shipping clerks were only recently organised, and unfortunately they found their way into three different unions. A demand for new conditions and wages was ignored by the shipping firms, and the clerks went on strike on May 6. Two days after an offer from the shippers to give each man a fairly substantial increase of pay as an individual but not as a trade unionist was refused, because the men rightly maintained any offer should come through the unions catering for them. Mr. Barry, chief shipping boss of the port of Dublin, then informed the men that one union should represent them, and they agreed to the Shipping Clerks' Union with headquarters in Liverpool, and the shipping clerks were on strike there also. Mr. Barry then made an offer, still holding to the previous terms, but with a new clause “ that each man would be accepted back into the company's service on three months' probation, and reserving the right to dispense with the services of any of the men who had been on strike.” That caveat was inserted on the



grounds that a number of the men were inefficient—a disability discovered in some men after 30 and 40 years' service. The men turned this down and the strike went on for three months. Strong economic pressure forced the men to go back, but 31 of them were left out, and it was a remarkable fact that these were the men who joined in the two-day strike for the release of the Mountjoy prisoners. The position of these men was terrible, because Mr. Barry controlled the whole port of Dublin, and no matter where they went for employment they were met with the shadow of Mr. Barry, and it was impossible to find employment. It was the same with the 22 clerks on the other side. There was an important principle involved, and Congress should send a message to Mr. Barry and Mr. Bird that in this matter they are playing a dangerous game and one that may have far-reaching results, for Labour would not allow any section to trample under foot legitimate trades union action in support of just and legitimate demands.

Mr. Davin (R.C.A.) seconded the resolution, and pointed out that the Dublin Corporation had instructed the Lord Mayor and High Sheriff to see Mr. Barry in connection with the matter. If Congress passed the resolution it would strengthen the hands of those engaged in negotiations for the reinstatement of those victimised men.

Mr. Daly said that Labour was powerful enough to allow not one of its members be victimised. Unquestionably it was because these men played the part of Irishmen in the two days strike that they were allowed to walk the streets of Dublin. They should exercise their power to assert that no man in a trade union would be penalised for advocating what was for the good of everybody—proper conditions and a proper amount of money to keep a family.

Alderman Wm. O'Brien said he was at a loss to know what good the resolution would do. There was no definite proposal in it calculated to help the men who were victimised. "Mr. Barry is a shrewd man," he added, "and knows that these men have been beaten in a fair stand-up fight. And, so far as I can see, there is no likelihood of that action being taken that would be effective. That being so, empty threats were idle."

Mr. Hickey said that the case illustrated the necessity for one Union in the same industry.

Mr. Farrelly thought the resolution would be ineffective, because there was no use in appealing to men like Mr. Barry to do justice to the workers. If there were the necessary cohesion amongst the men in that particular shipping line there would be no need to pass resolutions to get these men reinstated. The fact was that one organisation was completely excluded from the settlement.

Councillor Daly said that if the men joined the Union Mr. Barry selected for them, he (Mr. Barry) would settle with them immediately. Congress would endorse the men's action in not agreeing to that, for in 1913 the big strike was fought to decide the right of the worker as to the Union he should join. If this resolution were a mere expression of sympathy it would be as well not to pass it, and he asked the proposer to agree that the matter be taken up by the

National Executive with the purpose of securing joint action to get these men reinstated.

Mr. O'Farrell said that he deliberately refrained from doing that. He believed that when Congress expressed its opinion on the attitude of the shipping companies it would assist the negotiations at present going on. The statement had been made by Mr. Barry that this strike had not the sanction or approval of the Trades Unions generally, and they wanted to remove that impression from his mind.

The Chairman, putting the resolution which was carried unanimously, said it was hardly necessary to ask the National Executive to co-operate in the matter. At all times the N.E. would be prepared to give assistance to any body of organised workers who were in trouble. He added that he considered it unmanly for Councillor Daly not to name the Union that Mr. Barry wanted the men to join. As far as he knew, it was never suggested that the men should join "the one big Union" that we belong to. It is most unfair to suggest that Mr. Barry is in favour of one big Union.

### ELECTION OF OFFICERS AND COMMITTEE.

The Chairman of the Scrutineers (Mr. E. O'Mahony) declared the result of the elections as follows:—

#### NATIONAL EXECUTIVE.

##### Officers.

Thomas Foran, Chairman (unopposed).  
T. MacPartlin, Vice-Chairman—(unopposed).  
William O'Brien, Treasurer—(unopposed).  
Thomas Johnson, Secretary—(unopposed).

##### Committee.—(10 Vacancies).

T. C. Daly	...	...	174
T. Farren	...	...	162
L. Larkin	...	...	158
C. O'Shannon	...	...	157
George Nason	...	...	156
Denis Cullen	...	...	148
Miss Timmins	...	...	135
L. J. Duffy	...	...	133
J. J. O'Farrell	...	...	129
W. Cummins	...	...	111
E. P. Hart	...	...	86
W. Murray	...	...	77
Miss Bennett	...	...	67
R. Anthony	...	...	60
M. J. O'Connor	...	...	58
Miss O'Connor	...	...	45
W. Vennard	...	...	9

Mr. O'Mahony explained that Mr. Vennard had withdrawn. The Chairman declared the first ten elected.



**Fraternal Delegates to Scottish Congress.—(2).**

D. R. Campbell	...	...	...	144
Wm. O'Brien	...	...	...	124
J. Birmingham	...	...	...	72
Alderman R. Corish	...	...	...	67

The Chairman declared Messrs. Campbell and O'Brien appointed.

**Auditors.**

W. Davin	...	...	...	129
J. J. Redmond	...	...	...	129
R. Anthony	...	...	...	23

Mr. O'Mahony explained that Mr. Anthony had withdrawn.

The Chairman declared Mr. Davin and Mr. Redmond elected.

**NATIONAL EXECUTIVE REPORT.****DUBLIN CINEMA DISPUTE.**

The Chairman then put the motion that the National Executive Report, as a whole, be adopted; and,

Councillor Daly raised the question of the "Cinema" dispute in Dublin. A demand was made by men engaged in this work—the operators—who were formally members of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union for £5 a week. They were members of the Electrical Trades Union, but their picquets were beaten off the streets by picquets of the Transport Union, and a settlement was reported as made on behalf of these, the "box people," at something like £3 15s. He maintained that this dispute should have been referred to in the National Executive's report. "We were informed," he said, "that everything was all right. That the National Executive agreed that so long as the men remained loyal to the Transport Union it did not matter what occurred to the Electrical Union; and it was suggested to them to renew their membership in the Transport, even if they retained their cards in the E.T.U." They were also informed that, notwithstanding the decision of the N.E., men had considerable difficulty in renewing their membership. The complaint was also made that the Transport Union accepted as members men who were members of the Auto-Drivers' and Mechanics' Trades Union, who owed considerable sums in arrears of contributions to the organisation from which they seceded. He was a member of the Transport Workers' Union, and went to gaol for it, and was just as keen in appreciation of the work it continued to carry out as he was when Jim Larkin was there. He regretted the matters to which he referred were not in the National Executive's Report, and asked what guarantees would be given that the incoming National Executive would report on these matters to next Congress.

The Chairman said that the National Executive made no decision. They agreed to meet, on the representation of the Dublin Trades Council, members of the E.T.U. and I.T.W.U. Having heard both sides to the dispute the National Executive made a certain recommendation which it asked the Unions to accept. "As the question is not yet finished," he added, "it could not appear in the Report. The National Executive suggested that these men working cinemas should be organised on an industrial basis, as the men working in the "boxes"—the operators—were not in the strict sense craftsmen or skilled men. He wished to make it perfectly clear that, although a member of the Transport Union, he did not take sides. His action all through was dictated by the desire to give fair play all round. The operators in cinemas were members of a distinct section of the E.T.U. "We said that men who were electricians by trade," he added, "were, of course, entitled to remain members of their trade union, but that as we believed in industrial organisation that men not working on actual craft work should be members of an organisation catering for those in that industry."

Mr. Foran said that Mr. Daly's only objective was to have a "side-wipe" at the Transport Workers' Union, simply because he was not an official of it. Their position was simply that they always stood for industrial unionism, and "we have organised all the employees in the picture theatres in Dublin, from the usher at the door to the operator in the box." As a result of that system of organisation, people that were now trying to run away from the Transport Union had benefited very considerably—so much so, that they have got the impression that they are superior individuals, and they join a skilled Union in order to draw a line between themselves and the other employees. He charged that the Electricians, unfortunately for themselves, allowed "these people" to exploit their Union, and that they were brought out on strike against the Transport Union and other employees in the theatres. "When these people," he said, "went around blackguarding members of the Transport Union and calling them scabs, our members of the Transport Union went around and told these people politely, but very emphatically, to clear off."

Mr. J. M. Duffy (Electrical Trades Union) said that three or four months ago seventy of these theatre operators left the Transport Union to join the Electrical Trades Union. Immediately they left a demand was made in the Picture House employers for a rate of wages then prevailing in other parts of the country. The demand by the Transport Workers' Union was accepted and the demand by the Electricians turned down, and they went out on strike—not against the Transport Workers' Union, but against the employers. "The Transport members beat our chaps off the street," he said, "and I reported the matter to Mr. Foran saying that no self-respecting trade unionist would do such a thing. We referred the matter to the Trades Council, and they



referred it to the National Executive. We wanted certain terms defined. They came to a certain decision, which was referred to the District Committee, and agreed to. We then went to find had the Transport Workers' Union sent an answer, and they had not, and had not up to that day."

Chairman—I put it to you: Are the members of your Union satisfied with the action taken by the National Executive?

Mr. Duffy—No.

Chairman—Are you satisfied that the National Executive did not come to a decision but only made a recommendation?

Mr. Duffy—We are quite satisfied on that.

Chairman—And you agreed to accept the recommendation of the National Executive?

Mr. Duffy—Yes.

Chairman—I think that proves conclusively that the Executive did what was right in the matter.

Mr. L. Duffy (Drapers) moved that the National Executive Report be adopted, and this was carried, with two dissentients.

### NATIONAL EXECUTIVE RESOLUTIONS.

Congress then considered two resolutions submitted by the National Executive: first dealing with the question of "Intoxicants and Taxation" and the second with the "Government of Ireland."

### INTOXICANTS AND TAXATION.

Mr. Cathal O'Shannon, speaking in Irish, proposed:—

"We deplore the excessive consumption of intoxicating beverages in Ireland, despite the increase in prices, as inevitably leading to a deterioration in the national morale, while adding millions a year to the funds at the disposal of the British Government for carrying on their war against this small nation 'rightly struggling to be free.' We authorise the incoming National Executive to co-operate in any well-considered effort towards curtailing the consumption in Ireland of intoxicants, and urge upon 'the proper authority' the necessity for making plans for the utilisation of the distilleries and breweries for other industrial purposes (*e.g.*, the distillation of alcohol for power production)."

He said that the National Executive had been approached by a number of people including some members of the Gaelic League, and it was pointed out to the Committee that lately there was a rather excessive consumption of liquor in the country. That was not a desirable thing, and while no one suggested that they should become "Pussy-foots," it was well to have an expression of opinion on the matter. The resolution was carried by a majority at the Executive, and it was well that Congress should also carry it. He had opposed the resolution at the beginning, for he did not believe that there was

anything like that which could be described as excessive drinking. He made inquiries, however, and found that there had been for the last six or eight months. The more temperate the country was the better for the Labour movement.

Mr. Gilloway seconded the resolution.

Mr. Nolan, speaking in Irish, supported it, and said that the expenditure on drink involved a great loss to the Irish people. There was also a vice eating like a canker into Ireland and sapping the intellectual development of their people. That was the vice of betting and gambling.

Mr. Anthony—To a point of order. We have a long agenda, and if we are to go into all the sins that man is heir to we might as well become a Salvation Army (laughter).

Mr. McCormack said he wished Congress would also express its opinion that the workers were up against abuses in the liquor trade while they did not seek to impose temperance on anybody. He referred to trading before and after hours, and said that it was demoralising that liquor could be obtainable even before Divine Service on Sundays.

Mr. O'Donovan moved that the word "increasing" be substituted for the word "excessive" in the resolution. "In my opinion," he added, "the resolution as worded if passed would label us as a nation of drunkards. I do not think that is the opinion of the Executive.

Mr. McIntyre spoke of the days when men going on deputations would have to get 10/- or £1 to spend on drink with officials in order to get their votes when a particular matter came up for discussion. Thank God there is no necessity for that now. The drink habit was a shocking evil, and the money got out of brewing and distillery industries was very small compared to the money got out of other industries. It was absolutely necessary to do away with the Guinnesses and Jamesons. In Belgium they had none of these and the people were prosperous.

Mr. O'Shannon accepted the alteration in the wording of the resolution which was then adopted unanimously.

#### GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND.

The Chairman formally removed the following resolution:—

"This Congress again demands the withdrawal of all the British military and other executive forces from Ireland, leaving the people of Ireland through their authorised and elected representatives the responsibility and power to maintain public order and fulfil all the functions of government. We affirm the right of the people of Ireland as a single national entity to choose and decide by means of a free, unfettered plebiscite, the constitution and form of government, and the social, political and judicial institutions under which they shall live, even though their choice may be complete separation from or complete unity with Great Britain and the British political and social system, or to unite in any degree with Great Britain and the Dominions



of the British Empire; that, when Ireland is free from all external authority and military forces, the fullest freedom, consistent with the National unity, shall be guaranteed to all local minorities in social and religious affairs. We are confident that, given the right to choose freely, on terms of political equality, what their future political relations shall be, a cordial agreement can be arrived at which will lead to a real fraternity between the democracies of both nations. We recognise the power of the British Government to refuse access to British markets and to prohibit trading with Ireland through British ports, and assume that this factor would help to determine the terms of any agreement or treaty between the two countries."

Mr. Anthony (Cork) seconded, and said that he saw in the resolution many possibilities and potentialities leading to the betterment of the country. As an Irishman and a Trade Unionist he believed in getting the fullest measure of freedom for, and in, his country; but in the resolution he saw suggestions which may be the means of bringing about some sort of ordered government in the country. The second portion of the resolution he would not suggest was an implication that there was any climb down in what was now believed to be the national demand—a Republic. "At the same time," he added, "it strikes me that the framers of this motion must have had in mind when framing it that there may, perhaps, be a minority, a considerable minority, and I know that there is, who would to-morrow morning plank for a measure of Dominion Home Rule. I am one (cries of shame). "That is not a capitulation of any national sentiment. The motion was perfectly worded, and may point the avenue through which we Irishmen and Trades Unionists may be able to obtain and command the influence that we seek." It had been pointed out that in the conference with Mr. Lloyd George, Labour could not do anything in negotiations, because they were not the elected people of the country. The reason for that condition being that Labour stood down to allow the great national issue to be decided. Since then they had not any means to decide whether or not they as workers were to predominate in the country. He did not care whether it was a Sinn Féin Government were in power or not, Labour would still have to fight any political oligarchy.

Mr. Johnson said that the resolution was a demand for self-determination for Ireland as a single national entity. They wanted to define what was meant by that: we mean that the people of Ireland, as a whole, should decide whether they are to be united with Great Britain, whether they are to be bound to the British Empire in any way, or whether they are to be free and absolutely independent. "The resolution," he said, "is a demand that the people of Ireland should have that decision in their own hands. That is the second clause. The first clause repeats our demand of last year, that the British forces in this country should be withdrawn. The last paragraph was simply a

friendly hint to the English that they ought to know their own business better than they do. It is the argument of strategic positions, and they had certain controls which may be factors in determining the future relations between the two countries.

Mr. Eamonn Rooney moved, as an amendment, that the last paragraph be deleted.

Mr. C. P. Kelly seconded.

Mr. Bradley hoped that the resolution would be carried as it stood. The resolution simply vested in every person the elementary right to vote as to what form of government he would have, and to let the majority opinion prevail. As regards the last paragraph, he pointed out that they in Ireland could also retaliate by refusing their markets to any particular country if such use were not going to lead to their advantage.

A poll was then taken, and there voted :

For the amendement to delete the last paragraph	...	...	...	31
Against	...	...	...	99

The amendment was declared lost.

Mr. O'Donovan moved as a further amendment that the following sentences be deleted: "even though their choice may be complete separation from or complete unity with Great Britain and the British political and social system, or to unite in any degree with Great Britain and the Dominions of the British Empire." The deletion would, he submitted, emphasise the present position of the country. The resolution merely affirms what the people had already declared.

Mr. Kelly seconded.

Councillor Daly said that at the recent elections there was absolute unanimity in electing representatives pledged to the demand for a Republic. He regretted that at that Congress there was evidence that that was not so.

Mr. O'Shannon said it was quite true that at the last general election the majority of the people of Ireland decided in favour of separation and for a Republic. They did not give any mandate—no one asked them to give a mandate—as to what the form of the future Government of Ireland should be (hear, hear). Most assuredly when that particular question did come before the people the Labour Party and Trade Union Congress would have its say, and would, he thought, plump definitely for an out-and-out Workers' Republic (hear, hear). He asked Congress not to accept the amendment and to carry the resolution unanimously. If they did it would be a very effective weapon in propaganda, where it was very badly needed—amongst the working classes of Great Britain.

The amendment was declared lost, and the resolution was carried with practically a unanimous vote.



**GREETINGS FROM ARD FHEIS.**

The following wire was received by the Chairman: "We, the Ard Fheis of the Gaelic League, assembled in Dublin to-day, send you our esteem and greetings—President, Ard Fheis."

"Labour Convention, Cork.

"Cuireann Sinne Muinntir Ard-fheise na Gaedhilge ata Le Cheile in Ath Cliath indiu ar meas agus ar mBeannacht chughaibh.—Uachtaran, Na hArd-fheise."

On the motion of Mr. P. T. Daly, it was decided to send a telegram to the Ard Fheis reciprocating these greetings.

A reply in the following terms was sent:—

"President Ard Fheis,

"Mansion House, Dublin.

"Irish Labour Congress assembled in Cork heartily reciprocate friendly greetings of your Ard-fheis. Trusts workers of Ireland will support movement for re-establishing Irish Language and Irish Culture.—Thomas Farren, President."

**BALANCE SHEET, 1919-20.**

Mr. Owen Hynes, Auditor, presented the Balance Sheet. With Mr. O'Doherty he had examined the books and certified that the statement of accounts presented was correct. The books were well kept, and receipts produced in all cases. In view of the additional work placed on the Treasurer during the past twelve months a special word of praise is due to him for the manner in which the accounts were kept.

On the motion of Mr. J. Farrelly, seconded by Mr. Brady, the balance sheet was adopted.

**THE AGENDA.**

Congress than resumed consideration of Resolutions on the Agenda.

**HOUSING.**

Miss Bennett (Irish Women Workers' Union) moved the following resolution:

"That this Congress is of opinion that the Housing question can no longer be neglected by the Irish Labour Party, and specially instructs the new Executive to organise Public Utility Societies wherever there is need for new houses and to assist in forming the various Trade Unions connected with the Building Trade into a Building Guild which will undertake to carry out the schemes of the Public Utility Societies."

She said it was up to the workers to begin to build houses for themselves, and it was up to the National Executive to encourage

the organisation of public utility societies with co-operative building societies; that the Trade Unions connected with the building industry should form themselves into guilds and agree to work in connection with the societies, and so do away with the middleman. That had already been done in England. An additional reason why such should be done was, that for any house built within the next year or fifteen months a subsidy of £250 would be given free from the British Government. It was up to the Irish people to get as many £250's as they could. Regarding the question of finance, big loans would be required by these building societies, and she suggested that the loans be got from the National Land Bank; and she had reason to believe it would help in the carrying out of these schemes. (Applause).

Alderman Tadg Barry seconded. The Cork Corporation had a scheme ready, he said, but the Building Trades Federation came along, got an increase, and knocked out their finance.

Mr. Johnson, in the name of the National Executive, moved the following resolution as an amendment:

"This Congress, seeing that the problem of Housing in Ireland is mainly a problem of finance, that there is abundance of building material in the country, and abundant labour capable and willing to transform that material into houses for the people, calls upon the 'powers that be' to set up a National Housing Authority, comprising representatives of the local Councils and the Trade Unions engaged in the building industry, to take over the responsibility of housing, with full power to commandeer or manufacture building materials, and to build or arrange for the building of houses wherever required, and that the finance necessary for the carrying out of this work be provided out of the fund raised by income tax."

"We oppose," he said, "the resolution because it asks the National Executive to initiate the organisation of Public Utility Societies wherever there is a need for houses. That is a job quite beyond the capacity of the National Executive." The basic problem was finance, and not shortage of labour, as appeared to be the case in England.

Mr. Depew (Sligo) seconded the amendment, and said that the whole question was one of the economic rent. He mentioned, in regard to the promised subsidies by the British Government, that Sligo put a scheme into operation, but that the Government put every obstacle in their way, and it was easily seen that it had not the money to put up. As regards the Land Banks, he said that people interested in land were not going to finance housing schemes. He added that when the war broke out there was 20 millions of money in the Post Office Savings Bank in Ireland. There was now 30 or 40 millions, and if that money were taken out and put into housing schemes the depositors would get  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. or more on their money instead of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.



Miss O'Connor opposed the amendment, and asked what was meant by "the powers that be."

Mr. Johnson—The powers that be are the people who wield the power. (Laughter).

Mr. MacPartlin expressed the opinion that the workers were not serious on the housing question.

The amendment was accepted, with three dissentients, and then put as a substantive motion and carried.

### **NATIONALISATION OF SHIPPING AND MINES.**

Mr. Irvine (Belfast Trades Council) proposed and Mr. Somerville (Carpenters) seconded the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:

"That in view of the excessive freights which the ship-owners at present extort, tending to standardise the present high cost of necessities, this Congress demands that the shipping of this country be immediately nationalised."

"That this Congress demands the immediate nationalisation of mines as the only real safeguard against ruthless exploitation, provision to be made at the same time for the fullest development of the mineral resources of Ireland."

### **IRISH INDUSTRIES AND CO-OPERATION.**

Miss Bennett (Irish Women Workers) proposed.

"That the Irish Labour Party should stimulate the rank and file of workers to support Irish industries and co-operative organisations as a safeguard against the economic strangulation of British combines and the 'dumping' of foreign goods, which will inevitably follow the present adventures of American and British capitalists in Europe."—Irish

Mr. McIntyre seconded its adoption.

Mr. O'Shannon proposed as an amendment:

"Delete all after 'Organisations' in line 3, and add 'of working class origin and their extension instead of new concerns on a capitalistic basis; but excludes from such support those firms which fail to pay the Standard Union rate of wages as laid down from time to time by the Unions in these industries; and requests the Unions to compile lists of such 'black' firms for the public benefit.'"

His objection to the resolution was that it wanted the thing done on a capitalistic basis. "We want it on another basis. This Congress cannot allow it go out that we are thick and thin supporters of Irish manufactures. We cannot be. We must have the wages and conditions that the Trade Union movement lays down.

Mr. Duffv (Drapers) said that the resolution was clearly based on the capitalistic conception of society. There were in Ireland

"sweated" industries just as bad as any in the world. Irish industry has to be built up by the people, controlled by the people in the interest of the people.

Miss Bennett accepted the amendment as an addendum. If there were sweated industries in Ireland it was, she said, the fault of the trade unions.

The amendment was put and carried.

#### **COST OF LIVING.**

Mr. Anthony (Typographical Association) proposed :

"That the Executive Committee of the Irish Trades Congress and Labour Party be instructed to initiate a movement to prevent a further inflation of prices of the necessities of life—food, shelter and clothing; that the Executive Committee be empowered to engage the services of the ablest political economists in the country, who shall advise as to the best means of achieving this object consistent with the economic and industrial welfare of the nation. That when the Committee has reached a decision on this vital question, same to be printed and circulated to the members (through the usual channels), and that a special Congress shall be held to consider the recommendations made therein. That any expenses incurred in the setting-up and functioning of this enquiry be borne by the Trades and Labour bodies affiliated to Congress."

Mr. Irvine seconded, and it was agreed.

The following resolution, proposed by Mr. Irvine and seconded by Mr. Houston, was also agreed to :

"That inasmuch as those responsible have failed to take adequate action to check profiteering, this Congress declares that the only effective way seems to be for the people themselves to take the matter in hand; but that before those engaged in transport be asked to take the initial steps, they be assured of complementary action by workers engaged in other industries."

#### **AGRICULTURAL POLICY.**

Miss Mahon (S. King's County T.C.) moved the following resolutions :

(1) "This Congress, recognising that a constructive agricultural policy is essential to make possible an easy transition from capitalism to the new social order under a Gaelic state, and in order to assist in setting up a system of ownership to supplant the present one, which is based on confiscation, and is responsible for the highly wasteful methods of agriculture that retard production in Ireland, instructs its National Executive to prepare and issue a statement on a National



Land Policy based upon public ownership of all land, taking into consideration systems built upon—

- (a) Co-operative farming for small and mass population.
- (b) The Agricultural Guild.
- (c) The fusion of the Co-operative Organisation and the Agricultural Guild.
- (d) Direct ownership and cultivation by local and national administrative bodies.

(2) "That this Congress favours the exploitation of land by groups of land workers organised in co-operative societies, and declares this system to be preferable to individual effort from the point of view of economy and national interest."

She said it was obvious that there was something radically wrong with the land system of the country, due to the fact, as had been so often indicated in the speeches at that Congress, that the worker on the land is working on something that he does not own. The time had come when some means should be devised when, as the farmers said, they would have "to do as they liked with their own" and let them see that this land is not their own, but that they hold it in trust to produce food for the people and not for the purpose of turning it into a grazing ranch to produce bullocks for Manchester and Birkenhead. An acre of land for the labourer had to be taken by compulsion, and it seemed that the cottages built on these plots were specially designed to humiliate the worker.

Mr. Houston seconded, and commented on the fact that the present system of education in Ireland, a pre-eminently agricultural country, made no provision for agricultural training, the training of Irishmen to conduct the principal business of the country.

The resolutions were agreed to.

## EDUCATION.

Mr. Carr (Limerick) proposed the following resolution:

"Being convinced (1) that the present systems of Irish education are out of touch with the national, social and economic needs of the Irish people; (2) that it is the right of every Irish child to receive free education in all stages from the primary schools to the University; (3) that no system of education can be successful unless the teachers who are responsible for its success receive adequate remuneration for their work, this Congress, therefore instructs the National Executive to confer with the other bodies interested in education, with a view to propounding and evolving a democratically controlled system of education suited to the national social and economic aspirations of the Irish people."

He drew attention to the recent strike of Secondary Teachers and said that Head Masters had victimised some of those men. As trades unionists they should not let these men down.

Mr. O'Kane (Carlow) seconded the resolution, which was adopted unanimously.

**OLD AGE PENSIONS.**

Mr. Irvine proposed and Mr. Donovan seconded:

"That we demand that the Old Age Pensions be raised to 15s. per week; that qualifying age be 65 years; and that the limit of income be raised so as not to penalise those entitled to receive superannuation from their unions. Further, that the amount of superannuation payable under National Health Act should be raised from 5s. to 15s."

Mr. O'Brien said that last year's Congress passed a similar resolution claiming that the qualifying age should be 60 and the amount £1. He suggested that the resolution be withdrawn.

The resolution was withdrawn.

**HOURS OF LABOUR.**

Miss Maxwell (Irish Nurses' Union, I.W.W.U.) proposed:

"That this Congress claims a 48-hour working week for all trained nurses."

She said that nurses had to work from 76 to 84 hours a week. They intended to bring it to the mind of old-fashioned governors of hospitals that nurses were not ordinary machines but human beings. She asked the members of local authorities to put the 48-hour working week for nurses into force in District and Union Hospitals.

Miss O'Connor seconded, and it was adopted.

The following resolution was then moved by Miss McCarthy, seconded by Miss O'Connor, and agreed to:

"That 24 hours per week be recognised as the normal working week for boys and girls under 17 years of age, and that these young workers be given every facility for continuing their general education."

**MOTHER'S PENSIONS.**

It was proposed by Mr. Farrelly and seconded by Mr. Logue, and agreed to:

"That the present Poor-law relief methods, as applied to Widows and Orphans, are inadequate to the needs of such cases, and unjust in their economic incidence to those ratepayers who reside amidst largely populated working-class districts; that the system of State Pensions for Necessitous Mothers and Children prevailing in the United States affords a practical and just solution of this grievance; that we appeal to all Irish representative bodies to co-operate in securing the establishment in Ireland of 'Mothers' Pensions,' modelled on the lines adopted by the American Republic."



**LABOUR ORGANISATION.**

Mr. Farrelly proposed the following resolution :

" Whilst the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress, by resolution in public session at Drogheda, committed itself to the principle of one big Union, this Congress, whilst re-affirming the general principle, believe that it is essential to organise industrially, and accordingly condemn the action of affiliated Unions 'poaching' the membership of other Unions, without taking a plebiscite of the full Union to see whether or not the Union would go over to the one big Union in a body—as otherwise we are of opinion that the effect of the activities of the Unions in question would be to disintegrate instead of to consolidate the Irish Labour movement."

If the National Executive did not deal with this matter of "poaching" as soon as possible, the system would continue, and at the end of twelve months sectional unions would be reduced to such small numbers that they would not be Unions at all. Congress should ask the Executive to place an embargo upon societies accepting membership from other Unions.

Mr. J. W. Kelly (Shop Assistants) seconded.

Mr. Cassidy, Mr. Anthony and other other delegates wished to speak on the motion, but the acting chairman (Mr. O'Farrell, R.C.A.) ruled on the agreed recommendation of Standing Orders Committee that there should be no discussion on unopposed resolutions. No one had opposed the resolution.

Mr. Cassidy and Mr. Anthony urged that the matter was of the utmost importance, and should be fully discussed.

The acting chairman ruled discussion out of order. Delegates had agreed to the Standing Orders Committee and recommendations.

Mr. Cassidy left as a protest, and a poll was called, when there voted :

For the resolution	...	...	...	75
Against	...	...	...	61

The resolution was declared carried, amid applause.

**INCOME TAX.**

Mr. Duffy (Drapers) proposed the following :

" Resolved—That this Congress protests against the present system of levying income tax on the earnings of the working classes, and calls upon the Irish Trade Unions to take such steps as may be necessary to prevent the infliction of such an unjust burden on Irish labour."

This tax was levied, he said, to pay a debt to the accumulation of which they did not assent. The pre-war scale for income tax

was £160. The cost of living had gone up 155 per cent., therefore it should be now fixed at £480, whereas the burthen placed on the working classes was practically one-eighth of their income. If the tax were levied to build houses he would not object to it.

Miss Cahalane seconded. She would never pay income tax to an alien Government, but might reconsider the position if the money were devoted to the welfare of the people instead of providing machine guns, and rifles to have them levelled at their heads. She also thought something should be done to prevent employers returning the incomes of their employees to the British Government.

The resolution was adopted.

### **BLIND AID BILL.**

Mr. Neary (National League of the Blind) proposed the following resolution:

"Constitutional methods having utterly failed to secure the enactment of the Labour Party's 'Blind Aid Bill,' which was scrapped after its second reading, March 12th, 1920, by the introduction of the Government's 'Blind Persons Bill,' we, the Irish Trade Union Congress and Labour Party declare in favour of a down tools in conjunction with the workers in Great Britain with a view to obtaining the 'Blind Aid Bill,' which is the absolute minimum of the blind workers' demands. Copies of this resolution to be forwarded to the Chairman of the British Labour Party, to the Secretaries of the British and Scottish Trade Union Congresses, Prime Minister, and Chancellor of the Exchequer."

There were, he said, 5,621 blind people in the country, 500 of read with it the spirit of comradeship it emphasised. It should go whom were in receipt of poor-law relief, and 700 were in the poor-houses. Many more had to "advertise" their affliction for a living.

Mr. O'Shannon seconded the resolution, and it was unanimously adopted.

### **MOTOR LICENCES.**

On the motion of Mr. O'Connor, seconded by Mr. Slattery, the following resolution was unanimously agreed to:—

"That in the opinion of this Congress, licenses to drive motors should be granted only to competent persons whose sight or hearing is not defective."

### **STRIKE AT A.O.H.**

Mr. Duffy (Drapers) proposed:—

"This Congress directs attention to the strike presently existing at the offices of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, 1 Mountjoy Square, Dublin, where a number of clerks are involved. It has been clearly shown that the officials responsible



for the control of the A.O.H. are hostile to the Trade Union movement; and they dismissed, without any apparent reason, certain clerks who joined the trade union of their choice; and we call upon all trade unionists in this country and in Britain to cease their membership of the A.O.H., to transfer their Insurance membership from the A.O.H. Approved Society to other Approved Societies, and transfer from membership of the Irish Industrial Collecting Society which are managed by the bosses of the A.O.H."

Mr. Nugent, said Mr. Duffy, had no objection to the members in his employment joining a Trade Union, but though they did join "no interference would be permitted with individual members of his staff." Members of the staff in No. 1 Mountjoy Square were dismissed, and the reason given was that they were inefficient, but when the strike was on five months one of the men charged with being inefficient was taken back on apologising for joining the organisation. The work being conducted in the offices of the A.O.H. was being done by scab labour, and that was work on behalf of or given by trade unionists. Congress should instruct the workers to transfer to other insurance societies.

Mr. Seumas Byrne seconded, and regretted to say that some of the men and women employed there were "Hibs." first and trade unionists after. That was the crux of the whole position, for they reneagued the labour movement and scabbed on their fellow-workers. The resolution was unanimously adopted.

#### **ASYLUM WORKERS CONDITIONS OF SERVICE.**

Mr. Doyle proposed, Miss Cahalane seconded, and it was adopted:—

"That this Congress endorses the action of the Irish Asylum Workers' Union in its efforts to have the following amendments effective in the Asylum Officers Superannuation Act, 1909:—  
(1) That the term of service by which an employee becomes entitled to Superannuation be reduced from 33 to 23 years. (2) the amount of Superannuation be computed on the average wages and valuation of allowances for three years prior to retirement, instead of ten years as presently provided."

#### **CERTIFICATE OF COMPETENCY FOR ENGINE DRIVERS.**

Mr. Downey (Irish Stationary Engine Drivers) proposed, and it was carried:—

"That this Congress demands that the Engine-drivers and Firemen of Ireland be issued certificates of competency by the Board of Trade, seeing the responsible position they hold, being entrusted with life and property; and, further, seeing that when an accident occurs, those men are held firmly to a Board of Trade Inquiry, the decision of which is of such public importance. We consider the time has arrived when the necessary steps to issue those certificates should be taken at once; that Engine-

drivers and Firemen from three to five years in charge be eligible for those certificates, without examination; and for the examination of persons other than those referred to, the Board of Trade decide the necessary qualifications and examination which must be passed by candidates for such work before they are allowed

### PROPOSED CHANGES IN CONSTITUTION.

The following resolution, moved by Mr. Nolan (N.U. Bookbinders) and seconded by Mr. O'Donovan (Post Office Workers) on the Constitution, was rejected:—

“Objects to be altered to read:—(a) To secure for the Nation such possession of the natural physical sources of wealth as may be for peace and prosperity of the country. (b) To win for the workers of Ireland, individually and collectively, their just share in the produce of their labour. (c) To be deleted.”

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.”

### PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION.

Mr. O'Connor (Irish Auto Drivers and Mechanics' T.U.) proposed the following resolution:—

“That the proportional representation system of voting be applied to the election of the National Executive, officers, fraternal delegates, etc.”

If the elections were by P.R., he maintained that the smaller unions would get an opportunity of the representation to which they were entitled.

Mr. Campbell seconded. It would give a much more representative body than was possible under the block system.

Mr. Johnson said that the resolution would have to be considered in connection with the next agenda. It was badly framed and did not indicate the desire of the movers. A Proportional Representation may be obtained by many methods. The resolution was apparently intended to secure proportional representation according to Union, according to representation in Congress. But it would simply defeat its real object and secure that the big Unions would have nearly half again the representation they had at present. He opposed the motion.

Mr. Bradley agreed. In order not to stultify the whole progressive character of the movement for the upliftment of the worker they should elect the best men independent of organisation.

Councillor Daly said that the resolution simply committed Congress to a principle which it always favoured.

On a poll there voted—

For the resolution	...	...	...	31
Against	...	...	...	153

The resolution was accordingly declared lost.



Mr. O'Connor (Irish Auto Drivers and Mechanics' T.U.) then withdrew the following motion:—"That the National Executive shall not contain more than one member or official of any affiliated body; this to apply to officers also."

This concluded the agenda.

### VOTES OF THANKS.

The Mayor of Wexford (Alderman Corish) proposed a vote of thanks to the Lord Mayor, Corporation, and citizens of Cork for the civic welcome given to Congress. It was right that he as representative of Rebel Wexford should propose that vote to the people of Rebel Cork. Their stay in Cork had been made very happy in spite of the fact that the citizens were at the moment living under very abnormal circumstances. The Reception Committee had also done everything possible to make their visit, what it really was, second to none in Ireland, frustrated as they had been by the army of occupation seeking to make the city anything but a desirable place to live in. He also took the opportunity to express the sympathy of the people of Wexford to the people of Cork in the very trying times they were going through, and particularly in the murder of their first citizen by the armed hooligans of the British Government in this country.

Miss Cahalane seconded. The delegates to Congress would take back very pleasant recollections of their visit to Cork, and of the hospitality and kindness of its people. She also tendered the sympathy of her organisation to the citizens on the horrible, brutal murder of the late Lord Mayor. Though she came from a place to which great military displays were rather common, she was horrified at the extra repression she saw in Cork.

The resolution was passed with acclamation.

Mr. Kennedy moved a vote of thanks to the Reception Committee. It had, he said, done everything possible to make their visit comfortable and happy.

Mr. Daly seconded, and the Chairman, putting the resolution, said he could not find words to express his appreciation of the work of the Reception Committee.

The vote was carried with cheers.

Mr. Redmond proposed and Mr. Somerville seconded a vote of thanks to the Press which was carried with applause.

### THE OUTGOING PRESIDENT.

Mr. Cathal O'Shannon moved that Mr. Nason take the chair, and, Mr. Nason, on taking the chair, thanked Congress for voting its twenty-sixth annual meeting to Cork.

Mr. Eamonn O'Mahony moved a hearty vote of thanks to the outgoing Chairman, Mr. Farren, not alone for the admirable way he conducted the business of Congress, but rather more so because of the splendid manner in which he guided the destinies of the Labour movement in the past twelve months. He was not unmindful either of the yeoman services given to the movement by the men who were

associated with Mr. Farren. They should not forget the sage advice given them all in Mr. Farren's address to that Congress, and should forth that differences in their movement were but seeming, that they were only differences as to detail. The last twelve months brought grave obstacles across their paths, but they only came to have Labour demonstrate its solidarity and the unanimity which permeated the movement for which they stood (applause).

Alderman Tadg Barry seconded. They in Ireland had reason to be proud of their "Cabinet of Labour," and of its work for the last twelve months.

The vote was carried with enthusiastic applause, and

Mr. Farren, acknowledging it, said that they had passed through anxious and trying times. He should honestly say he was not sorry to be relieved of the great responsibilities of the office. There were times when he thought that they were so great that they were more than he could manage. And he could never have carried through were it not for the whole-hearted and loyal support of the members of the National Executive, and he could not help but single out Mr. Johnson (cheers). "The workers of Ireland," he said amidst renewed cheering, "will never realise the work that Mr. Johnson has done on their behalf."

The Chairman then presented Mr. Farren with a silver gong from the Cork and District United Trades and Labour Council as a memento of the Congress.

The proceedings ended.



# Societies Affiliated, August, 1920

WITH MEMBERSHIP, AFFILIATION FEES, SECRETARY, DELEGATES AND DELEGATION FEES.

Name of Society	No. of Mem- bers Jan. 1st, '20	Affiliation Fees paid £ s. d.	Secretary.	Delegates Names and Addresses.	Dele- gation Fees Paid. £
Assurance Workers, National Union of Life.	500	4 3 4	B. Brooke, John Dalton Street, Manchester.	J. Byrne, 6 Whitworth Place, Drumcondra, Dublin.	1
Asylum Workers' Union (Irish)	1520	12 13 4	Patrick Casey, Asylum, Limerick.	A. Doyle, Richmond Asylum, Dublin.	4
				M. Kenna, do. do.	
				P. Casey, Asylum, Limerick.	
				P. J. McNamara, 25 Steele's Terrace, Ennis.	
Automobile Drivers and Automobile Mechanics' Union.	2000	16 13 4	M. J. O'Connor, 22 Dawson St., Dublin.	James Mitchell, Cabinteely Co. Dublin.	4
				M. J. O'Connor, 22 Dawson St., Dublin.	
				Liam Slattery, 22 Dawson Street, Dublin.	
				P. Aylward, 50 St. Finbar's Place, Cork.	
Bakers (Irish) National Amalgamated Union of.	2000	16 13 4	Denis Cullen, 22 Upper Ormond Quay, Dublin.	F. Moran, 22 Upper Ormond Quay, Dublin.	4
				C. Noonan, do. do.	
				Denis Cullen, do. do.	
				P. W. Cullen, 10 Monastery Road, Waterford.	
Blind, National League of (Dublin Branch).	120	1 0 0	J. P. Neary, 5 Keith Place, Drumcondra, Dublin.	J. P. Neary, 5 Keith Place, Drumcondra, Dublin.	1
Bookbinders & Machine Rulers National Union of (Dublin Branch).	200	1 13 4	Robert Burke, Trades Hall, Dublin.	Jas. Nolan, 72 Blessington Street, Dublin.	1



Name of Society	No. of Members Jan. 1st, '20	Affiliation Fees paid	Secretary.	Delegates Names and Addresses.	Dele- gation Fees Paid.
		£ s. d.			£
Boot and Shoe Operatives, National Union of (Dublin Branch).	200	1 13 4	Arnold Lowe, 31½ Upper Kevin Street, Dublin.	Henry Dale, 11 Upper Bridge St., Dublin.	1
Bricklayers' Society (Man- chester Unity).	500	4 3 4	John Gregory, 17 Greek Street, Stockport.	James Holt, 6 Patrick Street, Drogheda.	1
Brick and Stone Layers (Ancient Guild of Incor- porated).	600	5 0 0	Owen Hynes, 49 Cuffe Street, Dublin.	Owen Hynes, 49 Cuffe St., Dublin.	1
Brushmakers, National Society of (Dublin Branch).	120	1 0 0	Wm. Murphy, Trades Hall, Dublin.	Edward Tucker, 37 Capel Street, Dublin.	1
Carpenters and Joiners, Amal- gamated Society of.	8385	69 17 6	A. G. Cameron, 131 Wilmslow Road, Withington, Manchester (Gen. Sec.).	M. Somerville, 23 Armstrong St., Harold's Cross, Dublin.	1
Do. Dublin No. 4 Branch.			E. F. McDermott, 35 Carpenters' Hall, Lower Gloucester Street (Branch Sec.).	Thomas MacPartlin, 35 Lower Gloucester Street, Dublin.	1
Do. Dublin No. 5 Branch.			E. J. O'Neill, Mountain View House, Inchicore.	E. J. O'Neill, Mountain View Ho., Inchicore, Dublin.	1
Do. Dublin No. 6 Branch.			Wm. Bunbury, 36 Hamilton St., S.C.R., Dublin.	Wm. Bunbury, 36 Hamilton St., S.C.R., Dublin.	1
Do. Dublin No. 7 Branch.			J. Brophy, 32 Lower Ormond Quay, Dublin.	J. Brophy, 32 Lower Ormond Quay, Dublin.	1
Do. (Cork District).				John P. Weldon, 22 Grattan St., Cork. James Barry, 15 Maiville Terrace, Evergreen, Cork.	
Carpenters & Joiners, General Union of (Dublin District)	500	4 3 4	J. Moore, 3 Summer Row, North Summer Street, Dublin.	Thomas Dunne, 10 Richmond Row, Portobello, Dublin.	1
Civil Service Assistants' Clerks (Dublin Branch).	450	3 15 0	M. J. Gallagher, 45 Merrion Square, Dublin.		
Clerical and Allied Workers' Union (Irish).	7000	58 6 8	Gerald Griffin, 1 College Street, Dublin.	P. McGuirk, 20 Donore Road, S.C.R., Dublin. G. Griffin, 73 Cabra Park, Dublin. W. F. Clifford, 111 Old George's Street, Cork. S. Bowen (Miss), 15 Brighton Square, Rathgar, Dublin.	4
Coopers' (Cork) Society.	60	1 0 0	Wm. Egar, 63 Watercourse Road, Cork.	Wm. Egar, 63 Watercourse Road, Cork.	1
Dock and Riverside Workers, National Union of.	5000	41 13 4	General Secretary—James Sexton, M.P., Norton Street, Liverpool. Irish District Secretary—J. Hickey, 4 Merchants' Quay, Cork.	Jas. Smyth, 7 Annville Terrace, Chapel Street, Dundalk. W. Willimont, 4 Gordon Street, Clongmel. Jas. Hickey, 27 Washington St., W., Cork. W. McCosh, 2 Princes Street, Bel- fast. E. P. Hart, Meigh, Flurry Bridge, Co. Armagh.	5
Drapers' (Irish) Assistants' Association.	7369	61 8 2	J. G. Gilloway, Cavendish House, Parnell Square, Dublin.	L. J. Duffy, Cavendish House, Dublin. J. G. Gilloway, Do. Ml. Drumgoole, Do. (Miss) C. Cahalane, Do. Michael Daly, 90 O'Connell St., Limerick. V. J. Aherne, 12 Patrick St., Cork. D. J. McEnerney, Do. Thos. Greene, Do. J. F. Fitzgibbon, 19 Barronstrand Street, Waterford.	9
Electrical Trades Union, .....	1341	11 13 6	J. Rooney, 12a Withy Grove, Manchester.		
Ennis Trades and Labour Council,	—	1 0 0		Michael Glynn, Ennis.	1



Name of Society	No. of Mem- bers Jan. 1st, '20	Affiliation Fees paid	Secretary.	Delegates Names and Addresses.	Dele- gation Fees Paid.
Engineering Union (Amalgamated) (late A.S.E.), (Inchicore Branch).	260	£ s. d. 2 8 4	Branch Sec.—Laurence Keegan, 2 First Avenue, Inchicore, Dublin.	J. Keegan, 2 First Avenue, Inchicore.	£ 1
Do. (Dublin No. 1 Branch)	300	2 10 0	B. Cunningham, 44 Pembroke Cottages, Donnybrook, Dublin.	Samuel Bradley, 44 Pembroke Cottages, Donnybrook, Dublin.	1
Do. (Derry Branch).	240	2 0 0	John Scott, 29 Barry Street, Derry.	John Scott, 29 Barry St., Derry.	1
Engineering, Shipbuilding and Foundry Trades Union (Irish).	1400	11 13 4	P. F. McIntyre, 62 Murtagh Road, Dublin.	J. J. Redmond, 9 Lord Edward Street, Dublin. P. F. McIntyre, 62 Murtagh Road, Dublin.	2
Fire Brigade Men's Union, Dublin.	82	1 0 0	M. Buckley, Fire Station, Tara Street, Dublin.	P. T. Daly, T.C., 177 Clonliffe Road, Dublin.	1
Furnishing Trades Association (National Amalgamated)	1174	9 15 9	Alex. Gossip, 58 Theobald's Road, London.	J. P. Collins, 11 Leo Avenue, Leo Street, Dublin.	1
Flax Roughers and Yarn Spinners' Trade Union.	10000	41 13 4	Dawson Gordon, Engineers' Hall, College Street, Belfast.	Dawson Gordon, 22 Columbia St., Belfast. George Keith, 50 Mary Street, Belfast.	2
Grocers and Vintners' Assistants', Irish National Union of.	1200	10 0 0	P. Hughes, Banba Hall, 20 Parnell Square, Dublin.	— McCormick, 20 Parnell Square, Dublin.	1
Locomotive Engine Drivers and Firemen T.U. (Belfast and Dublin).	657	5 9 6	Wm. Reid, 79 Ravenhill Road, Belfast.		2
Labour Union (Meath).	140	1 13 4	James Blunt, Bellewstown, Drogheda.		
Lithographic Printers, Amalgamated Society of (Cork Branch).	20	1 0 0	Geo. Duncan, 1 Annville, Ballinlough Road, Cork.	Geo. Duncan, 1 Annville, Ballinlough, Road, Cork.	1
Limerick Trades and Labour Council,	—	—		James Carr, Mechanics' Institute, Limerick. James Casey, Mechanics' Institute, Limerick.	2
Municipal Employees Trade Union (Irish).	1500	12 10 0	Secretary, 24 Winetavern Street, Dublin.	Robert Tynan, Iveagh Buildings, New Bride Street, Dublin. Robert Farrell, School Attendance Office, Fleet Street, Dublin. Thomas Lawlor, 22h Bride Street, Dublin.	3
Packing Case Makers (Dublin)	47	1 0 0	Wm. Shanks, 3 Chamber Street, Dublin.	Wm. Shanks, 3 Chamber Street, Dublin.	1
Painters and Decorators, National Amalgamated Society of.	2729	22 14 10	Gen. Sec.—J. A. Gibson, 4 Camp Street, Lower Broughton, Manchester.	J. Cooke, 5 Belvidere Avenue, N.C.R., Dublin.	1
Do. (Cork Branch)	.....		Branch Sec.—W. Perrott, 23 Greenwood Buildings, Cork.	H. Marsh, 20 Adelaide St., Cork John Murphy, 12 St. Catherine's Place, Cork.	1 1
Painters and Decorators, Irish National.	530	4 8 4	Edward McCabe, 27 Aungier St., Dublin.	Edward Comber, 27 Aungier Street, Dublin. Joseph Cahill, 27 Aungier Street, Dublin.	2
Plumbers and Domestic Engineers, United Operative.	1310	10 18 4	Dublin Sec.—Robert Boyd, Trades Hall, Dublin.	P. Bermingham, 76 Lombard St., West, Dublin. G. Bowman, Sailway St., Lisburn.	2
Do. (Cork Branch).	80	1 0 0	Jos. Walsh, 5 Auburn Villas, Magazine Road, Cork.	Jos. Walsh, 5 Auburn Villas, Magazine Road, Cork.	1
Pork Butchers, Limerick	500	4 3 4	Martin Barry, Limerick	Michael McNamara, 5 Back Clare Street, Limerick. John Reddan, Halpin's Avenue, off Nicholas Street, Limerick.	2
Post Office Clerks (Irish Association of).	2100	17 10 0	W. Nally, 4 Cavendish Row, Dublin.	J. D. Donovan, 9 Ophelia Place, The Lough, Cork. J. F. Cleary, 4 Cavendish Row, Dublin.	2



Name of Society	No. of Mem- bers Jan. 1st, '20	Affiliation Fees paid	Secretary.	Delegates Names and Addresses.	Dele- gation Fees Paid.
Post Office Workers, Union of.	4700	£ 39 s. 3 d. 4	J. W. Bowen, London, .....	O. P. Kelly, 4 St. Joseph's Terrace, Wellington Street, Dublin. J. D. Canavan, 24 Gilford Avenue, Moston, Manchester. W. F. Dowling, Kilbricken, Mount-rath.	£ 3
Railwaymen, National Union of	19988	166 8 0	J. H. Thomas, M.P., Unity House, Euston Road, London, N.W. 1.	W. Vennard, Mourne View St., Portadown. L. J. Larkin, 1 Lady Lane, Waterford. James Bermingham, 2 Beresford Place, Dublin.	3
Do. (Galway Branch). .....			Branch Sec.—P. Molloy, 38 St. Brigid's Terrace, Galway.	Michael Temple, Bohermore, Galway.	1
Do. (Broadstone No. 1). ...			B. Finnigan, 16 Avondale Road, Phibsboro', Dublin.	T. C. Daly, 20 Gt. Western Villas, Phibsboro', Dublin.	2
Do. (Broadstone No. 2). ...			W. Walsh, 195 Phibsboro' Road, Dublin.	Wm. Molloy, 20 M.G.W. Square, Phibsboro', Dublin.	1
Do. (North Wall Branch).			Peter Redmond, Oriel Hall, Oriel Street, Dublin.	M. O'Brien, Oriel Hall, Oriel Street, Dublin.	1
Do. (Mullingar Branch) ...			John McKeon, 5 St. Patrick's Terrace, Mullingar.	John McKeon, 5 St. Patrick's Terrace, Mullingar.	1
Do. (Leinster District Council).			M. Keogh, Dublin, .....	James Slevin, 43 Kennedy's Build-ings, James's St., Dublin.	1
Do. (Inchicore No. 1).				Richard Hennessy, 109 Tyrconnell Road, Inchicore, Dublin.	1
Do. Bagnalstown Branch) —				John O'Byrne, Bagnalstown.	1
Railway Clerks' Association.	3000	25 0 0	A. G. Walkden, 25 Euston Road, London, N.W. 1.	T. H. Gill, 77 Lindsay St., York. Thos. Moore, 22 Kingsmere Ave., Cliftonville, Belfast. William Davin, 5 Abbey Terrace, Howth. J. T. O'Farrell, 48 Henry Street, Dublin. E. O'Mahony, 87 Rathmore Place, Cork.	5
Stationary Engine Drivers' T.U. (Irish).	700	5 16 8	W. J. Muldowney, Upper Abbey Street, Dublin.	W. J. Muldowney, 10 South Dock Street, Dublin. John Morgan, 111 Seville Place, Dublin.	2
Shop Assistants, etc., Na-tional Union of.	1404	10 14 0	John Turner, Dilke House, Malet Street, London, W.C. 1. Irish Office—J. W. Kelly, 2 Col-lege Street, Dublin.	Thomas Johnson, 32 Lower Abbey Street, Dublin. J. W. Kelly, 7 College St., Dublin.	2
Slaters and Plasterers (Cork).	110	1 0 0	Mr. Crowley, Richmond Hill, Cork.	M. Crowley, The Cottage, Rich-mond Hill, Cork.	1
Sheet Metal Workers (Dublin)	130	1 5 0	John Farren, 20 Blackhall Place, Dublin.	John Farren, 20 Blackhall Place, Dublin.	1
Tailors' and Tailoresses' Union (Irish).	2000	16 13 4	D. J. Stewart, Ardee House, Talbot Street, Dublin.	Patrick McGinley, Ardee House, Talbot Street, Dublin. Dermot J. Stewart, Do. Miss Browne, Do. Mrs. Hayden, Do.	4
Tailors and Tailoresses (Amalgamated Society of).	10000	83 6 8	Gen. Sec.—T. A. Flynn, 415 Oxford Road, Manchester.	P. Hayes, 49 Lower Gloucester Street, Dublin. Miss K. O'Toole (Shirt and Collar Workers' Section), 11 York St., Dublin. Mrs. Quigley and Mr. A. Jackson (Factory Section), 48 Henry St., Dublin. James Harty, Mechanics' Hall, 47 Grattan Street, Cork. John Hurley, 14 Castle St., Cork.	4 5



Name of Society	No. of Mem- bers Jan. 1st, '20	Affiliation Fees paid £ s. d.			Secretary.	Delegates Names and Addresses.	Dele- gation Fees Paid. £
Tailors and Tailoresses Union (Amalgamated)—(con.).						W. J. Leeman, 9 Agincourt Ave., Belfast.	
						Josephine Bradley, 1 Sun View Ter- race, College Road, Cork.	
						Wm. Lynch, 1 Sun View Terrace, College Road, Cork.	
Do. Cork (Female) Branch	—	—	—	—	—	Mary Bradley, 8 Marlboro' St., Cork.	2
						Brigin McSweeney, 3 Marlboro' Street, Cork.	
Tailors, Machinists and Pres- sers, International Society of	500	4	3	4	Walter Carpenter, 44 York Street, Dublin.	Walter Carpenter, 44 York Street, Dublin.	1
Tailors and Garment Workers' T.U. (Amalgamated).	3149	28	4	10	A. Conley, 39 Albion St., Leeds.	W. J. Patterson, 10 Trinity St., Belfast.	2
						J. Loughnan, 2 Convent Place, Crosses Green, Cork.	
Teachers' Organisation (Irish National).	10303	88	7	2	I.N.T.O.—T. J. O'Connell, 9 Gar- diner's Place, Dublin.	I.N.T.O.—D. A. Meehan, Bally- finn, Mountrath, Queen's Co.	6
Do. Association of Secun- dary Teachers, Ireland).	300					P. J. Quinn, 10 Ring Street, Inchi- core, Dublin.	
						C. P. Murphy, Annmount, Friar's Walk, Cork.	
						J. T. McGill, Ardoyne Cottage, Belfast.	
						T. J. O'Connell, 9 Gardiner's Place, Dublin.	
					A.S.T.I.—T. J. Burke, 9 Gardiner's Place, Dublin.	A.S.T.I.—L. J. Murray, M.A., 3 Merton Villas, Donore Avenue, Dublin.	
Do. (Dublin Central Teachers' Association).					J. B. O'Riordan,	(Miss) R. Timmon, 113 Harold's Cross Road, Dublin.	2
						C. D. McCarthy, Lissane, Achill Road, Drumcondra.	
Do. (Cork City Association)						James Cunningham, Ballincollig, Cork.	4
						Thomas Jones, Passage West.	
						M. H. Murphy, Little Island, Cork.	
						Patrick O'Donnell.	
Do. (Cork Branch A.S.T.I.)							
Toolmakers, Amalgamated Society of (Dublin Branch).	200	1	13	4	E. Gaffney, 2 Ebenezer Terrace, Donore Avenue, S.C.R., Dublin.	E. Gaffney, 2 Ebenezer Terrace, Donore Avenue, S.C.R., Dublin.	1
Tramway and Vehicle Workers, National Union of (Belfast Branch).	1000	12	10	0	R. J. Moore, 98 Corporation St., Belfast.	Peter McCullough, 39 Albert St., Belfast.	1
Typographical Association (Manchester).	1530	12	15	0	H. Skinner, Caxton Hall, Chapel Street, Salford.	Thomas Cassidy, 41 Chaped Road, Waterside, Derry.	3
						F. Hall, Belfast.	
						R. Anthony, 5 St. Anthony's Villas, Pouladuff Road, Cork.	
Typographical (Dublin) Pro- vident Society.	1000	8	6	8	M. O'Flanagan, 35 Lower Gar- diner Street, Dublin.	M. O'Flanagan, 35 Lower Gardiner Street, Dublin.	2
						Fred Brooks, 35 Lower Gardiner Street, Dublin.	
Vehicle Builders, National Union of.	1680	14	0	0	James Nicholson, 195 Oxford Road, Manchester.	Thomas Boyle, 31 Synge Street, S.C.R., Dublin.	2
						D. Burke, 21 Bowman Street, Limerick.	
Wood Cutting Machinists (Amalgamated Society of).	1000	8	6	8	W. J. Wentworth, 383 Stockport Road, Longsight, Manchester.	G. Hill, 20 Newport St., Belfast.	2
						M. Kiernan, 28 Upper Erne St., Great Brunswick St., Dublin.	
Women Workers' Union (Irish).	5000	41	13	4	Miss Louie Bennett, Miss H. Chenevix, Denmark House, 21 Great Denmark Street, Dublin.	Miss O'Connor, 132 Leinster Rd., Rathmines.	5
						Miss McCarthy, 40 Thomas St., Waterford.	
						Miss B. Crowley, Ballincurrag, Douglas Road, Cork.	
						Miss Louie Bennett, 21 Great Denmark Street, Dublin.	
Do. (Irish Nurses' Union Branch).					Mrs. Mortished, 29 St. Anne St., Dublin.	Miss Mary F. Maxwell, The Dis- pensary, Charles St., Dublin.	



Name of Society	No. of Mem- bers Jan. 1st, '20	Affiliation Fees paid £ s. d.	Secretary.	Delegates Names and Addresses.	Dele- gation Fees Paid. £
<b>Transport and General Workers' Union (Irish)</b>	100000	833 6 8	Thomas Foran, General President. James Larkin, General Secretary, Liberty Hall, Dublin.	Thomas Foran, President, Liberty Hall. William O'Brien, Treasurer, 77 Botanic Road, Dublin. Thomas Kennedy, 20 Charlemont Mall, Dublin. Michael McCarthy, 10 Upper Gloucester Street, Dublin. Patrick Stafford, 41 Great Clarence Street, Dublin. Patrick Gaffney, Killeslin, Carlow. Thomas Ryan, 1 Lady Lane, Waterford. Michael Hill, 35 Roche's Buildings, Cork. Michael Ryan, 1 Walsh's Cottages, Blackboy Pike, Limerick. Michael Duffy, Readsland, Dun- shaughlin. C. O'Shannon, Liberty Hall, Dublin. Joseph O'Neill, do. do. John Dillon, do. do. Patrick Byrne, do. do. John McCabe, do. do. Peter Spain, do. do. John Gannon, do. do. Nora Connolly, do. do. Thomas Farren, do. do. Benjamin Drumm, do. do. James J. Hughes, do. do. John Purcell, 1 Upper Stephen Street, Dublin.	47

154

**Transport & General Workers' Union (Irish)—(continued).**

John Coffey, 6 Meath Square,  
Dublin.  
Michael Keavey, 10 High Street,  
Dublin.  
Jos. Mahony, 2 Little Digges St.,  
Dublin.  
P. Murray, 26d Iveagh Buildings,  
Patrick Street, Dublin.  
Joseph Walsh, 157 North King  
Street, Dublin.  
Michael Smyth, Liberty Hall, New-  
bridge.  
Patrick Kelly, 55 Lepper Street,  
Belfast.  
Denis Houston, 122 Corporation  
Street, Belfast.  
Thomas Dunne, 1 Lady Lane,  
Waterford.  
William Ellis, Charlotte Street,  
Carlow.  
James Connor, Harbour Street,  
Tullamore.  
Christopher Ryder, 126 Emmett  
Road, Inchicore, Dublin.  
Michael Nolan, Burrowfield, Bal-  
doyle, Co. Dublin.  
Seumas O'Brien, 91 O'Connell St.,  
Limerick.  
H. G. Brown, 91 O'Connell St.,  
Limerick.  
Michael Gabbett, 91 O'Connell St.,  
Limerick.  
E. Mullen, Peter St., Drogheda.  
Wm. Kenneally, 374 Blarney St.,  
Cork.  
Jerh. J. McGrath, 76 Roche's  
Buildings, Cork.  
Miss M. Phillpott, 14 Railway  
Place, Cork.

155







Name of Society.	No. of Mem- bers Jan. 1st, '20	Affiliation Fees paid	Secretary.	Delegates Names and Addresses.	Dele- gation Fees Paid.
		£ s. d.			£
Cork .....	10000	2 0 0	Michael Hayes, 40 Cove Street, Cork.	M. Hayes, 40 Cove St., Cork. George Nason, 12 Marino Ter- race, Cork.	2
Cove (Queenstown) .....	1800	1 0 0	P. Fitzgerald, 1 Brighton Terrace, Cove.	John Connolly, 4 Bellevue Terrace, Cove (Queenstown), Co. Cork.	1
Derry .....	10000	2 0 0	E. MacCafferty, 11 Northland Avenue, Derry.	Wm. Logue, 12 Creggan Road, Derry. E. MacCafferty, 11 Northland Avenue, Derry.	2
Drogheda .....		1 0 0	Thomas McCabe, Foresters' Hall, Drogheda.	E. Rooney, I.T.W.U., Liberty Hall, Drogheda.	1
Dublin .....	25000	5 0 0	P. T. Daly, T.C., Trades Hall, Capel Street, Dublin.	D. Logue, T.C., 6 Whitworth Ter- race, Drumcondra, Dublin. J. J. Farrelly, Dublin.	2
Dungarvan (Workers' Council) .....	1000	1 0 0	Jas. Morrissey, Dungannon. ....	John Butler, Mappstown, Dun- garvan.	1
Edenderry .....		1 0 0	H. Healey, Edenderry. ....		
Ennis .....		1 0 0	John Duggan, Causeway, Ennis....		
Fermoy .....		1 0 0	W. O'Reilly, Abbey St., Fermoy.	Michael Power, Upper Cork Road, Fermoy.	1
Galway .....			Michael Temple, Bohermore, Gal- way.	Jas. M. Pringle, Wood Quay, Gal- way.	1
Kildare County .....		1 0 0	Michael Smyth, Athgarvan New- bridge, Co. Kildare.	Wm. Cummins, Prince of Wales Hotel, Newbridge.	1
Kilkenny .....			James Reade, 3 Blackmill Street, Kilkenny.		
Killarney .....		1 0 0	Wm. Bland, 3 Upper Connolly Ter- race, Killarney.	Wm. Bland, 3 Upper Connolly Terrace, Killarney.	1
King's County .....					
King's County (South) .....	1650	1 0 0	M. D'Alton, Burke's Hill, Birr. ...	Miss M. Mahon, Carrig, Birr	1
Limerick .....	10000	2 0 0	J. C. O'Connor, Mechanics' Insti- tute, Lower Glenworth Street, Limerick.	James Casey, Mechanics' Insti- tute, Limerick. James Carr, Mechanics' Institute, Limerick.	2
Leix and Ossory .....	2000	1 0 0	James Lacey, Grattan Street, Maryboro'.	T. F. O'Rourke, Dublin Road, Maryboro'.	1
Monaghan .....			John Quigley, The Hill, Monaghan.		
Mullingar .....	1500	1 0 0	T. J. Redmond, Trades Hall, Mullingar.	T. J. Redmond, Trades Hall, Mul- lingar.	1
Newry .....			Wm. F. Cunningham, Chapel St., Newry.		
Omagh .....			Patrick McHugh, Dromore Road, Omagh.		
Queenstown (Sea Cove) .....					
Sligo .....		1 0 0	H. Depew, Trades Hall, Castle Street, Sligo.	H. Depew, T.C., Sligo.	1
Thurles .....		1 0 0	P. McCarthy, West Gate, Thurles.		
Tralee .....		1 0 0	John Leisk, William St., Tralee.	Patrick Casey, 4 Urban Cottages, Rock-Street, Tralee.	1
Tuam .....		1 0 0	Stephen Keane, Vicar St., Tuam.	J. J. Coakley, High St., Tuam.	1
Waterford (Workers' Council) .....	3500	1 0 0	Michael Cleary, 1 Lady Lane, Waterford.	L. J. Larkin, 1 Lady Lane, Water- ford.	1
Wexford .....	2050	1 0 0	Patrick White, King St., Wexford.	Patrick White, King St., Wexford	1
FRATERNAL DELEGATES. Scottish Trades Union Con- gress.			Robert Allan, 156 George Street Glasgow.	E. Shinwell, 171 Broomielaw, Glas- gow. James Hood, Elbank Drive, Kil- marnock.	
Workers' Welfare League of India.				S. Saklatvala (Secretary Indian Section), 18 Featherstone Build- ings, High Holborn, London, W.C.	



# IRISH TRADE UNION CONGRESS.

## 1894-1920.

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	Kilkenny	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	Clonmell	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
1920	246	Cork ...	Thomas Farren (Stonecutter) ...	" ...	"

## 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 workingclass 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 workingclass 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 5,000 members.

(c) Where the local Trades Council undertakes the duties of a local Labour Party, it shall be entitled to send one additional delegate to represent the Labour Party in each parliamentary constituency covered by the activities of the Council, provided that there shall have been three months prior to the date of the Congress not less than 100 individual subscribing members of the Party in the constituency claiming to send a delegate, such delegates to be individual subscribing members of the Party, men or women, and voters in the constituency they represent.

(d) In towns of 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 fee, 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.\*

#### **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.

---

\* 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.

(e) The expenses of Candidates for election to Parliament shall be borne by the organisation or organisations nominating the Candidates, with such financial assistance as the Central Fund can afford.

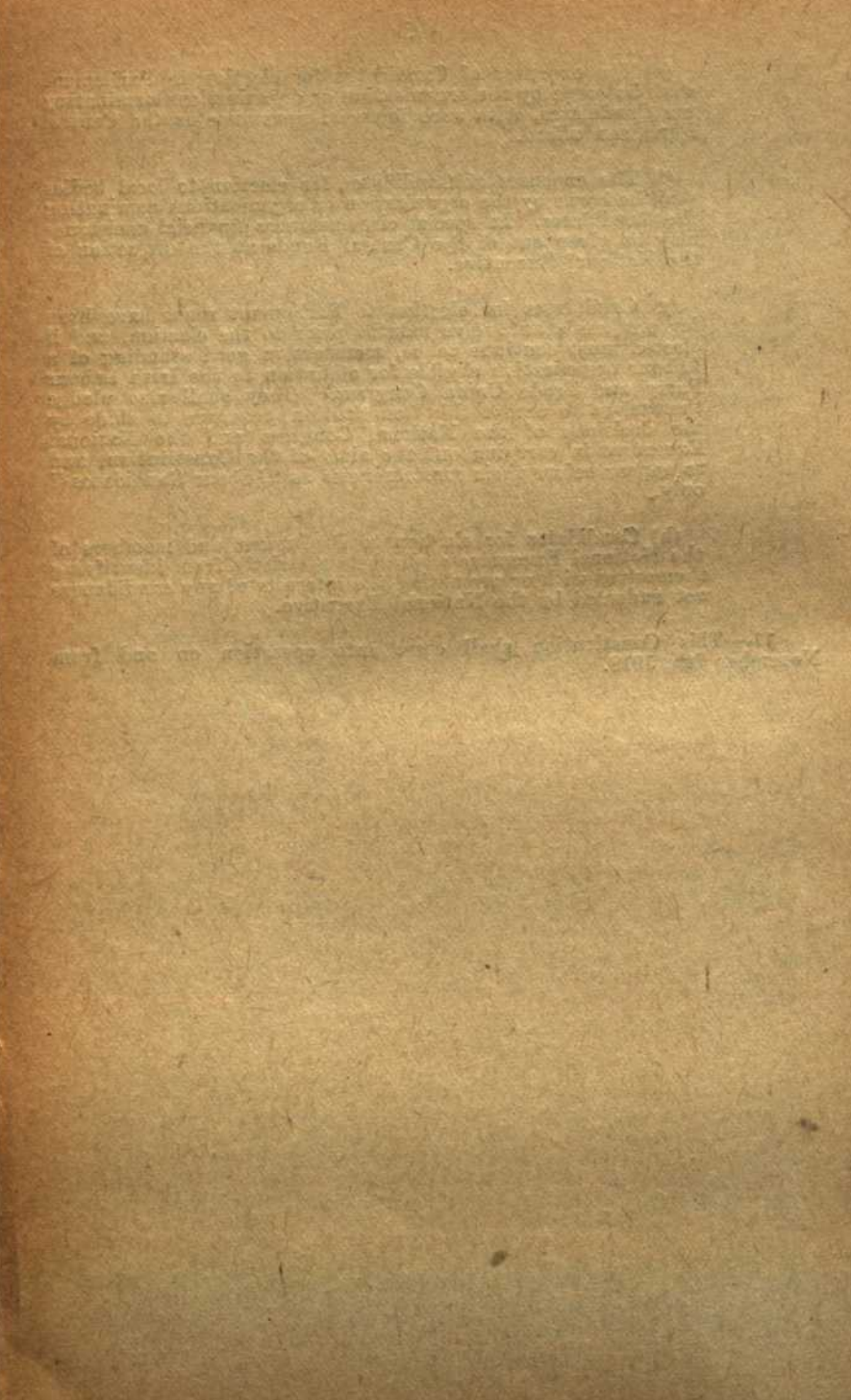
(f) The expenses of Candidates for election to local bodies shall be borne by the organisation or organisations nominating the Candidates. In special circumstances financial assistance may be given out of the Central Funds at the discretion of the National Executive.

(g) Candidates for election to Parliament must have been for not less than twelve months prior to the election, and if elected must continue to be, members in good standing of a Labour organisation eligible for affiliation to the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress. They shall also pledge themselves to accept this Constitution, to agree to abide by the decisions of the National Congress and the National Executive in carrying out the aims of the Constitution, and to appear before their constituencies as "Labour Candidates" only.

(h) Candidates for election to Parliament and members of the National Executive shall abstain strictly from identifying themselves with or promoting the interests of any candidature not 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 of 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 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 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 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 discussions at Congress, the National Executive shall be empowered to place Resolutions on the Agenda, and may in cases of urgency submit Resolutions which have not appeared in the printed Agenda.

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 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 Union 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.

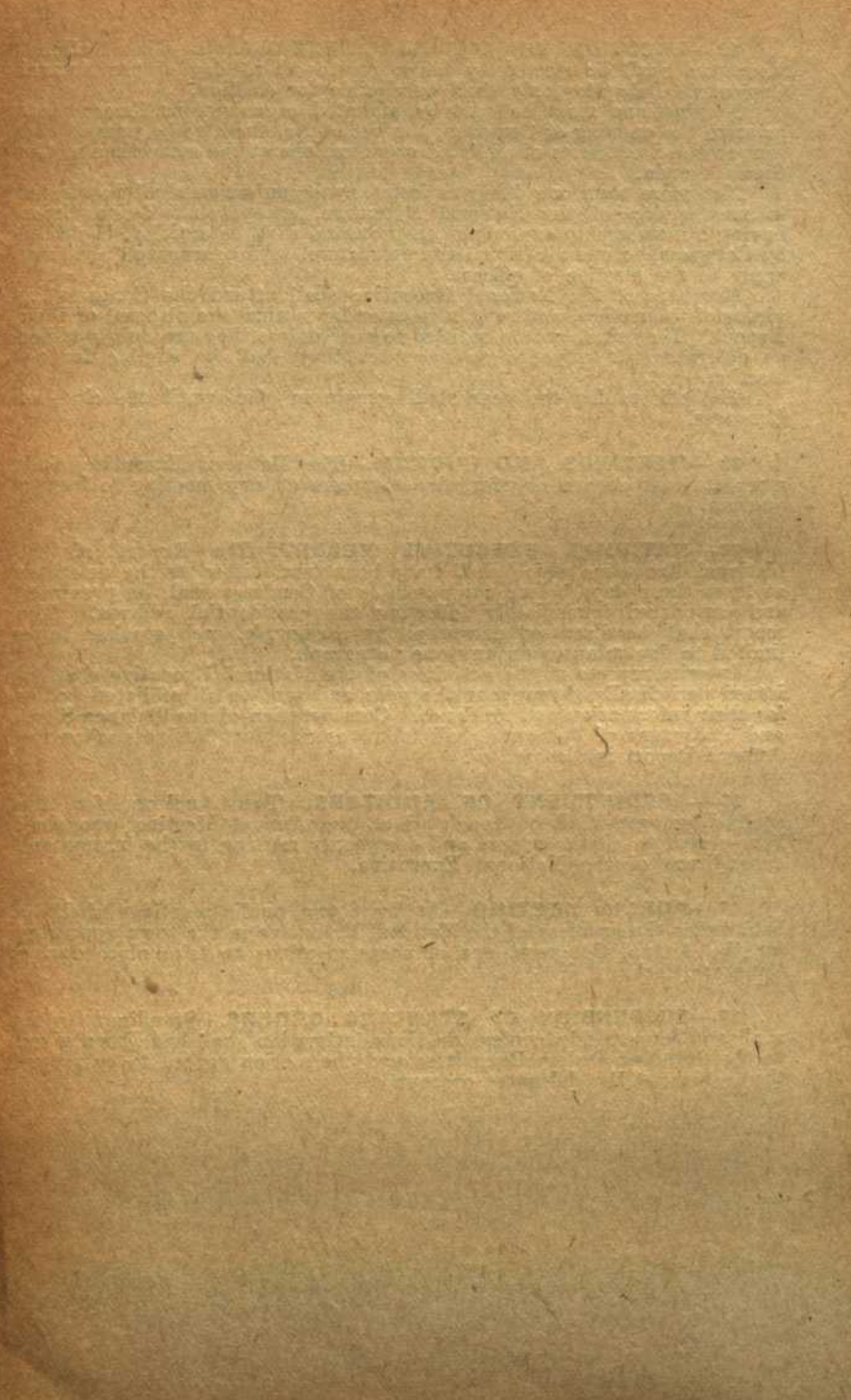
Interim reports of the activities of the National Executive shall be issued periodically throughout the year and sent to all affiliated bodies for their information and guidance. Consideration of the Balance Sheet and Statement of Accounts shall follow as the next business after the Annual Report is 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.





# INDEX

---

	PAGE
Addendum to the National Executive Report ... ..	51
Adult Working Class Education ... ..	18, 92
Afternoon Session ... ..	89
Agenda ... ..	133
Agricultural Policy ... ..	136
Amalgamation of Unions ... ..	23
Appendix to N.E. Report ... ..	47
Arbitration in Trade Disputes ... ..	38, 113
Arrest and Deportation of Secretary ... ..	19
Asylum Workers' Condition of Service ... ..	141
Bacon and Butter Embargo ... ..	24
Balance Sheet, 1919-20 ... ..	133
Belfast Expelled Workers ... ..	100
Blind Aid Bill ... ..	140
British Labour Delegation ... ..	37
British Railway Strike, 1919 ... ..	33
Call to Britain ... ..	35
Certificate of Competency for Engine Drivers ... ..	141
Conference with Farmers and Merchants ... ..	30
Constitution ... ..	161
Cost of Living ... ..	136
Death of Mr. M. J. O'Lehane ... ..	3
Delegates Entertained ... ..	123
Deputation to London ... ..	121
Dublin Cinema Dispute ... ..	127
Education ... ..	137
Education Bill ... ..	31
Election of Assistant Secretary ... ..	65
Election of Officers and Committee ... ..	126
Election of Tellers ... ..	65



## INDEX—(continued).

	PAGE
First Day's Proceedings, Monday, August 2nd, 1920	60
Food Control	24, 93
Fourth Day—August 5th, 1920	124
Fraternal Delegates' Address	109
Future Control	31
Government of Ireland	130
Government of Ireland Bill	37
Greetings from the British Communists	88
Greetings from Ard Fheis	133
Hours of Labour	138
Imprisonment of James Larkin	10, 79
Income Tax	139
Industrial Resources Inquiry	9
International	97, 106
Intoxicants and Taxation	129
Irish Clerical Workers' Union	99
Irish Industries and Co-operation	135
Irish Trade Union Congress, 1894 to 1920	160
Labour Organisation	139
Late John Clarke	106
Limerick Strike Fund	58
Mothers' Pensions	138
Motor Permits Strike	11, 81
Motor Permits Strike Fund	58
Motor Licences	140
Mr. Lloyd George and the Railwaymen	43
Municipal Elections	4, 6, 75
Munitions of War	41
Munitions of War Strike	114
National Executive Meetings, Attendances and Payments to end of June	55
National Executive Report	127
National Executive Resolutions	129
Nationalisation of Shipping and Mines	135
New Union	49

## INDEX—(continued).

	PAGE
Official Reception	60
Old Age Pensions	138
Open Letter to the Irish Bacon Curers, Dealers and Feeders	27
Outgoing President	143
President's Address	66
Proposed Changes in Constitution	142
Proportional Representation	142
Report of Delegates to the Scottish Trades Union Congress	38
Report of the National Executive	3, 73
Resignation of Mr. J. F. O'Farrell	4
Scrutineers	118
Second Day—Tuesday, August 3rd, 1920	73
Societies Affiliated	145
Standing Orders	167
Standing Orders Committee Report	72, 99
Standing Orders Committee	65
Statement of Accounts to end of June, 1920	56
Stockport Election	21
Strike at A.O.H.	140
Third Day—August 4th, 1920	100
Trade Union Organisation and Wages Movement	37
Trip Round Cork Harbour	73
Two Days' General Strike	34
Victimisation of Dublin Shipping Clerks	124
Votes of Thanks	72, 143
Union in Distributive Trades	47, 118